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2006

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

A WELL IN SEARCH OF AN OWNER

Using Novel Assertions to Assess Miriam's Disproportionate Elaboration

Among Women in the Midrashim of Late Antiquity

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Miriam Sherman

Committee in Charge:

Professor David Goodblatt, Chair
Professor Carol Bakhos
Professor David Noel Freedman
Professor Richard Friedman
Professor William Propp

2006

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The dissertation of Miriam Sherman is approved and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication in microfilm.

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2006

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my husband, Robert M. Sherman, not only for his patience and support, but also for his useful insights, particularly when one day I excitedly told him about how creative the Rabbis had been by inventing the imaginative contention of the “Rivers in the Desert” Well theme, with wilderness waterways winding amidst the twelve tribes and irrigating grassy herbs and trees growing along their banks. Raising his eyebrows, he asked me a question, which in turn opened my own eyes – “‘Rabbinic creativity?’ Are you then considering Balaam to be a Rabbi?”

And Balaam lifted up his eyes ... and he said, “... The speech of one who hears the words of God, he who will see the vision of the Almighty ... “How goodly are your tents, Jacob, and your dwelling places, Israel! Like brooks they were stretched out, like gardens by a river, like aloes that the Lord planted, and like cedars by water.”
(Num 24:2-6)

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A WELL IN SEARCH OF AN OWNER

Using Novel Assertions to Assess Miriam's Disproportionate Elaboration
Among Women in the Midrashim of Late Antiquity

by

Miriam Sherman

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, San Diego, 2006

Professor David Goodblatt, Chair

This study posits that compared to other biblical women, the Prophetess Miriam was disproportionately elaborated in Late Antiquity Midrash. The first indication of Miriam's special renown was her association with the Well that accompanied Israel on their forty-year wilderness sojourn. Though early midrashic sources describe it as either given upon Miriam's hand or in her merit, collections in the second half of Late Antiquity call it Miriam's Well, juxtapose its location to a specific Synagogue in Tiberias, and ascribe purity and healing properties to its waters. These stature-enhancing contexts raise questions as to why the midrashists chose a

woman, and specifically Miriam, as the namesake of what had hitherto been a nameless well.

To compare Well and Miriam's midrashic development, a methodology was designed based on Novel Assertions, new pieces of information first learned from Midrash itself. Using the Bar Ilan Database, the earliest occurrence of each novel Well and Miriam contention was assigned a unique identifier. Once assembled chronologically, this methodology creates a timeline of thematic enhancements facilitating the discovery of perplexities of historical interest. In Miriam's case, these include not only her association with the Well, but the contention of her being one of the midwives, her prophecy of Moses' birth and destiny, her marriage, and her being King David's ancestress. This last assertion, at apparent odds with Scripture, points to the unique role Miriam may have played in rabbinic writings.

Miriam's disproportionate elaboration was demonstrated using an Extra-Biblical Novelty Index. This stimulated an historical inquiry as to why she was of special interest to the Rabbis. First, portions of her legacy creatively introduced by midrashists were differentiated from earlier traditions, revealing that though much of her Late Antiquity saga was pre-rabbinic, her being David's ancestress was an arguably unique rabbinic contribution. Next, political and intercultural circumstances inspiring this genealogy were considered. Finally, Miriam's interplay with Christianity's Mary was explored insofar as it enhanced her renown. Notwithstanding the tentative nature of historical conjecture, the facility with which issues of historical importance flow from Novel Assertions vindicates their value to the historian involved in midrashic research.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

This study develops and systematically applies a tool known as the “Novel Assertion” to the study of midrashim dealing with Miriam the Prophetess and the mythic Well that accompanied the Israelites during their forty-year wilderness sojourn for the purpose of generating hypotheses that relate midrashic content to historical events in Late Antiquity. The earliest graphic attestation of the Well tradition is from a fresco dated to ca. 245 CE, from the Synagogue at Dura-Europos, depicted as Figure I-1 below:



Fig. I-1: Fresco from Dura-Europos Depicting the Well Situated opposite the Tent of Meeting, Giving Forth Twelve Rivers that Flow to the Tents of each Tribe (Kraeling, plate 68).

Theologians may choose to focus on midrashim for their exegetical value, and archaeologists may find in them clues that relate to objects and excavations. This study assumes that the historian of Late Antiquity Judaism can likewise identify problems and make historical correlations within the literary tangle of midrashic novelties. However, the likelihood of discovering areas of potential historical interest and of then generating hypotheses that address them increases when there is a logical method for dissecting and organizing bits of midrashim such that anomalies of historical import are highlighted. Prior to further introducing the development of this methodology, it is important to clarify what is meant here by “Midrash,” capitalized throughout this study when it identifies the collective body of literature to which it refers. However, when used to refer to a specific midrashic item, it and its plural (midrashim) are not capitalized. The term derives from the root שרש (*drsh*), meaning “search,” “seek,” “examine,” and “investigate.” In Second Temple times it was used “in the sense of education and learning generally” (Herr *EJ*). This process of searching for more meaning in a biblical verse began even within the Tanakh* itself. Thus, later sections of the Tanakh elaborate on earlier ones as, for example, the Prophets on the Torah (see Jer 31:15-17, a midrash on Gen 35:19-20, as discussed in Section IV-E). However, in this study, “Midrash” refers specifically to the literature produced by the Rabbis in “an attempt to adapt the Torah as the Jewish rule of life to changing conditions. This updating of the Torah occurs in the ‘oral Torah’ whose development is particularly connected with biblical exegesis” (Strack/Stemberger 15).

* Tanakh = תנ"ך (*tnk*) is an acronym for the Hebrew Bible: “T” for Torah, the five books of Moses; “N” for Nevi’im, the Prophets; and “K” for Ketuvim, the Writings.

The Oral Law is further divided into *halakhah* (law) and *aggadah* (instruction). The *aggadah*, also known as Midrash, is comprised of both “legendary-historical material and ethicoreligious literature” (*EJ* “Literature, Jewish”). Renée Bloch provides an additional perspective more relevant to the essence of Midrash as a literary genre, noting that

The term is often taken as a synonym for fable, a legendary plot. In reality, it designates an edifying and illustrative genre tightly linked to Scripture, in which the amplification part is real but secondary and remains always subordinate to the essential religious end, which is to emphasize more fully God’s work, God’s word. (Bloch “Midrash” 1263 [translation mine])

Given the general parameters of these explanations, the midrashim that constitute the primary object of inquiry in this study are those produced by the Rabbis of Late Antiquity dealing with Miriam and the Well.

This study began with an intense interest in the Well. Midrashic sources were located, but their content seemed confusingly rich in sub-themes. The most perplexing of these related to Miriam’s association with the Well and led to an in-depth study of her portrayal in Midrash. However, as in the case of the Well sources, Miriam’s extra-biblical legacy was also enmeshed in a maze of diverse sub-themes. Attempting to make sense of all the material related to either Miriam or the Well was in itself a complex job, but the task of comparative assessment of the two became even more dauntingly formidable. Finally, pause was taken to develop a methodology that, once designed and further refined, not only made the data manageable, but patterned it in a way capable of generating both historical questions and pointing towards hypothetical solutions.

Though a primary goal of this Dissertation is the development and application of Novel Assertion methodology to elucidate Miriam's midrashic portrayal, its approach is not theoretical. Rather, it utilizes both the Well and Miriam to demonstrate the methodology from the earliest stages of gathering of primary sources, through the subsequent steps of processing and assessing data, and finally through the formulation and defense of hypotheses. As such, the approach is very pragmatic. The final demonstration of the value of this process rests on its ability to uncover literary phenomena we were not aware of previously, with the goal of illuminating the significance of Miriam as a character in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity. Given this end, both the use of the method and the historical hypotheses it inspires are vigorously pursued. Despite my efforts in pursuing these hypotheses, correlation of midrashic content with historical events in Late Antiquity remains a tenuous process. Keeping this caveat in mind, a major objective of this Dissertation rests upon a demonstration of its methodology, independent of whether the actual hypotheses regarding Miriam hold up to the long reach of future historical assessments. Given these considerations, a thesis is proposed and demonstrated as follows:

THESIS STATEMENT

The systematic application of Novel Assertions for assessing Miriam's midrashic portrayal is a productive tool from which emerges the observation of her disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity and organizes data in a format that facilitates the development of historical hypotheses addressing this uniqueness.

Having identified “Novel Assertions” as central to the proposed methodology, a few words regarding their purpose and essence are in order. In focusing on Miriam and the Well, this study is concerned with assessing their development as character and object over the broad time sweep of Late Antiquity. Given this purpose, the first essential quality of Novel Assertions is that instead of merely counting how many times something old (i.e., already introduced once) is repeated, Novel Assertions focus on how many new bits of information about a midrashic object or person are accumulated. Secondly, Novel Assertion methodology is inherently comparative. By definitional convention in this study, a Novel Assertion about a midrashic character or object is a new piece of information first learned from Midrash itself. This implies an earlier comparative step, since something already known from the Tanakh’s record of literary portrayal cannot be considered a midrashic Novel Assertion. Therefore, any assessment of midrashic development rests on a preliminary parallel identification of Novel Assertions about an object or person from the biblical text itself. Likewise, the comparative essence of midrashic Novel Assertions also rests on dating in order to establish the flow of additions to the storyline. For example, once a midrash that asserts that the Well was a round object that rolled is dated to ca. 225 CE, a similar Assertion found in a collection dated to ca. 550 CE is simply repetitive, and the Assertion is considered novel only at its first occurrence in 225 CE. From this, a second concept is derived, that of “Earliest Novel Assertion.” By creating a full list of Earliest Novel Assertions from Midrash regarding a character or object, one is left with a traceable evolution of information providing a literary portrait of that person’s or object’s progressive development in Late Antiquity.

In discussing such character development, a distinction should be made between the use of the term in a literary sense as opposed to the historical contexts pursued in this study. Miriam and the Well both grow as a result of elaborations provided in Midrash. Since the collections from which we learn of these accounts are a type of literature, any growth that occurs might be casually referred to as “literary.” However, this is not to be confused with the type of growth a protagonist of a novel accrues in the course of encountering the challenges of the plot. Though it is possible that by reading a cumulative midrashic portrait of Miriam one might be able to infer such character development, no evidence has surfaced from the present study that midrashists contributing items over a span approaching six centuries had such a classic literary goal in mind. Yet, the concept of literary growth is freely utilized to reflect the reality that what is apparent from the evolving portraits of Miriam and the Well is learned largely from the corpus of literature known as midrashic collections. Stated succinctly, literary growth and development applied to Miriam and the Well are to be understood in the sense that their midrashic portrayals served to convey and fulfill changing exegetical and intercultural processes in theological and historical contexts of Late Antiquity. Given this clarification, intuitive logic favors the possibility that a character associated with many Novel Assertions is, in a literary sense, a more “growing” or dynamically developing character than one who is mentioned frequently, but with nothing much new being said. Likewise, a leap of assumption can be made that such characters or objects with accelerated development may have been more on the minds of the Rabbis of the time. If so, these midrashic entities may be more potentially fruitful foci as considerations of possible ongoing historically dynamic

processes, either entirely within the Jewish community, or perhaps in some intercultural context. Though further dimensions to the “Novel Assertion” tool will evolve as they are applied in this study, enough has now been presented to provide a grasp of their purpose and essence.

At this point, pause is taken to provide further background regarding the two entities of study to which Novel Assertion methodology is applied. This treatise began as a dedicated study of the Well as portrayed primarily in midrashic material appearing in collections of Late Antiquity. The initial search for primary sources was largely dependent on Ginzberg’s *Legends of the Jews*, from which a portrait emerged of a special water source, seemingly unconcerned with geography and time. Created for its designated task in the final moments prior to the first Sabbath on the sixth day of Creation, it subsequently bubbled up for Abraham and Jacob, and unleashed its waters as Moses struck a rock. It figured not only in providing potable water as the Israelites passed through the sea and during their 40 years of wandering, but supplied rivers of navigable waterways in the wilderness on which they traveled by ship to visit relatives of other tribes in the encampment or sailed to the coast to retrieve vital supplies. Furthermore, the Well’s waters had miraculous healing powers and prefigured in the future messianic temple by providing water at the Temple Gate, prior to which time the Well is kept safely beneath the waters of the Sea of Tiberias. That the tradition of this Well was so pervasively present on a “theological” timeline beginning in the first week of creation and persisting through a still-awaited messianic future was in and of itself a powerfully attractive justification for choosing it as a topic for further study. Furthermore, its essence as an entity distinct in its *raison d’être* from

other more mundane wells justifies its capitalization as “Well” throughout this study. Given this introduction, the initial goal was to create a list of thematic sub-components of the Well tradition, tracing their temporal appearance during Late Antiquity in a way that might correlate with motifs in the historical milieu of both the general and Jewish societies in which collections of these midrashim emerged during the first six hundred and forty years of the Common Era. That for whatever reason this water source became known as Miriam’s Well in no way affected the intent that the Well would be the primary focus of attention, while Miriam’s association with it would only be of peripheral interest. The initial mindset was that every object benefits from a name that uniquely identifies it and that, in the current case, the Well just happened to be named after Miriam. Most assuredly, I assumed that a midrashic rationale for the choice of its name would be forthcoming and duly noted, but that any such issues surrounding its naming would occupy no greater a focus than might be paid to the Well’s many other attributes, thus allowing its legacy to be studied without the necessity of attaching undue importance to the person whose name appeared by its side.

As the accumulation of primary midrashic sources dealing with the Well progressed and their content was further examined, Miriam’s status as the namesake associated with the Well tradition became more intriguing. Though the general association of Miriam with the Well proved to be very old, the use of the term “Miriam’s Well” was relatively late and without apparent explanation. Furthermore, given the importance attributed to the Well, and at the same time recognizing the patriarchal bent of Israelite society, another question arose regarding potential alternate male candidates for association as the Well’s namesake. As the question of

“Why Miriam?” became more intriguing, Miriam became a more central focus of the study. Findings related to the Well were better understood by assuming its close interdependence with the Miriam tradition. This in turn led to the challenge of attempting to substantiate that, among the creators and transmitters of these midrashim, the persona of Miriam was at least as important as the phenomena surrounding the Well. In fact, the juxtaposition of midrashic material related to the Well and to Miriam led to a significant question: Did the fame of the Well lend prestige to Miriam in a way that served to enhance her image, or did Miriam’s stature provide the Well with the publicity necessary to ensure its renown? That the reality may have lain in some mutual reinforcement of object and persona did not diminish the intrigue of the question. Admittedly, the reality of relative importance of the two may have varied in the mindsets of interested parties in different time periods and locations. Both literary objects and biblical heroines may take on added dimensions of meaning with the passage of time and historical circumstance, and there is no available historical record as to the context of the seminal moment of the association of Miriam with the Well. However, Pseudo-Philo does provide the earliest known record of Miriam’s connection with the Well and, from a *theological* standpoint, his account can be argued to lend support to a hypothesis that the Well was dependent on Miriam’s stature for its opportunity to spring forth into significance:

These are the three things that God gave to his people on account of three persons: that is the well of Water of Marah for Miriam and the pillar of cloud for Aaron and the manna for Moses. After these three died, these three things were taken away from them. (*LAB* 20:8)

This particular line of thought is reproduced in many subsequent midrashim, and posits that were it not for Miriam's merit, the Well would have in effect dried up. Given this bent of theological perspective pervasive among many of the earlier rabbinic sources, an additional conjecture follows. Perhaps just as Miriam's merit was central to Pseudo-Philo's formulation, the persona of Miriam was likewise more significant in theological, historical, and cultural contexts through Late Antiquity than the Well that bore her name.

The Novel Assertion tool was developed in response to the imposing task of trying to trace, compare, and contrast, century by century, the growth of the Well and Miriam traditions, thematically and quantitatively, during Late Antiquity. The format of this study involves presenting my original work, done first on the Well and next on Miriam, using the Novel Assertion tool as it was initially conceived and then refined. The use of this tool was instrumental in generating and directing the eventual shift of focus towards Miriam. There were in fact moments of temptation to drop the detailed assessment of the Well entirely. However, as research progressed, new perspectives surfaced regarding the Well and its contribution to Miriam's early legacy and later midrashic portrayal, in the end making the two more inseparable than was initially suspected. In this regard, even though Miriam is the more central subject of this Dissertation, the title, "A Well in Search of an Owner," is suggestive and appropriate to what shall emerge as a final assessment of her roles.

As this study progresses, the initial focus changes from one interrelating the Well and Miriam to one comparing Miriam's midrashic portrayal to that of other biblical women. As research increasingly converges on Miriam, there is a general

sense that, compared to her portrayal in the Tanakh, Midrash is more prolific in its development of Novel Assertions about her than about a cohort of other female biblical characters. Finally, the Novel Assertion tool is used as part of an original metric, the Extra-Biblical Novelty Index or “EBNI” Score, to compare Miriam with these other biblical personalities. Once her prominence is established, attention turns to investigating possible circumstances and explanations both before and within Late Antiquity that may at least correlate with, and arguably be causally linked to her expansive treatment.

Having concluded this pause to provide background regarding the initial choice of the Well and the subsequent shift towards Miriam as entities of midrashic study, we turn to a description of the remaining six chapters that organize the flow of study. Chapter II provides methodological information regarding the time period studied, dating techniques, source material, Novel Assertions methodologies, and comparative metrics utilized in assessing the midrashic portrayals of Miriam and the Well. Chapter III is sub-divided into four sections. The first two subject the Well and Miriam respectively to varied qualitative assessments, patterning them in a way that either draws conclusions or reveals perplexities meriting subsequent attention. The third section is more quantitative, using metric devices to demonstrate Miriam’s unique elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity. The final section of Chapter III serves as a turning point, asserting that the presentation and assessment of primary data has addressed two of the three initial challenges stipulated in the Thesis Statement, and explaining how the remainder of the study achieves its final goal by

suggesting historical hypotheses to explain the uniqueness of Miriam's midrashic portrayal.

Chapter IV begins the process of addressing Miriam's unique midrashic portrayal by exploring precursor traditions based upon which her legacy may have expanded prior to Late Antiquity. Attention then turns to the historical milieu of Late Antiquity. Specifically, Chapter V proposes hypotheses regarding the political implications of assertions of Miriam's marriage and progeny, and Chapter VI deals with how Christianity's utilization of Miriam provides further attestation to her stature. Chapter VII concludes the study, synthesizing major findings into a final assessment of Miriam's disproportionate elaboration among women in extra-biblical traditions. It further places in perspective the matter of the Well with which she had a progressively increasing relationship in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity. As part of the conclusion, I take the liberty of sharing my own conjectures regarding what I see as the roots and implications of Miriam traditions, positing the more speculative components as areas appropriate for future study.

Prior to concluding the introduction, and as a means of distinguishing this study from other assessments both specifically of Miriam and more generally of the midrashic portrayal of biblical characters, a few illustrative examples of other works are presented to place the current project in perspective. In addition to introducing Novel Assertion methodology, the most unique attribute of the current study is its central focus on elucidating the implications of what emerges from the storylines of the midrashim themselves. In this sense, the many other twists and tangents of this investigation all emanate from trying to illuminate the significance of Miriam's

midrashic portrayal. To illustrate this difference of approach, Maren Niehoff's *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* compares Joseph's portrayal in the Bible, Philo, Josephus, and Midrash. In its author's words, it "focuses on the hermeneutics of the ancient interpretations of the biblical story ... [with] particular emphasis ... given to the comparison between Greek and Hebrew characterizations of Joseph" (Niehoff 1). However, it limits its study of Joseph's midrashic elaboration to the account of Genesis Rabbah, and its primary focus is on comparative literature rather than Midrash. Similarly, Steven Fraade, author of *Enosh and His Generation: Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation*, studies the character of Enosh in a way that on the surface bears many similarities to the current study on Miriam, reviewing not only Enosh's biblical and midrashic presentations, but also the treatment given him by Christian sources and historians. Yet, his purpose is again broadly comparative as "an examination of how several classical exegetical traditions interpret one verse of Scripture" (Fraade 1). In both books, the scholarship involves linguistic and stylistic analyses to help determine, for example, which traditions were earlier. By way of comparison, the current study begins with an exclusive focus on Miriam's midrashic portrayal, is intended to be exhaustive in scope, and attempts through its unique methodologies to discover patterns and anomalies from among the midrashim that may reflect historical issues. Thus, though our study of Miriam is similar in utilizing extra-midrashic sources, the information drawn from the Bible, early Authors, and Christianity is employed more selectively, all with the end of elucidating Miriam's midrashic stature. Likewise, it limits observations dealing with

poetics and linguistics to making specific cases as to how the Rabbis may have grounded some of their midrashic creativity in biblical motifs.

There is a paucity of works focusing on Miriam's midrashic portrayal. For example, as its name implies, Rita Burn's *Has the Lord Indeed Spoken Only Through Moses? A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam*, focuses on Miriam's scriptural presentation. Many studies of Miriam are in the form of essays or individual chapters in books in which only a single aspect of her midrashic portrayal is of importance to the author. One example is Devora Steinmetz's "A Portrait of Miriam in Rabbinic Midrash." She limits herself to only one of the themes from among the many Miriam traditions, that of her role within her family. Like the first two books noted in the paragraph above, hers also has Scripture as its starting point, noting that "in order to analyze the midrashic evaluation of Miriam's character, we must first look at how Miriam is evaluated in the Bible. Only then can we ask how the midrashic view differs and try to account for this difference" (Steinmetz 55). She then goes on to correlate Miriam's portrayal with how it "reflect[s] both a generalized view of biblical women and contemporary rabbinic view of the proper place of women in society" (Steinmetz 58). Furthermore, though her choice of midrashim seems to reflect thorough familiarity with the sources, there is no mention of a methodology for selecting them, and therefore no traceable account of how representative these sources are in their contribution to her conclusions. By way of contrast, the current study begins with a dedicated thoroughness in locating, dating, and classifying the entire breadth of Miriam Assertions in a way that lends significance to the comparative metrics that establish her uniqueness.

The last book I will cite here is Michael Moore's *The Balaam Traditions: Their Character and Development*. To appreciate its relevance, I must anticipate a finding regarding the role of rabbinic creativity in Miriam's midrashic portrayal. I began research with a presumption that later turned out to over-credit what the Rabbis actually contributed to Miriam's legacy. Evidence began to mount that motifs initially felt to attest to midrashic inventiveness were more likely rabbinic amplifications of traditions predating Late Antiquity. This distinction is quite important in a study purporting to clarify the extent of Miriam's disproportionate elaboration in Late Antiquity. To the degree that certain components of her stature may have had significant enhancements prior to Late Antiquity, the Rabbis should be given credit only for propagating rather than for initiating such traditions. Conversely, midrashic assertions that appear to be truly novel contributions to her legacy should receive special historical consideration as more telling manifestations of the rabbinic mindset of Late Antiquity. For example, Pseudo-Philo's attestation of a link between Miriam and the Well indicates that it was not a rabbinic invention. Once this is acknowledged, it is reasonable to make a further inquiry: If the basic association of Miriam and the Well predated Late Antiquity, how can we be sure whether other midrashic elaborations dealing with Miriam and the Well were entirely rabbinic, or if some of them also represented earlier traditions? Is it possible that the lore of early Israel included seminal traditions in which "by trade" Miriam was some type of keeper of the Well? If so, how might a scholar go about assessing such a possibility in view of the lack of historical attestations?

Given this preface and challenge, a final illustrative example is taken from Moore's book, which focuses on a single area as best described by the author himself:

... it is manifestly obvious that every Balaam tradition already portrays Balaam as a magico-religious specialist of some repute. The present study will seek to investigate how these variously refracted portrayals compare to the actual role enacted by selected magico-religious specialists operating during this general period in the ancient Near East, paying particular attention to the relevant material from Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and especially Syria-Palestine. This study will attempt to locate these traditions within their proper sociohistorical matrices. (Moore 11)

As in the other cited examples, Moore's text also draws from a cross section of biblical and midrashic material, but it is especially rich in including traditions from other Near Eastern cultural settings. What is of interest in his study is that, rather than focusing narrowly on Balaam as a personality, it examines the cross-cultural traditions of the trade his character practiced. In describing Balaam as a "magico-religious specialist" of repute, Moore justifies a comparative investigation encompassing other "magico-religious specialists operating during this general period in the ancient Near East." This approach, asserting that one can better understand certain portrayals by cross-cultural patterning, is similarly applied here. Rather than searching in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria-Palestine, the focus is on Egypt, the context in which the Tanakh begins the Miriam story. Likewise, just as Moore focused on Balaam as a magico-religious specialist, this study creates a list of "trades" from Miriam's cumulative portrayals, and discovers in them a common ground with an Egyptian mythic prototype that remained part of the Near Eastern understanding of female heroines from ancient times well through Late Antiquity. The final result provides additional grounds for a model that stratifies the growth of selected components of

Miriam's stature and legacy into those layers that may have predated Late Antiquity and those truly novel to the midrashic elaborations of Late Antiquity.

In keeping with this study's focus on midrashic material, the interest in reconstructing possible seminal Miriam traditions based on Egyptian attestations of a female heroine prototype did not stem from an interest in being comprehensive, but emerged rather from a strong suspicion from reading and re-reading the midrashic Novel Assertions themselves. Said otherwise, the midrashim themselves hinted at a significant body of earlier traditions that could help place in more accurate perspective the rabbinic contribution to her elaboration. As such, leaving aside for a moment this study's original methodological and quantitative approaches to data management, the most significant distinguishing feature of this Dissertation is the attention it pays to midrashic sources as the instigating wellspring that directs the further flow of research. In this regard, it is appropriate to quote from William Dever (Dever 208) who, after reviewing much of the scholarly community's pursuit of the history of Israelite religion, singles out Raphael Patai as a luminary. What is of interest is his conclusion regarding the specific source that Patai used to derive his theory of "The Hebrew Goddess" in his text of the same name:

His book ... while rarely cited by biblical scholars, went through a second and third edition. Even the first edition turns out to have been brilliantly perceptive – 30 years ahead of anything else on our subject. The new archaeological data that I present here ... only confirm what Patai knew all along about the existence of a "Hebrew" Goddess. How did he know it? Partly because he was alone among scholars writing then in having access to the rich lore of medieval Rabbinical scholars. (Dever 208)

I would correct Dever in asserting that Patai might not have or could not have reached many of his same conclusions based on the midrashim of Late Antiquity itself.

However, what is important here is that the source of his material is rabbinic, and that the midrashic record contains clues to earlier traditions that become apparent to the scholar interested in reading between the lines of its story. The midrashic accounts of Miriam and the Well are not always the beginning of extra-biblical traditions, but may often rather be the culmination of many prior centuries of development. By reading the Novel Assertions dealing with Miriam and the Well over and over again, perplexities surface pointing to earlier traditions that may have built Miriam's stature even prior to Rabbinic involvement. This study clearly identifies such mysteries, using them as signposts for the further unfolding of its agendas of research, hypotheses, and conclusions.

In drawing this Introduction to its end, note is made that the methodology employed in this study is believed to be original. Admittedly, an exhaustive search has not been made of the techniques employed in every known treatise of a biblical character's midrashic portrayal, and the possibility that portions of the processes developed in this study may have been utilized as part of the "scratch notes" of initial research conducted by others is entirely possible. However, I am not aware of any published account involving the scope and metrics employed in this study. In essence, this Dissertation has set itself to locating and organizing every known midrashic Novel Assertion in Late Antiquity about two entities, the Well and Miriam, in a format suitable for comparative chronological and thematic assessment. As such, I have come across no other investigation that has sought to use metrics for the comparison

of different midrashic entities. This Dissertation has done so in two contexts. First, it has prepared two topical monographs, one dealing with the Well and the next with Miriam, in order to turn next to comparing the time course and content of selected Assertions in a way that develops significant questions and findings. Secondly, Miriam's midrashic legacy is then compared with that of other biblical women in a manner that facilitates the development of historical hypotheses serving to elucidate her disproportionate elaboration. To the end that this effort has been successful, and while accepting responsibility for any inadequacies, I owe a debt of special gratitude to the UCSD Department of History, to my principal advisor, Professor David Goodblatt, to my other Judaic Studies mentors, Professor David Noel Freedman, Professor Richard Elliot Friedman, and Professor William H. C. Propp, as well as to Professor Carol Bakhos of UCLA for her involvement in reviewing its text.

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CHAPTER II

THE ACCUMULATION OF MIDRASHIM AND A METHODOLOGY FOR THEIR COMPARATIVE STUDY

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER II

This study begins with an accumulation of primary source material from the midrashim of Late Antiquity dealing with Miriam the Prophetess, Moses' sister, and with the Well that followed the Israelites during their forty years in the wilderness. Additionally, early non-rabbinic extra-biblical primary sources dealing with the Well and/or Miriam have been gathered for use in varied comparisons. However, it must be emphasized that the midrashic sources alone, processed using Novel Assertion methodology, are responsible for the flow of initial discoveries that lead to historical models that may explain findings. The texts of pertinent portions of all Well and Miriam midrashim appear respectively, both in Hebrew and with an original English translation, as Appendix A-1 and A-2 at the end of this study. Prior to presenting the actual synthesis of these primary sources in a format using Novel Assertions, the present Chapter explains and discusses procedural issues related to the accumulation of midrashic material, including the time period searched, dating procedures, sources utilized, translation information, and methodologies for comparative study relating both the Well to Miriam and Miriam to other female biblical personages.

SECTION II-A

Selection of a Time Period for Inclusion of Midrashic Primary Sources

As discussed below in Section II-C, Louis Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews* was used initially as the source of midrashic material. His style of seamless juxtaposition of material from diversely dated sources from the second to the early twentieth century treats the midrashic process as a timeless composite of literature in which, to use his own words, "conflicting versions ... were fused into one typical legend" (Ginzberg I. xiv). Indeed, though the biblical canon was eventually considered closed, no similar closure has occurred in the midrashic process, necessitating the use of other criteria to govern a decision as to the fixing of a cutoff date for inclusion of primary midrashic sources. The process is further complicated by two conflicting dating strategies. The midrashim available for study do not occur as individual items but in collections whose time of appearance is often datable to a period of, give or take, fifty years. However, within an individual midrash, an assertion related to Miriam or to the Well found in a late collection may be attributed to a specific Rabbi who lived much earlier. For example, a collection dated to ca. 700 CE may attribute an assertion to a Rabbi who lived in the year 200. There are two problems with relying on such "datable Rabbis." The first involves the possibility that those who make a Novel Assertion in a relatively late collection may do so falsely in the name of an earlier Rabbi in order to lend to it prestige and credibility. Bamberger notes that "such works as *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* and *Midrash Mishle* are completely unreliable in their use of the names of Rabbis," though he feels that some of the more standard sources such as the

Mishnah, Tosefta, and the two Talmuds “are generally reliable in their ascription of utterances to various rabbis” (Bamberger 116). The second concern is that by dating a midrashic assertion to the period in which a cited Rabbi lived, one may lose sight of the possibility that the tradition may really be even earlier, since “it does not follow, because a certain idea appears in [a rabbi’s] name, that he originated or introduced this idea” (Bamberger 117). Attributing midrashic material to either too early or too late a date is problematic in a study of the current type, which at times proposes comparative timelines in which strands of story lines or contentions may have first enjoyed popularity as topics of discussion within rabbinic forums. In the end, though the general practice of this study has been to view the date of a collection as more reliable, information from the dates during which cited Rabbis lived has on occasion been introduced related to a particular conjecture. However, this information has been viewed as less definitive. Because the downside of using the dates of collections is that the material may well have been of earlier vintage, the usual implied understanding is that a particular midrashic fragment appears to have been a part of rabbinic discourse “no later than such-and-such a date.”

Notwithstanding these problems of dating that blur the lines of when particular midrashic traditions may have either surfaced or have been more actively pursued during Late Antiquity (an issue further discussed in Section II-B), I had to make a decision regarding chronological limits for midrashic collections utilized in this study. In the final analysis, ca. 640 CE was chosen as a theoretical ending date based on two considerations, one historical and one retrospectively stemming from the Novel Assertions identified in the midrashim themselves. This study focuses on historical

events during Late Antiquity. Though there is no universally accepted precise time-definition of this era, the early seventh century CE is proposed as one common ending time:

The chronological definition of the research is equally problematic. While in accordance with historic reality in Palestine-Eretz Israel it is common to divide it into Late Roman (70–324 CE) and Byzantine (324–640 CE) periods, I use the term late antiquity to cover the period. (Bar 401)

The historical hypotheses that have come to light from the Novel Assertions presented in this study deal in general with the emergence of rabbinic Judaism in a context of intercultural challenges as it interacted with Christianity. Though Christianity became the official state religion of Rome ca. 379 CE, Bar notes that there was a lag period thereafter until Christianity became more dominantly pervasive:

While the map of [Christian] holy sites in Palestine had largely taken shape by the end of the fourth century, the conversion of the population proceeded at a much slower pace, achieving real momentum only during the second half of the Byzantine period. (Bar 420)

In this sense, these inter-cultural challenges likely intensified during the period of 400-600. Likewise, the second half of Late Antiquity was the period of completion of the Jerusalem Talmud (ca. 400) and the Babylonian Talmud (ca 550), with their significant contributions to shaping classical Judaism. Since the historical hypotheses derived from Novel Assertions of the midrashim explore their content in the context of this intercultural milieu, including a time period through 640 for the accumulation of primary midrashic material captures those sources most timely to the hypothesized associations.

The second rationale for focusing on midrashim only through ca. 640 comes from the Novel Assertions themselves. Over 80% of all Novel Assertions made their appearance by ca. 640, which provides a type of justification internal to the midrashic corpus for limiting the major assessment of primary midrashic sources to those from collections dated earlier than ca. 640. This said, I also decided to accumulate midrashim from collections through ca. 950 CE. This was done for three reasons. In the first place, the possibility was allowed that a particular later midrash might have preserved an earlier tradition of a cited rabbi, and that some use might conceivably be made of this. Secondly, it was of general interest in comparing the midrashim of the Well to those dealing with Miriam to see if the distinguishing trends in their occurrence during ca. the first 640 years of the Common Era would persist beyond that time. Finally, there are certain strands of information that have no documentable presence in the period through 640 but only in later sources. It was of general interest to note if these novel pieces of information were further elaborations of prior themes or if they tended to involve very qualitatively distinct information. As it turned out, there was relatively little qualitatively unique material after ca. 640, a finding that provided a further retrospective justification for limiting the major focus of this study to midrashim in ca. the first 640 years of the Common Era.

SECTION II-B

Dating of Midrashic Sources and Rabbis

In her “Note méthodologique pour l’étude de la littérature rabbinique,” Renée Bloch observes that it is very difficult to place midrashim in their proper historical context. She recommends that in order to date a midrash, both an internal comparative study and an external one be made. In the internal study, many examples of the same tradition at different periods are compared, with the goal of identifying the most primitive elements, while noting later additions. In the external study, the midrashim are compared to a dated source outside of rabbinic literature which addresses the same question (Bloch 202-3, 210). It is beyond the scope of this study to critically assess scholarly conclusions regarding dating. Rather, the current investigation focuses on the systematic application of Novel Assertions as a methodology for organizing information from midrashim in a way that facilitates raising and studying historical issues. Yet, it is crucial to recognize that the accuracy of the historical hypotheses is highly dependent on the decision scholars have made about dating. Certainly, one must at least be aware of the complexity of dating in the choice and application of material to be utilized in comparative assessments of midrashim.

Once the time span was set to include sources through ca. 640, the next step was to accumulate a list of midrashic collections believed to have originated by approximately that date. However, like the dating of individual midrashim, ascribing a date to an entire collection is also problematic. For instance, lack of precision of dating may reflect the heterogeneity of its content. Scholars may agree that the bulk

of material seems to be from one period of time, but may have evidence that there were subsequent additions to the collection over a period of several hundred years, with no reliable information as to which material may have been earlier or later. As an example, writing about the Midrash on Psalms, H. L. Strack comments, “Homilies and biblical verses were apparently being gathered from very diverse sources. For this reason a definite date of composition cannot be given” (Strack/Stemberger 351). A second example with much more serious implications for this study deals with the Midrash Tanchuma. Because a large number of Novel Assertions come from this collection, attributing its material to earlier or later dates could substantially skew data in a way subsequently affecting historical conjectures based on this information. The proposals for dating listed by Strack range from ca. 400 to ca. the 800’s. Marc Bregman states that “in terms of their content, style and language, most of the Tanchuma-Yelammedenu Literature which has come down to us seems to have been created toward the end of the end of the Byzantine period in Palestine, during the sixth and seventh centuries” (Bregman *Studies* 5*). However, in another study he observes that the Tanchuma-Yelamdenu midrashim “seem to reflect actual homiletical compositions which existed as early as the fourth century” (Bregman “Early” V). He emphasizes that various scholars agree that “isolated traditions survived in the Tanchuma-Yelamdenu literature that reflect the Land of Israel in the fourth and fifth centuries ... [and] also remains of interpretative compositions that were composed in the Land of Israel in the period of the Talmud” (Bregman “Early” [6] 274 [translation mine]).

In recognition of these and similar uncertainties applicable to other collections, a uniform practice has been followed in choosing an averaged date as the representative date for a collection. For instance, a collection believed to have been completed between 300 and 350 is assigned a year of 325. Likewise, a collection dated between 500 and 700 is assigned a year of 600. Though this type of averaging may initially seem to be arbitrary, much of what has been developed in this study is significant because it appears more towards “the first half” or “in the second half” of Late Antiquity. Specifically, a convention is followed in which collections prior to ca. 400 CE are considered to be from the first half of Late Antiquity, while those from ca. 400-640 CE, which include the two Talmuds, are loosely referred to as being from the second half of Late Antiquity. Notwithstanding the subjectivity of assigning averaged dates, the presumption is that even gross chronological distinctions can yield meaningful results. As applied to prolific assertions of the Tanchuma collection, and based especially on Bregman’s dating assessment, the average between 400 and 700 falls at 550 CE, and this is where the Novel Assertions from this Collection are placed. As such, they are clearly distinguished from sources in early Late Antiquity.

Table II-B-1 lists the various collections utilized in this study, following the texts in the Bar-Ilan Database and generally based on Strack and Stemberger’s discussions on dating in their *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, except where specific modifications have been discussed as in the case of Midrash Tanchuma. One further dating deviation applies to the Jerusalem Talmud, which scholars now date to ca. 400 BCE, a half century earlier than noted by Strack (Rabinowitz *EJ*). Each midrash examined in this study has been assigned a unique identifier number prefaced

by the letter “C,” such as “C303.” Though this convention is further amplified in Section II-D, it is noted here that the preface stands for “Collection” to indicate that the item of reference comes from a midrashic collection.

Table II-B-1: Dating of Midrashic Collections

Date	Midrashic Collection	Averaged Date
200-220	Seder Olam Rabbah	200
200-250	Sifre Zutta Mishnah Tosefta	225
250-300	Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Sifre on Numbers Sifre on Deuteronomy Sifra Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy	275
Ca. 300	Mishnah Abot Abot de Rabbi Natan B	300
4 th century	Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon b. Yochai	350
Ca. 400	J. Talmud Numbers Rabbah [15-23]	400
400-450	Genesis Rabbah Lamentations Rabbah	425
5 th cent.	Leviticus Rabbah Pesiqta de Rab Kahana	450
Ca. 500	Ruth Rabbah	500
Ca. 550	Midrash Tanchuma (B) Midrash Tanchuma (W) Midrash Yelamdenu B. Talmud Song of Songs Rabbah	550
6 th -7 th cent.	Abot de Rabbi Natan A Pesiqta Rabbati	600
450-800	Deuteronomy Rabbah	625
6 th -8 th cent.	Ecclesiastes Rabbah Midrash Zutta Ecclesiastes	650
5 th -9 th cent.	Derekh Erets	650
7 th -9 th cent.	Midrash on Proverbs	750
8 th cent.	Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer	750
10 th cent.	Exodus Rabbah Midrash Zutta Song of Songs Aggadat Bereshit Eliyahu Rabbah Otsar Hamidrashim	950

As mentioned above, many of the midrashim in these collections cite rabbis from earlier times. Scholarship has classified the rabbis of Late Antiquity into two categories, the earlier *tannaim* (T), active in the Land of Israel from 10 CE to ca 220, and the later *amoraim* (A), who flourished both in Israel and Babylon from 220 to 500. These, in turn, are grouped into generations as “T-1 through T-5” and “A-1 through A-6.” However, there is by no means unanimity of opinion regarding the dating of each generation, leading to variations among different authors. Yet, the differences usually are no more than a few decades and are not critical to the purposes of this study. In the end, for uniformity of presenting information, a compromise using an average between the proposals of Lawrence Schiffman (Schiffman 180, 221-23) and Adin Steinsaltz (Steinsaltz 30) is used here. The results are indicated for the *tannaim* and *amoraim* respectively in Table II-B-2 and II-B-3.

The identification of Rabbis mentioned in individual midrashim was achieved primarily with the help of Strack and Stemberger’s *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. When material about a particular Rabbi was not available, information regarding the Rabbis’ biographies and their relationships, as members of family dynasties and as disciples to and of one another, was taken from Bar Ilan’s *Chavruta Lalomed*. Despite caution exercised in researching each Rabbi in both these and other sources, there were certain Rabbis who were difficult to identify and date with confidence because they shared the same name but belonged in different generations. Tables II-B-2, listing the Tannaim, and II-B-3, recording the Amoraim, classify the individual Rabbis according to their generations.

Table II-B-2: Rabbis According to Generations - Tannaim

T-1 10-90	T-2 90-130	T-3 130-160	T-4 160-190	T-5 190-220
[E]liezer b. Yaaqov	Aqiba	Eliezer?	Chanina *	Chiyya
	Eleazar of Modiin	Meir	Chanina b. Gamaliel	Eliezer/Eleazar
	Eliezer	Nechemyah *	Eleazar	Simai
	Gamaliel	Shimeon b. Gamaliel [II?]	Eleazar b. Shimeon b. Yochai	
	Levitas of Yabneh	Shimeon b. Yochai	Eliezer	
	Yehoshua	Yehudah	Nehorai	
	Yehudah b. Batirah	Yoshiyyah	Natan	
	Yishmael	Yosi	Rabbi	
	Yochanan b. Nur	Yosi b. Chalafta	Shimeon	
	Yosi the Galilean		Shimeon b. Eleazar	
			Shimeon b. Manasi	
			Shimeon b. Yosi	
			Shimeon b. Yosi b. Leqonyah	
			Yehudah b. Laqish	
			Yitschaq	

*Denotes rabbis involved in novel assertions combining Miriam and the Well.

Because it could not be ascertained whether R. Eleazar b. R. Simai belonged to the third or the fourth tannaitic generation, citations related to him are noted as “T-3/4?”

Table II-B-3: Rabbis According to Generations - Amoraim

A-1 220-250	A-2 250-290	A-3 290-320	A-4 320-350	A-5 350-380	A-6 380-420
Assi	Abba b. Abina	Abba	Abba b. Zebina	Azaryah	Amemar
Chanina *	Amram	Abba b. Kahana	Abun the Levite, b. Manin	Berekhyah *	Rab Ashi
Rab *	Ba b. Zabda	Abbahu	Acha	Tanchuma *	Manchama
Shmuel	Chama b. Chanina *	Abuna	Aibo	Yehudah b. Shalom	Mar Zutra
Yannai	Mani	Chisda	Chaggai	Yochanan	
Yehoshua b. Levi	Reuben	Chiyyah b. Abba *	Chanan	Yochanan b. Marah *	
Yosi b. Zimra	Resh Laqish	Eleazar	Chelbo	Yochanan b. Mari *	
	Yehudah *	Hoshayah	Pinchas		
	Yehudah b. Zabidah	Huna	Rabba		
	Yitschaq	Levi *	Shmuel		
	Yitschaq b. Chaqorah	Nachman	Yehoshua de Sikhnin *		
	Yochanan *	Shmuel b. Nachaman(i) *	Yehudah b. Simon *		
	Yonatan	Simon	Yudan		
	Yosi b. Chanina	Yaaqov	Zecharyah, R. Levi's s.i.l.		
		Yehudah b. Zebina			
		Yitschaq			
		Yoshiyyah			
		Yosi *			

*Denotes rabbis involved in novel assertions combining Miriam and the Well.

It must be noted that there were two rabbis who were not datable, Mar in midrash C303, and R. Yosi b. Yitschaq in midrash C362. This should not affect the quality of any findings since both of these midrashim also cite other rabbis and C362 comes from a collection redacted after 640 CE.

SECTION II-C

Sources of Midrashim, their Processing, and Translations

Initially, Ginzberg's "Legends of the Jews" was used to locate midrashim about the Well and about Miriam. When a particular midrash was identified, a source was found for the original Hebrew, usually from the Bar Ilan Database. When it became apparent that for the purposes of this study Miriam was becoming more significant than the Well, Ginzberg's text was also culled for information about other Biblical women as part of a process of comparing Miriam's elaboration in the midrashim of Late Antiquity to that of selected other women. However, Ginzberg's text has two substantial disadvantages in its basic structure and suitability. In the first place, it presents the midrashim in a basket-weave providing a continuous storyline, and despite the author's dedication to footnoting, it is often very difficult to tease out particular portions of a midrash and to trace it to a datable collection. Ginzberg frequently includes multiple sources for a specific midrash within each footnote. The process of cross-referencing his sources to the original Hebrew text was laborious and sometimes inconclusive.

As a case in point, the following midrash has been obtained from the Bar Ilan Database:

C125. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayetse 5
 The Scripture speaks of Ishmael at the time that Sarah said to Abraham, "Drive out this maidservant," etc. (Gen 21) ... R. Yosi b. Chalafta says, "The place where one of the angels talked with her." R. Berekhyah says, "Because she hurled harsh words upwards; she said before the Master of the universe, 'As it were, You resemble the people who say they will give something and take it back. Didn't You say to me thus:

“Much will I multiply your seed”? Behold, he dies of thirst!’
 Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, signaled to an angel to show her the well. That same angel said, ‘Master of the Universe, for this wicked person who is likely to assault those passing and returning, do You bring up the well for him?’ The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, ‘What is it? Is he not righteous now? I do not judge a person but at the time that he stands for judgment before me.’”

In the analysis of this midrash, the only issue pertinent to this study is what it says about the Well. In this regard, two novel pieces of information are provided that are not present in the Tanakh (in the sense that there is nothing in Gen 21:17-19 that reports that God instructed an angel to show Hagar the Well or that the angel questioned God’s decision):

- 1) The Holy one signaled to an angel to show Hagar the Well;
- 2) The angel said, “For this wicked person who is likely to assault those passing and returning, do You bring up the well for him?”

In searching the Bar Ilan Database through approximately 1000 CE, no further midrashic information about this Well episode was found. Yet, Ginzberg’s text includes the following account:

[The angels] said, “Wilt Thou cause a well of water to spring up for him whose descendants will let Thy children of Israel perish with thirst?”... At that moment Ishmael was pious indeed, for he was praying to God ... The prayer of Ishmael was acceptable before God, and He bade Miriam’s well spring up, the well created in the twilight of the sixth day of creation. (Ginzberg 220)

Ginzberg’s account has three pieces of information about the Well not contained in the primary texts located in the Bar Ilan Database:

- 1) The rationale posed in terms of poetic justice that the Well should not be opened for Ishmael since it would be through thirst that his descendants would harass Israel later;

- 2) The well that God opened was in fact Miriam's Well;
- 3) The well that God opened was the one created in the twilight of the sixth day of creation.

Every item in the footnote to Ginzberg's assertion about the Well was pursued. All but one of them were searched as possible sources for Ginzberg's text, but no basis was found. One collection dated after 1000 CE could not be easily located, and it is conceivable that some or all of the assertions came from it. The point made here is that Ginzberg's text cannot be used as a reliable source for primary research of midrashic source material because of the liberties he takes in creating an amalgamation of information from many sources.

Secondly, there is a language problem. Because his work is not an anthology of original Hebrew sources, but a story line in which he often represents a general synthesis of a number of midrashim with similar but not necessarily exact content, it is possible to miss a significant midrashic assertion by relying upon his text. Due to such limitations of Ginzberg's text, I decided to turn to use the Bar Ilan Database as a more exhaustive and reliable source of midrashim dealing with the Well and with Miriam. Because the Bar Ilan Database is in Hebrew, and because the collection from which each source comes is clearly identified, the results are more accurate. However, Ginzberg was retained as the reference source relating midrashic portrayals of Miriam to other biblical women. In the section dealing with the results of that comparison, an assessment is included on the variation of reliability of information from Ginzberg vs. Bar Ilan, along with a justification for limiting the comparison of the midrashic portrayal of these women to the Ginzberg source.

Each midrash has been assigned a unique identifier, using numbers between “1-199” for midrashim dealing with the Well and “200-399” for midrashim dealing with Miriam. Subsequently, with refinements of search technique, certain further examples were found, and other examples were felt to be inappropriate. For instance, though initial research included several versions of Midrash Rabbah, only the critical editions (when available) were used in the final record. Therefore, the numbers are not always continuous, and occasionally certain alphabetical insertions are provided such as “C134a” or “C6e.” Finally, original translations of all midrashim from the Bar Ilan Database have been prepared in order to provide an English text for comparative assessment and general use. A very deliberate effort was made to translate terms similarly so that the English texts would be faithful to subtleties of the Hebrew. Likewise, the style of translation has been literal rather than literary, again to provide as much of the sense of the original flow of the Hebrew as possible. The original Hebrew texts and translations of all sources dealing respectively with the Well and Miriam are included as “Appendix A-1” and “Appendix A-2” at the end of this study.

SECTION II-D

Methodologies for Comparative Study of Information from the Well and Miriam Related to Novel Assertions

As presented in Section II-C, the accumulation of midrashim dealing with the Well and Miriam constitutes only the initial step towards the larger goal of extracting

information from them in a format that facilitates their usefulness in historical research. What follows is a next stage in which two formats have been designed, one that extracts components of the midrashim in order to identify unique content, and the second that lumps similar content from multiple midrashim in order to focus on common themes. Each of these two formats will be further elaborated in due course, but methodological considerations will be reviewed here.

The first format for presenting midrashic content utilizes a methodology highly dependent on a unit of information that, in its current deployment, is believed to be original to this study, called the “Assertion.” Furthermore, two derivative concept terms are used, that of “Novel Assertion,” and of “Earliest Novel Assertion.” Midrashim are often constructed as a complex narrative utilizing material of diverse origin to make some final point. In order to unfold their case towards that end, bits and pieces of information may be chosen that, for instance, may happen to do with the Well or with Miriam, even though neither may be central to the theme of the midrash. However, these incidental bits of information are invaluable in creating a final portrait of what is known about the Well and Miriam as part of the corpus of Midrash. In this study, each such bit of information is called an “Assertion.” Two examples are presented to demonstrate the meaning of the term “Assertion.” The first is a portion of a midrash from the Babylonian Talmud that illustrates the use of the term “Assertion” as opposed to “Novel Assertion”:

C314. Ca. 550: BTalmud Baba Batra 17a
 Our rabbis taught, “Six that the angel of death did not have dominion over them, and these are they: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.” Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as it is written about them, “in all, of all, all.” Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, as it is written

about them (Num 33; Deut 34), “By the mouth of the Lord.” But Miriam, it is not written about her, “By the mouth of the Lord”! R. Eleazar said, “Miriam also died with a kiss, as we learn from [the] ‘there,’ ‘there’ of Moses. And why wasn’t it said of her, ‘By the mouth of the Lord’? Because the matter is disrespectful to say.”

When culling this midrash for information about Miriam, the following Assertions emerge:

- 1) The angel of death did not have dominion over Miriam.
- 2) Miriam is compared to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron in the sense that the angel of death did not have dominion over them.
- 3) The Torah does not say that Miriam died “by the mouth of the Lord.”
- 4) Miriam died.
- 5) The way that Miriam died was with a kiss.
- 6) Miriam is included with Moses and Aaron as dying with a kiss.
- 7) The only reason why it is not specifically written that Miriam died “by the mouth of the Lord” is because the matter is disrespectful to say.

In each case, the midrash brings some stature to Miriam by the mere mention of her name. However, above and beyond the mention of her name, seven specific Assertions are made associated with her mention. Yet, when Assertions obtained from this midrash are compared to information available about Miriam from the Tanakh, it turns out that two of these Assertions are not novel to Midrash. Items # 3 and # 4, the fact of Miriam death and the fact that the Torah does not state that Miriam died “by the mouth of the Lord,” can be discerned from the text of the Tanakh itself. Therefore, these are not “Novel Assertions” made by Midrash. By way of contrast, the other five Assertions cannot be determined from the text of the Tanakh, and are therefore “Novel Assertions” about Miriam that one learns from Midrash. Furthermore, as it turns out,

certain of these Assertions are also found in midrashim from other collections. For example, the information about Miriam dying with a kiss is also presented in Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 34:5, the Babylonian Talmud Moed Qatan 28a, and the Song of Songs Rabbah 1:5. Yet, when a final list of “Novel Assertions” is accumulated about Miriam from Midrash, the specific contention that she died with a kiss is listed only once, despite its appearance in multiple sources.

The second example, presented to illustrate the concept of “Earliest Novel Assertion,” draws on two midrashim that deal with the Well:

C56. 400-450: GenRabbah (T-A) 66
 “Of the dew of the heavens,” this is the manna. And the Lord said to Moses, “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens,” etc. (Ex 16:4). “And of the fats of the earth,” this is the well that used to bring up for them fat fish, more than enough ...

This midrash comes from Genesis Rabbah, a collection dated to ca. 400-450, and includes an Assertion that the Well provided not only water, but fish. Because there is no verse of the Tanakh that provides this information, the Assertion of a well that brought up fish is considered to be a Novel Assertion. However, the same Assertion is made in the following midrash in the collection Sifre Zutta, dated to ca. 200-250:

C30. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 11:21
 R. Shimeon used to say, “R. Aqiba used to expound about it one thing, and I expound another ... It could be that because they did not have meat to eat, they complained. And wasn’t it already said, ‘And also a mixed multitude went up with them and very abundant sheep and cattle’ (Ex 12:38)? ... It could be that because they did not have fish to eat they complained. And wasn’t a well with them and wouldn’t it bring up for them fat fish, all that they needed?”

When all the Novel Assertions are accumulated from all the collections, the Novel Assertion of the Well being a source of fish will appear from both sources. However,

in a final presentation of all Novel Assertions, the assertion that the Well provided Israel with fish from the time period of 200-250 will be identified as the “Earliest Novel Assertion.”

So, in summary, the process followed is one in which all midrashim involving either Miriam or the Well were accumulated, translated, and dated. Then, from each, a list of all Assertions was made, one list of Miriam Assertions, and the other of Well Assertions. From these lists, Assertions not novel to Midrash by virtue of their being discernible from the text of the Tanakh were removed in order to yield lists of Novel Assertions. Then each list was further abbreviated by removing later occurrences of an Assertion, such that the final list contains only the earliest datable example of a particular Assertion. When identical Assertions are found in two collections dated in the same time period, both sources are noted adjacent to the “Earliest Novel Assertion.” The final two lists, one for Miriam and one for the Well, constitute a chronology of the earliest occurrence of each Novel Assertion during Late Antiquity. In turn, these listings become the primary study tool for the flow of midrashic information about the Well and Miriam from Late Antiquity collections.

After identifying all Earliest Novel Assertions, a brief synoptic statement of each Assertion has been entered into a table to which three sets of numbers are attached as illustrated in the example below:

M-234 550 God rewarded Miriam for her fear of God
as a midwife. C249, 259

The first number, “M-234” is a unique identifier of this Novel Assertion. The “M” indicates that it is from the “Miriam” series, whereas “W” would indicate an Assertion

from the “Well” series. A similar convention has been used in Chapter IV, which considers precursor traditions, in which “Q” indicates an Assertion from the Qumran and “A” refers to an Assertion from one of a group of early “Authors” identified in Chapter IV. The second number, “550,” is the averaged date of the collections from which this Assertion has been taken, whereas the numbers at the end, “C249” and “C259,” uniquely identify the two midrashim in which the earliest example of this Novel Assertion was found. When encountering this assertion, one can read, “M-234 is the earliest occurrence of the Assertion that ‘God rewarded Miriam for her fear of God as a midwife,’ found in midrashim C249 and C259, both dated to ca. 550.” In this particular example, M-234 is recorded in Appendix B-2 among other Miriam Novel Assertions, and the texts of the original midrashim in English and Hebrew are provided in Appendix A-2.

One further designation was used for a special subset of items. Collection items dealing with the Well were researched prior to those related to Miriam. However, in the process of locating all midrashim about the Well, certain of these were noted also to deal with Miriam. In order to have only one unique identifier number associated with each midrash, items sharing both the Well and Miriam in common were left in the Well list. Afterwards, these “crossover” midrashim, which could be considered both as part of the Well tradition and the Miriam tradition, were assigned an additional identifier number in the “400 series.” Assigning these items their own series numbers facilitated sorting operations that served to shed light on the timetable of appearance of sources associating the two entities. As an example clarifying this, when the Bar Ilan Database was first searched for midrashim dealing

with the Well, a midrash from a collection known as Seder Olam Rabbah from ca. 200 was identified, which contained several pertinent items, including the Assertion, “The Well was given upon Miriam’s hand.” This midrash was assigned the unique identifier, “C45,” and its Novel Assertion about the Well, W-3, was placed in the chronologic listing of Appendix B-1 as follows:

W-3 200 The Well was given upon Miriam’s hand. C45

When the focus later shifted to doing a similarly exhaustive search for midrashim dealing with Miriam, the same source again appeared. To mark it as a midrash containing information about both the Well and Miriam, it was assigned the “400-Series” identifier of “C405” as follows:

M-13 200 The Well was given upon Miriam’s hand. C405/45

However, when it appears as Novel Assertion M-13 in the list of Miriam Novel Assertions in Appendix B-2, its source is indicated as “C405/45” to indicate that its Hebrew text and English translation appear as “C45” among the Well midrashim in Appendix A-1.

What has been discussed to this point is the first format for presenting data, involving listing Novel Assertions chronologically from collections between ca. 200 through 950 CE. Appendix B-1 contains this tabulation for the Well, and Appendix B-2 for Miriam. This methodology highlights the order in which unique bits of novel information about the Well and Miriam appear on a timeline through Late Antiquity. By way of contrast, in the second format, Assertions are lumped together with others of similar thematic content from multiple midrashic sources in order to focus on common elements. There are a total of 243 Novel Assertions about the Well and 360

Novel Assertions about Miriam through the year 640. As each list was reviewed, it was apparent that Novel Assertions could be assigned to thematic categories. For example, in the case of the Well, many of the Novel Assertions deal with its physical characteristics (e.g., it is round, like a sieve, like a rock, like an oven, like a flask, etc). Therefore, a thematic category has been created which includes construction and similar properties of the Well. Likewise, all Novel Assertions about Miriam being a midwife are consolidated as a distinct theme to distinguish them from items dealing, for instance, with her marriage or with her speaking about Moses. Because dating information is still retained for each Assertion, the thematic lists are useful in identifying “interest” trends to see if certain themes about Miriam or about the Well seem to have been of prevailing interest during much of Late Antiquity, or limited to a more narrow time period. The choice of thematic categories is somewhat arbitrary. In the process of doing research, the categories have undergone several revisions, each one designed to create a format in which the information has appeared to be most useful for subsequent assessment. Table II-D-4 shows the thematic classification of the Novel Assertions related to the Well.

Table II-D-4: Thematic Classification of Well Novel Assertions

Theme ID	Thematic Classification of Well Novel Assertions
1	Earliest origin of the Well
2	God's justice in providing the Well for Ishmael
3	Miriam's special status regarding the Well
4	Well specifically identified as "Miriam's Well"
5	Well given in merit of Abraham, Moses, and Aaron
6	Moses' interaction with the Well
7	Dating, shape, construction, and purity of the Well and its water
8	God's intent in giving the Well to Israel in the wilderness
9	The Well as a divine kindly gift, deserved or undeserved
10	Israel's interaction with and relation to the Well
11	Diverse benefits of the Well that supplied all their needs
12	Travels of the Well
13	Rivers in the desert
14	Well bubbles up and knows its owner
15	The Well and the miracle at Arnon.
16	The princes and the Well
17	Song of the Well issues
18	Well's departure issues
19	Tiberias as site of the Well
20	Healing effects of the Well
21	Well allusions or theme elaborations in biblical texts
22	Citing a Well event to elucidate some peripheral point
23	The Well-Like cruse of the Future Temple

Table II-D-5 shows the thematic classification of Novel Assertions related to Miriam.

Table II-D-5: Thematic Classification of Miriam Novel Assertions

Theme ID	Thematic Classification of Miriam Novel Assertions
1	The meaning of the name “Miriam”
2	Identifying varied events by Miriam’s life
3	Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them
4	Miriam as midwife
5	Miriam’s interaction with her parents: Their divorce and her prophecy
6	Miriam’s watching over the safety of her baby brother Moses
7	Miriam’s song at the Sea
8	Miriam’s interaction with Zipporah
9	Miriam as exemplifying negative traits of women in general
10	Miriam’s leprosy
11	Miriam’s stature in the eyes of Israel: Accommodations while she was shut out
12	Miriam’s marriage
13	Miriam’s illness
14	Miriam’s children and grandchildren
15	Miriam’s link to David
16	Comparisons of Miriam to others in general
17	Miriam’s gift of Wisdom
18	Miriam’s stature compared to patriarchs/siblings/other prophets
19	Details of Miriam’s death, what it taught, and the benefits it provided
20	Citing a Miriam event to elucidate some peripheral point
21	Biblical texts containing hidden allusions to Miriam’s life or roles
22	Miriam’s Well

SECTION II-E

Methodologies for Comparing Miriam to Other Female Personae from the Tanakh

The methodologies in Section II-D above provided an approach to comparing and contrasting the literary presence of the Well and Miriam in the midrashic traditions of Late Antiquity. As these comparisons between object and persona seemed to indicate that Miriam was possibly more theologically important and historically implicated in varied intra- and cross-cultural processes during Late Antiquity, further forms of assessment became necessary to clarify her stature. Two original metric devices have been created to provide a comparative indication of how active the interest in a particular biblical character may have been in midrashic literature compared to the prominence of the same individual in the Tanakh. The concept behind this approach can be illustrated by positing the following two extremes: If a character is either often mentioned or an object of much literary development in the Tanakh, but has a rather limited presence or further development in Midrash, there is at least an implication that such a character may not have played an extensive role in whatever motivated the Rabbis to utilize particular biblical characters for their exegetical purposes. At the other extreme, if a character is not frequently mentioned or developed in the Tanakh, but has a comparatively rich presence or further development in Midrash, the implication is that there may have been special circumstances making that character suitable for such expansion. The issue is complicated by considerations of how much of such midrashic expansion may have come from traditions that the Rabbis inherited as opposed to what they

themselves may have generated. However, in either case, quantitative and qualitative differences in biblical and midrashic portrayals are areas worthy of study.

The first methodological tool is the Mid/Tan (M/T) Ratio, a quantitative assessment of how often specific characters are encountered in midrashic sources compared to their occurrence in the Tanakh:

$$\text{Mid/Tan (M/T) Ratio} = \frac{\text{Number of Times Name Appears in Midrash}}{\text{Number of Times Name Appears in Tanakh}}$$

In the present study, Miriam was compared to twenty-four other female characters as well as to Aaron and Caleb using this metric. In calculating the mentions in the Tanakh, the “benefit of the doubt” is given to biblical characters by including all reasonable name-equivalents. Therefore, for example, a mention of “Aaron’s sister” is counted as a mention of Miriam, and when pronouns are used in clear mention of characters, this is also included in the count of their biblical occurrence. The search was performed using the Bar Ilan Database to locate proper names of the twenty-seven characters through collections of ca. 640. Whereas earlier in this Chapter emphasis has been given to the value of Novel Assertions as a measure of midrashic character development, the M/T ratio ignores novelty and only concerns itself with how many times a character’s name happens to appear in Midrash. This provides a certain degree of counterbalance to the impression created by tabulating only Novel Assertions, allowing for the possibility that though a particular biblical character was not subject to particularly significant elaboration, the character may nevertheless have enjoyed a substantial popularity sufficient to lead to many name repetitions in multiple

collections. Certainly other explanations may be possible, such as a quirk specific to a particular midrash that for varied reasons may repeat a name many times. However, the metric still provides a screening tool for a type of popularity not considered by relying only on Novel Assertions.

The second original metric, entirely based on Novel Assertions, is the “Extra-Biblical Novelty Index,” abbreviated as “EBNI.” Whereas the M/T ratio provides a quantitative assessment of name mention in the Tanakh compared to the Midrash, the EBNI provides a more qualitative measure of how many Assertions about a character occur in that character’s biblical presentation compared to entirely Novel Assertions attributed to that character in Midrash as presented in Ginzberg’s *Legends of the Jews*. The EBNI is calculated as follows:

$$\text{EBNI} = \frac{\text{Number of Midrashic Novel Assertions about a Character}}{\text{Number of Biblical Assertions about a Character}}$$

Data from both the Tanakh and Ginzberg related to the other characters with whom Miriam has been compared are presented in Appendix D.

SECTION II-F

Summary of Methodological Considerations

The process of preparing midrashic information in a format useful to making comparisons that facilitate historical inquiry begins with selecting chronological limits. In the current study, an end point of ca. 640 CE was chosen. The next step

involves identifying collections generally dated to no later than that time. However, given the uncertainties of scholarship regarding dating, some compromises are made and “averaged” dates for collections are used based on available scholarly opinion. Along with the dating of collections, the Rabbis quoted within the midrashim on the Well and Miriam are also dated. The third step consists of finding all midrashim containing material dealing with the Well and/or Miriam through 640 CE and translating them. As a fourth step, individual bits of information relevant to Miriam or the Well are extracted and the essence of novel information they provide is synthesized in a brief statement. Each such statement is called an “Assertion.” Finally, when all Assertions from all midrashic sources are listed, certain of them are excluded because they contain information already provided by the Tanakh. Once such repetitions are excluded, only truly “Novel Assertions” remain in the respective lists about the Well and Miriam. However, in the end, only the earliest example of each such Novel Assertion is retained to exclude later redundancies. The items in the resulting list of Earliest Novel Assertions are then subjected to thematic classifications. The results are presented in the Appendices at the end of the study. Appendix B-1 presents a chronologic listing of Earliest Novel Assertions related to the Well through ca. 640, and Appendix B-2 contains similar information related to Miriam. Each one of these is then re-sorted into thematic categories, Appendix C-1 containing the Well items and Appendix C-2 those related to Miriam. Appendix D contains data about Characters with whom Miriam is compared. The original Hebrew with the English translations for the Well and Miriam midrashim appear respectively in Appendix A-1 and A-2. Though this Chapter on methodology has not been

exhaustive, it has presented the basic process, variations of which will be discussed subsequently in context. The Novel Assertion lists in the Appendices constitute the refined end result of basic research on the Well and Miriam and provide the basis for their subsequent assessments of Chapter III.

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CHAPTER III

AN ASSESSMENT OF MIDRASHIM RELATED TO THE WELL, MIRIAM, AND OTHER BIBLICAL CHARACTERS WITH WHOM SHE IS COMPARED

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER III

Though for logistic reasons the Appendices have been placed at the end of this study, their material more appropriately fits in the fold between Chapter II and the current Chapter. Since the assessments to follow are predicated upon their content, the reader may at this point wish to become generally familiar with their substance. Appendices A-1 and A-2 contain the original Hebrew and my English translation of relevant portions of all discovered midrashim related respectively to the Well and Miriam. Similarly, Appendices B-1 and B-2 provide the Novel Assertions extracted from these midrashim, sorted chronologically. These 295 Novel Assertions about the Well (Appendix B-1), and the 419 Novel Assertions about Miriam (Appendix B-2), provide a chronologic and comprehensive portrait of what is known about each of them from the midrashic record as it unfolds century by century. However, though the resulting tabulation allows for an overall graphic portrayal of the cumulative growth of Novel Assertions, the display of information is still too jumbled for analysis. For example, collections of the first half of the third century offer information about the Well as thematically diverse as its mundane physical rock-like appearance and its inception by divine design on the eve of the first Shabbat during the week of Creation.

Such a list in which items are ordered merely by the dating of their appearance in collections does not facilitate posing questions of greater historical importance such as: What happened to the assertion of the Well's rock-like character as revealed in collections of later centuries? Were there any further twists to the contention of the Well's initial creation? And if there were indeed further elaborations of these initial Assertions over time, do they provide any insights of historical interest?

Due to these limitations of using Novel Assertions in a format in which they are presented in simple chronological order, in Appendices C-1 and C-2 each list of Novel Assertions has been re-sorted into thematic categories to facilitate the tracking of particular sub-strands of information. In this way, for instance, Novel Assertions regarding Miriam's talking about Moses are grouped as one thematic category, while material related to her watching over him at the River are joined as a second theme. However, within each theme, the chronological order of appearance of individual items from its parent collection is still maintained. Thus, Appendices C-1 and C-2 contain the same Novel Assertions listed in Appendices B-1 and B-2, but re-sorted into the thematic categories identified in Chapter II as relevant to the Well and Miriam. The thematically cataloged lists of Novel Assertions are the primary documents used in the assessment of midrashic material in this Chapter.

Chapter III is divided into four components, "III-A" through "III-D," though the bibliography of works cited for all four portions is cumulative and follows III-D. Chapter III-A is devoted to an assessment of Novel Assertions dealing with the Well, and Chapter III-B to a similar analysis of Miriam Assertions. At the end of each, there is a summary of salient discoveries regarding the midrashic portrayal of the Well and

Miriam. However, some doubt is also introduced regarding the comprehensiveness of any evaluation of the stature of either of them without a concurrent assessment of their standing relative to other comparable entities. Therefore, Chapter III-C further compares both Miriam's elaboration in Midrash to that of other biblical figures and the Well's elaboration to that of the other objects with which it was most regularly juxtaposed in Midrash itself. Data from the Tanakh and Ginzberg relevant to these comparisons are included in Appendix D. Finally, Chapter III-D provides conclusions to the assessments of Chapter III, including an identification of those areas of discovery that seem most fruitful for further historical study. Throughout all portions of the Chapter, examples are given as to how the methodology of organizing data by Novel Assertions assists comparative assessment, thus addressing the first requirement of the Thesis Statement regarding the productivity of Novel Assertion methodology. Chapter III-C fulfills the second requirement of the Thesis Statement, demonstrating Miriam's disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity. However, validation of the success of the methodology in offering historical hypotheses to explain her uniqueness is deferred to the arguments of Chapters IV, V, and VI.

III-A

AN ASSESSMENT OF WELL SOURCES

SECTION III-A-1

General Flow of Earliest Novel Well Assertions through Late Antiquity

Though this study focuses on Late Antiquity through the year 640, Earliest Novel Assertions were accumulated through an averaged year of 950 to broaden the options for later analysis. The 243 novel assertions through 640 CE constitute 82% of the total group of 295 novel assertions through 950. Figure III-A-1 is a graphic representation of the cumulative running total of Novel Assertions from averaged dates of 200 through 950 CE:

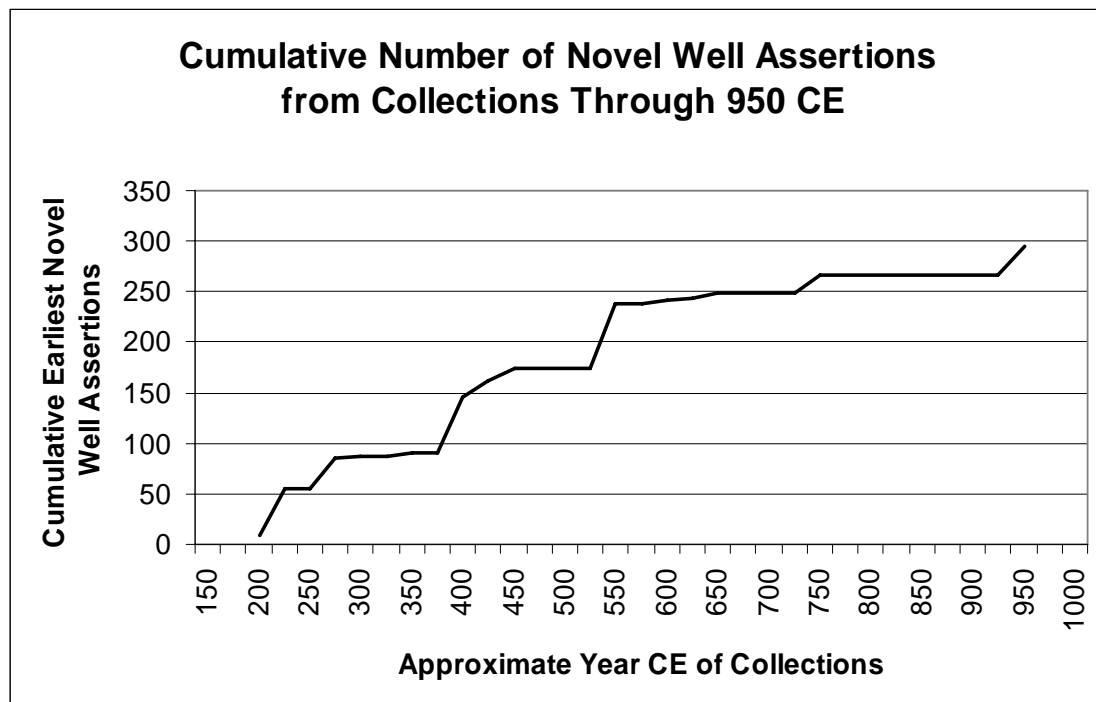


Fig. III-A-1: Progressive Accumulation of Earliest Midrashic Novel Well Assertions through ca. 950 CE

As in future similar graphic portrayals, the line representing the appearance of Earliest Novel Assertions has a “jumpy” rather than smoothly progressive ascent since the information presented depicts approximate appearance dates of midrashic collections. Neither Rabbis nor historians have left a record of the date at which particular Rabbis first thought that an item they either recalled from tradition or creatively modified was timely for mention in their forums or for preservation in written form. If such dating existed, the line graph would show a much smoother transition, and many of the Assertions would likely appear at dates earlier than that of the actual collections. The information presented in Figure III-A-1 derives from data in Table III-A-1 below.

Table III-A-1: Number of Earliest Novel Well Assertions by Year through 950

Approx. Year of Collection	Number of Earliest Novel Well Assertions in Collections	Cumulative Well Assertion Total with Advancing Time
200	9	9
225	46	55
275	31	86
300	1	87
350	3	90
375	1	91
400	55	146
425	15	161
450	13	174
550	64	238
600	3	241
625	2	243
650	5	248
750	18	266
950	29	295

The full Hebrew texts of all Well midrashim together with English translations appears in Appendix A-1. Novel Assertions sorted chronologically from ca. 200 to

950 CE are placed in Appendix B-1, and the same material is re-sorted to group items by thematic classification in Appendix C-1.

SECTION III-A-2

Thematic Considerations from Earliest Novel Well Assertions through 640 CE.

In Chapter II, Table II-D-4 proposed a thematic categorization for grouping Well Assertions. That table has been reproduced below, but with additional columns showing the range of years in which Well Assertions dealing with each Theme appear and listing the total number of Assertions of each along with the percentage of their contribution to the total of 243 Novel Well Assertions in collections through ca 640. Dates used for the collections in this and future similar tables represent averages, as discussed in Chapter II.

Table III-A-2: Thematic Classification of Novel Well Assertions to 640 Showing Time Period of Collections and Number of Novel Assertions

WELL THEME CODE	CATEGORY	Time Period of Parent Collections	Number of Earliest Novel Well Assertions
1	Earliest origin of the Well	275-550	3 (1%)
2	God's justice in providing the Well For Ishmael	550	2 (1%)
3	Miriam's special status regarding the Well	200-225	3 (1%)
4	Well specifically identified as "Miriam's Well"	400-550	9 (4%)
5	Well given in merit of Abraham, Moses, and Aaron	200-400	5 (2%)
6	Moses' interaction with the Well	275-550	9 (4%)
7	Dating, shape, construction, and purity of the Well and its water	200-550	18 (7%)
8	God's intent in giving the Well to Israel in the wilderness	275-375	4 (2%)
9	The Well as a divine kindly gift, deserved or undeserved	200-550	27 (11%)
10	Israel's interaction with and relation to the Well	200-625	6 (2)
11	Diverse benefits of the Well that supplied all their needs	225-550	24 (10%)
12	Travels of the Well	225-600	12 (5%)
13	Rivers in the desert	225-500	13 (5%)
14	Well bubbles up and knows its owner	225-600	10 (4%)
15	The Well and the miracle at Arnon	400-550	13 (5%)
16	The Princes and the Well	225-550	11 (5%)
17	Song of the Well issues	275-550	5 (2%)
18	Well's departure issues	200-550	11 (5%)
19	Tiberias as location site of Well	400-550	12 (5%)
20	Healing effects of the Well	225-550	5 (2%)
21	Well allusions or theme elaborations in biblical texts	225-550	28 (12%)
22	Citing a Well event to elucidate some peripheral point	225-625	10 (4%)
23	The Well-like cruse of the future Temple	225	3 (1%)
Total Number of Novel Assertions to ca. 640			243 (100%)

An initial inspection of Table III-A-2 reveals three patterns based on the time periods in which Earliest Novel Assertions cluster. The most common pattern is for each theme to have some novel material in both the early and later parts of the period of study through the year 640. Less commonly, Novel Assertions appear only

relatively early or relatively late. Table III-A-3 summarizes these patterns and the theme categories to which they apply.

Table III-A-3: Three Patterns in Which Novel Assertions Appear Based on Time Periods of the Collections from Which They Originate

Pattern of Appearance of Well Novel Assertion Themes in Late Antiquity Collections	Theme ID Well Theme Code Number	Number of Novel Assertions through 640 and Percent of Total
<u>Early Novel Assertions</u> Well themes for which Novel Assertions are limited to collections published early in Late Antiquity	3, 23	6 (2%)
<u>Diffuse Novel Assertions</u> Well themes for which Novel Assertions appear in third century collections and continue to appear in subsequent collections through second half of Late Antiquity	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 21	201 (83%)
<u>Late Novel Assertions</u> Well themes for which Novel Assertions first appear in collections from the second half of Late Antiquity	2, 4, 15, 19	36 (15%)
Total Novel Assertions Through 640		243

The next three Sections are structured to deal respectively with the Early, Diffuse, and Late timing patterns of the appearance of Well Assertions noted in the Table above.

SECTION III-A-3

Analysis of Selected Themes Based on their Timing: Early Pattern

There are two themes that fit into this pattern, each accounting for only three Novel Assertions from ca. 200-225. Well Theme # 3 deals with Miriam's special status regarding the Well, and Well Theme # 23 with the well-like cruse of the Future Temple. Only the strand concerning the Well of the future Temple is assessed at this point. The Miriam strand will be used as background material for the Late Pattern items. Two Assertions relating the Well to the future Temple are presented below. They compare the Well that provided for Israel's needs in the wilderness to a well-like cruse/flask stationed at the Water Gate of the third Temple destined to be rebuilt in a future era. Furthermore, they hint that both the Well of the wilderness and the Well of the future Temple are nourished by waters of "the beginning:"

- W-24 225 The waters from the flask in the future, which is as the cruse of the Well, will go out from under the threshold of the House (Temple). C2
- W-22 225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2

There appears to be no further growth or embellishment of this strand throughout Late Antiquity. Given the accounts to follow regarding the majority of other Well themes that did experience further expansion during ensuing centuries, it is at least curious that this strand with messianic overtones would be the only one of twenty-three themes not to prosper in further growth. Might it relate to Christianity's emphasis on messianic themes and a reticence on the part of the Rabbis to further elaborate on a

connection between the Well and the future Temple, especially given Christianity's use of Well/rock-imagery?

I do not want you to be unaware, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink, for they were drinking from a spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ. (1Corinthians 10:1-4)

That there may or may not be merits to this historical conjecture is not the point of its presentation. Rather, it offers the first of many examples showing the usefulness of dating midrashic material and organizing their Novel Assertions thematically as a means of readily highlighting possible historical correlations. Many other thematic strands begin with a similar number of initial third century Assertions but are further developed. That the relation of the Well to hopes for a rebuilt Temple in which it would prefigure was not subject to further expansion is an issue at least deserving the historian's attention. Yet, the anomaly of this strand's failure to accrue further Novel Assertions would not have been readily appreciated without it having been laid alongside the entire corpus of novel information bits about the Well, against which the lack of further enhancements to Well Theme # 23 comes into perspective.

Though this study accepts 640 as the end of Late Antiquity, historians interested in the eventual fate of the Well in the future Temple should still take note of the following four Novel Assertions first appearing in Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer, a collection from the eighth century:

- W-261 750 The waters of the Well in the future will fertilize. C164
- W-262 750 The waters of the Well in the future will go out as twelve rivers, corresponding to the twelve tribes. C164

- W-263 750 The waters of the Well in the future will go to the Salt Sea to heal it. C164
- W-264 750 The waters of the Well will go to every field and vine that does not bear fruit and water them. C164

It should be noted that C164 begins with the same proem as the ca. 225 C2 source provided for W-22 and W-24 above, (“The waters of the Well in the future will go under the threshold of the Temple”), thereby creating a firm link to the older storyline. Though the full text of C164 appears in Appendix A-1, the proem is not repeated among the Novel Assertions in the above list simply because its content was already introduced in the third century source and therefore is no longer a novel component to the eighth century Assertions. What the later source does have is four further elaborations of what the water from the Well of the future Temple is destined to accomplish. What may have been different in the mindsets of those eighth century midrashists who contributed these further Novel Assertions compared to those involved in collections through ca. 640? The question becomes even more relevant when one realizes that a core component of the eighth-century W-262 assertion of the Well’s headwaters forming twelve rivers corresponding to the tribes must have been generally well known, since it has a mid-third century attestation in the mural at the Dura-Europos synagogue reproduced as Fig. I-1 of the Introduction. Once again, the question is posed not for resolution, but to demonstrate how the organization of dated midrashic material into Novel Assertions placed in thematic categories readily highlights questions of potential historical interest.

SECTION III-A-4

Analysis of Selected Themes Based on their Timing: Diffuse Pattern

By way of contrast with the Well strand that deals with the future Temple, the majority of themes grew by additions of new Novel Assertions well within the definitional period of Late Antiquity. Eighteen of the twenty-three thematic categories fit into this pattern, and these contain 201 of the 243 total Earliest Novel Well Assertions (83%). Only a portion of these will be further assessed to bring out specific points.

Well Theme # 7 has to do with varied dating and physical features of the Well, aspects of its behavior, and the purity of its waters. Novel Assertions begin to appear in collections dated to ca. 200, and further amplifications of the strand continue to accrue in collections of ca. 550. The examples listed below are chosen because they illustrate the type of thematic expansion that has occurred between early and late sources:

W-4	200	The Well was given them when they traveled from Alush and came to Rephidim. C43
W-37	225	The Well was similar to a full rock. C2
W-41	225	There is a relation between the waters of the beginning and the waters of the Well. C2
W-72	275	The Well came up for forty years. C34, C38
W-127	400	The Well was given them from the beginning of 40 years. C80
W-200	550	Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C6e
W-201	550	Miriam's Well is clean. C6e
W-229	550	The Well was a round object. C134a
W-227	550	The Well rolled. C117, C134a, C146

Prior to comparing earlier and later Assertions from this group, the management of the information in Assertion W-41 provides an opportunity to discuss

the methodology of assigning Assertions to specific thematic categories. In the discussion of Theme # 23, dealing with the Well and the future Temple, source W-22 asserts that the Well water was destined to go forth from the cruse at the Temple Gate:

W-22 225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2

However, hidden within that Assertion, in the literary tangle of the parent midrash, is another bit of information, the likening of the Well water to “water of the beginning.” Yet, on admittedly arbitrary grounds, this information bit about the “beginning” was not counted as a Novel Assertion related to Theme # 23, because it seemed to provide more basic information about the vintage of its waters, more appropriate to Theme # 7. Precisely because there is often more than one option for placement of Assertions in different theme groups, the individual best able to analyze information flowing from this type of data organization is the one who also categorizes the Assertions into themes. Whereas a published source may one day exist containing standardized Novel Assertions lists for many midrashic themes, thematic categorization is a subjective process governed by the advantages a particular researcher perceives in assigning Assertions to specific themes.

Proceeding to other Theme # 7 items, W-4 from ca. 200 asserts that the Well was given as the Israelites traveled from Alush to Rephidim, a journey that did not take place quite at the beginning of the forty years as chronicled in Numbers 33. Assertion W-127, appearing ca. 400, seems to modify the earlier account so that the Well is given at the very start of the forty years. This creates an additional level of harmony with item W-239, included in thematic category # 12, which provides

information on diverse travels of the Well, asserting that the Well accompanied them during their actual passage through the Sea:

W-239 600 During the crossing of the sea, they drank fresh water from the Well that came up for them. As is said, “A well of living and flowing water ...” – and flowing is sweet. C7

This suggests that one motivation of midrashists in further expanding some themes may have been to “fill in the gaps” of information that may have existed as sources of potential discord in different midrashic accounts. Similarly, the early Assertion W-37 describes the Well as a “rock.” Deeply embedded in the Well midrashim is the contention that the prototypical Well that traveled along with the Israelites was precisely the same entity that Moses struck, unleashing the Well’s waters at propitious moments of need. That the “Well” and the “Rock” may or may not have been associated as a single entity in early traditions is beyond the current discussion. The issue is that the early midrashists deemed it important to provide this physical description of the Well. Yet, had the description gone no further, much would have been left to the imagination in wondering how burdensome it must have been for the Israelites to cart around their rock through the wilderness treks. After all, though poles to carry the Ark were clearly stipulated by the Torah, no such analogous portage strategy is apparent in the early midrashim. However, the rough edges of the rock’s description are smoothed in Assertions W-229 and W-227 from ca. 550 in which two new Novel Assertions appear: one positing that the shape of the Well was round, and the second that it rolled, thus providing closure to otherwise unsettled imagery. Observing this sequence of thematic expansion would be exceedingly difficult were it

not for the methodology of dissecting complex midrashim into their small bits of Assertions, then dating them, and finally categorizing them thematically.

Whereas the information about the expansion of the Well's physical properties gives rise to the hypothesis that "literary closure" may have been one of the midrashists' motivations, another comparison from Theme # 7 provides an entirely different rationale for the appearance of Novel Assertions. Items W-200 and W-201 come from the same source ca. 550, presenting completely unanticipated information about the purity of the Well's water. Though the content of W-41 above, from ca. 225, has hinted at the water's purity in describing it as "water of the beginning," unexpected new information is now offered to the effect that the Well is a wandering spring and that, as such, its waters are clean. Furthermore, of great interest among other Well items drawing attention to the persona of Miriam, the water's purity is integrally associated with her as the Well's namesake:

W-200 550 Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C6e
 W-201 550 Miriam's Well is clean C6e

These Novel Assertions are too thematically distant from any prior information strata to suggest that they add some type of literary closure to prior Assertions. When the Rabbis discussed the water as being "clean," they were not speaking from a viewpoint of general hygiene, but of ritual purity, a well-elaborated topic in Late Antiquity as seen in this text dated to the second part of the third century:

250-300: Sifra Shemini 9
 From where if it is *tame* [ritually unclean] it will cause it to be *tahor* [ritually clean]? It teaches that a spring will be *tahor*, a pit [well] will be *tahor*, and a *miqvah* [collection of water] will be *tahor*...

The introduction in W-201 of the issue of ritual purity in a context specifically relating this to Miriam's Well, raises questions about possible theological implications.

Attempts to explain this should consider the particular role such Assertions may have played either within the Jewish Community or in intercultural contexts, and this issue will be further pursued later as the focus shifts to Miriam. The point here is that thematically organized and dated Novel Assertions draw the historian's attention to the uniqueness of these contentions, first appearing ca. 550, thereby emphasizing their qualitative departure from earlier Assertions concerned with more mundane properties of the Well.

Another small category, Well Theme # 1, could have been appended to Theme # 7. It contains the Assertion that the Well was one of ten items created at twilight on the eve of the first Shabbat. These items were maintained in a separate category, first because on a theological story timeline, they represent the seminal bequeathing of the Well by divine foresight in a way that served not only to elevate its own stature, but could add prestige to anyone (e.g., Miriam) deeply associated with it. Secondly, there are several repeat examples of this Midrash that rank the Well differently as regards the order in which it appears on the list. In ca. 275 it is listed in C33 as the third of the ten items (W-78), whereas in ca. 300 it is listed in C1 in second place (W-87). Finally, in ca. 550, C10 lists it as the first of the ten items (W-205):

- | | |
|-------|---|
| W-78 | 275 The Well was one of the things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed third in the list of 10 items). C33 |
| W-87 | 300 The mouth of the Well was one of ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed second in list of 10 items). C1 |
| W-205 | 550 Ten things were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, the Well, etc. (Well listed first on the list of 10 items) C10 |

The ability to rapidly perceive the subtle difference in rank of the Well in these three sources is markedly facilitated by the methodology of extracting Novel Assertions from otherwise often complex midrashim. The difference in order, in turn, invites speculation to explain the variation. For example, it could be hypothesized that the Well's advance to first place in the list with the passage of time may be an indicator of its growing importance to the authors and editors of the respective midrashim. The parent source for W-205, C10, is included below for general interest and to demonstrate how, though the midrash focuses on the full ten items, the only relevant component in extracting the Novel Assertions deals with the Well. Though one can always refer to the parent midrash if other correlations become pertinent, this extraction process "de-bulks" the midrash in a way that allows for more focused study of the Well Novel Assertion:

C10. Ca. 550: BTalmud Pesachim

The Sages teach: Ten things were built in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, and these are they: Well, and manna, and rainbow, the writing, and the written, and the tablets, and Moses' tomb, and the cave in which Moses stood and Elijah, the opening of the ass's mouth, and the opening of the earth's mouth to swallow the wicked ones.

In summary, this brief review of Themes # 1 and # 7 provides several insights regarding the methodology and purpose of using a Novel Assertion format for presenting midrashic information for assessment. In the first place, it points out that the assignment of Assertions to specific thematic categories is sometimes arbitrary or subjective and should not preclude cross-over assessment among different theme categories. Items may overlap, fitting into more than one category, and the sole justification for a specific choice of categorization may be to provide a focus of

attention to a sub-strand of Novel Assertions. Secondly, two patterns of subsequent thematic expansion have been noted. One deals with a type of literary and theological closure, filling in gaps of information that may have been noted by midrashists interested in the comprehensiveness of the midrashic record. However, some late Novel Assertions seem to surface with qualitatively unique content. These Assertions are not simply amplifications of prior established strands. Rather, they constitute entirely novel sub-themes, drawing attention not only to the evolution of Midrash as a literary process, but to possible theological or historical correlations that may provide a rationale for their appearance. In other words, the more “novel” the Novel Assertion, the more potentially significant may be its theological or intercultural implications.

The next two Well Themes, # 21 and # 22, are illustrative in that they constitute a special use of the term “Novel Assertion.” Well Theme # 21 consists of a collection of biblical verses that the Rabbis used to substantiate certain Novel Assertions about the Well such as this verse from Deuteronomy 2:7:

W-44 225 When Deut 2:7 says, “These forty years the Lord your God was with you, you lacked nothing,” it refers to how the Well went to the Great Sea from which it brought every desirable thing in the world.
C2

In items from Well Theme # 22, a Well event is cited to elucidate some peripheral point:

W-196 550 Just as the Well was provided by the Holy one to give to drink, so is a father obliged to give his son to drink. C135

In the case of item W-44, no reader unfamiliar with the Midrash would ever be able to guess from the text of Deuteronomy 2:7 that it referred to the Well fetching delicacies

from the Mediterranean. Similarly, regarding item W-196, there is no assertion made in Midrash itself that directly posits that Well imagery is to be used in a way that enables rabbinic moralizations about a father's duty toward his son. In this study, a deliberate decision was made to include such items as a very legitimate type of Novel Assertion. In the case of biblical quotations, each time a scriptural verse is invoked to add legitimacy to a Well Assertion, the Well is elevated in importance. Said another way, that the Rabbis devoted thought and time to finding a reference to the Well hidden in an otherwise somewhat obscure context of a verse from the Tanakh is a measure of the importance they attached to the Well as a theme. Similarly, that in wishing to find a context in which to emphasize paternal responsibility, the Well was invoked for didactic purposes, is likewise a type of testimony to the Well's stature.

To emphasize the importance of including these thematic categories, in the case of the verse from Deuteronomy, the material is actually counted twice. Its presence in the verse from Deuteronomy is counted in Well Theme # 21 as an association of the Well with a biblical verse. However, the related Assertion below, W-24, is counted separately in Theme # 11, which details diverse benefits that the Well provided:

W-25 225 The waters of the Well bring from the Great Sea every desirable thing in the world. C2

This practice of double-counting Assertions from biblical verses as part of their contribution to the total count of Novel Assertions provides an opportunity to elaborate on the philosophy of use of "Novel Assertions" in this study. One end goal is to evaluate the prevalence and popularity of the Well theme in Late Antiquity

Midrash. Any calling upon the Well, be it related to the embellishment of its own saga, in elaborating secondary exegetical purposes, or in the rabbinic practice of establishing relations between verses from Tanakh and extra-biblical traditions, ultimately serves as an attestation to the stature and position of the Well in Late Antiquity.

The decision to double-count biblical Assertions, both for their primary content and as a biblical association, can be made in still another way, as illustrated from the following two midrashim. In the first source (C17), an Assertion is made that the Rock (an epithet for the Well) contained living water. This is countable as an Assertion. Then a biblical verse is cited to substantiate that “living water” is indeed what comes from the Well:

C17. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach
 [When] hungry, he fed him, [when] thirsty, he gave him to drink. Thus did the Holy One, blessed be He ... “thirsty,” He gave him water to drink, as it is said, ‘And he brought out liquid from a rock (Ps 78:16), and not [any] liquid but living water, as it is said, ‘A source of gardens, a well of living flowing water, etc.’ (Song 4:15), and said, ‘Drink living water from your cistern and liquid from your well’ (Prov 5:15).

Another midrash (C7) asserts that while the Israelites were passing through lanes in the Sea of Reeds on their departure from Egypt, their thirst was quenched because “living waters” were provided for them during their passage.

C7. 6th-7th cent.: Abot de Rabbi Natan A 33
 And there are those who say that living water went out for them from the sea and they drank inside the lanes since the sea water was salty, as it is said, flowing. But it is not flowing but sweet, as it is said, “A well of living and flowing water from Lebanon” (Song of Songs 4:15).

Notably, the juxtaposition of the term “living waters” to Well references is common. (cf. also C19, C96, and C97). Whereas source C17 above finds support for the “living

waters” Assertion in Proverbs 5:15, source C7 quotes the Song of Songs, which also speaks of a well of living waters. In calculating Earliest Novel Assertions, source C17, dating to ca. 275, is utilized as the earlier of the two Assertions that the Well contained “living waters.” However, both the source from Proverbs and Song of Songs would be identified as biblical verses in which the Rabbis found allusions to the Well’s essence and, and they would be counted as two extra Novel Assertions attesting to the prominence of the Well in midrashic literature.

The next assessment of a Well theme with a diffuse time pattern deals with the rivers in the desert that came from the waters of the Well. One of the observations made in assessing Well material is that collections from the first half of Late Antiquity generally seem to contain Assertions that are theological constructs, amplifications of information with some basic link to texts from the Torah, or other material that dates the Well’s appearances or discusses its origin. Material that has a more fanciful content is more likely to be encountered in collections from the second half of Late Antiquity. However, there is an exception to this observation. Two of the Well theme categories are of interest because of what appears to be material of somewhat more fanciful content and of earlier vintage. To convey a sense of this observation, Table III-A-4 contains the earliest Novel Assertion in each Theme category that includes items from collections prior to ca. 300, with the exception of two Themes, # 11 and # 13:

Table III-A-4: Earliest Assertions from all Well Themes for which Assertions Were Made prior to ca. 300, Excluding Themes # 11 and # 13

Item ID	Earliest Assertion from All Well Themes for which Assertions were Made Prior to ca. 300 (excludes Theme # 11 and # 13)	Theme Number
W-78	275 The Well was one of the things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed third in the list of 10 items). C33	1
W-3	200 The Well was given upon Miriam's hand. C45	3
W-1	200 The Well returned on Aaron and Moses' merit when Miriam died. C45	5
W-63	275 Moses caused the Well to come up. C35, C37	6
W-4	200 The Well was given them when they traveled from Alush and came to Rephidim. C43	7
W-70	275 The Holy One wished that they would eat manna and drink water of the Well for 40 years and have Torah mixed in their bodies rather than deal immediately with the distractions of settling the land. C14	8
W-6	200 The Well was one of three gifts. C45	9
W-5	200 The Well was given to Israel on the 23 rd of Iyyar. C43	10
W-30	225 The Well stops on a high place opposite the door of the Tent of Meeting. C2	12
W-51	225 When the princes sing to the Well, the waters bubble like an upwards column. C2	14
W-20	225 The princes say the song over the Well. C2	16
W-82	275 There were ten songs that were really one – the third was sung at the Well. C18	17
W-7	200 The Well went away at the beginning of Nissan. C44,	18
W-29	225 The waters that will gurgle from the cruse, as the waters that gurgled from the Well, will go to the Great Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Sodom, to heal their waters. C2	20
W-22	225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2	23

By way of contrast, the earliest assertions from the remaining two Well themes raise the eyebrow insofar as they contain information not as easily understandable to those unfamiliar with the relevant midrashic accounts:

- W-15 225 The big streams that came from the Well overflowed. C2
 W-25 225 The waters of the Well bring from the Great Sea every desirable thing in the world. C2

W-15 comes from Well Theme # 13, “Rivers in the Desert,” and W-25 comes from Well Theme # 11, “Diverse Benefits of the Well that Supplied All Their Needs.” Parts of “Diverse Benefits” thematically overlap with the “Rivers in the Desert” theme, and these mutual parts will be assessed together.

“Rivers in the Desert” (Well Theme # 13) contains thirteen Novel Assertions (5% of the total) and deals with the rivers in the desert spawned by the waters of the Well, which then surrounded each of the tribes as well as the entire encampment, providing navigable waterways that were used by members of one tribe to visit others in boats. Additionally, these rivers were substantial enough to allow larger vessels to cruise on them to the Mediterranean, from which they would bring back delicacies. A few typical examples follow:

- W-23 225 The water of the Well makes big streams. C2
 W-17 225 The Israelites went in boats in the waterways created by the Well’s waters. C2
 W-142 400 Women visited friends in other standards by navigating the rivers made by the Well’s waters. C81

Instead of following a pattern of other Well themes in which the earliest sources have a more familiar aura, the early accounts of the rivers produced by the Well seem to be of very novel content. Yet, the tendency for material to become bolder in content in later collections still holds true. According to later midrashic accounts, the rivers generated by the Well allowed for the planting of fruit-bearing vegetation and perfumed grasses whose rate of growth was literally from one day to the next, just like the vegetation of the Garden of Eden. The examples below are

characteristic of the items in Well Theme # 11 appearing in collections dated to ca. the fifth through seventh centuries:

- W-168 450 Israel's smell after rolling in the grass of the Well wafted from one end of the world to the other. C107
- W-209 550 The figs, vines, and pomegranates grown with the Well's waters bore fruit within a day. C115, C 134, C143
- W-211 550 The grass and tree species that grew from the Well's water were without end. C120, C139
- W-215 550 The rapid fruition of the fruit trees grown by the Well was like at the beginning of creation. C143
- W-195 550 It was from the Well that the daughters of Israel adorned themselves and gladdened their husbands all 40 years in the wilderness as it is said, "A spring of gardens, a well of living waters." C96

Though it is difficult to objectively quantify the degree of fantasy in seemingly fanciful material, it is proposed that verdant grassy banks with rapidly maturing fruit trees along the rivers are compatible with a progression of midrashic imagination from the functional rivers known from third century collections to the vegetation described in sixth century sources. In this sense, the observation of expanded novelty in Novel Assertions of later collections is upheld. Once again, the transition is easily perceived through the use of dated Novel Assertions grouped thematically. What is not yet explained, and a matter of potential import to the historian interested in midrashim, is why this strand about the rivers stands out as containing relatively more novel material from an early date. The layout by Novel Assertions has facilitated the observation of the anomalous inclusion of more novel material of earlier vintage compared to Assertions from other Well themes. One possible explanation is that there may have been a tradition concerning the desert waterways predating Late Antiquity that had already been subject to popular elaboration. If so, Novel Assertions about these rivers

in early collections may have been more a scribal act of recording preexisting traditions than a manifestation of rabbinic literary inventiveness. Of interest, a mural at Dura-Europos from ca. 245 CE depicting Moses touching the bubbling Well with his rod (Kraeling 118, 124; Sukenik 101-102) attests to the renown that the core of the “Rivers in the Desert” strand may well already have possessed very early in Late Antiquity. In this scene (Fig. I:1 of Introduction), a well is situated before the Tabernacle and divides into twelve streams, each going to one of twelve tents representing the tribes, closely following the script of other Novel Assertions about the Well becoming rivers. If the speculation of a precursor tradition of antiquity is correct, “selective memory” may provide an explanation as to why this particular strand not only survived, but was subject to elaboration throughout Late Antiquity. To whatever degree Jewish memory may reflect some combination of literal and literary events, it includes an awareness of past suffering, from the bondage in Egypt through the hardships of the wilderness and culminating in destruction and Diaspora. Likewise, traditions propagating more pleasant memories would be expected to provide an emotional counterbalance and to be propitious subjects for expansion, a phenomenon apparent in Scripture itself. Reacting to the nostalgia of Num 11:5 (“We remember the fish that we ate in Egypt for free, the cucumbers, watermelons, leeks, onions and garlic”), Rashi’s commentary on this verse chides the Israelites for recalling these delectables while ignoring their burdens in not even having been given straw to make bricks, likely patterning his remarks on a source such as Deuteronomy Rabbah (Vilna) 1:11, ca. 625:

450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (V) 1:11

Another matter: said R. Ilai in the name of R. Yosi b. Zimrah, “Why did the Holy One, blessed be He, not reveal to Abraham our Father that He would give the manna to his children?” ... For if He had revealed it to them, Israel would have said, “We ate it at Pharaoh’s table.” You should know that they did not even give them straw, and Israel said (Num 11), “We remembered the fish,” etc., therefore He did not reveal to them.

One might speculate that the almost picnic-like ambiance portrayed by boat trips down the rivers enabling women to visit neighbors while others rolled on the perfumed lawns of its banks and enjoyed the produce of multiple species of hardy fruit trees, provided an idealized past memory, the lore of which may have served to refresh the spirit of the people. To the degree that “selective memory” may contribute to the growth and propagation of certain traditions, this may serve to remind the historian to at least consider the possibility that material of apparently fanciful content may sometimes represent earlier pre-rabbinic traditions. The challenge of distinguishing between rabbinic creativity and earlier precursor traditions is further pursued in Section III-D, where these desert waterway observations are further expanded as a prelude to the discussion of precursor traditions in Chapter IV.

Another example from the Diffuse Pattern of items appearing in collections throughout much of Late Antiquity concerns Well Theme # 9, dealing with the Well as a divine gift, deserved or undeserved. Its Novel Assertions are relatively common, accounting for 27 (11%) of all Well Novel Assertions. Of interest are the two sub-strands of content within the category, as suggested by the category title of “deserved or undeserved.” The earliest twelve items, dated 200-275, are all benevolent and tame in tone. Some examples follow:

- W-6 200 The Well was one of three gifts. C45
 W-56 275 A Well came up for them for 40 years. C34, C38
 W-58 275 God used gifts like the Well to build Israel up. C32, C36
 W-74 275 The Well coming up was a miracle. C15
 W-57 275 God brought Israel water with the Well to prove that He was worthy of reigning over them and issuing them commandments. C23

This tone is interrupted by three later items:

- W-94 400 Despite their rebellion, the Well was not refused them. C82
 W-133 400 Though those who rebelled against Him should have been liable for execution, instead the Well did not stop from them, etc. C82
 W-179 550 Despite Israel's errant ways, the Holy One did not double-cross Israel, for the Well came up. C113, C131

The gist of these three Novel Assertions is that due to its disobedience, Israel did not really deserve the Well, but was nevertheless given it as a matter of divine kindness.

The source for W-177, Well Midrash C113, is reproduced below:

C113. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (Buber) Mishpatim 10
 "Indeed, a woman double-crossed her companion" (Jer 3:20). R.
 Yehudah b. Simon said, "And would that as a treacherous woman, this woman, who has a companion who feeds her and gives her to drink and she loves him, after his hand dwindles, she leaves him and goes her way. Indeed, a woman double-crossed her companion [but] I did not do so to you: the manna came down for you and the well came up ...

Aside from these three more somber items, in which Israel's gift of the Well is reassured despite its backsliding, the remaining twelve items appearing in the second half of Late Antiquity resume the tone of the initial ones, as in the example below:

- W-164 450 As a recently recovered child is not ready yet to go to school, so too let Israel who just left the enslavement of Egypt first enjoy two or three months with the Well, and afterwards they receive the Torah. C108

The historian interested in what the Rabbis thought in Late Antiquity and what made its way into midrashic collections might wonder about the meaning of the three

relatively late sober-toned assertions regarding God's own perspective in offering the Well. Ultimately, what appeared in collections was at least to some degree representative of what the Rabbis were thinking and sharing among their colleagues and in their homilies at a time that Christianity was fast making inroads in Empire policy. According to Seth Schwartz, "one of the effects of the gradual Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries was the (re)Judaization of the Jews" (Schwartz 197). In other words, as the Christians became more interested in Christianizing others, the Jews became more interested in conserving their Judaism. However, "notwithstanding all the qualifications and mitigations, there is no question of the state's gradually deepening, theologically generated hostility to the Jews" (Schwartz 201). Given these political realities, this sub-strand may have given some hope to a people struggling to keep its identity and special connection with God in the face of adversity. According to Schwarz, this point of view is reportedly also shared by scholars like Neusner, Kalmin, and others who suggest that "the redaction of the earliest corpora of midrash aggadah was motivated by a reaction to Christian claims that the Bible was theirs, that the Jews had lost their proprietary rights because they perversely refused to understand its true message" (Schwartz 200).

There is a final group of two Novel Assertions from Well Theme # 9 that may also be suggestive for historians interested in the rabbinic mindset of Late Antiquity. In the following two Novel Assertions, Israel's independence is emphasized by the contention that since they had their own Well, they really were not dependent on the inhospitable Ammonites and Moabites:

- W-144 400 Because they had their own Well, they had no need to cause problems when they passed through the land of others. C79
- W-172 450 Though Amon and Moab did not receive them with bread and water, Israel did not need them, for the Well came up, etc. C74

This creates a problem. If the Israelites really had no need for water from the other nations near whose territories they passed, why was the issue of water even raised?

The answer comes from another relatively contemporaneous late midrash from Theme Category # 22, which posits that the request to Edom for water was an opportunity God gave for Israel to teach the virtues of courtesy that a traveler should show to a host nation in patronizing its shopkeepers:

- W-187 550 From the way Israel tried to patronize the shopkeepers of Edom by buying their water instead of using water from the Well that God gave them, one learns the courtesy to be followed when not in one's own land. C118

Through the format of thematically categorizing and dating Novel Assertions, it is again relatively easy to determine that there are no earlier Assertions relating the Well and the wilderness encounter of Edom, directing the historian's attention to the potential context in which midrashists may have chosen to include this item during the second half of Late Antiquity. In constructing a hypothesis to address its late appearance, one might review other Novel Assertions appearing at a similar time, a maneuver again facilitated by the creation of a Novel Assertion list of all Well themes. The following two items from Well Theme # 22 may be pertinent in this regard:

- W-186 550 Forty eight times is written in the Torah 'well,' 'well' to relate Torah and the Well of living waters. C97
- W-210 550 The forty eight uses of the word 'well' in the Torah correspond to forty eight things by which Torah can be acquired, as is written, "A spring of gardens, a well of living waters, and flowing from Lebanon." C97

Both these Well sources appear to make a connection between the “Well” and the “Torah.” Both of them are somewhat reserved in not directly positing that the Well is to be likened to the Torah. However, a much later midrash discovered in the process of accumulating all Novel Assertions through 950 is more to the point:

W-292 950 When Is 55:1 says, “Ho, every thirsty one, go to the water,” this refers to the Well that the princes dug, and intends to liken Torah to the Well, as is said, “A well of living waters.” C181

What might the historian of midrashic phenomena make of all this? The following question might be asked: Is it possible that there was intent to liken the wandering in the wilderness to Israel’s more current life among foreign governments in Late Antiquity? If so, the rabbinic thrust may have been to say that Jews ought always to keep in mind that at all times they have near to them their own “Torah-Well.” They may find themselves in a position to be courteous in acknowledging the ideological merchandise of their Christian and pagan neighbors, but they are not dependent on them, for they have their own “Torah-Well” that will always bubble up for them. That this association of Torah and the Well was viable as recognized imagery of antiquity is suggested by this excerpt from the Damascus Document:

Col. VI (4Q266 3 ii; 4Q267 2)
 ... And they dug the well: [Num 21:18] “A well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the staff.” The well is the law ... (Qimron 557)

Fragment 4Q266 of this document has been paleographically dated to “the first half or to the middle of the first century BCE” (Baumgarten 30). Though this reference substantiates the antiquity of an association between “well” and “law/Torah,” thereby making it plausible that the Rabbis may have used such imagery in their writings, the

conjecture regarding the context in which the Rabbis would have used Assertion W-186 for exegetical purposes is purely speculative. However, it again demonstrates the usefulness of Novel Assertion methodology in identifying issues of interest for further research.

Three lessons can be learned from this discussion of Well Theme # 9. In the first place, it reemphasizes the potential variety of material within a given category and the need to scrutinize the material thoroughly. Secondly, it points to the advantage of creating theme categories, even though they are arbitrary and subjective, since it is precisely the lumping of items based on conceptual similarities that makes it easier to identify contrasting elements. Thirdly, regarding Assertions such as the ritual purity of Miriam's Well, the flourishing vegetation on the river banks, and the conflicting accounts as to whether the Well was deserved, there is a growing impression that the second half of Late Antiquity was a time of departure from more mundane to more imaginatively novel material. The accuracy of this observation is further corroborated in Section III-A-5 below, which turns to Novel Assertions whose themes first appear in collections during the final two hundred and forty years of Late Antiquity.

SECTION III-A-5

Analysis of Selected Themes Based on their Timing: Late Pattern

Attention now turns from the assessments of the Early and Diffuse Patterns of Well themes to those in which Novel Assertions appear only in later collections which, as has been noted, show a tendency to include more items of more fanciful

content. Investigating the degree to which Well themes exclusive to later collections contain more novel material is one of the purposes of reviewing items from these late-appearing strands. The first one, Theme # 2 is a small category with only two Novel Assertions:

- W-207 550 The angel argued to the Holy One, “Why should You bring up the Well for one who would do evil?” C125, C141
- W-213 550 The Holy One told an angel to show Hagar the Well. C125, C141

These two assertions deal with God’s justice in providing the Well for Ishmael. The remainder of the story, in which God defends his decision, does not add further Novel Assertions about the Well. What is important to emphasize here is that this strand of information first appears in the second half of Late Antiquity with no precedent. Furthermore, there is only one other midrash, C161 in ca. 750, with additional Novel Assertions regarding this theme in the extended time period for which sources were sought through ca. 950. How might one explain this limited appearance of Novel Assertions? In the first place, this is clearly an account firmly rooted in the basic storyline of Genesis 21. Assertion W-213 is novel only because of the variation in who showed Hagar the Well. Ironically, in this midrash the angelic mediator, the same one who complains, is the one who shows Hagar the Well. What is more novel is the angel’s discourse in challenging God’s decision to reveal the Well to one who would create problems for the Israelites. Though not from the Well series, a late fourth century midrash illustrates the evil that Ishmael’s descendants would inflict upon some survivors of Nebuchadnezzar’s destruction of the First Temple, who came to the Ishmaelites to request water:

400-450: Lamentations Rabbah (Buber) 2

[The Ishmaelites] said to them, 'Eat first, and then you drink.' What did they do? They took out for them salty things. After they ate, they took out for them inflated water skins, and [each] one of them put it into his mouth, and the wind entered his intestines, and he twitched, and he died.

The deprivation of water at the hand of the descendant of one whose ancestor had benefited from God's gracious provision of water provides a very stark literary contrast. Given this imagery, it must not have been particularly comforting to Jews dealing with varied woes to reckon also with God offering assistance to a root cause of their problems. It is possible that for this reason, the story of God's benevolence towards Ishmael through the provision of the Well experienced only minor further elaboration ca. 750. On the other hand, though the basic story parallels the biblical text, the angelic challenge to God's wisdom is somewhat bold, and perhaps in this way compatible with the observation of greater novelty in later sources. Certainly, this Well theme might be of interest to historians reviewing the tradition of questioning God's wisdom.

The second Late Pattern item is not elaborated at all after the second half of Late Antiquity. Well Theme # 15 deals with how Israel came to appreciate the Well as a result of a very dramatic set of feats it performed at the Arnon River. The midrashic elaborations make some assumptions about the chronology of events, but are rooted in the Torah's account of Numbers 21:13-17, 21-24, excerpts from which follow below:

From there they traveled, and camped on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that comes out of the border of the Amorites. For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorite. Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, Vahev in

Sufah and in the wadis of Arnon ... And from there they went to Beer, which is the well of which the Lord said to Moses, "Gather the people together, and I will give them water." Then Israel sang this song, "Come up, well, sing to it." ... And Israel sent messengers to Sichon the king of the Amorite, saying, "Let me pass in your land, we will not turn into field or into vineyard. We will not drink well water; we will walk on the king's road until we pass your border." And Sichon did not allow Israel to pass in his border. And he gathered all his army and he went out towards Israel ... And Israel smote him by the mouth of the sword.

The midrashists understood this biblical account to begin when Israel's request that the Amorites allow them to pass through their land is refused. A battle then ensues in which Israel is victorious. The earliest midrash in this sequence, C80 (dated to ca. 400), asserts that Israel's singing to the Well is in recognition of two the feats it has performed. In the first, its waters destroy Israel's foes in the wadi, just as God had used the Sea to drown the Egyptians. Secondly, unbeknownst to Israel, God had earlier used the mountains to crush the enemy as they lay in wait in caves to ambush the Israelites. To assure that His wonder would not go unnoticed, God next sends the Well to publicize the miracle to Israel. Its waters then swoop through the caves, washing out "craniums and arms and legs that cannot be fathomed." The imagery projected by Midrash is noteworthy, beginning with this gruesome account of human remains. The later Tanchuma accounts (C119, C138), repeat the story almost verbatim up to the point when Israel seeks the Well. Here they add, "and they saw it shining like the moon inside the wadi, because it was bringing out the limbs of the armies." The Hebrew word for "shining" suggests an active process, "emitting light" as opposed to its merely reflecting it. The sentence also conveys a sense of cause and effect: The Well was shining "*because* it was bringing out the limbs of the armies."

The poetics used by the later midrashists in juxtaposing the imagery of numerous body parts on the one hand with the shining Well on the other suggests that the Rabbis involved in composing this midrash were not averse to portraying a scene of some gloating over the downfall of one of Israel's enemies. Compatible with this mood of jubilation over the Well's feat, the account ends with Israel "standing over the wadis and ... saying to it, 'Come up well, sing to it,' and they sang a song over it." Of interest, Midrash couches all of this with a reference to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord," such that the Rabbis would have us believe that these signs and miracles at Arnon are in fact included in this book. Since the account of Numbers 21:13-17 combines information about Arnon, the Amorites, the "Book of the War of the Lord," a well, and Israel singing to the well, the midrashic storyline closely coincides with motifs in these Torah verses. No less than 13 Novel Assertions, (5% of the total of 243), are involved in this Well theme, but what is interesting is that in contrast to the Ishmael Assertions, which did have some minor rather bland further Novel Assertions in ca. 750, Assertions related to the Well's role at Arnon are not further enhanced after ca. 550.

Using Novel Assertion methodology facilitates viewing the main contentions of the Ishmael and Arnon strands cumulatively. Despite their disparate settings in the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen 21:14) and Arnon, Novel Assertions from each share a common theme of Israel's problems with an enemy. As such, they also provide an opportunity to assess different exegetical approaches the Rabbis have taken in dealing with Israel's encounters with its foes. For example, the midrashic treatment of the incident at Arnon is a gloating account of havoc wreaked on an enemy of Israel. As

such, it can be contrasted with other traditions within Judaism that discourage taking the downfall of one's enemies in a lighthearted way. Three examples are noted below, the first biblical, and the other two from Midrash:

At the falling of your enemies do not rejoice, and at his stumbling let not your heart be glad. Lest the Lord sees and it is evil in His eyes and He causes His anger to return from before Him. (Prov 24:17-18)

450: Pesiqta de R. Kahana (M) 2

Another matter: Why [concerning the festival of Pesach] is it not written there "joy"? Because the Egyptians died there.

550: BTalmud Megilah 10b

And R. Yochanan said, "What is written (Ex 14), 'And this one did not approach this one the whole night'? The ministering angels wanted to say a song ... The Holy One, blessed be He, said, 'The works of My hands are drowning in the sea and you are saying a song?'"

These two midrashim appear in the second half of Late Antiquity, just as the Arnon Assertions (Appendix C-1, Theme # 15), attesting that at least some Rabbis were more sensitive to the issue of overplaying the suffering of one's enemies than those midrashists responsible for the Arnon material. By way of contrast, the Ishmael W-207 Assertion goes to an opposite extreme, raising a painful issue of God aiding those who will one day create problems for Israel. Though there is no intent here to offer a conclusion about the Ishmael and Arnon strands, two observations are noted. In the first place, that both appear only in the second half of Late Antiquity without significant further elaborations may suggest that neither the gloating account of Arnon nor the more painful Ishmael episode was sufficiently balanced or sensitive in Jewish and/or intercultural contexts to draw ongoing rabbinic interest motivating further elaborations. Secondly, the fanciful Arnon information and the Angel arguing with

God about Ishmael are both compatible with the general observation of more literary boldness being a part of Assertions appearing in the second half of Late Antiquity.

Information from the remaining three Well theme categories of the Late Pattern leads to a greater focus on Miriam and ultimately to her becoming the more significant center of attention during the remainder of this study. As part of discussing Miriam's presentation in these late sources, certain early sources from other theme categories mentioning her will be utilized for background and perspective. Though the midrashim clearly accord Miriam a very special status regarding the Well, she is not the only person associated with it. Well Theme # 5, part of the Diffuse Pattern with Assertions ca. 200-400, discusses the Well being given because of the Merit of Abraham, Moses, and Aaron. Regarding her siblings, the storyline is that when Miriam died near the end of the 40 years in the wilderness, the Well disappeared concurrently. However, in order to provide water for the Israelites until they finally entered Israel, the Well was returned on the merits of her two siblings. The relevant novel assertions concerning them follow:

W-1 200 The Well returned on Aaron and Moses' merit when Miriam died. C45

W-10 225 After Aaron died, the Well returned on the merit of Moses. C5

Of great interest, no further Novel Assertions appear after ca. 225 that add anything new regarding this "chain of command" from Miriam to Aaron and Moses. However, Well Theme # 6, listing varied issues concerning Moses' interaction with the Well, does allow special recognition to him, not so much as being the honoree in whose merit the Well was bestowed, but perhaps as being the ultimate cause of

bringing to pass those happenings that resulted in its being given. Some representative examples follow:

- W-73 275 The Well coming up for them for forty years was one of the ways Moses did righteousness in Israel. C38
- W-69 275 The Holy One said to Moses, "I brought up the Well for you." C20
- W-190 550 In the end, Moses brought the Well for them, etc. C114

None of these Moses items utilize the formula "by the merit of" or "upon the hand of."

Given this background, Well Theme # 3 deals specifically with Miriam's special status regarding the Well, and of interest, all three of its Novel Assertions are very early:

- W-3 200 The Well was given upon Miriam's hand. C45
- W-36 225 The Well was given in Miriam's merit. C5
- W-55 225 While Miriam existed, a well used to supply Israel. C4

Continuing with this background information as a prelude to dealing with the Late Pattern items, there is still another Well theme category, # 18, dealing with the Well's departure, which contains additional items relating Miriam to the Well in so far as it disappeared when she died. Representative items follow:

- W-9 200 The Well went away when Miriam died. C44
- W-45 225 When Miriam died, the Well ceased to exist. C5
- W-198 550 Miriam died, the Well stopped. C93, C95

Note that two of these three items are also very early. The only later item, W-198, was included only by the convention followed in this study due to the Hebrew word "stopped" being different from the prior terms, "ceased to exist" and "went away." However, this 550 source certainly does not appear to add major novel content. Of interest, then, is the fact that not only did the addition of further Novel Assertions attributing the Well to the merit of Moses and Aaron cease after the collections of the third century, but so did new Assertions linking Miriam to the Well.

In fact, if one were to pursue the investigation of Well themes no further than to this point, a conclusion might be justified that after the third century, there was a loss of interest in further embellishing the relationship between Miriam and the Well, since the only way that a midrashic focus of interest related to an object or person can actually continue to grow qualitatively is for further Novel Assertions to appear which enlarge upon an original storyline. Of course, this would not preclude further independent development of Miriam and the Well on separate midrashic pathways.

Having now concluded with these early sources whose formulations relating the Well and Miriam accrued no further elaborations, assessment now turns to the actual Late Pattern category dealing with Miriam, Well Theme # 4, titled “Well Specifically Identified as ‘Miriam’s Well.’” The full list of nine Novel Assertions, all dated ca. 400-550, is reproduced below:

- W-93 400 A well appearing like a sieve in the Sea of Tiberias seen from the mountain of the wilderness is Miriam’s Well. C2e, C3e
- W-112 400 The pit found from the wilderness mountain in the Sea is Miriam’s Pit [Well]. C3e
- W-146 400 The Well opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of VTGN was Miriam’s Well. C2e
- W-170 450 The Well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam’s Well. C5e
- W-171 450 The Well opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam’s Well. C5e
- W-176 550 A sieve seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel is Miriam’s Well. C6e
- W-218 550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam’s Well. C6e
- W-224 550 The Well in which a blind man was healed in a cave in Sichin was Miriam’s Well. C1e
- W-232 550 The Well that Israel merited was Miriam’s Well. C7e

Specific commentary related to this strand is deferred pending a brief introduction of a closely related Well Theme, # 19, which identifies the Sea of Tiberias as the location of the Well. A few representative examples follow:

- W-107 400 Miriam's Well can be seen from a mountain in the wilderness. C2e, C5e
- W-108 400 Miriam's Well is in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e, C5e
- W-199 550 Miriam's Well can be seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel as a sort of sieve. C6e

Like Category # 4, the Tiberias strand contains Novel Assertions appearing ca. 400-550, and deals with the tradition that once the Well had completed its mission of providing water for the Israelites during their forty year wilderness sojourn, it retired to the Sea of Tiberias, where it remains ostensibly to this day. Given this introduction, what is of interest is that in the majority of these Novel Assertions, the Well is specifically called "Miriam's Well," and therefore closely overlaps with items listed in Theme # 3 about Miriam's Well. The question that emerges concerns the reason as to why the Well, which had prior to this time remained nameless, was given a name. Furthermore, if the Well lacked a name, Miriam was not the only candidate for such an association, as suggested below:

- W-16 225 The Holy One brought the Well up for his children on Abraham's merit. C3
- W-213 550 The Holy One told an angel to show Hagar the Well. C125, C141
- W-159 425 The waters of the Well came up for Rebecca. C54
- W-1 200 The Well returned on Aaron and Moses' merit when Miriam died. C45
- W-126 400 The Well was given in the merit of the Fathers who were called "princes." C81
- W-194 550 Israel took possession of the Well. C139
- W-19 225 The princes sang, "Come up well." C2

Certainly, a case could be made that from among Abraham, Rebecca, Aaron, Moses, Israel, or the Princes a suitable name could have been provided for the Well if it had indeed required one. Furthermore, a significant span of Well tradition did not connect it with the name of any specific individual. In fact, in the earliest known preserved reference to it among non-rabbinic sources, Pseudo-Philo (ca. 50-100), the Well is also nameless:

He guided his people in the wilderness for forty years. He rained down for them bread from heaven and brought quail to them from the sea and brought forth a well of water to follow them. With a pillar of cloud he led them by day, and with a pillar of fire he gave them light by night.
(*LAB* 10:7)

Why ca. the fifth century, after the prior Novel Assertions using “by the merit” or “upon the hand” to link Miriam to the Well had ceased to accrue further elaborations for nearly two centuries, did a new tradition of Novel Assertions relating her to the Well appear with a new formula conveying a much more intimate degree of relationship? After such a prolonged period of apparent dormancy of any Novel Assertions, why was the term “Miriam’s Well,” introduced in no less than nine Novel Assertions, using a wording that created an indelible link between the two? And in positing such a formal relationship as “Miriam’s Well,” was there not a literary hint of a loss of autonomy on the part of the Well? Did the Well now have an owner, leaving behind its former identity as just “The Well?” And as in any acquisition of new property, is there not some implication that the owner’s estate is somehow enlarged by way of a new holding? Furthermore, was it purely coincidental that Miriam was so deeply involved in the Tiberias strand that surfaced in the same time period? Here are two additional examples from the Tiberias series:

- W-118 400 Miriam's Well was located opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of VTGN. C2e
 W-169 450 Miriam's Well was located opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of Seringit. C5e

The sources are very similar with varied versions of the location in the geographic whereabouts of Tiberias. Is it a matter of mere coincidence that in these two concurrent intertwined "Miriam's Well" and "Tiberias" traditions, the Well has symbolically retired beneath the waters of the Sea of Tiberias, while at the same time Miriam gains prominence by becoming its namesake? And finally, why associate the Well's site of repose in Tiberias with the middle door of this specifically named synagogue? Was there any particular point that the midrashists were trying to make by creating this particular juxtaposition of object and biblical persona with this particular synagogue?

This association of Miriam, the Well, and the synagogue led to a search of the entire Bar Ilan Database for collections dated through ca. 640 to determine what other examples there might be of associating an object by virtue of its proximity to a synagogue. Both the Hebrew *Beit K'neset* and the Aramaic *K'nishta* were used as search terms, and fifty-nine items were encountered, representative samples of which are noted below:

R. Ammi and R. Assi, though they had thirteen Synagogues in Tiberias, prayed only between the pillars where they used to study. (BT Berakhot 8a)

Said R. Hisda to Mari the son of R. Huna the son of Jeremiah bar Abba, "I have heard, that you, men of Barnash, go to the synagogue of Daniel on the Sabbath, a distance of three miles." (BT Eruvin 21a)

Mar Jehudah observed that the inhabitants of Mabrachta placed their *eruv* in the synagogue of the city of Agubar, so he said to them: “Why do you not place the *eruv* a little further? You will have more space to the two thousand ells?” Said Rabha to him: “You quarreller!” (BT Eruvin 61b)

R. Yochanan was sitting reading before the synagogue of the Babylonians in Sepphoris. An officer passed and he did not stand up ... (JT Berakhot 5:9a)

R. Meir used to preach in the synagogue of Chamat every night ... (JT Sotah 1:16d)

Yosi the Maonite translated in the synagogue of Tiberias. (JT Sanhedrin 2:20c)

R. Yochanan was sitting and preaching inside the Great Synagogue of Sepphoris, “In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will make the eastern gate of the Temple and its two flagstones from a single stone of pearl.” (Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 18:5)

R. Abbahu preached in the synagogue of the village of Tiberias and said, “I will bring you up from the poverty of Egypt ...” (Pesiqta Rabbati (I.S.) Hosafa A, Parshah B)

In each of these examples, the mention of the specific synagogue seems to be somewhat incidental, and the particular event that happened within it the point of focus. There was not a single example of the location of some object being described in juxtaposition to a particular synagogue. Furthermore, the examples noted appear to be historically realistic as opposed to an association with a fanciful object. How then can we explain the midrashists’ use of this most unusual formulation in fixing the site of Miriam’s Well as opposite the middle door of this particular synagogue in Tiberias?

There is a final Well theme that was placed in the Diffuse Pattern, but which arguably should have been included in the Late Pattern. Well-Theme # 20 deals with healing effects ascribed to the Well, all five Assertions of which are listed below:

- W-29 225 The waters that will gurgle from the cruse, as the waters that gurgled from the Well, will go to the Great Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Sodom, to heal their waters. C2
- W-92 400 A blind man dipped in Miriam's Well and was healed. C9e
- W-162 450 A man happened to float into Miriam's Well and was healed. C5e
- W-163 450 A man stricken with boils, on dipping into Miriam's Well, was healed. C5e
- W-224 550 The well into which a blind man immersed in a cave and was healed was Miriam's Well. C136

Of interest, the first Assertion from ca. 225, deals with healing in almost a poetic sense suggesting that the fresh water of the Well will dilute and thereby "heal" the salt of the Mediterranean and Dead Seas. Perhaps the reference to Tiberias-Kineret may refer to the swamps that typified its northern portions. In any case, the reference is the first Assertion of healing properties ascribed to the Well. The remaining four Assertions all ascribe to the Well the ability to heal varied maladies. Of greater potential significance, all four are linked to the "Miriam's Well" tradition, raising the possibility that the healing strand of Well Novel Assertions may possibly be Miriam-dependent. These assertions of the Well's capacity to cure human maladies are from collections ca. 400-550, thus joining them to other Late Pattern items, and uniting them further to the Miriam's Well tradition.

In a further attempt to determine the antiquity of Miriam's association with the Well and the eventual use of the term "Miriam's Well," two scholarly avenues can be pursued. The first is to look for evidence of the association outside rabbinic literature. Once again, the oldest attestation is Pseudo-Philo, the earliest surviving source to link Miriam and the Well:

These are the three things that God gave to his people on account of three persons: that is, the well of the water of Marah for Miriam and the pillar of cloud for Aaron and the manna for Moses. After these three died, these three things were taken away from them. (*LAB* 20:8)

The second approach involves identifying the Rabbis to whom Novel Assertions utilizing the term “Miriam’s Well” are attributed. Table III-A-5 below summarizes the evidence.

Table III-A-5: Earliest Rabbis Named in Collections Calling the Well “Miriam’s Well.”

Name of Rabbi	Generation	Dating	Collection ID
Rab	A-1	d. 247	C6e
R. Chama b. R. Chanina	A-2	260-290	C7e
R. Chiyyah b. [A]bba	A-3	290-320	C2e, C3e, C4e, C53, C6e
R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380	C5e

Problems of relying on dating by Rabbis have been raised in the methodological discussion of Chapter II. Given those limitations, the sources identified above suggest that the earliest attestation in rabbinic sources was that of Rab, during the first half of the third century. Further occurrences appear in the late third and early fourth centuries and finally in collections during the first half of the fifth century. Based on these observations, the term “Miriam’s Well” may have enjoyed increasing popularity prior to the fifth century and perhaps as early as the third century. However, this association is not reflected in collections dated during the first half of Late Antiquity, leaving unresolved the reason why the Well became known as “Miriam’s Well” only in later collections.

Prior to concluding this section, the trend noted in Section III-A-4 for Assertions appearing later to be more qualitatively novel has been further

substantiated in the assessment of Late Pattern items. The vivid descriptions of the Well's role at Arnon, the announcement of the Well's healing effects, its juxtaposition with the synagogue in Tiberias, and its formulation as "Miriam's Well," all very creatively enhancing its stature, suggest that its elaboration was important to the midrashist during the second half of Late Antiquity. However, as of yet there is no unifying theory regarding the motivation for the buildup of its legacy, aside from noting that several of these Late Pattern more novel items emphasize the association of Miriam and the Well. When one adds all sources from among the 243 which in some way link Miriam and the Well, there are a total of twenty-seven Novel Assertions, constituting 11% of the Well's midrashic legacy. This is reasonably close to the other single high scoring Well Themes noted in Table III-A-2, reinforcing the question concerning the origins and development of the association.

SECTION III-A-6

Summaries and Conclusions to the Assessment of Well Sources

Chapter III-A has utilized a methodology described in the prior chapter for presenting midrashic information in a format most conducive to comparative assessment and identification of issues of potential historical significance. That process began with an accumulation of midrashic sources dealing with the Well from collections through ca. 950 followed by an extraction from them of only those

information bits directly relevant to the Well, each one called an Assertion. From these, items already known through the Tanakh were deleted, which resulted in a smaller list of Novel Assertions, and finally this list was further shortened by retaining only the first occurrence of each information bit, termed the “Earliest Novel Assertion.” The final list provides a profile of accumulating information as revealed century by century in the collections of Late Antiquity and which constitutes a dated record of the evolution of the Well’s midrashic portrait. Though a total of 295 Novel Assertions were gathered and recorded through collections of ca. 950, primary attention focused on the 243 Novel Assertions through ca. 640. All Novel Assertions were sorted by criteria of a subjective thematic classification into one of twenty-three Well themes, and their progressive accumulation was depicted graphically in Figure III-A-1. A tabulation of Well themes was presented including the time periods in which each thematic category experienced further elaboration evidenced by the addition of further Novel Assertions. This facilitated the division of Well themes into three categories, one an Early Pattern in which Novel Assertions were limited to collections from the third century, the second a Diffuse Pattern in which Novel Assertions appeared during a broad time band throughout Late Antiquity, and the third a Late Pattern in which Novel Assertions were limited to collections appearing in the last two-hundred and forty years of Late Antiquity.

In order to demonstrate the value of this format of presenting midrashic data, an assessment of the material was pursued based on a working assumption that seemed intuitively reasonable, though it was never rigorously defended. Specifically, Novel Assertions can on the one hand remain relatively stagnant without the appearance of

new twists to the storyline, or they can grow over time by acquiring further Novel Assertions. The intuitive assumption that guided assessment was that each of these two possible outcomes — relative stagnancy versus growth — might provide historically significant information about the importance the Rabbis attributed to particular themes in historical contexts of Late Antiquity. This assumption also guides the assessment of Miriam in Section III-B, leading to its being more practically tested in the historical hypotheses presented in Chapters IV through VI.

Of 243 Novel Well Assertions appearing in collections prior to ca. 640, twenty-seven (11%) specifically included Miriam. Tradition may of course have recognized her association with the Well even in contexts in which a midrash did not name her, but this is not currently demonstrable. Certainly, she was not essential to the storylines in the remaining 89% of Novel Assertions, leading to a conclusion that the Well was a viable midrashic entity with a “personality profile” and adventures of its own right independent of an association with Miriam.

In studying the timed-appearance of Novel Assertions of the “Rivers in the Desert” theme, the degree of novelty of early Assertions appeared compatible with a conjecture that the Well may have been an active component of traditions predating Late Antiquity, a contention supported by Pseudo-Philo’s reference to the Well. Likewise, a hint of the Well’s increasing significance over time may be contained in its eventual first-place listing among the ten items created on the eve of the first Shabbat. This noted, Pseudo-Philo also provides the earliest attestation to Miriam’s association with the Well, suggesting that the bond between the two likewise may have its roots in earlier traditions. Similarly, the relationship between Miriam and the

Well grows with time, but with an unexpected late twist. Miriam is linked to the Well among the earliest strata of collections in formulations of the Well as having been given “upon her hand” or “by her merit,” though it was noted with interest that further significant novel elaborations utilizing these motifs did not occur after ca. 225.

Rather, in collections appearing approximately two-hundred years later, an entirely new terminology appeared with the “Miriam’s Well” formulations of ca. 400. Since despite a thorough review of Well Novel Assertions, no rationale internal to its content provided a clue as to this new relationship, the further pursuit of a resolution is left to the assessment of Miriam in Chapter III-B. Said otherwise, the question is posed as to why what had successfully remained the nameless Well in sources beginning with Pseudo-Philo in ca. 50-100 CE was transformed in collections ca. 400 to an entity that gave up some of its literary autonomy to Miriam, who became its named owner. It is this inquiry that turns the remainder of this study towards an increased focus on Miriam.

Concurrent in at least a literary sense with the naming of the Well after Miriam, an additional late-only group of themes appeared that retired the Well to safe lodging in the Sea of Tiberias, with the unique footnote that it (now specifically identified uniquely as “Miriam’s Well”) was positioned at a point in the Sea in front of the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit/VTGN. The puzzle of the association of Miriam and the Well with a specific synagogue grew with a discovery that in the entire Bar Ilan Database searched through ca. 640, there is no other example of an object’s location being described in terms of its positioning related to a specifically named synagogue, suggesting that the midrashists may have had an

important reason for so associating Miriam's Well with the site. To further highlight the potential significance of Miriam's Well being so carefully described, in another context, Rashi on Jeremiah 39:3 uses the same expression (תרעא מציעתא) as midrash C2e in describing the middle gate as the place where "highest prophecy was carried out ... the gate where they pronounce *halakhot*." The earliest appearance of this interpretation appears in Leviticus Rabbah:

5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 4:1
 "A soul that will sin" (Lev 4:2). "Yet more I saw under the sun: the place of judgment, evil was there; and the place of righteousness, evil was there" (Ecc 3:16). R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua. R. Eliezer said, "'The place of judgment, evil was there' is the place where the great Sanhedrin of Israel sits and passes their judgments of Israel. 'Evil was there,' there [it is written], 'And the officers of the king of Babylon came and they sat in the middle gate' (Jer 39:3). What is the middle gate that there they decide on *halakhah*? ... R. Yehoshua says, "'The place of judgment, evil was there' is the place where strict justice was done to them on the incident of the Golden Calf."

In addition, the same assertion is repeated in the Babylonian Talmud and both versions of Midrash Tanchuma:

550: BTalmud Sanhedrin 103a
 (Jer 39) "And all the [officers] of the king of Babylon came, and they sat in the middle gate." R. Yochanan said because of R. Simeon b. Yohai, "It is the place where they decide upon *halakhot*."

400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayikra 8
 Solomon observed how the evil ones corrupt the sanctuary. Said Solomon, "The place where the Sanhedrin sat and judged capital judgments [and civil judgments], and judgments of flogging, and judgments of ritual impurity and cleansing were abominable there." See what is written, "And all the officers of the king of Babylon came and they sat in the middle gate ..." (Jer 39:3)

400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayiqra 6:6

Thus Solomon observed how the evil ones corrupted the judgment in the Temple. And Solomon saw the place where the Sanhedrin sat and judged capital judgments and judgments of flogging and civil judgments, and of ritual impurity and cleansing that were abominable. Come and see what is written, (Jer 39:3) “And all the officers of the king of Babylon came and they sat in the middle gate ...”

Another mention of the “middle gate occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud in a completely different context. Here the issue is the summons or *zimun* for the blessing after meals when there are two separate groups:

400: JTalmud Berakhot 7:11c

R. Berekhyah set his speaker (*amora*) at the middle gate of the beit midrash and he would summon (*mzmn*) these and these.

Though the original motivation for associating the Well and Miriam with the middle gate of this synagogue is still unclear, the prestige of both object and persona are enhanced by the juxtaposition.

Two other potentially significant associations were noted during the same general period of the final 240 years of Late Antiquity, both of which are linked to the “Miriam’s Well” formulation. One of them attributes specific healing properties to the Well, and the other ascribes ritual purity to its waters. Because the assessment of Well Novel Assertions has provided no further intuitive historical rationale to explain either the more intimate association between Miriam and the Well, nor the extra properties and stature it received concurrent with its specific identification as “Miriam’s Well,” a reasonable next step in further analyzing the tighter bonding between object and persona is to subject Miriam’s development in Novel Assertions through Late Antiquity to the same type of scrutiny applied to the Well sources.

On one level, this analysis of Well themes patterned on dated Novel Assertions has provided a firm methodological footing for the assessment of Miriam Novel Assertions to follow in Chapter III-B. In this pursuit, it should be emphasized again that the analysis of the Novel Assertions related to the Well, raising the puzzle of its relatively late naming as “Miriam’s Well,” has been the specific motivator for turning attention to Miriam. As a peripheral finding, a trend has been noted that the midrashic collections of the second half of Late Antiquity are notable not only for a quantitative acceleration of appearance of Novel Well Assertions, but also for a qualitative novelty in tone and content. These methodological practices, general observations, and assessment patterns utilized for the Well sources now provide useful approaches and perspective with which to pursue the midrashic portrayal of the Prophetess Miriam.

III-B

AN ASSESSMENT OF MIRIAM SOURCES

SECTION III-B-1

General Flow of Earliest Novel Miriam Assertions through Late Antiquity

Section III-B, focusing on Miriam, begins by following the pattern of assessment developed for the Well sources in Chapter III-A, with the additional opportunity of now being able to make comparisons between Well and Miriam sources. However, as analysis of Miriam Novel Assertions proceeds, a new grouping of themes is added, the rationale of which will be explained below. As in the case of the Well Assertions, though this study focuses on Late Antiquity through the year 640, Novel Assertions were accumulated through an averaged year of 950 to broaden the options for later analysis. The 360 Miriam Novel Assertions through 640 constitute 86% of the total group of 419 Novel Assertions through 950. The full Hebrew text of all Miriam midrashim together with English translations appears in Appendix A-2. Novel Assertions sorted chronologically from ca. 200 to 950 CE can be found in Appendix B-2, and the same material is resorted to group items by thematic classification, according to the proposal of Table II-D-5, in Appendix C-2. Table III-B-6 compares the total number of Novel Assertions for Miriam and the Well:

Table III-B-6: Comparison of Number of Well and Miriam Novel Assertions

	Novel Assertions from collections through ca. 640	Novel Assertions from collections after ca. 640 through ca. 950	Total Novel Assertions through ca. 950
Well Sources	243 (82% of Total)	52 (18% of Total)	295
Miriam Sources	360 (86% of Total)	59 (14% of Total)	419
Ratio of Miriam to Well Novel Assertions	1.5:1	1.1:1	1.4:1

Table III-B-6 shows that Miriam Novel Assertions outnumber Well Novel Assertions by a ratio of approximately 1.4:1 thru ca. 950. Between 82 and 86% of all Novel Assertions appear by ca. 640. It would be fascinating, but outside the scope of the current study, to have an available figure for Novel Assertions related to all midrashic topics to see if in general about 84% of a particular topic's novel elaborations were "on the table" by ca. 640. However, at this juncture, it is at least possible to compare the relative growth of the Miriam and Well traditions during this time period. Figure III-B-2 is analogous to Figure III-A-1, juxtaposing information from Section A about the accumulation of Well sources with similar Novel Assertion data for Miriam:

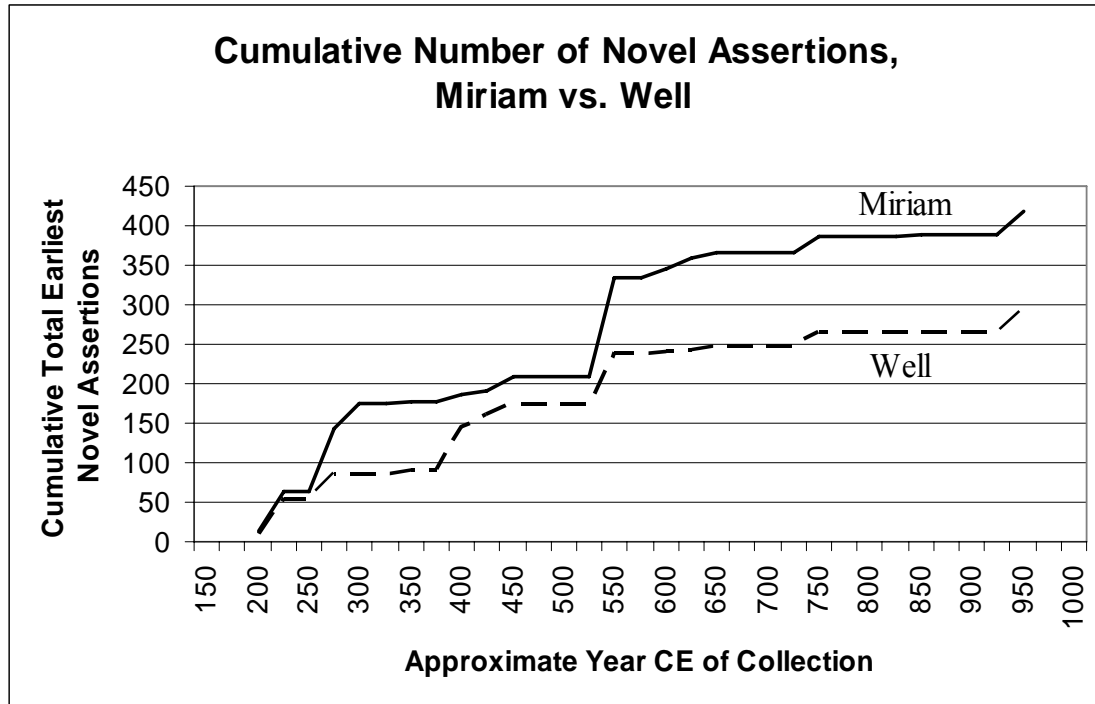


Fig. III-B-2: Progressive Accumulation Curves of Earliest Midrashic Novel Assertions through ca. 950 CE comparing Miriam to the Well

The data in Figure III-B-2 is based on information from Table III-B-7 below, which contains both the data regarding Miriam Novel Assertions, as well as the contents from Table III-A-1 with comparable information about the Well.

Table III-B-7: Accumulation of Earliest Novel Assertions Related to Miriam and the Well through 950 CE

Approx. Year of Collection	Number of Miriam Earliest Novel Assertions in Collections	Cumulative Miriam Assertions Total with Advancing Time	Number of Well Earliest Novel Assertions in Collections	Cumulative Well Assertions Total with Advancing Time
200	14	14	9	9
225	49	63	46	55
275	80	143	31	86
300	31	174	1	87
350	3	177	3	90
375	0	177	1	91
400	10	187	55	146
425	4	191	15	161
450	19	210	13	174
550	124	334	64	238
600	12	346	3	241
625	14	360	2	243
650	6	366	5	248
750	21	387	18	266
850	1	388	0	266
950	31	419	29	295
Total		419		295

As noted during the discussion of the Well related to Figure III-A-1, the graphic portrayal shows precipitous ascents corresponding to dates of collections. Similarities between the two accumulation lines are apparent even on casual inspection. For both Miriam and the Well, the most significant single increases were from collections dated ca. 550. However, between approximately 275 and 300, the Miriam curve has an upward slope whereas the Well curve is relatively flat. Likewise, starting with collections of ca. 550 the distance between the Miriam and Well lines grows farther apart than at any prior time. A conclusion can be drawn that starting in ca. 275, Miriam Novel Assertions outpaced those of the Well, and that starting with

ca. 550, this relative increase in Miriam material compared to the Well became even more accentuated. Though certain observations regarding the higher accumulation rate for Miriam sources are offered towards the end of Section III-B, a final hypothesis regarding the differential growth of Well and Miriam Assertions is deferred to the conclusions of Chapter VII. All this said, the profiles of accumulation of Novel Assertions appear to be roughly parallel, with the total number of Miriam Novel Assertions exceeding that of Well items through the broad sweep of Late Antiquity and beyond by a ratio of about 1.4:1.

SECTION III-B-2

Thematic Considerations Regarding Miriam Novel Assertions through 640 CE

Table II-D-5 presented a list of Miriam themes, reproduced below as Table III-B-8. The table now has two additional columns, similar to those added for the Well, showing both the range of years in which Novel Assertions appeared in collections related to each Miriam theme and the total number of Novel Assertions associated with each theme. The percentage contributed by each theme to the total is shown in parenthesis. Brief attention is drawn to Theme # 13, "Miriam's Illness." According to Midrash, apart from the account of her leprosy, Miriam had an additional illness from which she not only recovered but was restored to an enviable youthful beauty. No Novel Assertions are entered because the related Novel Assertions occur in collections later than ca. 640.

Table III-B-8: Thematic Classification of Novel Assertions Related to Miriam through ca. 640

Theme Code	MIRIAM THEME CATEGORY	Time Period of Collection through 640	Number of Earliest Novel Miriam Assertions
1	The meaning of the name "Miriam"	200-550	2 (1%)
2	Identifying varied events by Miriam's life	200-600	7 (2%)
3	Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them	225-625	34 (9%)
4	Miriam as midwife	275-550	6 (2%)
5	Miriam's interaction with her parents: their divorce and her prophecy	275-600	19 (5%)
6	Miriam's watching over the safety of her baby brother Moses	225-625	8 (2%)
7	Miriam's song at the Sea	550-625	3 (1%)
8	Miriam's interaction with Zipporah	225-550	11 (3%)
9	Miriam as exemplifying negative traits of women in general	425-625	5 (1%)
10	Miriam's leprosy	225-625	120 (33%)
11	Miriam's stature in the eyes of Israel: Accommodations while she was shut out	225-550	9 (3%)
12	Miriam's marriage	225-550	9 (3%)
13	Miriam's illness		0
14	Miriam's children and grandchildren	275-550	12 (3%)
15	Miriam's link to David	275-550	2 (1%)
16	Comparisons of Miriam to others in general	350- 550	5 (1%)
17	Miriam's gift of wisdom	400-550	4 (1%)
18	Miriam's stature compared to Patriarchs/siblings/other prophets	200-625	31 (9%)
19	Details of Miriam's death, what it taught, and the benefits it provided	200-550	14 (4%)
20	Citing a Miriam event to elucidate some peripheral point	275-625	19 (5%)
21	Biblical texts containing hidden allusions to Miriam's life or roles	200-550	16 (4%)
22	Miriam and the Well	200-550	24 (7%)
TOTAL			360

The assessment of Well themes in Section III-A was guided by a division of themes based on their time-pattern of appearance. Some themes were composed of Assertions only from early collections of Late Antiquity, while others came from collections near the end of the era. Yet, 83% of the Novel Assertions were from themes of the Diffuse Pattern in which Assertions appeared in both early and late collections. Of interest, compared to the 17% of Novel Assertions related to the Well

that were limited either to early or late time frames, only three of the Miriam themes are of the limited time-distribution pattern. They contain only 3% (twelve Assertions) of Miriam Novel Assertions belonging to time-limited themes, and all of them are of the Late Pattern. The other 97% of Miriam-Theme Novel Assertions are elaborated diffusely with contributions from both earlier and later collections. Though Section III-B-3 discusses Late Pattern Assertions, certain items from the Diffuse Pattern are interspersed to raise larger issues. However, the majority of Diffuse Pattern items are discussed in Sections III-B-4 and III-B-5, based respectively on whether they further elaborate biblical strands or introduce new “Unanticipated” themes.

SECTION III-B-3

Assessment of the Three Miriam Themes Whose Assertions are of the Late Pattern

Table III-B-9 lists those Miriam themes that appear in collections from ca. the last two hundred and forty years of Late Antiquity:

Table III-B-9: The Three Miriam Themes with a Late Pattern of Novel Assertions

Theme Code	Miriam Themes with a Late Pattern of Novel Assertions (ca. 425-625)	Time Period of Collection	Number (%) of Novel Assertions
7	Miriam’s Song at the Sea	550-625	3 (1%)
9	Miriam as Exemplifying Negative Traits of Women in General	425-625	5 (1%)
17	Miriam’s Gift of Wisdom	400-550	4 (1%)

The assessment of Late Pattern themes begins with Theme # 7, “Miriam’s Song at the Sea.” However, in the course of its discussion, significant parallels appear with Theme # 6, dealing with Miriam’s role in protecting Moses at the River.

Therefore, though the River theme is from the Diffuse Pattern, both the Sea and River themes are discussed together in the current Section. There are three Novel Assertions related to the Song over the Sea:

- M-265 550 Miriam sang a song over the Sea. C413/134a
- M-266 550 Miriam sang a song over water. C410/117
- M-351 625 Miriam was favored in singing a song at the Sea. C334

There are three noteworthy observations about these Assertions: first that they are so few in number; second that they are relatively late; and third that they are not particularly qualitatively expansive of her legacy. They have been included only out of a convention followed in this study to count items with even minimal word variations as additional Novel Assertions. In fact, one might argue that there being only three Novel Assertions about Miriam's role at the Sea in all midrashim through ca. 640 is quite astonishing. There is of course no record of a survey conducted among Jews in Late Antiquity regarding which parts of the Torah's accounts of Miriam were most memorable to them. However, it is at least plausible that her leading the women at the Sea would have been among the more vivid recollections, even more so because it was there that she was called "Prophetess." Therefore this paucity of elaborations should peek the curiosity of the historian of Miriam midrashim. In order to further support the contention that this sparse elaboration is anomalous, Table III-B-10 provides a basis for matching significant components of the Miriam storyline contained in the Tanakh to analogous themes that the midrashim devote to her. In this somewhat subjective process, it turns out that there are forty-one Miriam Novel Assertions in the Tanakh, which can be grouped into seven of the theme-categories identified in Table III-B-8. Furthermore, of these forty-one Novel

Assertions about her, four of them deal with Theme # 7, Miriam at the time of the Song of the Sea, accounting for about 9% of the Novel Assertions that Scripture makes about her. If the Midrash were to equally embellish all Miriam themes from the Tanakh, one would expect about thirty-two midrashic Novel Assertions (9% x 360) instead of the mere three presented above. In the listing of Table III-B-10, the first column supplies the “Miriam Theme” code utilized in Table III-B-8, and the second column provides a synthesis of each Miriam Novel Assertion and lists the verse from which it is derived.

Table III-B-10: Novel Assertions by Themes Regarding Miriam from the Tanakh

Theme	Synthesis of Miriam Assertion from Tanakh
6	1. Moses' sister stood from afar. (Ex 2:4)
6	2. His sister's stood to see what would be done to Moses (Ex 2:4)
6	3. Moses' sister asked Pharaoh's daughter: "Shall I go and call for you a nursing woman from the Hebrew women, and she will nurse the child for you?" (Ex 2:7)
6	4. Pharaoh's daughter told Moses' sister, "Go" (Ex 2:8)
6	5. The girl went. (Ex 2:8)
6	6. The girl called the child's mother. (Ex 2:8)
1, 2, 3*	7. Miriam is identified as a Prophetess. (Ex 15:20)
7	8. Miriam took a tambourine in her hand. (Ex 15:20)
7	9. All the women came out after Miriam with tambourines and dances. (Ex 15:20)
7	10. Miriam sang out to the people. (Ex 15:21)
7	11. Miriam sang, "Sing to the Lord, for He is indeed exalted, a horse and its rider He cast into the sea." (Ex 15:21)
10	12. Miriam spoke about Moses. (Num 12: 1)
10	13. Miriam and Aaron spoke concerning the Cushite woman. (Num 12:1)
10	14. Miriam (with Aaron) said, "Has the Lord spoken only to Moses? Hasn't He also spoken to us?" (Num 12:2)
10	15. Miriam spoke together with Aaron. (Num 12:2)
10	16. The Lord heard Miriam (and Aaron). (Num 12:2)
10	17. The Lord said to Miriam (and Moses and Aaron), "Go out, all three of you, to the Tent of Meeting!" (Num 12:4)
10	18. Miriam (and Moses and Aaron) went out. (Num 12:4)
10	19. The Lord called to Miriam (and Aaron). (Num 12:5)
10	20. Miriam (with Aaron) went out. (Num 12:5)
10	21. The Lord addressed Miriam (and Aaron), "Do hear my words....." (Num 12:6-8)
10	22. The Lord's wrath flared against Miriam (and Aaron). (Num 12:9)
10	23. Miriam was afflicted with leprosy. (Num 12:10)
10	24. Miriam's leprosy was as snow. (Num 12:10)
10	25. Aaron turned to Miriam. (Num 12:10)
10	26. Aaron pleaded to Moses on Miriam's behalf (Num 12:11-12)
10	27. Moses beseeched God to heal Miriam. (Num 12:13)
10	28. The Lord told Moses, "If her father had indeed spit in her face, wouldn't she be ashamed seven days? Let her be shut up seven days outside the camp, and afterwards she will be gathered.". (Num 12:14)
10	29. Miriam was shut up outside the camp seven days. (Num 12:15)
11	30. Miriam was gathered back. (Num 12:15)
11	31. The people did not travel till Miriam had joined the camp. (Num 12:15)
19	32. Miriam died in Qadesh. (Num 20:1)
19	33. Miriam was buried in Qadesh. (Num 20:1)
1, 2, 3*	34. Miriam's mother was Jochebed. (Num 26:59)
1, 2, 3*	35. Miriam's father was Amram. (Num 26:59)
1, 2, 3*	36. Miriam's brother was Moses. (Num 26:59)
1, 2, 3*	37. Miriam's brother was Aaron. (Ex 15:20, Num 26:59)
10	38. Moses admonishes the people to remember what the Lord did to Miriam. (Deut 24:9)
1, 2, 3*	39. Miriam was sent by the Lord. (Micah 6:4)
1, 2, 3*	40. Miriam was sent before the Israelites. (Micah 6:4)
18	41. Miriam was like Moses and Aaron in having been sent by the Lord. (Micah 6:4)

*# 1, # 2, and # 3 provide general identifying information and are grouped together.

One might ask if such a comparison of biblical and midrashic treatment of a character is meaningful. There is certainly no established principle that a theme's midrashic elaboration quantitatively parallels its biblical development. Yet, the question of how closely Miriam's thematic development in the Bible coincides with that in Midrash is at least worthy of consideration, and a basis for such comparison is set forth in Table III-B-11.

Table III-B-11: Miriam Theme Novel Assertions in the Tanakh vs. Midrash through ca. 640

Theme ID #	Miriam Themes Common to the Tanakh and Midrash	Number of Novel Assertions from Tanakh (And % of 41 Biblical Assertions)	Number of Novel Assertions in Midrash (And % of 360 Miriam Assertions)
1 2 3	Varied names, titles, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them	7 (17%)	43 (12%)
6	Ex 2:4-2:8 Miriam's watching over the safety of her baby brother Moses	6 (15%)	7 (2%)
7	Ex 15:20-21 Miriam's song at the sea	4 (10%)	3 (1%)
10	Num 12:1-15 Miriam's leprosy	19 (46%)	120 (33%)
11	Num 12:15 Miriam's stature in the eyes of Israel: Accommodations while she was shut out.	2 (5%)	9 (3%)
18	Micah 6:4 Miriam's stature compared to patriarchs/siblings/other prophets	1 (2%)	31 (9%)
19	Num 20:1 Details of Miriam's death, what it taught, and the benefits it provided	2 (5%)	14 (4%)
TOTAL NOVEL ASSERTIONS		41 (100%)	227 (64%)

Certain similarities are apparent. The Tanakh spends more of its Miriam Novel Assertions on her leprosy (46%) than on any other topic. Similarly, 33% of the midrashic Novel Assertions deal with the Leprosy theme, almost four-fold more Novel Assertions than for any of the other twenty-one Miriam themes. There is a remarkable similarity in the number of elaborations of her death (5% vs. 4%), the accommodations Israel made for her in detaining their departure during her affliction (5% vs. 3%), and in general identifying information (17% vs. 12%). However, there is a four-fold expansion in the midrashic elaborations of the comparison of Miriam to her siblings. In fact, next to the Leprosy theme, this category tied for the second most elaborated Miriam theme, with 9% of all Novel Assertions, all perhaps expansions of the single comment of Micah 6:4. What is of interest is that this comparison has uncovered a second midrashically underdeveloped theme. In addition to the ten-fold lesser embellishment of Miriam's role at the waters of the Sea already discussed, there is also a seven-fold underdevelopment (2% vs. 15%) of her watching over Moses at the waters of the River. Most oddly, just as it was suggested that the scene at the Sea was one of potent and sympathetic imagery, so too is her role in watching over her baby brother very endearing and prominently displayed in a mural at Dura-Europos to be discussed in Chap IV.

Why would those who contributed to the content of midrashic collections have been so relatively disconnected from elaborations of Miriam's involvement at the Sea and the River? It could be argued that this simply represents a paucity of enhancements in earlier traditions that may have provided the Rabbis with material for their midrashic elaborations. However, this would simply shift the question back to

the earlier traditions. Further, why should the Rabbis, who were obviously capable of creativity, limit themselves here to what they received from tradition, ignoring the pinnacles of Miriam's biblical career? To posit the question from a different perspective, 64% of all midrashic Miriam Novel Assertions are thematic embellishments of themes common to both the Tanakh and Midrash. Conversely, 36% of the midrashic Novel Assertions deal with themes unique to Midrash. Why were the midrashists so much more interested in elaborating the 36% of midrashic strands with little or no biblical basis, rather than devoting greater attention to further enhancements of the events at the Sea and the River? Furthermore, in having given such due attention to her leprosy compared to these slighted roles at the Sea, where she was called Prophetess, and at the River, where she ostensibly sought to protect Moses in his watery surroundings, do we find some hint of rabbinic disparagement, intentional or subliminal, in minimizing the two most positive stage calls of Miriam's biblical debut? Can it be argued that a rabbinic attitude towards women in general may have been involved in their soft-pedaling of Miriam's positive biblical portrayals?

Leila Bronner's comment may be apropos:

Although [the rabbis] tend to describe [the Biblical prophetesses'] activities with great respect and interest, nevertheless, they tend to attribute to these Biblical women, even the finest, the negative characteristics ascribed to the female gender as a whole ... [as in Gen Rabba 45:5]. This shows that the rabbis, despite their admiration and adoration for Biblical prophetesses, could not divorce these figures from their general attitudes toward women. (Bronner 183)

In defense of Bronner's observation, Miriam Theme # 9, the second of the three Late Pattern themes, contains five Novel Assertions derived from the episode of

her speaking about Moses, typecasting Miriam as stereotypically exhibiting a negative trait that Midrash attributes to women in general:

- M-188 425 Miriam exhibited a trait of women in being garrulous as she spoke about Moses. C276
- M-280 550 Miriam was talkative despite precautions God took in creating Eve. C254
- M-288 550 Miriam's being talkative represented a concern God had about women since His creation of Eve. C246, C254, C267
- M-212 550 Though the Holy One had taken measures not to create Eve from Adam's mouth, yet Miriam spoke about Moses. C246, C254
- M-355 625 Moses said of Miriam that her talking was the way of women. C333

Is it mere coincidence that the scant three rather bland embellishments of Miriam's role at the Sea did not occur until late in Late Antiquity when the Rabbis were concurrently positing Miriam-as-woman in the rather negative perspective of these five Novel Assertions?

In further assessment of the issue of the paucity of material embellishing Miriam's positive biblical portrayals, the other Miriam theme common to the Tanakh and Midrash, in which she is similarly underdeveloped in the latter, deals with her watching over Moses at the River. The Tanakh devotes 15% of its Miriam Novel Assertions to her role at the River, and if the Midrash were to follow suit, one would anticipate some 54 (15% x 360) Novel Assertions relating to her protective role at the River. Yet, Miriam Theme # 6 contains a mere eight Novel Assertions, only 2% of all Miriam midrashic material. Unlike the Assertions related to her role at the Sea, the River Assertions occur diffusely in both earlier and later collections, as listed below:

- M-40 225 Miriam waited an hour to know what would be done with her brother. C219
- M-127 275 No one instructed Miriam to wait to see what would be done to Moses except prophecy. C228
- M-99 275 Miriam (as Puah) groaned and cried over her brother. C230
- M-130 275 That Miriam pursued to see what would be done to him is the doing of none other than the Holy Spirit. C228
- M-220 550 A reason why Miriam stood from afar ‘to know’ was to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy. C304, C311
- M-282 550 Miriam went quickly like a young woman to find a Hebrew nursemaid for Moses. C310
- M-300 550 That Miriam stood is to be understood that the Lord/*Shekhinah* was involved with her in this regard. C307
- M-213 550 Miriam concealed her words. C310

Viewing the Torah as an integrated account in the sense in which it was known in Late Antiquity, the reference to Moses’ sister in Exodus 2:7 is freely rendered as “Miriam.” Her addressing Pharaoh’s daughter and working through the details of reuniting him with his mother while assuring his safety from the Egyptian decree against firstborns certainly casts her in a positive light. That she is called “girl” here, indicating that she did this while still in her youth, earns her additional respect. Furthermore, it is at least of interest that both M-127 and M-300 draw attention to the divine sanction of her mission, further adding to her stature. And lest this complimentary portrayal be construed as applying only to the mission and not to her person, both M-127 and M-220 refer to her “prophecy” (part of the storyline developed in Miriam theme # 5), apparently defining a feature of her youthful prophetic essence at the River even before she was called a “Prophetess” at the Sea. Though the paucity of midrashic embellishment of her involvement at the River is still enigmatic, it becomes more difficult to attribute this to either a subtle or more overt rabbinic disinterest in ennobling the role of women. The verbal imagery of divine

involvement (Holy Spirit/*Shekhinah*) and prophetic aptitude accorded Miriam in Theme # 6 is simply too prestigious in its tone.

There is another problem with using Bronner's observations regarding a rabbinic focus on stereotypical attributes of women as an explanation for the underdevelopment of her River and Sea roles in Midrash. The third and final Miriam Theme of the Late Pattern, # 17, involves her gift of Wisdom. The earliest mention of Miriam's association with Wisdom comes from the Jerusalem Talmud (C283) and is repeated later in the Babylonian Talmud (C307) and in Exodus Rabbah (C366), from which two Novel Assertions are derived:

M-185 400 When Prov 7:4 talks of wisdom as a sister, this can be understood as Miriam, the sister of Moses, possessing wisdom. C283

M-186 400 Miriam's waiting for an hour has to do with Miriam's possession of wisdom. C283

Miriam's waiting proved wise, since, as the same midrash also reiterates, "the Lord God would not do anything except if He revealed His secret to His servants the prophets" (C283), which once again correlates with the biblical statement that Miriam was indeed a prophetess. Two additional Novel Assertions, integrated also with Miriam-Theme # 4, identify Wisdom as her reward for saving Israelite children by her virtuous behavior as a midwife:

M-278 550 Miriam was rewarded with wisdom. C249, C259

M-324 550 The wisdom with which Miriam was rewarded was because as a midwife she feared God. C249, C259

As it turns out, Bronner's comment seems to be relatively well balanced. The Rabbis may well have had a stereotypic bias regarding what they viewed to be a

relatively exclusive women's propensity towards counterproductive gab, and they did not exempt Miriam from their repertoire of female examples. Yet, their portrayal is more informational than pejorative, coexisting with the very favorable portrayal of Miriam as one close to the *Shekhinah* and Holy Spirit, prophetically enabled, and gifted with Wisdom. Thus, from this review of the Novel Assertions in themes exclusive to later midrashic collections, a tentative conclusion can be drawn that even if the relative midrashic underdevelopment of Miriam's positive biblical portrayals at the Sea and the River are significant, no convincing data have thus far come to light that allow attribution of this paucity of embellishment to a general disparagement of women's roles.

In transitioning from this review of the three Miriam themes whose Assertions are of the Late Pattern to the remaining eighteen of the Diffuse Pattern, note should be made of a new grouping that was not available for use in the Well analysis. The Well of Midrash is conceptually different from wells appearing here and there in the Tanakh. It is a uniquely singular entity created at the eve of the first Shabbat, which then makes its callings at varied stations of Israel's saga. As such, any attempt to compare a well named in a biblical verse to the construct of Midrash requires a reading into scriptural intent. Stated otherwise, when Midrash explains that God gave the Well to Israel so that during its years in the wilderness it could focus on the Torah rather than on material pursuits, the first inclination of the reader unfamiliar with Midrash is to ask, "What Well?" However, there is no such difficulty in linking the midrashic assertion of guidance given by the Holy Spirit to Miriam at the River to the scripturally developed persona of Miriam. Based on this observation, whereas in the

case of the Well all themes flowed from extra-biblical suppositions regarding its essence as a unique and continuous novel entity, the assessments to follow on most of the remaining eighteen Miriam themes can be subdivided into two groups: One whose subject matters are common to both Tanakh and Midrash, and a second group to be called “Unanticipated” Miriam themes, whose topics are known only through extra-biblical sources.

SECTION III-B-4

Assessment of Diffuse Pattern Miriam Themes Common to the Tanakh and Midrash

Having tentatively concluded that the apparent midrashic slight to Miriam’s portrayal at the Sea and River cannot be readily attributed to a general disparagement of women’s roles, one must put in perspective that the Late Pattern midrashim account for only 3% of total Miriam Novel Assertions. Attention will now focus on selected Assertions from the other eighteen themes, which contain 348 of the 360 total Miriam Novel Assertions. However, as the focus shifts from themes whose material appeared late to those whose Novel Assertions are more diffusely distributed during Late Antiquity, the unsettled issue of the midrashic underdevelopment of Miriam’s Sea and River roles raised in the late sources will continue to be kept in mind. Hopefully, the cumulative midrashic portrayal of Miriam will shed light on the mindsets of Rabbis and others in Late Antiquity. The tone of material in this Section is introduced by two Novel assertions from Miriam Themes # 20 and # 21, dealing respectively with citations used to elucidate some peripheral point and with biblical texts in which the Rabbis found some hidden allusion to Miriam’s life or roles. These theme categories

are analogous to the purport of Themes # 21 and # 22 of the Well Assertions. The inclusion of these sources bears testimony to Miriam's general stature as a figure sufficiently of interest to the Rabbis to utilize her in their exegetical endeavors:

- M-142 275 With the same strength as one is told to "remember" what the Lord did to Miriam, so too is one to "remember" and sanctify the Sabbath and "remember" how the Lord was provoked in the wilderness. C226
- M-191 425 When Gen 40:10 speaks of the three shoots on the vine of the butler's dream, these refer to Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron. C275, C278

There are sixteen remaining categories from the Miriam themes listed in Table III-B-8, and all have Assertions distributed in collections of both earlier and later dates. As discussed above, these can be divided into two groups. The first is identified in Table III-B-11 which deals with the eight Miriam Themes common to both the Tanakh and Midrash. For clarity, these are reproduced below as Table III-B-12:

Table III-B-12: The Eight Miriam-Themes Common to both the Tanakh and Midrashim with a Diffuse Pattern of Early and Late Novel Assertions

Theme Code	MIRIAM-THEMES WHOSE ASSERTIONS ARE BOTH FROM EARLIER AND LATER COLLECTIONS (Diffuse Timing Pattern)	Time Period of Collection through 640 CE	Number of Earliest Novel Miriam Assertions
1	The meaning of the name "Miriam"	200-550	2 (1%)
2	Identifying varied events by Miriam's life	200-600	7 (2%)
3	Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them	225-625	34 (9%)
6	Miriam's watching over the safety of her baby brother Moses	225-625	8 (2%)
10	Miriam's leprosy	225-625	120 (33%)
11	Miriam's stature in the eyes of Israel: Accommodations while she was shut out	225-550	9 (3%)
18	Miriam's stature compared to Patriarchs/siblings/other prophets	200-625	31 (9%)
19	Details of Miriam's death, what it taught, and the benefits it provided	200-550	14 (4%)

Of these, Theme # 6, dealing with Miriam’s watching over Moses at the River has already been discussed above. Miriam Theme # 3 deals with varied names, accolades, and identifying information about Miriam. In this regard, the Torah reports that she was a prophetess, daughter of Jochebed and Amram, the sister of Moses and Aaron, and that she was one who was “sent” by the Lord. Midrash offers the following additional elaborations among others:

M-63	225	Miriam was appointed.	C407/5
M-67	275	God called Miriam “the righteous.”	C208
M-75	275	Miriam was a provider.	C210
M-83	275	Miriam was a shepherd.	C401/31
M-118	275	Miriam was meritorious.	C230
M-166	300	Miriam was a busybody on matters.	C237
M-199	450	Miriam was a messenger.	C423/73
M-242	550	Miriam had a heart as tender as roses.	C428/93
M-269	550	Miriam was a redeemer.	C410/117, C413/134a, C257
M-270	550	Miriam was a reviver of Israel.	C428/93
M-271	550	Miriam was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know.	C413/134a

Of these eleven accolades, ten are of positive and complimentary tone. Only one of them is negative, M-166 from ca. 300, stating that Miriam was a “busybody.”

Two other very small thematic categories can be considered along with items from Category # 3. M-3 from Category # 1 adds to Miriam’s stature by describing the length of years of Israel’s bondage in terms of her birth through her eighty-sixth year of life. M-2 and M-291 from Category # 2 go on to correlate this association of servitude with the meaning of her name:

M-3	200	The bondage is neither more nor less than the eighty-six years of Miriam’s years (i.e., her age at the time of the Exodus).	C204
M-2	200	Miriam’s name reflected embitterment.	C204
M-291	550	Miriam’s name reflects the embitterment of slavery.	C247, C320

Another group, Miriam Theme # 19, deals with Miriam's death, regarding which the Torah advises that she died and was buried in Qadesh. Midrash provides twenty-one additional Novel Assertions, some of which are listed below:

M-9	200	Miriam died on the first of Nissan. C405/45
M-103	275	Miriam died on Mt. Nebo. C242, C244
M-104	275	Miriam died with a kiss by the mouth of the Lord. C245
M-76	275	Miriam was buried on Mt. Nebo. C211
M-77	275	Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211
M-180	400	Miriam's death served as atonement for others. C279
M-240	550	Maggots had no dominion over Miriam. C314
M-306	550	The angel of death had no dominion over Miriam. C314

There is no midrashic remark of stain on Miriam related to her death. The details of her death befit a person of stature, and the positive tone is present in Novel Assertions from both early and late collections. Furthermore, the 4% of Novel Assertions that Midrash devotes to her death is very close to the 5% attention given to this theme in the Tanakh.

There is another category present in both the Tanakh and Midrash that includes many motifs in common with Assertions dealing with Miriam's death. Theme # 18 compares Miriam's stature with that of the Patriarchs, her siblings, and other prophets. Related to this category, it is of interest to review Table III-B-11. As it turns out, of those Miriam themes shared by both Tanakh and Midrash there is only one, # 18, where Midrash provides a higher percentage of elaborations than the Tanakh. Scripture devotes 2% of all its Miriam Assertions to her stature vis-à-vis others, limited largely to the comment in Micah 6:4, where Moses, Aaron, and Miriam are presented as a threesome of leaders (though in Num. 12:2, Miriam also compares herself and Aaron to Moses). By way of contrast, 9% of all midrashic Novel

Assertions are devoted to comparing Miriam to others of stature, more than four times the attention given in the Tanakh. Representative items, from collections of both early and later periods of Late Antiquity, are presented for this large theme with a breakdown into sub-categories as follows:

a) Miriam was a part of the larger picture of Israel's prophets and righteous ones:

- M-6 200 When it says that "Miriam the Prophetess took" (Ex 15:20), it is to convey that she served as did the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who prophesied to Israel and were inscribed in Scripture. C207
- M-341 600 Miriam is included along with Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, Aaron, and Moses as "the righteous ones" because "there" is used to describe where they were buried. C339

b) Miriam was one of three siblings whose lives were dedicated to the service of

Israel:

- M-10 200 Miriam was one of three good providers, along with Aaron and Moses, appointed over Israel. C405/45
- M-85 275 Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron, was a Shepherd. C401/31
- M-203 450 The Holy one sent three messengers – Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C423/73
- M-310 550 The Holy One sent Miriam along with Moses and Aaron for Israel's nourishment. C410/117, C413/134a
- M-196 450 From Miriam's merit, along with that of Aaron and Moses, Israel supported itself. C423/73
- M-276 550 Miriam was one of three redeemers along with Moses and Aaron appointed to serve Israel. C410/117
- M-350 625 Miriam is counted, along with Moses and Aaron, as those who will save Israel in times of distress. C397

c) Likewise, midrashic accounts note common themes related to their deaths:

- M-72 275 Like her siblings, Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211
- M-120 275 Miriam was one of three prophets (along with Aaron and Moses) who died on Mt. Nebo. C242, C244
- M-236 550 In the same month it was decreed that Moses, Aaron, and Miriam would die. C428/93

d) A relatively early source, M-107, reports that Miriam, like her siblings, died with a kiss from the Lord:

M-123 275 Miriam's death, by the mouth of the Lord with a kiss, was as were Aaron's and Moses'. C245

And as if the later midrashist may have worried that skeptics might view this assertion suspiciously, a tight midrashic case is created to explain why the Torah itself did not include this information:

M-327 550 Unlike others over whom the angel of death had no dominion, it is not written that Miriam died "by the mouth of the Lord." C314

M-298 550 Of Miriam it was not said, "By the mouth of the Lord" because the matter is disrespectful. C305, C314, C319

M-299 550 That Miriam also died with a kiss can be inferred from the use of the word "there" related to Moses. C305, C314, C319

e) And despite all of these sources that unequivocally equate the three siblings, there are two sources that do convey a sense of rank. However, the flavor of these Assertions is not so much of disparagement as informational in placing the relationships in perspective:

M-46 225 Moses was greater than Miriam. C216

M-286 550 Miriam's being gathered was not made known as were Aaron and Moses' being gathered because Moses and Aaron were more like two regularly involved "controllers to the King" than Miriam had been. C253, C265

Though not entirely pertinent to this study insofar as it focuses only on collections through ca. 640, it is of general interest that Assertion M-381 provides a somewhat counterbalancing statement to the above, the foundation for which is well established in midrashim to be reviewed shortly, though the Torah provides no confirmation of its validity:

M-381 750 The Lord spoke to Miriam before He ever spoke to Moses.
C398

f) And finally, three similarly dated sources depict Miriam as sharing the responsibility for Israel's most distinctive calling. Source M-348 is particularly telling in including Miriam as one through whose hands the Torah was given:

- M-283 550 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know. C413/134a
- M-348 625 Miriam is compared to Aaron and Moses as being among the hands through which the Torah was given. C337
- M-349 625 Miriam is counted along with Moses and Aaron as those who will increase Torah and commandments in Israel. C397

Of these thirty-one Novel Assertions comparing Miriam to others of stature, two of them (in sub-item "e" above) correspond to the reality of accounts in the Tanakh attesting to the uniqueness of Moses' role, as well as that of his brother Aaron the High-Priest, whereas the other twenty-nine, taken as a unit, go far beyond the Torah's depiction of Miriam in asserting her equality with Moses and Aaron in leading Israel.

This comparison of Miriam themes common to both the Tanakh and Midrash was stimulated by the paucity of embellishments over what could be argued to be her most positive biblical portrayals as a girl at the River and as an adult at the Sea. Yet, so far there is no evidence from the tone or content of Novel Assertions to suggest an attempt to suppress a more favorable treatment of Miriam, save one item from ca. 300 (M-166) in which she was described as a busybody. However, what remains to be explored is the very theme to which both the Torah and midrashim devote most attention, and which has the greatest potential for negatively implicating Miriam. The Torah's language is surely not complimentary:

And the Lord said to Moses, “And had her father indeed spit in her face, wouldn’t she be ashamed seven days? Let her be shut up seven days outside the camp. (Num 12:14)

In developing the Leprosy theme midrashically, the Rabbis would certainly not be going far astray by capitalizing on the audacity of her impropriety, and in taking advantage of the opportunity to further expand upon her portrayal as a busybody.

As noted above, the events surrounding Miriam’s speaking about Moses and her subsequent leprosy account for 46% of the Tanakh’s information bits about Miriam, and 33% of the Novel Assertions about her in the midrashim of Late Antiquity. The midrashim in this category are often lengthy, containing many Assertions that add to the total account of her leprosy. Attempting to come to an objective conclusion about the cumulative impression with which the student of Midrash ought to be left regarding its treatment of Miriam’s leprosy would be exceedingly problematic without using the methodology of organizing data by Novel Assertions proposed in this study. In fact, the 120 Novel Assertions from this very large group dealing with her speaking about Moses lend themselves to further sub-classification as shown in Table III-B-13:

Table III-B-13: Classification of Leprosy Themes into Sub-theme Categories

Theme ID Code	BREAKDOWN OF MIRIAM'S LEPROSY INTO SUB-THEMES	Time Period of Collection through 640 CE	Number of Earliest Novel Miriam Assertions
10.0	Miriam's leprosy: General announcement, time, & place.	225-550	3 (1%)
10.1	Miriam's leprosy: Details of the slander as prototype sin causing leprosy	225-625	38 (11%)
10.2	Miriam's leprosy: The equity of God's system of justice	275	3 (1%)
10.3	Miriam's leprosy: Miriam's noble intentions in speaking about Moses	225-550	10 (3%)
10.4	Miriam's leprosy: Rationalizations of Miriam's speaking about Moses	225-625	8 (2%)
10.5	Miriam's leprosy: "Slander" as inappropriate despite rationalizations	225-625	8 (2%)
10.6	Miriam's leprosy: Applying lessons of Miriam's punishment to others	225-625	12 (3%)
10.7	Miriam's leprosy: Aaron's involvement.	225-600	12 (3%)
10.8	Miriam's leprosy: Moses' reaction and intervention on Miriam's behalf	225-625	11 (3%)
10.9	Miriam's leprosy: God's handling of Miriam's talking about Moses	225-550	15 (4%)
TOTAL OF LEPROSY ASSERTIONS, ALL SUB-THEMES			120 (33%)

The Leprosy sub-themes will now be surveyed in some detail in order to characterize the tone and content of their Novel Assertions and thereby to arrive at a conclusion concerning their contribution to Miriam's midrashic portrayal. Category 10.0 contains three items that establish the geography and news of Miriam's affliction in a generally non-judgmental manner, two of which follow:

- M-31 225 It was in Chatserot that Miriam was inflicted with Leprosy. C214
- M-39 225 Miriam spoke to Aaron about Moses immediately after Zipporah talked to her. C215

By all rights, items from theme # 8 with Novel Assertions regarding Miriam's interaction with Zipporah should not be included at this point since the current goal is to present midrashic themes that have a counterpart in the Tanakh itself, which offers

no attestation to a conversation between the two women. However, because it fits into the storyline of events leading to Miriam's speaking about Moses raised in M-39 above, three Novel Assertions that fill in the details of what instigated Miriam's response to Moses' abandonment of marital union are appropriate:

- M-101 275 Miriam asked Zipporah, "What is with you that you are not adorning yourself with women's ornaments? C232
- M-143 275 Zipporah said to Miriam, "Your brother is not fussy on this matter." C232
- M-251 550 Miriam heard Zipporah say, "Woe to the wives of those. They are dependent on prophecy and they will separate from their wives like my husband separated from me." C260

The next sub-theme, # 10.1, has thirty-eight Novel Assertions and is the largest of the ten leprosy sub-categories. It accounts for one-third of all information about the leprosy incident and contains 11% of the total Novel Assertions about Miriam in Late Antiquity. These assertions are at the heart of spelling out the nature of Miriam's impropriety and of linking it prototypically to leprosy as a punishment. The following assessment further divides this sub-theme into the charges against Miriam, the consequences of her action, Aaron's co-involvement, and the difference in the ways he was treated:

a) The following examples establish the charges against Miriam:

- M-37 225 Miriam sinned with her mouth. C217
- M-38 225 Miriam spoke to Aaron about Moses' separation from Zipporah. C215
- M-108 275 Miriam is given as a case of one who thought ill of the elder. C241
- M-164 300 Miriam said, "He, who is very haughty, is separated from his wife." C237
- M-165 300 Miriam told Aaron what Zipporah had told her about Moses. C237

b) The consequences are likewise spelled out:

- M-29 225 For Miriam's sin of the mouth, all of her limbs were afflicted. C217
- M-30 225 Miriam is testimony that such afflictions come only through slander. C210
- M-52 225 The injunction to "Remember what the Lord did to Miriam" is to teach against sinning with one's mouth. C217
- M-232 550 From Miriam's leprosy one learns that whoever brings out an evil name finds evil afflicting his body. C261

c) However, Aaron was equally involved. In fact, Aaron's name specifically finds its way into 19 of the 38 leprosy Assertions in this sub-category. Accordingly, he too is punished:

- M-22 225 Aaron added to Miriam's words about Moses. C215
- M-25 225 After Miriam spoke words to Aaron about Moses, they continued to carry on about the matter. C215
- M-32 225 Miriam and Aaron said, "Moses is pretentious, for the Holy One, blessed be He, did not speak only to him alone. He has already spoken with many prophets and with us, and we have not separated from our wives as he has..." C215
- M-28 225 Both Miriam and Aaron turned white and red and impure with an intense white lesion. C218
- M-150 300 "The cloud turned aside from above the tent," means that Miriam (and Aaron) were punished immediately. C237
- M-325 550 There is debate as to whether Aaron shared in Miriam's punishment of leprosy. C302

d) Amplifying the sense of Assertion M-325, Aaron's punishment does not last as long as Miriam's, and the Midrash elaborates on the reasons:

- M-23 225 Aaron and Miriam deserved the same punishment, but he was wearing the coat in which he atoned over slander. C217
- M-49 225 That Aaron was immediately healed but Miriam was not is due to the fact she started on the matter about Moses. C217

In asking how harsh the Novel Assertions of Leprosy sub-theme 10.1 are in their treatment of Miriam, a case can be made that the main focus is not on Miriam, but on slander and its consequences. That Aaron as is so totally intertwined with

Miriam, both in the perpetuation of inappropriate dialogue and by being punished, adds to the argument that those who contributed to the midrashim of the collections in which these Assertions appear were more concerned about using the episode as an opportunity to expound upon slander than in branding Miriam with some type of lasting stigma. Similarly, that the act rather than the person was their focus can be inferred from the tone of the following Assertion from this group:

M-171 300 That leprosy is sent onto the sons of Adam is taught by
 “Remember what the Lord did to Miriam.” C236

This invokes the language of Deuteronomy 24:9 as the Torah’s final comment on both Miriam and her affliction. Leprosy is universalized as something that can befall all mankind for inappropriate acts, and there is no implication that Miriam was the cause of others having to endure leprosy in the sense of Original Sin. In fact, in this entire 10.1 subgroup, there is only one Assertion that might be taken in a demeaning sense. This source from ca. 600 employs the same root used for “busybody” presented above in the earlier M-166 from ca. 300:

M-343 600 Miriam’s being a busybody was why her affliction was made
 worse than Aaron’s. C338

Continuing the analysis of items from the leprosy category, again with the overall intention of determining Miriam’s cumulative treatment in Midrash concerning her affliction, sub-theme 10.2 contains only three items. These are all from ca. the third century and posit not only God’s justice, but His selection of Miriam as an example of the causes and effects of slander precisely because of her stature, the sense of Assertion M-69 being that not even one as generally meritorious as Miriam is immune from suffering the consequences of slander:

- M-71 275 God was not partial in judgment to Miriam. C208
 M-69 275 God justified not being partial to mankind since He was not even partial to Miriam. C208
 M-132 275 That the rest of mankind should be subject to punishment was inferred from God's decision to punish even Miriam. C208, C239

In fact, the next sub-theme, # 10.3, includes items going to impressive lengths in emphasizing Miriam's noble intentions, thus mitigating her wrongdoing:

- M-60 225 Miriam's choice of how to speak about Moses reflected her desire to benefit Moses. C 217
 M-102 275 Miriam did not intend to speak about her brother for shame. C232
 M-105 275 Miriam elected to speak in Aaron's presence because of the need of that time. C232
 M-106 275 Miriam intended to speak about her brother to improve and not exclude from fruitfulness and increase. C232, C241
 M-145 300 Miriam loved Moses. C237
 M-168 300 Miriam's intention was to honor Moses. C236
 M-169 300 Miriam's intention was to praise Moses. C236
 M-252 550 Miriam intended to return Moses to his wife. C250, C261

Following this uniformly favorable treatment of her motives, items from Leprosy sub-theme 10.4 seem to reflect a most deliberate effort to rationalize to Miriam's benefit her tact and approach, attempting to refute that there was anything ill-conceived in what she may have done:

- M-73 275 Miriam did not speak to Moses' face. C 210
 M-44 225 Miriam's speaking about Moses could be viewed more favorably as an older sibling relating to a younger one. C217
 M-78 275 Miriam's words about Moses were heard only by God. C208
 M-159 300 Miriam (and Aaron) did not judge Moses with certainty, but with doubt about his haughtiness. C237
 M-162 300 Miriam did not speak except about her beloved brother. C237
 M-347 625 Miriam did not intend to say slander about Moses. C336

As in most other Leprosy sub-themes, Assertions of similarly favorable tone continue to come from both early and late collections. Assertion M-162 is of interest since, though the Torah states that Miriam spoke about Moses, Midrash draws

attention to him being, after all, her brother. Yet, despite all these defenses pointing out the love behind her good intentions, sub-theme 10.5 leaves no doubt that her actions were nevertheless inappropriate:

- M-35 225 Miriam merited punishment even though her words about Moses were heard only by God. C208
- M-42 225 Miriam was punished despite her tact in choosing how to speak about Moses. C 217
- M-65 275 Whoever thinks Miriam could speak about Moses because he was a younger sibling must note that her seniority did not save her from punishment. C208
- M-277 550 Miriam was punished even though she did not intend her brother's shame. C260
- M-357 625 Moses' being greater than Miriam contributed to why she was punished. C331

Starting with Leprosy sub-theme 10.6, the focus changes from Miriam to how others should utilize the lessons of her misadventure, in the sense offered by Deut 24:9. This is a relatively large sub-theme, containing twelve Novel Assertions. Though the admonition to those who choose not to learn from Miriam's example is serious, the tone towards Miriam continues to be complimentary:

- M-74 275 Miriam is given as an example of one who spoke in private so that only the Holy One heard, to show how much more deserving of punishment is one who shames a friend in public. C208, 241
- M-129 275 That Miriam intended only to speak to improve her brother that he not be excluded from fruitfulness and increase is given as an example of how much more those deserve punishment who speak against a fellow for shame. C232, C241
- M-313 550 The matter of the daughters of Tselofechad follows Miriam's death because these daughters behaved righteously, unlike the spies who did not deserve to follow the account of Miriam's death, since they did not heed the lesson of Miriam's slander, and spoke slander about the land. C266
- M-314 550 The people did not learn the lesson from Miriam regarding slander related to the episode of the spies. C268

In the remaining three Leprosy sub-themes, the spotlight goes even farther from Miriam towards her intercessors of whom there are three, Aaron, Moses, and God Himself. Of interest, if one adds up these three sub-themes, there are no fewer than thirty-eight Novel Assertions regarding her intercessors, constituting 32% of the total Leprosy Assertions, and summing to 11% of all Novel Assertions discovered in Late Antiquity Miriam midrashim. Leprosy sub-theme 10.7 presents Aaron's involvement as the first of her intercessors:

- M-24 225 Aaron turned to Miriam to make her affliction go away. C218
- M-153 300 Aaron asked Moses if he felt that Miriam's leprosy would not reflect negatively on their father. C237
- M-155 300 Aaron described his and Miriam's transgression as unintentional. C237
- M-146 300 Aaron told Moses that neither Miriam nor he had done evil with anyone in the world. C237
- M-335 600 Aaron admitted to Moses that his and Miriam's transgression had rescinded a covenant among siblings. C338

Sub-theme 10.8 provides Moses' response to Miriam's affliction. Again, the Novel Assertions come from both early and later collections. It is of interest how Midrash (e.g., M-170) doubles the words of the prayer that appear only once in the text of Num 12:13. Likewise, that in M-354 the rabbis juxtapose Moses' own affliction with leprosy serves to further mitigate Miriam's indiscretion:

- M-45 225 Moses cried to the Lord to ask Him if He intended to heal Miriam or not. C221
- M-156 300 Drawing a circle around himself, Moses said to God, "I am not moving from here till Miriam, my sister, is healed." C237
- M-170 300 Moses' prayer to God was, "God, do indeed heal her! God, do indeed heal her!" C237
- M-354 625 Moses' compassion for Miriam was raised because he recalled his own suffering when his hand was made leprous as snow. C335
- M-358 625 On seeing what happened to Miriam, Moses started to cry and pray for her with all his soul. C335

Finally, Leprosy sub-theme 10.9 deals with God's general role in shaping the events after Miriam speaks about Moses. The tone is compatible with God's interest in forgiving her indiscretion and restoring her to health:

- M-136 275 The Holy One shut Miriam up. C235
- M-135 275 The Holy One cleansed Miriam. C235
- M-157 300 God forgave Miriam her second quarantine for Moses' sake. C237
- M-204 450 The *Shekhinah* was waiting for Miriam. C290
- M-311 550 The Holy one took the divine initiative as priest to shut up, examine, and set Miriam free. C318

Prior to concluding the discussion of the leprosy Assertions, there is a final Miriam theme shared by both the Tanakh and Midrash that serves as a coda to the leprosy account. Miriam theme # 11 deals with the high esteem in which the people held Miriam as manifested by the entire encampment waiting for her until she was cleansed:

- M-80 275 The reason why Miriam's speaking about Moses and her punishment were included in Scripture was as a way to indicate the regard the people had for her as one of the providers before whom they did not move. C210
- M-66 275 Every time the standards traveled, they did not go till Miriam advanced before them. C 210
- M-27 225 As Miriam waited an hour upon Moses, God said, "Let Moses, and Aaron and the *Shekhinah* and the Ark wait one week for Miriam till she is cleansed." C219
- M-91 275 As a measured response that Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, God detained the *Shekhinah*, Ark, Levites, Israel, and seven clouds of glory for her till she was gathered. C 227, C235
- M-237 550 Just as evil is repaid with evil, good is repaid by good even more so, as for Miriam waiting upon Moses for an hour, and Israel waited upon her for seven days. C307

In this midrashic review of the only event of Miriam's biblical career that may carry some negative connotation, the tone and content of the treatment have been generally factual and often complimentary to Miriam, save for the use of the term

“busybody.” Her speaking about Moses was in no way vindicated, and Aaron’s involvement and concurrent punishment, albeit lesser in degree, serve to focus attention upon the problem of slander rather than excessively impugning Miriam. Furthermore, there is so much tenderness in the language used to describe her filial love and best intentions that the account seems to evoke sympathy, almost to the point that a reader of the midrashic literature might pause to wonder if God had made the correct decision in punishing her. Notwithstanding the challenge to her brother Moses, who had come closer to God than any mortal, the way the Novel Assertions have portrayed Miriam as daring to act – to do what by conscience she felt to be right and subsequently enduring divine punishment – may all be viewed as a sympathetic portrayal that even encourages an historical speculation that she may have at some point been viewed as a type of culture hero. Whether this material represents a faithful rendition of earlier tradition or a process in which the Rabbis chose to infer an additional lesson to meet some didactic need pertinent to theological considerations of their times is uncertain. However, when Assertion M-105 adds the alert that Miriam spoke up to address a ***need of the time***, and M-106 specifies her intent that her brother not be excluded from fruitfulness and increase, the historian interested in correlating the content of midrashim with the cultural milieu in which they were assembled in collections might at least take pause to wonder: In so doing, were the Rabbis conceivably making a statement, perhaps about celibacy, germane to a need of ***their*** times? Finally, though the Novel Assertions describing how Israel waited for Miriam during her confinement do not fully reveal the sentiments of individuals, the divine recognition of her merit in deserving accommodation is unmistakable.

In conclusion to this group of Novel Assertions comparing items from themes that both the Tanakh and Midrash share in common, the relatively evenhanded and often positive treatment that Miriam has received thus far, including the problematic episode related to leprosy, does not explain why her arguably most significant roles at the Sea and the River were not subject to further embellishment. Yet, there remains a final group of Miriam themes, containing seventy-two Novel Assertions, 20% of the total of 360 Novel Assertions during Late Antiquity, which are qualitatively unique and may offer a further perspective of understanding regarding Miriam's status in the midrashim and rabbinic mindsets of Late Antiquity.

SECTION III-B-5

Assessment of Diffuse Pattern Unanticipated Miriam Themes Unique to Midrash

The remaining seventy-two Novel Assertions are devoted to some very unusual twists in the Miriam saga that cannot be anticipated from an objective reading of the Tanakh, and are therefore termed "Unanticipated" Miriam themes. One item that was considered for inclusion in this group, Theme # 8 dealing with Miriam and Zipporah's discourse, was discussed along with the leprosy account. It provided background for Miriam's speaking about Moses, but is closely tied to the leprosy theme and contains no components justifying further assessment below. Table III-B-14 is an extract of the list of Table III-B-8 that identifies the remaining Unanticipated Themes.

Table III-B-14: Unanticipated Miriam Themes

Theme ID Code	UNANTICIPATED MIRIAM THEMES	Time Period of Collection through 640 CE	Number of Novel Miriam Assertions (% Total)	Number of Items Before vs. At or Later than 550	
				Before 550 CE	550 CE and Later
4	Miriam as midwife	275-550	6 (2%)	4	2
5	Miriam's interaction with her parents: their divorce and her prophecy	275-600	19 (5%)	6	13
12	Miriam's marriage	225-550	9 (3%)	2	7
14	Miriam's children and grandchildren	275-550	12 (3%)	1	11
15	Miriam's link to David	275-550	2 (1%)	1	1
22	Miriam and the Well	250-550	24 (7%)	15	9
Total Novel Assertions from Unanticipated Miriam Themes			72 (~20%)	38	45

Though the fact of Miriam being a Prophetess is announced at the Sea, it is left to Midrash to explain the background of her prophetic precocity as a child. Miriam Theme # 5 explains her role in being the facilitative agent of Moses' conception. Reading only a bit into the midrashic storyline, lacking Miriam's involvement, Israel's greatest Prophet would never have seen the light of day. The events start with Amram, the leader of his generation, who sets an example for all husbands to divorce their wives in order to avoid bearing sons who would then be killed. However, Miriam argues with her father:

M-264 550 Miriam said to her father when he divorced his wife and others followed his lead, "Father, your decree is harsher than that of Pharaoh because Pharaoh decreed only against the males, and you decreed against the males and females! Pharaoh decreed only about this world and you about this world and the world to come! The wicked Pharaoh, there is doubt as to whether his decree will be fulfilled and doubt as to whether it will not be fulfilled. You are righteous, and it is certain that your decree will be fulfilled." C309

From a literary standpoint, Miriam's coming to the defense of the unborn here is in no way out of keeping with her adult personality when she talked about Moses, motivated

by a concern that he might continue to procreate, and the tone of the midrashic account further invites the speculation suggested above that Miriam may have played the role of a culture hero. In any case, her father was sufficiently impressed to take her to the Sanhedrin to present her arguments to the sages of the time:

- 338 M 600 Amram brought Miriam before the Sanhedrin. C341
 339 M 600 Miriam addressed the Sanhedrin. C341

When the divorce decrees were annulled, Miriam and Aaron celebrated, and the imagery is compatible with her musical involvement at the Sea:

- M-245 550 Miriam and Aaron danced before their mother on her remarriage to Amram. C309
 M-340 600 Miriam carried castanets and walked about before Jochebed at her re-marriage to Amram. C341

At some point surrounding the episode of the Sanhedrin appearance and her parents' remarriage, Miriam has shared her prophecy with her father, leading to the birth of Moses, as well as to the subsequent problems Amram had anticipated:

- M-112 275 Miriam prophesied to her father that he would beget a son who would save Israel from Egypt. C228
 M-333 550 When the entire house was filled with light on Moses birth, Miriam's father stood and kissed her on the head. C304, C311
 M-141 275 When Moses could no longer be hidden, Miriam's father rebuked her saying, "My daughter, where is your prophecy?" C228
 M-93 275 Despite her father's rebuke, Miriam still held to her prophecy. C228

In providing the above narrative, earlier and later sources have been juxtaposed. That Miriam shared a prophecy with her father is a relatively early assertion of ca. the third century. Many of the other details that fill in the storyline are later, at least suggesting that providing a fuller account was for some reason relevant to the midrashists of the later portions of Late Antiquity. As regards the anachronism

appearing in ca. the sixth century collections of Miriam addressing the Sanhedrin, a search of the Bar Ilan Database through ca. 640 produced no other example of a woman addressing the Sanhedrin. It provides an example that can be added to those noted in Chapter IIIA, regarding Miriam's association with the Well, which supports the observation that the last two hundred and forty years of Late Antiquity were ones in which Miriam's stature was qualitatively enhanced. The issue of the importance lent to Miriam by this imagery might well inspire historians to offer a hypothesis as to the mindset in which she was held in Late Antiquity and the reasons behind her apparent importance. That the later collections did such a good job in adding to the bare details known in earlier accounts also hints that the additions to this Miriam theme may be witness to an issue of broader importance contributing to the emerging portrait of Miriam.

In any case, the midrashic account continues to profile her youthful activities in a sequence of events that unfolds in Miriam Theme # 4, recounting her role as a midwife, which subsequently leads to one of the most unexpected twists of her extra-biblical story. Events begin with the third century assertions that Miriam was indeed one of the midwives who heroically worked to save the lives of the Hebrew newborns. This contention, corroborated in the ca. 245 mural at Dura-Europos (see chapter IV) but nowhere hinted at in the biblical text, is repeated with further reinforcements in later sources:

- M-122 275 Miriam/Puah was one of the Hebrew midwives. C230
- M-111 275 Miriam merited the kingship. C230
- M-97 275 God's making houses meant that kingship was accorded to Miriam. C230

M-234 550 God rewarded Miriam for her fear of God as a midwife. C249, C259

However, at this point, no hint is given as to what this kingship implies or how it will happen, though it is certainly compatible with the general promise of Exodus 1:21 that the midwives would be rewarded with “houses.”

Events continue to unfold in Miriam Theme # 12. Earlier, in the context of the Leprosy account, Midrash assumed Miriam’s marriage in her argument that since both she and Moses were Prophets, he, like her, ought to continue in his conjugal role. Here, both the fact of her marriage and the name of her mate are provided, and the collections from which the Assertions come are of relatively early dating, suggesting that there may have been a pre-existing tradition regarding her marriage and that it was not a rabbinic invention, an observation corroborated by Qumran texts and Josephus’ reference to her marital status as further explored in Chapters IV and V. In order to support the contention of her marriage as a biblical fact, the midrashim explain that both Miriam and her husband Caleb were known by additional names, and some of this information is clarified in later Assertions from the sixth century.

M-41 225 Miriam was married. C215

M-117 275 Miriam was married to Caleb, as is said in 1Chr 2:19: “And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur.” C230

M-226 550 Caleb married Miriam/Azuvah in the name of heaven. C309

M-229 550 Caleb’s marriage to Miriam/Efrat was so that Israel be fruitful and multiply upon her hands. C258

M-274 550 Miriam was married to Ashchur who was the same as Caleb. C309

Now that Miriam is married, she can beget offspring, the topic of Miriam Theme # 14:

M-126 275 Miriam’s son through Caleb was Hur. C230

M-223 550 Betsalel was a great grandson of Miriam by Caleb. C258

M-224 550 Betsalel was wise through coming from his wise foremother Miriam. C249

As interesting as all this is, none of it prepares a reader of the Tanakh unfamiliar with Midrash for the most unexpected of Novel Assertions listed in Miriam-Theme # 15:

M-92 275 David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons. C230
M-230 550 David came from Miriam. C308

To the puzzling emergence of the “Miriam’s Well” formulation juxtaposed with the Synagogue of Tiberias and her linkage to the Sanhedrin, we now have the added contentions of Miriam’s marriage and her being David’s ancestress. These newest Assertions accord her additional prestige through any midrashic implications about the Messiah who will one day issue from David’s seed. The intrigue of such an important genealogical association not being spelled out in the Tanakh is heightened by texts from Ruth and 1Chronicles, which provide a very different account of David’s ancestry. This matter is too significant to be ascribed to carelessness. This family of Unanticipated Novel Assertions, revealing large chunks of Miriam information with no firm roots in the biblical text and culminating in her being the ancestress of David, raises many questions addressed by the hypotheses of Chapters and V and VI. Yet, though these perplexing Assertions would potentially appear to elevate Miriam’s stature in the rabbinic mindset of Late Antiquity, at least as reflected in the midrashim, they leave still unaddressed an earlier concern for a paucity of Novel Assertions elaborating her arguably most prominent positive biblical portrayals at the Sea and River.

Miriam-Theme # 22 is the final of the Unanticipated Miriam Themes, and contains twenty-four Novel Assertions linking her to the Well. When the Well Novel

Assertions were discussed in Chapter III-A, what was especially interesting was the appearance of the term “Miriam’s Well” in collections ca. the last two hundred and forty years of Late Antiquity. There appeared to be no specific justification for this change from its having been known simply as “The Well” to becoming “Miriam’s Well.” Furthermore, its potential significance must be viewed alongside the three new Well strands introduced in collections of this period, the positioning of the Well opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of Tiberias, its healing properties, and its ritual purity, all of which use the formulation, “Miriam’s Well.” Though no explanation was readily apparent for the addition to the Well’s story of these additional enhancements, it was proposed that when for whatever reason it became known as Miriam’s Well, Miriam may have accrued some greater stature from being the nominal owner of this enhanced Well imagery. Eleven of the twenty-four Novel Assertions about Miriam and the Well are listed below:

- M-13 200 The well was given upon Miriam’s hand. C405/45
- M-61 225 The Well was given on Miriam’s merit. C407/5
- M-62 225 While Miriam existed, a Well used to supply Israel. C406/4
- M-16 225 When Miriam died, the Well ceased to exist. C407/5
- M-178 400 A Well appearing like a sieve in the sea of Tiberias, seen from the mountain of the wilderness, is Miriam’s Well. C418/2e, C419/3e
- M-206 450 The Well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam’s Well. C422/5e
- M-207 450 The Well the sages located opposite the middle gate of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam’s Well C5e
- M-320 550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam’s Well. C424/6e
- M-323 550 The Well that Israel merited was Miriam’s Well. 425/C7e
- M-321 550 The Well was on Miriam’s merit, who sang a song over the sea. C413/134a
- M-322 550 The Well was on Miriam’s merit, who sang a song over water. C410/117

Though the twenty-four well sources constitute only 7% of all Miriam Novel Assertions in Late Antiquity, they are more plentiful than any of the other Unanticipated Miriam Themes. Miriam's midrashic legacy, built in good part on her biblical record, certainly is not dependent on a relationship with the Well. Subtracting the 24 Well items still leaves 336 other Miriam Novel Assertions, nearly a hundred more items than the Well had even including its own Miriam references. Therefore, a point seems to have been reached, after having assessed both the Well and Miriam Novel Assertions, in which each tradition seems to be self-sustained, displaying elaborations independent of the other. Though in reviewing Novel Assertions dealing both with the Well and Miriam, possible hypotheses have been proposed for some of the issues raised, none has provided an ultimate conjecture regarding the relationship of the two entities, though "Miriam's Well" is certainly the meeting point that unites them. Pending the eventual proposals of subsequent Chapters for further understanding the association, attention now turns to corroborating a general observation made earlier that Assertions towards the end of Late Antiquity are often qualitatively more novel. Demonstrating this will provide an appropriate conclusion to this Section dealing with Unanticipated Miriam themes which, by definition of their being unforeseen in scriptural accounts, are inherently of more novel content.

In choosing a starting point for assessing the degree of novelty in later Miriam Assertions, we reintroduce Figure III-B-2 comparing the accumulation of Novel Assertions for Miriam and the Well. One begins to wonder if there was any rationale to the comparison, especially given the relatively small attention each tradition paid to the other. Certainly, comparing Miriam in Midrash to any other midrashic figure or

object would have produced two curves with a likely positive correlation of accumulation of Novel Assertions. Given this caution of potential over-interpretation when Novel Assertions from only two entities are compared, Figure III-B-3 differs from Figure III-B-2 only in being limited to collections earlier than ca. 640 and in noting quantitative differences between Well and Miriam Assertions.

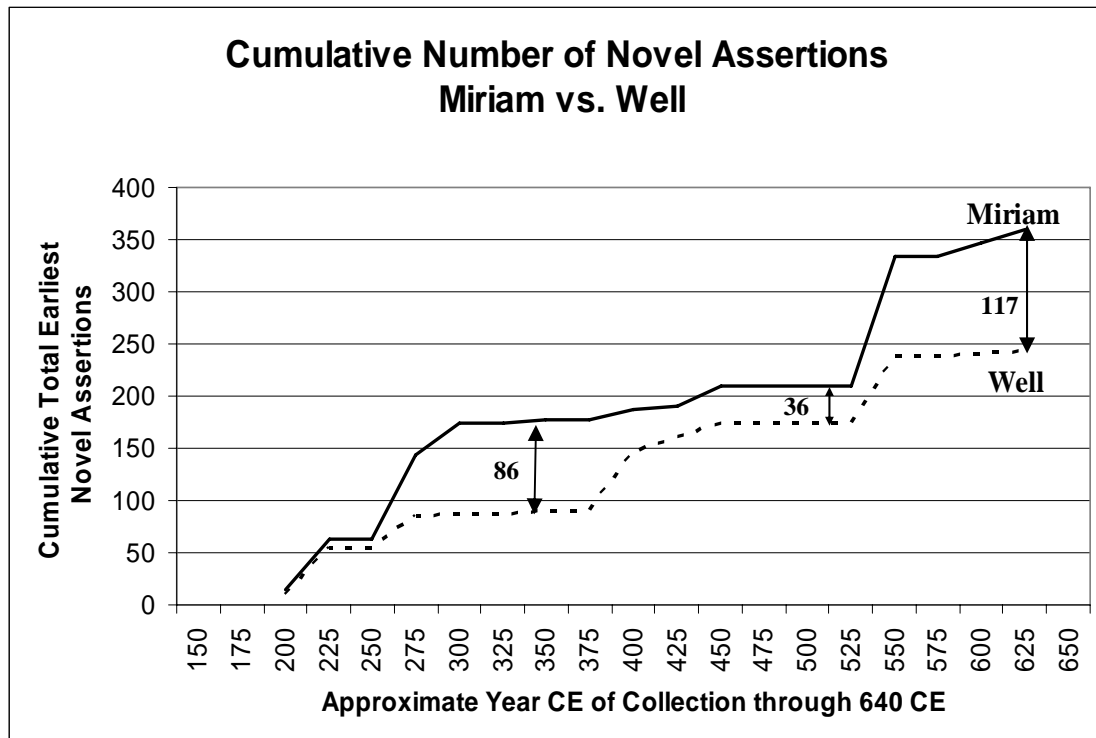


Fig. III-B-3: Progressive Accumulation Curves of Earliest Midrashic Novel Assertions through ca. 640 CE Comparing Miriam to the Well and Noting Differential Expansion Before and After ca. 550

The two curves appear relatively similar through collections ca. 250 CE, suggesting that varied Miriam and the Well themes were about equally favored for elaboration in this time period. However, beginning with late third through fourth century collections, though the curve for the Well remains relatively flat, Miriam becomes progressively more active than the Well as an entity of elaboration. In fact, a

calculation made from Table III-B-7 shows that on average there are about 86 more Miriam than Well items as the differential widens during the fourth century. Then, starting in the fifth century, an opposite trend occurs, the Well gains 53 Novel assertions in collections ca. 400 CE compared to only ten items for Miriam. This narrows the differential between Miriam and Well Items to 36 Novel Assertions in collections just prior to ca. 550 CE, at which time the most marked gain in Miriam sources during all Late Antiquity occurs. The differential then dramatically increases to 117 more Miriam than Well Novel Assertions by the end of Late Antiquity. These figures have been inserted into Figure III-B-3 above. It is reasonable to ask whether there was any particular group of items that primarily contributed to this relative increase of Miriam over Well Assertions towards the end of Late Antiquity. To answer this question, Table III-B-15, based on the thematic classification of Table III-B-8 above, designates each of the 360 Miriam Novel Assertions as either belonging to “Unanticipated” themes, or to an “All Other” category. For example, all Unanticipated theme items, listed in Table III-B-14, along with some other individual Unanticipated Assertions, (e.g., those Accolades from Theme # 3 describing Miriam in items dealing with her marriage), are counted as “Unanticipated” Assertions. By way of contrast, most Assertions from the themes common to both the Tanakh and Midrash, listed in Table III-B-12, along with items from Themes # 20 and # 21, containing varied verses that utilize the renown of Miriam’s name for exegetical purposes or in explaining a biblical verse, are grouped in an “All Other Assertions” category. The purpose is to isolate items that are clearly a part of the Unanticipated themes from all other Assertions.

Table III-B-15: Tabulation of Miriam Novel Assertions Distinguishing between Unanticipated Theme Items vs. those with Biblical or General Exegetical Content before and after ca. 550 CE

Theme Code	MIRIAM THEME CATEGORY	Number of Novel Assertions	Unanticipated Themes Items		All Other Assertions	
			Before 550	550 to 640	Before 550	550 to 640
1	The meaning of the name "Miriam"	2 (1%)	0	0	2	0
2	Identifying varied events by Miriam's life	7 (2%)	0	0	4	3
3	Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them.	34 (9%)	4	12	9	9
4	Miriam as midwife	6 (2%)	4	2	0	0
5	Miriam's interaction with her parents: their divorce and her prophecy	19 (5%)	6	13	0	0
6	Miriam's watching over the safety of her baby brother Moses.	8 (2%)	1	0	3	4
7	Miriam's song at the Sea	3 (1%)	0	0	0	3
8	Miriam's interaction with Zipporah	11 (3%)	0	0	9	2
9	Miriam as exemplifying negative traits of women in general	5 (1%)	0	0	0	5
10	Miriam's leprosy	120 (33%)	0	0	91	29
11	Miriam's stature in the eyes of Israel: Accommodations while she was shut out	9 (3%)	0	0	7	2
12	Miriam's marriage	9 (3%)	2	7	0	0
13	Miriam's illness	0	0	0	0	0
14	Miriam's children and grandchildren	12 (3%)	1	11	0	0
15	Miriam's link to David	2 (1%)	1	1	0	0
16	Comparisons of Miriam to others in general	5 (1%)	0	0	2	3
17	Miriam's gift of wisdom	4 (1%)	0	1	2	1
18	Miriam's stature compared to Patriarchs/siblings/other prophets	31 (9%)	0	0	14	17
19	Details of Miriam's death, what it taught, and the benefits it provided	14 (4%)	0	0	9	5
20	Citing a Miriam event to elucidate some peripheral point	19 (5%)	0	0	10	9
21	Biblical texts containing hidden allusions to Miriam's life or roles.	16 (4%)	0	0	14	2
22	Miriam and the Well	24 (7%)	15	9	0	0
Total Miriam Novel Assertions, Each Group		360	34	56	176	94
Relative Contribution of Unanticipated vs. All Other Novel Assertions to the:			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
(a) 210 (34 + 176) Novel Assertions Before ca. 550 CE; or			$\frac{34}{210} = .16$	$\frac{56}{150} = .37$	$\frac{176}{210} = .84$	$\frac{94}{150} = .63$
(b) 150 (56 + 94) Novel Assertions ca. 550 through 640 CE						
Percentage Contribution			16%	37%	84%	63%

Table III-B-15 shows that of the 360 Miriam Novel Assertions from collections through ca. 640, there were a total of 210 ($34 + 176 = 210$) items in collections prior to ca. 550, and that in the last ninety years, collections from ca. 550 through 640 CE added another 150 ($56 + 94 = 150$) items. Aside from the more general purpose of these tabulations to assist in documenting an impression that the more novel Unanticipated themes have gained in prevalence with time, a few routine observations will be offered regarding the content of Assertions before and during the final ninety years of Late Antiquity. For example, of the 120 Leprosy Novel Assertions, 91 (76%) were formulated in collections prior to ca. 550, compared to the 29 (24%) further Novel Assertions appearing in collections dating from ca. 550. By way of contrast, the reverse trend is observed in two other themes. In theme # 18, of 31 items comparing Miriam's stature to the Patriarchs, her siblings, and to other prophets, 14 (45%) appear in collections prior to ca. 550, whereas 17 (55%) appear in collections of the final ninety years of Late Antiquity. Comparing the quantitative behavior of these two themes, the methodology of Novel Assertions facilitates an observation of a waning of interest in further elaboration of the leprosy theme in the last ninety years of Late Antiquity, whereas accolades favorably comparing Miriam to others of stature and renown show a trend of stable-to-increasing growth during these same final ninety years of the era. Turning now more specifically to testing a hypothesis of increased novelty towards the end of Late Antiquity, it is of interest to ask if there is any difference in the mix of Unanticipated items before and after the large gain of Miriam Assertions starting with ca. 550 collections. To assist in this distinction, the last two rows of Table III-B-15 show that whereas collections prior to

ca. 550 contain only 16% of Unanticipated material but 84% of elaborations on more biblically familiar material, the relative percentage of Unanticipated Assertions more than doubles, to 37% of all Novel Assertions starting with ca. 550 collections. In order to illustrate the relative gain of the more novel Unanticipated Assertions ca. the final ninety years of Late Antiquity, Figure III-B-4 provides a graphic depiction of these relationships:

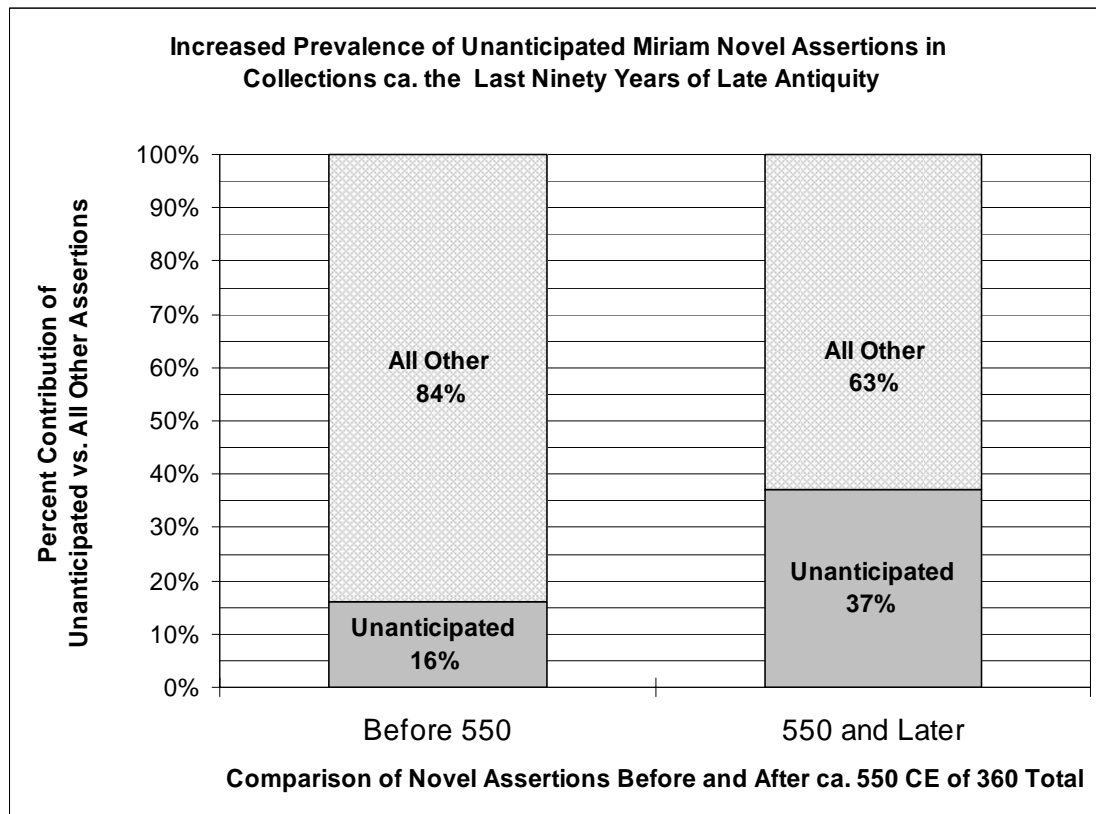


Fig. III-B-4: Graphic Depiction of Increased Prevalence of Unanticipated Miriam Assertions in Collections ca. 550 CE and Later.

Though the 550 peak of increased Assertions is likely a literary effect reflecting the contributions of the Babylonian Talmud and the Tanchuma collections, the differential increase of Unanticipated Miriam theme Assertions when compared to other themes may be significant, insofar as their content reflects an interest in those

areas of Miriam's legacy that are a departure from her storyline as presented in the Tanakh. Late Antiquity ended with relatively more interest in further elaborating Miriam than the Well, and the most dynamic component of her growth relates to the Unanticipated Miriam Themes.

SECTION III-B-6

Summaries and Conclusions to the Assessment of Miriam Sources

The appraisal of the Novel Assertions which together define Miriam's portrayal in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity can now move to a stage of summary and conclusion. During the course of assessment of Miriam Themes, it has been argued that her midrashic depiction has been complimentary, that even her treatment related to the Leprosy issue was usually positive, and that the few usages of her as an example in discussions of women's talkativeness were generic rather than personally demeaning, along with being well balanced by a host of other accolades including her gift of Wisdom. Though a majority of Assertions deal with themes common to her biblical and midrashic careers, about 20% of the Assertions are from themes unique to Midrash. These Unanticipated themes appear to have experienced a disproportionate emphasis in collections of ca. the last ninety years of Late Antiquity and contain the basis of three strands of Miriam's midrashic portrayal that will now be placed in perspective. The first begins with Miriam risking her life as a midwife to save the lives of the Hebrew babies, which leads her to a reward of Houses and

kingship, and finally to David as her descendant. The second deals with her childhood prophetic vision, linked to her being taken before the Sanhedrin, which causes the reunion between her divorced parents, thus allowing for the eventual birth of Moses, Israel's greatest prophet. And finally, the third strand deals with her association with the Well given in her merit, but of which she later becomes nominal owner. Through it, her name is associated with ritual purity and healing, and with the Synagogue in Tiberias, a center of rabbinic activity culminating in the Jerusalem Talmud.

Intertwined with these and other midrashim, on four occasions she is either an agent promoting birth or an accessory to the survival of the Israelites. She is the causative agent of Moses' birth through reuniting her parents, a protector of infants as a midwife, overseer of her baby brother's safety at the River, and an advocate of reestablishing a procreative relationship between Moses and Zipporah. These are – at a minimum – very mothering portrayals and perhaps hint at additional levels in which Israelite religion in its early stages may have viewed her role, issues further explored in Chapter IV. Adding to these procreative and protective portrayals, she is twice depicted as having the courage to argue a case before authority figures, once before the Sanhedrin against her father's divorce decree, and later through the midrashic elaborations of her speaking about Moses. In addition, Assertions in later collections starting ca. 650 CE detail her rather brazen verbal debasement of Pharaoh to his face, an act she nearly paid for with her life. Taken together, these are portrayals of a rather heroic figure.

In overall assessment, one is certainly inclined to view Miriam's midrashic elaborations as generous in quantity and substance, but with two serious reservations.

In the first place, just as Section III-A on the Well closed with an unsolved mystery regarding the nameless Well becoming Miriam's Well, so too has the current section failed to clarify the lack of embellishment of her most positive biblical portrayals at the Sea and River. No hypothesis has been proposed for either of these perplexities, though it is of some interest that there is a common theme of water connecting Miriam's Well and her role at the Sea and River. In fact, this contrast between the midrashic underdevelopment of her Sea and River roles as opposed to the unanticipated extensive elaboration of her association with the Well, forms the basis of the queries of Chapter IV concerning precursors to Well and Miriam traditions predating Late Antiquity.

A second serious reservation is methodological, and serves as a final note leading to Section III-C of this Chapter. Earlier in this section, the introduction of Figure III-B-3 was prefaced with a concern regarding the appropriateness of comparing the graphic depictions of the growth of the Well and Miriam traditions. The juxtaposition of the two growth curves began initially as an intuitively logical approach to assessing the interrelationship of a biblical character to an object. In this regard, attention is drawn to an evolving reality that may be too obvious to merit stating, but that nevertheless deserves further consideration. When all is said, whereas Miriam is a person assumed to have a legacy of reality stemming from her biblical record, the Well is an orphan object without parentage in the Tanakh. Whereas most Miriam Themes are biblical, and some are novel to the Bible, all Well themes are novel, seeming to appear out of nowhere in extra-biblical traditions. This seems to cast even greater doubt on an attempt to compare Miriam and the Well on a graphic

curve in that in so doing, an object that is fully a construct is juxtaposed against a reasonably well defined biblical character. Facing up to these realities of comparing disparate entities creates a problem for the further pursuit of this study, requiring a shift in focus towards also measuring Miriam's portrayal alongside that of other biblical personae.

Having examined the Novel Assertions related to Miriam in some detail, there is a tendency to be impressed by her final portrait. Because so much of a biblically unanticipated nature has come to light about her, it is reasonable to speculate that this midrashic portrayal may reflect on her role in the Judaism of Late Antiquity. Yet, so far she has been compared only to a single non-biblical entity, and though this association with the Well has been instructive, it falls short of more generally establishing her stature in Late Antiquity Midrash. Comparing her portrayal to that of other biblical figures, and more specifically and fairly, limiting this to other female characters, will serve to further refine an understanding of her relative stature. Thus, Section III-C addresses itself to this larger issue: Was the attention paid to Miriam in Midrash greater than that directed at other women mentioned in the Bible? The importance of further establishing the uniqueness of Miriam's midrashic treatment is significant, since developing hypotheses to explain her distinctive prominence is only legitimate once her disproportionate elaboration has been documented.

III-C

MID/TAN AND EBNI METRICS APPLIED TO ESTABLISHING MIRIAM'S UNIQUENESS

SECTION III-C-1

The Purpose of Establishing Miriam's Uniqueness by Applying Metrics

The assessment of the Well in Section in III-A ended with uncertainty as to why it became known specifically as Miriam's Well. We concluded that a parallel analysis of Miriam herself based on her own midrashic portrayal was the next step in seeking further clarification of their relationship. However, rather than explaining the association, investigating Miriam raised other questions, especially related to the lack of elaboration of her biblical portrayals at the Sea and River in contrast to her still unclear but well elaborated association with the Well. Furthermore, there were a group of entirely Unanticipated Miriam themes that augmented her stature but were nonetheless unexpected. Though the fanciful nature of much of the Well material may desensitize one to the unexpected twists of its midrashic presentation, one might have expected Miriam's biblical "biography" to limit creative development. The novel elaborations of her portrayal may therefore indicate that she was more important in the eyes of the midrashists of Late Antiquity than we would have expected based on her biblical dossier. In addition to her association with the Well and its imagery, the marriage that enabled her to become ancestress to King David appears to be a remarkable deviation from other traditional accounts of both her presumed celibacy and his ancestry. This further suggests that Miriam was uniquely elaborated in

Midrash. However, as long as her only comparisons are with the Well, we cannot be sure that Miriam's midrashic treatment differs from what was afforded other biblical characters. Furthermore, only a quantitative assessment can avoid subjectivity in comparing her portrayal to that of others. Consequently, the current Chapter addresses this need by using metric tools to compare Miriam's midrashic enhancement to that of other biblical characters in order to establish her uniqueness. Data from the Tanakh and Midrash used in these comparisons are provided in Appendix D.

SECTION III-C-2

Selecting and Ranking Biblical Characters Used in Comparisons Based on the Frequency of their Being Named in the Tanakh

Varied steps are followed in attempting to establish whether Miriam is unique in the Midrash. The first involves the selection of a group of biblical women against whom to compare her. The decision to base the comparison on her gender is elucidated retrospectively in the Conclusion to this study. Comparing Miriam to other male biblical characters is not precluded as a topic of worthwhile future research. In any case, the women selected include those with whom Miriam was compared in the Novel Assertions, all women called "prophetesses" in the Tanakh, the wives of the Patriarchs, and a further selection of women who appeared to be generally prominent in the Bible. In addition, Aaron was selected as a type of sibling male control, and Caleb was included due to the Novel Assertion of his being Miriam's husband. These biblical personae along with Miriam are listed in the first column of Table III-C-16.

The second column records the number of biblical books in which each figure is named, and the third column notes the number of times each character is mentioned in the Tanakh.

Table III-C-16: Selected Female Characters plus Aaron and Caleb
Ranked by Number of Times They are Named in the Tanakh

Persona	Number of Tanakh Books in which Character is Named	Number of Times Mentioned in Tanakh
Noadiah	1	1
Nameless Prophetess	1	1
Hulda	2	2
Jochebed	2	2
Asenath	1	3
Zipporah	1	3
Tamar of Gen 38	1	5
Delilah	1	6
Deborah	1	7
Zilpah	1	7
Dinah	1	8
Bilhah	2	10
Vashti	1	10
Bathsheba	3	11
Abigail	3	12
Hagar	1	12
Ruth	1	12
Eve/Woman	1	13
Miriam	5	14
Naomi	1	22
Rebecca	1	30
Leah	2	34
Caleb	5	34
Rachel	4	47
Esther	1	55
Sarah/Sarai	3	57
Aaron	13	347

In reviewing this information, it must be emphasized that the number of times a character is mentioned can have many explanations, and criticism of this approach

may be justified. The problem is magnified in cases such as Aaron's, since his name often appears in reference to his sons or the priesthood in which little is contributed to profiling his development. However, the conclusions reached seem sufficiently clear to forgive the crudeness of the method. In reviewing the information presented in Table III-C-16, Eve is mentioned by name least, only twice, though if one counts additional clear references to her, the number increases to thirteen. Miriam is mentioned fourteen times, two to four times less than any of the Matriarchs. Sarah and Esther are mentioned close to sixty times, more than any of the other female characters, and Aaron 347 times. Compared to others called "Prophetess," Miriam's fourteen mentions far surpass Deborah's seven and Huldah's two namings. In passing, it is of interest that Miriam is the only female to be named in five books of the Tanakh. Rachel, whose renown includes her imagery as the culture heroine weeping and waiting for the return of her children from their exile, occurs in four books, more than any other female beside Miriam. Finally, excluding Aaron and Caleb, the twenty-five women are cumulatively mentioned 384 times in the Tanakh, which works out to an average of about fifteen occurrences per woman. As such, at fourteen citations, Miriam does not have any particular claim to fame by this criterion.

SECTION III-C-3

Recording and Comparing Biblical Novel Assertions for Selected Characters

The second step towards evaluating Miriam's uniqueness in Midrash involves calculating the number of Novel Assertions that the Tanakh makes about each of the

biblical characters. As in the case of midrashim, each Novel Assertion represents one bit of information which we learn about the character through the text of the Tanakh.

Table III-C-16 is reproduced below as Table III-C-17, which now includes the information about Novel Assertions and is accordingly sorted by biblical Novel Assertions instead of by name mentions.

Table III-C-17: Selected Female Characters plus Aaron and Caleb
Ranked by Number of Novel Assertions in Tanakh

Persona	Tanakh Books	Tanakh Mentions	Number of Novel Assertions in Tanakh
Nameless Prophetess	1	1	1
Noadiah	1	1	2
Asenath	1	3	8
Huldah	2	2	14
Dinah	1	8	14
Zilpah	1	7	17
Vashti	1	10	19
Deborah	1	7	21
Jochebed	2	2	26
Bilhah	2	10	27
Zipporah	1	3	40
Miriam	5	14	41
Eve/Woman	1	13	46
Tamar of Gen 38	2	5	46
Delilah	1	6	48
Hagar	1	12	55
Abigail	3	12	69
Bathsheba	3	11	74
Caleb	5	34	82
Leah	2	34	87
Naomi	1	22	94
Rachel	4	47	106
Sarah/Sarai	3	57	106
Esther	1	55	111
Rebecca	1	30	124
Ruth	1	12	128
Aaron	13	347	574

The Novel Assertions listed in Table III-C-17 often roughly parallel the number of times a character has been named. The gap between Miriam and the matriarchs has somewhat narrowed, but the Tanakh still provides more Novel Assertions about them than about Miriam. Some of the characters' Novel Assertions have outpaced the frequency of their naming. For example, Ruth was named only twelve times in the Tanakh, but there are no fewer than 128 Novel Assertions about her, more than for any other biblical woman surveyed. Another way of describing the effect of the Novel Assertions she has accrued is to say that we learn more bits of information about Ruth from the Tanakh than we learn about any other female, certainly befitting of, though perhaps only coincidental to her being the biblically acknowledged ancestress of David. Among the twenty-five women, there is a cumulative total of 1,324 Novel Assertions, an average of fifty-three per woman. Once again, at forty-one Novel Assertions, Miriam falls somewhat below the average. Presumably, the redactors of the Tanakh either faithfully reproduced what they received or were otherwise content with Miriam's share of development.

SECTION III-C-4

The Mid/Tan Ratio as an Indicator of Midrashic Popularity

The third step towards evaluating Miriam's uniqueness in Midrash involves the Mid/Tan ratio, a tool providing a quantitative measure of a character's midrashic presence as opposed to the qualitative information inherent in Novel Assertions. Whereas midrashic Novel Assertions reflect on how actively a character's legacy is

growing, the Mid/Tan ratio is a simpler indicator addressing only the popularity of a character's name occurrence in the Tanakh relative to Midrash. If a hypothetical biblical character has a relatively scant additional midrashic elaboration but is nevertheless mentioned a great number of times, the possibility exists that though comparatively little may have been said to further enhance the character, the content was sufficiently of interest to lead to multiple repetitions of the same information, either in different parts of the same collections or in later collections. Alternately, the character may have simply been involved in some secondary manner through an association with other characters or as a part of exegetical exercises. In any case, a very high occurrence of naming of a character in collections is at least compatible with that character being more of a "household word" among the midrashists and among those who may have read or heard their material.

The Mid/Tan (Midrash-to-Tanakh) Ratio is defined as a quantitative assessment of how often a character is encountered in midrashic sources compared to the occurrence in the Tanakh, and is represented by the following formula:

$$\text{Mid/Tan Ratio} = \frac{\text{Number of Times Name Appears in Midrash}}{\text{Number of Times Name Appears in Tanakh}}$$

Name occurrence for calculating the Mid/Tan Ratio has been determined by searching the Bar Ilan Database for midrashic sources prior to ca. 640 CE. Only proper names are utilized, except for an allowance for "woman" when it clearly implies Eve. This decision was based on expediency rather than thoroughness, since searching the Bar Ilan Database to include all pronouns and surrogate names for twenty-seven biblical characters would have been a monumental task. An assumption

was made that such name-equivalents would be used on average equally for different characters. Table III-C-18 adds the Mid/Tan Ratio to the data of Table III-C-17, re-sorted according to the results of the Mid/Tan Ratio calculation.

Table III-C-18: Selected Female Characters plus Aaron and Caleb
Ranked by Mid/Tan Ratio

Persona	Tanakh Books	Tanakh Mentions	Number of Novel Assertions in Tanakh	Bar Ilan Mentions to ca. 640	Mid/Tan RATIO
Miriam	5	14	41	354	25.3
Jochebed	2	2	26	41	20.5
Tamar of Gen 38	2	5	49	74	14.6
Dinah	1	8	14	114	14.3
Eve/Woman	1	13	46	164	12.6
Sarah/Sarai	3	57	106	655	11.5
Zipporah	1	3	40	28	9.3
Huldah	2	2	14	18	9.0
Ruth	1	12	128	104	8.7
Aaron	13	347	574	2937	8.5
Rachel	4	47	106	373	7.9
Deborah	1	7	21	48	6.9
Leah	2	34	87	214	6.3
Rebecca	1	30	124	157	5.2
Caleb	5	34	82	154	4.5
Hagar	1	12	55	50	4.2
Delilah	1	6	48	24	4.0
Bilhah	2	10	27	38	3.8
Naomi	1	22	94	72	3.3
Esther	1	55	111	169	3.1
Bathsheba	3	11	74	31	2.8
Abigail	3	12	69	33	2.8
Vashti	1	10	19	16	1.6
Asenath	1	3	8	4	1.3
Zilpah	1	7	17	8	1.1
Noadiah	1	1	1	0	---
Nameless Prophetess	1	1	1	0	---

Table III-C-18 reveals Miriam to be the biblical character whose name is most frequently mentioned in the midrashim of Late Antiquity proportionate to the number of namings in the Tanakh. Though her name occurs only fourteen times in the Tanakh, she is named 354 times in the Bar Ilan Database in collections through 640 CE, giving her a Mid/Tan Ratio of 25.3. Of interest, and somewhat confirmatory of the reasoning behind the calculation, the second highest Mid/Tan Ratio belongs to Jochebed. She had only two mentions in the Tanakh, but is much elaborated in the midrashic role she shares with Miriam as midwife. In other words, most mentions of Jochebed are Miriam-related. Likewise, Zipporah scores relatively high at 9.3, a majority of information about her having accrued in the leprosy account in which she and Miriam were involved in dialogue. Somewhat unexpected and of potential value for future research, the Tamar of Genesis 38 and Dinah have scored very high. Tamar and Miriam share in being ancestresses of David – Miriam by midrashic and Tamar by biblical assertion – and both Tamar and Dinah were involved in untraditional sexual unions that were accorded at least some positive treatments in Midrash. Of the twenty-five women listed, only twenty-three were mentioned in Midrash, and among them, the average Mid/Tan Ratio is 7.8. Of interest, the ratio for the Matriarchs, whose names were more frequently mentioned than most other biblical women, averages 7.7, suggesting that by this measure, their names were mentioned in midrashim somewhat proportionately to their occurrence in the Tanakh. By way of contrast, though Sarah is mentioned four times more often in the Tanakh than Miriam, she is barely named twice as much as Miriam in Midrash, giving Miriam a greater than twofold higher Mid/Tan Index.

SECTION III-C-5

The EBNI Score as a Comparative Indicator of Midrashic Elaboration

The final step in this series towards evaluating Miriam's uniqueness in Midrash involves the EBNI score. Unlike the Mid/Tan Ratio, it is entirely based on Novel Assertions and is felt to be the most accurate comparative indicator of the degree to which a character is proportionately further developed in Midrash relative to each one's original biblical development. The "Extra-Biblical Novelty Index," (EBNI) is defined as a quantitative assessment of how many additional Novel Assertions are found in a character's midrashic presentation compared to and above and beyond the Novel Assertions available about the same character from the Tanakh. The relationship is expressed in the following formula:

$$\text{EBNI} = \frac{\text{Number of Midrashic Novel Assertions About a Character}}{\text{Number of Biblical Novel Assertions About a Character}}$$

A compromise was made in using Ginzberg rather than the Bar Ilan Database for determining the number of midrashic Novel Assertions. The time resource to translate midrashim related to 26 additional biblical characters preparatory to determining their Novel Assertions was prohibitive. Various disadvantages of using Ginzberg have been discussed in Chapter II. Data based on Ginzberg admittedly and undesirably includes Novel Assertions later than ca. 640 CE. This creates a theoretical risk that the EBNI score might be falsely high as a measure of a particular character's midrashic elaboration should a large proportion of Novel Assertions be from collections later than ca. 640. However, such anomalies can be retrospectively

identified by cross comparison of EBNI Scores with Mid/Tan Ratios, a process demonstrated below.

Table III-C-19 adds two final columns, one with the number of Novel Assertions that appear in Ginzberg's synthesis of midrashic material, and the second with the result of the EBNI calculation. For the purposes of these calculations, the exhaustive list of Miriam Novel Assertions from the Bar Ilan Database used in Section III-B of this Chapter has been set aside, and her Novel Assertions have been recalculated using Ginzberg.

Table III-C-19: Selected Female Characters, Aaron, and Caleb Ranked by EBNI Score

Persona	Tanakh Books	Tanakh Mentions	Number of Novel Assertions Tanakh	B.I. Mentions to 640 CE	M/T RATIO	Number of Novel Assertions Ginzberg	EBNI Score
Asenath	1	3	8	4	1.3	94	11.75
Miriam	5	14	41	354	25.3	242	5.90
Jochebed	2	2	26	41	20.5	129	4.96
Eve/Woman	1	13	46	164	12.6	223	4.85
Dinah	1	8	14	114	14.3	37	2.64
Sarah/Sarai	3	57	106	655	11.5	274	2.58
Vashti	1	10	19	16	1.6	47	2.47
Zipporah	1	3	40	28	9.3	76	1.90
Bilhah	2	10	27	38	3.8	51	1.88
Deborah	1	7	21	48	6.9	36	1.71
Zilpah	1	7	17	8	1.1	23	1.35
Esther	1	55	111	169	3.1	149	1.34
Rebecca	1	30	124	157	5.2	145	1.17
Caleb	5	34	82	154	4.5	79	0.96
Tamar	2	5	49	74	14.6	46	0.94
Rachel	4	47	106	373	7.9	96	0.91
Huldah	2	2	14	18	9.0	12	0.86
Aaron	13	347	574	2937	8.5	471	0.82
Hagar	1	12	55	50	4.2	42	0.76
Leah	2	34	87	214	6.3	66	0.75
Ruth	1	12	128	104	8.7	60	0.46
Abigail	3	12	69	33	2.8	29	0.42
Naomi	1	22	94	72	3.3	24	0.25
Delilah	1	6	48	24	4.0	9	0.19
Bathsheba	3	11	74	31	2.8	11	0.15
Noadiah	1	1	1	0	---	0	----
Nameless Prophetess	1	1	1	0	---	0	----

Since of the twenty-five women, two of them had no midrashic elaboration, the average EBNI score calculated based on 23 of the women is 2.18. This means that using Ginzberg as a source of midrashic elaboration, biblical women surveyed average an additional twofold further elaboration of Novel Assertions in Midrash above and beyond information presented about them in the Tanakh. As a source of initial surprise, Asenath, who had only three mentions and eight Novel Assertions in the Tanakh, has the highest EBNI score of all biblical women. With an EBNI score of 11.75, for every piece of information presented in the biblical account, about 11.75 novelties accrue to her in the midrashic record. The implication is that for one reason or another, she was a relatively active focus of dynamic attention among the midrashists. However, there is a very marked contradiction between her EBNI Score and Mid/Tan Ratio. Specifically, her Mid/Tan calculation places her next to the lowest of the women with a 1.3 ratio. In other words, in the Bar Ilan Database, her name appears only 4 times in collections prior to 640 CE. Given this information, it is highly unlikely that her high EBNI score reflects Novel Assertions accrued in midrashic collections of Late Antiquity. To further corroborate this conclusion, the Bar Ilan Database was searched in greater detail for Asenath namings. Of forty Asenath namings from collections up to the 13th century, thirty-six of them (90%) turn out to be from collections later than ca. 640, and the majority of these are from sources dated ca. the 10-13th centuries, making Asenath's high EBNI score an anomaly based on the marked skew of midrashic elaborations occurring after Late Antiquity. Figure III-C-5 below illustrates this anomalous pattern with the final generalization that because Mid/Tan Ratios come from the datable collections of the Bar Ilan Database,

they can mitigate false impressions from EBNI scores calculated using Ginzberg as the source of Novel Assertions. The usual pattern expected when a biblical character is significantly elaborated prior to ca. 640 is for the Mid/Tan Ratio to either exceed or roughly approximate the EBNI scores. Asenath is clearly anomalous to this pattern, having attracted the midrashists' significant attention only in a relatively late timeframe.

Miriam Compared to Other Biblical Characters by EBNI and MID/TAN Calculations

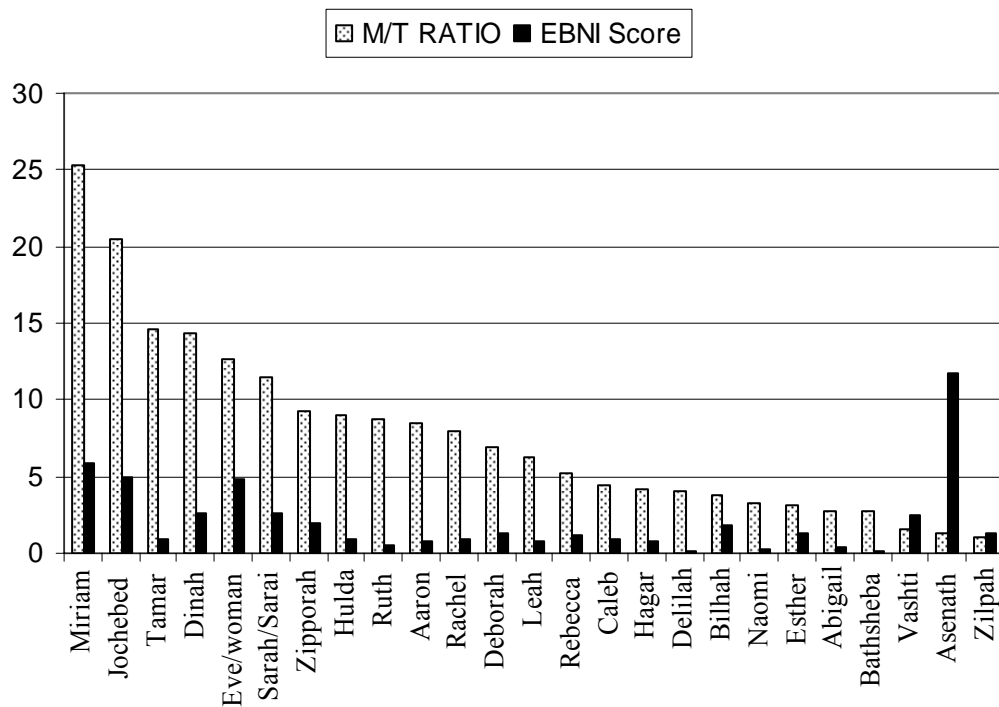


Fig. III-C-5: Relationship of Mid/Tan Ratio and EBNI Scores for Miriam and Twenty-Six Other Biblical Characters with Whom She is Compared.

The prophetess Miriam appears to be quite unique, with a Mid/Tan ratio of 25.3. With only 14 occurrences in the Tanakh, she is named no fewer than 354 times

in midrashic sources prior to ca. 640 and her EBNI score of 5.9 is higher than that of any other woman, leaving aside the anomalous case of Asenath. Of interest, her brother Aaron the High Priest has an EBNI score of only 0.82, and her midrashic mate, Caleb, has a score of 0.96. These findings taken cumulatively show that at least compared to the group of biblical women included in these comparisons, Miriam has been subject to a disproportionately greater elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity than any other female.

SECTION III-C-6

EBNI Scores Applied to Comparing Manna, Pillar of Cloud, and the Well

Prior to concluding this Section, and in the interest of reintegrating these findings related to Miriam with initial research on Novel Assertions from the Well, the EBNI tool will be applied to one further assessment. The oldest known relationship between Miriam and the Well is from Pseudo Philo in the first century CE:

These are the three things that God gave to his people on account of three persons: that is the well of Water of Marah for Miriam and the pillar of cloud for Aaron and the manna for Moses. After these three died, these three things were taken away from them. (*LAB* 20:8)

This formulation is repeated many times in subsequent midrashim with minimal variations, one of the earliest of which (ca. 225) follows:

C5. 200-250: Tosefta Sotah [Lieberman] 11:8
R. Yoseh in [the name of] R. Judah says, “When Israel went out from Egypt, three good leaders/providers were appointed for them. These are Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. On their merit three gifts were given to them: the pillar of cloud and manna and well. The well on Miriam’s merit, the pillar of cloud on Aaron’s merit, the manna on Moses’ merit. Miriam died, the well ceased to exist ...”

At the end of Section III-B, the question of comparing Miriam to the Well in graphic assessments of the relative growth of the two traditions was raised. It was noted that Miriam is a biblical persona whose basic portrayal is relatively established, whereas the Well is not only a mere object, but an extra-biblical construct. In comparing Miriam to the Well, she seemed to be the subject of more extensive elaboration. Yet, the legitimacy of the comparison as a means of reaching any larger conclusions about her uniqueness was cast in doubt, leading to the additional methods employed in this Chapter. Now that there is at least an objective measure by which to propose that Miriam appears to have been the subject of disproportionate midrashic elaboration in Late Antiquity, her relationship with the Well deserves further consideration in the light of this added perspective of her importance.

Just as Miriam has now been compared alongside a group of other women from the Tanakh, one might ask how the Well would fare in a similar comparison with objects of its own kind, especially those associated with it. In attempting to accomplish this, two sets of items were considered, one being the objects along with which the Well was created on the eve of the first Shabbat, and the second the Manna and Pillar of Cloud with which it was much more regularly associated, especially in the traditions linking it to Miriam. There is still a major problem in making such a comparison. The Cloud and Manna are well identified entities in the Tanakh with clear functions and behavioral patterns, allowing one to make an assessment as to whether an assertion in Midrash is truly novel to a contention of the Tanakh. However, as regards the Well, we are still left with the reality of an apparent invention

without firm literary roots in the biblical text. Given this disparity of relating items with clear scriptural antecedents to one without “parentage” in the Tanakh, we proceed to compare the three entities, justifying the exercise in the concluding Section to this Chapter. In order to allow the comparison between Well, Cloud, and Manna, an unscholarly allowance has to be made that effectively assigns “adoptive parents” to the Well from the Tanakh. In this exercise, the Well is allotted the following ten fictitious “roots of reality” in biblical text, as presented in Table III-C-20:

Table III-C-20: Fictitious “Novel Assertions” the Midrashists May Have Utilized in Making Assumptions about the Well’s Roots in the Tanakh

1	The well that Hagar saw, from which she gave Ishmael to drink, is The Well (Gen 21:19).
2	The well that Abraham dug is The Well (Gen 21:25, 30).
3	The well from which Rebecca drew is The Well (Gen 24:16, 20).
4	The wells that came up during Isaac’s diggings are The Well (Gen 26:18-21, 25, 32-33).
5	The well by which Jacob met his mate is The Well (Gen 29:2, 8, 10).
6	The well by which Moses sat in Midian is The Well (Ex 2:15).
7	The rock that gave water to Israel is The Well (Ex 17:6; Deut 8:15; Is 48:21; Ps 78:20; Neh 9:15).
8	The well that the princes dug and over which Israel sang is The Well (Num 21:16-18).
9	The wilderness springs and rivers from the rock were from The Well (Ps 105:41; Ps 114:8).
10	The “living waters” are waters of The Well (Song 4:15).

Utilizing this list of fabricated Novel Assertions assigned to the Tanakh along with other data accumulated from Ginzberg and the Tanakh, Table III-C-21 provides an EBNI Score comparison for the Manna, Pillar of Cloud, and the Well.

Table III-C-21: EBNI Score comparing Manna, Pillar of Cloud, and the Well

Three Gifts Given in the Merit of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam	Novel Assertions (Tanakh)	Novel Assertions (Ginzberg)	EBNI Score
Manna (in Moses' Merit)	53	127	2.4
Cloud (in Aaron's Merit)	62	108	1.7
Well (in Miriam's Merit)	10 (fictitious)	77	7.7

Had an attempt been made to calculate an EBNI Score for the Well based on the reality of a lack of actual Novel Assertions from the Tanakh, the result would have been meaningless ($77 \div 0$). Fully 100% of Well Novel Assertions are novel to the Tanakh, and Miriam could then be said to have been linked to an entity infinitely more novel than were Moses and Aaron. The historian might ask why such a linkage may have been midrashically pursued in her case, whereas in the case of Moses and Aaron the midrashic linkage was to entities already developed in the Tanakh. However, as noted above and further discussed in Chapter IV, the Rabbis likely inherited the association of Miriam and the Well from an earlier tradition, and the current exercise then becomes a concession to the presumed method of the midrashists in perhaps having reasoned along the lines of the presumptions of Table III-C-20. In selecting the ten fictitious Well Novel Assertions, the Tanakh was searched for occurrences of the word "well" and one Novel Assertion "credit" was allowed for each well entity that bore some relationship with the Well as understood in midrashic tradition.

Granted the speculative nature of this construction, certain summary observations are in order. At seventy-seven Novel Assertions about the Well from Ginzberg, the Well as a non-biblically-identified object fared relatively well, having experienced about two-thirds of the further novel elaborations of the biblically established Pillar of Cloud

and Manna. But even allowing the Well its ten fictitious Novel Assertions from the Tanakh, the Well's EBNI score at 7.7 would make it three to four times more elaborated in Midrash than the cousins to which it is compared.

Leaving aside this fictitious calculation to enter on firmer footing, a general remark seems justified. For whatever reason, despite the Well's extra-biblical origin, the midrashists were relatively more involved in further elaborating the story of the Well than they were in embellishing novelties about the Clouds and the Manna. Before addressing further attention to this observation in the next Section and in the final Conclusion to this study, a tentative proposal is offered. Miriam was one of three prophet siblings sent to lead Israel in the Wilderness. Each sibling has been midrashically linked to a useful implement for assisting the people. Though the entity associated with Miriam differs in not even having been biblically identified, it is nevertheless the most midrashically elaborated. This offers an additional perspective from which to posit Miriam's uniqueness in the midrashic literature in that, for reasons to be explored later in this study, object and persona seem to be well matched in their propensity to accrue Novel Assertions beyond their biblical due.

In summary of and conclusion to Section III-C, one might predict that "by the luck of the draw," extra-biblical accounts of biblical personae would more or less parallel in quantity and content the general recognition and character development provided to each one by Scripture itself. When this turns out not to be true, there is an invitation for the scholar to ask why particular personalities seem to have a more flourishing or seemingly imaginative literary career in Midrash than others. This Chapter has been devoted to establishing metrics that have attempted to level the

playing field such that if a character with a relatively small biblical elaboration appears to have a disproportionate elaboration in Midrash, the historian is in a better position to recognize this disparity.

Miriam appears to fall into this group of biblical characters, specifically of women about whom there are relatively few biblical Novel Assertions, but a relatively large number of midrashic Novel Assertions. This conclusion emerges after comparing her to twenty-six other mostly female characters. After an adjustment for one anomaly which was well explained, Miriam's EBNI score at 5.9 is higher than that of any other of the included women. Similarly, she has the highest Mid/Tan ratio, of 25.3, suggesting that her name was better known to the midrashists of Late Antiquity than its more minimal occurrence in the Tanakh itself would have led us to expect. As a further attestation to her stature, the analysis of Table III-B-11 shows that the only biblical theme in which Miriam received a proportionately greater emphasis in Midrash than in the Tanakh was theme # 18, favorably enhancing her stature in comparisons with the Patriarchs, her siblings, and other prophets. A quantitative metric in the current Section further corroborates this observation. Since this study began with a focus on the Well, and the full meaning of its having become Miriam's Well has remained enigmatic, Section III-C-6 has included a calculation in which the Well's EBNI score has compared quite favorably to that of the Pillar of Cloud and Manna. As a result, a picture is gradually emerging in which Midrash appears to take an interest in emphasizing the equality of each of Israel's three wilderness leaders through their each having been the steward of an amenity of great value to the people's survival. Insofar as these quantitative indicators have all

demonstrated her midrashic prominence, we may conclude that Miriam is disproportionately elaborated among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity. However, what is still not clear is whether this elaboration reflects processes entirely within Late Antiquity, or may have had some of its roots in relatively more actively growing traditions prior to the involvement of the midrashists. It is this question that shapes much of the remainder of this study. However, that in the course of the Tanakh's redaction Miriam has ended up by being named in five of its books, more than any other biblical woman, raises the possibility that she may have been a very prominent figure in extra-biblical traditions predating Late Antiquity. As Chapter III-D turns to summarizing major findings and clarifying progress made so far in demonstrating the tenets of this Dissertation, it also prepares for the inquiry of Chapter IV, which presents evidence regarding and approaches to evaluating the growth of Miriam's stature and legacy prior to the involvement of the Rabbis.

III-D**CONCLUSIONS TO THE ASSESSMENT OF MIDRASHIM**

The assessments of the Well and Miriam in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity undertaken in this Chapter have achieved two of the three stipulated goals of this Dissertation, repeated below for reference:

THESIS STATEMENT

The systematic application of Novel Assertions for assessing Miriam's midrashic portrayal is a productive tool from which emerges the observation of her disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity and organizes data in a format that facilitates the development of historical hypotheses addressing this uniqueness.

The first goal has been to demonstrate how the ordering of midrashic information by Novel Assertions is a productive tool for identifying issues of potential historical importance. Rather than providing an abstract proof of the suitability of Novel Assertion methodology, its productivity has been demonstrated through practical application. To this end, Chapter III-A and III-B have provided repeated examples illustrating how the ordering of information by thematically sequenced and dated Novel Assertions presents them in a format facilitating comparisons and conjectures. The method was originally applied to Well midrashim, the initial focus of

the study. However, one group of items appearing in later collections, in which the previously nameless Well becomes known as “Miriam’s Well,” has drawn special attention. Not only do these items emphasize the relationship of Miriam and the Well, but they ascribe special stature-enhancing motifs to them both. Specifically, sources using the “Miriam’s Well” formulation posit its healing properties, note its ritual purity, and associate its position with the middle gate of the Synagogue of Tiberias, the city in which the Rabbis conducted the deliberations that culminated in the Jerusalem Talmud. Because no rationale for this imagery was forthcoming, attention turned towards a similar assessment of Miriam Novel Assertions.

Again in Miriam’s case, the thematic and chronological presentation of content by Novel Assertions offers a productive format for organizing midrashic material in a way that highlights areas for potential historical inquiry. The 97% of Miriam Novel Assertions of the Diffuse Time Pattern lend themselves to a particularly useful sub-classification, drawing a distinction between themes unique to Midrash as opposed to those that both the Tanakh and Midrash share in common. For some themes, there is a remarkable similarity in the attention given to Miriam in each source. However, there is a significant exception regarding Miriam’s biblical roles at the Sea and River, both of which are comparatively underdeveloped in the Midrash. For another group, called “Unanticipated Miriam Themes,” the storyline of Scripture provides no preparation for what is expounded in Midrash. These include the contention that Miriam was one of the pious midwives, as a result of which she merited a House, involving rewards of Wisdom and Kingship. In order to bring about these rewards, Midrash posits that she married Caleb and became ancestress to David, an apparent deviation from his

biblically described descent from Ruth. Also, Midrash supplies an account of Miriam's prophesying to her parents regarding Moses' birth and addressing the Sanhedrin to criticize her father's decree of communal divorce, arguing the merits of her parent's remarrying in order to achieve this end. Just as her close association with the Well noted in its assessment ends up by enhancing her stature, so too do these Unanticipated Themes augment her legacy in a way that increases her importance. Throughout the process of assessment of Well and Miriam sources, it is the systematic use of Novel Assertion methodology that leads to success in discovering patterns. The original midrashim are often complex amalgamations of diverse material. Since Novel Assertions are a succinct synthesis of pertinent material from these sources, they provide a productive tool for ordering information in a way that lends itself to comparative analysis. To the degree that the productivity of using Novel Assertions has become apparent, the first tenet of the Dissertation has been demonstrated.

The second goal of this Dissertation is to use Novel Assertions as tools in establishing Miriam's disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity, a task undertaken in Chapter III-C. The initial Assessment of the Well in Chapter III-A provided a subsequent opportunity to compare Miriam's elaboration side by side with that of the Well in Chapter III-B. The result revealed that Miriam was a much more active entity of midrashic elaboration than the Well, especially in collections ca. 550 through the end of Late Antiquity. Though this helps to establish that Miriam was not dependent on the Well lore for her own cumulative midrashic portrayal, it did not succeed in demonstrating a uniqueness of her legacy compared to that of other biblical women. The strategy employed in

Chapter III-C involves applying varied metrics to demonstrate how twenty-five mostly female biblical characters are elaborated in Midrash relative to their elaboration in the Tanakh. Though Miriam is mentioned in more books of the Tanakh than any other woman, both the number of times her name is mentioned and the number of Novel Assertions accorded her in Scripture is about average, and always substantially less than that of the matriarchs. By way of contrast, when two different metrics are utilized to compare midrashic development with the biblical baseline, Miriam emerges as relatively more developed than all the other women with whom she has been compared. Specifically, by the Mid/Tan Ratio, Miriam is the biblical female character whose name is most frequently mentioned in the midrashim of Late Antiquity proportionate to the number of namings in the Tanakh, with a score of 25.3. Likewise, in her EBNI score, quantitatively assessing how many additional Novel Assertions there are in her midrashic presentation compared to and above and beyond her Novel Assertions in the Tanakh, she achieves a score of 5.9, higher than that of any other character in the comparison. Though it is conceivable that other metrics may be proposed in the future, to the degree that the prophetess Miriam has been shown to have the highest Mid/Tan Ratio and EBNI Score, the second tenet of this Dissertation, that she has been disproportionately elaborated among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity, has been demonstrated.

In addition to fulfilling the first two of the three Dissertation goals, there are a number of additional significant findings, some of which deal with general trends and motivations that seem to govern sources dealing with the Well and Miriam. A case has been made that one motivation for midrashic Novel Assertions is to provide

closure by filling in information gaps that may have been noted by midrashists interested in the comprehensiveness of the midrashic record. However, in other cases, entirely novel sub-themes seem to appear out of nowhere, in which case we have additional incentive to understand possible contexts explaining the function of the material. Stated succinctly, the more “novel” a category of Novel Assertions, the more potentially significant may be its theological or intercultural implications.

Likewise, a general trend has been noted in which items of more fanciful content are more commonly encountered in later collections. With this in mind, an argument has been put forward that when material of particularly fanciful content is present in collections from early Late Antiquity, this might suggest that such items had a “head start” in accruing novelty in traditions predating Late Antiquity. A case in point has been presented related to Well Theme # 13, “Rivers in the Desert,” which contains Assertions that are in continuum with three other Well Themes also involving waterways: # 11 discussing diverse benefits provided by the Well, # 16 with the account of the Well that the princes dug, and # 23, detailing the Well-like cruse of the future Temple. Assertions from these themes posit that big streams overflow from the Well, irrigating the desert, providing fat fish, and creating navigable waterways that finally empty into the Mediterranean, allowing for commerce to secure every desirable thing from the world. Furthermore, Midrash juxtaposes this water coming from the wilderness Well with that which will come from the Water Gate of the future Temple. Of great interest, all these Assertions come from sources dated ca. 225 CE, very early for notions of such novelty when compared to other themes. Furthermore, a mural from Dura-Europos dated ca. 245, appearing as Fig. I:1 of the Introduction, depicts the

Well as positioned before the wilderness Tabernacle, and giving forth waters that go in twelve streams to the tent of each tribe. As novel as these ca. 225 Assertions may seem, the strand becomes even more fanciful in later collections of the second half of Late Antiquity, in which women visit friends from other tribes by boating along these rivers or use the products of their waters to adorn themselves and gladden their husbands. Additionally, the riverbanks are sufficiently fertile to support the growth of fig trees, vines, pomegranates, and grasses that grow so fast as to be compared to the vegetation of the Creation, and the Israelites have only to roll in its grasses to deodorize their sweat.

Though discussed in Section III-A, which deals with the Well, this information is further expanded here because it introduces the major arguments of Chapter IV as applied to Miriam. It has been proposed that when Assertions as abundant and fanciful as the desert waterways appear in collections so early in Late Antiquity, it may suggest the presence of precursor traditions predating Late Antiquity, in which case the Rabbis may have partly engaged in a scribal act of recording the traditions rather than being entirely responsible for inventing their content. Of course, after preserving their content, they may have further creatively enhanced the core material. One might ask if there is any proof to the conjecture that the early novel desert waterway strands may have been based on motifs from such precursor traditions, and in response, an excerpt from Ezekiel 47:1-13 follows below:

And behold, waters go out from under the threshold of the House ... a river that I could not cross; for the waters rose, waters for swimming, a river that could not be crossed ... And behold upon the bank of the river, very many trees ... These waters go out towards ... the desert steppe ... to the sea; and they will enter the sea, and the waters will be

healed ... and there will be very many fish, because these waters shall come there; for they shall be healed; and every thing shall live where the river comes ... And by the stream, upon its bank, on this [side] and on that side, shall grow all trees for food, whose leaf shall not wither, nor shall its fruit fail; it shall bring forth fresh fruit every month, because the waters for them flow from the sanctuary; and their fruit shall be for food ... This will be the border, that you will divide the land for inheritance to the twelve tribes of Israel.

There is a close resemblance between many of Ezekiel's Assertions and those of the midrashic desert waterway strands. There is no doubt that the Rabbis had Ezekiel on their mind when in ca. 225 they asserted that the waters of the Well were associated with the future Temple House, making deep streams which would flow to irrigate the desert, producing lushly fruitful trees, and finally emptying into the sea whose waters would thereby be healed. In Midrash C2, which contains many of the core Novel Assertions of the desert waterways, the Rabbis themselves in fact quote these very verses from Ezekiel 47 no fewer than seven times. The relevant text of C2 is included in Appendix A-1, and the quotes from Ezekiel 47 are specifically identified there. Table III-D-22 below provides a comparison of key assertions from Ezekiel with midrashic waterway assertions:

Table III-D-22: Similarities between Ezekiel 47 and Well Waterway Assertions

Waterway Verses From Ezekiel 47	Midrashic Assertions Paralleling Ezekiel 47 Waterway Verses
V. 1: And behold, waters go out from under the threshold of the House eastward.	W-22 225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2
V. 5: For the waters rose, waters for swimming	W-23 225 The water of the Well makes big streams. C2
V. 7: And behold upon the bank of the river/wadi, very many trees.	W-98 400 Israel grew species of trees from the Well's water. C81
V. 8: These waters go out towards the eastern region, and they will go down to the desert steppe. .	W-27 225 The waters of the Well irrigate the desert. C2
V. 8: And they will enter the sea.	W-26 225 The waters of the Well go to the Great Sea. C2
V. 8: To the sea of the putrid waters, and the waters will be healed.	W-29 225 The waters that will gurgle from the cruse, as the waters that gurgled from the Well, will go to the Great Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Sodom, to heal their waters. C2
V. 9: And there will be very many fish.	W-75 275 The Well provided them more fat fish than they needed. C29
V. 12: And by the river/wadi, upon its bank, from this and from this, every tree for food, whose leaf will not wither, and its fruit will not be finished.	W-220 550 The Well had provided a place of seed and fig tree and vine.” C93, C95, C134, C143
V. 13: This is the border, by which you will divide the land for inheritance for the twelve tribes of Israel.	W-28 225 The waters of the Well surround the encampment. C2 W-179 550 Each tribe made its own aqueduct. C 115, C134, C143

What is apparent in considering the contribution of rabbinic creativity is that rather than fabricating the core imagery of the waterways strands, they utilized the novel content of Ezekiel's vision, reworking it with a new twist that identifies the Well as the source of the waters. However, a multitude of further Assertions regarding the behavior of the big streams made in the desert supporting fruit trees, defining the encampment, flowing to and healing the sea, and going from under the threshold of

the Temple Gate are imported from Ezekiel. What is of additional interest is that this desert waterway imagery is not limited to Ezekiel:

I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter riddles from ancient times ... Before their fathers He did a wonder in the land of Egypt ... He split the sea, and He caused them to cross ... He split rocks in the wilderness and He gave them abundant drink as from the deep. He caused flowing streams to go out from the rock, and caused waters to go down like rivers... Behold, he struck the rock, and waters flowed, and the streams overflowed ... (Ps 78, excerpts)

Then will the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing, for in the wilderness will waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the parched ground will become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water; the habitation of jackals will become a pasture for cattle, an enclosure of reeds and rushes. (Is 35:6-7)

Behold, I will do a new thing, now it will sprout, will you not know it? I will even put a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert. The beast of the field will honor me, jackals and ostriches, because I put waters in the wilderness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my chosen. (Is 43:19-20)

Furthermore, in his assessment of the mural at Dura-Europos (Fig. I-1) in which “the Children of Israel [are] camping according to their tribes around the Tent of Meeting,” Sukenik further draws attention to “the image of Moses ... pushing a tree branch in a round water reservoir. From this reservoir wind out twelve narrow strips, one to each tent” (Sukenik 98 [Translation mine]). Regarding the tree branch, Sukenik goes on to suggest that the imagery that those responsible for the mural had in mind potentially drew not only on the account of the Princes in Numbers 21, but also on Exodus 15:23-27 in which “the Lord showed [Moses] a tree branch” at Marah, followed shortly by the scene of Elim, “where there were twelve springs of water, and seventy palm trees.” In explaining how the mural seems to contain a composite of imagery from several biblical sources, Sukenik posits that those involved in designing

the mural were specifically interested in using their work to generalize the miracle of a water source which followed the Israelites in the wilderness:

... the miracle of Marah is already included in the scene of the exodus from Egypt and the splitting of the Red Sea, and therefore it is forced to see in this scene any “miracle of water” that is connected to a specific place, rather it is composed of elements of different events, like the water of Marah (the throwing of the tree into the water), the twelve springs of water in Elim (Ex 15:27), taking out water from the rock at Refidim (Ex 17:1-7), taking out water from the rock in the wilderness of Tsin (Num 22:11), and also “Miriam’s Well,” that is linked to the Song of the Well (Num 21:16-18) ... (Sukenik 99-100 [Translation mine])

Supporting Sukenik’s contention of a tradition linking the twelve springs at Elim to the twelve tribes, Midrash itself attests to this understanding:

250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach – Veyasa 1
R. Eleazar the Modai says, “When the Holy One, blessed be He, created his World, He created there twelve springs/fountains, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Jacob, and seventy palm-trees, corresponding to seventy elders. And what does “And they camped by the water” teach? It teaches that they were occupied with words of Torah that were given to them in Marah.

So in searching for early precursor traditions to the “Rivers in the Desert” theme, juxtaposing water and vegetation, one can add springs and palm trees at Elim.

Finally, there is even a poetic hint of tree-lined desert waterways in Num 24, an observation attributed in the dedication page of this study:

The speech of one who hears the words of God, he who will see the vision of the Almighty ... “How goodly are your tents, Jacob, and your dwelling places, Israel! Like brooks they were stretched out, like gardens by a river, like aloes that the Lord planted, and like cedars by water. He will pour water from his buckets [הַדֵּג], and his seed in many waters ...” (Num 24:4-7)

This Balaam text dated to ca. 12th-11th cent. BCE (Albright, *EJ*) is conceivably the earliest biblical attestation of imagery depicting trees along wilderness waterways. As

such, it may arguably predate the Elim source, identified as part of the document used by the biblical redactor “R” (Friedman, *Sources* 146, 303; *Who* 259). Friedman identifies “R” as Ezra the Scribe, who was active in the fifth century BCE (Friedman, *Who* 218), but neither he nor Cross provide a date for the document (Cross 309). It is of some casual additional interest that the הָלַה root used for “buckets” in Numbers 24 also carries the implication of “drawing” as in the “drawing water from a well” text of Exodus 2 below:

And Moses fled from Pharaoh’s face and he dwelt in the land of Midian, and he sat down by the well. And the priest of Midian had seven daughters and they came and drew [הָלַה] water ... And they came to Reuel their father and he said, “Why did you hasten to come today?” And they said, “An Egyptian man saved us from the hand of the shepherds, and indeed he also drew [הָלַה] for us and he watered the flock.” (Ex 2:15-16; 18-19)

Leaving this possible association of the Well and the desert waterways aside, the larger question becomes one of dating the origin of a tradition of wilderness rivers. The point here is that it is clearly not a novelty invented by the rabbis, since the poetics of its imagery extends to Antiquity in which the Psalms, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and portions of Exodus and Numbers were redacted. Its origins may even predate these sources, for there is nothing to preclude the possibility that the “E” source of Numbers 24 (Friedman 285-7) had in turn transmitted a tradition based on even earlier desert waterways imagery. Our first midrashic attestation linking the Well to these waterways is relatively early, in C2 dated ca. 225 CE. However, we have also concluded that the contention of there being a Well and its association with Miriam were both pre-midrashic, as attested by Pseudo-Philo in the first century CE. Though

there is no proof that there was a tradition in Antiquity that identified the Well as the specific source of the desert rivers, Ps 78:20 does specifically state that water from the wilderness rock formed streams, and the association of the Well with the Rock occurs very early in Midrash:

- W-37 225 The Well was similar to a full rock. C2
 W-21 225 The rock came to Israel's encampments. C2

Therefore, it is at least conceivable that there may have been traditions linking the Well to the desert waterways predating Late Antiquity.

The discussion above, supporting the contention in Chapter III-A that the appearance in very early collections of Late Antiquity of material of marked novelty points toward precursor traditions predating rabbinic involvement is directly apropos to similar observations to be pursued regarding Miriam. As such, the purpose of having elaborated the relation of motifs used in early midrashim to precursor traditions predating rabbinic involvement is to facilitate the transition to Chapter IV, which commences the process of addressing the third and final of the three stipulated goals of this Dissertation. Specifically, having used Novel Assertions to assess Miriam's midrashic portrayal, and having concluded that she had a disproportionate elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity, the remaining task is to develop hypotheses that address this uniqueness. What has at least been shown in the case of the Rivers in the Desert theme is that many of its core contentions are not attributable to rabbinic inventiveness. The Rabbis utilized well-developed scriptural imagery that contained the core of a good many of the waterway Assertions and simply attributed their headwaters to the Well. As such, what has been concluded at the end of Chapter

III-A must be slightly reworded. Everything said about the Well's elaboration in Late Antiquity remains true, but some motifs represent older traditions predating Late Antiquity, thereby reducing the degree to which the elaborations of the midrashists were a unique product of their own creativity. Applying this perspective to Miriam, a similar question can be posed. Do all of the 360 identified Miriam Novel Assertions appearing in collections of Late Antiquity contain traditions initiated exclusively by the Rabbis, or, as in the case of the desert waterways, do some of the Assertions reflect prior traditions predating Late Antiquity that the Rabbis simply recorded and then further enhanced?

As a prelude to positing that Miriam's portrayal in Midrash becomes more understandable through a consideration of extra-biblical traditions predating Late Antiquity, it is of note that some of the most enigmatic findings of Chapter III have a common meeting point in water imagery. Each of the three wilderness leaders is midrashically associated with an implement of great usefulness to the people. However, whereas Moses and Aaron are credited with the merit of the manna and clouds, both well-developed biblical objects, Miriam is associated with the Well, an extra-biblical construct, along with all its water lore. Furthermore, whereas the manna never becomes "Moses' Manna," and the pillar of cloud never becomes "Aaron's Pillar of Cloud," towards the second half of Late Antiquity the Well becomes "Miriam's Well" in stature-enhancing contexts of its legacy. Yet, no theory has come forth to explain her more unique relation to the Well compared to the more subdued association of her siblings with their commodities. Furthermore, alongside of these developments in associating her to water imagery through the Well, there is an

unexplained midrashic underdevelopment of the two Torah settings linking her to water at the River and at the Sea. Since no apparent logical explanation for either her positive association with the Well or for the apparent midrashic slight to her associations with the River or Sea has been forthcoming, it is reasonable to turn to investigating what can be learned from Miriam traditions predating Late Antiquity as a next step in forming a historical hypothesis to explain these. Some of these come from historical sources, including texts from the early Authors and from the Qumran scrolls. However, information from such material leaves gaps that can currently only be filled through a second process, involving cross-cultural modeling based on well-attested mythic female figures associated with water imagery lore that may have been contemporaneous with that of Miriam traditions. It should not be surprising that attempting to understand more about Miriam's watery past might lead to considerations of mythic origins, since water, as a pivotal commodity to survival, has been very subject to goddess-type associations. For example, Dever notes that Asherah is portrayed as "Lady Asherah of the Sea" and that some scholars believe her name itself means "Lady Who Treads/Subdues Sea" (Dever 101). Likewise, the Egyptian Goddess Hathor is associated with both the rise and fall of the Nile River (Bleeker 67-68) and the provision of water to the thirsty (James 41).

This study now progresses to Chapter IV, the first of three chapters to propose historical hypotheses to explain the major findings of the current Chapter. It begins with an explanation of the importance of addressing the vintage of midrashic Novel Assertions related to Miriam. In general, there is a risk of overestimating the legacy that Miriam accrued in Late Antiquity if she already possessed portions of that legacy

prior to Late Antiquity. Since the remainder of this study, and especially Chapters V and VI, is involved in exploring historical contexts of her portrayal in Late Antiquity, Assertions that have a higher likelihood of being truly unique to Late Antiquity ought to carry more weight than those that are carryovers from precursor traditions. Therein lies the value of attempting to distinguish those traditions in which the Rabbis were most creatively involved from those that they only secondarily enhanced. With this in mind, Chapter IV views the Novel Assertions about Miriam with a retrospective intent of investigating precursors to her midrashic portrayal, predating rabbinic midrashic elaborations.

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CHAPTER IV

PRECURSORS TO MIRIAM'S MIDRASHIC ELABORATIONS

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER IV

This Chapter attempts to identify components of Miriam's midrashic renown that predate the creative rabbinic involvement of Late Antiquity. Whereas portions of her portrayal may represent true mythopoesis, there are other ways in which Miriam may have gained in general stature and in which her storyline may have grown prior to the involvement of the midrashists. Accordingly, attention first turns to locating historical material attesting to such early traditions, and secondly to defending as best as possible other conjectures as to how she may have been subject to enhancement prior to Late Antiquity. Though by definition all Novel Assertions are unanticipated, a distinction should be drawn between what on the one hand are Assertions that add content to a narrative strand already introduced in Scripture, and on the other, to entire midrashic themes whose contentions have no roots in Miriam's biblical storyline. Though all new Assertions are "novel," the novelty of entirely Unanticipated themes is more exceptional. For example, though the midrashic explanation of the meaning of Miriam's name provides novel information, it is only an amplification of a known component of her biblical portrayal. By way of contrast, the "Unanticipated" Miriam themes listed in Table III-B-13, such as her being one of the midwives, her prophecy of Moses' birth and destiny, her marriage and offspring, and her association with the Well, are entirely unpredictable based on Scripture alone and evoke historical

curiosity as to the context of their development. Furthermore, interest in the background of these substantially elaborated Unanticipated themes grows when one compares them to the scant midrashic treatment of Miriam's better known roles at the River and Sea. Certainly the unexpected appearance of entire Miriam themes might point to some special importance the Rabbis attached to them. Table IV -1 below reproduces essential information from Table III-B-14 regarding the Unanticipated themes.

Table IV-1: Unanticipated Miriam Themes

Theme ID Code	UNANTICIPATED MIRIAM THEMES	Time Period of Collection through 640 CE	Number of Novel Miriam Assertions (% Total)
4	Miriam as midwife	275-550	6 (2%)
5	Miriam's interaction with her parents: their divorce and her prophecy	275-600	19 (5%)
8	Miriam's interaction with Zipporah	225-550	11 (3%)
12	Miriam's marriage	225-550	9 (3%)
14	Miriam's children and grandchildren	275-550	12 (3%)
15	Miriam's link to David	275-550	2 (1%)
22	Miriam and the Well	200-550	24 (7%)

Insofar as this Study deals with a methodology to establish Miriam's disproportionate elaboration in midrashic literature and to develop historical hypothesis to explain its causes, we must consider the potential pitfall of attributing too much of the growth of her legacy to the midrashic process itself at the risk of underestimating possible amplifications of her stature and saga predating Late Antiquity. However, attempting to tease out which components of Miriam's midrashic legacy may be more correctly identified as pre-rabbinic raises a larger issue of the scope of rabbinic creativity and imagination. Specifically, did the Rabbis place restraints on the bounds of their own creativity? To what degree did they commit

themselves to elaborating scriptural content, as opposed to feeling at liberty to create entirely new thematic situations? For example, among the items in Table IV-1, Miriam's relationship to the Well accounts for the greatest number of Novel Assertions. As such, the Well traditions may not only have contributed to her portrayal, but may have literally constructed a portion of her stature. However, the only initial objective statement that one can make is that these traditions are extra-biblical. The historian must look for evidence that, on the one hand, there may have been traditions of antiquity associating Miriam and the Well that the Rabbis simply further elaborated or that, on the other hand, they indeed may have playfully engineered the entire contention of a magical well and then linked Miriam to it in order to draw some exegetical point. John Townsend offers a perspective on this very issue in a section of a chapter that he somewhat tellingly titles "Interesting Sidelights" [emphasis mine]:

While Talmudic literature represents the Rabbinic scholarship in a more serious vein, in midrash (at least in aggadic midrash) we see the Rabbis *at play* ... In regard to the fact that midrash can be play, let me give just two short examples. In the relatively late *Tanhuma* Buber, Num. 1:2, and elsewhere we read about Miriam's magic well from which the Israelites drank in the desert. Since Moses drew water from a rock in more than one place, the assumption was that the well/rock followed them. The story is very old, and Paul refers to it in the New Testament (I Cor. 10:4), where he says of Israel in the wilderness: "For they all drank from the same spiritual rock that followed them." (Townsend 18, 22-23)

Here, Townsend would appear to reduce the tradition of "Miriam's magic well" to Rabbinic playfulness. Lest his use of the word "playful" be treated as atypical, we encounter it again in Michael Fishbane's text, *The Midrashic Imagination*, where in his introduction he observes [emphasis mine]:

One of the most compelling and characteristic features of Jewish creativity is its “midrashic imagination.” ... The result of this development is sustained legal and theological discussions, homilies of various sorts and types, and legendary accretions to the historical narrative of the Bible ... All this is Midrash – forged out of a subtle, serious and even **playful** imagination, as it comes to grips with life and Scripture. (Fishbane 1)

Note how he posits that Midrash creates “legendary accretions” to historical narrative, in a way that does not admit to the possibility that such legends may be traditions of pre-rabbinic vintage. In the same volume, Ithamar Gruenwald adds the following:

The dimension of subjective creativity so typical of Midrash has already been highlighted ... In relating to the fictional, even fictitious, type of philological and historical information incorporated in the midrashic expositions of Scripture, Heinemann argues that the philology and historiography of Midrash should be qualified as “creative” ... Our purpose is fulfilled if we have called attention to some of the interpretative aspects of mythopoesis. (Gruenwald 9, 17)

My intent in raising a concern with these statements is not to demean the role of creativity, for it may in fact be an accurate description of much of midrashic process. Rather, the problem lies in making an overconfident generalization that all Unanticipated midrashic themes are of necessity a result of rabbinic imagination. A *priori* attributing novelty to midrashic creativity may limit interest in searching for possible seminal pre-rabbinic traditions, thereby risking mistakenly crediting the midrashists with inventing that which they may have merely inherited. One major hazard of such attribution is that it deprives the historian of an accurate focus on true rabbinic creativity. Specifically, if one can prove that many Unanticipated Miriam themes really were pre-rabbinic, those remaining novel themes that indeed do appear to be the object of major rabbinic creativity become more impressive as a testimony to the importance the Rabbis attached to them.

The remainder of this Chapter is dedicated to an identification, sometimes well-attested and sometimes more conjectural, of precursors to Miriam's elaboration in Late Antiquity, with a special focus on distinguishing between those Unanticipated Miriam elaborations that may have predated rabbinic involvement compared to those that seem more likely to be a result of their actual midrashic enhancements. Though the results may be inconclusive and tentative in dating the appearance of Unanticipated Miriam traditions prior to Late Antiquity, the findings are compatible with a conclusion that Miriam entered Late Antiquity already in possession of a significant extra-biblical legacy upon which the Rabbis then built further. The assessment begins with attestations from the Qumran texts followed by the writings of Josephus, Philo, Pseudo-Philo, 2Baruch, and 1Clement. Collectively, they are referred to as the early "Authors," and their diverse writings are assessed together because they constitute the surviving record of pre-rabbinic, extra-biblical and non-Qumran material related to Miriam and/or the Well. The Chapter continues by providing an example of how analyzing biblical patterns may offer hints pointing to other possible early traditions, and then turns to how inter-cultural correlations may add to an understanding of ways in which some of Miriam's roles may have grown prior to Late Antiquity. It finally concludes with a discussion of how the expansion of precursor Miriam traditions may have been part of a more general cultural interest in female imagery at a time when Israelite religion started to become more distanced from pagan influences.

SECTION IV-A

The Qumran Texts as Attestations to Extra-Biblical Miriam Traditions
Predating Late Antiquity

The oldest available record of pre-rabbinic extra-biblical Miriam traditions comes from Cave 4 Qumran manuscripts and provides the core assertions of certain of what Chapter III-B has identified as “Unanticipated” Miriam themes. As such, they attest to a growth of her extra-biblical portrayal prior to the Common Era. These manuscripts include the group of texts known as *4QVisions of Amram* (4Q543, 4Q545, 4Q546, 4Q547, and 4Q549), as well as 4Q365, which is a part of what is called the Reworked Pentateuch. The paleographic date for the *4QVisions of Amram* writings ranges from the late second century to the late first century BCE, although their language seems to be older. According to Emile Puech,

the language seems to be that of the second century BCE at the latest, but the third century [BCE] cannot be excluded or even the fourth ... and the paleographic and linguistic criteria allow to assign them a composition roughly to the third century or, at the latest for the *Visions of Amram*, the first part of the second century BCE. (Puech 285)

Manuscripts 4Q543 and 4Q545 refer to Miriam’s marriage to Uzziel, her father’s brother, and are the subject of further discussion in Chapter V, along with 4Q549, a fragment where both Miriam and Hur are mentioned, perhaps indicating a later marriage for Miriam. 4Q549 also identifies the son born from the union of Miriam and Uzziel as Sitri, following the information of his paternal ancestry given in Exodus 6:22. Manuscripts 4Q543 (fragment 1) and 4Q545 (fragment 1) have been paleographically dated to the late second and early first centuries BCE (Puech 285) and their conflated texts read as follows:

Copy of the writing of the words of the visions of Amram b. Qahat b. Levi. All that he told his sons and that he commanded to them on the day of his death in the year one hundred and thirty and six, that is the year of his death in the year one hundred and fifty and two of the exile of Israel to Egypt [...] upon him and he sent and he called Uziel his youngest brother [...] to him to Miriam his daughter and he said, “You are thirty years old,” and he made a feast for seven days, and he ate and he drank in the feast [...]

According to Puech, 4Q549 (fragment 2) may have been written even before “the qumranian occupation of 152 BCE” (Puech 403):

1. H]ur (?) and he ate, he and his sons[and ... and
Yokabed, his wife, when]
2. ar]rived for her eternal sleep[... ... came]
3. next to him, and they found[....]
4. his sons and the sons of his brothers[...]
5. and they returned immediately[...
after this, Amram]
6. departed for the house of his eternity [as it is w]ritten[in the book of
the words of the vision/s (of Amram)]
7. *vacat* and sin[ce the nuptials of Uzziel, were months]
8. ten and he begat from Miriam a relative[three sons Mishael and
Elitsafan]
9. and Sitri and Hur took [for a wife NAME daughter of NAME]
10. and he begat from her Ur; and Aaro[n took for himself Elisheba and
begat]
11. from her four/ty (?) sons [Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Itamar
(Puech 403)]

Text 4Q546, fragment 12, refers to “Miriam’s secret”: (וּן) הַ וְרַז מְרִימַם עֶבֶד לֵהּ (“And Miriam’s secret did for him/them”). In Puech’s opinion, the text in this fragment directly depends on Ex 15:20 where Miriam is called a prophetess. He posits that the secret “seems to point at the revelation of God’s spirit in a dream that *LAB IX 10* reports, concerning the conception and birth of Moses” (Puech 365). Though Pseudo-Philo’s text of Miriam’s dream-vision is presented and further discussed in Section IV-B, what is important here is the Qumranic use of the unusual term רַז (“secret”/

“mystery”). In the Tanakh, this Persian loan word appears only in the book of Daniel (2:18, 19, 27-30, 47; 4:6). Here the secret/mystery in question refers to a dream since, in Daniel’s words, “there is a God in heaven who reveals secrets, and He made known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what will happen in the days to come” (2:28). In addition, Targum Neofiti, whose material may be contemporary with Qumran (Díez Macho 77) and no later than the second half of the second century CE (Beattie/McNamara 261), states in reference to Balaam (Num 24:16), רזי נבואתיה (‘‘the secrets of his prophecy reveal themselves to him’’). Accordingly, if רז in 4Q546 is used with that same connotation, it means that the midrashic notion of Miriam’s prophecy first appearing in C228 ca. 275 CE has more ancient roots. Further supporting this interpretation is the midrashic explanation provided for Miriam’s standing at the River, specifically to know what will become of her prophecy (C304, C311). Though the Bible provides the answer in Exodus 2:4-10, Miriam perceives the events through revelation, as reported in C283:

283. Ca. 400: J Talmud Sotah 1:17b

... Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said, “And his sister stationed herself from afar,” etc. ... R. Yochanan said, “This verse was said with the Spirit of Holiness. “And his sister stood,” I saw the Lord standing on the altar. “His sister,” is said of wisdom, “You are my sister.” “From afar,” “From afar the Lord appeared to me.” “To know,” for the earth is full of knowledge of the Lord.” “What would be done to him,” for the Lord God would not do anything except if He revealed His **secret** to His servants the prophets.

In all cases God’s revelation is a “secret.” Though the Hebrew in C283, סוד, is different than the Persian רז used in Daniel, Targum Neofiti, and Qumran, Jastrow (1464) directly equates the two words. The implication is that the Novel Assertions of

Miriam theme # 5, starting with C228 in ca. 275 collections referring to Miriam's prophecy, may well be based on earlier traditions attested in the Qumran text.

The remaining 4Q*Visions of Amram* text is 4Q547, fragment 9, which mentions Miriam in the context of what seems to be Amram's descent to Egypt, perhaps refers to Miriam's birth after Amram's arrival there (Puech 390):

8. ...] And I, I woke up from the sleep of my eyes and the vision, [I] wrote [*in a book/ on the tablet*...
 9. ... *before I go down*]from the country-of-Canaan. And this was for me like [the angel] said [to me]
 10. ...]Maryam, and after[*r her*]I took ten...
- (Puech 389)

If so, this text reaffirms Miriam's standing in Amram's family, her birth being recorded as a landmark, ten years after which her brother Aaron will be born (Puech 390).

The last Qumran Miriam manuscript, 4Q365, "contains a script transitional between the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods," ca. 75-50 BCE (Tov-White 260), "but includes much older material" (White 36). 4QRP 6a-c is one of the fragments that "preserve sufficient portions of two columns on one fragment to calculate the number of lines in those columns" (Tov-White 255). Fragment 6b includes the first column, which contains Exodus 15:16-20, and fragments 6a col. ii and 6c form the second column. This column appears to be the continuation of the previous text but has seven additional lines before resuming the text with Exodus 15:22-26:

1. You despised (?) [
2. for the majesty of [
3. You are great, a deliverer (?) [
4. the hope of the enemy has perished, and he is for[gotten] (or: has

- cea[sed]) [
 5. they perished in the mighty waters, the enemy (or ‘enemies’) [
 6. and extol the One who raises up, [a r]ansom ... You gave (?) [
 7. [the One who do]es gloriously [

According to Tov and White, “this added text provides the largest preserved expansion of 4QRP... [and] may well represent an expanded version of the verse preceding 15:22, viz. the so-called Song of Miriam in v 21.” In their opinion, it is “understandable that an exegetical tradition developed which recreated the Song of Miriam based on the contents of the Song of Moses” (Tov/White 270). Since in Exodus 15:20-21 Miriam takes the tambourine and sings while the women follow her, it makes sense that the imperative “and extol” (ורוממנה) in line 6 appears in the imperative feminine plural form, implying that Miriam addressed her followers.

According to Sidnie White Crawford,

this Qumran fragment is unique; nowhere else in Second Temple Jewish writings do we find an actual record of Miriam’s song. This song cements Miriam’s status as a leader of the Israelites; since she is also called a prophet in verse 20, it could be argued that the song is the product of divine inspiration. (White 37)

4Q365 thus suggests that a tradition of a greater role for Miriam at the Sea may have been current at the time of Hasmonean rule.

The traditions preserved in these texts may bear witness to Miriam’s importance in the period of the Second Temple and point to an ongoing interest in her persona through the centuries, following her earlier mentions in the Tanakh and prior to Late Antiquity. In the Tanakh we have only glimpses of Miriam as daughter of Amram and Jochebed, sister of Moses and Aaron, prophetess, and leader. However, the Qumranic mentions of her birth, her secret, her marriage and offspring, and the

possible fuller rendering of her song suggest an expanded and enhanced tradition of Miriam as a heroic leader in her own right. Table IV-A-2 summarizes the Novel Assertions provided by the Qumran Texts.

Table IV-A-2: Novel Assertions in Qumran Texts

Qumran ID	Novel Assertion	Sources and Paleographic Dates	Assertion repeated in Midrash?
Q-1	Miriam's father arranged for Miriam's marriage	4Q543, fr. 1 (150-100 BCE) 4Q545, fr. 1 (100-50 BCE)	No
Q-2	Miriam's marriage took place in the year one hundred and fifty and two of the exile of Israel to Egypt	4Q543, fr. 1 (150-100 BCE) 4Q545, fr. 1 (100-50 BCE)	No
Q-3	Miriam married her uncle Uzziel, her father's brother	4Q543, fr. 1 (150-100 BCE) 4Q545, fr. 1 (100-50 BCE)	No
Q-4	Miriam was thirty years old when she married	4Q543, fr. 1 (150-100 BCE) 4Q545, fr. 1 (100-50 BCE)	No
Q-5	Amram made a seven day feast for Miriam's marriage	4Q543, fr. 1 (150-100 BCE) 4Q545, fr. 1 (100-50 BCE)	No
Q-6	Miriam's son by Uzziel was Sitri	4Q549, fr. 2 (50-1 BCE)	No
Q-7	Miriam is mentioned in the same fragment as Hur (second marriage?)	4Q549, fr. 2 (50-1 BCE)	No
Q-8	Miriam had a secret [prophetic dream?]	4Q546, fr. 12 (100-50 BCE)	Yes C228 (ca. 275) C283 (ca. 400 quoting A-2)
Q-9	Miriam was born after Amram's return to Egypt (?)	4Q547, fr. 9 (150-100 BCE)	No
Q-10	Miriam sings her own longer song at the Sea	4Q365 (75-50 BCE)	No
Q-11	Miriam addresses the women	4Q365 (75-50 BCE)	Yes C228 (250-300)

Matching the Qumran material to the list of Unanticipated Miriam themes in Table IV-1, at least three and probably four of them – those related to the fact of her marriage, to a confirmation that she had offspring, her addressing the women, and very likely to her prophecy regarding the birth of Moses – predated the rabbinic era,

establishing that though the Rabbis enlarged upon these, and provided her with a different husband and offspring, they did not originate the basic contentions of her marital status or motherhood. The degree of detail concerning her marriage – her age at the time, the year, the length of the feast, and the involvement of Amram – are all rather impressive indications of her general importance in Antiquity, and this in itself suggests that there may have been other traditions for which there are currently no attestations.

A second point of interest is that at least nine of the eleven contentions regarding Miriam from Qumran are never mentioned at all in the Midrash, suggesting that the midrashic account of Miriam is by no means an exhaustive record of traditions related to her. This allows us to speculate that there may be still other extra-biblical pre-Common Era lost traditions about her, a conjecture also made by others:

Miriam's title of prophetess, the audacity with which she demands to be heard, the severity of her punishment, and her appearance on Micah's list of national deliverers (despite the order of presentation) all create an impression that her role was far greater than recorded, that there must have been other traditions which were not included in the canon. (Pardes 11)

Speculation: A more complicated scenario is that all 15:1b-18 was originally JE's Song of Miriam, comparable to the Song of the prophetess Deborah (Judges 5). The Redactor shifted all but the opening lines to their present position, making his hero Moses the singer and relegating Miriam to the female chorus (see Van Dijk-Hemmes 1994). (Propp *Exodus* 483)

Later, Propp provides a list of scholars "who consider 15:21 the original poem, from which 15:1b-18 somehow grew," but he notes that the contention is really currently unknowable and more dogma than certitude (Propp *Exodus* 548). However, in support of these speculations, a case will be made later in this Chapter that Miriam's portrayal

shows many parallels with that of an Egyptian mythic female prototype in a way that increases the likelihood of a more extensive tradition of her role at the Sea than is recorded in Exodus. Without specifically positing a lost tradition, in comparing Deborah and Miriam, David Noel Freedman frames both their roles as atypical, to the point of predicting that there might be a negative incentive for further elaborations that might alter the mold of male dominance in scenarios of military confrontation:

In the Song of the Sea, Moses is the protagonist and Miriam provides support, whereas in the victory at the Kishon Brook, Deborah is the leading figure, while the supporting role goes to the man, Baraq. Allowing for differences in detail, it is nevertheless remarkable, if not extraordinary, that in both of these engagements in which the survival and ultimate success of the people of Yahweh were at stake, that the event and celebration of its outcome are linked to a leadership pair. What is especially noteworthy is that rarely if ever in the subsequent narrative of Israel's experience do we find such a combination in leadership: in particular a man and a woman, or a woman and a man. I think it is safe to say that such a phenomenon, which breaks the traditional pattern of male dominance, especially in military confrontation and crises (...), belongs to the earliest phases of national existence and was marked for special attention precisely because it was unusual and did not constitute a model for later emulation. (Freedman 70-71)

Leaving these speculations aside, we continue the process begun with the Qumran texts of attempting to identify possible precursor traditions to some Unanticipated Miriam themes with a similar assessment of other early writings.

SECTION IV-B

Early Authors and the Dura-Europos Mural as Attestations to Extra-biblical
Miriam Traditions Predating Late Antiquity

The second source corroborating the pre-rabbinic growth of Miriam's stature and potentially limiting the degree to which Unanticipated Miriam themes were a product of rabbinic imagination is a group of early Authors, whose contributions to Novel Assertions about Miriam and the Well appear in Table IV-B-3 below:

Table IV-B-3: Novel Assertions about Miriam and the Well from Early Authors

Author ID	Novel Assertion	Source and Date	Assertion Repeated in Midrash?
A-1	Miriam watched over Moses because she loved him so much.	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> I:4:12 (20 BCE-50 CE) (Amir EJ)	No
A-2	Miriam conjectured Pharaoh's daughter's hesitation from what she saw.	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> I:4:16 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-3	Miriam led the song of the women at the Sea.	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> I:32:180 <i>On the Contemplative Life</i> 11:87 (20 BCE-50 CE)	Yes C228 ca. 275
A-4	Moses appointed Miriam as chief of the women's chorus.	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i> II:46:256 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-5	Aaron entreated Moses to heal Miriam in order that her soul might not be occupied in the labor of bringing forth evil things.	Philo, <i>The First Book of ... the Six Days of Creation</i> 24:76 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-6	Miriam as "the outward sense" was shameless and impudent.	Philo, <i>The Second Book of ... the Six Days of Creation</i> 17:66 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-7	Miriam was "the outward sense."	Philo, <i>The Third Book of ... the Six Days of Creation</i> 33:103 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-8	Miriam was "the purified outward sense."	Philo, <i>On Husbandry</i> 17:80 (20 BCE-50 CE)	No
A-9	Miriam watched over the ark because her mother had asked her to do so.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 2.9.4 (Ca. 38 CE-100) (Schalit EJ)	No
A-10	When Pharaoh's daughter found Moses, Miriam was by when this happened, not to appear to be there on purpose, but only as staying to see the child.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 2.9.5 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No

Table IV-B-3 (*cont*)

Author ID	Novel Assertion	Source and Date	Assertion Repeated in Midrash?
A-11	Miriam told Pharaoh's daughter that baby Moses would not nurse from non-Hebrew women, but would perhaps nurse from a Hebrew woman.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 2.9.5 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-12	Miriam is married to Hur.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 3.2.4 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-13	Betsalel is Miriam's grandson (Uri is her son).	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 3.6.1 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-14	Miriam died on the first of Xanthicus [=Nisan].	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 4.4.6 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	Yes C44 ca. 200
A-15	Miriam had a public funeral at great expense.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 4.4.6 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-16	Miriam was buried on the mountain of Sin.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 4.4.6 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-17	Miriam was mourned for thirty days.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 4.4.6 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-18	After Miriam's death Moses purified the people with the red heifer's ashes.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> 4.4.6 (Ca. 38 CE-100)	No
A-19	Miriam had a dream about a linen-clad who charged her with telling her parents about Moses.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 9:10 (Ca. 50 CE*)	No
A-20	Miriam's parents did not believe her.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 9:10 (Ca. 50 CE*)	No
A-21	God brought forth a well of water to follow the people.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 10:7 (Ca. 50 CE*)	Yes C2 ca. 225
A-22	The water of Marah followed the people in the wilderness forty years and went up to the mountain with them and went down into the plains.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 11:15 (Ca. 50 CE*)	No
A-23	The well of the water of Marah was given to the people on account of Miriam.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 20:8 (Ca. 50 CE*)	No
A-24	After Miriam, Aaron, and Moses died, well, clouds, and manna were taken away from them.	Pseudo-Philo, <i>LAB</i> 20:8 (Ca. 50 CE*)	Yes C45 (ca. 200) C5 (ca. 225)
A-25	In Baruch's vision, Miriam was part of the bright fourth waters.	2Baruch 59:1 (70-132) (Grintz <i>EJ</i>)	No
A-26	By reason of jealousy Aaron and Miriam were lodged outside the camp.	1Clement 4:11 (96 CE) (<i>EB</i>)	No

* See discussion below regarding dating.

Following the trend of the Qumran texts, only four of the twenty-six Novel Assertions from the early Authors are later repeated in the Midrash, again showing that the midrashim are not exhaustive as a source of Miriam or Well traditions. As

regards Unanticipated Miriam themes, Pseudo-Philo amplifies the strand about Miriam's prophecy related to Moses' birth, thus adding credibility to the interpretation of Qumran source Q-8 as describing Miriam's early prophetic activity:

The spirit of God came upon Miriam one night, and she saw a dream and reported it to her parents in the morning, saying, "I had a vision this night, and behold a man was standing in a linen garment and he said to me, 'Go and say to your parents, "Behold the child who will be born of you will be cast forth into the water; likewise through him the water will be dried up. And I will work signs through him and save my people, and he will exercise leadership always."'" When Miriam reported her dream, her parents did not believe her. (*LAB* 9:10)

This account includes a good amount of detail, suggesting that the tradition he reports may have evolved over time and that it may indeed have had earlier roots plausibly dating at least to the time of Q-8. More generally, the material confirms Miriam's importance as a prophetess, a fact that is repeated in later midrashim (C304, C311). Although *LAB*'s dating has been the object of much debate, ranging from the first century BCE to ca. 150 CE, Jacobson states that "the central question to come under discussion is whether the work is before or after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple." He indicates that although some support the later dating, "in recent years, the weight of scholarly opinion seems to have tended to the earlier date" (Jacobson 199). Strugnell concurs with this opinion, pointing out that *LAB* "is demonstrably the source from which [2Baruch and 4Esdras] have borrowed according to linguistic parallels." In his words, "Pseudo-Philo's Hebrew biblical text, furthermore, suggests an earlier date for at least much of the material ... probably, the author himself used a notably pre-Masoretic form of Hebrew text – how late could he have done this?" (Strugnell *EJ*).

Continuing to other Unanticipated themes, A-12 provides Hur as a new spouse for Miriam, something possibly hinted at in Qumran source Q-7, and A-13 provides the names of Uri and Betsalel as her son and grandson. Finally, in A-21, A-22, A-23, and A-24, Pseudo-Philo attests to a tradition predating the midrashim both as to the fact of a special Well that followed the Israelites, and to Miriam's association with it. Therefore, from the list of Unanticipated Miriam Themes in Table IV-1, we lack evidence only regarding Miriam's association as a midwife, her interaction with Zipporah, and her being ancestress to David. Of these, her interaction with Zipporah, though included in enough midrashim to warrant its own thematic category in this research, is closely intertwined with the biblical story of her speaking about Moses. As such, it has been classified as a sub-theme within the Leprosy account and does not carry the same weight of novelty as do Miriam's marriage, her association with the Well, her prophecy concerning Moses, and her identification as one of the midwives. This leaves only her being ancestress to David and her role as a midwife as major Unanticipated themes without attested precursors prior to Late Antiquity.

Though neither the early Authors nor the Qumran texts confirm the antiquity of the midwife tradition, one of the murals at the synagogue of Dura-Europos dating to ca. 245 CE (Gutmann x), appears to confirm that the association of Miriam and Jochebed as the midwives, at least allowing for the possibility that this was a pre-existing storyline familiar to the Rabbis early in Late Antiquity without their necessarily having been its initiators. This mural depicts the infancy of Moses in a sequence that begins with Pharaoh instructing the midwives to kill the male offspring of the Hebrews (Ex 1:15-16). The sequence continues with the ark most probably

bearing Moses being placed in the River, where it is discovered by a woman presumed to be Pharaoh's daughter, who then delivers him to two women.



Fig. IV-B-1: Infancy of Moses Mural at Dura-Europos (Kraeling, plates 59, 67)

In contradistinction to three other female bystanders (presumably the maidens of Pharaoh's daughter described in Ex 2:5), the two women are depicted essentially identically to the two midwives. In Sukenik's words,

the two Hebrew women on the left edge of the scene totally resemble, in their dress and in their faces, the Hebrew midwives standing before Pharaoh. And indeed, Jewish legend identifies Shifrah and Puah with Jochebed and Miriam, Moses' mother and his sister. (Sukenik 103 [translation mine])

Other scholars concur, and all conclude that the tradition identifying the midwives with Miriam and Jochebed was familiar to the creator of the mural at the Dura-Europos synagogue (Kraeling 173, 178; Schreckenberg-Schubert 182). Yet, there is a problem with using this information to assert that the midwife tradition was pre-midrashic. The earliest published midrashic account (C-308) identifying Miriam as a midwife is from a collection dated ca. 275 CE. However, it specifically quotes Rab and Shmuel, who died respectively in 247 and 254 CE. One could therefore argue that

the mural associating the midwives with Miriam and Jochebed was based on a tradition either originating with Rab and Shmuel or otherwise part of rabbinic thinking early in the third century. All that can be stated is that the tradition reported in the Midrash linking Miriam and Jochebed to the midwives was sufficiently well developed relatively early in Late Antiquity to be the subject of the artistic endeavors at Dura-Europos.

As a final observation, both Qumran (Q-10) and Philo (A-3 and A-4) include references to Miriam's role at the Sea. However, though both items are compatible with traditions of an expanded role at the Sea, Philo limits her role to saying her song only to the women. Whereas Exodus 15:21 uses להם, "them" (3rd person, m. pl.) and שירו, "sing" (2nd person, m. pl.), suggesting that Miriam said her song to both the men and women, Philo emphasizes her role related to the women in a way that excludes the biblical implication that she also addressed the men. Of interest, Midrash and Qumran share Philo's notion in that C228 and 4Q365 portray her as saying her song to the women. This observation is further pursued later in this Chapter and is also addressed among the final conclusions in Chapter VII. However, in moving forward from Section A and B, which contain the most documentable attestations of precursor traditions predating the midrashim, a new perspective is offered. Though one usually thinks of the midrashic process as one of enlarging on the biblical record, there is nothing to preclude the possibility that on occasion the Rabbis may have been uncomfortable with the implications of a literal reading of Scripture. Therefore, as part of better understanding rabbinic attitudes through Midrash, not only is attention owed to elaborations of biblical text, but also to telling hints suggesting suppression of

apparent biblical intent. Though no final conclusion is drawn here concerning either such suppression or the more general issue of lost biblical traditions through earlier redactional process, Section IV-C develops one example in which biblical patterns are used to suggest that Scripture's silence regarding Miriam's marital status is too anomalous to be taken at face value.

SECTION IV-C

Biblical Patterns Suggesting Miriam Marital Traditions Predating Late Antiquity

Though the contention of Miriam's marriage and progeny has already been shown to be pre-rabbinic by virtue of attestations in the Qumran fragments and accounts of the early Authors, these do not shed light on precisely how old such marital traditions may be. In general, any evidence suggesting that Miriam's extra-biblical legacy grew prior to the involvement of midrashists is important to this Chapter's assessment of early traditions. Additionally, because Chapter V is an historical inquiry of the midrashic treatment of her marital status, consideration of the possible antiquity of the assertion of Miriam's marriage is appropriate as a specific focus in the current review of precursor traditions. Lacking pre-Qumran historical evidence, an assessment of biblical patterns provides at least some perspective regarding an impression left by the Tanakh of her celibacy.

In the face of the Tanakh's complete silence about Miriam's marital status, it is of interest as a starting point to inquire as to precisely how unusual it is that a

woman's marital status or sexual involvement is left unaddressed. Allowing for some gender confusions and allegorical usages, according to Edith Deen, there are approximately 129 named women in the Tanakh (Deen 245-303). Of these, Scripture offers clear statements that the vast majority were not celibate, either by naming each as a spouse or concubine, listing progeny, reporting a rape, or referring to the woman as a whore. Fourteen of the women had no such association, leaving unclear their sexual history, and of these, twelve are mentioned only once, often in varied genealogic accounts. However, one woman, Serah, is named three times in the genealogies of the tribe of Asher, and the other, Miriam, is named 14 times (and arguably also referred to twice in Exodus 2). Of note, the midwives Shifrah and Puah have been counted as married, since there is an implication that they married if indeed God provided "houses" for them. Since either by design or tradition neither was identified with a spouse or specific progeny, tradition was not encumbered in identifying them with Jochebed and Miriam. In any case, 89% (115 of 129) of the women named in the Tanakh are generally wives, mothers, or otherwise non-celibate figures. Furthermore, aside from Serah, the daughter of Asher, who is otherwise without particular renown, but was mentioned in three chronologies, all other women whose marital status is unclear are named only once. The case of Miriam would appear to be a clear exception to the pattern. She is the only woman for whom there are multiple roles and mentions, but with no biblical account of marriage, progeny, or sexual union. Her case is in fact so atypical that it might lend support to earlier conjectures in Sections A and B of this Chapter that there may be lost traditions concerning Miriam, either unintended or due to some rationale that may have

motivated biblical redactors to exclude or leave unexplained her marital status. The women with unclarified status regarding their celibacy are noted in Table IV-C-4 below:

Table IV-C-4: The Fourteen Women for Whom the Tanakh Gives No Information Regarding Husband, Progeny, or other History of Sexual Union

Women with Celibacy Status Unaddressed in the Tanakh	Times Named	Reference Verses
Miriam the Prophetess	14	Ex 2 (as “sister”); Ex 15:20-1; Num 12, 20:1, 26:59; Deut 24:9; 1Chr 6:3; Micah 6:4
Serah, daughter of Asher	3	Gen 46:17; Num 26:46; 1Chr 7:30
Yiskah, daughter of Haran	1	Gen 11:29
Yemimah, daughter of Job	1	Job 42:14
Keren-Hapuch, daughter of Job	1	Job 42:14
Qetsiah, daughter of Job	1	Job 42:14
Lo-Ruchamah, daughter of Hoseah	1	Hos 1:6, 8
Naamah, daughter of Lamekh	1	Gen 4:22
Noadiah the Prophetess	1	Neh 6:14
Shlomit, daughter of Zerubabel	1	1Chr 3:19
Shlomit, daughter of Rechoboam	1	2Chr 11:20
Sheerah, daughter of Efraim	1	1Chr 7:24
Shua, daughter of Heber	1	1Chr 7:32
Tamar, daughter of Absalom	1	2Sam 14:27

An instructive diversion that is also pertinent to Section IV-D below deals with the interesting observation that two of the fourteen women on the list (14%) are prophetesses. Certainly, neither Miriam nor Noadiah are provided with any indication of conjugal status. A third prophetess, Deborah, is not mentioned on the list because her marital status is uncertain since the meaning of her designation in Judges 4:4 as “*eshet lappidot*” – often freely translated as “wife of Lappidot” – is questionable. Tikva Frymer-Kensky notes that “[Lappidot] is a strange-sounding name for a man and, moreover, does not have the standard patronymic ‘son of’” (Frymer-Kensky 46).

She proposes that an equally suitable translation is “woman of torches,” a very well founded conjecture given the midrashic interpretation:

550: BTalmud Megillah 14a
Deborah, as it is written (Jud 4), “And Deborah, a woman prophetess, the woman of Lappidot/[torches].” What is “the woman of Lapidot/[torches]?” That she made wicks for the sanctuary.

If we accept this interpretation of “*lappidot*,” the subsequent reference in Judges 5:7, in which Deborah describes herself as “a mother in Israel,” could be construed more in the sense of maternalistic imagery than as a biological statement of motherhood.

Whatever may be the correct translation, it is of great interest that the Rabbis themselves have included the possibility of this non-spousal rendering, in which case the Tanakh leaves up in the air the conjugal status of three of its four named prophetesses. Given the firmly rooted midrashic explanation that Moses separated from his wife because of the demands of his own prophetic calling, there would appear to be a pattern with both rabbinic and biblical antecedents that distances prophets and prophetesses from the expectations of usual domestic involvements. It is true that Aaron is called a prophet in Exodus 7:1, but somewhat more diminutively than in the case of his siblings, since he is only said to have served in the sense of being the mouthpiece of Moses rather than of God. The main point is that one consequence of Miriam not being attached conjugally in a domestic alliance is that it makes her role as a prophetess more impressive. In this regard, Rachel Elijor makes the same case in another way, arguing that the eventual domestication of Miriam in her rabbinic portrayal as married and having children actually detracts from the intended biblical emphasis of her stature as a prophetess:

Miriam the Biblical prophet and poet, who lifts up her voice in song in the public realm, becomes, in rabbinical tradition, a wife and midwife ... In other words she is described as a child, a wife, a mother and someone who engages in a female profession, in a manner that seeks to deny her prophetic uniqueness and its extraordinary public mien. (Elior)

The conclusion from biblical patterning, that the conjugal status of 89% of all biblical women is accounted for, makes the lack of Miriam's association with a spouse, especially given her general stature, quite anomalous and incongruous with the scriptural affinity for genealogy. The very absence of a resolution for her marital status predicts that there was either some specific reason for its lack of mention, or that the uncertainty would be resolved in traditions that would not necessitate a delay as late as the rabbinic era. Admittedly, this argument from biblical patterning does not help determine if there actually was a seminal tradition of her marriage contemporary with the earliest phases of other portions of her story, or if the issue remained unresolved till closer to the Qumran writings. However, her stature and the anomaly of her continuing to be viewed as unmarried would seem to predict a propensity for resolution of her marital status, perhaps sooner than later. This said, information in the next section, dealing with cumulative patterning based on both biblical and midrashic motifs, includes a speculation as to how scholars may be best able to understand traditions of Miriam being both married and celibate.

SECTION IV-D

Parallels between Hathor and Miriam Providing a Model for Her Enhancement
in Traditions Predating Late Antiquity

Introduction to Section IV-D

The current Section further investigates precursor Miriam traditions predating Late Antiquity with a focus best introduced by drawing a distinction between the midrashic process of elaborating a character's legacy and the more popular renown that character may have accrued at a much earlier stage of Antiquity. For a moment, let us assume that during Antiquity Miriam had been a relatively popular heroine in folk traditions to the point that she entered Late Antiquity already in possession of substantial popular renown. Let us further presuppose that the traditions that contributed to her popularity were of diverse content, including some which eventually reached the Rabbis but were not in keeping with those components of her portrayal that they were most interested in preserving and further developing. Given this scenario, they may have selectively elaborated strands which they hoped would perpetuate a portrayal most harmonious with their other efforts to differentiate Judaism. In this case the role of the Rabbis may have been more to refine the direction of her elaboration than to establish her basic popularity and legacy.

In further pursuing these assumptions, this Section pauses to view Miriam's cumulative portrayal from all five attested sources (Tanakh, Qumran, early Authors, Dura-Europos, and Midrash), as constituting a more significant repository of evidence potentially containing traces of earlier traditions than any of the sources taken alone.

We then ask a retrospective question: What may have been some of the components of the earliest extra-biblical Miriam traditions compatible with the final product collectively revealed through these five sources? Though few would dispute the desirability of such a process of reading between the lines of the five extant sources for evidence of lost traditions, the paucity of documentation from the formative period of Miriam traditions limits its reliability. Yet, there are still certain tools available to the historian involved in conjectures that can shed light on early precursor traditions. In this regard, in assessing sources for the study of “ancient Israelite religions,” William Dever notes that prior to the era of modern archeology, “the Hebrew Bible ... stood alone like a silent sentinel, witnessing to a fascinating but enigmatic past, with no comparative literature that would enable us to evaluate it in context.” He then goes on to name seven pertinent literary sources currently useful for historical correlations with biblical material, heading the list with “Egyptian texts” (Dever 73). To the degree that a comparison can be made showing that significant Miriam traditions parallel basic Egyptian prototypes, some speculations concerning her legacy may be possible. The findings further expand the conclusion of Sections A and B that selected components of Miriam’s disproportionate elaboration chronicled in midrashic sources represent earlier traditions predating rabbinic involvement.

The eleven Qumran and twenty-six early Author Novel Assertions presented in prior Sections have already borne witness to the growth of Miriam traditions and of her stature predating the midrashic era of Late Antiquity. However, two observations point to the incompleteness of what we know of primal Miriam traditions even after including evidence from the early Authors and Qumran. In the first place, it has been

noted that the midrashists were by no means encyclopedic in their own midrashic texts, a conclusion justified from their having utilized only six of thirty-seven assertions about Miriam known from the Qumran and other early writings. Secondly, a careful review of the twenty-six Assertions in Table IV-B-3 shows that the early Authors themselves were likewise not exhaustive in providing a record of Miriam traditions, since none of them has repeated any Miriam Assertion made by the others. Each has provided entirely distinct, and therefore incomplete, information about her. It follows that, since neither midrashists nor the early Authors in their respective realms can be relied on as sources fully recounting Miriam's earlier legacy, there may well have been other traditions about which they were either unaware or otherwise selectively chose not to elaborate or perpetuate. What emerges is a twofold conclusion. On the one hand, there are many midrashic Novel Assertions that may not have been original, having existed as traditions of prior Antiquity. On the other hand, there are clearly attested early Miriam traditions that the Rabbis and individual Authors did not reproduce. From this, a theorem relevant to the remainder of this Section is proposed: The fact that a particular Miriam tradition is not chronicled in midrashic collections or the other writings does not mean that such traditions did not exist, since only 16% (six of thirty seven) of these early writings and Qumran assertions appear in the midrashic record and none of the early Authors has provided complete accounts.

Developing and defending a theory about why the Rabbis or early Authors did not feel compelled to be exhaustive in preserving all prior traditions is beyond the scope of the current Study. However, some pertinent possibilities can be noted. In the

first place, some prior traditions may not have survived or may have been unknown to them. Secondly, they may not have been driven by archival motivations, using only what they felt most pertinent to achieve specific exegetical or historical purposes. Thirdly, they may have had a disincentive to include certain traditions that were not in keeping with the version of Judaism they wished to preserve in an era in which they were committed to defining and distinguishing it in the face of intercultural challenges. One contention of the current Section is that the problematic relative midrashic underdevelopment of Miriam's biblical roles at the Sea and River discovered in Chapter III may be explainable along the lines of this third possibility. Specifically, these Miriam traditions may have contained discomforting overtones, with imagery susceptible to being misconstrued in the intercultural milieu of Late Antiquity, resulting in a de-emphasis of such strands of tradition within the midrashic and early Authors' writings.

Turning now to the specifics of Miriam's cumulative legacy, when all five attested sources are viewed together, one is struck by the breadth of her portrayal as a character of multi-dimensional attributes with diverse involvements and accomplishments. On the one hand, this might argue in favor of rabbinic inventiveness, on the grounds that it might be farfetched that such diversity could all have come from prior ancient traditions arising spontaneously. On the other hand, there is a risk of attributing too much license to rabbinic imagination, especially if there are alternative plausible explanations of the type to be introduced shortly. Table IV-D-5 selectively enumerates portions of Miriam's legacy. The list is by no means exhaustive, and the rationale for the choice of items and a further elaboration of any

which may be unclear will be pursued subsequently. However, even in this limited enumeration, one is struck by the complex diversity revealed by her cumulative portrayal.

Table IV-D-5: Selected Portrayals from Miriam's Cumulative Legacy from Tanakh, Qumran, Early Authors, Dura-Europos, and Midrashic Sources

<p>1) PERSONAL BIOGRAPHIC ASSOCIATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unmarried (Inference from Tanakh) Married (Qumran, early Authors, Midrash) Mother (Qumran, early Authors, Midrash) Wife of Uzziel/Hur/Caleb: Qumran- Uzziel, Hur?; Josephus- Hur; Midrash- Caleb Mother of Hur (Midrash) Ancestress of one who would assist in uniting different parts of a nation (Midrash) Had a following, especially among women (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash) Associated with a spring-season festival of rejoicing (Tanakh, Midrash) Miriam was very beautiful (Midrash) Miriam was from a tribe associated with a tribal precious stone (Midrash, Authors)
<p>2) GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Significant association with Egypt (Tanakh, Qumran, early Authors, Midrash) Miriam is associated with the Nile River (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash) Significant association with the Sinaitic peninsula (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash) Died and buried in Qadesh (Tanakh)
<p>3) PORTRAYAL AS PROVIDER AND WATER-GIVER TO THE PEOPLE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Duty of nourishing Israel (Midrash) Through the Well, associated with the provision of Water to quench the thirst of the Israelites. (early Authors, Midrash) Association with healing water, able to restore sight to the blind. (Midrash) (the justification of this addition is discussed in Sub-section IV-D-3)
<p>4) STATURE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Associated with the Royal Family of Israel. (Midrash) Associated with the leadership of her era (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash) Miriam interacted with the Royal Family of Egypt (With Pharaoh's daughter [Tanakh (as "sister"), Midrash, early Authors]; with Pharaoh [Midrash])

Table IV-D-5: (cont)

<p>Miriam/“sister” protects Israel’s royal redeemer as an infant (Tanakh, Midrash, early Authors); is punished on promoting his well-being as an adult (Midrash)</p> <p>Miriam was accorded Houses (Midrash)</p> <p>Miriam was accorded Kingship (Midrash)</p> <p>Miriam continues, over an expanded time period, to be a viable figure, recognized in early Israelite tradition and in Greco-Roman times. Imagery surrounding her is employed by other cultures (Christianity associated Mary with Miriam).</p>
<p>5) PROCREATIVE AND INFANT PROTECTION ROLES</p> <p>Miriam twice serves the role of attempting to unite spouses. (Midrash)</p> <p>Encourager of Procreation (Midrash)</p> <p>Midwife (Midrash, Dura-Europos)</p> <p>Protector of Infants (Tanakh, Midrash)</p>
<p>6) SPECIAL APTITUDES AND TALENTS</p> <p>Prophetess/Predictor of the future life-course of infants (Prophetess: Tanakh; Infant prophecy: Qumran?, early Authors, Midrash)</p> <p>Singer (Tanakh, Qumran, early Authors, Midrash)</p> <p>Played the Tambourine (Tanakh, Midrash)</p> <p>Dancer at Sea and at marriage of parents (Sea: Tanakh; Marriage of parents: Midrash)</p>
<p>7) AGENT OF FECUNDITY THROUGH WATER</p> <p>Through the Well, Miriam is associated with the water that allows for the rivers of the desert and the vegetative growth that they promoted. (Inference from early Authors, Midrash)</p>
<p>8) ASSOCIATIONS WITH BOVINE IMAGERY:</p> <p>Miriam was the sister of Aaron, who was involved in making a Golden Calf. (Tanakh)</p> <p>The word “dance” is used only twice in the Torah – once related to Miriam, and once related to the episode of the golden calf. Through the word “dance,” Miriam is related to a calf. (Inference from Tanakh)</p> <p>Miriam is related to a calf through her son Hur who was approached to make a calf. (Midrash)</p> <p>The Rabbis juxtapose Miriam with the Red Heifer (Midrash)</p>
<p>9) ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE NUMBER “3” AND THE NUMBER “7”:</p> <p>Miriam was associated with a triad. (Tanakh, Midrash)</p> <p>Miriam was one of seven prophetesses (Midrash)</p>

If one wished to argue that certain of these components of Miriam's cumulative legacy might possibly represent traditions of great antiquity, where would one look given a lack of known attestations prior to the Qumran texts and an uncertainty regarding how reliably the redacted Torah portrays early traditions? How might one at least demonstrate that the particular set of roles and characteristics attributed to her in Table IV-D-5 were prototypically plausible starting with the cultural milieus of the thirteenth century BCE time and the geographic context (Oded *EJ*) in which the biblical narrative situates the Exodus generation? Since according to the storyline, Aaron, Miriam, and Moses were reared in Egypt, and because there are historical attestations to prominent Egyptian figures of the era, it is reasonable to look to Egypt's heroine-type figures as sources for possible role parallels. In defense of this approach, on a most basic level, a number of Israel's prominent Exodus generation leaders, such as Moses, Hur, and perhaps Miriam herself had Egyptian names (Propp, *Exodus* 152, 617, 546). The origin of Aaron's name is less certain, though the name of his grandson, Pinchas, is more clearly Egyptian (Propp, *Exodus* 280). Furthermore, Jewish tradition is not timid in asserting the degree to which Israel was influenced by Egypt, such that its uncleanness had contaminated Israel:

400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W), Shemot 23

And [God] said to [Moses], "Bring your hand into your bosom." And behold, his hand became leprous. "What is the leprosy? An unclean thing. Thus the Egyptians are unclean and make Israel unclean." And he returned his hand to his bosom and behold, it turned like his flesh. "Thus I will 'clean'/purify Israel from the uncleanness of Egypt."

Likewise, Hosea's description of the Egyptian born "foreign/strange children," implies the worship of "strange gods" (cf. Gen 35:2 and Deut 32:16), and becomes the topic of a midrash in which those children say, "We will be like Egyptians:"

400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shemot 5

The prophet said, "They dealt treacherously with the Lord, for they gave birth to foreign/strange children. Now the new moon will devour them" (Hos 5:7). For they begot and they did not circumcise, to teach you that when Joseph died they broke the covenant of circumcision. They said, "We will be like Egyptians/Egypt." When He saw, thus did the Holy One, blessed be He, break the love that He loved them, as it is said (Ps 105), "He turned their [Egypt's] heart to hate His people."

Perhaps it is no coincidence that in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, the Decalogue's admonition against having other gods, making engraved images, bowing down to them, and serving them is prefaced by the reminder that God had taken them out of Egypt, the place in which they would have most recently encountered them. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 29:16 confirms that Israel had "seen their abominations, and their idols, wood and stone, silver and gold," and Leviticus 18:3 notes that they should not do "the doing" that was done when they dwelt in Egypt. Finally, Ezekiel's recapitulation, "Let each man cast away the abominations of his eyes and not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt" (Ez 20:7), provides a later perspective on Israel's familiarity with components of the Egyptian pantheon. Given these suggestive passages, it is plausible that the Israelites may have been acquainted with at least some of the more highly profiled gods and goddesses of Egypt, including Hathor, described as "one of Egypt's greatest goddesses" (Wilkinson 139). As it happens, when one compares the cumulative portrayal of Miriam as presented in Table IV-D-5 with well-attested assertions from the mythology of Hathor, there is a sufficiently close parallel

of a number of roles and attributes to argue that the core of many Miriam traditions was a plausible part of the imagery of mythological heroines of late second millennium BCE Egypt. To the degree that this is true, it would not be necessary to invoke rabbinic creativity or mythopoesis during Late Antiquity as the only model for the origin of certain components of Miriam's diverse midrashic portrayal.

Hathor was a particularly popular goddess. Sanctuaries bearing her name were located throughout Egypt. One such site, and her main cult center, was Dendera, where she was worshiped since the fourth dynasty, and whose Temple was finally completed under the last of the Ptolemaic monarchs. Attestation to her antiquity includes her mention on the Palermo stone, referring to her during the reigns of the kings of the fifth dynasty (Bleeker 75-6). The complexes of two monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty (Tuthmosis III and Hatsheput) are associated with Hathor sanctuaries, with varied depictions of her either in her cow-goddess or anthropomorphic forms (Bleeker 75-6). From the eighteenth dynasty till the end of the Dynastic Period, amulets depicting her image were common (Wilkinson 145). Hathor festivals are documented on varied calendars in all periods (Bleeker 85). If the thirteenth century BCE is taken as the time period of the Exodus (Oded *EJ*), the closest attestation of the actual construction of a Hathor Sanctuary in that era is one built during the reign of Ramses II (1290-1224 BCE) (Wilkinson 8). These datings are presented to establish that Hathor was an active mythological component of the Egyptian pantheon during the period of Israel's hypothesized cross-cultural exposure to Egypt. Given this background, a comparison of mythic motifs will be attempted based on Miriam's cumulative portrayal as presented in Table IV-D-5 and Hathor's

well-attested roles and attributes. At the onset of this comparison, as documented below, note is made that though Hathor was worshiped as a specific entity, she was a prominent subject of a well-developed cult whose female followers were likely as dynamic a part of her legacy as were her iconographic representations. Though similarities between Miriam and Hathor will be discussed for each of the categories listed in Table IV-D-5, certain items deemed to be either more obscure or significant will be the subject of greater attention. Each of the following IV-D “Sub-sections” is numbered to correspond respectively to the nine categories of Miriam portrayals from Table IV-D-5 above, beginning with similarities in Miriam and Hathor’s biographic associations.

SUB-SECTION IV-D-1

Similar Patterns in Miriam and Hathor's General Biographic Associations

Of all the unanticipated components of Miriam's biographic portrayal, there is none as momentous as the assertion of her marriage and progeny. It would be helpful if there were contemporaneous ancient literary traditions that could prototypically help to reconcile the Tanakh's silence on her marriage, which leaves an impression that she was celibate. In discussing Hathor, Claas Bleeker notes a similar pattern, but provides a mythological context that may be pertinent to Miriam. He notes that "Hathor derived from a primeval female figure that was both mother and virgin" (Bleeker 28), compatible with the general Egyptian "forms of family kinship to establish order in the world of their gods ... [in which she] remained parthenos though sometimes called mother" (Bleeker 64). He also notes "that the family relationship between gods – the relationship between man and wife and between parents and children – had symbolic purport and no erotic strain" (Bleeker 100). He concludes that "Hathor's motherhood is therefore conceived of as parthenogenesis or as being purely symbolical" (Bleeker 62-3). Turning to how this concept of symbolic union may apply to structural parallels between Hathor and Miriam, Hathor was married to Horus (Armour 71) and interestingly, Josephus (*Ant* 3.2.4) – and possibly Qumran fragment 4Q549 – attest to Miriam's marriage to Hur, a name of Egyptian origin equivalent to Horus (Propp, *Exodus* 617). In fact, the Egyptian "Hathor" is based on "*Ht-Hr*," translated as the "house of Horus" (Bleeker 25). Not only do Miriam and Hathor share in being married to an individual named Hur/Horus, but both of them are said to be mothers of

a son by the same name: Hathor is said to be the mother of Horus (James 176; Bleeker 62), just as Midrash posits that Miriam is the mother of Hur (C230, C308, C258).

Other similarities in patterning are noted in Table IV-D-6 below.

Table IV-D-6: Similarities in Biographic Patterns Between Hathor and Miriam

HATHOR BIOGRAPHIC DETAILS	MIRIAM BIOGRAPHIC DETAILS
Hathor's son is "he who unites the two lands" (Bleeker 63).	Miriam is ancestress of one who would unite "the two lands," Israel and Judah (Midrash).
Hathor was preferably served by women, and royal princesses led the way in this pious religious service (Bleeker 79).	Miriam had a following especially among women (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash).
The most attested, visible, and festive of Hathor's festivals occurred in the spring (see discussion below).	Associated with a spring-season festival of rejoicing (Tanakh, Midrash).
Hathor was often described as the "beautiful one" (Wilkinson141); Hathor was the goddess of beauty (Keel/Uehlinger 70).	Miriam was one of the most beautiful women (Midrash).
Hathor was associated with gems of a blue or blue-green hue: Specifically, she was worshipped as "the mistress of turquoise" and was also called "mistress of faience" (Wilkinson143), "the mistress of the lapis lazuli," and "the mistress of the malachite country" (Bleeker 73, Keel/Uehlinger 70).	The Israelite tribes were each associated with a gem. Once married to Hur, a Judahite, Miriam would have been associated with the tribal gem of blue or blue-green hue. (This color association for Judah concurs with Propp, who favors "turquoise" or "malachite," (personal communication) (cf. Shalem), and also follows all the Targumim to Exodus 28 and the ca. 12 th century Numbers Rabbah 2:7.).
"Hathor ... was a mighty goddess, a versatile personality. Hathor appears in so many guises that she leaves an almost chameleon-like impression" (Bleeker 102).	Miriam is given multiple diverse roles in her cumulative portrayal from the Tanakh, early Authors, and Midrash.

Of the above items, further explanation is due for two portrayals, the first regarding the common patterning of both Hathor and Miriam's involvement in a spring-season festival of rejoicing. Bleeker notes that there is only one Hathor festival for which there is an extant detailed description (Bleeker 93-4), featuring the sacred

marriage between her and the Horus of Edfu, and constituting one of the most elaborate of ancient Egyptian rituals and annual highpoint of Hathor cult celebrations (Armour 92; Wilkinson 144-5). This festival began on the eighteenth day of the month of Paoni (Armour 92; Bleeker 93-4), marking a fourteen day period of festivity in which Hathor's image was taken from her sanctuary at Dendera. A flotilla on her special boat sailed up-river to Horus' temple at Edfu, where, with intervening festival rites including the divinity being carried in procession before the people (Bleeker 81), the two spent the night in a Temple birthing chamber on the new moon of Epiphi. The event was one in which "royalty, nobles and commoners alike participated" (Wilkinson 144-5; Bleeker 81). The popularity and intensity of the festivities is attested to, as noted by Bleeker:

Sources support the thesis that the goddess was very popular and greatly loved ... Testimonials of this are the following exclamations: "Fortunate the ones who have taken part in the festival of Hathor." "How happy is he who contemplates Hathor." Above all, however, there are a number of beautiful songs which provide information on the personal veneration of the goddess by male and female followers. (Bleeker 82)

The prominence of this Hathor celebration would appear to be of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention of foreigners, including Israelites. As confirmed by Parker, this important festival "would fall in harvest time" (Parker 39:202), which in Egypt "falls not in autumn but in spring, in the months of March, April, and May" (Frazer 188 [IV:252]). Therefore, imagery of a major festivity, including Hathor priestesses-musicians involved in cultic processions would roughly coincide with the same spring season in which the biblical storyline depicts the prophetess Miriam in musically festive celebration at the Sea.

The second portrayal deserving further expansion relates to Hathor and Miriam having followings among women. However, there is a significant difference in Egyptian and biblical depictions of how these heroines of their respective cultures were perceived. Regarding Hathor, it is “the longing of her venerated to acclaim the greatness of their goddess” (Bleeker 71-2). By way of contrast, though in Exodus 15 the women go out after Miriam “with tambourines and with dances,” Miriam directs them to “Sing to the Lord, for He is indeed exalted.” Unlike Hathor, rather than being the object of admiration, Miriam rallies her followers to praise God. As consonant as this may be with the perspective of redacted Scripture’s final perspective, we may wonder how realistic it was that the celebrating Israelites would focus on an invisible deity rather than on their human leaders. Though in Deborah (Judges 5) and Hannah (1Samuel 2) Scripture provides examples of women praising God, neither is depicted as leading other women, and the women who celebrate in 1Samuel 18 do so without apparent leadership. Therefore, there is no other biblical example against which to compare what Exodus 15 depicts as the appropriate rendering of Miriam’s leadership. However, there is a source, which “from a literary standpoint ... is one of the most finished productions of Second Temple times ... [whose] ... song of thanksgiving antedates those found at Qumran” (Grintz *EJ*), that may more realistically portray how popular tradition may have recalled the relation of her followers to the Prophetess. Both Gerald West and André LaCocque date the Book of Judith to the second century BCE (West 748; LaCocque 38), and LaCocque describes it as “an anthology of texts about, and allusions to, other women in the Bible: Miriam, Deborah, Jale, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Tamar, Naomi, Ruth, and Abigail, among others” (LaCocque 35).

Though he goes into detail regarding some of these women, he does not specifically elaborate the verses in which Judith is patterned after Miriam. Yet, they are not difficult to identify:

All the women of Israel gathered to see her; and blessed her, and some of them performed a dance in her honor. She took ivy-wreathed wands in her hands and distributed them to the women who were with her; and she and those who were with her crowned themselves with olive wreaths. She went before all the people in the dance, leading all the women, while all the men of Israel followed, bearing their arms and wearing garlands and singing hymns. Judith began this thanksgiving before all Israel, and all the people loudly sang this song of praise. And Judith said, "Begin a song to my God with tambourines, sing to my Lord with cymbals. Raise to him a new psalm; exalt him and call upon his name. For the Lord is a God who crushes wars; he sets up his camp among his people; he delivered me from the hands of my pursuers. (Judith 15:12-16:2)

Of interest, though her song fully recognizes the role of God, Judith is also specifically the object of veneration of her female followers, who bless her and dance in her honor. To the degree that these lines from Judith may have been inspired by Miriam's portrayal at the Sea, they may provide some hints of more popular prevailing imagery in which Miriam, like Hathor, may have had a following among those who focused on her person in addition to her pronouncements. Since the Qumran source (Q-10) suggesting lost portions of Miriam's song is dated to 75-50 BCE, this perspective from Judith may be the very earliest, albeit indirect, attestation to traditions of Miriam's role at the Sea, and if so, one that casts her relationship to her followers in a pattern more analogous to that of Hathor.

SUB-SECTION IV-D-2

Similar Patterns Between Hathor and Miriam Related to Geographic Associations

Table IV-D-7 identifies geographical associations in which Hathor and Miriam are similarly patterned.

Table IV-D-7: Similarities Between Hathor and Miriam's Geographical Associations

HATHOR GEOGRAPHIC DETAILS	MIRIAM GEOGRAPHIC DETAILS
Hathor was one of Egypt's greatest goddesses (Wilkinson 185).	Significant association with Egypt (Tanakh, Qumran, early Authors, Midrash).
Hathor traveled on a ship in the Nile in varied roles (Bleeker 61), and was protector of shipping on it (Bleeker 72). She was responsible for its rising (see Section 4-G:7 below).	Miriam is associated with the Nile River (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash).
Hathor escorted enterprising Egyptians in their attempts to exploit the precious minerals of the Sinai peninsula. There was a regular Hathor cult on Sinai (Bleeker 73). Hathor had her own shrine ... at Timnah, north of Elath (Keel / Uehlinger 70). Hathor is the goddess of foreign countries: the Sudan, Nubia, the Sinaitic peninsula ... (Kristensen 308).	Miriam was significantly associated with the Sinaitic peninsula (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash).
Both Hathor and Asherah cults coexisted in the Sinai in the late Bronze age, where the latter was worshiped as "Qudshu" (Ackerman 59).	Miriam's burial place is biblically recorded as Qadesh (Num 20:1).

SUB-SECTION IV-D-3

Similar Patterns in Hathor and Miriam's Portrayals as
Provider and Water-Giver to the People

Just as “Hathor was protective and healing” in her role as mother/consort “and from at least the 18th dynasty she served as the patron deity of the Theban necropolis, where she protected and nurtured royalty and commoners alike” (Wilkinson 140-3), Midrash describes Miriam in terms of her being sent to nourish Israel. Furthermore, through the Well, her name is also associated with quenching the thirst of the Israelites and with healing (C9e, C5e, C1e, C136, C8e). Hathor's provision of water is based in general on her being a goddess of primeval sky waters. As reported by James, and depicted in Figure IV-D-2 below, “a Nineteenth Dynasty stele of Tehuti-Hetep and Kayay is the representation of a goddess giving food and water ... [in which] ‘Hathor Lady of the West’ is depicted as the mistress of the sycamore and at the back is an inscription ‘she gives water as is right’” (James 41).



Fig. IV-D-2: Hathor, as Mistress of the Sycamore, Providing Water (Cook 107)

The pattern of a prominent female entity providing water extends to Miriam's midrashic portrayal, attested also by Pseudo-Philo, through her association with the Well. Furthermore, "Hathor was a healing goddess, and at her cult centre in Dendera mud-brick cubicles were constructed for the sick who came to be purified – and hopefully cured – by the water of the Nile. It was her curative powers that restored Horus' sight ..." (Littleton 43-44). Similarly, Miriam is associated with the Well whose waters are curative, including healing the blind (C1e, C9e, C136). Additionally, it is of interest that the depository from which Hathor is pictured in Fig. IV-D-2 as procuring water contains fish, just as did the Well attributed to Miriam (C29, C30, C56).

SUB-SECTION IV-D-4

Similar Patterns Shared by Hathor and Miriam Regarding their being Figures of Stature

In addition to both Hathor and Miriam having links to the imperial family of Egypt, Miriam is associated with Israel's royal family. As noted by Wilkinson, "a particularly important aspect of Hathor's maternal nature is the role she played as the mother of the king" (Wilkinson 141). Likewise, Midrash states that Miriam was accorded Kingship in the sense that kings would descend from her (C230, C308). Table IV-D-8 provides additional patterns shared by Hathor and Miriam that speak to similarities in their stature:

Table IV-D-8: Similar Patterns of Stature Shared by Hathor and Miriam

Components of Hathor's Stature	Components of Miriam's Stature
In the broader sense she is the ruler of gods and men and is therefore often called 'the queen of the gods' (Bleeker 58).	Miriam is one of a triumvirate of leaders sent by God to lead the wilderness generation (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash).
Hathor had a special relationship with the pharaoh ... the pharaoh calls himself the oldest son of Hathor. Hathor assists the king during important cultic performances (Bleeker 51-2). "Hathor was one of the three goddesses closely associated with kingship in early Egypt" (Goodison/Morris 103).	Miriam (as "sister") interacted with Pharaoh's daughter (Tanakh). Miriam interacted with Pharaoh himself in her role as Midwife (Midrash). Miriam's brother was brought up as part of Egypt's royal family (Tanakh, Midrash). Miriam is part of the leading family of Israel (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash).
"Hathor ... guards over the king for the rest of his life" (Bleeker 52).	Miriam/"sister" protects Moses as an infant (Tanakh, early Authors, Midrash) and endures punishment in trying to see to his well-being as an adult (Midrash).
Hathor's name "literally means 'the house of Horus'" (Wilkinson140).	Miriam was accorded a House (Midrash).

As a final note on stature, both figures had legacies that followed them into Late

Antiquity and beyond:

From the union of Geb and Nut came, among others, the most popular Egyptian goddesses, Isis, the mother of Hathor, whose story is so central to that of her brother-husband, the resurrection god Osiris, and around whom a cult developed that lasted well into Roman times. (Leeming 64-6)

Hathor imagery later mixed freely with that of Isis, such that "Hathor was associated with Isis, Aphrodite, and Venus and later in Christian art with Mary" (Apostolos-Cappadona 164-5). Likewise, Miriam persisted as a viable figure recognized from early Israelite tradition through Greco-Roman times whose imagery has been

employed by other cultures. Chapter VI further explores Christianity's utilization of Miriam imagery. It may not be coincidental that as a reflection of their stature, the three Matrons (Hathor, Miriam, and Mary) share in the pattern noted in Section IV-D-1 above that juxtaposes virginity and motherhood. Finally, Hathor's prominence in Egypt, the Sinai, and Greco-Roman settings would have provided an opportunity broad in both time and geography for any patterning of Miriam to have taken root and expand, with viable ongoing opportunities for intercultural awareness of the basic mythic prototype.

SUB-SECTION IV-D-5

Similar Patterns between Hathor and Miriam Regarding Procreative and Infant Protection Roles

Midrash depicts Miriam as involved in encouraging procreative union, but not with a primary erotic intent. A similar mindset is ascribed to Hathor:

Love is a polyvalent conception. If an ancient goddess is called patroness of love, the first thought that springs to mind is that she stimulates sexuality. But Hathor does also foster the affection of the heart by which two young people come together. The hymns testify to this ... Hathor brings the lovers together. (Bleeker 40-41)

Both in the case of Miriam urging that her divorced parents remarry so that Israel's redeemer can be born, and in attempting to reunite Moses and Zipporah for the sake of "increase," the intent of the reunions is to achieve higher purposes (C309, C215). This pattern of interest in larger procreative and infant protection roles is further attested for both figures. "Hathor was associated with all aspects of motherhood and believed to

assist women in conception, labor, and childbirth” (Wilkinson141), as depicted in Fig. IV-D-3.



Fig. IV-D-3: Ptolemaic Relief from Dendera Picturing Two Hathors Involved with a Woman in Childbirth (Littleton 43)

Bleeker refers to hymns confirming that “the woman in childbirth turns to [Hathor] in prayer for support during her labour pains” (Bleeker 40), noting how “Hathor assists at the birth of the royal prince and blesses the life of the newly born” (Bleeker 51-2).

Miriam’s role as a midwife is similarly detailed in Midrash (C308) and further attested in the mural at Dura-Europos, and as Moses’ “sister,” she protects the infant Moses and helps arrange for his nursing (Ex 4, 7-8).

SUB-SECTION IV-D-6

Similar Patterns Shared by Hathor and Miriam
Related to Special Aptitudes and Talents

Exodus 15:20 condenses into one sentence the appellations that continue to form the core of Miriam's popular renown through contemporary times: "And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took the tambourine in her hand and all the women went out after her with tambourines and with dances." She is prophetess, tambourine player, and leader of women who likewise play tambourines and dance. The pattern is similarly clear for "Hathor ... the goddess of music" (Keel/Uehlinger 70). As part of her cult, there are in fact "seven Hathors" who are "the goddesses of music, and they have tambourines in their hands" (Kristensen 311). Based on varied hymns and graphics, Finnestad notes:

Hymns to Hathor evoke a vivid image of the shaking of sistra, the beating of tambourines, the strumming of harps, and the lively dance that accompanies the music. The goddess is called the Mistress of Music ... In the mammisis at Dendara, Edfu, and Philae, presided over by this goddess, tambourine players are notably represented. (Finnestad 113)

Hathor is likewise referred to as the "mistress of the dance, the queen of happiness, the mistress of the songs and dances accompanied by the lute" (Bleeker 54). Miriam is associated with dance not only biblically at the Sea (Ex 15:20), but midrashically at the remarriage of her parents (C309). As regards her being a prophetess, Midrash (C228), Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 9:10), and probably the Qumran scrolls (4Q546) identify her prophetic act specifically as her prediction that the destiny of the child to be born to her parents was to be Israel's future redeemer. Similarly, Hathor's role, in her

manifestation as the “seven Hathors” is patterned analogously: “In Egypt there are seven Hathors present to determine the child’s fate” (Kristensen 311).

SUB-SECTION IV-D-7

Similar Patterns in which Hathor and Miriam Share as Agents of Fecundity through Water

Hathor and Miriam share similar patterning on being agents of fecundity through sources of ground water. Regarding the former,

Hathor is expected to promote fertility in general, and so she is called, “the one who makes the plants germinate,” “the one who brings forth the bread,” “she who, by her fertility, brings abundance in all Egypt.” Hap is the Nile and the god of the Nile, the river which brings fertility to Egypt when it annually overflows its banks. Hathor stimulates this process. In the temple of Dendera it is said of her that she “makes Hapi come swiftly.” (Bleeker 40, 67-68)

The same pattern is observed in the midrashim that associate Miriam and the Well, in that the Well bearing her name provides the rivers in the desert that enable the germination of all species of trees and grasses along its banks. Thus, through the Well, Miriam is associated with the fecundity of the wilderness (C2, C93, C95, C120, C139).

SUB-SECTION IV-D-8

Shared Patterns of Hathor and Miriam Regarding Association with Bovine Imagery

The purpose of this Sub-section is to provide background from the Tanakh and Midrash regarding events surrounding the Golden Calf in a way that facilitates the identification of shared prototypical components of Hathor and Miriam's portrayal related to bovine imagery. Since the legacy and cult of Hathor, known as the "Cow of Gold" (Roberts 8), is so intertwined with her being a bovine goddess, any comparison with Miriam would be incomplete without a consideration of the latter's associations with bovine imagery, all of which stem from the episode of the Golden Calf. Exodus 32:1 describes how the people demanded that Aaron make gods to go before them once they despaired that Moses had not come down from the mountain. However, there is no indication that those involved told Aaron what the gods should look like. The text records only that he fashioned a molten calf (Ex 32:4). Furthermore, it is perhaps noteworthy that despite the inclination of the people to find much over which to complain during their forty year sojourn, never is there heard any retrospective criticism of Aaron's choice of a golden calf over some other totem. Additionally, God Himself subsequently bears witness that the people proclaimed, "These are your gods, O Israel, which have brought you out of the land of Egypt" (Ex 32:8), as if they were expressing some familiarity with a golden calf as the actual entity they believed shepherded their miraculous departure. A question arises as to how Aaron was able to chance upon the idea that a golden calf would go over well, and to this, one reasonable speculative answer is that those involved were already familiar with such bovine

imagery. If so, their previous exposures may have included the Canaanite Baal, the Egyptian Apis, Buchis, and Mnevis – Egypt’s most prominent bull deities (Wilkinson 170-175) –, as well as Hathor, unique among these both in being female and owing to her dual cow goddess and anthropomorphic presentations. In including her as a possible part of the background of experience involved in Israel’s cultic worship of a golden calf at Sinai, the issue of the calf of Scripture being male whereas Hathor was female is acknowledged. However, at the conclusion to this Sub-section relating Hathor and Miriam based on bovine imagery that she accrues through texts related to the Golden Calf, the comparison will be placed in a perspective that minimizes the gender issue and recognizes a more universal integration of both cow and bull motifs in Egyptian society and biblical portrayals.

The account of Exodus 32 continues with Moses’ approaching the camp, and seeing the Calf and the dancing (Ex 32:19). One might argue that the sight must have been one with scant parallel. After all, the term “dance” is used only on one other occasion in the entire Torah, in the context of the women dancing at the Sea. Yet, if the narrative of Exodus 32:8 is to be taken literally, the two scenarios in which “dance” is used may not be entirely unrelated, since those who believed that the calf-deity had led them out of Egypt would have been especially likely to dance with it very much in mind at the Sea. In any case, Midrash betrays a certain embarrassment that the Israelites would have enjoined Aaron to make a golden calf and then worshiped it, and it enters into apologetics, based on the Torah’s use of the second person “your” instead of “our”:

400-500: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 27:8

R. Huna and R. Idi in the name of R. Shmuel b. Nachman, “Israel were saved from that deed, because if Israel had made the calf, they would have said, ‘These are our gods, Israel.’ Rather, the sojourners who went up with Israel from Egypt – ‘and also the mixed multitude went up with them’ (Ex 12:38) – indeed they made the calf and they included them and they said to them, ‘These are your gods, Israel.’” (Ex 32:8)

The rabbinic conjecture is attractive. Certainly it would be logical that the mixed multitude, presumably largely Egyptian, would have had a very close familiarity with bovine imagery. However, unlike Midrash, scriptural accounts do not endorse a view that blames only the mixed multitude. According to Exodus 32:27-8, the Levites put the perpetrators to the sword, and about three thousand of them fell. However, in reflecting on the event later, Moses addresses those left, presumably those not guilty of the original treason, noting, “You sinned against the Lord your God, you made for yourselves a molten calf” (Deut 9:16). Likewise, at a time of national repentance and reconciliation centuries later, the people confessed that it was their own ancestors who, despite witnessing God’s benevolence, nonetheless acted arrogantly in making for themselves a molten calf and claiming that it had brought them out of Egypt (Neh 9:16, 18). Similarly, Psalm 106 describes “our fathers” as those who forgot God who had done wonders in Egypt, changing Him for the “likeness of an ox that eats grass” by making and worshiping the molten calf. (Ps 106:7, 19-21).

It is a very long journey from an initial step of suggesting that while in Egypt, Israelites may have been generally familiar, possibly as participants, with Egyptian Bull and Hathor-type bovine goddess worship, to the giant leap of proposing that the texts of the celebration at the Sea and Exodus 32 contain in their shadows some hints

of prototypical Hathor-type cultic activity. However, in the interest of the ongoing attempt to discover patterns shared by Hathor and Miriam's portrayals, the possibility of unearthing hints related to potential Miriam-bovine associations will be pursued further. Towards this end, only a few remaining Hathor attributes need introduction. First, it should be recalled that in addition to her bovine form, "Hathor ... appears to have been one of the first deities to be given anthropomorphic form" (Wilkinson 15, 29). Thus, her worshipers might engage in paradigms of worshiping her both in her human and bovine forms. Secondly, it should be noted that festivities involving her were cultic, with a following especially among women. In this regard, after noting the special "college" of seven Hathors, Bleeker also notes that

later speculations did not stop at the seven Hathors. Mention is made of eighteen, forty-two, even three hundred and sixty-two forms of Hathor ... [and that] these artificial numbers probably conceal the fact that Hathor assimilated a large number of local female numina and at the same time expresses the longing of her venerators to acclaim the greatness of their goddess. (Bleeker 71-2)

In other words, given Hathor's sometimes human and other times bovine presentation and her large cultic following, there must have been a substantial diversity of groups of women within the larger umbrella of the deity, and the line between the goddess and Hathor cult leaders may have been blurry. Finally, as background information to comparisons to follow involving Miriam, specific note is made of a commonly reoccurring presentation in which Hathor "is depicted in a ... Red sheath dress ... [and] at Edfu she is specifically called, 'mistress of the red cloth'" (Wilkinson 143-4).

To the degree that Israel may have interfaced with cultic Hathor-type imagery, the following presentation of shared prototypical patterns includes a consideration of

even the most subtle potential intimations within Miriam's cumulative portrayal that may juxtapose her with bovine imagery. Four such scenarios follow:

- a) It must be noted that the precedent of one of Israel's triumvirate of leaders being involved with the Golden Calf is inarguably and boldly attested in Exodus 32:4. Furthermore, Aaron and Miriam share a commonality of background. Compared to Moses who is depicted for much of his adult life as having been removed and cleansed from Egyptian society, Miriam and Aaron were fully subject to its imagery. Later, both are involved in asserting themselves before Moses, causing God to be angry at them both (Num 12:9). To the degree that they share this collective sibling background, Miriam is associated with calf imagery as sister of Aaron, who made the Golden Calf.

- b) Midrashically, Miriam is associated with a calf through her son Hur who, according to Midrash, was approached to make the Golden Calf (see source below). It is of interest that of all the potential candidates (for example, the tribal leaders) who could have been called upon to craft the Calf, the individual that Midrash depicts as having been approached along with Aaron was none other than Miriam's son Hur, and it is equally of note that this information would have been preserved in the Midrash. The imagery is further compounded by Hur being described in varied traditions as both Miriam's son and husband, and by Hur having the same Egyptian name equivalent (Horus) as both Hathor's husband and son. One of many midrashim linking Hur to the incident of the Calf follows.

400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B), Vayaqhel 4

“See, the Lord called by name [Betsalel b. Uri. b. Hur].” What need was there for Hur to be mentioned here except that he gave his life for the Holy One, blessed be He. When Israel requested to do “strange worship” he did not let them. They stood and they killed him ... Thus, Hur gave his life for the Holy One, blessed be He, on the incident of the Calf. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, “By your life, all your sons I will rear in the world.” (Ex 35:31).

Of interest, a late midrash (C347, eighth cent.) includes the above material while additionally also specifically identifying Hur as Miriam's son.

- c) Based on the proximity in the Torah of Miriam’s death (Num 20:1) to the laws of the Red Heifer (Num 19), the Rabbis of the fifth century juxtapose her death and the Red Heifer in a context of atonement (C279, C294, C299), a position still held in later midrashim (C305, C316, C251, C263, C339). However, the Rabbis were not the first to associate the two events. After describing funerary details for Miriam, Josephus notes that following a thirty day period of mourning, Moses purified the people with the Red Heifer’s ashes. In providing this account, Josephus reverses the sequence of Numbers, in which the law of the Red Heifer preceded Miriam’s death:

And now it was that death overtook his sister Mariamme, who had completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on the new moon, by lunar reckoning, of the month Xanthicus. They buried her at the public expense in state on a mountain which they call Sin; and when the people had mourned for her thirty days, they were purified by Moses on this wise. A heifer, yet ignorant of the plough and of husbandry, without blemish and entirely red ... (*Ant.* 4.4.6)

There is no suggestion in Josephus’ narrative that the Red Heifer’s ashes

served merely to cleanse those who may have come in contact with Miriam's remains, a rite that both he and Numbers 19:12 assert must occur on the third and seventh days after contact with the deceased. Rather, the effect of Josephus' re-ordering of events is to present the entire ritual of the Red Heifer as a contingent need for communal cleansing in some way linked specifically to the persona of Miriam. Though Josephus' silence, about which Miriam-related incident prompted the need for this purification, provides no clue as to the circumstances of the tradition he recorded, two midrashim offer additional perspectives. The first is from the fifth century Leviticus Rabbah (C288) and contains the classic formulation linking Miriam, the Red Heifer, and atonement:

400-500: Leviticus Rabbah (V) 20:12

R. Abba b. Abina said, "Why was Miriam's death put next to the heifer's ashes? Because it teaches that just as the heifer's ashes atone, thus Miriam's death atones."

Though the Rabbis describe the death of Miriam as providing atonement, they do not clarify the root incident towards which the penitence is directed, leaving open to conjecture whether the atonement was related to an event particular to her or related to unspecified sins of the people. However, the earlier section of Numbers Rabbah (ca. 400) does at least provide an explanation of one atonement-related function served by the Red Heifer's ashes:

Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 19:8

And why are all the sacrifices males and this one female? Said R. Aibo, "A parable about the son of a maid who defecated [in] the king's palace. The king said, 'Let his mother come and wipe off the excrement.' Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Let a cow come and let her atone for the incident of the Calf.'"

This midrash first draws attention to the gender of the Red Heifer. Though bovine burnt offerings are usually male (Lev 1:3), the Red Heifer is female. R. Aibo offers that the Red Heifer is specifically atoning for the incident of the Golden Calf, and that its duty as “mother” is to atone the misdeed of the child. The analogy linking “Miriam-Atonement” to “Heifer-Atonement” is certainly smoother if both are female. In any case, the outcome of the midrash is to suggest a possible tradition in which a Red-Heifer, Miriam, and the Golden Calf share some nexus of commonality with atonement and to underline the calf-bull connection.

It is difficult to avoid the temptation of recalling, as noted above, that the cow goddess Hathor is often portrayed in red garb, and had a resident presence in the Sinai. One can only wonder if there are some shared mythic roots with the Red Heifer. If so, the effect of combining Josephus’ account alongside the midrashim is that two entities have died: the Red Heifer and Miriam. As a result, atonement for the Golden Calf is attained in which the beneficiary is the populace who may have been participants in its worship. We currently have no way of knowing whether Josephus’ account reflects an ancient tradition in which the red-garbed Hathor cow goddess is symbolically reduced to ashes. As for Miriam’s role, one possible implication of the complex imagery combining the Red Heifer, Golden Calf, and Miriam’s death with an atonement and cleansing ritual is that it may contain a veiled recollection of a tradition in which Miriam, along with her brother Aaron, was more than a bystander to the episode of the Golden Calf.

- d) The word “dance” is used only twice in the Torah: once related to Miriam leading the dancing at the Sea, and the other to the frivolities surrounding the Golden Calf. It has already been noted above how the text of Exodus 32 may provide a basis for there having been Hathor-type bovine imagery at the Sea. The rejoicing at the Sea and the more impious merriment announced in Exodus 32:5 over the Calf are described as occurring within a few months of one another, and stand out as the two most significant occasions of festivity in the experience of the wilderness generation. As such, the Torah’s first dance imagery led by the prophetess Miriam and its only other dance occurrence, this time over the bovine molten image made by her brother, create a subtle link between Miriam and the Golden Calf.

In further placing in perspective this Sub-section’s interest in identifying possible parallels between Hathor and Miriam related to bovine imagery, two points deserve mention, one about Egypt and the other about imagery in the Tanakh, each suggesting that bovine associations were well integrated within the respective cultures. Regarding Egypt, the case begins with noting the importance of both cow and bull goddesses while recognizing their distinctive roles:

Egypt’s bovine deities were among the most important of all her gods. They represented both male and female deities ... Generally speaking, female bovine deities represented the power of creation and fecundity, and a number of mother and sky goddesses were depicted in bovine form. Male bovine deities could have cosmic associations but generally represented the power and sexual potency embodied by the bull and were strongly tied to aspects of kingship and monarchical ideology. (Wilkinson 170)

Additionally, cattle imagery was integrated into how the people viewed themselves, the Egyptians speaking “of themselves as ‘the cattle of god’. The god was the master of the herd” (Rice 143). Furthermore, the regard in which cattle were held may have had a significance which extended beyond mythical attributions involving gender distinctions between bulls and cows, suggested by “burials ... in the region of Hierakonpolis which appear to be of bovine families – bull, cow and calf – buried together in graves surmounted by some sort of tented structure, forming perhaps a primitive shrine” (Rice 118). Similarly, a rite is described linking the mother cow and Egypt’s most prominent bull deity, Apis:

The Apis was selected from all the young bulls of Egypt on the death of the incumbent divinity ... When the Apis was recognized he was brought, with his mother, to Memphis in great pomp and there maintained for the rest of his life in idleness and luxury, tended by his own devoted priesthood. His mother too, received honour commensurate with her position as the mother of a divinity. When the Apis and his mother died they were entombed in colossal stone sarcophagi, mummified so that they might live forever. (Rice 144-5)

Specifically relating these examples of bovine family to Hathor, though she is a cow goddess, she is also part of a larger pantheon, which links her to bull deities. Thus, she is one of the two wives of Mnevis, the divine bull of Heliopolis (Wilkinson 174), and as the wife of Horus, she becomes mother to the child-god Ihy, one meaning of whose name is “calf” (Wilkinson 132-3). In support of Wilkinson’s contention suggesting that Ihy was depicted as a calf, Roberts reports a relief showing a herdsman carrying an incarnation of the young bull-calf Ihy on his back in order to persuade an apprehensive herd of cattle to plunge into and cross a stream to reach better

pastureland. She proposes that this legend of the bull-calf Ihy, son of Hathor, might make him a plausible candidate for the Golden Calf imagery of Sinai (Roberts 32).

One wonders, too, how far these Egyptian themes lie behind the celebrated episode of the Calf of Gold, fashioned by the Israelites during their Exodus from Egypt. According to Hebrew tradition, the Israelites saw a vision of a bull before them as they made their perilous crossing over the Red Sea. Once they had arrived safely on the far side, they proceeded to make a golden image of the calf in joyful celebration. For this was the Calf of Gold who had led them to safety out of Egypt, and so must be worshipped, thanked, and propitiated. (Roberts 32)

Robert's reference to a Hebrew tradition of the Israelites seeing a vision of a bull before them during their Sea crossing appears in Ginzberg:

When the mixed multitude that had joined Israel in their exodus from Egypt saw this idol conducting itself like a living being, they said to Israel: "This is thy God, O Israel." The people then betook themselves to the seventy members of the Sanhedrin and demanded that they worship the bull that had led Israel out of Egypt ... The devotion of Israel to this worship of the bull is in part explained by the circumstances that while passing through the Red Sea, they beheld the Celestial Throne, and most distinctly of the four creatures about the Throne, they saw the ox. It was for this reason that they hit upon the notion that the ox had helped God in the exodus from Egypt, and for this reason did they wish to worship the ox beside God. (Ginzberg 621)

Ginzberg's references are difficult to trace, but the closest attestation to the tradition he cites is from a third century midrash:

250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, Vayassa
 R. Eliezer says, "... And what does it teach, 'And Moses caused Israel to depart'? ... And it says, 'And even though they made for themselves a molten calf and they said, "These are your gods, Israel, that took you up from the land of Egypt," and they did great blasphemies' (Neh 9:17-18)." R. Yehudah b. Ilai says, "Strange/foreign worship [i.e., an idol] crossed with Israel at the sea and Moses caused it [the idol] to depart at that very time, as it is said, 'And Moses caused Israel to depart from the Sea of Reeds,' [Away] from the thing that was with Israel at the Sea of Reeds, and what is it? It is strange/foreign worship. Therefore it is said, 'And Moses caused Israel to depart from the Sea of

Reeds.’” And they went out to the wilderness of Shur,’ which is the wilderness of Kub ...

With this digression to substantiate the midrashic basis for the Hebrew tradition reported by Roberts, the review otherwise gives every indication that ancient Egypt was no exception to the important role cattle played in the ancient Near East. A principal point is that the worship of a bovine deity of one sex did not preclude concurrent cultic attention to its relatives in the pantheon of the other sex. The particular case of Hathor’s son Ihy is further elaborated after a similar review of the importance of cattle motifs in the Tanach.

Regarding bovine imagery in the Tanach, Numbers 23:22 includes a telling metaphor in noting that “God who brought them forth out of Egypt is for him like the lofty horns of the wild-ox.” The imagery is repeated again in Numbers 24:8: “God, the One bringing him brought him out of Egypt, is for him like the lofty horns of the wild-ox. He will eat up nations, his adversaries, and their bones He will break in pieces, and [with] His arrows He will wound.” Rundin notes an additional bovine depiction of God, observing that it is

... significant that the Hebrew Scriptures call the God of the patriarchs the Bull of Jacob (often translated into English as the Mighty One of Jacob) (Gen 49:24). Exodus 32 is relevant here. In that passage, while Moses receives instruction from Yahweh on Mount Sinai, under pressure from the people, Aaron has a golden calf made, really a young bull. (Rundin 433-4)

Relevant in this regard is Propp’s reference to “an ostrakon from Samaria (that) yields the Israelite name ‘*glyw*, apparently meaning ‘Yahweh is (my) Calf’ (AHI 3.041)” (Propp, in press). Speculations regarding bovine imagery also extend to biblical

human protagonists. Sasson presents a case that what beamed from Moses' countenance were indeed bovine horns as opposed to rays of light, noting that

These repeated equations between Moses, *the man who brought the Hebrews out of Egypt* and the calf, symbol of the deity that *brought the people of Israel from bondage*, render it plausible to assume that, to the newly-freed slaves, the molten calf was a substitute for Moses who had disappeared. In the ancient Near East it was not uncommon for certain animals, even inanimate objects, to represent deities and highly-esteemed personalities. (Sasson 384)

Joseph is likewise compared to a bull:

His fist-born ox, majesty is his, and the horns of the wild-ox are his horns. With them he shall gore peoples together, the ends of the earth, and they are the myriads of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh. (Deut 33:17)

Finally, regarding female bovine imagery, added to the importance of the Red Heifer, and analogous to the Egyptian's viewing themselves as "cattle of the god," a similar metaphor is applied to Israel: "Because as a stubborn heifer is Israel stubborn. Now will the Lord pasture them like a lamb in a large place?" (Hos 4:16). Furthermore, in discussions regarding how idol worship may render an animal unfit for ritual use, the Talmud offers oblique acknowledgment of the possibility of "one of Israel" worshipping cattle (BT Sanh 55a; AZ 54a), suggesting that the practice may not have been entirely unknown in Jewish society.

The purpose of presenting these examples of bovine imagery, both in ancient Egyptian and Israelite societies, has been to lessen a concern raised above regarding associating possible Hathor cultic activity in a context of worship of the male calf of Exodus 32. There is something very universal in the importance of cattle in the religious systems of ancient Mediterranean societies (Rice 2-5), and both bull gods

and cow goddesses perform vital roles and continue to relate mythologically to one another within the pantheon and in actual worship. Ackerman notes a parallel to Hathor in Canaanite religion, in which Asherah is also associated with bovine imagery (Ackerman 59). Of significance, there is gender crossover among worshipers.

Women did not limit their cultic identification to female bovine deities. Though as a cow goddess Hathor had a large following especially among women (Table IV-D-6), women were similarly involved in pilgrimages and associated fertility rites in their worship of the bull god Apis (Mysliwiec 62; Frankfurter 489).

Keeping in mind Rice's discussion about how the Apis bull and its mother were venerated together, there is nothing to preclude the possibility of coexisting cultic activity that included both Hathor and Ihy as an expansion of Roberts' speculation that the mythology surrounding Ihy is prototypically compatible with the myth of a calf leading Israel across the sea. In fact, that hypothesis adds literary symmetry to the review of the accounts of Josephus, Midrash, and the Bible regarding the Red Heifer as follows below, while concurrently solving another problem. If the calf of Exodus 32 is patterned after Baal, one might wonder why the image was not of a full-grown bull. On the other hand, Ihy is specifically a child-god. As the offspring of Hathor, the Cow of Gold, Ihy could plausibly be a mythic prototype of the Golden Calf. If so, and recalling that the cow goddess Hathor was the renowned "mistress of the red cloth," the midrashic account of the Red Heifer's ashes atoning for the sin of the Calf would coincide well with a speculation that Numbers 19 contains a veiled mythic account of the goddess Hathor being reduced to ashes to atone for the role of her bull-calf Ihy at Sinai.

To the degree that Hathor and Miriam share many prototypical similarities, Josephus' juxtaposition of Miriam with the events of Numbers 19 may contain traces of a tradition in which she was in some way a participant in cultic activity at Sinai. Whichever specific bull-calf the people may have had in mind when they worshiped the Golden Calf, the cultic activity may well have been directed towards more than one deity within a pantheon in which a mother cow and her bull offspring could have been objects of concurrent veneration. In fact, in exploring possible explanations for the plural used in Exodus 32:1 as the people's request that Aaron make them gods, Propp notes the analogous calf-making of King Jeroboam (1Kings 12:28), where two Golden Calves are involved, and asks, somewhat rhetorically, "Is the Calf a semblance of several divine, bovine creatures?" (Propp, in press). Though this speculative path leaves open the possibility that the Israelite women may have been led by Miriam in cultic activity involving Hathor and her bull-calf Ihy at Sinai, in the end, none of these observations leads us closer to knowing to what degree Israel in general and Miriam specifically may have been involved with any components of Hathor-type bovine imagery in unpreserved traditions of antiquity. However, this is not a disappointment, since the purpose of reviewing calf imagery as it relates to Hathor and Miriam has been strictly limited to identifying possible areas of shared prototypical similarities in their portrayals, and to showing how – given the importance of bovine family associations in the Egyptian pantheon – the difference of gender of the Golden Calf and Hathor does not preclude some permutation of cultic activity involving both male and female bovine entities. With this in mind, Miriam's biblical association both through Aaron, her sibling and Israel's Calf-maker, and with the performance of

dancing, also related to the Calf, as well as the extra-biblical traditions associating her with Hur as potential Calf-maker and to the Red Heifer that atoned for the Golden Calf, all cumulatively open to reasoned speculation Miriam's connection with bovine imagery.

SUB-SECTION IV-D-9

Similar Patterns shared by Hathor and Miriam as to Associations with the Numbers "Three" and "Seven"

Among the Miriam midrashim in Appendix A-2, the numbers "three" and "seven" occur in special contexts. Miriam is biblically depicted as a member of a triumvirate of leaders (Micah 6:4), a theme that is further elaborated in many midrashim. Likewise, Midrash declares that Miriam was one of seven prophetesses. Furthermore, Midrash (C228), Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 9:10), and possibly the Qumran scrolls (4Q546) specifically identify the issue over which she prophesied, namely, that her parents would bear a son destined to become the redeemer of Israel. Similar patterns of "threes" and "sevens" occur for Hathor. She appears as a triad of a mother and two sons (Bleeker 64), and "... a great number of Old Kingdom seals show the two [Hathor and Re] paired or as a triad with the king between them" (King 219). In another context, "Nut, Hathor, and Isis are often spoken of as a unity, and all three are at times called the 'Goddess of the Sycamore Tree,' 'Mother of Heaven,' 'Queen of all gods and goddesses'" (Baring/Cashford 264). Furthermore, Wilkinson notes that

Groups of three deities are often aligned as members of a divine family of father (god), mother (goddess) and child (almost invariably a young male deity), with the triad of Osiris, Isis and Horus being the most prominent example. The Egyptian king sometimes functioned as the divine son or represented him in such family triads ... Other groups of deities may have been formed for purely symbolic reasons. The number three was an important one signifying plurality. (Wilkinson 75-76)

As regards Hathor's association with "seven," "the many manifestations of Hathor were frequently consolidated into a more manageable and comprehensible group of seven" (Wilkinson 77). In one of these, it is said that "in Egypt there are seven Hathors present to determine the child's fate" (Kristensen 311). Similarly, Miriam too was grouped as one of seven prophetess, and her prophecy specifically related to predicting the destiny of the child Moses. Furthermore, Bleeker explains the juxtaposition of "seven" with an entity usually associated as "one," as their forming "a sort of college" in which they

have their own cultic places and act as servants of the great Hathor. The number seven is not arbitrary. It is a sacred number that connotes totality, perfection. They are seven and simultaneously a complete unity. The seven Hathors appear at the birth of a child and predict the fate of the newly-born. (Bleeker 71)

Insofar as the practice of numerical associations using "threes" and "sevens" was prototypically a part of ancient lore, rabbinic inventiveness does not need to be invoked as the sole explanation to account for similar traditions related to Miriam.

CONCLUSION TO SECTION IV-D

What conclusions can now be drawn from the parallels noted between Hathor and Miriam? In critically assessing the origins of Miriam traditions of Late Antiquity,

it is quite impressive that the core of most of the Unanticipated themes is attested to in writings of the early Authors and Qumran. The only clear exception would appear to be the Assertion of Miriam being David's ancestress, and possibly the integrally related traditions identifying Miriam as one of the midwives, both of which are further discussed in Chapter V. All other major midrashic Miriam themes are elaborations either of Miriam's biblical storyline, or of extra-biblical traditions which predated the involvement of the Rabbis. Assuming that neither the early Authors nor those responsible for the Qumran scrolls were the creators of such traditions, the inference is that Miriam accrued these major non-biblical components of her legacy from some combination of popular memory and mythic processes. At first, attributing much more of her legacy to such earlier accruals seems to diminish the scope of creativity of the midrashists. However, in the end this view of a more restricted scope of what the Rabbis imaginatively contributed may constructively distance them from what Townsend and Fishbane earlier characterized as "playfulness." Recognizing that the rabbis did not invent the majority of Unanticipated Miriam themes not only increases our focus on those strands they may have creatively initiated, but also elevates the rabbinic function to one of refining the direction of subsequent elaborations in order to craft a portrayal more harmonious with their other efforts to define Judaism. This said, we are left with Miriam's legacy being the result of substantial early enhancement that conceivably includes prototypical mythic components. Since it has already been demonstrated that the midrashists only utilized 16% of even the Assertions recorded in Qumran and other early texts, we have a basis for suspecting that there were other unattested traditions likewise not chronicled in midrashic

sources. Given a lack of relevant ancient historical documents, attempting to reconstruct possible early stages of Miriam's popular legacy in part depends on observing intercultural parallels. In this case, I was struck by the similarity in many of the prototypic portrayals shared by Hathor and Miriam. Whether or not future research upholds this particular application of common mythic patterning to these two female figures, the comparison has led to potentially valuable trains of thought.

At least two constructive insights derive from comparing Miriam and Hathor. Miriam's midrashic elaboration is one of a multi-dimensional character with diverse involvements and accomplishments. On viewing the variety of midrashic themes about her, one might ask if their diverse content is not too sophisticated to be attributed to a time period late in the second millennium BCE. However, as we have seen, the review of Hathor's diverse and complicated portrayal at a time contemporaneous with Israel's intercultural contact with Egypt attests to the currency of motifs during the general time period in which seminal traditions about Miriam may have begun to accumulate. Said otherwise, the first conclusion from mythic patterning comparing Miriam and Hathor is that it justifies a presumption that early Israelite society was fully capable of conceptualizing portrayals of its female protagonists in a way compatible with the diversity present in Miriam traditions. Therefore, one cannot invoke rabbinic creativity as the only viable model by which Miriam could have accrued the major Unanticipated themes of her diverse legacy.

The second insight involves a hypothesis regarding two problems carried forth from Chapter III. In fact, the decision to investigate Miriam's mythic past was motivated by these unsettled questions stemming from both the relative midrashic

underdevelopment of Miriam's biblical roles at the River and Sea as well as the unexplained late emergence of her closer association with the Well. The comparison of Miriam and Hathor provides an opportunity to search for explanations closer to the actual time periods in which these traditions may have first emerged. As such, this process allows Miriam to be considered among conceptualizations of female mythic figures in an inter-cultural context nearer to the Exodus traditions. The Tanakh itself attests to Israel's exposure to both Canaanite and Egyptian pagan imagery. From Canaan, it knew of Asherah, also described as "Lady Asherah of the Sea," and the "Lady Who Treads/Subdues Sea" (Dever 101). Likewise, from Egypt and the Sinai, it would have been exposed to Hathor/Qudshu, whose legacy included controlling the rise and fall of the Nile and providing refreshing water for the thirsty. At the very least, our attention is drawn to the common thread of water in the problematic River, Sea, and Well themes, and to the possibility that these water contexts may likewise imply similar pagan elements. Miriam's most positive biblical portrayals juxtapose her with the scenes of the subduing of the Sea and of her overseeing Moses' fate at the River, and – through traditions associating her with the Well – she is implicated in providing water for the thirsty. To the degree that these contexts may have been the subject of traditions with pagan overtones known to them, the Rabbis may well have had an interest in not including such material in the legacy of the prophetess who was a member of Israel's triumvirate of wilderness leaders. They would have had every incentive to avoid any imagery that would detract from God's primary role in being the ultimate controller of nature and provider for the people. Therefore, the second though tentative conclusion emerging from this Section is a hypothesis suggesting that

the limited elaboration of Miriam's River and Sea Roles and the relative paucity of Novel Assertions associating Miriam with the Well in early Late Antiquity may reflect pagan overtones enmeshed with these traditions. Further attention to this hypothesis is deferred till the Conclusion of this study, which now turns to a consideration of a last remaining area of potential precursors to Miriam's stature and renown predating Late Antiquity, that of how her legacy may have grown as a culture heroine within early Israelite society.

SECTION IV-E

Cultural Heroine Roles Contributing to the Growth of Miriam Traditions Predating Late Antiquity

In the prior section, attention turned to the Egyptian milieu that had formed part of Israel's cultural experience, leading to making the case that many Miriam extra-biblical depictions had parallels in Hathor portrayals. This provided additional confirmation of information from the Qumran and other ancient texts that the major components of Miriam's portrayal are well within parameters of what could have arisen in a pre-rabbinic timeframe. The current Section posits another mechanism by which Miriam traditions may have grown prior to Late Antiquity, with the potential result of further reducing the actual creative rabbinic contribution to her renown. The purpose of these conjectures is significant. Specifically, as the list of possible precursors to the growth of her legacy prior to Late Antiquity lengthens, the need to attribute a particular area of elaboration to midrashic creativity shortens. However,

the other side to this coin is that in the process of narrowing a rabbinic role to fewer but very specific inventive additions to Miriam's stature, the Rabbis' actual creative contribution during Late Antiquity comes into sharper focus. The significance of what they actually did enhance thereby grows in importance and impact as a reflection of what was most markedly of concern to them, to the point that they may have felt justified in adding entire Unanticipated themes to Miriam's legacy.

The contention of the current section is that Miriam's legacy may have grown as a "culture heroine." I found no single definition of the term which included the full sense in which I have used the concept, and I have therefore amalgamated a number of sources and created the following novel working definition:

Definition of Culture Heroine

A culture heroine is a historical or mythological female figure, still living or immortalized in memory, often possessing special qualities and skills, who may relate to a people as its founder or leader, and who serves as its protector in securing the attributes of culture, either in cooperation with or in opposition to current convention and the gods.

I often use the term rather loosely, since not every character I describe as a Culture Heroine has all the traits included in the definition, and in fact, though I have made the definition gender specific, I otherwise include male figures in varied comparisons. However, what is important to the further development of this Section is the particular focus on Miriam's female gender. To direct this focus, I draw on the title of Tikva Frymer-Kensky's book, *In the Wake of the Goddesses*, in which one of her contentions is that as the goddesses became more obsolete in Israel owing to Josiah's reforms, the vacuum of the nurturing influences they had provided was filled by other substitute

imagery (Frymer-Kensky 153-5, 213; Ch. 14-16). It is in this sense that I wish to posit Miriam's value as a specifically female culture hero.

Though it is beyond the scope of this study to prove that goddesses served a nurturing function, neither will the contention go entirely unsupported. To this end, advantage is taken of the references to Hathor of the last Section as a now somewhat familiar entity. Even though Hathor is not the specific focus of biblical goddess allusions, Susan Ackerman makes the point that goddess personalities merged and were cross-culturally recognizable. She focuses on ivories from Nimrud, Khorsabad, Arslan Tash, and Samaria of a goddess-type woman with prominent cow ears, the typical Hathor headdress, and frontal portrayal, along with other associated plaques rich in typical Egyptian Hathor cow motifs. She dates these to the ninth or eighth century BCE, but notes that they represent a "continuum that stretches from the culture of Late Bronze Age Ugarit (ca. 1550-1200 BCE) to the monarchical period of Iron Age Israel (ca. 1040-586 BCE)" (Ackerman 155). These are Ackerman's conclusions regarding the ubiquity not only of Hathor-type Egyptian iconography throughout Near Eastern societies, but the cross-cultural merging of goddess prototypes:

The imagery of the "woman in the window" ivories ... is probably best described as depending on Egyptian iconography in general and, as in the case of "the cow and the calf," on iconography of the Egyptian goddess Hathor in particular. (Ackerman 157)

Phoenician artists adapt Egyptian groups and figures ... using them to represent subjects of Phoenician mythology and worship ... The deities wearing quasi-Egyptian costumes ... on Phoenician seals and ivories are not just Egyptian gods misrepresented, but are local deities partially adapted to their Egyptians equivalents. (Ackerman 177, fn. 103)

... the “woman in the window” imagery of the Egyptian mother goddess Hathor would most naturally and logically have been identified by its Semitic audience as a representation of the mother goddess of Canaanite mythology, Asherah. Elsewhere in Semitic tradition, in fact, these two goddesses are equated. ... In the Sinai ... where a Hathor and an Asherah cult each thrived during the Late Bronze Age, the title *ba‘lat*, “Lady,” seems to have been assumed by both the Egyptian goddess and her Canaanite compatriot (the latter otherwise worshiped in this locale under the name Qudshu). Note finally in regard to the two goddesses’ equivalence that, like Hathor, Asherah can be associated with bovine imagery and that the two deities have connections with snakes, lions, and sacred trees. (Ackerman 59)

Given this introduction, no further elaboration of Asherah, Astarte, Anath, and “Queen of Heaven” biblical text will be pursued. However, a general review of authors such as Frymer-Kensky, Dever, Patai, and Baring suggests that Israelite society was not immune to an interest in female manifestations of divinity, of undefined prevalence, and with speculations involving a spectrum from personally reassuring household amulet-type images to the realms of cultic worship. What will be argued rather intuitively is that the nurturing maternal imagery that goddess imagery provided included the capacity to contribute to comfort and reassurance. As a pictorial defense of this assertion, an example of the Hathor-type iconography to which Ackerman has referred is provided below as Fig. IV-E-4:

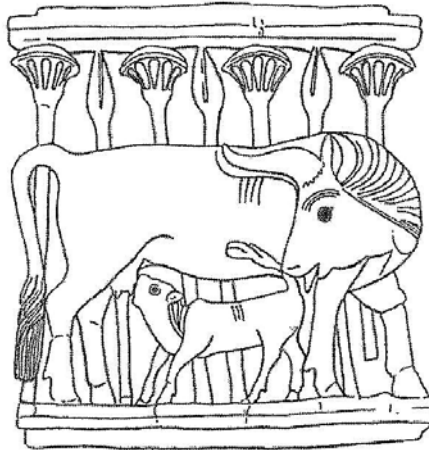


Fig. IV-E-4: Ivory Plaque Depicting the Cow-and-Calf Motif from Nimrud (Bec 103)

Given the struggles of life and its harsh realities, appealing for intercession to a deity conceived to have warm mothering qualities likely provided an emotional comfort that may have been more problematic to secure from a stern paternal figure.

Turning from this brief attempt to convey at least one sense of “nurturing influence” as applied to the goddesses, Raphael Patai devotes much of his text to a discussion of substitute female imagery which he feels may have mitigated the decline of goddess imagery. He includes chapters that posit how female imagery is incorporated into the linguistic depictions of God, the spousal imagery of God-Israel, Zion, and Lady Wisdom (Patai *Goddess*). In order to demonstrate how female imagery enters biblical poetics, a few examples will be cited. After the destruction of the Temple in 586 BCE, when the populace may well have felt abandoned and dejected, they were informed of their own culpability for their exile, in part related to worshipping the Asherot. It is not entirely unanticipated that in trying to comfort the people, Second Isaiah would employ substitute imagery drawing attention to a mothering side of God Himself:

Listen to me, House of Jacob, and all the remainder from the house of Israel, who have been carried from the belly, borne from the womb ... I have made, and I will bear, and I will carry and I will deliver.”
(Is 46:3-4)

As a man whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you; and in Jerusalem you will be comforted. (Is 66:13)

Another type of female imagery, relating “God-As-He” to “Israel-As-She,” occurs in two contexts. The first is the spousal image in which Israel is depicted symbolically as a marriage partner to God who turns unfaithful to Him:

And I will betroth you to Me forever. And I will betroth you to Me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in compassion, and in mercies.
And I will betroth you to Me in faithfulness. And you will know the Lord. (Hos 2: 21-22)

The intimacy of this betrothal metaphor should be noted, as it goes beyond the use of the mention of marriage, utilizing the word “know” (*yd'*) to imply the greatest degree of closeness.

As regards a second type of imagery relating “God-as-He” to “Israel-as-she,” Zion is in general synonymous with Jerusalem and its mount. However, Zion possesses an interactive personality that is depicted as female and communes with God. Accordingly, when in Second Isaiah Zion addresses God, He comforts her by presenting Himself as even more loving than a nurturing mother:

But Zion said, “The Lord has forsaken me, and my Lord has forgotten me.”
[God responds]: “Will a woman forget her sucking child, have compassion [on] the son of her womb? Even these may forget, but I will not forget you. (Is 49:14-15)

Later, Mother Zion is depicted as taking an active role in the accelerated repopulation of Israel at the time of the return:

Before she writhed [in labor] she gave birth. Before her pang came, she delivered a male. Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? Shall the earth be made to writhe in one day? Shall a nation be born in one moment? For, as Zion writhed, she brought forth her children too. (Is 66: 7-8)

In late Second Temple writings Wisdom, portrayed as “she,” was an important character in her own right and intricately connected to God. This is evidenced by deuterocanonical writings like the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, and several of Philo’s treatises. In Ben Sira’s text, dating from the second century BCE, Wisdom states, “From eternity, in the beginning, he created me, and for eternity I shall not cease to exist. In the holy Tabernacle I ministered before him, and so was I established in Zion” (Ben Sira 24:9-10). In the next century, the *Wisdom of Solomon* calls her “a breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty” (*Wisdom of Solomon* 7:25). For this writer, Wisdom herself led the Children of Israel out of Egypt and across the Red Sea:

She gave to holy people the reward of their labors; she guided them along a marvelous way, and became a shelter for them by day, and a starry flame through the night. She brought them over the Red Sea, and led them through deep waters; but she drowned their enemies, and cast them up from the depth of the sea. (*Wisdom of Solomon* 10:17-19)

Finally, straddling the last century BCE and the first century CE, Philo states in his *Treatise on the Cherubim* that “God is both a house, the incorporeal abode of incorporeal ideas, and the Father of all things, inasmuch as it is He who has created them; and the Husband of Wisdom” (Philo *Cherubim* 14:49).

Though these examples of feminine imagery may provide insights into how those responsible for biblical poetics used them, either as a credit to their literary and theological prowess, or perhaps more as instinctive poetic artistry, it is difficult to

believe that such literary devices would have addressed the more general needs of the average Israelite for tangible nurturing maternal influences that at one time may have been provided by goddess-related icons and mythology. However, there is another vehicle of female imagery that seems much more plausible, that of the lore of the culture heroine, the primary focus of the current Section. Jeremiah, in what can be argued may be a midrash-equivalent actually occurring within the Tanakh, records precisely such an image of a mother of Israel weeping for her children. The Torah text gives us only the essential facts:

And Rachel died and she was buried in the way to Efrat – that is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave – that is the pillar of Rachel’s grave until today. (Gen 35: 19-20)

But Jeremiah records something *new*, of which there is no hint in the Torah text:

A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, she refuses to be comforted for her children, because they are not. Thus said the Lord, “Refrain your voice from weeping and your eyes from tear ... for there is a reward for your labor,” declaration of the Lord, “and your children will return to their border.” (Jer 31:15-17)

The Rabbis then midrashically further expand on Jeremiah, adding text to Rachel’s tears as she spars with God to mitigate the fate of her children:

Ca. 400-450: Lamentations Rabbah (V) 24
[When the first Temple was destroyed, R. Shmuel b. Nachman told a story of how Abraham was defending Israel and trying to gather witnesses for the defense, but not a one was useful, then] our mother Rachel jumped before the Holy One, blessed be He, and said, “Master of the Universe, it is revealed before you that Jacob your servant loved me with an extraordinary love and worked for me for my father for seven years. And when those seven years were completed and the time of my wedding to my master arrived, my father advised to exchange me for my sister to my master and the matter was very hard for me because the counsel was known to me and I let my master know and I delivered a signal to him so that he would recognize between me and my sister so

that my father could not exchange me. But afterwards I repented and I suffered my passion and had compassion on my sister so that she would not go out in disgrace. And in the evening they exchanged my sister for me to my husband and I delivered to my sister all the signs that I had delivered to my husband so that he would think that she was Rachel, and not only that but I got under the bed where he was lying with my sister, and he was talking with her and she was quiet and I answered him about everything so that he would not recognize my sister's voice. And I acted kindly towards her and I was not jealous of her and I did not take her out in disgrace. And what am I? That I am flesh and blood and dust and ashes, I was not jealous of her and I did not take her out in disgrace. And You are a living, enduring, merciful King. Why were You jealous of star worship, in which there is no substance, and caused my children to be exiled and they were killed by the sword, and enemies did what they wanted with them?"

Immediately the mercy of the Holy One, blessed be He, rolled over and He said, "For you, Rachel, I am returning Israel to their place." As it is written (Jer 31:14), "Thus said the Lord, 'A voice in Ramah is heard, lamentation and weeping of bitterness: Rachel crying over her children. She refuses to be comforted over her children because they are not.'"

And it is written (Jer 31:15), "Thus said the Lord, 'Refrain your voice from weeping, and your eyes from tear for there is reward for your work,'" etc. And it is written (Jer 31:16), "'And there is hope for your future,' declaration of the Lord, 'And children will return to their borders.'"

Implied in the idea of a culture heroine, as defined above, is the notion of somehow going beyond normal societal expectations in a way that protects the people or serves the interest of some broadened ideal. When Balaam initially refuses to go to Balaq, he grows in our esteem (Ex 22:14), as does Vashti when she refuses to perform for King Ahasuerus (Esther 1:12). Likewise, Moses is admired when he protests against a continued role of leadership if God disowns the people (Ex 32:32), and Tamar and Ruth are favorably remembered for their bucking social tradition, resulting in their conceiving heirs for a noble lineage (Gen 38:13; Ruth 3:7). Similarly, in refusing to remain silent in the face of God's decree and her exiled children's plight, Mother Rachel joins a group of culture heroes whose actions bring not only solace, but

a sense of national pride of having a tireless advocate who will hopefully gain an ear in the divine realm.

Miriam's cumulative portrayal from the Midrash would appear to make her eminently suitable as a culture heroine. She argues with her father to reunite him with her mother in the interest of the birth of Israel's redeemer (C309). As a midwife Miriam disobeys Pharaoh's direct order regarding the newborn males, later lying to him when questioned (C230, cf. Ex 1:17-19). She watches over the fate of her infant brother at the River and engages in the risky gambit of approaching Pharaoh's daughter to reunite Moses with his mother (Ex 2:4, 7-8). She has a sufficient following to lead the women at the Sea, and must accrue some sense of awe both in being called "prophetess" (Ex 15:20) and in later referring to her own prophetic prowess (Num 12:2). Finally, she dares to speak about Moses (Num 12:1), enduring divine punishment for her audacity (Num 12:10, 15), all with the noble end of reuniting him with his wife (C215, etc.). Of significance, all of the more major components of these culture heroine roles predate rabbinic involvement, as demonstrated in Sections A and B above concerning the attestations from Qumram, the early Authors, and perhaps the mural at Dura-Europos. Furthermore, to the degree that the Well is attested to both by Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 10:7; 11:15; 20:8) and at Dura-Europos (Kraeling 124; Sukenik 100-101), and that Miriam's association with it, as reported by Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 20:8), is also pre-rabbinic, it is conceivable that a popular tradition in which she was associated with the provision of water may have existed. If so, her role as a cultural heroine may have been interlaced with the fecundity of the Land, as discussed further below. In any case, given her initial

qualifications for being viewed as a culture heroine, it is certainly possible that her legacy may have grown as part of an evolving popular tradition prior to Late Antiquity, and that a growing interest in her may have been a type of surrogate fulfillment satisfying some of the void left by the disassociation from goddess-type female imagery.

The choice of Rachel as the initial illustrative example of a cultural heroine has an interesting additional rationale. Table III-C-15 noted that Miriam alone was mentioned in five biblical books. Of the matriarchs, Rebecca was mentioned in one book, Leah in two, and Sarah in three. Rachel is the only biblical woman to have been mentioned in four books, nearly approaching Miriam's five. Apparently, Miriam and Rachel may have been sufficiently on the minds of later biblical writers, perhaps precisely because they enjoyed an added component of popularity as cultural heroines. In trying to further distinguish Miriam's role above that of Rachel's and the other matriarchs, there is an additional train of thought that may predict how traditions surrounding Miriam may have preferentially expanded prior to Late Antiquity. What follows is a hypothetical model of her actual literary and cultural function in the Exodus saga.

An essential question can be posed: Why in the development of the biblical narrative was it "necessary" to include a female among the leading family of liberators, especially Israel's first prophetess? Given the Tanakh's general patriarchal bent, what end was served by her inclusion in the story? If three national heroes were more important to the mission than two, could not Moses and Aaron have had another brother? Furthermore, even if the storyline is based on a historical reality of three

siblings, one of whom was female, why does it elaborate and preserve the Miriam traditions to the degree that it has? No argument can be made that Miriam was a mere incidental female bystander necessary simply to establish a genealogic lineage, since she is given no role as either wife or mother by Scripture. Likewise, though we know from later attestations of her being the honoree in whose name the Well was given, and notwithstanding the tendency for wells to be associated with females (Varner 9), certainly this too could have been worked out otherwise. With some minor midrashic ingenuity, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon or Elijah could have been recognized as meriting to become the Well's namesake. Apparently, and independent of the historicity of Miriam as a member of a triumvirate of leaders, both the biblical redactors and later traditions are witnesses to her having fulfilled some significant function in the narrative.

Though the origins of Miriam's inclusion in the triumvirate of leadership may not be knowable, it is reasonable to suggest that her presence in the biblical account provides a dimension of womanly warmth. One could as well imagine a male having watched over the infant Moses at the River and a man dancing in victory at the Sea. However, it may have been somewhat more strained to have a male figure described as leading the women in song. Midrash further elaborates Miriam's roles in a way that recognizes her being a woman. Her mothering role as a midwife, her concerns regarding the destiny of all Israel if its redeemer were not allowed to have been born, her quick-witted and caring protective instinct when interacting with Pharaoh's daughter in arranging for a nursemaid, and her concern for Moses' conjugal life with Zipporah are all more plausible only because she is female. To the degree that Miriam

may have been a type of maternal culture heroine figure of Israel's Exodus generation, her effect in being part of Israel's national story may have provided emotional value similar to that which goddess figures such as Hathor and Asherah provided in their respective societies. If this maternal imagery was part of subsequent popular understanding of her role in providing literary balance to the Exodus and wilderness story, the momentum of her portrayal may well have carried forward and been enhanced in subsequent traditions.

To the extent that there may be truth to Miriam-as-Woman having been necessary to achieve gender balance in both the biblical narrative and its subsequent elaborations, there still looms a significant problem in positing that she may have been disproportionately elaborated well before the rabbinic era. In chapter III-C, a comparison was made of Miriam's proportionately greater elaboration in Midrash compared to all other prominent biblical women. If for at least most Unanticipated Miriam themes, the roots of this disproportionate elaboration predated Late Antiquity, a theory must be proposed to explain why she may have fared better than the foremothers who came before her. One possible explanation favoring early relative gains in her legacy relates to a cautious speculation regarding how Israel may have dealt with its more remote matriarchs relative to its more recent heroines. Whether one assumes that there was an actual historical Miriam or takes the view that she was a constructed entity based on traditions, from a standpoint of proximity of timing, her earliest legacy would have been much more immediately tangible than that of the matriarchs. She is indisputably the most prominent woman of stature in the generation of the Exodus, and therefore of Israel's national story of independence. Both

midrashically and biblically, she is portrayed as part of Israel's leading family at its seminal moment of nationhood. By way of contrast, the matriarchs may have been part of a more subdued cultural memory, and in this sense Miriam may have had an early advantage as a focus of disproportionate elaboration in Israelite tradition that could then have maintained this momentum. To the degree that this may be true, the Rabbis may have inherited a cumulative portrayal of her that was already relatively in excess of other biblical women.

There is still one further context in which Miriam traditions may have been especially favored compared to other biblical women for further expansion. In Chapter III-B, Miriam's association with the Well was noted to contain the greatest number of Novel Assertions among the Unanticipated Miriam themes. A satisfactory explanation as to why the Well that had remained nameless in earlier centuries would in later Novel Assertions have become known as Miriam's Well has remained elusive. Certainly, no evidence of its having been known as Miriam's Well prior to Late Antiquity has been forthcoming. Yet, as mentioned above, that she was linked to the Well prior to midrashic elaborations is attested by Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 20:8). Therefore, there is nothing to preclude a speculation that her association with the Well represents a relatively ancient tradition. This conjecture is strengthened by another perplexing finding of note regarding the relative paucity of midrashic elaborations of her arguably most favorable biblical role presentations at the River and Sea. Substantial attention was given to this midrashic underdevelopment as possibly representing a rabbinic slight to her, either for some misogynistic rationale or because they may have viewed her as unworthy because of her having spoken about Moses.

However, careful assessment did not substantiate such contentions, and the lack of elaboration of her River and Sea roles remained enigmatic. However, that in the biblical narrative she is positively and memorably associated with water at the River and Sea is indisputable. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the assertion of the proximity of her death to Israel's crisis of lack of water (Num 20:1-2), with the resulting linkage of her to the provision of water, is not a matter of rabbinic invention. Though the midrashists certainly elaborated the connection, its being an earlier tradition is attested by Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 20:8). Therefore, attestations associating her with water at the River, Sea, and through the Well at her death are all pre-rabbinic, coming from the Torah and/or early Authors, and may therefore be arguably very ancient. Recalling the discussion of patterning of Miriam's portrayal with that of well-attested Hathor-type mythology, it would not be surprising if a prototypical female figure of the Exodus generation had been associated with the provision of water in the desert. At this point, introduction of further relevant imagery from Egypt is appropriate, as a pictorial attestation that the quenching of thirst was prototypically a goddess-type role. Figure IV-E-5 is similar in theme to Fig. IV-D-2 presented above. However, this wall painting from the tomb of Panehsy in Thebes, is dated earlier to the sixteenth to fourteenth centuries BCE. That the imagery from this seventeenth or eighteenth dynasty representation is repeated in the nineteenth dynasty stele of Figure IV-D-2 bears witness to the relatively well-established tradition, at least within Egyptian mythology, of the female water-giver.



Fig. IV-E-5: Hathor, as Goddess of the Sycamore, Providing Water
(Cook, Print 10)

Common sense dictates that the 40-year wilderness trek would not have been possible without the provision of water. Notably, rainfall is not mentioned as a source of water, and whenever the people engage in murmurings regarding their thirst, water is made potable or procured through divinely orchestrated rather magical means.

Propp has pointed out that the importance of God's being able to provide water in the wilderness was necessary to assert His credibility in being able to do likewise in the

Land:

The mythological significance of the Water in the Wilderness motif may be simply expressed – it demonstrates the deity's power to sustain human, animal and vegetable life in the most inhospitable climes by the gift of water; *a fortiori*, Yahweh may be expected to irrigate his own land. (Propp *Water* 2)

Whether or not there were pre-monarchic traditions about Miriam having mediated the provision of water through the Well-rock, or whether they surfaced later, at whatever point her linkage to the Well emerged (as attested by Pseudo-Philo), the final result is significant: Miriam's name would thereby have been associated with the

entity most needed for a viable society – water. In this sense, Miriam’s legacy would have been intertwined with a pervasively crucial commodity, something which cannot be said of anything the matriarchs, or other later women with whom Miriam has been compared, had to offer. To the degree that this may have been so, her role as a nurturing cultural heroine may have been further augmented by her association with the provision of water, predicting another grounds for her favorably disproportionate elaboration prior to Late Antiquity in comparison with other biblical women.

In summary of this Section, in trying to attribute some of Miriam’s disproportionate midrashic elaboration to a carryover from precursor traditions, an argument has been made that her legacy may have grown through her role as a culture heroine. As such, she may have served as a maternal image of comfort and reassurance during a period in which Israelite religion became increasingly intolerant of pagan female imagery that had served similar functions. Some manifestations of this transference may include biblical poetic imagery and feminized constructs such as Lady Wisdom. However, in a cultural milieu not unfamiliar to the tangibility of goddess worship and icons, popular folk legends enhancing cultural heroines may have provided an avenue of proximity to comforting female imagery more within the everyday reach of the populace than the more subtle linguistics of biblical poetics. Given this hypothesized progression, Miriam, who plays many prototypical goddess-type roles, may have served an important function in providing “literary” balance within the Exodus story whose harsher elements are somewhat softened by her involvement. To the degree that she may have been cast in culture heroine-type roles, she would have become a likely target for subsequent elaboration. Compared to the

matriarchs, her legacy may have been more preferentially expanded due to her more proximal presence in the people's historical memory, to her closeness to Moses and Aaron, and due to her association with the Well that by implication might, by divine will, assist in fructifying the Land even as it had once brought forth vegetation by the rivers in the wilderness. It may be argued that since there is no midrashic account of the Well or the biblical rock accompanying them to continue its wilderness mission once Israel crossed into the Land, one is on fragile grounds to propose that such a folk tradition may have existed. However, an opposite view can be as easily taken. Lacking any other theory to explain why the lore of the Well and Miriam's association with it would have survived to reach Pseudo-Philo's attention, it would appear more plausible to presume that he was reporting a tradition with a sustained pattern of active growth and enhancements. During whatever period traditions about the rock/Well were sufficiently prominent to be matters of cultural awareness, they were also amenable to the process of popular enhancement. As such, it is plausible that Miriam may have been subject to further popular elaboration prior to the rabbinic involvement of Late Antiquity generally as a nurturing figure, specifically as a favored culture heroine, and finally through her association with the Well and its provision of water.

SECTION IV-F

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER IV

Whereas Chapter III was devoted to identifying, classifying, and analyzing midrashim dealing with Miriam and the Well, and concluded with Miriam's disproportionate elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity, Chapter IV has taken a step backward, questioning whether the Novel Assertions of the midrashim were exclusively products of rabbinic creativity, or if at least to some degree they were based on earlier precursor traditions predating Late Antiquity. To the historian, the stakes in drawing such a distinction should be high. A simplistic view that all Jewish lore is either biblical or midrashic not only ignores significant extra-biblical traditions of antiquity but tends to credit the midrashists with more inventive ingenuity than may be owed them. In the case of assessing Miriam Novel Assertions, this Chapter has taken the critical approach that until proven otherwise, one should begin by assuming that every major Unanticipated theme has its roots in an earlier tradition. This is somewhat contrary to the implication of Townsend and Fishbane's comments reported in the introductory section of this Chapter suggesting that at least some fanciful midrashic material is more a product of playful rabbinics than a potentially revealing depository of traditions of great antiquity. As reported in Sections A and B of this Chapter, all but two of the major midrashic unanticipated Miriam themes noted in Table IV-D-1 turned out to represent earlier traditions reported in some combination of early Authors and Qumran attestations. Furthermore, a most interesting observation has been made that only 16% (six of thirty-seven) of the novel attestations from the latter two reoccur in midrashic accounts. This means that the majority (84% or thirty-

one of thirty-seven) of the traditions would have been “lost” had it not been for these pre-Late Antiquity sources. Furthermore, without exception, contributions of one Author are not repeated by the others, suggesting that they themselves were either unaware or selective, rather than exhaustive as sources of reporting prior traditions. From all this follows the respectable conjecture that there may have been still other “lost” traditions, unattested to date. If so, the midrashim should be scrutinized for clues regarding potentially veiled early traditions that may underlie them, prior to labeling their content as entirely the product of rabbinic creativity.

Though unsettled, the possibility that the midwife tradition may have been pre-rabbinic is plausible. However, the timing of Dura-Europos and rabbinic attestations to this strand is too contemporaneous to draw a conclusion. My own bias, which I further elaborate in the concluding Chapter, is that Miriam and Jochebed’s association with the pious midwives is a pre-rabbinic tradition that the Rabbis later enhanced related to their claim of her being ancestress to King David. Because this contention is explored in Chapter V, the more general issue of conjugal status, a necessary precondition of having progeny, was selected as the focus of Section “C.” This was approached as rather straightforward research from the patterns within Scripture itself regarding the uncommonness of conjugal status being left in doubt among women of the Tanakh. As it turned out, 89% (115 of 129) of women named in the Tanakh are generally wives, mothers, or otherwise non-celibate figures, and of the 11% not so identified, Miriam is the only woman for whom there are multiple roles and mentions, but with no biblical account of marriage, progeny, or sexual union. Also perhaps significant, two other biblically named prophetesses are also imaged as potentially

celibate figures, and it was suggested that this might add to their prophetic stature much in the same way that Moses is depicted as distancing himself from married life after receiving his prophetic calling. A final conclusion was drawn that given Miriam's stature, the anomaly of her conjugal status being biblically undefined predicted either some specific reason for its lack of mention, or that the tension surrounding the uncertainty of her marital state would be resolved in traditions long before the rabbinic era. As it turns out, Qumran and Josephus confirm pre-rabbinic traditions of her having married, validating the prediction based on biblical patterning and negating rabbinic creativity as the source of the Assertion.

Emboldened by the fruits of such patterning, the final two sections have employed progressively more indirect methodologies to attempt to investigate possible roots of the growth of Miriam traditions in periods during which direct documentation is lacking. Much as Patai and others have found echoes of pagan elements in the midrashim themselves, the investigations of Section D have been driven by the difficulty of interpreting portions of Miriam's legacy without intuitively postulating a very earthy mythic component. From the start of this study, her relation to the Well has been enigmatic. Though as a midrashic literary motif the Well and its exploits have a self-sustaining charm, it was demonstrated that the growth of Miriam traditions outpaced those of the Well, and through the time-course of Late Antiquity, its further growth as a midrashic object became increasingly dependent on the Well's relationship to Miriam. Finally, Unanticipated material related to the Well became closely associated with the "Miriam's Well" formulation. Pseudo-Philo provides firm attestation to a pre-rabbinic tradition of the water source that followed the Israelites

having been given on Miriam's account. In Midrash, this same Well that bears her name not only quenches the thirst of the Israelites but fructifies the wilderness. However, this is only one of several Miriam-water associations, beginning with her mission at the River, progressing to her role at the Sea, and ending with the mysterious disappearance of the water-commodity in the very verse following her death. This all invites speculation that Miriam may have been mythically associated with water and the Well to a much greater degree than revealed by either the early Authors or midrashists. However, attempting to elevate such a conjecture to the level of a respectable hypothesis requires at least some theoretical anchorage. The approach taken involved researching a well-attested mythic figure from Egypt to determine if Miriam's roles and portrayals seemed to parallel that pattern. If so, it would be at least plausible that certain components of her legacy could have emerged in a time frame substantially predating Late Antiquity. What resulted was a positive correlation of patterning when comparing Miriam and the Egyptian figure Hathor, whose mythology includes not only her thirst-quenching provision of water and fructifying influence on the rise of the Nile, but shares many other suggestive similarities with the particulars of Miriam's portrayal. The final outcome of this comparison is to propose a viable though speculative alternative to the Rabbis having engaged in playful mythopoesis regarding many of the Unanticipated themes. For instance, when reading the Novel Assertions of Miriam's ties to the Well, an allowance must be made that the Rabbis may have been aware of extra-biblical traditions that predated them, enhancing these rather than creating them.

Section E followed a different approach in positing still another mechanism by which traditions related to Miriam and enlarging her stature may have grown prior to Late Antiquity. After noting that the poetics of biblical female imagery may underlie the thought patterns of prophets and their like in their own pursuit of nurturing language, it was postulated that the lore of cultural heroines may have been more tangibly in the reach of the populace. Specifically, it was proposed that Miriam may have served such a role, both in the literary contexts of her biblical presentation and in related traditions that may have followed her and grown throughout Israel's early history. As one of a triumvirate of leaders who shepherded the wilderness generation, she would have been closer to the mindset of Israel than the matriarchs. Furthermore, if she had been strongly associated with the provision of water in the wilderness, such a tradition might be expected to have had a high propensity for further elaboration in the Promised Land where the populace was no less dependent on a benevolent water source than during its desert wanderings. This would have created a rich opportunity for a growing tradition of lore related to Miriam and the Well. The only unsettling missing link is the lack of a more elaborate attestation among the early Authors to such a hypothesized growing tradition, an issue that shall not go unnoticed in the final Conclusion to this study. In the interim, Chapter IV has provided firm proof that the roots of all major Unanticipated Miriam traditions are pre-rabbinic, with the exception of the Midwife-David strand, and has provided at least theoretical models in which Miriam's portrayal and stature could have grown prior to Late Antiquity. Yet, all this leaves without a rationale the events leading up to and culminating in Miriam's being ancestress to King David. Since there is no Qumran or other early attestation of this

midrashic strand, it becomes the single area in which one might expect the greatest investment of purposeful rabbinic creative ingenuity. The account of what historical circumstances may have motivated their energies in this regard is the subject of Chapter V.

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CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MIRIAM'S MARRIAGE TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER V

In her article “Biblical Prophetesses through Rabbinic Lenses,” Leila Bronner states that “the Sages’ most serious difficulty with Miriam was her apparent celibate state.” In Bronner’s opinion, Miriam’s matrimony was essential both to the Rabbis’ life outlook – in which a woman *must* be married – and as a reward for her work as a midwife (Bronner 175-6). Thus, in rabbinic writings, Miriam is married to Caleb, and is the ancestress of King David, all stemming from her having been identified as one of the Hebrew midwives mentioned in Exodus 1. As attractive as Bronner’s statement may be, it does not tell the complete story about Miriam’s nuptials. It is true that the texts related to Miriam’s marriage and the resulting rewards personified by her special progeny are all extra-biblical, with no reference to traditions within the Tanakh itself. Yet, as already proposed in Chapter IV-C and proven through Qumran and other early attestations, the Rabbis cannot be credited for the notion of Miriam’s marriage. However, what is truly impressive as a possible testimony to rabbinic creativity is that, of all the Unanticipated Miriam themes, the Assertions that Caleb was her spouse and David her descendant stand alone as traditions without apparent attestation prior to the midrashic elaborations of Late Antiquity. Assuming this is not a case of an unpreserved prior tradition, we are justified in searching within the historical contexts of Late Antiquity for rationales that elucidate these associations. In this regard, the

current chapter develops the following hypothesis: Insofar as traditions of Miriam's marriage may have secondary political implications relating in one case to a priestly monarchy, and in the second to a Levi-Judah fusion resulting in a novel genealogy for David, the theme of her nuptials may go beyond a rabbinic interest in her conforming to normal societal expectations of serving as a role model of a married woman.

Whereas Chapter IV has set forth the evidence from Qumran and other early texts regarding pre-midrashic attestations to Miriam's marriage, as part of a methodical profiling of precursor traditions, the current chapter focuses specifically on relating this information to historical contexts. It begins in Section V-A by assessing possible functions served by the particular unions with Uzziel and Hur ascribed to her in the Qumran and other early texts. This serves as a prelude to a challenge posed in Section V-B, which in introducing Caleb as Miriam's mate in Midrash raises the question of why the Rabbis may have ignored the two prior spousal traditions. Section V-C reconstructs a series of elaborations in which the Rabbis attribute rewards of wisdom, priesthood and kingship to her and her mother, all as a result of their being identified as the God-fearing midwives. The intricacy of the Rabbis' often complex contentions and associations attests in itself to the importance they placed on establishing and legitimizing this background for her becoming the ancestress of David. Section V-D further highlights the challenge of this genealogy as an apparent contradiction to the biblical assertion of David's descent from Ruth. Section V-E pauses to further examine the biblical and midrashic pedigree of Caleb, preparatory to the final arguments of Section V-F, which surveys the historical functions fulfilled by the Caleb-Miriam union in legitimizing the Patriarchy. Prior to the Conclusion,

Section V-G draws on some of the poetics that may have contributed to the rabbinic process of juxtaposing Caleb, Miriam, David, and Moses in a way that created a continuity of leadership motifs from biblical times through Late Antiquity.

SECTION V-A

Accounts of Miriam's Marriage in Qumran and Other Early Texts

The earliest source for Miriam's marriage appears in the Qumran texts known as 4Q*Visions of Amram*. The language in these fragments, according to Puech, "seems to be that of the second century BCE at the latest, but the third century [BCE] cannot be excluded or even the fourth." The account about Miriam's marriage appears specifically in 4Q543 (fragment 1) and 4Q545 (fragment 1), which have been paleographically dated to the late second and early first centuries BCE (Puech 285).

The following can be gleaned from reading both fragments:

Copy of the writing of the words of the visions of Amram b. Qahat b. Levi. All that he told his sons and that he commanded to them on the day of his death in the year one hundred and thirty and six, that is the year of his death in the year one hundred and fifty and two of the exile of Israel to Egypt [...] upon him and he sent and he called Uziel his youngest brother [...] to him to Miriam his daughter and he said, "You are thirty years old," and he made a feast for seven days, and he ate and he drank in the feast [...]

In this text Amram seems to be arranging a marriage for his daughter Miriam to his brother, her uncle Uzziel. Such a marriage effectively guarantees that the levitical line will continue through all three of Amram's children, who would all be known as leaders of the people. According to Puech, this text comes from a priestly milieu (Puech 285) and contains "the last instructions of a father to his son, primarily Aaron,

but also Moses, and each one of them finds himself vested in a mission important to the revelation in which Maryam their eldest sister participates” (Puech 283). If so, this source points to the consolidation of the three elements of leadership in the Levite family of Amram as represented by his offspring: Aaron = priesthood, Moses = kingship, and Miriam = prophecy. This mindset is also found in Philo, who attributed all three characteristics to Moses, whom he considered the ideal ruler:

Since, therefore, I have now stated that in the absolutely perfect governor there ought to be four things, royal power, the legislative disposition, and the priesthood, and the prophetic office (in order that by his legislative disposition he may command such things as are right to be done, and forbid such things as are not proper to be done, and that by his priesthood he may arrange not only all human but likewise all divine things; and that by his prophetic office he may predict those things which cannot be comprehended by reason): having fully discussed the first three, and having shown that Moses as a most excellent king, and lawgiver, and high priest, I come in the last place to show that he was also the most illustrious of prophets. (*De Vita Mosis* 35:187)

Thus these texts reflect their social and historical backgrounds and show that the idea of the priestly monarchy was current in Second Temple times.

The next earliest source to explicitly mention Miriam’s marital status appears in the first century CE in Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*. Here Miriam is reported to be married to Hur, although the Tanakh does not mention any relationship between them. First, Josephus refers to Hur as Miriam’s husband (*JA* 3.2:4). Later on, Josephus describes Betsalel, the fashioner of the Tabernacle, as “the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, the grandson of Miriam” (*JA* 3.6:1), which by implication means that Miriam was married to Hur, Uri’s father, and therefore a Judahite (1Chr 2:19-20). Thus, in this source, Miriam’s husband is not her Levite uncle, but a member of the tribe of

Judah, the tribe identified with the Davidic monarchy. Hur's importance is attested in the Exodus account by his inclusion in the inner circle with Moses and Aaron, perhaps equal in stature to Aaron himself. When Israel battled Amaleq, Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up on the mountain to watch the battle (Ex 17:10). There, when Moses needed help holding his arms up to ensure Israel's victory, Hur and Aaron held up his arms (Ex 17:12). Later on, as Moses prepared to ascend Mt. Sinai to receive God's instruction, he told the elders, "And behold, Aaron and Hur are with you. Let whoever has words/issues approach them" (Ex 24:14). Although not spelled out in the Tanakh, Hur's important status would be congruent with his being married to Miriam, one of Israel's three great leaders.

But Josephus is not the earliest source that relates Miriam and Hur. Qumran text 4Q549 (fragment 2), possibly composed before "the qumranian occupation of 152 BCE" (Puech 403), mentions both Miriam and Hur:

1. H]ur (?) and he ate, he and his sons[and ... and
Yokabed, his wife, when]
2. ar]rived for her her eternal sleep[... ... came]
3. next to him, and they found[....]
4. his sons and the sons of his brothers[...]
5. and they returned immediately[...
after this, Amram]
6. departed for the house of his eternity [as it is w]ritten[in the book
of the words of the vision/s (of Amram)]
7. *vacat* and sin[ce the nuptials of Uzziel, were months]
8. ten and he begat from Miriam a relative[three sons Mishael and
Elitsafan]
9. and Sitri and Hur took [for a wife NAME daughter of NAME]
10. and he begat from her Ur; and Aaro[n took for himself Elisheba and
begat]
11. from her four/ty (?) sons [Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Itamar
(Puech 403)]

Although the specific nature of Hur's relationship to Amram's family cannot be readily ascertained from what is left of the manuscript, it is clear that such a relationship was deemed to exist. Puech concludes that "it is difficult to imagine that Hur married Miriam in second nuptials" (Puech 405). Nevertheless, in view of the fact that Josephus depicts Miriam as married to Hur, it seems quite plausible that such a tradition could have developed as the expression of a position seeking to arrogate authority away from the priesthood and onto Judahite kings, or perhaps as a way to match Aaron's marriage to a Judahite wife (Ex 6:23) with Miriam's marriage to a Judahite husband. William Propp states that

[Hur's] name probably derives from Egyptian *hr* 'Horus,' the falcon-headed god symbolizing Pharaonic divinity. As with Moses, Aaron and Joshua, E declines to specify Hur's paternity. Since he is Moses' and Aaron's associate and bears an Egyptian name, Hur may be a Levite. In P, however, Hur is a Judahite prince. For the composite text, at least, one would naturally equate the two Hurs, and [Ex] 17:12 thereby takes on political significance. Moses channels divine power, supported by Aaron (the priesthood) and Hur (the Davidic monarchy, or the nation of Judah). (Propp, *Exodus* 617-8)

All in all, the link between a Judahite Hur and Miriam's family appears to have been a tradition considerably earlier than the first century BCE.

However, the idea of Miriam's marriage to Hur does not appear to have gained much popularity among either Josephus' contemporaries or later authors. Miriam's marriage to Hur appears only once more in Late Antiquity in Ephraem Syrus'

Commentary on Exodus in the fourth century:

After these things, Amelech came to do battle with them. Joshua went out to meet him, while Moses went up the mountain with the staff of God in his hand ... Aaron and Hur, who, as **they** say, was the brother-in-law of Moses, went up with Moses. (Ephraem XVII, 2:2 [Translation Matthews] [emphasis mine])

This statement, which parallels Josephus' passage in *Jewish Antiquities* 3.2:4, leaves unclear who Ephraem's source was as he merely refers to it as "they." Of note, and outside the scope of this study, Miriam's marriage to Hur re-surfaces only once more in the 12th century in Ibn Ezra's *Hapeirush Haqatsar*:

And there are among the ancients those who said that Hur was the husband of Miriam the prophetess. (Ibn Ezra Ex 24:14)

On the other hand, the Rabbis did expand on a Miriam-Judah link, choosing yet another husband for Miriam. In rabbinic lore, Miriam's husband is Caleb, who – according to 1Chronicles 2:19 – is Hur's father! A consideration of the historical background and possible political function of this material will provide additional proposals for understanding Miriam's prominence in the extra-biblical literature of Late Antiquity.

SECTION V-B

Midrashic Sources of Traditions Linking Caleb and Miriam

Having discussed traditions of Miriam's marriage predating Late Antiquity, the remaining sections focus on the midrashic accounts of Miriam's marriage to Caleb. Though Miriam needs no further introduction, the current section also provides background regarding Caleb's biblical and midrashic presentation. Table V-B-1 presents a summary of the sources concerning Miriam's marriage to Caleb along with the types of rewards accorded to her.

Table V-B-1: Sources Listing Rewards Related to Miriam’s Marriage to Caleb

SOURCE	REWARDS	
	WISDOM	KINGSHIP
Sifre on Numbers (250-300)		Sifre on Numbers
BTalmud (ca. 550)		BTalmud
M. Tanchuma (400-700)	M. Tanchuma	

Miriam’s marriage to Caleb is attested exclusively in rabbinic sources. From this marriage stem all the rewards bestowed upon Miriam for her role as a God-fearing midwife since, whether they take the form of talented progeny (Betsalel) or a future political dynasty (David), they all imply that she indeed married and had offspring. Comparatively, we know a lot more about Caleb and his family than we do about Miriam from the Tanakh: Miriam (or Moses’ sister) is mentioned only fourteen times to Caleb’s thirty-four. He was one of the spies sent by Moses to scout the land and appears in the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and 1Chronicles. Caleb’s commitment to God is mentioned repeatedly. Because of that commitment God allows him to enter the Promised Land when the rest of the generation, including Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, are doomed to perish in the wilderness. The verb מלא, whose literal meaning is “fill,” is variously translated as “serve fully” or “follow fully.” This expression, regarding his dedication to God, is applied to Caleb six times, three in the Torah (Num 14:24; 32:12; Deut 1:36) and three in the Book of Joshua (14:8, 9, 14). In addition, Caleb encouraged the people to go into the Land (Num 13:30), and was further rewarded by God with the “land to which he came,” namely

Hebron (Num 14:24). All this builds up Caleb's importance in the tribe of Judah and depicts him as a man whose determination and steadfastness could conceivably have matched those of Miriam in the rabbinic mind. Yet, notwithstanding Caleb's suitability, we are left without an explanation as to why the Rabbis would have favored him over perpetuating the tradition of Miriam's marriage to Hur, who would seem to have been equally appropriate in establishing a Judahite connection. A speculative approach to understanding this shift to a new spousal partner is deferred to the conclusion of this Chapter.

SECTION V-C

Rewards for Miriam's Being the God-Fearing Midwife Fulfilled through Her Marriage to Caleb: Wisdom and Kingship

Midrash treats Miriam's marriage to Caleb as a subtopic stemming from the identification of Miriam and her mother Jochebed as the pious midwives of Exodus 1:15-21. The earliest mention of these Novel Assertions occurs in *Sifre on Numbers* 78:

C230. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 78
 "And the king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives," etc. (Ex 1:15).
 Shifrah is Jochebed, Puah is Miriam ... "And the midwives feared
 God," etc. These houses, I do not know what they are. When it says,

“at the end of 20 years that Solomon built the two houses” (1Kings 9:10): the House of God is priesthood and the House of the King is the kingship. Jochebed merited the priesthood and Miriam the kingship.

In addition, the Dura-Europos synagogue mural (ca. 245) (see Fig IV-B-1), where Miriam and her mother are portrayed as the midwives, confirms that this tradition must have been current by the middle of the third century (Kraeling 173, 177-78).

The midrashic elaboration of this topic resulted from the Rabbis’ discussion of the midwives’ reward of “Houses.” All of our sources agree that this reward consisted of progeny for both Jochebed and Miriam. However, while the Tanakh documents offspring for Jochebed (Ex 6:20; Num 26:59), there is nothing there to indicate that Miriam ever married or bore children. Either oblivious to, or perhaps in spite of prior traditions identifying either Uzziel or Hur as her spouse, this blank was filled in by Midrash. Table V-C-2 shows that the marriage midrashim contain two traditions as regards Miriam’s reward, namely Wisdom, represented by Betsalel, and Kingship, represented by David.

Table V-C-2: Reward Sub-Themes Fulfilled through Miriam’s Marriage to Caleb

Sources	Mention of Specific Sub-Themes Fulfilled through Marriage				
	Mentions “Midwife”	Mentions “Reward”	Kingship	Wisdom	
			(David)	Mentions “Wisdom”	Mentions “Betsalel”
Sifre on Numbers 78	Yes	Yes	Yes		
M. Tan (W) Ki Tisa 13	Yes				Yes
M. Tan (W) Vayaqhel 4	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
M. Tan (B) Vayaqhel 5	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes
BT Sotah 11b-12a	Yes	Yes	Yes		

Tables V-C-3 and V-C-4 identify the midrashim concerned with Wisdom and Kingship respectively. The Wisdom tradition is discussed first, following the table.

Table V-C-3: Dating of Wisdom-Betsalel Reward Midrashim

Source	Date of Collection	Rabbis	Gen	Date
M Tan (W) Vayaqhel 4 M Tan (B) Vayaqhel 5	400-700	Acha	A3	290-320

The tradition in which Miriam’s reward for fearing God is Wisdom, as embodied in her descendant Betsalel, makes its earliest appearance in both versions of *Midrash Tanchuma* (C249, C259), which are virtually identical. According to Menahem Kister, this midrash appears to be secondary, since Wisdom seems to be artificially attached to an older tradition in which the rewards were priesthood for Jochebed and kingship for Miriam. However, this midrash seems more interested in giving Jochebed both “Houses” as a reward, thus leaving Miriam “House-less.” In Kister’s opinion, “the interpreter became compulsively entangled with the prominent lack of symmetry between the two midwives, and a confusing *drashah* on the verse in Exodus ... was created, for indeed there is no ‘House of Wisdom’” (Kister 1991 [translation mine]). From that standpoint, this midrash may reflect the Hasmonean ideology of merging high-priesthood and kingship into the tribe of Levi. This could only be achieved by assigning them to Moses and Aaron since Miriam, as a woman, was not eligible to pass down her levitical status to her children. As a result, Miriam received Wisdom instead of a “House” in the form of her descendant Betsalel “who was wise” (C249), having become “imbued with God’s spirit, with wisdom” (Ex

31:3). According to Midrash, “the Holy One, blessed be He, showed all Israel that [Betsalel] was prepared from the beginning [*bereshit*] to make the Tabernacle” (C258), just like Miriam’s Well was prepared from the beginning to serve its purpose in the wilderness (C1). It is also worth mentioning that Wisdom, as personified in Betsalel, provides a link to the chain of Miriam’s connection to David, through his son. Solomon was said to be wise since God gave him a “wise heart” (1Kings 3:12), and was appointed by God to build the First Temple (2Sam 7:13; I Kings 5:19). In this way Miriam, though “House-less” herself, remains connected to both the House of Priesthood and the House of Kingship.

In the other tradition, Miriam’s reward is identified as Kingship, represented by her descendant David. For instance, *Sifre on Numbers* 78 states that the God-fearing Hebrew midwives (or the midwives of the Hebrew women) were Jochebed and Miriam:

C230. 250-300: *Sifre on Numbers* 78
 Jochebed merited the priesthood and Miriam the kingship ... Miriam is married to Caleb, as it is said, “And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur” (1Chr 2:19). “And these were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur” (1Chr 2:50). And he says, “And David is the son of this Efratite man from the House of Bethlehem Judah” (1Sam 17:12). David is found among the sons of Miriam’s sons.

Table V-C-4: Dating of Kingship-David Reward Midrashim

Source	Date of Coll.	Rabbis	Gen	Date
Sifre on Numbers 78	250-300	Dostai	T4	160-190
		Yosi	T3	130-160
		Yishmael b. Yosi	T4	160-190
		Shimon b. Yochai	T3	130-160
		Yehoshua	T2	90-130
		Eliezer	T3	130-160
		Yehudah	T3	130-160
BT Sotah 11b-12a	ca. 550	Rav	A1	d. 247
		Shmuel	A1	d. 254
		Rabba	A1	220-250
		Yochanan	A2	d. 279

As noted above, the earliest collection to mention kingship is *Sifre on Numbers*, dated to the second half of the third century. This particular midrash quotes *tannaim* ranging from 90 to 200, with most of the Rabbis dating from the third *tannaitic* period, 130-160. However, the portion of this midrash concerning Miriam's link to David is appended to the end of the section, without attribution to a specific Rabbi, and may therefore come from the later editors of the collection. The Talmud, edited ca. 550, reflects the same views as noted in *Sifre* but quotes Rabbis from ca. the mid-third century. Thus the two sources support a mid- to late-third century date for the appearance of Miriam's reward of kingship.

The identification of Jochebed and Miriam as the midwives Shifrah and Puah, as well as their reward of "Houses of Priesthood and Kingship," is also present in the Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti to Ex 1:21. Scholars agree that many of the

traditions contained in the Targumim may date from Second Temple times but exact dating has not been achieved and remains a complex task. According to P. Roger Le Déaut,

In the case of *haggadah* ... the traditional explanations were cherished and jealously preserved, though occasionally some new gem was added, ... the targumic sources on the whole represent an exegetical tradition which is at least contemporaneous to Christ. But since there are traits of a more recent date within this literature, before using a particular targumic tradition it is necessary to test its antiquity. (Le Déaut 7, 25)

In addition, Philip Alexander points out that “most of the texts underwent change and development over long periods, with the result that they are all composite – amalgams of elements of very different date” (Alexander 243).

SECTION V-D

The Problem of the Assertion that Miriam and Caleb are Ancestors of David

In the midrashim dating from at least the third century, the Rabbis demonstrate a definite interest in making Miriam and Caleb ancestors of King David. This issue and its subsequent implications become even more remarkable when we observe that the rabbinic assertion of David as Miriam’s descendant appears to be a blatant contradiction of David’s origin according to the account in 1Chronicles 2:3-16 and Ruth 4:18-22, where David descends from Nachshon b. Aminadab, Aaron’s brother-in-law. Unfortunately, the genealogies in 1Chronicles are far from clear and provide

inconsistent and contradictory lineages for Caleb. Judah's grandson Chetsron (1Chr 2:4-5) is identified as ancestor to both Caleb and Nachshon, which creates a tribal link between them. However, while in 1Chronicles 2:9 Chetsron's sons are Yerachm'el, Ram, and K'lubai, in 1Chronicles 2:18 it is Caleb who is the son of Chetsron (an inconsistency that could perhaps be explained by assuming that **K'LuBai** is a corruption of **KaLeB**). Nachshon, "the prince of the children of Judah," is Chetsron's great-grandson, and his son Salma is David's great-great-grandfather (1Chr 2:10-11). On the other hand, Salma also appears as Caleb's son and the "father" of Bethlehem, David's birthplace (1Chr 2:50-51). To add to the confusion, there is another Judahite genealogy in Chapter 4. This genealogy follows the Torah, where Chetsron is named among Judah's sons (1Chr 4:1, cf. Gen 46:12; Num 26:21), while Caleb is the son of Y'funeh (1Chr 4:15, cf. Num 13:6; 14:6, 30, 38; 26:65; 32:12; 34:19; Deut 1:36). These genealogies "reflect inconsistencies of lineage and raise questions in light of other biblical information about individuals named Caleb ... [but] the key to resolving these tensions is the fact that Caleb is a part of Judah's genealogy" (Fretz/Panitz *ABD*). Even so, there is nothing in the Calebite genealogies that either excludes or offers any textual confirmation directly linking Caleb to David, and one has to turn to Midrash itself for clues as to how the Rabbis rationalized David's descent from Miriam and Caleb.

In assessing the midrashic treatment of Miriam as David's ancestress, it is useful to contrast its character to midrashim related to his descent from Ruth. There are over fifty such mentions in Midrash, most of which can be dated to the second half of the third century or later. Of interest, these midrashim essentially recount

information from the biblical narrative as opposed to containing novel assertions further embellishing Ruth being David's ancestress. Moreover, the Rabbis apparently did not see any inconsistency in expounding the biblical material in which Ruth is David's ancestress alongside the extra-biblical notion of David's descent from Miriam and Caleb. Significantly, in *Sifre on Numbers 78*, both Ruth and Miriam are in fact mentioned in the same midrash:

C230. 250-300: *Sifre on Numbers 78*

And thus you find Ruth the Moabitess, what she said to her mother-in-law, "Your people is my people and your God my God, where you die, I will die (Ruth 1:16-17). God said to her, "You did not lose anything, therefore the kingship is yours in this world and the kingship is yours in the world to come ... Whence do you say that Ruth the Moabitess did not die until she saw Solomon the son of her son, who sat and judged the judgment of the prostitutes... And therefore it has already been said, "And the king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives [or: Midwives of the Hebrew women], etc. (Ex 1:15). Shifrah is Jochebed, Puah is Miriam. Shifrah, who was fruitful and multiplied; Shifrah, who beautifies the newborn; Shifrah, because the Children of Israel were fruitful and multiplied in her day. Puah, who groaned and cried over her brother, as it is said, "And her sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him (Ex 2:4). And he said, 'As you assist the Hebrew women in giving birth,' and the midwives feared God," etc. These houses, I do not know what they are. When he says, "at the end of 20 years that Solomon built the two houses (1Kings 9:10): the House of God is priesthood and the House of the King is the kingship. Jochebed merited the priesthood and Miriam the kingship, as it is said, "And Kotz begat Anuv and Hatsovevah and the families of Acharchel Ben Harum" (1Chr 4:8). Acharchel is Miriam, as it is said, "And all the women went forth after her (Ex 15:20)." Ben Harum is Jochebed... Miriam is married to Caleb, as it is said, "And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur" (1Chr 2:19). "And these were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur" (1Chr 2:50). And it says, "And David is the son of this Efratite man from the House of Bethlehem Judah" (1Sam 17:12). David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons.

In the preceding midrash, both Miriam and Ruth are portrayed as selflessly caring for others and being rewarded with offspring leading to kings who are sons of

their sons: David and Solomon. Why this emphasis on motherhood? What was the status of mothers in ancient Israel and in rabbinic times? In his book *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, Shaye Cohen reviews the history of what he calls “the matrilineal principle” in biblical, Second Temple, and rabbinic literature, and he concludes that it is first attested in the Mishnah (Cohen 273). He points out that this principle was not fully addressed until the BTalmud’s discussion of mQiddushim 3:12 (Cohen 280). Unfortunately, since his focus is on the question of who is considered a Jew in a mixed marriage, the context of Cohen’s study does not prove helpful in regard to the Miriam-David connection. However, Susan Sorek’s review of Cohen’s work brings to light an interesting point of view.

Sorek posits that the Rabbis may have come to this “matrilineal principle” out of their concern with *chesed*, a concept that has been variably translated as “mercy,” “favor,” “charity,” “loving-kindness,” “goodness,” “kindness,” etc. In her view, *chesed* is “one region where it appears that the Rabbis believe that the woman surpasses the man” (Sorek 6-7). She contends that, in the case of Abraham and Sarah, “God was promoting a matrilineal principle because it was Sarah’s son – not Abraham’s son that God wanted to inherit.” She goes on to say that *chesed* played an important part in the biblical heroines’ roles in Jewish lore. Thus, Sorek concludes that some time after the fall of the Second Temple, “perhaps, as time went by and the prospect of re-instating the Temple became less hopeful, the way to salvation perceived in hesed gradually took on a greater prominence” (Sorek 8-9).

Einat Ramon concurs with this view and proposes that “beginning in the tannaitic period and particularly from the talmudic period onwards, a rich midrashic

tradition developed that widens and magnifies the place of the matriarchs and gives their relationship with God a central place” (Ramon 155). She states that according to Midrash, “the merit of the matriarchs that brought about the redemption of Israel [was] their insistence on continuity and family expansion, which is the beginning of the nation” (Ramon 162). She gives as examples a midrash on Sarah converting women while Abraham converts men (Gen R (T-A) 39:5), and a midrash about all the *chesed* extant while Sarah lived that disappeared at her death only to return with Rebecca’s arrival (Gen R (T-A) 60:67). She also cites the midrash on Rachel discussed in Section IV-E (Lam R (V) 24) where Rachel helps her sister to deceive Jacob, as well as one describing how Leah prayed for Rachel to conceive (Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayetse 19:19). In Ramon’s opinion, both sisters demonstrate loving-kindness by overcoming their jealousy. She says that “the description of Rachel’s deeds on her sister’s wedding night as acts of loving-kindness expands the significance of the concept to include any behavior that involves sensitivity to the suffering of another and a sincere effort to reduce it, by way of advice or restraint as well as by other means.” Ramon 164-167).

Both Sorek and Ramon’s views generally parallel the contentions of Section IV-E regarding how culture heroine imagery may have subsumed prior goddess-type roles in providing warm mothering imagery important to cultural balance. Though the term *chesed* does not specifically occur in midrashim dealing with Miriam, her rabbinic characterizations are compatible with *chesed*-type elaborations of one dedicated to “continuity and family expansion.” This trait is readily apparent in Miriam as one who reunites her parents so that Moses can be born, looks after him at

the River, attempts to draw him back to Zipporah for the sake of increase, and most significantly, as the God-fearing midwife whose concerns merit her becoming the ancestress of King David. According to Gordon R. Clark, “David is featured frequently with חסד .” *Chesed* is mentioned in David’s dealings with other men (1Sam 20:8, 14-15; 2Sam 9:1-7; 10:2; 19:24-30; 21:7; 1Chr 19:2). David prays for *chesed* for the people in Yabesh Gilead (2Sam 2:6), and in addition,

There are many references to the חסד of Yahweh to which the historian attributes the establishment of the Davidic dynasty (e.g., 2Sam 7:15; 1Kings 3:6; 8:23, etc.). The Chronicler also refers to this persisting commitment of Yahweh to David and his descendants, and the psalmist likewise alludes to it on several occasions. (Clark 266)

Fittingly, this imagery allows for a continuum from Miriam to David’s *chesed*, as the anointed through whom God would exercise His own *chesed* in an ultimate redemption.

Three hundred years after the appearance of *Sifre on Numbers*, the Babylonian Talmud (Bava Batra 91a) identifies all the male characters in the book of Ruth, including Naomi’s father, as descendants of Nachshon. The same midrash later provides David’s mother’s name along with the names of the mothers of other biblical characters. None of these names ever appears in the Tanakh and they seem to be the product of rabbinic exegetical activity. The Rabbis explain that they are mentioned in order to let the “*Minim*” know that the Oral tradition provides important information not included in the Tanakh:

550: BTalmud Bava Batra 91a
Said Rabbah b. R. Huna, said Rav: “Ibtsan is Boaz...” Said R. Chanan b. Rabba, said Rav: “Elimelekh and Salmon and Ploni-Almoni and Naomi’s father, all [were] the sons of Nachshon b. Aminadav. What does it tell us? That even [one] who has the merit of the fathers, it is of

no avail for him at the hour that he goes out from [the] land to outside of the land.” And said R. Chanan b. Rabba, said Rav: “Abraham’s mother [was] Amatlai bat Karnebo; Haman’s mother [was] Amatlai bat Orabti; and your signs: unclean [to] unclean, clean [to] clean. David’s mother, Nitsevet bat Adael [was] her name; Samson’s mother [was] Tslalponit and her sister Nashyan. What does it matter? In order to answer the *Minim*.”

The earliest Rabbi quoted in this section dates from the first half of the third century, which makes it roughly contemporaneous with the date of the collection where the Miriam/Caleb-David midrashim are found, as presented in Table V-D-5.

Table V-D-5: David as Descendant of Nachshon and David’s Mother’s Name

Source	Date of Coll.	Rabbis	Gen.	Date
B Talmud BB 91a	ca. 550	Rabbah b. R. Huna	A3	290-320
		Rav	A1	d. 247
		Chanan b. Rabba	A2	260-290

In an attempt to deal with the apparent duality of David’s ancestry, Jill Hammer calls attention to the fact that the Davidic genealogy in 1Chronicles refers only to David’s paternal side. She suggests that perhaps the tradition of David’s descent from Miriam was dependent on his mother. To make her point, she quotes this same section of the Talmud (BT Bava Batra 91a), focusing on David’s mother’s name: Nitsevet bat Adael. She then relates this name to Miriam, since “Natzvat means ‘to stand,’ just as Miriam stood – *nitzvah* – by the Nile to see what would become of her brother” (Hammer 275-6). As speculative as this claim seems, it might not be totally without merit. Although the paternal genealogies in 1Chronicles present David as a descendant of Nachshon, while Miriam was traditionally linked to the Calebite clan, the Rabbis unreservedly attached significance to Miriam being David’s

ancestress. Thus, the Rabbis – in supplying a name for David’s mother using a midrashic play on words – may have provided a hint pointing to Miriam in naming David’s mother as suggested by Hammer.

SECTION V-E

Depictions of Caleb in Contexts Linking Priesthood and Monarchy

Having presented possible frameworks upon which the Rabbis may have understood the duality of David’s ancestry, and before discussing the political implications of uniting Priesthood (or at least Levi-hood) and Monarchy (or Judah-hood), it is fitting to present a subset of six more strands of midrashic material that – rather than relating Caleb to Miriam – focus instead specifically on Caleb. Taken as a whole, they suggest that the elusive figure of Caleb seems to have fascinated the Rabbis, each strand aggrandizing Caleb’s general status and further enlarging his association with the priestly tribe. Though this association was likely popularized by his marriage to the Levite Miriam, the diverse themes and settings of the Caleb-only subset suggest the breadth of interest in his portrayal as a vehicle of uniting Priesthood and Monarchy.

Most of the Caleb-only midrashim appear in later collections than the earliest Miriam-Caleb midrashim. The earliest strand includes a Judah/Caleb – Levi/Priestly tie appearing in a rabbinic discussion about the name of Qiryat Arba (“the town of four”), also known as Hebron, where David was publicly anointed as king of Judah (2Sam 2:4). In this midrash one of the etiologies proposed by the Rabbis indicates that the town went through four different ownerships: from Judah to Caleb to the

Levites and finally to the Priests, since Caleb received Hebron as part of his territory (Josh 14:13-14) and it later became a Levitical city of refuge (Josh 20:7). The source is attributed in Table V-E-6 below.

Table V-E-6: Source Dating for Caleb-Qiryat Arba

Source	Date of Coll.	Rabbis	Gen.	Date
Gen. Rabbah (V) 58:4	400-450	Azaryah	A5	350-400

The following strand is somewhat unexpected in that the Rabbis make another connection between Caleb and Moses through another marriage. In these midrashim, noted in Table V-E-7, Caleb marries Moses' Egyptian adoptive mother, Pharaoh's daughter! These midrashim are based on the following verse: "And these are the sons of Bityah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Marek took" (1Chr 4:18). Here the Rabbis identify Marek as Caleb since he rebelled (*mrd*) against the counsel of the other spies, while Bityah, the Rabbis say, rebelled against her father.

Table V-E-7: Source Dating for Caleb/Bityah

Source	Date of Coll.	Rabbis	Gen.	Date
Lev. Rabbah (M) 1:3	400-500	Yehoshua of Sikhnin	A4	320-350
		Levi	A3	290-320
B Talmud Sanh 19b	ca. 550	Chanina	A3	290-320
B Talmud Meg 13a	ca. 550	Shimeon b. Pazzi	A3	290-320

The final strand to introduce a Judah/Caleb – Levi/Priestly link occurs in the midrashic elaboration of Joshua 2, where Joshua's spies are none other than Caleb the

Judahite and Pinchas the priest, who is also Aaron's grandson and Moses grand-nephew. The sources are identified in Table V-E-8.

Table V-E-8: Source Dating for Identification of Caleb/Pinchas as Joshua's Spies

Source	Date of Coll.	Rabbis	Gen.	Date
M. Tanchuma (W) 1:1	400-700	Tanchuma b. Abba	A5	350-400
Num. Rabbah [II] (V) 16:1	Ca. 400	NA	NA	NA

Midrashim in later collections include other traditions such as:

- 1) Moses names Caleb as one of the 80 righteous needed to bargain with God (Deut R (V) 3:15 [Lieberman, Egev 15] Y Shimoni Torah Ki Tisa 392).
- 2) Caleb becomes Joshua's *meturgeman* while Joshua expounds the Torah (Otsar Hamidrashim 356).
- 3) Caleb cries with Moses when Moses is sad about not entering the land (Otsar Hamidrashim 356).
- 4) Joshua, Caleb, and Hur are equated to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Mid Aggadah (Buber) Gen 40:10).
- 5) Joshua, Caleb, and Pinchas are extolled (Y Shimoni Song of Songs 982).
- 6) Caleb is named among the greats of Judah (Otsar Hamidrashim 228).

When all these strands are taken together, it would appear that the Rabbis have provided an image of Caleb suitable both to his being paired in matrimony with the Prophetess Miriam and to their mutual role as David's ancestors.

SECTION V-F

Rabbinic Interest in David's Ancestry and the Role of
Caleb and Miriam-Caleb Midrashim

There are two subsets of Caleb midrashim: in the first, Caleb appears alone, and in the second, Miriam and he appear together. The midrashim in which Caleb appears alone are later, from collections dated to ca. the fifth century, as opposed to the Miriam-Caleb sources, the earliest of which appears in the third century. Compared to the broader implications that will emerge from the Miriam-Caleb marriage sources, the Caleb strands portray a more general ideology of Judahite-Priestly association, suggesting that the extra-biblical interest in the genealogical account of David's ancestry may have evolved over time, serving different functions related to recollections of distinct historical eras. David Goodblatt points out that the Bible attests to a model of joint rule in the books of Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, or even in earlier books with Moses and Aaron, Joshua and Eleazar, Zerubbabel and Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah, etc. In his words, "What matters is not the historical facts, which subsequent generations may have known no better than we do. What counts is what was preserved in the literature and traditions which came down to later times" (Goodblatt 59-60). He indicates that there may have been joint leadership even during the first revolt against Rome in the rebel government of Jerusalem by Judean leader Joseph b. Gorion and Ananos the priest as attested by Josephus (*War* 2:563), as well as during the second revolt as attested by coins with the names of Simeon the *nasi* and Eleazar the priest. Finally, Goodblatt concludes, the Mishnah preserves the

list of *zugot* or “pairs” identified as the *nasi* and the chief of the court (mHagigah 2:2; mAvot 1:4-15), which seems to indicate another form of dual leadership, although here the Judah-Levi or Davidic-Priestly association is not mentioned (Goodblatt 71-73).

Certainly, during Late Antiquity the Rabbis were involved in refining frameworks, understandable to themselves and worthy of distribution to the people, which linked the common awareness of past histories with more current political realities. As mentioned above, they were faced with the challenge of integrating concepts of earlier stages in which king and/or high priest had power over the people of Israel. Marshall D. Johnson discusses how the political situation affected the genealogical interests of later Judaism and notes that genealogy was “especially suited for apologetic purposes accomplished by Midrashic exegesis” (Johnson 139). He points out that the genealogies of Judah and Levi in 1Chronicles are the longest because “these two tribes not only constituted the bulk of the restoration community, but it is from these two that the political and religious leadership of that community must be derived” (Johnson 69). Similarly, Goodblatt establishes that

the Levi-Judah diarchy was a mediating position between Biblical Davidic royalism and the thoroughly non-biblical theory of priestly monarchy. In other words, the theory of diarchy may have originated as another way of justifying the *de facto* rise to power of the high priests in the Persian period. (Goodblatt 75)

The association of Judah/Kingship – Levi/Priesthood first appears in Exodus 6:23, where Aaron, Miriam’s brother, is married to Elisheba the daughter of Amminadab and Nachshon’s sister. However, though Aaron’s marriage may seem a significant precedent of a Levi-Judah union, it resulted in no offspring leading to

David, who was Nachshon's descendant (1Chr 2:3-16 and Ruth 4:18-22) and therefore a Judahite. Yet, in 2Samuel (6:13, 17-18; 24:21-25) and 1Kings (3:4, 15; 8:62-64), David and Solomon perform sacrifices even though they are not priests.

Although a tradition of Miriam being married into the tribe of Judah (as attested by Josephus) must have been well enough known in the first centuries CE, the rabbinic assertion of Miriam's marriage to Caleb is associated with the Davidic dimension. In addition, the other Caleb strands may have been necessary to stress his stature and associations with the priestly line. These links were important because "reliance in the ascertaining of genealogical purity was placed on both oral tradition and midrashic exegesis of the OT, by which individuals might be linked to prominent biblical names, thus assuring genealogical legitimacy" (Johnson 254). It is in this context that the Patriarchal claim to Davidic descent must be considered.

In the third century "the Jews of Roman Palestine enjoyed self-government under a form of monarchy," with a ruler known as the Patriarch or *Nasi* (Goodblatt 131). The House of Gamaliel, a wealthy and powerful rabbinic family, justified this king-like status by claiming Davidic ancestry (Goodblatt 143, 146). The claim of Davidic ancestry was apparently of general importance to Jewish leadership after the destruction of the Second Temple, perhaps to support their aspirations to establish dynasties. As such, both the Patriarch Judah I and the Babylonian Exilarch claimed Davidic descent, as evidenced by these sources in fifth century collections:

JT Kilayim 9:32b; JT Ktuvot 12:35a; Gen Rabbah 33:3
 Our Rabbi (Judah I) was very humble and used to say, "... if Rav Huna' the Exilarch comes here, I will stand before him, for he is from Judah and I am from Benjamin, he is from the males and I am from the females [in David's line]."

However, there is no rabbinic evidence that the House of Gamaliel claimed Davidic ancestry before the time of Judah I (late second-early third century). Goodblatt brings up the possibility that this claim may have originated with Judah's father, Simeon the son of Gamaliel II, who "seems to have made a concerted effort to enhance the acceptance of his family's regime among the Jews of Roman Palestine" (Goodblatt 173), and for which the link to David was essential (Goodblatt 143). In this regard Goodblatt introduces seven rabbinic sources as evidence for the Patriarchal claim of Davidic descent, none of which can be dated before the third century (Goodblatt 147). As noted above, the midrashim connecting Miriam to David are also dated to the third century. All this seems compatible with a hypothesis that perhaps the popularization of these midrashim functioned as part of rabbinic propaganda to enhance the Patriarch's status by implying a link to important figures of the past. When claiming descent from Hillel and then asserting that Hillel was a descendant of David (JTalmud Ta'anit 4:2, 68a; Bereshit Rabbah 98), it was understood that the Patriarch also descended from David (Goodblatt 148). Consequently, if David issued from Miriam, it would be implied that all of David's descendants also did. Thus, the Patriarchs did not need to specifically call attention to the levite-priestly link represented by Miriam. However, if David's descent from her was generally recognized (as in C230), the association and its prestige for the Patriarchs would be tacitly acknowledged.

Goodblatt brings up the question of names in Gamaliel's dynasty, specifically Simeon and Judah. He points out that Judah is David's tribe and that both the names Judah and Simeon have Hasmonean associations (Goodblatt 144). It must be noted here that the name "Miriam" also has specific Hasmonean associations, having been

used by Hasmonean princesses (Ilan 9). Ilan emphasizes that – in Late Antiquity – “of the biblical names, the one group that can be isolated as the most popular by far is that of the names of the Hasmoneans” (Ilan 6). Both as proven from midrashic evidence in Chapter III-C and as will be further discussed in Chapter VI, Miriam seems to have been a popular figure in Late Antiquity, so an added association to Miriam could well have enhanced the Davidic claim of the House of Gamaliel.

Another point to consider is David’s biblical descent from Ruth the Moabitess, which became the subject of midrashic polemics (Ruth R (Lerner) 4, 8:1; BT Yevamot 76b–77a) at a time when there was a marked interest in genealogical issues and family connections (Johnson 85; Kalmin 94; Safrai 229). The subject of those polemics is Deuteronomy 23:4, which states:

An Ammonite and a Moabite will not enter into the congregation of the Lord. Even the tenth generation will not enter, any of them, into the congregation of the Lord forever.

Ruth Rabbah 8:1 depicts David’s discomfiture as he addresses God:

Until when will they get angry at me and say, “Isn’t he unfit of family?” “And isn’t he from Ruth the Moabitess?” they said.

Although the matter was resolved by announcing that this prohibition refers only to the men of these peoples and not to the women, the Rabbis came up with a new and improved solution by providing David with another prominent ancestress. In her suggestively titled article “Man Born of Woman,” Tal Ilan states that “being of a priestly family is the highest birthright that a Jew of the Second Temple Period could boast of” except for being of royal descent (Ilan *Man* 43). Hence, by asserting that David issues from Miriam’s marriage to Caleb, not only is a genealogical Judah-Levi

link created, but David also accrues the additional prestige of having descended from Miriam the Prophetess, sister of Moses and Aaron, closely related to the priesthood.

SECTION V-G

Supporting Biblical Texts and Poetics Bearing Upon the Juxtapositions of Caleb-Miriam, Miriam-David, and David-Moses

This Chapter was introduced by citing the earlier discovery that of all the Unanticipated themes, the Assertions of Caleb being Miriam's spouse and David her descendant stand alone as traditions without apparent attestation prior to the midrashic elaborations of Late Antiquity. To the degree that this may be true, we can speculate on how the Rabbis creatively initiated what this study considers to be a major Miriam theme. Though to this point some of the Rabbis' possible political agendas have been considered, this does not mean that they did not place importance on continuity with Scripture. On one level, the extra-biblical Assertions that Caleb was Miriam's husband and that she was David's ancestress clearly imply that the Rabbis took the marriage and its implications as a given despite a lack of corroborating material from the Tanakh. Yet, this does not preclude the possibility that they may have sought and found supporting texts in the Tanakh that bolstered their contentions, both regarding the union between Miriam and Caleb and of a special relationship between Miriam's Levite/Priestly family and David. Though no record of their having made such

associations has been found, some possibilities of what may have occurred to them follow.

Let us first consider the biblical parallel between David and the midwives. In 2Samuel 7:11 God tells David, “A House will the Lord make for you,” referring to the monarchic dynasty that will arise from him. Therefore, when Exodus 1:21 states that God “made Houses” for the midwives, it must similarly refer to future dynasties stemming from them. As we have already discussed in prior sections, the midwives had been identified as Jochebed and Miriam. Thus, since Jochebed was already the ancestress of priests, the parallel monarchic dynasty must apply to Miriam.

Similarly, there are several biblical parallels between Caleb and David that could prove Caleb to be a suitable ancestor for the Davidic dynasty. To be sure, God singled him out not only to enter the land but to receive the territory of Hebron upon which he had trodden (Num 14:24; Deut 1:36; Josh 14:9, 14), and where David would first be crowned as king of Judah (2Sam 2:4) (see Section V-E). This divine selection could have been seen by the Rabbis as a precursor of the Davidic covenant since Caleb’s main attribute was that “he followed the Lord fully” (see Section V-B). This statement appears three times in the Torah (Num 14:24, 32:12; Deut 1:36) and is repeated three more times in the book of Joshua (Josh 14:8, 9, 14), all related to Caleb. Of note, this expression only appears once more in the Tanakh in 1Kings 11:6, “And Solomon did the evil in the eyes of the Lord and he did not follow the Lord fully as his father David.” It is clear that the only other person in the Tanakh who “followed the Lord fully” aside from Caleb was King David himself! Finally, as mentioned above, a further link can be seen between Betsalel – Caleb and Miriam’s great-grandson – who

built the Tabernacle and their later descendant Solomon, David's son, who was to build the Temple.

Additional associations between Miriam and Caleb can be found in the biblical text. The first such intimation occurs in 1Chronicles 4:17, where the name "Miriam" appears as part of a Calebite genealogy, providing a Miriamic/Calebite link. In this regard, it should be noted that contrary to its popularity in the Hasmonean and Late Antiquity time frames, "Miriam" is not a common name in the Tanakh. In fact, aside from this unique appearance in 1Chronicles, it is elsewhere exclusively related to Miriam the Prophetess. It may have resonated well with the Rabbis that a "Miriam" appeared in 1Chronicles in the context of a Judahite/Calebite genealogy. Their view, as well as mine, may have been to regard this as more than a coincidence, opening to speculation the possibility that this descendant was purposefully named after Miriam, a great-grandmother of that clan. However, of interest, a search of the entire Bar Ilan Database revealed no reference to 1Chronicles 4:17 in *any* context in Late Antiquity collections.

Secondly, the Rabbis may have perhaps been aware of certain similar stylistic and poetic treatments in the portrayals of Miriam and David. Miriam is the first biblical character to be described as taking up a musical instrument (the tambourine), and there is at least an insinuation that she personally played it, danced, and sang as part of a victory celebration after the crossing of the sea

And **Miriam** the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took the *tambourine* in her hand; and all the *women*, they went out after her with *tambourines*, and with *dances*. And **Miriam** *answered/sang* to them, "Sing to the Lord, for He is indeed exalted; a horse and his rider He has hurled into the sea." (Ex 15:20-21)

This triad of musical instrument-song-dance also appears in the Psalms, but otherwise in the entire Tanakh occurs only related to David, most notably again in a victory scene, similarly involving women:

And it came to pass at their coming, at **David**'s return from smiting the Philistine, and the *women*, they went out from all the cities of Israel, *to sing* and [with] *dances*, to meet king Saul, with *tambourines*, with joy, and with three-stringed instruments. And the playing women *answered/sang* and said, "Saul smote his thousands and David his myriads." (1Sam 18:6-7)

Furthermore, David is the only other specifically named character in the Tanakh who is described as personally engaging in all three of these musical activities. (In addition, the intriguing mention of his garment must be noted, since the *ephod* has a definite priestly connotation):

And **David** and all Israel [were] playing before the Lord vigorously, and with *songs*, and with harps, and with lyres, and with *tambourines*, and with cymbals, and with trumpets. (1Chr 13:8)
And **David** *danced/twirled* before the Lord vigorously; and **David** was girded with a linen ephod. (2Sam 6:14)

The role of Miriam leading and being followed by the women suggests that she was a leading figure, just as David was a beloved popular leader:

But all Israel and Judah loved **David**, because he went out and came in before them. (1 Sam 18:16)

Thus, at least in biblical poetics, there is a suggestive literary bond that relates Miriam and David within the Tanakh itself, because both share this unique musical imagery and were popular leaders with a following.

Finally, the Rabbis' comfort level with a link between David and Miriam's family may have been encouraged by similarities in language and motif in the Torah's portrayal of Moses compared to David's depiction in Chronicles. As Myers states, the

Chronicler's object was "to connect David with the ecclesiastical structure pertinent to his time," (Myers lxxxiii). However, the case could be made that since God had established a new everlasting covenant with David (2Sam 7; cf. Ps 89), the Chronicler intended and effectively succeeded in rendering him as the new Moses through the use of parallels as noted in Table V-G-9, citing their commonality as shepherds, administrators of justice, and defenders of the people, as well as their involvement in planning the building of houses to God, their truncated ambitions, and their use of the expression *chazaq v'emats* as they counseled their successors.

Table V-G-9: Similarities in Portrayals of the Careers of Moses and David

MOSES	DAVID
And Moses was a shepherd... and God called to him, "... go and I will send you ... and bring forth my people ..." (Ex 3)	"I took you from the pasture, from behind the flock, to be a ruler over my people Israel. (1Chr 17:7)
... and Moses sat to judge the people. (Ex 18:13)	And David ... did judgment and righteousness to all his people: (1Chr 18:14)
And Moses pleaded with God "Return from your anger and repent of this evil to Your people...And now, if You will forgive their sin, and if not, do blot me out from Your book which You have written." (Ex 32 11-12, 32)	And David said to God ... "O Lord my God, do let Your hand be on me, and on my father's house, and on Your people no plague." (1Chr 21:17)
"And they will make Me a sanctuary and I will dwell among them ... According to all that I show you, the model of the tabernacle and the model of all its utensils, and so you will make it" And Moses called Betsalel ... to approach to the work to do it. (Ex 25:8-9; 36:2)	"He will build a house for My name ..." And David gave to Solomon his son the model of the hall and its houses, and its treasuries, and its upper chambers, and of its inner rooms, and the place of the ark covering. (1Chr 22:10, 28:11)
And the Lord said to Moses and to Aaron, "Because you did not believe in Me to sanctify Me in the eyes of the Children of Israel, therefore you shall not bring this congregation to the land that I have given them. (Num 20:12)	And the word of the Lord was upon me, saying, "Abundant blood you have shed and great wars you have made. You will not build a house for My name, because much blood you have shed to the earth before me. (1Chr 22:8)
And Moses ... took Joshua ... and lay his hands upon him and commanded him, as the Lord had spoken ... (Num 27:22-3)	And David was old and full of days and he made Solomon his son king over Israel. (1Chr 23:1)
And Moses called to Joshua and said to him in the eyes of all Israel, " <i>chazaq v'emats</i> for you must enter with this people to the land that the Lord swore to their fathers to give them; and you will cause them to inherit it." (Deut 31:7)	And David said to Solomon his son, " <i>chazaq v'emats</i> , and do! Do not fear and do not be dismayed for the Lord God, my God is with you; He will not fail you and He will not leave you till finishing all the work for the service of the House of the Lord. (1Chr 28:20)

In addition to these Caleb-Miriam, Miriam-David, and David-Moses connections, Chapter V-C already drew attention to how Miriam's reward of Wisdom, personified in her grandson Betsalel in whom the Lord had put wisdom (Ex 31:2-3), has a parallel in David's son Solomon, to whom God gave a "wise heart" (1Kings 3:12). Taken together, these biblical texts may have piqued the Rabbis' interest as they culled through them and synthesized the extra-biblical traditions.

CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER V

In conclusion, although it may have been generally important to the Rabbis that Miriam have a spouse, the value of her marriage was likely not simply limited to their preference that women marry and raise families, an issue in its own right further elaborated in Chapter VI. The more pertinent point to be made here is that the Rabbis cannot take credit as the originators of the assertion of her marriage, since it has been firmly established that traditions of her nuptials date to more ancient times. However, in their assertion that David was Miriam's descendant, which at least on the surface seems to contradict the biblical accounts of his ancestry, the Rabbis appear to have exercised major creativity in using Miriam's fame and status to further their own agenda. As such, the Miriam-David link may have served to further enhance the Patriarch's status as well as to elucidate David and Solomon's priestly actions. Stated

more generally, the genealogical Levi-Judah link achieved in David through Miriam's marriage may have at one and the same time retrospectively legitimized past joint leadership while simultaneously creating an expectation for the future; namely, that hopes for a redeemer of Davidic descent were to be vested in one who carried the seed unifying the surviving remnants of the two tribes that now constituted the People of Israel.

In bringing the rabbinic contribution to the marriage tradition into further focus, there is no evidence that the Qumran-Uzziel or Josephus-Hur strands were related to Miriam's identification as one of the midwives. In fact, based on both the biblical patterning discussed in Chapter IV-C that makes her celibacy less plausible and the mythic parallels of Chapter IV-D that note the coincidence of Hur/Horus associations, these early traditions of Miriam's marital partners may represent historical contexts with different rationales than those of the midrashic Caleb union. In the case of her marriage to Uzziel, the tradition seems to function to consolidate the three elements of leadership within the levitical family, creating a concept of priestly monarchy originating quite early in Second Temple times. By way of contrast, though the tradition linking Hur and Miriam may have eventually functioned as a position seeking to arrogate authority away from the priesthood, there is nothing to preclude a more ancient origin based upon the Egyptian mythic parallels noted in Chapter IV-D. This said, though we have no indication concerning what the Rabbis may or may not have known about the Uzziel tradition, it is more plausible that they were at least aware of the tradition recorded by Josephus of Miriam's marriage to Hur. Encouragement for such a speculation comes from noting that the Hur-Miriam

tradition was sufficiently known to be recorded in Ephraem Syrus' *Commentary on Exodus* in the fourth century. If the Rabbis had been aware of the contention of her marriage to Hur, we could ask why they chose to provide Miriam with a different Judahite spouse in all strands identifying her as the ancestress of David. Certainly, they could have further elaborated her marriage to Hur, a man whom the Tanakh depicts as equal in rank to Aaron, thus additionally enhancing the Judah-Levy diarchy. Why would they have instead chosen Caleb, an entirely new player, over Hur? Lacking any other satisfactory explanation, the midrashic silence regarding a Miriam-Hur tradition is at least compatible with the possibility suggested in Chapter IV-D that the Israelite Hur may have shared pagan overtones with the Egyptian Horus to the point that in a Mid-Eastern society still very familiar with Hathor-Horus motifs (see above Subsection IV-D-4; Caspi/Cohen 148; Rubin 4), the Rabbis may have been very content to make a fresh start by instead bonding Miriam with the equally decorated Caleb to become less problematic great grandparents of David. Finally, though ultimately the origins of the tradition linking Caleb and Miriam remain obscure, note has been made of similar biblical poetics used for Caleb and David that may have caught the Rabbis' eyes. To the degree that these scenarios for their selection of Caleb may be accurate, the Rabbis would be credited with cohesive literary craftsmanship in constructing the one Unanticipated Miriam theme without apparent precursors prior to Late Antiquity.

As a final focus on the breadth of what the Rabbis contributed to the marriage tradition, they did more than merely provide a new spouse and elect progeny for Miriam. They also succeeded in planting the roots of this marriage within the biblical

account of the pious midwives of Exodus 1, giving scriptural anchorage to the entire account. Unlike the traditions of Miriam's marriage to Uzziel and Hur, which just seem to happen, her marriage in the midrashic account presumes that she and Jochebed are the God-fearing midwives rewarded with Houses that, in Miriam's case, prepared the background for becoming ancestress to King David. This said, though the Rabbis certainly propagated the story of her being one of the pious midwives, they may not have created it. The mural at Dura Europos from ca. 245 CE is early enough to suggest that the midrashic assertion that Miriam and Jochebed were the midwives may in fact represent a pre-rabbinic tradition. In this case, the Rabbis built upon that tradition through her marriage with Caleb, insofar as Miriam had to be married in order to achieve these rewards. This said, and as argued in the conclusion to Chapter IV, my own view is that the weight of evidence leans towards a rabbinic role in the earliest stages of the popularization, if not the invention of the strand identifying Miriam as one of the pious midwives. Yet, based on patterning with Hathor mythology noted in Sub-Section IV-D-5, one should not dismiss the possibility of an ancient tradition associating Miriam with one of the midwives. However, the lack of reference to such a Miriam-midwife strand in the Qumran scrolls and texts of the early Authors suggests that, at a minimum, the Rabbis played a particularly significant role in guiding the further development of the midwife tradition.

Finally, the other midrashic strands, in which the Rabbis succeed in further enhancing Caleb's standing beyond his biblical portrayal, have an end result of making Caleb and the Prophetess Miriam a couple well-matched in stature and suitable for parentage of a royal descendant. Turning to some remaining issues, in

contrasting the midrashic treatment of the two genealogies of David's ancestry, though David's descent from Ruth is biblical, it is noteworthy that the extra-biblical literature dealing with this lineage is rather matter-of-fact, lacking the many strands of Novel Assertions that embellish the background of David's ancestry from Caleb and Miriam. Both this added novel enhancement and the fact that these unexpected strands appeared in multiple anthologized sources may reflect the importance the Rabbis attached to their content. Whether or not the Rabbis themselves perceived any of the similarities of content and poetics that we have noted between the Midrash and Tanakh, including the Miriam-Caleb-David link based upon the Calebite genealogies (1Chr 4:17), musical imagery, and shared motifs in the lives both of Moses and David, and of David and Caleb, the evidence is sound that the Miriam/Judah link was established by the time of Josephus. Likewise, the degree to which both Miriam and Caleb were subject to stature-enhancing elaboration in various strands of midrashic material is remarkable (for Caleb, see above Section V-E). Therefore, in addition to the political implications a Caleb-Miriam-David link may have served, there are other principles that flow from this chapter and contribute to the larger issue of Miriam's stature in the extra-biblical literature of Late Antiquity. In the first place, it offers a substantiation of the broader hypothesis developed in earlier chapters that Miriam was indeed a prominent and popular figure in the extra-biblical traditions both before and during Late Antiquity. The build-up of information about her rewards for being the pious midwife, the multiple nuptials each with potential political benefits of wider significance, and her becoming the ancestress of David, all lend support to the thesis that Miriam was a persona of stature adequate to effect these end purposes. The long-

term result was to create a model of Israel's new Moses and future redeemer who carried within himself a diarchy synthesizing Kingship and Priesthood. Secondly, in the sense in which Goodblatt has noted that reconstructions through literary traditions of later times may provide insights more significant than the actual original historical facts, Miriam's nuptials offer possible frameworks for viewing the Hasmonean ideology of merging high-priesthood and kingship into the tribe of Levi, the Davidic monarchy's relationship to the priesthood, and ways in which the House of Gamaliel may have sought to establish its stature through claiming Davidic descent. As such, the genealogical dimension added by Miriam's marriage may have had more impact than the earlier portrayals including Aaron's marriage to a Judahite wife and the biblically attested models of joint rule in the books of Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah. Thirdly, and of greatest significance in the contexts of our study of midrashim dealing with Miriam, emphasis is again owed to the observation that of all the Unanticipated Miriam themes, the Assertions that Caleb was her spouse and David her descendant stand alone as traditions without apparent attestation prior to the midrashic elaborations of Late Antiquity. As such, they deserve special attention as matters to which the Rabbis invested a unique level of creativity and to which they may have attached special significance. Finally, to the degree that Miriam was sufficiently popular within the Jewish community to have been the subject of such unanticipated elaboration, her stature would likely not have gone unnoticed by the leadership of early Christianity. Based on this assumption, in the next chapter evidence is presented adding a further perspective to Miriam's status in Late Antiquity in the ongoing interactive development of the two religions in the first half of the first millennium.

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CHAPTER VI

INTERPLAY BETWEEN MIRIAM AND MARY TRADITIONS

Christian Interest in Miriam as an Attestation to her Stature in Late Antiquity

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER VI

Though Chapter V briefly alluded to a general rabbinic interest in Miriam being a married woman, it turned to a more specific focus on how her nuptials may have correlated with varied historical contexts and political agendas. Of interest, though the current chapter begins with a comparison of Miriam and Mary, it eventually returns to the issue of marriage itself, this time in a context of interplay between early Christianity and Judaism as they emerged in Late Antiquity. Attention first focuses on the name Mary/Miriam, then specifically compares the two heroines, and finally turns to a more detailed assessment of Mary. Based on this groundwork, a theory of interplay between Judaism and Christianity over the issue of marriage is proposed that is further refined in the Conclusion. Significant to the larger purport of this study, one outcome of this Chapter is to show how Christian interest in Miriam serves as an additional attestation to her stature in Late Antiquity.

As further introduction, it should be noted that prior to commencing formal research, I had an intuitive though not original mindset that an assessment of the stature of Miriam in the extra-biblical literature of Late Antiquity would be incomplete without an exploration of a probable interplay between her and Christianity's Mary. In this regard, Paul Meier asserts that "it is probably not by accident that, like himself,

all of Jesus' relatives bear names that hark back to the patriarchs, the exodus from Egypt, and the entrance into the promised land." He includes in this comparison Jesus' own name = Joshua, Jesus' father Joseph, his four brothers (James = Jacob, Joses = Joseph, Simon = Simeon, and Jude = Judah), and Mary = Miriam, the name of the sister of Moses, noting that "[t]his may not seem strange to us, but for most of the OT period Israelites were not named for the great patriarchs mentioned in the books of Genesis and Exodus." He attributes this to a general "reawakening of Jewish national and religious identity" after the victories of the Maccabees (Meier 207). He then adds to such name associations Jesus' choice of precisely twelve disciples, reminiscent of the heads of the twelve tribes (Meier 208). This creates a background of imagery compatible with Christianity's theological role in the restoration of Israel. To the degree that the framers of formative Christianity benefited from name associations as part of their self-portrayal as a continuum of biblical Israel, their interest in an evolving portrait of Mary led them to compare her to Miriam, and these attestations had a secondary effect of further adding to her renown. Whereas in prior chapters, information supportive of Miriam's popularity in Late Antiquity was largely drawn from early writings and midrashic-type literature of Jewish origin, the purpose of the current chapter is to further corroborate Miriam's stature during Late Antiquity by reviewing attestations from Christian primary sources. This will not only help lay further groundwork for understanding Miriam's popularity, but will also provide vantage points from which to consider possible interplays between Judaism and Christianity involving her personage.

SECTION VI-A

Miriam and Mary as Names Prior to and During Late Antiquity

Prior to presenting specific attestations in which Christian sources have utilized Miriam in order to further elucidate or aggrandize the person of Mary, it is appropriate to review information both specific to the popularity of the name of “Miriam” itself and to discuss name/person recognition problems facing scholars challenged by a multiplicity of Marys. Puech emphasizes that in Late Antiquity the name was vocalized as “Mariam,” as attested in multiple Greek sources, as well as others in Syriac, Latin, Aramaic, and Ge’ez (Puech 294). Tal Ilan, who conducted a study on names, states that the name “Miriam” and its variations was the most popular female name in Palestine in Late Antiquity (Ilan, *Names* 8-9). According to the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, “This well-known name, important in Jewish eyes because of its connection with Moses’ sister Miriam, designated no fewer than six queens or princesses in the house of Herod” (Sullivan *ABD*). However, Ilan points out that it is not certain if this name was so popular because it was used by the Hasmonean family or if the Hasmonean family used the name because of its popularity. In her corpus, 73.4% of male and 51.1% of female names are biblical, and of these, “the one group that can be isolated as the most popular by far is that of the names of the Hasmoneans” (Ilan, *Names* 8-9). Certainly, in providing the earliest recorded tradition of both her prophecy and marriage, the Qumran texts – as discussed in Chapter IV – attest to Miriam’s importance in the literature of the time.

In another of her works, Ilan states that the naming patterns in Late Antiquity reveal “the tendency to adhere conservatively to tradition,” and that therefore the chosen Hebrew names tend to be biblical. She remarks that the Rabbis explained that “the ancients, since they knew their genealogy, named themselves in reference to events of their times; but we who do not know our genealogy name ourselves after our fathers” (Gen. R. 37:7). Agreeing with Meier quoted above, she posits that this might be due to Hellenistic influence as there are “no examples from the biblical period of members of the same family being given the same names,” while in Hellenistic royal families in particular, “the same names were used in successive generations” (Ilan *Women* 53). Ilan notes that the Hasmonean names “became very popular for sons after the successful Maccabean revolt.” This leads her to ask whether the popularity of the name Miriam may also be due to Hasmonean influence even though the Hasmonean Mariamme was “not connected to any meaningful historical event on the level of the Hasmonean revolt, and [was] active after the Hasmonean dynasty had become loathsome to its Jewish subjects.” She concludes that it is “likely” that the latter Mariamme was named “after Hasmonean women from the time of the rebellion who remain unrecorded in the sources” (Ilan *Women* 54). On the other hand, as proposed in previous chapters, the popularity of Miriam the Prophetess in Late Antiquity could not have arisen in a vacuum, and it therefore remains a possibility that there had been continued interest in her in precursor traditions through the centuries leading up to the Hasmonean era, as attested by Qumran and historical texts.

In his work *The Jewish Alchemists*, Raphael Patai presents an assessment of another important person identified with Miriam, Maria Hebraea, (“Mary the Hebrew”

or “Mary the Jewess”) (Patai 69), doing this in a way that demonstrates how confounding variables are involved in name recognition processes. He identifies this woman as the earliest among the “nonfictitious alchemists of the Western world,” whose work was recorded by Zosimus the Panopolitan, the first Greek alchemical author, who lived in Egypt ca. 300 CE. Although Zosimus quotes Maria at length, there is no indication as to when or where she may have lived. However, Patai argues, “from [some] references to Maria as the first of the ancient authors one can conclude that she must have lived at least two generations before Zosimus himself. We can thus tentatively assign her to the early third century C.E. at the latest” (Patai 60).

Alternatively, Suler states that according to Edmund Lippmann she may have lived as early as the first century CE (Suler *EJ*), while Van der Horst remarks that it is “impossible to say exactly when and where she lived, but Egypt and the period from the first till the second, perhaps third century CE are reasonable guesses” (Van der Horst 44). Patai then presents a chain of evolutions culminating in a sixteenth century anthology, a Latin translation of a treatise called *Dialogue of Mari and Aros*. This treatise, he says, may have been based on an Arabic version that in turn may have been a translation or reworking of a Greek original. In it, Maria Hebraea is identified with Miriam, although “it has not been established precisely when the identification of the Alexandrian Jewish alchemist Maria with Miriam the sister of Moses took place” (Patai 71). A further complication arises from the fourth century Church Father Epiphanius of Salamis’ claim that this same Maria had a vision of Christ (Patai 74). In Patai’s opinion, this is part of a “legendary transformation” that pushed Maria’s lifetime into an earlier and earlier period, so that in some Arabic sources she is said to

have carried the infant Jesus on her shoulder, while in other texts she is seen as either a student or a fellow alchemy instructor of Ostanos, who lived around the fifth century BCE (Patai 75). Finally, in medieval and later Latin writings, Maria Hebraea is called “the sister of Moses,” or “the sister of Aaron,” or “Maria Prophetissa soror Moysis et Aaronis.” Thus, Patai concludes, “the lifetime of Maria was pushed back a full sixteen centuries” (Patai 76).

In speaking about Maria’s identification with Miriam, Patai observes that “to the historically unschooled, identity of names signified identity of persons” (Patai 71). Conversely, Galit Hasan-Rokem indicates that the name Miriam could instead be viewed as a “general element” that both the Jewish and Christian communities shared, and agrees with Ilan that its popularity in Jewish literature could be due to the fame of earlier users such as the first Miriam, Moses’ sister, or the more contemporary Hasmonean princesses. In her book on folklore and Midrash in rabbinic literature, Hasan-Rokem examines rabbinic stories of martyrdom involving women in *Lamentations Rabbah*, a work that may date to the early fifth century. She concludes that “it is impossible to ignore that, at the time these narratives were being told, the rabbis and the communities from which they drew their stories must have been aware of the significance of this name to Christian narrative and to Christian religious imagination” (Hasan-Rokem 121). In Hasan-Rokem’s opinion, the recurrence of the name Miriam in martyrological stories is “particularly interesting in the cultural context of early Christianity in Palestine and its surroundings.” She posits that there could be a “phonological association” between the name Miriam and the word *mar* (bitter), a symbolic link to the “bitter fate of the heroines” in the stories, but also that it

could harken back to Miriam the Prophetess, since her death was said to atone for the people's sins (C305) (Hasan-Rokem 125).

In addition, Hasan-Rokem draws attention to the story about the birth of the "Messiah Menahem." This story, coming as it does right after several stories about "suffering women, all named Miriam ... [makes] the connection to Jesus' mother almost inevitable." Although in this midrash the name of the Messiah's mother is not mentioned, there is "a phonological and topical association between the name of the child, Menahem, and the mother of the seven martyred sons, Miriam the daughter of *Tanhum*." Hasan-Rokem explains that "[t]he root NHM, meaning comfort, which is found in the two Hebrew stories, and the name Miriam, meaning bitter, which is found in the Christian narrative [of Jesus' birth in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke] and in one of the Hebrew stories, signal the process between consolation and grief that characterizes [the] mothers" (Hasan-Rokem 157).

That there continues to be a certain overlap and confusion as to diverse Miriams' identities, as late as the second half of the seventh century, is reflected in the Qur'an. There, the same character is identified both as the mother of Jesus (Suras 2:87, 253; 3:45; 4:157, 171; 5:17, 46, 75, 78, 110, 112, 114, 116; 9:31; 19:16-34 ; 23:50; 33:7; 43:57; 57:27; 61:6; 61:14) and the sister of Aaron (Sura 19:28), the daughter of Amram (Sura 3:35-36; 66:12). Furthermore, the issue of confused identity is not limited to Moses' sister vs. Jesus' mother. In early Christian writings the name Miriam appears many times, in many forms, and referring to many different characters. Although Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene are the better known, the profusion of other Marys add to the confusion and attest to the popularity

of the name. The New Testament alone includes Mary the mother of James and Joseph (Mt 27:56, 61; 28:1), Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joses and Salome (Mk 15:40,47; 16:1), Mary the sister of Martha (Lk 10:39, 42), Mary the sister of Martha and Lazarus (Jn 11:1, 2, 19,20, 28, 31, 32, 45; 12:3), Mary the wife of Clopas (Jn 19:25), Mary the mother of John-Mark (Acts 12:12), and Mary of Rome (Rom 16:6). Thus, a number of traditions associated with this name arose, especially among the Gnostics, which may have produced a “generic Mary.” As modern scholars concerned with the issue of female leadership in Christianity seek to unravel these traditions, there is debate as to whether they refer to Mary, the mother of Jesus, or Mary Magdalene, the two main Marys in these texts (Jones 2).

One of these scholars, François Bovon, points out that all of the variant spellings of the name Mary in Greek and Latin derive from the Hebrew Miriam, and that “there is evidence that the same person may have received each of the three forms of the [Greek] name” (Bovon 77-78). In his analysis of the *Acts of Philip*, a text dating to the late fourth century (Czachesz 136), Bovon concludes that the Mary mentioned there or “Mariamne,” as she is called, is none other than Mary Magdalene (Bovon 80). In addition, he finds some very interesting parallels between this Mary and Miriam the Prophetess:

Behind Mariamne is another sister, Miriam, the sister of Aaron and Moses, called Mariamme by Josephus. Even if implicit, such a typology is present in the text. As Miriam, Philip’s sister participates in the salvific exodus. As Miriam she has a ministerial responsibility. Just as Miriam leads the choir of the women while Moses sings with the men of Israel after the victorious crossing of the Red Sea, so Mariamne in the Acts of Philip baptizes the women while her brother Philip baptizes the men. Interestingly, Philo affirms that the

community of the Therapeutae has taken over this distribution in their liturgy. (Bovon 86)

Bovon concludes that “sisterhood is the adequate relationship for the ascetic Christians, because it is a feminine companionship without the risk of sexuality” (Bovon 87). In addition, although Bovon does not mention it, there is another evident parallel between Mariamne and Miriam in the *Acts of Philip*: Mariamne is part of a trio of leaders with Bartholomew and her brother Philip, (*Acts Phil.* 8.16 and 21; 13.1-2.4), and so is Miriam with Moses, and Aaron as depicted in Micah 6:4 and later development in Midrash.

In short, among Jews and Christians in the Land of Israel, Miriam and its variants was the most popularly recurring name in Late Antiquity, both within the general populace and in literature. Scholars cannot establish exactly why this trend came about, but they point out that it may have originated from its use by the Hasmonean dynasty. The popularity of the name and the confusion in the popular mind that may have led to an amalgamation into a “generic Mary” has made it difficult for scholars to distinguish between the Marys in original sources. However, the identification of Miriam the alchemist, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, and the other Miriams in *Lamentations Rabbah* with Miriam the Prophetess seems to point to her enduring reputation and renown.

SECTION VI-B

Comparisons between and Miriam and Mary

Having reviewed information regarding the name “Miriam” and the propensity in antiquity for confused associations, we can now look at primary sources to compare Miriam and Mary. Early Christian writers maintained that the Tanakh foreshadowed the New Testament and that the latter validated the former. Perhaps after what has been proposed so far about Miriam’s popularity in Late Antiquity, it should not surprise us that many scholars of Early Christianity assert that Mary the mother of Jesus was modeled after the first Miriam (Serra 204; Le Déaut 37). Table VI-B-1 shows some of the parallels between Miriam, as she appears both in the Tanakh and extra-biblical literature, and Mary, as she appears in the New Testament and early Christian writings.

Table VI-B-1: Parallels between Miriam and Mary

Miriam	Mary
Few mentions of Miriam in Tanakh, magnified later by Rabbis.	Few mentions of Mary in NT, magnified later by Church.
Called “almah” in Ex 2:9.	Seen as “almah” mentioned in Is 7:14.
A man in a linen garment announced the redeemer’s birth to Miriam (LAB 9:10). The man in the linen garment is the angel Gabriel (Gen Rabbah (T-A) 21; Lam Rabbah (B) 2).	Gabriel, God’s angel, announced the redeemer’s birth to Mary (Lk 1:26-33).
Associated with the Holy Spirit regarding Moses’ birth (LAB 9:10, Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach de Shirah 10, Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon b. Yochai 15:20, JTalmud Sotah 1:17b, BTalmud Sotah 11b).	Associated with the Holy Spirit regarding Jesus’ birth (Mt 1:18, 20).
Miriam’s brother is Aaron the High Priest (Ex 15:20; Num 26:59; 1Chr 6:3).	Mary’s cousin is descendant of Aaron and married to a priest (Lk 1:5; 1:36).
Miriam’s sister-in-law, Aaron’s wife, is Elisheba (Ex 6:23).	Mary’s cousin is Elisabeth (Lk 1:36).
Miriam sings and praises God (Ex 15:21).	Mary sings and praises God (Lk 1:46-55).
Midrash makes Miriam the wife of Caleb, a Judahite, and ancestress of David, the future anointed king, and the Davidic House (Sifre Num 78; BT Sotah 11b; PRE 44; Ex Rabbah 1:17; 48:4).	Gospels state Mary is the wife of Joseph, a Judahite, descendant of the Davidic House, and mother of a future anointed king (Mt 1, Lk 1:31; 3).
After Miriam’s death, Midrash states that the death of the righteous atones for the entire community (BT Mo’ed Katan 28a).	Mary is the mother of one whose death, according to Christianity, atoned for humanity (Rom 3:25, 5:11, 11:15; 1John 2:2; Heb 10:10, etc.).
Part of a redeeming trinity: Moses, Aaron, Miriam (Micah 6; Sifre Deut R’eh 9; Ex Rabbah 15:14; Num Rabbah 1:2, 13:20; M Tan [B/W] Bamidbar 2; M Tan [W] T’rumah 10).	Part of redeeming trinity: God, Mary, Jesus (Gospel of the Hebrews, where Mary is equated to the Holy Spirit).

But modern scholars are not the only ones who perceive a correlation between Miriam and Mary. A number of Christian Fathers in the fourth century also saw a parallel between them. Ironically, while 4QVisions of Amram and Josephus depict Miriam as a wife, mother, and grandmother, and the Rabbis seem intent on making Miriam a

married woman and an ancestress to kings, several of the Fathers use Miriam's persona as a paragon in their treatises on Mary's virginity. Such a disparity invites further speculation as to whether, in the minds of the architects of the two evolving religions, these two protagonists may not have come to embody certain fundamental differences in outlook on female roles. This issue will be elaborated below since it may contribute to an explanation of Miriam's popularity in Late Antiquity. Table VI-B-2 reproduces information from earlier chapters regarding Miriam's marital status in extra-biblical sources.

Table VI-B-2: Miriam's Marital Status in Rabbinic and Other Extra-Biblical Sources

DATE	Source	Marital Status
3 rd – 2 nd cent. BCE	4QVisions of Amram	Married to Uzziel Married to Hur?
1 st cent. CE	Josephus	Married to Hur
Early 3 rd c. Rabbis (ca. 550 redaction)	BT Sotah 11b-12a	Married to Caleb
Late 3 rd cent.	Sifre on Numbers	Married to Caleb
4 th cent.	Ephraem Syrus (d. 373)	Married to Hur
Ca. 400-700	M Tan (H) Ki Tisa 13	Married to Caleb

Table VI-B-3 summarizes the primary Christian sources in which Mary is likened to Miriam, or in which the Church Fathers compare the two in order to further elucidate some aspect of one or the other of the two protagonists. A presentation of the primary sources follows the table.

Table VI-B-3: Miriam Compared to Mary by Church Fathers

DATE	Source	Virgin	Assertion
Ca. 344	Aphrahat	Unknown	Miriam and Mary are prophetesses. Miriam's watching over her brother likened to Mary's giving birth to Jesus.
d. 373	Athanasius	Yes	Mary = Miriam, both virgins, both leaders of women.
d. 385	Gregory	Yes	Miriam is prototype of Mary based on Virginité.
d. 397	Ambrose	Yes	Miriam is precursor of Mary. Miriam, as virgin, is type for Church. Miriam as virgin leading women at Sea Miriam, prototype of Mary leading virgins in heaven. Miriam and her brothers lead the people. Miriam leads Israelite army across the sea. Miriam leads entire people across the sea. Miriam and Mary are prophetesses.
d. 403	Epiphanius	Unknown	Miriam leads only the women.
d. 420	Jerome	Yes	Miriam and Mary lead virgin choirs.
d. 450	Peter Chrysologus	Yes	Miriam is prototype of Mary based on virginité.

The earliest source, from ca. 344, is Aphrahat, also known as the "Persian Sage." He wrote twenty-three "Demonstrations" or homilies, in two of which Mary is compared to Miriam. In the first one both Miriam and Mary are named among the prophetesses:

Miriam was a prophet; Hannah was a prophet; Huldah was a prophet; Elizabeth was a prophet; **Mary** was a prophet and the mother of the Great Prophet... (*The Demonstrations* – XIV: 33) (Lehto 2004)

In the second instance, Aphrahat makes Miriam's watching over her brother akin to Mary's giving birth to Jesus:

Miriam stood on the edge of the river when Moses was floating in the water; and **Mary** bare Jesus, after the Angel Gabriel had made the annunciation to her. (*The Demonstrations* – XXI: Of Persecutions 10) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol. 13)

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (d. 373), saw Miriam as a model for virgins in his *Letter to Virgins*, fragments of which are preserved in a Coptic codex. Here, it seems as if he conflated Mary and Miriam into one character:

And then, just as formerly on the sea **Mary** went in front of the women with a tambourine, in the same way she will arrive in the kingdom of heaven: virginity commanding and marching at the head with great forthrightness, all will form one same choir and one same symphony in the heavens, blessing God and saying: "I will enter in front of the furnace bridge of God who delights my youth"; and "I will sacrifice you a host of blessing, I will give my vow to the Lord." (Neumann 43)

Gregory of Nyssa (d. ca 385) wrote about Miriam in the earliest of his ascetical works, specifically pronouncing Miriam "the prototype of Mary":

This reminds us that the prophetess, **Mariam**, immediately after the crossing of the sea, took a dry, tuneful 'tambourine in her hand' and led a chorus of women. Perhaps by the tambourine Scripture means to suggest the virginity achieved by the first **Mary**, who was, I think, the prototype of **Mary** the Mother of God. (*On Virginity*) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol. 5)

Also Jerome, a contemporary and friend of Gregory, put Miriam and Mary in the same plane in his letter to Eustochium:

What will be the glory of that day when **Mary**, the mother of the Lord, shall come to meet you, accompanied by her virgin choirs! When, the

Red Sea past and Pharaoh drowned with his host, **Miriam**, Aaron's sister, her timbrel in her hand, shall chant to the answering women: "Sing ye unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea." (Epistle XXII) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol. 6)

Like Jerome, Epiphanius remarked on Miriam's role in Exodus 15. Although his comment was intended to "teach the dignity of the decorum of God's Law" as demonstrated by the separation of the sexes when they sang their praises to God at the Sea, he still acknowledged that Miriam was a leader, if only to the women:

Moses took up the hymnody in the wilderness when he came out of the sea, and sang to God ... And the men responded together, but no women, to show their decorousness and teach the dignity of the decorum of God's Law. And next it says, "And **Miriam** took the timbrel and led the women, and said, Let us sing to the Lord, for he is held in glorious honor." And women responded together to her who was like them, was of the same sex, and was in some sort their leader – contrary to the ignorant, vulgar notion of those who practice heresies in mixed crowds. (*Panarion* 80:9)

Later, in the first half of the fifth century, Peter Chrysologus remarked that Mary came to be named after Miriam because, in his eyes, she was both the paradigm of virginity and the mother of the people who had been reborn while crossing the sea:

Mary is called a Mother. And when is **Mary** not a Mother? *The gathering together of the waters He called Seas* (Maria) [Gen 1:10]. Was it not she who conceived in her single womb the people going out of Egypt, that it might come forth a heavenly progeny re-born to a new creation, according to the words of the Apostle: *Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptised, in the cloud, and in the sea* [1Cor 10:1, 2]. And that **Mary** might always lead the way in man's salvation, she, by her own right, with a canticle, went before that same people, whom the generating wave had given forth to light. **Mary**, it is written, *the sister of Aaron, taking a timbrel in her hand said: Let us sing to the Lord, for gloriously is He magnified* [Ex 15:20, 21]. This is a name germane to prophecy, salutary to those born again, the standard of virginity, the grace of modesty, the sign of chastity, God's sacrifice (*hoc Dei sacrificium*), the virtue of hospitality, the reunion (*collegium*) of sanctity. With reason

then is this maternal name, that of Christ's Mother. (*Serm.* 146, P.L. Tom. 52, p. 592 [Livius 137])

But none of the Fathers seems to have been as fascinated with Miriam as Ambrose, who died in 397 and was Bishop of Milan in the last quarter of the fourth century. He sees Miriam as Mary's precursor:

By one woman He descended, but many women has He called. And hence too the Lord's Mary obtained this special name which signifies, God from my origin (*Deus ex genere meo*). Many others before were called **Mary**. Aaron's sister for example. But that name of **Mary** signified the bitterness of the sea. The Lord therefore came into the bitterness of human frailty, that the bitterness of man's condition might become sweet, tempered by the suavity and grace of the heavenly Word. This was signified by the fountain of Mara which was sweetened by the tree, to show, that whether the Gentile people, bitter before by sins, or our flesh, should be changed to other ways by the temperament of the Lord's Passion. (*De Inst. Virg.* cap. v. nn. 34, 35 [Livius 259-260]).

A Virgin [**Mary**] conceived the Salvation of the world, a Virgin brought forth the life of all... A Virgin bore Him Whom this world cannot contain or support... What shall I say concerning the other **Mary, the sister of Moses**, who as leader of the women passed on foot the straits of the sea? (Epistle 63: 33-34) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol.10: Ambrose, *Selected Works and Letters*)

He also saw Miriam and Mary as prophetesses, although in his opinion, Mary was the prophetess *par excellence*. Thus in his *Expositio in Lucam*, he states:

We shall not easily find another woman who prophesied more abundantly than the Lord's mother [**Mary**]. **Miriam** the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, herself, who quickly finished her song ... (*Exp. Luc.* 2:35. CSEL 32:4 59:66-60:3. PL 15:1564d-1565a [Neumann 52]).

In addition, Ambrose depicted Miriam as a "type of the Church," a role usually attached to Mary (see *In Luc.* L. ii. n. 7 [Livius 271]):

And **Miriam** taking the timbrel led the dances with maidenly modesty. But consider whom she was then representing. Was she not a type of

the Church, who as a virgin with unstained spirit joins together the religious gatherings of the people to sing divine songs? (*De virginibus*) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol.10: Ambrose, *Selected Works and Letters*)

And he likened Mary in heaven to Miriam at the Red Sea (Ex 15:20):

What a procession shall that be, what joy of applauding angels when she is found worthy of dwelling in heaven who lived on earth a heavenly life! Then too **Mary**, taking her timbrel, shall stir up the choirs of virgins, singing to the Lord because they have passed through the sea of this world without suffering from the waves of this world. (*Three Books Concerning Virgins*, Book II, Ch. 2) (Early Church Fathers, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol.10: Ambrose, *Selected Works and Letters*)

Following Micah 6:4, Ambrose placed Miriam on the same leadership plane as her brothers:

But why should I here add, that by Thy divine appointment it was a Virgin **Mary**, together with holy Moses and Aaron, who led the march of the Hebrew hosts through the waves of the sea? (*De Inst. Virg.* cap. v. nn. 104-113 [Livius 260])

But later Ambrose's zeal had Miriam leading the entire Israelite army through the Red Sea:

In the Old Testament a Hebrew virgin [**Miriam**] through the sea led an army; in the New Testament a Virgin reigns in a heavenly court chosen for salvation. (*Epistle* 42 [Neumann 52])

And finally, Miriam was single handedly leading all Israel:

Many women has Holy Scripture brought out to light; but the palm of public salvation it has given to virgins alone. In the Old Testament it is a virgin [**Miriam**] who led the Hebrew people, hemmed in by land and sea, dry shod through the waters. In the Gospel it is a Virgin who gave birth to the Maker and Redeemer of the world. The Church is a virgin, whom the Apostle so greatly desired to espouse as a chaste virgin to Christ ... (*Expositio Apocalypsis*, int. Opp. S. Ambrosii, *ad Apoc.* xii. 4. See *In Luc.* Lib. x. n. 134 [Livius 271], see also *Exhortatio Virginitatis* [Neumann 54])

According to Charles W. Neumann, Ambrose believed that “the virginal is so heavenly” that it could be found on earth only after Jesus’ birth with two exceptions, Elijah the Prophet and Miriam. In his opinion, the image of Mary as a heavenly version of Miriam at the sea was the one Ambrose most frequently alluded to in his later writings and was the result of Athanasius’ influence (Neumann 51). Ambrose may also have been influenced by Gregory of Nyssa in using the image of Miriam’s tambourine as a “symbol of the virgin’s subdued body” (Neumann 54).

SECTION VI-C

Mary in Early Writings

Mary’s virginity is asserted only in two books in the New Testament: The Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke, both written in the late first century. However, there are other extra-canonical texts that declare that Mary was still a virgin post-partum and remained a perpetual virgin. Table VI-C-4 summarizes some of these assertions:

Table VI-C-4: Assertions of Mary's Virginity

Date	Source	Assertion
70-100?	Ascension of Isaiah	Unclear
70-150	Protevangelium of James	Virgin at conception and post-partum
180-230	Hippolytus of Rome: <i>Frag. 8</i>	Ever-virgin
182-202	Clement: <i>The Pedagogue, Stromata 7</i>	Virgin and mother, "some say" she was virgin post-partum
203-250	Origen: <i>Comm. On Mathew</i>	"Those who say [she remained a virgin] wish to preserve the honor of Mary in virginity to the end"
310-403	Epiphanius: <i>Panarion</i>	Some women sacrifice to Mary, the "Ever-virgin"
354-431	Paulinus of Nola	Virgin at conception and post-partum

In an article about the Marian myth, George T. Zervos proposes that further critical study of the *Protevangelium of James (PJ)* will identify it as "an invaluable and unique witness to the thought of earliest Christianity" (Zervos, *Dating* 120). In another paper, Zervos contends that *PJ* predates the works of Justin Martyr (ca. 150) since he "appears to have used *PJ* as a source of nativity material and possibly numbered this apocryphon among his 'memoirs of the apostles.'" Thus, Zervos argues that "the status of *PJ* has been elevated to that of a primary document of the first half of the second century CE." In addition, he asserts that a document known as ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ (*GM*) represents an earlier source of *PJ*, in which "Mary conceived by means of the voice of God, or Bath Kol, or Logos, and sat on the earthly

throne of God in the Holy of Holies as the bearer of the divine Messiah who is destined to sit in the heavenly throne.” In Zervos’ opinion, the latest date for the already redacted *PJ* should be 150, while the earliest should correspond to that of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. He claims that “an early dating of *GM* is corroborated by ... conceptual parallels ... between the *GM* ... [and other texts from] the first and early second centuries” (Zervos, *Early*).

Another reason Zervos gives for *PJ*’s early dating is the motif of Mary’s Davidic descent implied in the *GM* annunciation story, a theme found in Ignatius’ epistles (*Ep. Ephesians, Trallians, Smyrnaeans*) and the *Vision of Isaiah* (in *Ascension of Isaiah* 11:2) (Zervos, *Early*). According to Jonathan Knight, the *Ascension of Isaiah* “ranks among our earliest noncanonical Christian literature” (Knight 93). In his opinion, this source includes traditions from the first century “evidently before the writing of the canonical gospels” and may provide the earliest mention that Mary was “a woman of the family of David” (Knight 100). This statement is not found in any of the Gospels and provides another link connecting Mary to Miriam. Knight contends that this was a way of “‘improving’ what was known about Joseph’s ancestry to include Mary in order to remove any possible doubt about Jesus’ messianic qualifications” (Knight 101), and it might also be “an early witness to the developing cult of Mary” (Knight 103). He concludes that the *Ascension of Isaiah* “illustrates the way in which Marian ideas were developing around the end of the first century CE” (Knight 104). Table VI-C-5 summarizes early assertions of Mary’s Davidic descent.

Table VI-C-5: Assertions of Mary's Davidic Descent

Date	Source	Assertion
Late 1 st -early 2 nd cent.	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	Mary is of the family of David
Before 117	Ignatius: <i>Epistles</i>	Mary is of the seed of David

On the subject of Jesus' Davidic descent, Susan Ackerman introduces an interesting twist as she suggests that "certain data" in Matthew 1 indicate that Mary is to be perceived as a queen mother. She claims that according to other commentators, the presence of Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba in Matthew's genealogy of Jesus is due to their being like Mary: "like her, they are all said to participate in some extraordinary or irregular marital union ... essential in the preservation of the messianic line; ... instruments through which God works the divine will." But more importantly, according to Ackerman, "they either are queen mothers (Bathsheba) or adumbrate that office in the premonarchic period: thus Tamar bears Perez through Judah ... Rahab, through Salmon, is the mother of Boaz, and Ruth, through Boaz, is the mother of Obed, both of whom are important in biblical tradition because they are immediate ancestors of David" (Ackerman 197). Interestingly, following Ackerman's reasoning, the rabbinic development of Miriam as ancestress to King David would also establish her as queen mother, thus reinforcing her position in Jewish history as one of the three great leaders of the Exodus and creating another possible association with Mary. Ackerman points out that Matthew quotes Isaiah 7:14, where the '*almah*' in question may be the queen mother (cf. 1Kgs 18:2), and posits that since Matthew characterizes Jesus as the "new David," it follows that Mary would be the queen

mother. Ackerman also argues that “the queen mother served as the earthly representative of Asherah ... [and] even within the radical religious transformation that was early Christianity, the old mythic paradigm that linked the queen mother and the mother goddess still reverberated in the emerging Marian cult” (Ackerman 198). To substantiate her claims for this idea, Ackerman cites *PJ*, where Mary’s parents dedicated her to Temple service and she became one of the seven virgins who wove a new curtain for the sanctuary. This, Ackerman says, echoes 2Kings 23:7, where women were “appointed to cultic service by the queen mother in order that they might tend to the cult statue of the queen mother’s divine patron, Asherah.” Ackerman also mentions the *Gospel of Philip*, a source with second century roots, “in which Mary is interpreted simultaneously both as Jesus’ mother and as a female heavenly power, the Holy Spirit” (Ackerman 198).

On the other hand, in the second half of the fourth century, Epiphanius of Salamis, wrote the *Panarion*, a book about heresies. There he mentions with horror the existence of a sect known as the Collyridians who offer and eat cakes (*kolluri*) in Mary’s honor (Salmon):

Some women decorate a sort of bench or rectangular litter, spreading a linen cloth over it, on an annual feast day, placing on it a loaf and offering it up in the name of Mary; then all communicate in that loaf . . . They tell us that certain women, come here from Thrace, from Arabia, make a loaf in the name of the Ever-Virgin, assemble together in one selfsame place and carry out quite irregular actions in the name of the Blessed Virgin, undertaking to do something blasphemous and forbidden and performing in her name, by means of women, definitely priestly acts . (*Panarion* 79:1)

As seen above, Epiphanius has strong views on the position of women. Here he is incensed at women who not only worship Mary but perform “priestly acts.” In his

opinion, “Mary should be honored, but the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit should be worshipped; no one should worship Mary” (*Panarion* 79:7). He goes so far as to liken the situation to that in Jer 7:18 and proposes that “such women should be silenced by Jeremiah, and not frighten the world. They must not say, ‘We honor the queen of heaven’” (*Panarion* 79:8). And yet, just a couple of decades after Epiphanius’ death, the Council of Ephesus decided that Mary would be regarded as the *theotokos*, not only mother of the Christ, but mother of God. Caspi and Cohen state that “this official transformation of Mary most likely has less to do with scriptural intent than it does with political and cultural necessity” (Caspi/Cohen 146):

Mary now mythographically subsumes the preexistent images of goddesses throughout the Empire, allowing for a much easier acceptance of the new official religion by the many people under Byzantine rule, as well as easier assimilation of those new converts who would bring with them the many festivals and traditions associated with their pagan past. By incorporating and strengthening this aspect of Mary, not only was she heightened in her importance, but her images were finally stabilized into the iconography... and all these images base their standing on the concept of the virgin birth. (Caspi/Cohen 147)

SECTION VI-D

Interplay between Judaism and Christianity

To this point, the comparisons between Mary and Miriam have focused on how Christianity utilized the persona of Miriam as part of its broader interest in creating continuity with the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition. As such, the process was unilateral, with no suggestion that Judaism underwent any analogous process of

defining itself or having its evolution shaped by events within Christianity. However, Judaism's development was not immune from influences of other ideologies and imagery, and it is reasonable to consider the possibility of such bilateral interplay related to the extra-biblical portrayal of Miriam in Late Antiquity. As an example, David Frankfurter states that the *Ascension of Isaiah* (see above Section VI-E) comes from Jews "who at some point in the latter first century arrive at the conclusion that Christ is the visible part of God" (Frankfurter 138). He claims that "calling it 'Christian' or 'Jewish' in a *mutually exclusive* sense will not suffice. Nor does the term 'Jewish-Christian' (however one defines it) offer greater clarity" (Frankfurter 137). Other scholars have reached similar conclusions as to the interaction and eventual differentiation between Judaism and Christianity. Daniel Boyarin contends that Judaism and Christianity did not just part ways naturally but as a result of the Church Fathers and the Rabbis introducing the concept of heresy (Boyarin *BorderLines* 58). He suggests that "the most dramatic innovation that Christianity introduced into the world was the making of a new kind of identity, 'religion.' It would follow from this that it was this invention, moreover, that produced the Jewish religion as well" (Boyarin "Semantic" 71). In Boyarin's view, "In the earliest stages of their development ... until the end of the fourth century, if we consider all of their varieties and not just the nascent "orthodox" ones – Judaism and Christianity were phenomenologically indistinguishable as entities" (Boyarin *BorderLines* 89). He also points out that "Judaism is from the very beginning a Hellenistic form of culture" since Jewish theology had long been "open to the thinking of antiquity" (Boyarin *BorderLines* 92). Hayim Lapin, writing about the Rabbis in Late Antiquity, believes

that the Rabbis borrowed from the surrounding culture such that their literature is “the product of a group of men within a province of the Roman empire, and of a late antique social, economic, and political history” (Lapin 319). Seth Schwartz is of the same opinion, adding that “the very emergence of a distinctive Jewish culture in late antiquity should be viewed as a by-product of Christianization – that is, that one of the effects of the gradual Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries was the (re)Judaization of the Jews” (Schwartz “Some Types” 197).

In this regard, it is of interest to review Michael Satlow’s perspective on the significant differentiation of Judaism and Christianity over the issue of marriage. Satlow traces the evolution of what marriage meant to Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity, noting that “in the Second Temple period, marriage was not a symbol, but a human institution” and that “neither Philo nor Josephus date the origins of marriage to Adam and Eve” (Satlow 68-9). Furthermore, he remarks that “rabbinic sources prior to the *amoraic* period almost never compare the relationship of God and Israel to a marriage” (Satlow 84), with only a few *tannaim* in the latter-half of the second century showing some interest in the metaphor (Satlow 74). In fact, he argues that the literary elaborations of the marriage metaphors utilized by the prophets were resurrected mostly in early Christian writings such as the Pauline letters, where the believer was considered as “being ‘betrothed to Christ’ (2 Cor 11:2, Eph 5:25-32)” (Satlow 70). Satlow presents this period of Christian emphasis on the marriage metaphor in the context of the asceticism prevalent in its first three centuries, and notes that only during the third and fourth centuries did Christian anti-marriage bias begin to mellow such that, as time went on, “most Christian writers neither attacked marriage with any

vehemence, nor defended it with any great passion” (Satlow 76). He cites Ambrosiaster for his boldness in the late fourth century in authoring “a sustained defense of marriage and procreation in response to the growing ascetic movement” (Satlow 77). It is also in this time period that, as noted in Table VI-B-2 above, Ephraem Syrus (d. 373) seems to have been the first – if not the only – Christian writer who confirmed the tradition of Miriam’s marriage, while most of his contemporaries saw her as a virgin and a model of asceticism.

Chapter IV-E presented examples of marital imagery from Hosea relating God as spouse to Israel. For its own purposes, Christianity early on also capitalized on a strong metaphorical vision of marriage, but accompanied it with an ascetic downplay of earthy pleasures. By way of contrast, a rabbinic interest in the metaphor of God’s marriage to the Jewish people started to flourish only around the mid to late fourth century (Satlow 79). Satlow notes that as part of the eventual rabbinic revitalization of the biblical marital metaphor as Israel’s national heritage, there were midrashic elaborations of general marriage imagery depicting the intimacy of God’s participation in the prototypical marriage of Adam and Eve. He argues that God’s direct involvement in human marriage increases the richness of the national marital metaphor, noting that “only from the amoraic period, for example, do the rabbis, with any consistency, interpret the Song of Songs as a metaphor” for marriage (Satlow 82-7). He suggests that the change in perspective on marriage as depicted earlier by the *tannaim* compared to later embellishments by the *amoraim* represents a process in which Judaism sought to differentiate itself from Christian asceticism and its notion of original sin. He posits that for the *tannaim*, weddings were matter of fact, without

religious significance, but “by contrast, the amoraim infused cosmic significance into customary ... wedding rites” (Satlow 83). Finally he broadens this reactive process into a more general thesis of interplay between Judaism and Christianity:

Clearly this hesitant shift in the appraisal of marriage in late antiquity is part of several larger stories. If, as I think is likely, the rabbinic shift is a reaction to the Christian evaluation of marriage, then it is part of a more general Jewish adaptation of and response to Christian practices in Late Antiquity, the contours of which are only just becoming clear. The Christian promotion of the sacramental nature of marriage (a view that responds to the contestation of marriage by Christian ascetic groups) may have prompted the rabbis to attempt to wrest control of this image ... At the same time, this shift in the evaluation of marriage is part of the broader phenomenon of religious definition. “What was taking place in late antiquity in intellectual and imaginative terms,” Averil Cameron writes, “was surely a competitive process of system construction, a persistent impulse towards definition.” There can be little doubt that Jews too engaged in this construction, attempting to carve out a “Judaism” that was unique and “religious.” ... The rabbis singled out marriage – normally a civil process, if one that required divine protection – and marked it as theirs. On both an institutional and individual level, marriage thus reinforced group definitions and boundaries. Marriage was one, but only one, of the tools with which Jews in Late Antiquity attempted to carve out their own unique religious space. (Satlow 88-89)

In support of Satlow’s views regarding Judaism’s interest in depicting marriage in a positive light, it is certainly plausible that the Rabbis may have used Miriam, as a figure of popular renown, to make statements about the desirability of marital union. The earliest source is C215 ca. 225, where Miriam says, “Happy are these and happy are their wives,” before learning of Zipporah’s distress due to her separation from her husband Moses. The other two (C309 from ca. 550 and C41 from ca. 600) recount the festive rejoicing when Miriam effects the remarriage of her parents. Both attribute their content to Amoraim from the late third and early fourth century. C309, in specific reference to Miriam’s marriage to Caleb, reports R.

Yochanan (A2, d. 279) as saying, “Everyone who marries a wife in the name of heaven, the text accredits to him as though he had begotten her.” Though it is not certain that the Rabbis were motivated to include these accounts extolling marriage as a reaction to Christian asceticism, these midrashim invoking Miriam’s involvement in varied nuptials including her own are certainly compatible with such an interplay with Christianity.

In his book *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, Schwartz has proposed that the majority of Jews had mostly assimilated into the greater society of the pre-Christian Roman Empire. He argues that what set them apart was “the sense, which some of them had partly internalized, that life ought to be lived differently, a sense embodied in the rabbis, who preserved a profoundly altered but still recognizable version of Judaism” (Schwartz *Imperialism* 175). Schwartz sees the “christianization of the Roman Empire” as “one of the main causes of the rejudaization of the Jews” since they either had to integrate by converting to Christianity or decide to be Jews. He contends that “quite a lot of the distinctive Jewish culture was ... repackaged Christianity” (Schwartz *Imperialism* 179) and that this “systemic transformation” was more pronounced in the fourth century and later (Schwartz *Imperialism* 185), both points that concur with Satlow’s assessment of marriage. However, in noting trends diverging from such assimilation, Schwartz points out that although villages may earlier have been “commonly inhabited by mixed populations,” by the late fourth century “Epiphanius could regard the largest settlements of Galilee, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Capernaum as exclusively Jewish.” He concludes that “by about 500, the pattern of separation was clearly defined,” and posits that it was confirmed by the

emergence of synagogues in “all but the very smallest villages” (Schwartz *Imperialism* 207). In addition, Schwartz states that also by the fourth century “some rabbis were claiming proprietary rights over synagogues” (Schwartz *Imperialism* 238).

Regarding this state of affairs, it is interesting to consider the midrashim involving the Well’s final location in the Sea of Tiberias, opposite the middle door of the synagogue (C2e, C3e, C5e). These midrashim also belong to the group of midrashim where the Well is specifically called “Miriam’s Well.” This identification, so specific in its detail, appears to be an attempt on the part of the Rabbis to express the Jewish character of the city by linking it to the ancient and pivotal landmark of Jewish history, the Exodus. Two of these midrashim are found in the Jerusalem Talmud, redacted ca. 400 (C2e, C3e), and the other appears in Leviticus Rabbah, dated to the fifth century (C5e). The midrash in Leviticus Rabbah appears to be more complete, incorporating material found in both the Jerusalem Talmud and in Midrash Tanchuma Buber (C1e) regarding the healing properties of the Well:

C5e. 400-500: Lev. Rabbah (M) 22:[4]

R. Tanchuma said, “Even with water the Holy One, blessed be He, does his mission. An incident of a man stricken with boils, who went down to dip in the Sea of Tiberia and it happened that he floated into Miriam’s well, and was healed.” And where is Miriam’s well? R. Chiyya b. Abba said, “It is written, ‘And it is seen on the surface of the wilderness’ (Num 21:20), so that anyone who goes up on the top of the mountain of the wilderness and sees a sort of small sieve in the Sea of Tiberia, this is Miriam’s well.” R. Yochanan b. Mari said, “That the sages stirred and it is located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit

The Rabbis cited here are all *amoraim*: R. Chiyyah was active in the third period, ca. 290-320, and R. Tanchuma and R. Yochanan in the fifth period, ca. 350-380. Though this is a small piece of evidence, it seems to confirm the idea that in this period the

Rabbis were interested in marking Tiberias not only as a Jewish city but particularly as their own. Midrashim C2e, C3e, and C5e declare that the Rabbis/Sages “stirred” the Well while C5e and C1e state that the Well can heal. These two points, brought together in the above midrash, bring to mind another setting in the Gospel of John:

By the Sheep Gate in Jerusalem there is a pool, called Bethesda in Hebrew, which has five colonnades. Within these lay a multitude of the sick – blind, lame, and paralyzed [– waiting for the moving of the water, because an angel would go down into the pool from time to time and stir up the water. Then the first one who got in after the water was stirred up recovered from whatever ailment he had]. (John 5:2-4)

Comparing the Leviticus Rabbah midrash to John 5:3b-4, one cannot help but wonder which text may have influenced the other. According to the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, “there is textual evidence of the existence of the Gospel of John early in the second century” (Kysar *ABD*), but this particular passage is problematic because it does not appear in the early manuscripts. Raymond Brown asserts that even though Tertullian (ca. 200) knew this passage, John 5:3b-4 is a gloss, as shown by poor textual attestation and non-Johanine words. However, he argues, “this ancient gloss may ... well reflect the accuracy of a popular tradition about the pool” (Brown 207). The similarities in these traditions raise the question of which tradition came first. If Tertullian was indeed familiar with John 5:3b-4, then it appears that at least the Christian reporting of this notion ca. 200 preceded the redaction of the Jerusalem Talmud around 400. If this was not so, then it might illustrate a case of Jewish influence on Christian Scripture. From Boyarin’s standpoint, “it seems more and more clear that it is frequently impossible to tell a Jewish text from a Christian text. The borders are fuzzy, and this has consequences. Religious ideas and innovations

can cross the borders in both directions” (Boyarin, *Dying* 15). This then is compatible with Satlow’s and Schwartz’ assessment of the interaction between Judaism in Christianity in Late Antiquity.

SECTION VI-E

Conclusions

This Chapter posits an interplay between Christianity and Judaism in Late Antiquity in which, on the one hand, Christianity was dependent on certain of Judaism’s images and personae, and on the other hand, the Rabbis reacted to the challenge of Christianity by further defining Judaism’s uniqueness through the midrashic process. It began with an observation regarding the Torah names of the members of Christianity’s first family, a situation that served the interest of Christianity in establishing itself as a continuum of the tradition of the Hebrew Bible. Christianity’s concern in portraying itself as the New Israel remained a focus guiding its development during Late Antiquity. To the degree that this is true, one might anticipate that Christian theologians would seize the opportunity to incorporate or utilize significant components of Jewish personae and imagery into their own formulations and dialogues, and one might reasonably look at the Christian treatment of Jewish motifs and literary figures as an indication of their prominence in Late Antiquity. If so, Christianity’s use and portrayals of Miriam are a legitimate attestation to her general stature in Late Antiquity.

That Jesus' mother was named Miriam is not surprising since "Miriam" (or its variants) was the most popular female name at that time. Thus, seeking biblical content for her name and role would have been important to early Christians. Before the specific enumeration of Miriam references by Christian writers, issues related to her name itself were reviewed, leading to a conclusion that precisely because of its popularity, there were many prominent Marys to the point that scholars often have had difficulty in knowing to which Mary a particular early Christian source was referring. In fact, it was proposed that the problem was of a proportion that in some sources it was almost as if there was a generic Mary permeating the literary and theological mindset of Late Antiquity.

Given this background, Table VI-B-1 reported ten similarities of Mary as portrayed in the New Testament when compared to Miriam's portrayal in the Tanakh and Midrash, suggesting that Mary bore the same name as Miriam neither merely coincidentally nor in literary isolation, but that there was some conscious New Testament development of Mary-imagery based on the persona of Miriam. This connection further evolves in the writing of the Church Fathers identified in Table VI-B-3, where fifteen elaborations are identified from six authors in which they specifically compare or liken Mary with Miriam, providing novel Christian assertions about her. These attestations offer further corroboration of Miriam's stature during Late Antiquity.

However, there is one area in which the two female protagonists diverge, bespeaking a major difference between the Rabbis and the Christian Fathers. As noted in Table VI-C-4, early Christianity's emphasis on celibacy and asceticism and its

depiction of Mary as a perpetual virgin was in contrast to the rabbinic assertion of Miriam's marriage and her progeny. In addition, Miriam's midrashic role in twice striving to keep marriages together, once as a child and again as an adult, further contribute to a speculation that the Rabbis may have consciously used her as part of their interest in emphasizing Judaism's positive views on marriage. According to Naomi Koltun-Fromm, the Rabbis "understand Moses' special prophethood (but no one else's) as necessitating his distancing himself from domestic life. Within the Jewish-Christian polemic, however, Moses' celibacy becomes the foundation for constructing religious identities based on sexual behavior" (Koltun-Fromm 306). Table VI-B-2 recapitulates information developed in prior chapters in which Josephus and the Rabbis report and expand upon Miriam's marital and maternal career, and it is not until the late fourth century that a Christian writer acknowledges her marriage to Hur.

If one wishes to follow the implications of Satlow's view that Judaism very specifically and reactively distinguished itself from Christianity in the area of marriage, it is of interest to review the timeline of events presented in Tables VI-B-2 through VI-C-5 above regarding Miriam and Mary in a graphic format provided in Figure VI-E-1 below, which also includes information both about Miriam's involvement in causing her parents' remarriage (C309, C315, C341) and in trying to ensure Zipporah's conjugal rights (C215, C232, C237, C260).

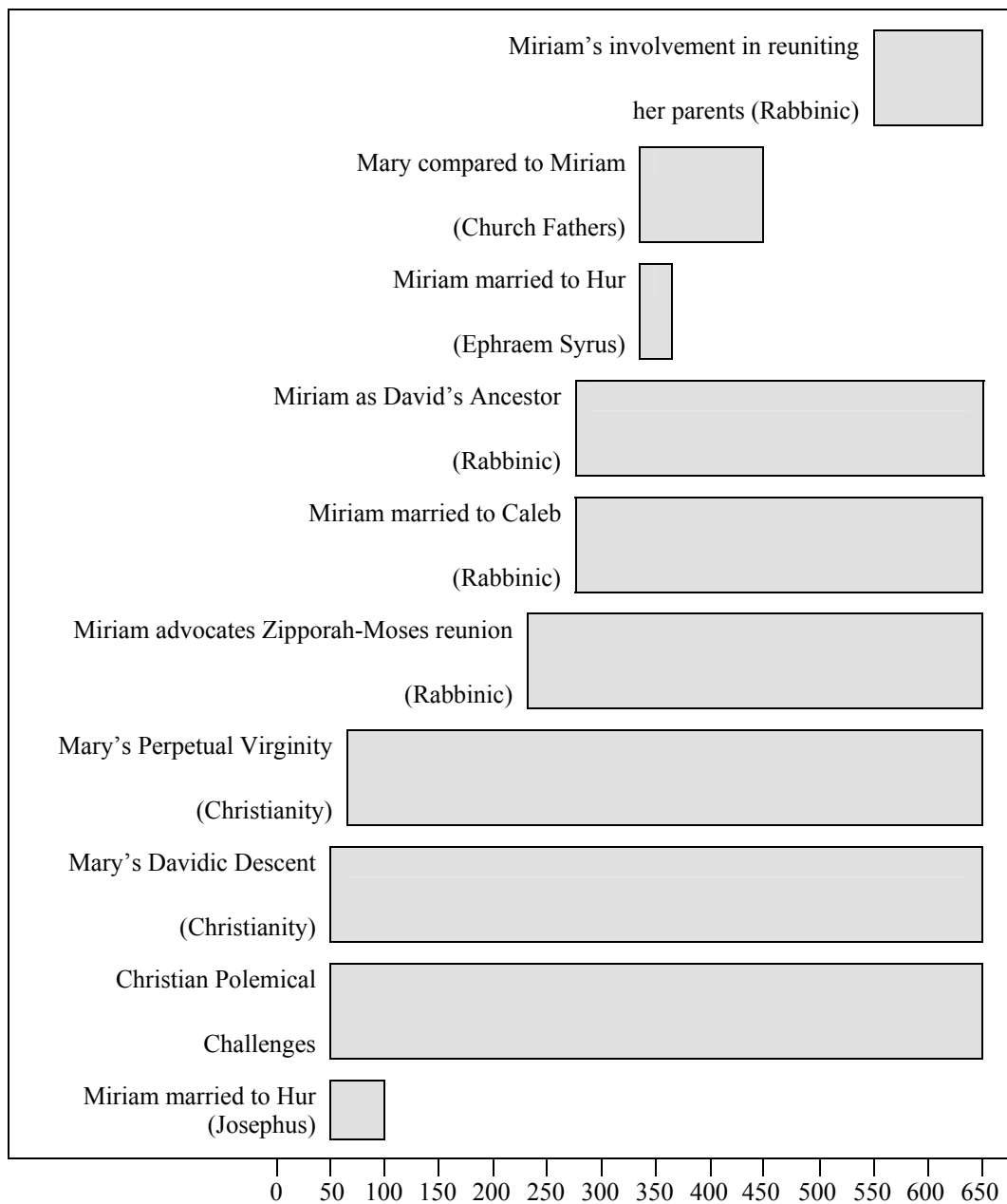


Fig. VI-E-1: Timeline in Late Antiquity Related to Mary-Miriam Interplay Issues

A very preliminary narrative explanation regarding the timeline of the events depicted in Figure VI-E-1 might note the following. An assertion of Miriam's marriage was recognized by the first century CE. In this same century, the New Testament story became established, and from the late first century and onward, the

notion of Mary's Perpetual Virginity was put forth by Christian writers, along with the contention of her Davidic ancestry. Josephus' assertion of Miriam's marital status does not appear to have had any literary echo during the second century, and Christianity continued to develop its portrayal of Mary in a way suggesting that Miriam's marriage did not occupy a major central stage of importance in intercultural interplay. If traditions were known to the Rabbis regarding Miriam's Davidic offspring, they did not appear in collections before the latter half of the third century. Recalling that the account of Miriam's marriage to Caleb and her being ancestress to David is the only Unanticipated Miriam theme without apparent precursor traditions prior to Late Antiquity, the timeline of Figure VI-E-1 is at a minimum compatible with a speculation that Judaism's attachment of Miriam to David may have in some way served to balance or offset Christianity's relating him to Mary. Likewise, in keeping with Satlow's and Schwartz's view of reactive Jewish development based on Christian notions, one might well wonder if the attestations of Miriam's marriage and progeny and her defense of Zipporah's conjugal rights appearing in third and early fourth century midrashim were not, at least in part, a response to the Christian assertions of Mary's perpetual virginity, a central focus in the more general issue of Christian asceticism. If the Rabbis did utilize Miriam as part of their development of a Jewish perspective on marriage, it would add a socio-political rationale to her evolving popularity in the extra-biblical tradition of Late Antiquity. In other words, adding to varied documentations and possible explanations of Miriam's unique popularity provided in prior chapters, one could consider the possibility that the Rabbis, cognizant of Christianity's portrayals of Mary and seeking to differentiate the Jewish

point of view from Christian asceticism, were comfortable with revitalizing and augmenting earlier strands of Miriam's marriage and her interest in helping others remain married. In this way, the ongoing saga of this already popular heroine would reflect and strengthen the Jewish view of the sanctity and wholesomeness of marriage.

Continuing with the timeline of Figure VI-E-1, and recognizing that the third century was a productive one that witnessed the midrashic proliferation of accounts of Miriam's marital status, Christian writers of the fourth century, the era of the development of the Mary cult, may have had encounters with the flourishing of Miriam material which had in general increased her renown. Certainly, this would seem to be the case with Ephraem Syrus, who appears to be the first, and perhaps only, Christian writer of Late Antiquity to acknowledge a tradition of Miriam's marriage. His is a case where familiarity with Jewish texts may have influenced his writing. As the Church Fathers became more involved in embellishing the persona of Mary, including the fifteen comparisons identified in the attestations of Table VI-B-3, it can be suggested that the Miriam with whom they were making their own novel comparisons was no longer merely the one of the Tanakh, but the further popularized and enhanced Miriam of Midrash. The final opportunity for the Rabbis to utilize Miriam in such a hypothetical interplay came in ca. the sixth century. During that time period, they introduced marriage imagery with a notably picturesque touch portraying Miriam not only as advocating her parent's reunion before the Sanhedrin, but dancing and playing instruments at their wedding, recalling her biblically recorded festive involvement at the moment of triumph at the Sea. The following excerpt is a

combination of narrative from midrashim C309, C115, and C341, which – of interest – quote Rabbis from the third and fourth centuries:

“And a man from the house of Levi went.” Where did he go? R. Yehudah b. Zebina said, “That he went in the counsel of his daughter.” A tanna [taught], “Amram was the greatest one of his generation. When (he saw that) the wicked Pharaoh (had said) [had decreed] ‘Every son born, into the Nile you will cast him,’ he said, ‘We labor in vain!’ He arose and divorced his wife. All arose and divorced their wives (C309). Miriam was at that time six years old, and she said, “Father, father, Pharaoh was better to Israel than you. Why? Pharaoh decreed on the males and you on the males and the females” ... When Amram heard her words, he brought her before the Sanhedrin and she said before them. And they said to him, “Amram, you have bound and you must release the matter” (C341). He arose and caused his wife to return. All arose and caused their wives to return” ... R. Yehudah b. Zebina said, “... he performed a marriage” (C309). “Amram caused her to sit on a litter, and Aaron from here and Miriam from here were carrying castanets and walking about before her ... (C341). Aaron and Miriam were singing (C315). [and] dancing before her, and the ministering angels said (Ps 113), “The mother of the children is joyful” (C309).

The imagery provided by these midrashim supports Satlow’s observation noted earlier that in contrast to early Christian usage, Jewish “marriage was not a symbol, but a human institution,” and this midrashic record certainly could have functioned as a very earthy and festive model for emulation at future weddings within the Jewish community as juxtaposed against more aesthetic models within early Christianity. In concluding the discussion of material in Figure VI-E-1, though very speculative, such a theoretical assessment of the timeline at least provides food for thought regarding a possible interplay between Christianity and Judaism over its heroines in Late Antiquity.

According to Rosemary Radford Ruether, the early Christian church continued to use Jewish feminine symbols. “At first, they were adapted and developed, in the

new Israel quite independent of teaching about Mary as an individual. Later, as Mariology developed, they were drawn in and absorbed by it (Ruether 43). In the fifth century, there was a great controversy over calling Mary the “Mother of God,” and although the title was accepted there were reservations among the Church leaders. In Ruether’s words, “The definition of Mary as mother of God was the opening wedge for her veneration as a substitute mother goddess. However much theology might narrow this view in theory, popular piety would widen it in imagination” (Ruether 59-60). Thus, for Christianity, Mary became the perfect virgin, nurturing as a surrogate mother for humanity, a type of the Church, and a paradigm to be emulated. In Caspi and Cohen’s opinion, the images of Mary as the mother of the crucified Jesus and the Queen of Heaven of Revelation allowed for this great change. In the Council of Ephesus in 431, as well as in 451, Mary was identified as the Mother of Christ and the Mother of God: she now “mythographically subsume[d] the preexistent images of goddesses throughout the Empire.” This made it easier for the people to accept the new official religion since they “would bring with them the many festivals and traditions associated with their pagan past” (Caspi/Cohen 147). In contrast, the Babylonian Talmud further elaborates on Miriam’s marriage to Caleb (C309) and presents the account of Miriam’s role in her parents’ remarriage (C309, C315), and the printed Midrash Tanchuma (W) adds more detail to Miriam’s involvement in helping Zipporah with her marriage woes, specifying that Moses’ separation from his wife is the exception rather than the rule (C260).

Thus, in the character development of Miriam and Mary, we see a cross section of the divergent paths that Judaism and Christianity took as regards their heroines. In

addition, there is a possible interplay in which Christianity, both in its inception and in its later formulations involved in the Mary cult, utilized the stature of Miriam's popular and literary renown to the benefit of developing the persona of Mary. In turn, in pursuing the shaping of Judaism and assuring a written legacy of role models that would personify and help transmit aspects of its theology, the Rabbis may indeed have reacted to some combination of Christian asceticism and Mary imagery in a way that guided their enthusiasm towards further midrashic depictions of Miriam, not only in strands specific to issues of her marriage and motherhood, but also to other portrayals that constitute her literary record. This tradition overwhelmingly credits Miriam and emphasizes her nurturing qualities, and her positive image is strongly sustained despite criticism of her in the biblical text for having spoken up about her brother Moses. Though in invoking Miriam the Church Fathers provide additional attestations to her stature in Late Antiquity, which in turn invites speculation as to a dynamic between Christianity and Judaism, Miriam's fame as an exceptional leader stems from the Tanakh. As such, her legacy reached Late Antiquity bound to traditions that saw her not only linked to the Well bearing her name, but also as a nurturing sister, a wife, and a mother, a person who stood by her beliefs and who was eventually identified as ancestress to King David himself.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARIES, CONCLUSIONS, AND FINAL ARGUMENTS REGARDING MIRIAM'S DISPROPORTIONATE ELABORATION AMONG WOMEN IN THE MIDRASHIM OF LATE ANTIQUITY

Section VII-A

A Review of the Structure of the Study in Addressing the Challenges of the Thesis Statement

In addressing the challenges of its Thesis Statement, this study is divided into two major parts. In the first, Chapters I through III introduced the topic and applied an original methodology to gathering, organizing, and assessing midrashic data. In so doing, major unresolved questions were identified, initially concerning the saga of the Well, but later focusing on the Prophetess Miriam as its namesake. The second half of the study, Chapters IV through VI, proposed and explored theories to elucidate the questions raised by the first half, demonstrating how Novel Assertion methodology facilitates the development of historical hypotheses regarding Miriam's uniqueness. As a prelude to this concluding Chapter, Table VII-A-1 lists the major unresolved questions that emerged from assessments of Well and Miriam Novel Assertions in Chapter III. Some of these have already been answered and others remain to be addressed. However, the main reason for presenting them is to demonstrate the usefulness of Novel Assertions methodology as a tool for identifying issues of potential historical interest.

Table VII-A-1: Unresolved Questions from Chapter III
Regarding the Well and Miriam

- 1) Given the patriarchal bent of Israelite society, why did the Rabbis elaborate a tradition of the Well having been given upon the hand of Miriam, a woman?
- 2) Why in the second half of Late Antiquity did the Well, which had been nameless, become known as “Miriam’s Well?”
- 3) Why in the second half of Late Antiquity did the Well accrue new stature-enhancing attributes, all using the “Miriam’s Well” formulation, as follows?
 - a) The Well was advanced to the first in a list of miraculous items created on the eve of the first Sabbath;
 - b) The Well’s waters were described as ritually clean;
 - c) The Well was ascribed healing properties;
 - d) The Well’s position was fixed to a site opposite the middle gate of a specific Tiberias Synagogue;
- 4) Why was Miriam’s Well more midrashically elaborated than the Manna and Clouds attributed to Moses and Aaron?
- 5) Why did the Rabbis depict Miriam and Zipporah in dialogue related to the episode of Miriam speaking about Moses?
- 6) Why does Midrash accord Miriam the unique privilege among women of having addressed the Sanhedrin?
- 7) Given Miriam’s generally favorable midrashic elaboration, why were her biblically favorable River and Sea portrayals relatively underdeveloped?
- 8) Why do the Rabbis identify Miriam as one of the pious midwives?
- 9) Why in the second half of Late Antiquity do the Rabbis identify Miriam as having a reward of Wisdom?
- 10) Why is Miriam depicted as married in midrashic literature whereas the biblical record leaves the impression that she was celibate?
- 11) Why did the Rabbis identify Miriam as an ancestress of King David in apparent contradiction to the biblical account of his descent from Ruth?
- 12) Why was Miriam disproportionately elaborated in midrashic literature compared to other biblical women?
- 13) How might one explain a propensity towards greater novelty in Well and Miriam Novel Assertions during the second half of Late Antiquity?

Chapter III-D serves as a division between the first and second parts of the study, explaining how my work up to that point addressed the first and second requirements of the Thesis Statement. Regarding the first, I traced how I had established the effectiveness of applying Novel Assertion methodology to organizing midrashic data for assessment. I then turned to the second challenge of the Thesis and reviewed how varied quantitative manipulations of this information demonstrated Miriam's disproportionate elaboration. The discussion in Chapter III-D stands as a defense of these first two achievements of the Dissertation.

In the second part of this study I have developed hypotheses that attempt to explain Miriam's prominence as demonstrated in the first part and to answer the unresolved midrashic issues noted in Table VII-A-1. I presented evidence and contexts of her growing stature in three broad areas, each corresponding to one of the next three Chapters. Chapter IV reviewed how her legacy may have grown prior to Late Antiquity in varied attested and speculative precursor traditions, thus somewhat reducing the role of rabbinic creativity as a result of her earlier growth. Chapter V explored how the multiple reports of her nuptials both confirmed and further built her stature with a special focus on the midrashic assertion of her being ancestress to King David. Finally, Chapter VI posited intercultural contexts in which interplay between Christianity and Judaism may have utilized and further expanded her renown, especially related to issues revolving around asceticism and the institution of marriage. Together, these Chapters have addressed the third challenge of the Thesis Statement, documenting that Novel Assertion methodology facilitates the development of the historical hypotheses addressing Miriam's uniqueness.

Over the course of its inception and initial research, the focus of this study has shifted from one intended originally to deal with just the Well to one that next included developing a methodology for organizing midrashic data, and finally expanded towards assessing the Prophetess Miriam. In this sense, the research has flowed naturally, as certain obstacles in organizing Well sources led to methodological innovations based on Novel Assertions. These in turn facilitated the recognition of perplexities in the saga of the Well, requiring for their resolution an expansion of the reach of research towards Miriam. In the end, her assessment has incidentally come full circle to a deeper understanding of the Well and how object and persona are much more integrally related than I initially believed. In offering final perspectives related to both Miriam and the Well, I will attempt to separate what I believe to be firm findings from more tentative conclusions that remain speculative. However, though this concluding Chapter seeks to place the relationship of Miriam and the Well in finer perspective, its main purpose is to correlate diverse findings from various portions of the study into a cohesive theory of Miriam's disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity.

This concluding Chapter has several goals. In the first place, though it is not intended as a methodical summary, it reviews major findings sufficient for establishing a connection with final conclusions. Second, in viewing this study retrospectively as a whole, it offers a setting for the articulation of certain operative concepts in applying Novel Assertion methodology that may be useful to their future use. Third, there are discoveries made in later parts of the study that shed new light on earlier issues. I take advantage of such findings to juxtapose information from

different portions of the study by introducing new arguments as needed to draw final conclusions. Fourth, I have interjected comments on opportunities for future and improved research that flow from the current study. Finally and above all, this concluding Chapter tries to resolve the major questions noted in Table VII-A-1 in a way that further illuminates Miriam's midrashic portrayal.

SECTION VII-B

Review of the Process of Presenting Midrashic Data in a Format Useful For Comparative Research

To the best of my knowledge, there has been no prior study of either the Well or Miriam that has begun with a dedicated focus on their portrayal in Midrash with the requirement of an exhaustive attempt to include every known Late Antiquity midrashic attestation to their saga, much less a study that also applied quantitative and qualitative measures to their comparative elaboration. The final methodology evolved as a result of the failure of earlier approaches to produce results that lent themselves to productive analysis. The initial collection of all midrashim dealing with the Well and Miriam (Appendices A-1 and A-2) was a necessary step, but often produced lengthy accounts of diverse and wandering material, much of which was not pertinent to either entity. By extracting Novel Assertions from these complex midrashim and tabulating them chronologically (Appendices B-1 and B-2), I was able to profile the progressive accrual of novel information regarding the Well and Miriam as revealed in the midrashic collections of Late Antiquity. Yet, although this process allowed for a

comparative assessment of the quantitative growth of Novel Assertions for each subject (see Fig. III-B-2), it fell short of organizing data in a way that facilitated tracing the development of specific midrashic motifs. However, by re-sorting the data according to thematic categories assigned to the Well (Table II-D-4) and Miriam (Table II-D-5), the 295 Well and 419 Miriam Novel Assertions could finally be grouped thematically, as well as chronologically within each theme. This material, appearing as Appendices C1 and C2, organizes Novel Assertions in a format facilitating the observation of trends in the portrayals of different Well and Miriam motifs, both as individual entities and in contexts in which they overlap.

Once these thematic and chronological tabulations were finalized, new opportunities opened for further comparisons. For example, similar Novel Assertion methodology was applied to other female biblical characters, allowing for parallel comparisons with Miriam. Likewise, the Well was compared with the Clouds and Manna, the two miraculously provided items that Midrash ascribes to Miriam's siblings. Sources used for these comparisons are accumulated in Appendix D. The possibilities did not stop with midrashic comparisons. A similar approach was used to create a list of Novel Assertions dealing with Miriam from the Tanakh and Qumran scrolls, and with both Miriam and the Well from a group of early Authors, including Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and Josephus. In each case, what underlies the formulation of Novel Assertions is the relatively brief statement that synthesizes the essence of what each item contributes to what we know about Miriam, the Well, and other entities to which they are compared. Precisely because of their conciseness, Novel Assertions become logistically amenable to both quantitative and qualitative comparison. Every

issue of historical interest raised in this study has ultimately derived from assessments of these Novel Assertions. This has validated the viability of their systematic application as a productive tool enabling the historian to identify issues of potential importance. Admittedly, given midrashic entities with minimal elaboration, the Novel Assertion methodology developed here may not be necessary. However, pertinent to my Thesis Statement, Novel Assertion methodology is a productive approach to organizing information about numerically popular midrashic entities in a way that facilitates both quantitative comparisons and the identification of trends in the thematic progression of particular motifs.

SECTION VII-C

Productive Approaches Stemming from the Assessment of Well Novel Assertions that Facilitate Identifying Information of Potential Historical Importance

Once I sorted Novel Assertions chronologically and thematically and began to use these groupings to assess their content, observations of potential historical importance among items were relatively forthcoming. However, it is only as part of this retrospective overview that I can systematize the most productive methodical steps I initially went through – mostly by trial and error – in attempting to make sense of the Assertions. Because these approaches may be of use to others, I now report in some detail the four techniques that characterize my initial methodology in prying

information from the Assertions. The first involves a consideration of motivations that may have driven the midrashists to include certain items, especially those whose content seems markedly innovative in departing from earlier traditions. The second relates to the timing with which these Assertions first appeared in Late Antiquity, and the third involves a respect for even minimal variations of wording in apparently similar Assertions. These three are discussed in the current Section, which ends with a general summary of important conclusions about the Well that stimulated further research about Miriam. The fourth methodology of using Novel Assertions to derive historical speculations involves quantitative comparison of midrashic entities both with one another and with their depiction in non-midrashic writings, issues discussed in Section VII-D dealing with Miriam.

Once actual assessment of Well Novel Assertions began in Chapter III-A, I was faced with the task of attributing levels of importance not only to individual Assertions, but to the thematic groups into which I had categorized them. By trial and error of different approaches, the one that I finally found to be most productive was to ask *why* that Assertion may have seemed important to its originator or compiler. Though this exercise was speculative, it produced two useful outcomes. The first was that, independent of any prior reading I had done on the theory of Midrash, I was able to derive a list of possible considerations that may have motivated the decisions of the midrashists to include the material they choose. The second result was an attitude that gave the benefit of the doubt to every Novel Assertion as constituting a potential repository of information relevant to historical contexts of Late Antiquity. Together, these two outcomes have guided the analysis of Novel Assertions in a way that has

facilitated the development of historical hypotheses to explain perplexities that have arisen in the course of their assessment.

Regarding the first of the two outcomes noted above, because the Well series was assessed first, it provided the initial opportunity to consider the motivations midrashists may have had in recording specific midrashic assertions. I have been able to identify five common patterns. The first posits that the Rabbis viewed themselves as scribal archivists. However, the notion that their primary motivation was one of preserving information of prior traditions oversimplifies their role. For example, research in Chapter IV suggests that the collections of Late Antiquity do not contain all prior material that may have been known to the Rabbis. An example is the Assertion of Miriam's marriage to Hur. It is possibly attested to in Q-7, (Qumran 4Q549, fr. 2, 50-1 BCE), and definitely in A-12 by Josephus (*Ant* 3.2.4, 37-100 CE), by Ephraem Syrus in his fourth century *Commentary on Exodus* (Ephraem XVII, 2:2), and belatedly in a Jewish source in the 12th century (Ibn Ezra, Ex 24:14). Yet, it appears in no midrashic collection of Late Antiquity. If we assume that these attestations of a Miriam-Hur marital tradition are sufficient for the Rabbis at least to have been aware of them, the rabbinic disinterest in Hur shows that an archival motivation was not their overriding consideration. In fact, the midrashists may have been selective, rejecting some traditions not in keeping with the image of Judaism they wished to preserve. Furthermore, assuming that in some cases there may have been archival interests, the issue is complicated by timing and secondary motivations. For example, W-3, appearing in a collection ca. 200 and asserting a connection between Miriam and the Well was not a rabbinic invention, but rather an earlier tradition

attested by Pseudo-Philo (A-24). Though in a sense the motivation to include the tradition may be considered archival, it really begs a larger consideration as to whether their decision was mainly motivated by a concern that the material might otherwise be lost, or whether there may have been a particular cultural context in which they felt that its wider dissemination was particularly propitious. The same question may also be asked in a context of timing. What motivated them to include this particular tradition linking Miriam and the Well in collections so early in Late Antiquity rather than in collections that appeared a few hundred years later? Due to these uncertainties, my approach has been to attribute a motivation of mere archival purport as a conjecture of last resort, with a preference instead to look for historical contexts that might correlate with their decisions.

A second and less problematic motivation was their wish to draw some moral lesson facilitated by using a particular midrashic motif for which the Well proved suitable. An example is the W-196 assertion that just as the Well was provided by God, so too is a father obliged to give his son to drink. A third motivation was one of filling in information gaps to achieve a type of “literary” closure.” For instance, ca. 550, W-227 and W-229 added to the Well’s legacy in describing it as a round object which rolled, thereby making the Well’s disparate geographic appearances more plausible by explaining how it moved from one location to another. A fourth and somewhat related rationale may have been an interest in the completeness of Midrash as a theological record not only of human genealogies, but in explaining other origins. For example, everything of some importance must have an origin, and the Well cannot be an exception. Therefore, early in Late Antiquity, ca. 275, W-78 asserts that the

Well was one of a special group of entities created at twilight on the eve of the first Sabbath.

There is a very important reason for creating such a hypothetical list of customary motivations for inclusion of material. Many Novel Assertions do appear explainable based at least in part on some combination of archival intent, exegetical moralizations, and a filling in of theological or literary gaps. But what if a particular group of Novel Assertions does not fit into any of these more usual motivations, but instead provides new information without apparent connection to earlier traditions? For example, ca. 400, W-118 asserts that the Well was located opposite the middle gate of a particular synagogue in Tiberias. Such material falls into a fifth pattern that deserves closer scrutiny to determine if a particularly significant historical explanation may be associated with its relatively more novel material. In fact, in the current study this type Novel Assertion, unassociated with prior traditions and unrelated to exegetical moralizations, provided the greatest stimulus to broadening the scope of research and developing hypotheses to address unique innovative contentions. Though specific speculations regarding motivations of the midrashists must be tentative, drawing a distinction between Assertions that are a continuation of prior strands or contexts and those whose content seems to fall outside these patterns serves to highlight potentially unique material for further research. In this regard, a general theorem can be proposed that an inquisitive attitude in considering the midrashist's motivations for including particularly innovative Assertions is a useful approach for those interested in identifying material of greatest potential import for further expansion.

Having discussed the five categories of motivations that may have influenced the midrashists to include material, a second approach to utilizing Novel Assertions for identifying material of potential historical interest relates to their timing. In focusing precisely on those Well Novel Assertions that seem most innovative, two subtypes were identified, each dependent upon the time period in which the collection appeared, and each with implications for subsequent research. Regarding the first pattern, an initial observation was made that collections from the first half of Late Antiquity generally seem to contain relatively more mundane Assertions. Some are theological constructs, others are amplifications of information with some basic link to texts from the Torah, and still other material dates the Well's appearance or discusses its origin. However, there are exceptions, such as the Rivers in the Desert theme, which contained what seemed to be highly imaginative material very early in Late Antiquity. A conjecture was made that those themes that early on appeared more fanciful may have been outgrowths of already established traditions predating Late Antiquity, which gave them with a head start in having accrued relatively greater novelty. In the case of the Rivers of the Desert theme, support for this contention was drawn from identifying a group of scriptural accounts attesting to early traditions of wilderness waterway imagery. By way of contrast, in the second subtype, the more innovative material first appears in the second half of Late Antiquity. What is unique about these later Assertions is that they are bold additions to the legacy of the Well rather than being expansions of material in prior Assertions. Of these, the first has already been identified, a theme first appearing ca. 400 CE in which the Well is retired to the Sea of Tiberias at a site opposite the middle door of one of its Synagogues (W-

118). In a second theme, W-92 and W-170 assert that the Well possessed the capacity to heal those who were blind or afflicted with boils. In a third strand, W-201 attributes ritual purity to the Well's waters. Furthermore, and most significantly, each of these additions to the Well's legacy is associated with a new formulation of the Well in which it is specifically identified as "Miriam's Well," the first of eight such Assertions being W-93 ca. 400.

Once these two timing patterns were recognized, each one became a prototype that encouraged searching for similar trends even in seemingly less innovative Assertions. For example, in the same way as the moderately embellished innovative material of the Rivers in the Desert theme had led to a search for biblical imagery in which it was rooted, was it not likely that behind the more matter-of-fact Assertion of the Well having been given "in the merit of Miriam" there might be earlier traditions linking her with the provision of water? In this way, recognition of the first pattern led to a more general search for precursor traditions. When these were found, the implication was that the Rabbis had inherited a motif rather than having creatively authored it. Attention then shifted to investigating why the midrashists might have particularly favored such material for further embellishment. Similarly, in analyzing the second pattern, in which relatively bold Assertions added qualitatively new dimensions to the Well's legacy during the second half of Late Antiquity, more detailed research of these unexpected twists in its legacy led to historical hypotheses as to why the Rabbis may have elected to include these novel twists in their collections. More generally, this led to a heightened suspicion that all themes of relatively greater novelty without apparent prior roots in earlier material should be

scrutinized as reflections of issues very important to the Rabbis. This assumption was later pivotal in recognizing the potential significance of the rabbinic Assertion of Miriam being ancestress to King David, a seemingly bold Novel Assertion with no discoverable precedent in earlier traditions.

Against the backdrop of these two subtypes of novelty based on their appearance earlier or later in Late Antiquity, there is a third opportunity for discovery of historically revealing information from Novel Assertions which came into focus only after the larger picture of the Well's growing importance in the second half of Late Antiquity was appreciated. At that point, the relevance of certain subtleties that had initially seemed to be more trivial components of Novel Assertions became understandable as attestations to its enhanced legacy. Of the two following examples, the first was already noted in Section III-A, whereas the second has been appreciated only as part of the preparation of this Chapter. An initial decision was made to count even minor variations of information among midrashim as distinct Novel Assertions. The tradition that the Well was one of ten objects created on the eve of the first Sabbath occurs in many midrashim. However, there are differences in the order in which the Well appears, as noted below:

- W-78 275 The Well was one of the things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed third in the list of 10 items) C33
- W-87 300 The mouth of the Well was one of ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed second in the list of 10 items) C1
- W-205 550 Ten things were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, the Well, etc. (Well listed first on the list of 10 items) C10

As it happens, compared to accounts in the earlier collections, the Well progressed in order of mention in later midrashim, such that in W-205 ca. 550, it is listed as the first

item created. We have no proof that this actually reflects its relative growth of importance to the midrashists when compared to the other nine items. However, its advance over time in these otherwise similar lists is compatible with other information suggesting a growing importance of the Well.

A second example of the significance of minor differences in wording comes from two early Novel Assertions that provide the two earliest midrashic formulations of the relation of Miriam to the Well:

W-3 200 The Well was given upon Miriam's hand. C45
W-36 225 The Well was given in Miriam's merit. C5

During the entire study, I attributed minimal importance to this difference in wording. I had assumed that “upon [Moses, Aaron, and Miriam's] hand” and “in Miriam's merit” could be treated as essentially equivalent. Yet, by convention followed regularly in this study, I counted as separate Novel Assertions items with even minor wording differences, even if I attached no specific import to the difference. In the course of preparing this concluding Chapter, I was struck by the possible significance of the earliest ca. 200 Assertion of C45, implying that Miriam was not simply the honoree in whose merit the Well was given, but that the wording “upon Miriam's hand” had preserved the thrust of an ancient tradition with a very different implication. This has motivated a more detailed search into the two formulations. In addition to C45, there are only two other Miriam-Well sources in Late Antiquity that use the “upon their hand” formulation, C39 (ca. 275) and C11 (ca. 550). However, these later two clearly follow the wording of the earliest source from Seder Olam Rabbah (C45, ca. 200). Furthermore, no Novel Assertions were drawn from the later repetitions.

Therefore, I drew a conclusion that throughout Late Antiquity, the only formulation using “upon Miriam’s hand” in a context generating a Novel Assertion was the prototype introduced ca. 200 CE, and repeated almost verbatim later two more times. By way of contrast, there are six midrashim that use the “in Miriam’s merit” formulation, C5 (ca. 225), C73 (fifth century), C-11 and C93 (ca. 550), and C117 and C134a, both from the Tanchumot (400-700). Among all of these, three further Novel Assertions are introduced, whereas the Rabbis do not pair any further Novel Assertions with the “upon the hand” formulations. The conclusion that follows is that those midrashim that further enhance the tradition of the three gifts related to the three providers do so exclusively using the “in Miriam’s merit” formulation. This raises a speculation that the “upon Miriam’s hand” wording of the earliest midrash, C45, may have in some way been problematic and not favored by later midrashists.

In further assessing the implications of the “upon Miriam’s hand” formulation, I searched the Tanakh for every occurrence of the general “עַל יָדֶיךָ” construction, with the interesting finding that it is never used idiomatically in the honorific sense of it being conferred “in merit.” Rather, the implications are one of either possession or control bestowed upon the recipient of the item given “*upon* the hand.” I will provide only a few attestations to demonstrate this universal usage:

And Pharaoh took off his ring from on his hand, and put it *upon Joseph's hand*, and he caused him to wear garments of linen, and he put a gold chain on his neck. (Gen 41:42)

And David left the vessels/implements from upon him *upon the hand of the keeper* of the vessels/implements, and he ran to the formation, and he inquired to his brothers for peace. (1Sam 17:22)

And they gave the designated silver *upon the hands of those doing the work*, the appointed of the house of the Lord, and they took it out to the carpenters and the builders, those making the house of the Lord. (2Kings 12:12)

And he with whom precious stones were found they gave to the treasure of the house of the Lord, *upon the hand of Jehiel the Gershonite*. (1Chron 1:29)

God delivered me to the unrighteous, and *upon the hands of the wicked He cast me*. (Job 16:11)

If it is good on the king, let it be written that they be destroyed, and ten thousand talents of silver I will weigh *upon the hands of those doing the work*, to bring [it] to the king's treasuries. (Est 3:9)

In all these cases, what the recipient receives upon his hand, whether conditionally or permanently, is for that recipient's use. The item given is physically transferred. Applying this to the case of C45, the implication of the Well being given "upon Miriam's hand" is that she in some way took responsibility or control over it, an image with many mythic and pagan overtones. If this was the sense of a tradition that the Rabbis had received, they certainly did not use that formulation to posit future Novel Assertions, preferring the much more theologically conservative depiction of an honorific gift in her merit. However, in retrospect, C45 does provide a linguistic hint of her proprietorship over the Well, a contention supported by mythic patterning speculations in Chapter IV. Of more than casual interest, when both the "upon Miriam's hand" and "in Miriam's merit" formulations are replaced when the Well unequivocally becomes known as "Miriam's Well," the midrashists, consciously or otherwise, realign the word "merit" to refer instead to Israel:

W-230 550 The Well that Israel merited was Miriam's Well. C7e

What is important here is that in both cases, that of the Well's advance to the first of the ten objects created on the eve of the first Sabbath and the shift in the formulation of its relationship to Miriam, there is a vindication of the practice followed in this study of including even slight variations of wording as separate Novel Assertions. Regarding the five patterns identified earlier of what may have motivated the midrashists to include information in collections, these two cases fall loosely under the umbrella of "literary closure," in which the new information fills what otherwise would later have been viewed as gaps in coherent portrayals of midrashic entities. The theorem that emerges is that what initially seem to be trivial variations may later on serve to further substantiate a change of focus and importance in the portrayal of midrashic objects or personae over time.

Since this change in the Well's portrayal in becoming Miriam's Well leads to a shift in focus to researching her portrayal, I will review and elaborate the final conclusions I reached at the end of Chapter III-A. What allowed me to appreciate the Well's qualitatively more innovative treatment in collections dated to ca. the last 240 years of Late Antiquity was the decision to analyze Novel Assertions by grouping them into Early, Diffuse, and Late Patterns. It then became apparent that the three highly innovative additions to its legacy – dealing properties, ritual purity, and association with the middle gate of the Tiberias synagogue – were integrally related to its formulation as "Miriam's Well," all of these appearing for the first time in collections of the Late category. Because this formulation is what all of these innovative roles for the Well share in common, I attempted to date the earliest use of the term, "Miriam's Well." Notwithstanding the limitations of using datable rabbis in

whose name midrashim attribute traditions, the earliest attribution is to Rab, from the first half of the third century (C6e). Further occurrences appear in the late third and early fourth centuries and finally in collections during the first half of the fifth century. Based on these observations, the term “Miriam’s Well” may have been utilized well before the fifth century, and perhaps as early as the third century. However, this association is not reflected in collections dated during the first half of Late Antiquity, leaving unresolved the reason why the Well became known as “Miriam’s Well” only in later collections.

The cumulative picture which results from the research on the Well is of an entity first attested by Pseudo-Philo (50-100 CE), who states that it is given “on account of Miriam.” The relationship is next attested in the earliest strata of midrashic collections, ca. 200-225, using the formulations of “upon her hand” or “in her merit.” Then, in collections of ca. 400, it becomes known as “Miriam’s Well, concurrent with very innovative Assertions about its role. Furthermore, these additions were not of mere general escapades, but of significant enhancements to its stature and function. Prior to its disappearance along with the demise of the wilderness generation, it at best had provided potable water and irrigative waterways, engaged in battle on Israel’s behalf, produced fish and other delicacies, and served as a site for future marital partners to meet. However, in collections ca. 400, it is resurrected, with healing powers, ritual purity, and settling in front of a Synagogue in the city where the Rabbis conducted deliberations that culminated in the Jerusalem Talmud, precisely at the middle door where *halakhah* was decided. Equally curious and somewhat ironically, what had successfully remained an independent and nameless Well in sources

beginning with Pseudo-Philo was concurrently transformed to an entity that gave up some of its literary autonomy to Miriam, who became its named owner. A crucial question arises as to whether the Well or Miriam was the greater recipient of the prestige of these new credits. Had the Well's newfound prestige provided extra renown to Miriam? Or were these enhancements of the Well's stature rather to be interpreted as an attestation to enhancements of Miriam's legacy? If so, in now having an owner, did the Well not in effect now become a subsidiary of Miriam's legacy? And most significantly, if Miriam's importance had driven the further embellishments of her Well's legacy, what happened in the second half of Late Antiquity to cause these changes in its naming and portrayal, rather than this having occurred earlier in Late Antiquity? These questions raised from studying the Well's Novel Assertions were fully responsible for turning attention to the persona of Miriam to settle one way or the other whether the late enhancements of the Well were coincidental to or driven by circumstances of Miriam's midrashic saga.

SECTION VII-D

Productive Approaches Stemming from the Assessment of Miriam Novel Assertions that Facilitate Identifying Information of Potential Historical Importance

In beginning the assessment of Miriam, I had an advantage not available when I first researched the Well. My initial study of the Well gave me no starting point of comparison with other midrashic entities. However, I was able to commence my study of Miriam Novel Assertions with the graphic juxtaposition of Figure III-B-2,

comparing her accrual of Novel Assertions to that of the Well. This provided an early indicator of what was later more fully established, namely that Miriam's midrashic elaboration outpaced the Well's. On average, there are about 1.5 Miriam Novel Assertions for every Well Novel Assertion through 640 CE. However, this ratio is not a constant, with major accelerations of Miriam Assertions in collections ca. 275 and 300 and again ca. 550. There is an equally interesting gain of Well Novel Assertion coinciding with early fourth century collections, at a time in which the accruals to Miriam's Assertions are relatively slowed. These quantitative differences, apparent prior to the more substantive review of Miriam's midrashic legacy, added the challenge of understanding the significance of the differential growth of the two entities. However, the assessment of Miriam Assertions included an even more valuable opportunity for identifying material of potential historical importance. Though it would have been desirable to contrast the midrashic development of the Well based on its portrayal in Scripture, since the Well is an extra-biblical entity, there is no basis for such a comparison. However, the Miriam of Midrash is clearly depicted as a continuum of the legacy of the sister of Moses and Prophetess of the Tanakh, allowing for comparative research on how her saga has been treated biblically and extra-biblically.

Though the assessment of Well themes seemed to fall naturally into patterns of Early, Diffuse, and Late occurrence, 97% of all Miriam Novel Assertions were Diffuse and only 3% were Late. However, given the findings noted above of the differential growth of Miriam Assertions in specific Late Antiquity time periods, I was determined to begin by asking which 3% of her items were of the Late occurrence. As it turns out,

this arbitrary choice of starting points revealed a surprising finding which shaped much of the remainder of the review of Miriam Assertions. I had assumed that among her 360 Novel Assertions, a sizable number would embellish Miriam's two most positive portrayals in the Tanakh. In the first of these, her leadership role at the Sea, not only is she involved in the celebration of Israel's paramount moment of deliverance but is also called "Prophetess." However, only three (1%) of the 360 Novel Assertions dealt with her role at the Sea, compared to the Tanakh, which devotes 10% of its Miriam Novel Assertions to her involvement there. Furthermore, not only did Midrash apparently refrain from including these three items till collections ca. 550, but the items themselves add little of novel import. This discovery of her under-represented role at the Sea in midrashic Novel Assertions triggered a quantitative comparison of the treatment of all other motifs of Miriam's biblical and midrashic portrayal, revealing a similar relative midrashic underdevelopment of her role at the River in watching over Moses. By criteria of Novel Assertions, the Tanakh devotes 15% of its attention to her River role, while only seven (2%) of 360 midrashic Novel Assertions deal with her role at the River. By way of comparison, there was a close quantitative parallel in the attention that Scripture and Midrash accorded to general biographical material, the events surrounding her being stricken with leprosy, and to her death. Therefore, there was some precedent to assume that all else being equal, midrashic elaborations would at least coincide with some of the more prominent portions of a character's biblical portrayal. Significantly, just as the scene at the Sea is one of potentially sympathetic imagery, so too can Miriam's role in watching over her baby brother be considered very endearing. Therefore, this opportunity to compare

Miriam's biblical and midrashic portrayals raised a pivotal issue of historical importance: Why would those who contributed to the content of midrashic collections have been so relatively disconnected from elaborations of Miriam's involvement at the Sea and the River?

From this puzzle, I formulated a working hypothesis that when midrashic development deviated substantially from elaborating prominent biblical motifs, the discrepancy might reflect concerns that dissuaded the Rabbis from enhancing those themes. In trying to second guess why Miriam's most memorable biblical portrayals may have been slighted by the midrashists, my first thought was that it may have had to do with their disapproval either over her speaking about Moses or as part of negative attitudes they may have had towards women in general. However, neither of these possibilities held up to further scrutiny. What little enhancement the Rabbis did provide to Miriam's portrayal at the River was very complementary, joining her to imagery involving the Holy Spirit/*Shekhinah*, acknowledging her prophetic aptitude, and associating her with Wisdom.

I next scrutinized the midrashic portrayals of other components of Miriam's biblical legacy. All along, I was looking for clues to resolve the unsettled issue of the midrashic underdevelopment of her Sea and River roles. I reviewed the midrashic treatment of her death, concluding that it contained no remark of stain. In fact, the details of her death were befitting of a person of stature. I went on to review the midrashic theme comparing her stature with that of the Patriarchs, her siblings, and other prophets, the only Miriam theme shared by both Midrash and Tanakh in which Midrash provides a higher percentage of elaborations than the Tanakh. Scripture

devotes 2% of all its Miriam Assertions to her stature vis-à-vis others, whereas 9% of all midrashic Novel Assertions are devoted to comparing Miriam to others of stature, four times the attention given in the Tanakh. Taken as a whole, the midrashic attestations go far beyond the Torah's depiction of Miriam in asserting her equality with Moses and Aaron in leading Israel. M-348 is particularly flattering, comparing Miriam to Aaron and Moses as being among the hands through which the Torah was given, and it tellingly uses the same "upon the hand" formulation relating her to the Well, compatible with a conclusion that the Rabbis endorsed imagery suggesting that all three leaders had a "hands-on" involvement in mediating Israel's receipt of the Torah:

M-348 625 Miriam is compared to Aaron and Moses as being one upon whose hands [על ידיהם] the Torah was given. C337

This left only one further theme common to the Tanakh and Midrash. The account of her talking about Moses and her consequent affliction with leprosy is extensive in both sources, and I reasoned that it would hold the greatest potential for negatively implicating Miriam, thereby offering an explanation of the muted midrashic expansion of her biblically favorable depictions at the River and Sea. The events surrounding Miriam's speaking about Moses and her subsequent leprosy account for 46% of the Tanakh's information bits about Miriam, and 33% of the Novel Assertions about her in the midrashim of Late Antiquity. To make the assessment of the 120 Assertions more manageable, I further classified them into ten sub-themes, and in analyzing each, came to the same conclusion. As I followed the train of thought in each, there was no evidence of a primary rabbinic motive of defaming her. Rather,

they seemed more interested in focusing on slander and its consequences than on the persona of Miriam. In fact, Midrash makes the case that God had specifically selected Miriam as an example of the causes and effects of slander precisely because of her stature. In so doing, the message is that not even one as generally meritorious as Miriam is immune from suffering the consequences of slander. They continue to deflect attention from her by intertwining Aaron's own involvement and punishment as a co-participant in the episode of speaking about Moses, and then explain Moses' compassion in beseeching God that she be cured on the grounds that he too had suffered leprosy when he defamed the Israelites (Ex 4:1, 6). Through introducing Miriam's dialogue with Zipporah, the Rabbis were able to go to impressive lengths in emphasizing Miriam's noble and loving intentions in speaking about Moses only with love and expressly to reunite him with his wife, thus mitigating Miriam's wrongdoing. The last three sub-themes dealt with three intercessors involved in her healing, first Aaron, then Moses, and finally God Himself, who personally acts as Priest to declare her clean. Of interest, these intercessional Assertions account for 32% of the total Leprosy Assertions, and an impressive 11% of all Novel Assertions discovered in Late Antiquity Miriam midrashim.

I have drawn two important conclusions from the midrashic treatment of Miriam's speaking about Moses. First, there is so much tenderness in the language used to describe her filial love and best intentions that the account seems to evoke sympathy, almost to the point that a reader might pause to wonder if God made the correct decision in punishing her. Notwithstanding the challenge to her brother Moses, who had come closer to God than any mortal, the way the Novel Assertions

have portrayed Miriam as daring to act – to do what by conscience she felt to be right and subsequently enduring Divine punishment – may all be viewed as a sympathetic portrayal that even encourages an historical speculation that she may have at some point been viewed as a type of culture hero. I very much kept this possibility in mind in my further attempts to understand Miriam’s popularity in precursor traditions.

Secondly, though the Rabbis never vindicate Miriam’s actions, the tone and content of their treatment of her speaking about Moses has been generally factual and often complimentary. Therefore, as of the juncture of having completed the assessment of themes common both to the Tanakh and Midrash, Miriam’s relatively evenhanded and often positive treatment, including the problematic episode related to leprosy, did not explain why her arguably most significant roles at the Sea and the River were not subject to further embellishment.

A final group of Novel Assertions contains seventy-two items, 20% of the total of 360 Novel Assertions from Late Antiquity. They are qualitatively unique in containing themes that are entirely novel to any Miriam tradition of Scripture, and have therefore been called “Unanticipated Themes.” As such, they belong to the fifth “motivational” category discussed in Section VII-C, in which Assertions provide new information without apparent connection to earlier traditions. The first of these Unanticipated Themes posits Miriam’s role as the facilitative agent of Moses’ conception, with the suggestion that without Miriam’s involvement, Israel’s greatest prophet would never have seen the light of day. To accomplish this, Miriam argues with her father to reverse his divorce decree, specifically so that Israel’s deliverer can be born. She makes this case before the Sanhedrin, becoming the only woman in Late

Antiquity midrashim to have appeared before that body. The second Unanticipated Theme establishes her being one of two midwives, who heroically works to save the lives of the Hebrew newborns, as a result of which she is rewarded with a House, which Midrash fulfills through her marriage to Caleb. This leads in to the third Unanticipated theme of her offspring by that marriage, among whom eventually appears King David. The intrigue of such an important genealogical association not being spelled out in the Tanakh is heightened by texts from Ruth and 1Chronicles, which provide a very different account of David's ancestry. The final of the Unanticipated Themes links Miriam to the Well using the "Miriam's Well" formulation, in which she, arguably more than the Well, becomes associated with the middle door of the Synagogue at Tiberias, the Well's healing properties, and the ritual cleanness of its waters. The most dynamic component of Miriam's growth in the last ninety years of Late Antiquity was precisely through Assertions within these Unanticipated Themes.

Once again, I was impressed by a possible culture heroine portrayal of Miriam in her coming to the defense of the unborn, both in the case of Moses and through her general work as a midwife. This rather heroic portrayal was further enhanced by the four episodes in which she is depicted as sparring with authority figures: with Pharaoh, with her father, before the Sanhedrin, and in speaking about Moses. More generally, the totality of these contentions add to her prestige as she absorbs in her persona the saga of the Well, has appeared before the Sanhedrin, is responsible for Moses' birth, acts as the heroic midwife, and ultimately becomes David's ancestress. Yet, though these perplexing Assertions would potentially appear to elevate Miriam's

stature in the rabbinic mindset of Late Antiquity, they leave still unaddressed an earlier concern for a paucity of Novel Assertions elaborating her arguably most prominent positive biblical portrayals at the Sea and River. This created a type of stalemate in which on the one hand we are certainly inclined to view Miriam's midrashic elaborations as generous in quantity and substance, while on the other Midrash seems to slight her due. I did take note that in both cases, water imagery was involved. There were more Novel Assertions regarding Miriam's association with the Well than for any single other Unanticipated theme, and I wondered if in so capitalizing on her association with water, the midrashists were in some way compensating for not elaborating her Sea and River water roles. However, I found no way to resolve this further based on an internal review of Well and Miriam Assertions. Furthermore, though Miriam's midrashic portrayal was impressive, I had only compared her with the Well, and had no evidence that other biblical women were not equally if not more elaborated in Midrash than Miriam. I had to convince myself further that her portrayal was indeed unique before I could place her relation with the Well in further perspective and attempt to resolve the quandaries of the minimized River and Sea elaborations. Therefore, I set out to inquire if the attention paid to Miriam in Midrash was any greater than that directed at other women mentioned in the Bible.

SECTION VII-E

Review of Quantitative Metrics Applied to Miriam and Others
to Demonstrate her Disproportionate Midrashic Elaboration

The first step in a parallel assessment comparing the midrashic portrayal of Miriam with that of other biblical women was to document the attention given to each in the Tanakh. Significantly, Miriam is the only female to be named in five books, and only one other, Rachel, was named in four books. The twenty-five women chosen were cumulatively mentioned 384 times in the Tanakh, which works out to an average of about fifteen occurrences per woman. As such, at fourteen citations, Miriam did not have any particular claim to fame by this criterion. The second step involved calculating the number of Novel Assertions that the Tanakh makes about each of these biblical characters. Among the twenty-five women, there is a cumulative total of 1,324 Novel Assertions, an average of fifty-three per woman. Miriam accrues only forty-one Novel Assertions, falling somewhat below the average. Presumably, the redactors of the Tanakh either faithfully reproduced or abridged what they received or were otherwise content with Miriam's share of development. The third step towards evaluating Miriam's uniqueness in Midrash involved the Mid/Tan ratio, defined as a quantitative assessment of how often a character is encountered in midrashic sources compared to the occurrence in the Tanakh. A very high occurrence of naming of a character in midrashic collections is at least compatible with that character being more of a "household word" among the midrashists and among those who may have read or heard their material. Miriam turned out to be the female biblical character whose name is most frequently mentioned in the midrashim of Late Antiquity proportionate

to the number of namings in the Tanakh. Though her name occurs only fourteen times in the Tanakh, she is named 354 times in the Bar Ilan Database in collections through 640 CE, giving her a Mid/Tan Ratio of 25.3, compared to an average Mid/Tan Ratio of 7.8 for the other women.

The final step in this series towards evaluating Miriam's uniqueness in Midrash involved the EBNI score, felt to be the most accurate comparative indicator of the degree to which a character is proportionately further developed in Midrash, as presented in Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, relative to each one's original biblical development. The "Extra-Biblical Novelty Index," (EBNI) is defined as a quantitative assessment of how many additional Novel Assertions are found in a character's midrashic presentation compared to and above and beyond the Novel Assertions available about the same character from the Tanakh. The average EBNI score calculated based on 23 of the women is 2.18. This means that the surveyed biblical women average an additional twofold further elaboration of Novel Assertions in Midrash above and beyond information presented about them in the Tanakh. Miriam's EBNI score of 5.9 is higher than that of any other woman's midrashic elaborations, making her quite unique. Of interest, her brother Aaron the High Priest has an EBNI score of only 0.82, and her midrashic mate, Caleb, has a score of 0.96. These findings taken cumulatively show that Miriam has been subject to a disproportionately greater elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity than any other female.

Given this objective measure concerning Miriam's disproportionate midrashic elaboration, I decided to subject the Well to a similar assessment, comparing it to the

Manna and Pillar of Cloud with which it was regularly associated in Midrash, especially in the traditions linking it to Miriam. Had an attempt been made to calculate an EBNI Score for the Well based on the reality of a lack of actual Novel Assertions from the Tanakh, the result would have been meaningless ($77 \div 0$). Fully 100% of Well Novel Assertions are novel to the Tanakh, and Miriam could then be said to have been linked to an entity infinitely more novel than were Moses and Aaron. Therefore, the Well was assigned ten fictitious “roots of reality” in the biblical text. Even allowing this accommodation, the Well’s EBNI score at 7.7 made it over three to four times more elaborated in Midrash than the cousins to which it is compared. For whatever reason, despite the Well’s extra-biblical origin, the midrashists were relatively more involved in further elaborating the story of the Well than they were in embellishing novelties about the Pillar of Cloud and the Manna. I viewed this as part of the larger picture of Miriam as one of three prophet siblings sent to lead Israel in the Wilderness. Each sibling has been midrashically linked to a useful implement for assisting the people. Though the entity associated with Miriam differed in not even having been biblically identified, it is nevertheless the most midrashically elaborated. This offers an additional perspective from which to posit Miriam’s uniqueness in the midrashic literature in that object and persona seem to have been well matched in their propensity to accrue Novel Assertions beyond their biblical due. More generally, a picture emerges in which Midrash appears to take an interest in emphasizing the equality of each of Israel’s three wilderness leaders through their each having been the steward of an amenity of great value to the people’s survival. However, there was a troubling consideration even after I had demonstrated Miriam’s

unique midrashic ranking compared to other biblical females. Specifically, I wondered to what degree her midrashic legacy truly reflected the creative handiwork of the Rabbis of Late Antiquity, as opposed to their having functioned more as archivists who recorded earlier relatively more actively growing Miriam traditions prior to their own involvement.

In trying to get a handle on the possibility that Miriam's midrashic portrayal could have conceivably reflected earlier traditions they had inherited, I focused on the model of the Rivers in the Desert theme from the Well Assertions since it had provided a prototype of relatively novel material appearing in early collections of Late Antiquity. In that case, a number of scriptural sources were identified that attested to much earlier traditions of wilderness waterways. What became apparent in considering the contribution of rabbinic creativity in the case of that theme is that rather than fabricating the core imagery of the waterways strands, the Rabbis built on earlier traditions, providing enhancements to the original story. Applying this perspective to Miriam, I asked if all of the 360 identified Miriam Novel Assertions appearing in collections of Late Antiquity were traditions initiated exclusively by the Rabbis, or if some of them similarly reflected portions of her legacy predating Late Antiquity that they then recorded and selectively further enhanced. If I ignored this possibility, I would risk overestimating the legacy that Miriam accrued in Late Antiquity itself. Therefore, in order to place in perspective how much of her saga was truly a result of rabbinic creativity, rather than representing traditions she had already accrued prior to Late Antiquity, I turned attention to further researching precursor traditions to Miriam's legacy predating the midrashists.

SECTION VII-F

A Review of Miriam's Growth in Precursor Traditions as a First Historical Hypothesis
Explaining her Prominence in Late Antiquity Midrashim

Chapter IV builds a case that Miriam entered Late Antiquity already in possession of a significant extra-biblical legacy upon which the Rabbis then further elaborated, and that in fact the majority of Unanticipated Miriam themes have their roots in Antiquity. The search for attestations began with the Qumran scrolls, in which I found eleven items pertinent to Miriam, dated as early as ca. 150 BCE. Compared to the Tanakh's brief accounts of Miriam as daughter of Amram and Jochebed, sister of Moses and Aaron, prophetess-leader, the Qumranic mentions of her birth, her secret/prophecy, her marriage and offspring, and the possible fuller rendering of her song suggest an expanded and enhanced tradition of Miriam as a heroic leader in her own right. All this bears witness to her importance in the period of the Second Temple and points to an ongoing interest in her persona through the centuries. Matching the Qumran material to the list of Unanticipated Miriam themes, at least three and probably four of them – those related to the fact of her marriage, to a confirmation that she had offspring, her addressing the women, and very likely to her prophecy regarding the birth of Moses – predated the rabbinic era, establishing that though the Rabbis enlarged upon these, and provided her with a different husband and offspring, they did not originate the basic assertions of her marital status or motherhood. The degree of detail concerning her marriage – her age at the time, the year, the length of the feast, and the involvement of Amram – are all rather impressive

indications of her general importance in Antiquity, and this in itself suggests that there may have been other traditions for which there are currently no attestations. Equally of interest, at least nine of the eleven contentions regarding Miriam from Qumran are never mentioned at all in the Midrash, suggesting that the midrashic account of Miriam is by no means an exhaustive record of traditions related to her.

This impression that there might well be other extra-biblical pre-Common Era lost traditions about her was further substantiated by a review of the writings of a group of early Authors. Following the trend of the Qumran texts, only four of the twenty-six Novel Assertions from these Authors are later repeated in the Midrash, again showing that the midrashim are not exhaustive as a source of Miriam traditions. Pseudo-Philo further amplifies the strand about Miriam's prophecy related to Moses' birth, thus adding credibility to the interpretation of Qumran source Q-8 as describing Miriam's early prophetic activity: That Pseudo-Philo includes a good amount of detail further suggests that this tradition may have evolved over time. Regarding the marriage traditions, Josephus names Hur as Miriam's spouse, something possibly hinted at in Qumran source Q-7, and identifies Uri and Betsalel as her son and grandson. Finally, the traditions attested to by Pseudo-Philo both of the special Well that followed the Israelites and of Miriam's association with it, could arguably date to as early as the first century BCE (Jacobson 199; Strugnell *EJ*). Therefore, all major Miriam Unanticipated themes have roots prior to Late Antiquity with the possible exceptions of the identification of Miriam as a midwife and her being ancestress to David.

Perhaps the greatest insight from a review of both Qumranic and early Author sources has been the recognition that Midrash uses the same language as both Qumran and Philo in limiting the audience that Miriam addressed at the Sea. All three sources imply that Miriam said her song only to the women, in contrast to the text of Exodus 15:21, which allows for the possibility that Miriam said her song to both the men and women. I credit the Rabbis with a compulsively meticulous care in picking up on scriptural linguistic subtleties, and cannot attribute their de facto limitation of Miriam's role to other than a purposeful cover-up. In my mind, the only question deals with trying to understand their motives. In this regard, though one usually thinks of the midrashic process as one of enlarging on the biblical record, there is nothing to preclude the possibility that on occasion the Rabbis may have been uncomfortable with the implications of a literal reading of Scripture. In such cases, not only is attention owed to their elaborations of biblical text, but also to telling hints suggesting suppression of apparent biblical intent. When I realized that the effect of Qumran, Philo, and Midrash was to reduce the scope of Miriam's leadership at the Sea, I could not but recall the most significant puzzle of the midrashic slighting of her roles at the Sea and River. Since I had already convinced myself that Miriam's very positive midrashic legacy had largely excluded simple misogyny as an explanation of these slighted roles, I began to review other possible rationales that might elucidate the lack of elaboration of her positive biblical portrayals at the River and Sea, along with the linguistic diminishment of her audience. However, before further developing this hypothesis through mythic patterning with Hathor, I more fully assessed the other very

prominent theme common to both Qumran and the Authors, which related to the assertion of Miriam's marriage.

Much of the discussion of Miriam's uniqueness relates to her extra-biblical portrayal. Yet, I did note that she is the only biblical woman to be named in five books of the Tanakh, and to this I now add the Tanakh's complete silence about her marital status. Through an exercise in biblical patterning, she is identifiable as the only woman for whom there are multiple roles and mentions, but with no biblical account of marriage, progeny, or sexual union. Her case is in fact so atypical that it might lend support to conjectures of there being lost traditions concerning her marriage, either unintended or due to some rationale that may have motivated biblical redactors to exclude or leave unexplained her marital status. However, in partial explanation, though Miriam's lack of association with a spouse, especially given her general stature, is quite anomalous and incongruous with the scriptural affinity for genealogy, the Tanakh similarly leaves up in the air the conjugal status of three of its four named prophetesses. Given the firmly rooted midrashic explanation that Moses separated from his wife because of the demands of his own prophetic calling, there would appear to be a pattern with both rabbinic and biblical antecedents that distances prophets and prophetesses from the expectations of usual domestic involvements. In this sense, one consequence of Miriam not being attached conjugally in a domestic alliance is that it makes her role as a prophetess more impressive. Faced with the reality of how Qumran, early Authors, and Midrash all paid substantial attention to her marriages, I concluded that these traditions likely had early roots, plausibly even known to biblical redactors. In trying to rationalize how apparently conflicting marital

traditions may have coexisted, mythic patterning based on Hathor provides a model in which Miriam may have been viewed as both married and celibate.

The choice of looking to a thirteenth century BCE Egyptian female mythic figure for an archetype allowing insights into possible early Miriam traditions assumes that Israel did have cross-cultural contacts with Egypt. Even if the degree of this contact may have been more minimal than Scripture's account, the biblical storyline attests to a strong presence of intercultural motifs. I take the view that any textual romantizations have their basis in actual interactions between populations, a thesis supported by Modrzejewski who after discussing the origins of the word "*ibri*" and its analogues in Egyptian texts, notes the following:

In regard to the Hebrews, another Egyptian term should be taken into account: *Shosu*. It first appears in texts from the fifteenth century BCE, under the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425), where it applies to the turbulent nomads of the Negev, whose numerous incursions were countered by the Pharaonic troops of the New Empire. The *Shosu* were brave warriors, who could be conscripted into the Egyptian army or employed as forced laborers. Under the rule of the Ramesside dynasties, some became temple servants of the goddess Hathor or of Amon in Thebes. They were divided into clans, one of which bore the name of YHW, a word which naturally caught the eye of historians searching for the ancestors of the Israelites in Egypt, since it is the abridged form of the Divine Name, the Tetragrammaton, later to appear in the documents of the Judean colony of Elephantine. (Modrzejewski 6)

Notwithstanding the tentative status of applying Modrzejewski's observations to a contention of possible Israelite involvement with Hathor worship, neither Scripture nor Midrash is shy in admitting to Israel's exposure to and involvement with idolatry and pagan practices, both in Egypt and later. In the case of Miriam, I wanted to explore a hypothesis that the reason why her River and Sea Roles are cryptic in the

Torah and then only minimally further developed in later sources (Qumran, early authors, and Midrash) is because they were mixed with pagan elements not in keeping with the Judaism those involved with these sources wished to preserve. Yet, the only way I could raise this train of thought from an idle speculation to a plausible conjecture was to anchor my hypothesis in cross-cultural patterning common to Israelite and Egyptian models. I reasoned that if I could identify sufficient parallels between some of Miriam's roles and characterizations and a well-attested mythic Egyptian female, I could at least make a tenable conjecture about early Miriam traditions, and how remnants of these may have been reworked to form the precursor traditions that filtered through later redactors, the Authors, and midrashists.

In Table IV-D-5, I grouped over three dozen components of Miriam's cumulative portrayal into nine sub-categories, and then noted motifs she shared with Hathor. From the biographical and geographical associations, both were married to Hur/Horus and had a son of the same name. Of interest, the marriages were not ones implying domestic encumbrances, but were rather of symbolic value in establishing genealogical relationships. Both Hathor and Miriam are associated with a spring-season festival of rejoicing, and both had a following especially among women. However, whereas Hathor is venerated by her cult, Miriam's biblical portrayal contains no hint of her being an object of adoration. Yet, the Book of Judith presents a striking Miriam-type portrayal with the imprint of her Song at the Sea, suggesting that in earlier traditions she, like Judith, may have been perceived more as a cult heroine. Finally, in addition to their mutual relation with Egypt and the Nile, both Miriam and

Hathor are associated with the Sinai peninsula, since Hathor had an established cult there.

Both Hathor and Miriam served protective and nurturing roles. On review of the two graphic attestations of Hathor's involvement in giving water (Fig IV-E-5 and Fig IV-D-2), it is tempting to see a parallel with Miriam's provision of water through the Well, and it is of interest that IV-D-2 specifically depicts the water source as subterranean. Similarly, just as Hathor is associated with healing, including from blindness, Miriam carries an analogous association through her Well whose waters are healing. Regarding their stature, just as Hathor is strongly involved with Egyptian royalty, Miriam is linked both to the imperial family of Egypt, and to a triumvirate of Israel's royal family through her siblings, and later with David. Both figures had legacies that followed them into Late Antiquity and beyond. Both are involved as advocates of procreative relationships without primarily erotic intent, and both engage in infant protection roles, including their involvement as midwives. Likewise, both are associated with prophetic prowess, specifically related to predictions regarding the unborn. Just as Hathor is known as a goddess of music, mistress of dance, and is depicted with tambourine players, Miriam is likewise a tambourine player, and leader of women who likewise play tambourines and dance. Hathor and Miriam also both share similar patterning in being agents of fecundity through sources of ground water. Hathor triggers the rise of the Nile so that it can perform its irrigative function. Likewise, through the Well Miriam's name is associated with the provision of rivers in the desert that enable the germination of all species of trees and grasses along its

banks. Both Miriam and Hathor are described in special numerical associations using threes and sevens.

Though Scripture arguably provides examples of bovine imagery related to Moses, Joseph, and to God Himself, and though Aaron had a direct role in the Golden Calf incident, finding clues to Miriam's association with bovine forms was more challenging. The clearest attestations are the trails left by Josephus and Midrash implicating her with the Red Heifer's atonement for the Golden calf. Yet, her general closeness to Aaron, her midrashic son Hur's potential involvement with the Golden Calf, and the dance imagery attached uniquely to the episode of the Golden Calf and with the festivities at the Sea may provide clues of traditions in which she was involved with cultic bovine imagery, especially in celebrating the crossing of the Sea that Israel attributed to a Golden Calf at Sinai.

Since Miriam has been disproportionately elaborated in Late Antiquity compared to other biblical females, but many midrashic Miriam themes have been shown to be pre-rabbinic, the implication is that Miriam's legacy may have also had relatively accelerated accruals prior to Late Antiquity. Given this assumption, I was faced with considering why she may have prospered well in traditions of Antiquity. Patterning with Hathor provided a model of how a female leader such as Miriam may have been prototypically cast in Near Eastern traditions of Antiquity. However, this patterning did not address how Miriam may have functioned within the cultural and literary dynamics of Scripture. In beginning first with her biblical role, I pointed out that a female prophetess among the triumvirate of Israel's leading family of liberators may have above all provided a dimension of womanly warmth and allowed for the

emergence of imagery appropriate to the female domain. Since – lacking any role as either wife or mother – no argument can be made that Miriam was an incidental female bystander necessary simply to establish a genealogical lineage, one must take seriously the actual roles she fulfills. Judging from scriptural accounts alone, her activities not only bracket the deliverance from Egypt from start to finish, but create and celebrate Israel’s exodus to nationhood in a context of specifically female imagery at the River and Sea. Israel’s deliverance begins with Miriam’s arguably decisive protective role in watching over Israel’s redeemer at the River, along with her quick-witted interaction with Pharaoh’s daughter to arrange for his nursing. This enables the culminating event of the crossing of the Sea marked by her womanly leadership in dance and music at Israel’s greatest moment of triumphant celebration. In a literary sense, this gives her credibility to subsume in later traditions the role of protecting all infants through her being one of the midwives, and in other mothering and nurturing roles, including her facilitation of Moses’ birth through reuniting her parents and trying to re-establish Moses conjugal life so that he might further procreate. Of interest then, though it has been noted that early traditions of her being a prophetess unencumbered by domestic duties may attest to her stature, later traditions seem to invest her as a generic agent of mothering compassion who becomes the repository of maternal imagery associated with the birth of Israel’s nationhood. Thus, while the seminal role of the matriarchs remains as a firm backdrop, Miriam becomes the “Mother of the Jewish Nationhood” much as Moses is its greatest luminary and leader.

To the degree that Israel may have benefited from maternal imagery in its earliest traditions, that need would likely have persisted during the centuries leading to

Late Antiquity, predicting continued vitality and expansion of her saga. I have posited this in terms of her having been a type of maternal culture heroine who provided emotional value similar to that which goddess figures such as Hathor and Asherah provided in their respective societies. Though a general interest in such imagery is attested in Scripture by linguistic depictions such as the spousal imagery of God-Israel, Zion, and Lady Wisdom, the lore of culture heroines may have been more within the reach of the populace. Miriam's cumulative portrayal qualifies her as a culture heroine. She argues with her father to remarry so Israel's redeemer can be born. As a midwife she disobeys Pharaoh's direct order regarding the newborn males, later lying to him when questioned. She watches over the fate of her infant brother at the River and engages in the risky gambit of approaching Pharaoh's daughter to reunite Moses with his mother. She has a sufficient following to exercise leadership at the Sea, and must accrue some sense of awe in being called "prophetess." Finally, she dares to speak about Moses, enduring divine punishment for her audacity, all with the noble end of reuniting him with his wife. Furthermore, based on Miriam's association with the Well as attested by Pseudo-Philo, it is conceivable that a popular tradition in which she was associated with the provision of water may have existed. Whether or not there were pre-monarchic traditions about Miriam having mediated the provision of water through the Well-Rock, or whether they surfaced later, at whatever point her linkage to the Well emerged, the final result is significant: Miriam's name would thereby have been associated with the commodity most needed for a viable society – water. In this sense, Miriam's legacy would have been intertwined with a pervasively crucial commodity, something that cannot be said of anything the matriarchs, or other

later women with whom Miriam has been compared, had to offer. To the degree that this may have been so, her role as a nurturing cultural heroine may have been further augmented by her association with the provision of water, predicting another grounds for her favorably disproportionate elaboration prior to Late Antiquity in comparison with that of other biblical women.

In evaluating the impact of precursor traditions suggested by assessments of information from early Authors, Qumran, biblical patterning, Egyptian mythic prototyping, and finally through conjectures related to a culture heroine role, the final result is a hypothesis that Miriam's legacy may have been substantially enhanced even prior to the involvement of the midrashists in Late Antiquity. The implications of this on how the Rabbis may have functioned are far reaching. A rhetorical question can be posed: Would the Rabbis have been more credible in Jewish and intercultural contexts if they were generally viewed as inventively creative in "recording" Unanticipated themes with major novel traditions about biblical characters? Or would they have been more respected by earning a reputation of faithfully rendering what was generally believed to have been authentic? Rabbinic Judaism recognizes an Oral Torah that has the same origin as Scripture:

250-300: Sifra B'chuqotai 2:8

"These are the statutes and the rulings and the Torahs." The statutes are the interpretations and the rulings are the laws. "And the Torahs" teaches that two Torahs were given to them, to Israel. One written and one oral ... "In Mt. Sinai, in Moses' hand" teaches that the Torah, its *halakhot*, the explanation of its fine points, and its interpretations was given upon Moses' hand, from Sinai.

For the Rabbis, there was a direct chain of transmission of oral tradition, classically stipulated in mAbot 1:1, that "Moses received the Torah from Sinai and delivered it to

Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and [the] elders to the prophets, and the prophets delivered it to the men of the Great Assembly.” The Rabbis would have been on much firmer footing in recording traditions of Miriam’s childhood prophecy and interaction in reuniting her parents, her marriage, offspring, and there having been a thirst-quenching and fructifying Well given “upon her hand” if these were relatively well-known traditions from earlier times than if they had chosen to introduce these by a process of mythopoesis. From a standpoint of the integrity of rabbinic process to onlookers, that which bears a trail stemming from antiquity is more persuasively authentic. Seen in this sense, the contention of a quantitatively substantial and qualitatively diverse set of precursor traditions as a basis for Miriam’s disproportionate midrashic elaboration depicts the Rabbis as inheritors and preservers of past legacies rather than their creative inventors. All this argues for a “basis in reality” of there having actually been diverse traditions dealing with the Well and of Miriam’s association with it. Miriam may indeed have been commonly recalled as an agent involved with the provision of water, and the Rabbis may therefore have felt themselves remiss by not including in their collections a contention which may have been generally well known. However, this creates two problems. In the first place, if the Miriam’s Well tradition was relatively established in Antiquity, and may arguably have been known to Pseudo-Philo as early as the first century BCE, why is it not until collections of the second half of Late Antiquity that her closer relationship with it first began to appear? Secondly, given their attention to prior traditions, why were her involvements at the River and Sea relatively underdeveloped in Midrash?

One possible explanation of a muted elaboration of Miriam's water associations is that since the earliest redactions of Scripture, through the Qumran and early Author texts, and finally into the rabbinic era, traditions associating her with the provision of water were sufficiently infused with pagan overtones to cause these portions of her legacy to be downplayed and minimized. In this regard, we have already noted how accounts in Qumran, Philo, and Midrash have effectively reduced her leadership role at the Sea to one in which she addressed only the women. To further develop a more general argument that a deliberate avoidance of unseemly material may have motivated the decisions of those involved in a favorable portrayal of Judaism, Patai and Feldman make this point in varied other contexts.

Patai focuses on both Philo's and Josephus' treatment of the Cherubim, winged celestial beings in the Bible. Regarding their appearance in a cultic setting, wooden cherubim overlaid with gold faced each other on the Ark cover in the Tabernacle (Ex 25:18-20; 37:7-9) and were also embroidered on the veil and the curtains (Ex 26:31; 36:35; 26:1; 36:8). In Solomon's Temple they were carved on doors, panels, walls, borders (1Kings 6:29, 32-35; 7:29, 36; 2Chr 3:7, 14), while two huge cherubim were set in "the inner house" (1Kings 6:23-28; 2Chr 3:10-13), covering the Ark (1Chr 28:18). According to 2Chronicles 3:13, the cherubim were "standing on their feet and their faces inward." Finally, in Ezekiel's vision of the Temple, cherubim are carved on its walls and doors (Ez 41:18-20, 25). Patai's assessment reviews both Philo's and Josephus' descriptions of the Tabernacle and Temple cherubim, comparing them with what the BTalmud records. First, he starts with Philo's allegorical discussion of their presence in the Tabernacle:

But the cover, which is called the mercy-seat, serves to support the two winged creatures which in the Hebrew are called cherubim, but, as we should term them, recognition and full knowledge. Some hold that, since they are facing each other, they are symbols of the two hemispheres, one above the earth and one under it, for the whole heaven has wings. (*On the Life of Moses* II:20:97-98)

As for the Temple, Philo explains that no one can see what is inside:

Right in the very middle stands the sanctuary itself with a beauty baffling description, to judge from what is exposed to view. For all inside is unseen except by the high priest alone, and indeed he, though charged with the duty of entering once a year, gets no view of anything. For he takes with him a brazier full of lighted coals and incense, and the great quantity of vapour which this naturally gives forth covers everything around it, beclouds the eyesight and prevents it from being able to penetrate to any distance. (*On the Special Laws* I:13:72)

And while his treatise on the Cherubim refers mostly to the beings themselves, at one point he does provide another depiction of the cherubim on the Ark:

But perhaps on another interpretation the two Cherubim represent the two hemispheres. For we read that the Cherubim stand face to face with their wings inclining to the mercy-seat (Ex 25:19). And so, too, the hemispheres are opposite to each other and stretch out to the earth, the centre of all things, which actually parts them. (*On the Cherubim* I:8:25)

Josephus describes the cherubim in the Tabernacle as “winged creatures these, but in form unlike to that of any that man’s eyes have seen, and Moses says that he saw them sculptured upon the throne of God” (*Ant* 3.6.5). About Solomon’s Temple, Josephus says, “As for the cherubim themselves, no one can say or imagine what they looked like” (*Ant* 8.3.3). Finally, describing the Second Temple, he says that in the Holy of Holies “stood nothing whatever” (*War* 5.5.5). However, in trying to set the record straight against an accusation that Antiochus Epiphanes had found “an ass’ head” in the Holy of Holies, Josephus changes his story:

... when the temple was occupied by successive conquerors ... **they found there nothing of the kind, but the purest type of religion, the secrets of which we may not reveal to aliens.** The raid of Antiochus [Epiphanes] on the temple was iniquitous, that it was impecuniosity which drove him to invade it, when he was not an open enemy, that he attacked us, his allies and friends, and that he found there nothing to deserve ridicule. (*Against Apion* 2.7)

And once again, a few paragraphs below:

The sanctuary was entered only by the high-priests ... no vessel whatever might be carried into the temple, the only objects in which were an altar, a table, a censer, and al lampstand, all mentioned in the Law. **There was nothing more** ... (*Against Apion* 2.8)

BTalmud Yoma 21b indicates that the cherubim were one of the five things that were in Solomon's Temple but not in the Second Temple. However, further on Yoma 54a states that there were indeed cherubim, "who were joined to each other," representing God's love for Israel. In Yoma 54b, Resh Laqish relates that when the foreigners entered the Temple, "they saw cherubim that were joined this with this. They took them to the market and they said, 'This Israel, that their blessing is a blessing and their curse is a curse, will occupy themselves in these matters?' Immediately they despised them, as it is said (Lam 1), 'All who honored her despised her for they saw her nakedness.'"

After reviewing the above data, Raphael Patai opines that the Talmudic account "sounds like a tradition handed down from eyewitnesses a few generations previously" (Patai 91). He posits that both Philo and Josephus seem to be involved in something like a "cover-up" regarding the cherubim. In his opinion, "Philo's tendency to gloss over the tangible form of the Cherubim ... and to direct all attention

to their symbolic significance is quite evident” (Patai 75). Regarding Josephus, Patai argues that

on the one hand, Josephus felt constrained to deny the existence of any image or object in the Holy of Holies in accordance with his tendency to represent Judaism as a purely aniconic religion in both doctrine and ritual. On the other, he felt impelled to impress upon his readers ... his own thorough familiarity with even the most secret aspects of Jewish religion. (Patai 82)

Patai concludes that perhaps Philo and Josephus were embarrassed. Since they were “Jewish apologists familiar with Hellenistic culture and religion,” they were afraid that the Hellenists would see the statues of the cherubim “as analogous in purport and intent to [their] own images of gods and goddesses” (Patai 83).

Louis Feldman offers a second example of downplaying of traditions with negative connotations, noting how the historian Josephus elected to omit any discussion of the Golden Calf in his writings. Feldman provides a general rationale of its unflattering content, but also a more specific argument relevant to Josephus’ priestly background. He also contrasts Pseudo-Philo’s management of the same material:

As to the omission of the Golden Calf incident (Exod. 32), including its reference to the role of the Levites, Professor Begg suggests that this omission is due particularly to its unflattering image of the Israelites. True, this contains an unflattering image of the Israelites, and this is most probably a factor in Josephus’ omission of the incident; but I would suggest two other factors that are relevant to our topic, namely the embarrassing role, especially embarrassing to Josephus, the proud priest, played by Aaron, the ancestor of the priests; and on the other hand, the fact that it was the Levites who stood up against the rest of the Israelites and remained loyal to Moses (Exod 32:28-9) and who were consequently blessed. Interestingly, Pseudo-Philo (12), who does not omit this incident in his version, says nothing at all about the role of the Levites; but, as Jacobson correctly notes, Pseudo-Philo throughout his account of this episode, tries vigorously to depict Aaron favorably

and to absolve him of guilt. Unlike Josephus, who as a priest, has a particular reason for seeking to protect the reputation of Aaron, Pseudo-Philo apparently does not, and he does not want to make it appear that he is denigrating Aaron while praising the role of the Levites. (Feldman)

Patai and Feldman's writings posit a basis of selectivity in transmission of material which the early Authors may have felt was not in the best interest of the Judaism they wished to portray. There is no reason to limit such a motive only to them. The Rabbis had an equally vested interest in selectively perpetuating traditions during the period of emergence of classic Judaism. It is my speculation that the relative midrashic underdevelopment of Miriam's favorable River and Sea biblical portrayals as well as the conservative early characterizations of her relation to the Well are in themselves attestations to traditions of Antiquity linking her to water in contexts with pagan overtones. Though I shall return to this later, providing a theory as to why the Rabbis eventually lost their inhibitions in providing more enhanced traditions of her relationship to the Well, I will first further review other theories involving both how the Rabbis modified and expanded earlier traditions of Miriam's marriage and progeny, and intercultural contexts of her elaboration.

SECTION VII-G

A Review of Miriam's Marital Traditions and Being Ancestress of David as a Second Historical Context Explaining her Prominence in Late Antiquity Midrashim

Of all the Unanticipated Miriam themes, the Assertions that Caleb was her spouse and David her descendant stand alone as Assertions without apparent attestation prior to the midrashic elaborations of Late Antiquity. In considering the likelihood that her link to David and associated marriage with Caleb are truly expressions of rabbinic creativity rather than lost earlier traditions, Chapter V reviewed in detail her other nuptials to attempt to identify trends and clarify possible historical circumstances that might have made the Davidic contention more understandable in contexts exclusive to Late Antiquity. The first result of that investigation was to cast doubt on Bronner's view that Miriam's celibate status was the main challenge facing the Rabbis (Bronner 175-6), who then arranged her marriage to Caleb. The more probable situation was that they inherited a tradition of her marriage, and then adapted it to serve their purposes. As such, they were likely following a pattern pursued earlier by others. The Qumran attestation of Miriam's marriage to her uncle Uzziel, Aaron's brother, is the earliest surviving marital tradition and seems to function to assure the continuity of levitical leadership through all three of Amram's offspring, with kingship invested through Moses, priesthood through Aaron, and prophecy through Miriam. One correlate is that this supports the notion that the idea of a priestly monarchy was current in Second Temple times. By way of contrast, Josephus, and possibly Qumran, depict Miriam as married to Hur, a tradition

plausibly seeking to arrogate authority away from the priesthood and onto Judahite kings, thereby creating a Levi-Judah fusion. Though this model is retained by the midrashists of Late Antiquity, for reasons which initially remained unexplained, the Rabbis linked Miriam to a new Judahite spouse, Caleb, despite the probability that they were at least aware of the prior tradition of her marriage to Hur. That both Hur and Caleb are portrayed in Scripture as individuals of stature who are close to Moses makes the switch of spouses even more perplexing. However, what is not in doubt is that the Miriam-Caleb union was associated with their being the ancestors of David, which reinforced David's stature as well as providing prestige to those who later claimed to be among his descendants.

In further trying to confirm that the Caleb-Miriam-David continuum was largely a product of rabbinic thinking, I have pursued two further approaches. The first is well developed in Chapter V, contending that the popularization of these midrashim may have functioned as part of rabbinic propaganda to enhance the Patriarch's status, whose family already claimed a link to David. The second approach is more literary, entailing an examination of the complexity of midrashic Novel Assertions involved in constructing Miriam's link to David. Whereas the background for his descent from Ruth is already worked out in Scripture, a credible case has to be made to support the non-scripturally based contention of his coming from Miriam. I believe that the core assumptions the Rabbis made, the care with which they developed their argument, and the new Novel Assertions they posited, all serve to substantiate the importance they attached to Miriam's connection to David becoming credible and durably implanted among Late Antiquity traditions. In the

process of making this argument shortly, I will review portions of the hallmark midrash that first introduced David's link to Miriam. In so doing, I will also raise an issue of a pitfall of the approach I have pursued in working with Novel Assertions. The results from this study achieved by extracting relevant information bits from many midrashim and then grouping them thematically have proved its worth in tracking progressive enhancements to specific themes. However, focusing on these Novel Assertions out of context from the full text of the midrashim from which they come slights an additional process invaluable towards understanding the larger intentions of the Rabbis. Furthermore, the lists of Novel Assertions do not clearly identify the Rabbis to whom some of the items have been attributed. For example, on viewing the Novel Assertions alone, it is not immediately apparent that Rab and Shmuel not only were the first to be associated with Miriam's being ancestress to David, but were similarly the first to whom were attributed the "Miriam's Well" formulation, its ritual cleanness as a wandering spring, the identification of Miriam as one of the midwives, and her marriage to Caleb. I would propose that future midrashic research based on Novel Assertions contain references to the Rabbis in whose names traditions are initially reported. This would facilitate studying their favored midrashic topics alongside of what is known about their general dossiers, offering new potential historical correlations on the growth of midrashic traditions.

To demonstrate the added benefit of viewing Novel Assertions in context, I will focus on C230 (ca. 275 CE), which offers an opportunity to consider the core assumptions, careful arguments, and Novel Assertions the Rabbis used in constructing the case for David's extra-biblical ancestry. Not only is C230 the earliest midrash to

posit the basic components of the Caleb-Miriam-David link, but it does so in a way that juxtaposes in a single midrash David's being a descendant of both Ruth and Miriam, in both cases presenting this as a reward of kingship, leaving no doubt that the Rabbis were aware of this duality and comfortable with it. Most contentions of C230 are repeated in C308 in the Babylonian Talmud discussion of Mishnah Sotah 1.8-1.9 (C222), and I will review them collectively. C230 presents a parallel between how both Ruth and Miriam will be rewarded.

And thus you find Ruth the Moabitess, what she said to her mother-in-law, "Your people is my people and your God my God, where you die I will die (Ruth 1:16-17). God said to her, "you did not miss out on anything, therefore the kingship is yours in this world and the kingship is yours in the world to come ... "And her sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him" (Ex 2:4). And he said, "As you assist the Hebrew women in giving birth," "and the midwives feared God," etc. These houses, I do not know what they are. When it says, "at the end of 20 years that Solomon built the two houses (1Kings 9:10): the House of God is priesthood and the House of the King is the kingship. Jochebed merited the priesthood and Miriam the kingship ... David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons.

Though the Bible has provided all the background for David's descent from Ruth, the Rabbis must create the case for Miriam. They do so as part of a midrashic elaboration of Mishnah Sotah 1:8-9, dated to as early as the first half of the third century. In general, this mishnah extols what I shall call "acts of *chesed*" and links them to future rewards. Near the end of its midrashic elaboration, the Rabbis cite God's own acts of *g'milut chasadim* in clothing Adam and Eve and burying Moses. The mishnah begins by contrasting two individuals whose vanity brought them due punishment with two whose good acts were rewarded, allowing Miriam to be distinguished alongside of Moses and Joseph for her act of goodness:

200-250: Mishnah Sotah 1:8-9

Samson went after [the desire of] his eyes; therefore the Philistines put out his eyes; ... Absalom gloried in his hair; therefore he was hanged by his hair; ... It is the same on the matter of the good: Miriam waited for Moses one hour, as it is said, "And his sister stood from afar" (Ex 2:4), therefore Israel were delayed for her in the wilderness seven days, as it is said, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam." Joseph earned merit by burying his father ... Whom do we have greater than Joseph, over whom none other but Moses occupied himself [with his burial]?

The midrashic discussion then capitalizes on Miriam's "goodness," drawing a parallel by showing how David's ancestry – both from its Judahite and Levite origins – is seminally infused with acts of kindness, first through discussing Tamar's role:

Ca. 550: BTalmud Sotah 10b

"And Judah saw her and he thought her a harlot because she had covered her face." Because she had covered her face he thought her to be a harlot? Said R. Eleazar, "For she had covered her face in her father-in-law's house, since R. Shmuel b. Nachmani said R. Yonatan said, 'Every daughter-in-law who is modest in her father-in-law's house merits, and from her come forth kings and prophets. From where? From Tamar ... Kings, from David'" ... "And she, she sent to her father-in-law, saying, 'For the man who [owns] these I conceived.' But she should have told him [the messenger]! ... "It is easier for a man to make himself fall into the furnace of fire so he will not shame his fellow in public." From where? From Tamar.

Having linked the merit of Tamar's good deeds in being considerate of Judah to her being mother of Perez, who is an ancestor of Boaz who, with Ruth, is David's great-grandfather, the Rabbis continue their elaboration of the mishnah to in turn link Miriam's acts of goodness as one "sent from the high heavens" to assist as a midwife to her eventual reward through the royal house of David. We must note the continuation of the general theme of *chesed*, expanded now to include the Israelite women in general, and then focused on Miriam:

C308. Ca. 550: BTalmud Sotah 11b

And R. Avira expounded, “In reward for righteous women who were in that same generation, were Israel redeemed from Egypt. At the time of their going to draw water, the Holy One, blessed be He, would summon for them small fish in their pitchers, and they would draw half water and half fish. And they would come and put on the fire two pots, one of hot water and one of fish, and they would bring to their husbands in the field. And they would wash them and anoint them and feed them and give them to drink and have sexual intercourse with them among the sheepfolds ... And when they became pregnant, they would return to their houses. And when the time for their childbirth arrived, they would go and give birth in the field under the apple [tree] ... And the Holy One, blessed be He, would send from the high heavens someone who cleaned and made them pleasing, as a midwife who makes the infant pleasing ... “And the king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives” Shifrah – this is Jochebed. And why was her name called Shifrah? Because she would make the infant pleasing ... Puah – this is Miriam. And why was her name called Puah? Because she would cry out (and take out the infant) ... “And the midwives feared God and did not do as [the king] had spoken to them,” etc. – it should say *lahen* [not *aleihen*]! R. Yosi b. Chanina said, “It teaches that he demanded a matter of transgression and they were unyielding.” (Ex 1) “And they kept the [male] children alive.” A *tanna* [taught], “It was not enough for them that they did not kill them, but they supplied them with water and food” ... (Ex 1) “And it happened that the midwives feared God and He made houses for them.” ... “Houses of kingship” ... David also came from Miriam, as it is written (1Chr 2), “And Azuvah died (Caleb’s wife), and he took for himself Efrat ...”

In considering the added information gained from a review of the entire midrash from which the Novel Assertions have been extracted, I will first draw attention to one of its most striking literary motifs, the very generous ennobling of a number of women, all deriving from their acts of *chesed*. In building up to the final explanation of David’s ancestry, the midrashic elaboration not only cites Ruth, Tamar, Jochebed, and Miriam, but collectively credits the entire righteous generation of Israelite women for the deliverance from Egypt. The core assumption that the Rabbis seem to be voicing here in providing multiple examples of women’s acts of *chesed* is

that they are a repository of kindness to which Judaism can entrust its future. In this sense, their investment in this midrashic contention that underlies Miriam's becoming ancestress to David also constructs and parallels the more general principle of matrilineal descent, also an agenda of the Rabbis in Late Antiquity (mKiddushin 3:12). The very positive view of women juxtaposed with the background of David's ancestry strengthens Sorek's and Ramon's contention of the importance that *chesed* may have had in the development of the matrilineal principle. In this regard, in positing Miriam's being one of the midwives, C230 does not base this on her office as prophetess, but directly attributes it to Puah "who groaned and cried over her brother, as it is said, 'And his sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him.'" This further links her to David's own association with *chesed* as one whose descendant would be involved in a distant future redemption of the Jewish people. In the interplay between generally positing the redemptive role of women through acts of *chesed* and specifically building Miriam's progenitive pre-monarchic stature, there is a worthy question to which I will not here attempt an answer. Might further midrashic research help to distinguish which came first, between on the one hand a general advocacy of the matrilineal principle and on the other an enhancement of David's ancestry? Which of these two goals more primarily motivated the Rabbis, or did these two interests evolve more naturally in tandem?

Looking at the full midrash also reveals the literary craftsmanship of the Rabbis in building towards Miriam's being David's ancestress. To demonstrate this, I am numbering the step-by-step components of the case presented, each through separate Assertions, and together attesting to the collective impact of the individual

Novel Assertions in creating a larger story. If we assume that one of the end results was that the House of Gamaliel wished to strengthen its own diarchy as a Judah-Levite fusion, a Davidic descent only from the Moabitess Ruth, the Judahite Nachshon's descendant Boaz did not achieve this. What was needed was a (1) Levite ancestress, and preferably one of (2) stature. Miriam fits this description, and because she is unmarried in Scripture, she is (3) available for genealogical manipulation. However, it is no small matter to assign an individual to be David's ancestor, and (4) anchoring the assertion in a biblical reference (Ex 1:15) provides credibility, especially if the scriptural verse happens to stipulate a reward of "Houses" (e.g., "House of David," 2Sam 7:11). And this is precisely the flow of C230, which begins by explaining that the king of Egypt addressed the Hebrew midwives and then identifies Miriam with the midwife Puah, substantiating a claim to a levitical role in monarchic government as having its roots in Scripture. However, in order for Miriam to be the progenitor of Houses, she must be (5) married, for which reason the Rabbis (6) introduce Caleb as her partner, spending much time in later midrashim to (7) further ennoble him beyond his scripturally provided credits in contexts that associate him with levitical pursuits. So as to leave no doubt of the ultimate purpose of these midrashic manipulations, the final climax is that (8) "David is found among the sons of the sons of Miriam," (rather than "David is found among the sons of the sons of Caleb").

In further appreciating how hard the midrashists may have worked to posit David's descent from Miriam, it is relevant to note that even within the midrashic elaboration of mSotah 1:8-9, a conflicting tradition is reported in the name of the same Rab and Shmuel, in which Miriam is not one of the midwives at all. Rather, the two

midwives are Jochebed and Elisheba, a piece of information which would never have been appreciated by listing only Novel Assertions directly naming Miriam. This again points to the importance of reviewing Novel Assertions in the contexts of the full midrashim from which they come. Still another tradition concedes that Miriam was indeed one of the midwives, but her reward was Wisdom rather than Kingship. Taken together, these strands suggest that the contention of Miriam's link to David may not initially have been a given, but rather was a subject of dynamic rabbinic deliberation, and that the concluding pronouncement of David's being among Miriam descendants may have been hard-won as a result of a commitment of some of the midrashists to its larger importance.

Among issues still unclear from my investigation is whether the association of Miriam as one of the pious midwives is a novelty of entirely rabbinic origin, or whether it is something that the Rabbis inherited from prior traditions. That this association is not found either in Qumran or among the writings of the early Authors allows for a speculation that even if it was a part of thinking prior to Late Antiquity, it may not have been viewed as particularly significant. Yet, there are a number of pieces of evidence that tilt my own bias towards the Miriam-Puah midwife tradition being pre-rabbinic. In the first place, the association is first attributed to Rab and Shmuel who were active in the first half of the third century, making the tradition potentially very early. Secondly, the Dura-Europos murals in general depict well-known traditions, and are a graphic attestation to a Miriam-midwife strand. Thirdly, it may be no coincidence that the Torah's first introduction of Miriam (as Moses' sister) in Exodus 2:4 follows only five verses after its promise to the pious midwives of

houses (Ex 1:21), and both deal with contexts of mitigating Pharaoh's decrees against newborn males. Logic and a respect for a keen interest in Scripture predating Late Antiquity as generally attested by the early Authors make it unlikely that this association between the midwives and Miriam would not have been noticed. Thus, there may indeed have been an unpreserved early tradition. Finally, one might ask if there is not some incongruity in associating someone like the Prophetess Miriam, whose stature places her among a triumvirate of leaders, with one who would have performed the more menial role of a midwife. In this regard, the investigation drawing parallels between Hathor and Miriam is suggestive. Hathor was closely associated with Egypt's royal family, bore close relations to Pharaoh and major deities of the Egyptian pantheon, and is said to have prophesied. Yet, it is not beneath the dignity of this prominently venerated goddess to be associated with giving water to the thirsty, with the playing of the tambourine, and specifically with being a midwife upon whom the Egyptian women called for support. As one views the Ptolemaic relief of Fig. IV-D-3 of the two Hathors assisting a woman in childbirth, it is not at all difficult to see in them a parallel mythic patterning with Shifrah and Puah. This provides a model in which Israel's first Prophetess and national leader could credibly have also served as a midwife, well within keeping of mythic prototypes of the time. I therefore tentatively endorse a view that the core of the tradition associating Miriam as one of the midwives may well have predated the Rabbis, who then further enhanced it to establish her link with David.

The other issue that remains unclear deals with the decision of the Rabbis to entirely bypass the tradition of Miriam's marriage to Hur linking her instead to Caleb.

I went to some length to point out similarities not only between scriptural portrayals of Miriam and David, but also motifs shared between Moses and David. I suspect the Rabbis were very aware of these shared depictions, which may have inspired or facilitated their efforts in pursuing a Judah-Levi fusion in a way harmonious with their interest in the continuity of poetics from Scripture to Midrash. They certainly continued to enhance the legacy of Caleb along these lines, and could well have done the same for Hur had they so wished. In preferring Caleb, one argument is that just as his name appears over twice as many times as Hur's in Scripture, so may he have had the more illustrious career. Yet, given their interest in continuity, I was not convinced that the Rabbis would have disowned the Miriam-Hur tradition only for this reason. One possibility is that in another midrashic strand, Hur is killed (e.g., Num Rabbah 15:21 from ca. 400) when he refuses to assist in making the Golden Calf, and the Rabbis may have found Miriam's marriage to Caleb, who survived to enter the Land, more appealing. However, the issue likely goes deeper. The tradition of Hur's death over the Calf as it appears in Midrash is made plausible because Scripture provides no further roles for Hur after Moses ascends Mt. Sinai (Ex 24:14-15), the descent from which is marked by the calamity of the molten Calf. However, notwithstanding the scriptural sequence, the midrashic account seems strained. It is not usual that high-profile individuals in the Torah who are performing God's will are allowed to suffer a violent death. Furthermore, if Hur had truly died because he refused to make the Calf, this would seem to aggravate Aaron's subsequent complicity. In fact, the midrash enters into what may be apologetics, noting that Aaron chose to make the calf only so that the people would not have had to face the divine consequences of them killing

him as they had Hur. My own suspicion is that the Rabbis were as troubled by Hur as those who take my critical approach. I believe it is more plausible that the Israelite Hur may have shared pagan overtones with the Egyptian Horus. I would speculate that the Miriam-Hur tradition recorded by Josephus and possibly hinted at in the Qumran scrolls may well have originated in popular legends involving Hathor-Horus imagery. If so, after having invested so much in building the Miriam-David link, I do not think the Rabbis would have wished to risk innuendos in a Near Eastern society still very familiar with Hathor-Horus motifs. The Rabbis may have therefore preferred to make a fresh start with Caleb and Miriam to become the less problematic great grandparents of David. In this way, they were able to achieve firm footing in at one and the same time retrospectively legitimizing past joint leadership while simultaneously creating an expectation for the future: namely, that hopes for a redeemer of Davidic descent were to be vested in one who carried the seed unifying the surviving remnants of the two tribes that now constituted the People of Israel.

SECTION VII-H

A Review of Possible Interplay between Miriam and Mary Traditions in Providing
a Third Historical Context Explaining Miriam's Prominence
in Late Antiquity Midrashim

Whereas Miriam's multiple marriage traditions attest to ongoing interest in her within Jewish circles, Christianity's interest in utilizing Miriam to further elucidate or aggrandize the person of Mary ultimately speaks to the renown Miriam must also have enjoyed in intercultural contexts of Late Antiquity. On a general level, the framers of formative Christianity benefited from the Miriam-Mary name associations as part of their self-portrayal as a continuum of biblical Israel. More specifically, comparisons of the two, especially as they reveal differences in Judaism and Christianity's attitude towards marriage, suggest possible areas of interplay. In other words, Christianity was dependent on certain of Judaism's images and personae, and the Rabbis reacted to the challenge posed by Christianity in further defining Judaism's uniqueness through the midrashic process.

In comparing the Prophetess Miriam to the Christian Mary, in addition to the ten general parallels (Table VI-B-1) drawn from varied scriptural and extra-biblical texts, Table VI-B-3 focused on fifteen attestations from six of the Church Fathers who used Miriam and her legacy in further elaborating Mary. In addition to suggesting that Mary bore the same name as Miriam neither merely coincidentally nor in literary isolation, but that there was some conscious New Testament development of Mary-imagery based on the persona of Miriam, certain specific trends are apparent. In the first place, in discussing Mary's leadership, four of the six Church Fathers follow the

precedent of Qumran, Philo, and Midrash in limiting Miriam's role to leading the women. Only Ambrose builds from her more limited role to one in which she leads all the Israelites. Epiphanius provides the most dogmatic view, noting that no woman responded to Moses' song in the interest of "decorum and dignity of God's Law," and that all who responded to Miriam were of her same sex, "contrary to the ignorant, vulgar notion of those who practice heresies in mixed crowds" (*Panarion* 80:9).

Secondly, four of the six Church Fathers also specifically equate Mary and Miriam over the issue of virginity. Gregory of Nyssa goes so far as to speculate that Scripture's reference to Miriam's tambourine symbolically alludes to her virginity. In fact, in all Late Antiquity, I found only one Christian writer, Ephraem Syrus, who confirmed the tradition of Miriam's marriage, while most of his contemporaries saw her as a virgin and a model of asceticism. However, whether out of ignorance or politically motivated, he did not repeat the rabbinic tradition of her marriage to Caleb, but instead drew on Josephus' account of her marriage to Hur. Additionally, two of the six Church Fathers equate Miriam and Mary in their roles as prophetesses, with Ambrose insinuating that Miriam's prophecy consisted only of her song. He in fact draws attention to its brevity to conclude that by way of contrast there was none "who prophesied more abundantly than the Lord's mother [Mary]." Finally, Gregory of Nyssa specifically offers his belief that Miriam was the prototype for Mary. From these comparisons, it is clear that in their structuring of Mary, the components of Miriam's legacy that were most significant to the framers of Christianity were her leadership, usually limited to women, her virginity, and her prophetic endowment.

At least in my own research, there is however one comparison that the Church Fathers understandably did not make. Though Miriam and Mary share in being described as being genealogically related to David, I was unable to find any acknowledgement in Christian writings of a tradition linking Miriam and David. Such an admission would have required a concession that Miriam was married. Not only does Mary's being of David's line – a tradition dated to as early as the end of the first or early second century (Zervos *Early*) – supply Jesus with genealogical messianic credentials, but allows for the declaration of the Council of Ephesus, which identifies her as the Mother of God. As noted by Caspi and Cohen, she thereby subsumes the “preexistent images of goddesses through the Empire ... [making] ... it easier for the people to accept the new official religion” (Caspi/Cohen 147), and Mary to become an object of veneration. Whereas I alluded in Chapter IV to the possibility of Hathor-type cultic activities surrounding the persona of Miriam in Antiquity, Christianity uses its selective perceptions of Miriam to develop its Mary cult, central to which is the notion of her Perpetual Virginity, which in turn is at the heart of the larger issue of Christian asceticism and celibacy. Though I quoted a number of authors who argued a general thesis that the challenges posed by Christianity were a principal stimulant to the “(re)Judaization of the Jews” (Schwartz 197), Satlow has specifically elaborated these cross-cultural influences in the arena of marriage.

Satlow identifies two areas in which the Rabbis reactively distinguished Judaism from Christianity over the issue of marriage. The first involved the rabbinic revitalization of the biblical marital metaphor as Israel's national heritage through midrashic elaborations of general marriage imagery depicting the intimacy of God's

participation in the prototypical marriage of Adam and Eve. The second involved a vision of marriage “not [as] a symbol, but a human institution” (Satlow 68-9) in which “the rabbis singled out marriage – normally a civil process, if one that required divine protection – and marked it as theirs” (Satlow 88-89). As Judaism sought effective strategies to survive and further develop itself in the face of challenges from paganism and Christianity, it would likely have chosen to meet the colorfulness of their growing iconographic and mythic portrayals in kind. Rather than issuing dry theological statements, and perhaps aware of how Christianity had utilized Miriam for its own purposes, it is conceivable that the Rabbis may have enhanced her own multifaceted legacy to portray a constructive image of marriage. In so doing, rather than starting from scratch, they would have been building upon traditions attested in *4QVisions of Amram* and Josephus, depicting Miriam as a wife, mother, and grandmother, while additionally working with genealogies related to her being an ancestress to kings. They midrashically portrayed Miriam as one who twice strove to keep marriages together, once of her parents so that Moses could be born, and later in defending Zipporah’s conjugal rights, not only for reproductive fruitfulness, but because “Happy are these and happy are their wives” (C215). There is something very picturesque, alluring, and generally supportive of marriage in Miriam’s depiction of playing instruments and dancing at the wedding of her parents. Similarly, Miriam’s role as a midwife in the talmudic elaboration of mSotah 1:8-9 details how she assisted the righteous women who carried food to their husbands in the field and then “gave them to drink and had intercourse with them,” later to “deliver in the field beneath the apple tree.” The Rabbis may have hoped that this midrashic record of very earthy and

festive scenes would serve as a model for emulation both of the function of marriage in general and for future weddings within the Jewish community. Finally, regarding her own marriage to Caleb, R. Yochanan adds the positive note that “everyone who marries a wife in the name of heaven, the text accredits to him as though he had begotten her.” Thus, the Rabbis may have had a dual purposefulness in the elaborations of Miriam’s nuptials – one which would help to legitimize their own Judah-Levi diarchy as a continuum with the Davidic line, and the second in assuring a written legacy of role models of marriage in general. In this second task, they may indeed have reacted to some combination of Christian asceticism and Mary imagery in a way that guided their enthusiasm towards further midrashic depictions of Miriam. In so utilizing her, she in turn further grew in stature and renown.

SECTION VII-I

Final Conclusions to the Study

The main purpose of this concluding section is to present a theory about the flow of Miriam’s disproportionate elaboration in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity that brings together the major findings of research from Chapter III with the historical hypotheses of Chapters IV through VI. Prior to doing so, I will present a personal speculation regarding Miriam’s legacy in Antiquity, since even though my focus has been on the midrashists of Late Antiquity, I was only able to develop a

theory of the role they played in elaborating Miriam by considering precursor traditions. Though only a conjecture, the interpretation follows is compatible with my research, and posits a perspective from which to view the diverse traditions that may have survived and been known to Rabbis early in Late Antiquity. Even if some of my contentions turn out to be flawed, they serve to draw attention to the need to consider mythic precursor traditions as part of the underlayment upon which the Rabbis may have built. Based on mythic patterning and attempting, albeit subjectively, to read between the lines of the Tanakh, Qumran, early Authors, Dura-Europos, and midrashic sources, I suspect that there was either an historical or constructed female figure that grew in renown and who is the Miriam referred to in Scripture. Her past likely included certain components common to Near Eastern mythic prototypes, including symbolic or real marriages, and one of her spouses may well have borne some relationship to the Egyptian Horus. Furthermore, it is at least plausible that she may have been recognized in a midwife role. She likely was viewed as prophetically enabled and had a following, especially among women. However, above all, I suspect that her legacy included a particularly strong and popularly recognized controlling influence over water, and that the understanding within early Israelite society of the degree to which she was responsible for its behavior and provision would have been entirely incompatible with the image that biblical redactors wished to preserve of God's control over this life-giving commodity. Based on its importance, I believe that legendary accounts grew concerning the favored modality by which she mediated the provision of water, and that the "rock" of Scripture and/or the Well of Pseudo-Philo and Midrash were part of Miriam's legacy. I suspect that those responsible for

redacting the Tanakh avoided or neutralized scriptural accounts that might imply her controlling influence, and that the early Authors also were committed to minimizing any pagan overtones of that association. However, I believe that Miriam-water imagery remained relatively prevalent in popular tradition. As such, and answering the first question of Table VII-A-1, the patriarchal bent of Israelite society did not likely enter into the decision of the Rabbis to associate Miriam, a woman, with the Well. Rather, they elaborated a tradition that was likely firmly established. Finally, I suspect that the Prophetess Miriam was important to Israelites in Antiquity. Her legacy included sufficient components of maternal imagery and of being a culture heroine to address some of the general emotional needs that had earlier been fulfilled by varied goddess-type figures. Because she was scripturally linked to Moses, Aaron, and the exodus-deliverance story, she would likely have seemed more immediate than the matriarchs in traditions of antiquity. This would have subjected her to preferential growth.

Moving from the realm of speculation as to what the early Rabbis received to what can be reasonably supported from the research of this study, there is good evidence that most extra-biblical Miriam themes were known prior to the rabbinic era and were likely available to the midrashists. The Qumran scrolls suggest that in Second Temple times, by the second century BCE at the latest, a Miriam marriage tradition was recognized in which she was married to her Levite uncle Uzziel, an association that may have functioned to assure the continuity of levitical leadership through all three of Amram's offspring. The Qumranic description of her marriage is relatively detailed. By way of contrast, Josephus, depicts Miriam as married to Hur, a

tradition plausibly seeking to arrogate authority away from the priesthood and onto Judahite kings, thereby creating a Levi-Judah fusion. Both Pseudo-Philo and Qumran Q-8 likely attest to an early tradition regarding her prophesying over Moses' birth. Pseudo-Philo reported a tradition of God bringing forth a well to follow the people, and stated that it was given to them on account of Miriam and was taken away when she died. Though Qumran and the early Authors provide elaborations of biblical strands, the traditions I have reported above represent themes unknown from Scripture. Finally, both Qumran and Philo report Miriam's leadership role at the Sea, but narrow her role to singing to the women.

Earlier in this study, I presented two figures that I will now combine below. When viewed together, they portray a sweep of both midrashic and historical research germane to Late Antiquity. Fig. III-B-3 showed the progressive accumulation curves of earliest Novel Assertions for the Well and Miriam, noting their differential rates of accrual in varied time periods. Fig. VI-E-1 provided a timeline related to Mary-Miriam interplay issues, and also included the midrashic assertions of Miriam's marital traditions and Davidic ancestry discussed in Chapter V. In reproducing these two figures together as Figure VII-I-1, I address the final challenge of the Thesis Statement of correlating midrashic and historical information.

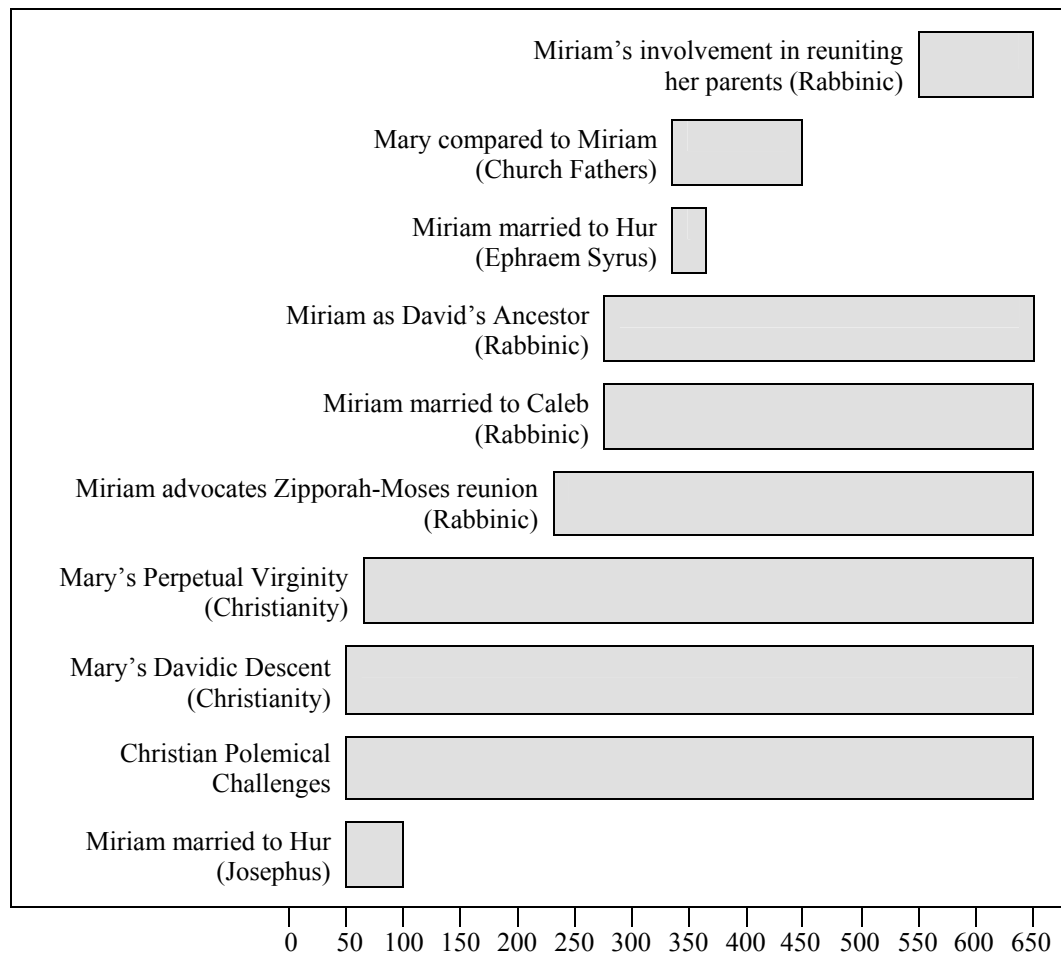
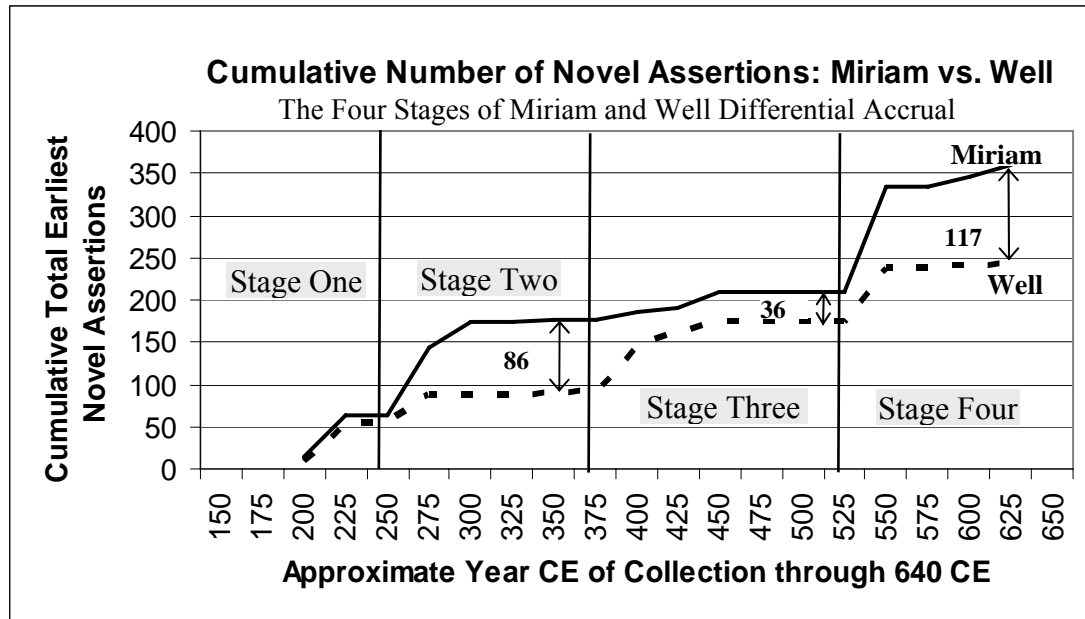


Fig. VII-I-1: Correlation of Midrashic and Historical/Intercultural Findings Related to Miriam and the Well in Late Antiquity

The graph in the upper portion of Figure VII-I-1 has been divided into four time stages based on differential rates at which Miriam and the Well appear to accrue Novel Assertions. The remainder of this Section is structured around discussing the midrashic trends that characterize each of these four stages in a way that concurrently considers the historical events noted in the lower portion of the Figure. In so doing, I have created a model of how Novel Assertion methodology productively facilitates the formulation of historical hypotheses.

The first stage noted in the upper portion of Figure VII-I-1 begins with the earliest endeavors of the midrashists involved with Miriam and Well themes and continues through collections of ca. 250 CE. The definitive feature of Novel Assertion accrual rates in this stage is that Miriam and Well themes enjoyed approximately equal early popularity, with fifty-five Novel Assertions related to the Well and sixty-three to Miriam. The Rabbis repeated and enhanced Pseudo-Philo's assertions about both Miriam and the Well, initially describing the association as it having been given "upon her hand," which in general scriptural usage is regularly employed to indicate that the person exerts control over the object so presented. However, later collections transition to the "in the merit of" formulation. I have speculated that this may have been a conscious change related to a concern that any appearance of wresting ultimate control over the provision of water from God was theologically inappropriate. I believe that the earliest formulation may have been a remnant of actual prior popular traditions, and that prudence dictated a wording which clearly made Miriam merely the honoree in whose merit the Well was given. Regarding other early Well Midrashim from this first stage, fully 20% of the fifty-five Well Novel Assertions deal

with the “Rivers in the Desert” strand in which the Well gave forth big navigable streams irrigating the wilderness and allowing for delicacies to be shipped from the Mediterranean. These Assertions include the basic themes of the water going to the twelve tribes as attested by the mural at Dura-Europos ca 245 CE (Fig I-1). Also, the tradition of the Well bringing up fresh fish in abundance is from these early collections, perhaps a tradition with widespread mythic roots (cf. Fig. IV-D-2). Based on my earlier assessment, I had demonstrated that the very novel material of the “Rivers in the Desert” theme was suggestive of earlier relatively well-developed precursor traditions, and found support for this in scriptural poetics arguably dating to Balaams’s oracle in Numbers 24:6. Furthermore, that the Well as a non-biblical entity would have such a strong showing (fifty-five Novel Assertions) early in Late Antiquity compared to the Prophetess Miriam (sixty-three Novel Assertions) in the earliest vintage of collections suggests to me that the Well tradition in general must have been moderately popular in Antiquity.

Concerning the earliest Miriam Novel Assertions of this same first stage, three are from the Unanticipated themes group. The first posits her association with the Well, as discussed above, and the second acknowledges her marriage. However, no specific husband is named in the earliest source, ca. 225. The third deals with her dialogue with Zipporah, raising a question as to why the Rabbis would have introduced this unanticipated twist to the episode of Miriam’s speaking about Moses, especially in collections so early in Late Antiquity (ca. 225 CE). Is there any evidence that the Leprosy theme was in general more prominent at this time, thereby explaining their interest in adding the dialogue with Zipporah? In this regard, it is of interest to

note that although through the breadth of Late Antiquity the Leprosy Theme accounts for only 33% of all Miriam Novel Assertions, a surprising 50% of the midrashim from these earliest collections deal with her speaking about Moses. These early Leprosy sources follow the general pattern observed in Chapter III-B of a rabbinic minimization of any stigma directed at Miriam in favor of universalizing the problem of slander. The dialogue with Zipporah functions to reduce Miriam's indiscretion, attributing to her the noble motive of defending Zipporah's conjugal rights in the interest of Moses' and her procreative union. This interest in both the Leprosy theme and a further elaboration of Zipporah's role continue into the second time period, discussed below. In conclusion, the Well and Miriam entered Late Antiquity with a similar propensity to accrue Novel Assertions. The Well items seem to attest to its prominence as an established motif of Antiquity. The "upon her hand" formulation in the earliest sources linking the Well to Miriam favor a speculation of there having been early traditions in which she had a controlling influence over the Well, but this implication is lost in later formulations compatible with her merely being its honoree. The remainder of early Miriam Assertions seem to reflect an interest in building Miriam's good name, especially through mitigating potential negative implications over her speaking about Moses. Alongside these midrashic strands, the lower portion of Figure VII-I-1 notes intercultural background events, including early Church contentions of Mary's Davidic descent, the notion of her perpetual virginity, and polemical challenges. However, aside from a general observation that the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE created new challenges for preserving Judaism, and that the Rabbis used Midrash as one forum to accomplish this, my research does not

identify specific intercultural influences on midrashic elaborations until the second time stage.

In collections of the second stage, starting ca. 275 CE and continuing through the approximately next 100 years, there is a marked differential in accrual between Well and Miriam Novel Assertions. For some reason, the midrashists seem much more intently focused on further enhancing Miriam's legacy, compared to a relatively reduced trickle of interest in the Well, such that Miriam Novel Assertions exceed those of the Well by approximately eighty-six items. I cannot offer any proof regarding the cause of these divergent trends, but I will propose a theory that is at least compatible with the data. In looking at the Novel Assertions that appear in collections from ca. 275-375 CE, only seventeen of 114 Miriam items deal with Unanticipated themes. These record the tradition of Miriam's early prophecy regarding Moses' birth, posit her to be one of the Midwives, and provide the first information about her marriage to Caleb and being ancestress of David, all in collections dated to ca. 275. There are also some general complimentary contentions, including God's calling Miriam "righteous," His detaining the Shekhinah, Ark, Levites, Israel, and seven clouds of glory pending her recovery, the Assertion that He personally cleansed her from her affliction, and that she died with a kiss by the mouth of the Lord. However, just as was the case for the first stage sources, slightly over half of all Novel Assertions continue to deal with the episode of Miriam's speaking about Moses. Some of them seem to appeal particularly to a sense of family, such as the two which follow below from C237, introduced by comments from R. Shimeon b. Eleazar (T-4, 160-190), who may or may not have been the author of this part of the midrash:

- M-152 300 Aaron asked Moses how Miriam or he could possibly have thought to do evil against him, their brother. C237
- M-153 300 Aaron asked Moses if he felt that Miriam's leprosy would not reflect negatively on their father. C237

Recalling that the Tanakh devoted 47% of its Miriam Novel Assertions to Miriam's speaking about Moses, but that cumulatively through 640 CE only 33% of all Miriam Late Antiquity Midrashim deal with the Leprosy Theme, how are we to understand that in collections from ca 200-375 CE, of 177 Novel Miriam Assertions, ninety-four of them (53%) deal with the Leprosy issue? By way of contrast, in the 183 remaining Novel Assertions from collections ca. 400-640 CE, only thirty-seven more Leprosy-related Novel Assertions appear (20% of total from this theme).

In trying to explain this skew of interest in the Leprosy Theme towards the first half of Late Antiquity, I do not believe it represents an abstract fascination with the theme peculiar to the early midrashists or that it is detached from historical circumstances. Rather my own conjecture is that in devoting so much attention to the topic of slander, the Rabbis were very deliberately utilizing Miriam and her own verbal indiscretion to create a reference source for two audiences. Christian polemical challenges directed at Judaism as manifested in the New Testament (Matthew 26:59; Mark 15:1) and varied Trials, Disputations, and Dialogues (Flusser *EJ*; Ben-Sasson *EJ*) would understandably have made Jews feel that they were the subject of slander. Perhaps the Rabbis wished to provide Jews with some sense of hope that verbal assaults against them would ultimately come to a forum of justice, since God's decision to punish even Miriam meant that surely the rest of mankind would be no less immune to punishment. Secondly, I also see the rabbinic interest in the slander theme

as a form both of politically sensitive admonition and outreach to any among those engaged in anti-Jewish polemics who might be influenced by the midrashic texts. The portrayal of slander offered by the Rabbis is of its being a grave sin with consequences, but one whose punishment is not death and which allows for the possibility of recovery. The earlier Rabbis may have still nurtured hopes that those involved in polemics against Judaism would realize that they were speaking against their brothers and tainting the name of their fathers (e.g., C237 Assertions above), but that reconciliation among those who had been part of the larger Jewish family was still possible. These hopes progressively diminished, and perhaps by the fourth century, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the Rabbis may have felt that they could put Miriam's increasing stature to better purposes. Whether or not my speculation as to the reason for the marked skew of interest in the leprosy-slander theme is correct, it once again points to the value of Novel Assertion methodology in identifying trends. I was able to identify this skew by a simple chronological sorting operation of the Leprosy items of Theme Category # 10. One opportunity for further research would be to identify a number of other non-slander sins and to subject their midrashic treatment to Novel Assertion methodology. If for instance the chronologic distribution of Novel Assertions related to theft, coveting, and murder were to have a more even distribution throughout Late Antiquity than what we have seen so far in the slander theme emerging from Miriam sources, it could demonstrate that the skew of material dealing with slander was unique, further supporting my conjecture of historical correlation with early anti-Jewish polemics. In more general conclusion to the accelerated accrual of Miriam Novel Assertions over

the Well in collections between ca. 275-375 CE, the ninety-four leprosy-slander Assertions easily account for much of the eighty-seven extra Miriam-over-Well items as noted for the second stage in the top part of Figure VII-I-1. Of significance to Miriam's stature, these Assertions have drawn much attention to her, and their treatment of her speaking about Moses is in general very complimentary to her. Therefore, the end result is that the Miriam who enters the second half of Late Antiquity does so having gained in general stature and renown during its first half. Finally, the insertion of Zipporah Unanticipated Theme dialogue into the Leprosy story serves as a clincher to the rabbinic effort to portray Miriam in a positive light. In this way, though they have drawn much attention to her in the course of using her as an example of Slander, perhaps for the intercultural reasons I have suggested, the final impression of her is positive.

Counterbalancing any purposes that I believe the Rabbis may have had in bringing the issue of slander more to light in the face of anti-Jewish Polemics, they may at the same time have been reacting to the increasing prominence of Mary's legacy, both in the claim of her Davidic descent and the general lure of the cult that surrounded her. I do not view as coincidental the midrashic case they developed in collections of the late third century that provided the first preserved literary record identifying Miriam as one of the midwives, asserting her rewards of the House of Kingship and Wisdom, and positing that she was married to Caleb, all preparatory to identifying David as her descendant. In so doing, there is again an indication that just as Miriam's stature was sufficient to augment David's ancestry, so too did this benefit

pass forward in the claim of Davidic ancestry by the House of Gamaliel. Their utilization of him in this way in turn also continued to contribute to her renown.

This said, the discussions of Chapter VI favor an additional process of interplay between Judaism and Christianity over attitudes towards marriage beginning in the late third and fourth centuries. Though my conclusions remain speculative, I believe it is less likely that the midrashists would have developed midrashic strands in which Miriam, sometimes endearingly and at others courageously, is associated with portraying marital union in its more earthy and sublime dimensions of happiness and procreativity, had Christians not championed a view of Mary, their most prominent heroine, as a perpetual virgin and utilized her to portray a model of asceticism. To the degree that the Rabbis may have utilized Miriam both to enhance their own leadership and to make statements about marriage, Miriam's stature would have again further grown in the process in the late third and early fourth centuries. As Miriam's renown thereby becomes even more prominently recognized in intercultural contexts, the Church Fathers may have felt it propitious to use Miriam in giving Mary added credentials. At the same time this would have offered them an opportunity to selectively capitalize on the impression Scripture imparts of Miriam's celibacy. Since the earliest Church Fathers date to the late first century (*EB*), but the fifteen parallels between Mary and Miriam are time-marked in Figure VII-I-1 as coming from six Church Fathers who wrote between ca. 350-450 CE, we need some theory to explain why it was only starting in the fourth century that Church Fathers focused on Mary-Miriam parallels in their writings. Though it is beyond the scope of this study to further investigate this timing, my speculation is that the rabbinic counterchallenges

aggrandizing Miriam in the late third and early fourth centuries in contexts of her own marriage, advocacy of procreation, and in promoting marriage in general, along with the claim of her being David's ancestress, may well have stimulated the Church Fathers to construct their own version of Miriam in keeping with their interest in likening Christianity's founding family to biblical characters.

Turning to the third stage noted in the upper portion of Figure VII-I-1, in midrashic collections starting ca. 400, an opposite trend occurred to that of ca. 275, when Miriam accrued substantially more Novel Assertions than the Well. I have correlated that accumulation with the popularity of the leprosy-slander theme, which may have served to counterbalance anti-Jewish polemics at the same time as it thereby progressively constructed a stronger image of Miriam as one motivated only by noble and loving intentions. However, I have offered no speculation as to why during the second stage, the Rabbis seemed to lose interest in concurrently enhancing the Well. They certainly could have done so by choosing and expanding some other point of interest in its saga. This is not to say that interest in the Well entirely dried out during the second stage. In collections between ca. 275 and 375, it gained another thirty-six Novel Assertions. However, and by way of contrast, in collections ca. 400, there is a marked renewal of interest in the Well to the point that it has relatively more active Novel Assertion accruals than does Miriam, so that her earlier lead of eighty-six Novel assertions narrows to about thirty-six towards the end of the first half of the sixth century. What happened in the early fifth century to stir the Well from its literary repose, and why had this same operative not affected it earlier?

In addressing this issue, it is useful to characterize the eighty-one Well Novel Assertions appearing in collections ca. 400-450 CE. As it turns out, there is a general interest in most of the twenty-three Well themes. However, two are of particular note in that they appear for the very first time in ca. 400 CE collections. The first and single largest group of Well Novel Assertions in the fifth century is the one dealing with its association with Miriam in a number of novel contexts, all of them using the new specific formulation of the Well as “Miriam’s Well.” They account for 21% of the eighty-one Assertions, and include the settling of Miriam’s Well in the Sea of Tiberias opposite the middle gate of the Old Synagogue and its capacity to heal those with varied afflictions. The second strand with no prior introduction earlier than 400 CE collections deals with the role the Well played in effecting the miracle at Arnon, contributing eleven Novel Assertions (14% of the total). In the discussion of the Arnon strand in Chapter III-A, the Well was depicted as being particularly powerful, wreaking havoc with some gloating on an enemy of Israel. Posited as occurring during the Wilderness years against an ancient enemy, this episode certainly provided no immediate allusive threat to Rome or Christianity. Yet, for the relatively powerless viewing the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, whose only solace may have been through veiled literary traditions, the Arnon strand is well suited to collections of the early fifth century. In all other Well themes, its depiction is of a benevolent entity created at the twilight of the first Sabbath, saving even Ishmael from death, serving as a meeting place for those destined to marry, and gifted to Israel to assure their wilderness survival. There, the Well’s waters tasted of honey, milk, and wine, provided fish and navigable tree-lined waterways with perfumed grasses on its

banks. Its violent destruction of populations and its depiction of washing out the limbs and craniums of the destroyed enemy are in marked contrast to its other kindlier endeavors. Yet, the very same third stage era of collections that provides this imagery also retires the Well to the Sea of Tiberias, presumably juxtaposed to the seat of power of the Rabbis who were contributing to the Jerusalem Talmud. Furthermore, it is these same ca. 400 collections that not only portrayed a powerful Well, but one now specifically identified as Miriam's Well. Thus, in a relatively concise time-block, the surge of Well midrashim of the early fifth century brought two useful stature-enhancing entities to the Rabbis in Tiberias – a Well of commanding prowess and the Prophetess Miriam.

As noted in the Chapter III-A discussion of the Arnon strand, the midrashic account of C80 very closely parallels the text of Numbers 21, which in turn contains a confluence of ancient traditions in referring to the “Book of the Wars of the Lord” (Num 21:14), the Song of the Well of (Num 21:17), and the victory at Arnon whose account begins with Numbers 21. Midrash specifically claims that the reason why the Israelites sang the Song to the Well was to celebrate the miraculous deliverance it had achieved for Israel. Though the text of Numbers provides no substantiation that this Song was over a military victory, an alternate interpretation, that the Song was in simple gratitude for water is out of keeping with the more usual context of the “Then sang” formulation. (cf. Ex 15:1, Jud 5:1). What I am observing here is that when in ca. 400 CE the midrashists associated “Then sang Israel, this song, ‘Spring up well’” with the Well's drowning of the enemy, they may not have been far off from the actual traditions hinted by the biblical text. If so, when also in ca. 400 CE the first

formulations of the Well as “Miriam’s Well” appear, they were in effect juxtaposing the Prophetess Miriam through her Well with the destruction “of all the armies the way the sea had destroyed them” (C80). As such, in allowing the Well to be called “Miriam’s Well,” the midrashists tacitly unite what together may have been earlier understandings of Miriam’s mythic past. When the earliest midrashists noted that the Well was given “upon the hand of Miriam,” their formulation was exactly what ancient traditions may have known of the female figure that Scripture portrays at the River and Sea, but having a controlling influence over them. Much like “Lady Asherah of the Sea,” the “Lady Who Treads/Subdues Sea” (Dever 101), and Hathor who controlled the rise and fall of the Nile, Miriam is associated briefly in the Tanakh with Sea and River, and in Midrash – through the Well – with the tamer wilderness waterways and the more tempestuous torrents at Arnon. If, as I believe is plausible, early traditions did so conceive of a mythic Miriam, it is not difficult to understand why if they had received such traditions, the conservatively responsible redactors of Scripture, writers of Qumran, early Authors, and midrashists would have selectively excluded those recollections. And even if the midrashists were no longer aware of all of these traditions, it is understandable that they would have adjusted the given “upon her hand” formulation to the Well’s being given “in her merit” as much more in keeping with an honorific relationship not contesting God’s role as the direct cause of behavior of the Well/rock.

Why then in collections of ca. 400 did the Well as “Miriam’s Well” accrue so many Novel Assertions in contexts that seemed to at least acknowledge a greater bond between persona and object? One possible explanation is that the Well was coming

close to becoming a rogue entity whose literary portrayal risked giving it too much autonomy. In defense of this theory and in keeping with my earlier speculations, ancient traditions likely depicted the Well not as autonomous, but under the control of an authority figure. Assuming for a moment that a Miriam-type figure was its controller, once her leash on it was severed by biblical redactors, early Authors, and midrashists, mythically structured controls over its adventures would have collapsed, risking it becoming subject to diverse runaway imagery. Its adventures in Midrash had after all far exceeded those of Moses' Manna and Aaron's Clouds. Pagan lore is too replete with spirits inhabiting Wells and governing their capricious behavior to require citation. In this regard, it is also noted that the Assertions of the Well's magical healing powers first appear in collections ca. 400. Though this may in some way be reactive to traditions of healing waters within Christianity, the effect was to associate the Well with a popular pagan motif. It would therefore not at all have been theologically inappropriate to assign to the Well that had heretofore remained nameless an owner whose integrity among Israel's triumvirate of leaders was beyond reproach. The Miriam who in the first half of Late Antiquity had been midrashically groomed would by the second half of Late Antiquity have been sufficiently responsible to assume necessary control over the Well, thus counterbalancing its propensity for autonomous mischief and keeping in balance the poetics of its literary elaborations. This issue of a rabbinically sanctioned stronger link between Miriam and the Well can then be juxtaposed with the Rabbis' general interest in associating themselves further with Miriam. Beginning with Miriam's having been integral to the inception of Israel's nationhood, continuing with her portrayal as a culture heroine and

maternal protective figure, and finally in becoming David's ancestress, the Rabbis may have felt they had everything to gain in associating her literary providence with the environs in which they were perpetuating Judaism. If they wished to portray Miriam as being close to their pursuits, her Well could not be roaming here and there. As such, the Well and its namesake were drawn together in Tiberias.

Above and beyond the strength and support of her legacy, there may be yet another motivator for the Rabbis' drawing Miriam closer to the active center of their deliberations and authority. Just as the Well may have drifted towards pagan associations, so too may have Miriam's legacy were it not for rabbinic stewardship of her midrashic development. Is it conceivable that left to mythic drift, Miriam may have been drawn out of proportion, competing with Moses and even with God Himself not only as a controller of rivers and provider of potable water, but in memories of Israel's redemption at the Sea? Is this not in fact precisely how Miriam fared in the hands of the Church father Ambrose in the late fourth century?

But why should I here add, that by Thy divine appointment it was a Virgin **Mary** [= **Miriam**], together with holy Moses and Aaron, who led the march of the Hebrew hosts through the waves of the sea? (*De Inst. Virg.* cap. v. nn. 104-113 [Livius 260])

In the Old Testament a Hebrew virgin [**Miriam**] through the sea led an army; in the New Testament a Virgin reigns in a heavenly court chosen for salvation. (*Epistle* 42 [Neumann 52])

Many women has Holy Scripture brought out to light; but the palm of public salvation it has given to virgins alone. In the Old Testament it is a virgin [**Miriam**] who led the Hebrew people, hemmed in by land and sea, dry shod through the waters. In the Gospel it is a Virgin who gave birth to the Maker and Redeemer of the world. The Church is a virgin, whom the Apostle so greatly desired to espouse as a chaste virgin to Christ ... (*Expositio Apocalypsis*, int. Opp. S. Ambrosii, *ad Apoc.* xii.

4. See *In Luc.* Lib. x. n. 134 [Livius 271], see also *Exhortatio Virginitatis* [Neumann 54])

In the first of these sources, Ambrose places Miriam merely on the same leadership plane as her brothers. In the second, he has Miriam leading the entire Israelite army through the Red Sea, and finally, Miriam is depicted as single handedly leading all Israel! The thrust of this portrayal of Miriam by Ambrose in the second half of the fourth century may not have gone unnoticed by the Rabbis. Furthermore, Israel may have had its own early tradition of Miriam having a greater role at the Sea. In collections of ca. 550, Miriam is first associated with wisdom specifically as a reward for her being one of the pious midwives (C249, C259). However, in a third time-stage collection of ca. 400, the rabbis associate her with wisdom in a more personal sense related to her role at the River in watching over Moses:

- M-185 400 When Prov 7:4 talks of wisdom as a sister, this can be understood as Miriam, the sister of Moses, possessing wisdom. C283
- M-186 400 Miriam's waiting for an hour has to do with Miriam's possession of wisdom. C283

As noted in Chapter IV, *Wisdom of Solomon* preserves a tradition of Wisdom herself leading Israel across the Sea:

She gave to holy people the reward of their labors; she guided them along a marvelous way, and became a shelter for them by day, and a starry flame through the night. She brought them over the Red Sea, and led them through deep waters; but she drowned their enemies, and cast them up from the depth of the sea. (*Wisdom of Solomon* 10:17-19)

Whether or not in associating Miriam with wisdom either Ambrose or the midrashists were aware of a tradition of antiquity linking her to wisdom, perhaps in a role at the Sea, the Rabbis may have had a dual motive in further fine-tuning Miriam's legacy.

It is conceivable that in addition to wanting Miriam's stature to enhance their own, they reacted to Christianity's attempt to reconstruct her for its own purposes. Perhaps they sensed that were they to be indifferent to these intercultural re-castings of Miriam, such negligence on their part would deny Jews in the future a portrayal of the Prophetess Miriam that would constructively continue to hold their interest in ways compatible with Judaism's outlook. More firmly associating her with the lore of the Well with which she had only been symbolically tied earlier in Late Antiquity would assure an ever more memorable legacy. Cool to iconographic representations, the Rabbis at Tiberias could not very well place a statue of Miriam at the entrance of the synagogue in which they may have studied, nor would it have been seemly to hang her portrait overlooking their deliberations. However, they were able to engrave an expanded portrayal of her amidst the pages of midrashic collections. In drawing the ritually pure and potentially healing waters of Miriam's Well along with the impressive traditions that both owner and object carried to a lodging within sight of their endeavors, they may have intended to make an investment in assuring that Miriam's authentic legacy would always continue to belong primarily to the Jewish people. Finally, the Rabbinic interest in balancing Miriam with Moses and Aaron may explain why each sibling was associated with an object of great value. One further subject of research, well suited for Novel Assertion methodology, would be to trace the timing of accruals in Late Antiquity of Moses' link to Manna and Aarons' association with Clouds. Nothing in this study has precluded the possibility that Miriam's link to the Well may represent the oldest of the three traditions, and that the Moses-Manna and Aaron-Clouds traditions may have been further enhanced in

Midrash to assure that Miriam's two siblings would be equally decorated as she was in meriting a special gift for Israel. A comparative time graph of the midrashic elaboration of the three gifts could demonstrate this one way or the other.

As it turns out, it would appear that the accelerated accrual of Well over Miriam Novel Assertions in collections of the early fifth century may more reflect the growth of Miriam's legacy than that of the Well. In collections of ca. 275 through 375, interest in Miriam, mainly over the issue of slander, clearly outpaced the Well. Then, starting with collections ca. 400, the Well appears to accrue Assertions more rapidly than Miriam. However, this impression may be deceptive, since what we may really be seeing is a much closer literary bonding, such that material related to the Well was often at one and the same time part of the expanded Miriam-Well legacy. As the Well became Miriam's Well, many of its assertions could be placed on the "Miriam" line of the graph in Figure VII-I-1, increasing its slope over that of the Well. Such a steeper slope for Miriam's Novel Assertion accruals would then merge more gently in continuum with what currently is depicted as the dramatic increase in Miriam Assertions in collections ca. 550. This smoother progression of her Novel Assertions between the fifth and sixth centuries places in a different perspective the significance of the Well's popularity in the fifth century, which may have in fact been relatively subsumed as part of Miriam's legacy.

Relevant accruals of Novel Assertions in the sixth and early seventh centuries are depicted in Figure VII-I-1 as a fourth stage, in which Miriam Novel Assertions show her greatest relative popularity over that of the Well. Specifically, the differential in Miriam over Well Novel Assertions increases to 117 items. As

explained in Chapter III-B in the discussions introducing Figure III-B-4, the last ninety years of Late Antiquity were ones in which Unanticipated Miriam themes were disproportionately elaborated. Not surprisingly, there are only eighteen leprosy-slander-Zipporah items, only 13% of the total, in marked contrast to the 53% in earlier collections and the 33% average throughout Late Antiquity. By way of comparison, 78 % of the Novel Assertions dealing with her marriage, 92% of those discussing her offspring, and 68% of those describing her childhood prophecy and the reunion of her parents occur in collections of these last ninety years of Late Antiquity. Of this last group, all of the Novel Assertions in which Miriam reunites her parents, including her appearance before the Sanhedrin and her celebratory dancing at their wedding, occur in collections starting in ca. 550, providing what may have been the Rabbis' final utilization of Miriam in counterbalancing Christian asceticism. The Miriam portrayed as arguing before the Sanhedrin provides an image of political empowerment in the name of marital union and procreativity, flavored by joyous celebration at the resulting wedding. There are two other small Miriam themes of note in these final years of Late Antiquity. Half of a small group of Novel Assertions relating Miriam and the gift of Wisdom are dated to ca. 550 collections. Of perhaps even more telling interest, and pivotal to one of the most significant discoveries I made in comparing Miriam's legacy in the Tanakh to that in Midrash, in all Late Antiquity midrashim, there are only three Novel Assertions about her role at the Sea, and they all occur in these same final ninety years. I view this to be compatible with a speculation that if the Rabbis had felt reluctant to enhance this strand earlier in Late Antiquity due to possible pagan overtones, they were at last now sufficiently secure in the strength of Miriam's stature

as they had shaped it to admit to the midrashic edifice of Late Antiquity these Novel Assertions of her role at the Sea. Similarly, it is in these ca. 550 collections of this fourth stage that the rabbis feel comfortable in declaring that the waters of the Well, now specifically identified as belonging to Miriam, are ritually clean. Likewise, the midrashists show no restraint in concurrently advancing the Well to first place in a list of the ten miraculous items created on the eve of the first Shabbat, perhaps indicative of the importance they attached to the Well, now that it was fully bonded to Miriam. Of particular note, it precedes the manna, listed second, the gift given in Moses' merit, perhaps another telling hint of the Prophetess' stature in Late Antiquity.

The Assessment of Figure VII-I-1 has been important not because it provides final closure to an understanding of Miriam's disproportionate elaboration in Late Antiquity midrashim, but because it creates a model of how historians can use Novel Assertion methodology in directing their thinking through possible historical correlations of midrashic material. The picture that emerges from my research related to Miriam and the Well is one that credits the Rabbis with a great deal of integrity, rather than depicting them as wantonly inventing midrashic themes. To be sure, they exercise remarkable creativity in how they apply midrashic motifs to explaining biblical content and drawing exegetical lessons, but the vast majority of major Unanticipated themes are ones they inherited from precursor traditions of Antiquity. From among these, they were undoubtedly selective, using their own discretion in what they believed to be a chain of continuity consistent with the Judaism they were perpetuating. As such, they made an effort to differentiate between those traditions they truly felt came from Sinai, and those that they attributed to pagan origins. Given

their sense of mission in preserving Judaism and distinguishing it from Christianity, I have been able to make correlations between the flow of Miriam and Well Novel Assertions and potential areas of interplay between Christianity and Judaism. The one Miriam theme that seems to bear the greatest hallmark of rabbinic creativity, David's descent from Miriam, makes sense given intercultural challenges along with an interest of the House of Gamaliel in wanting to establish its own leadership. Miriam's disproportionate elaboration in Late Antiquity probably stems from the prominence she enjoyed in traditions predating rabbinic involvement, likely enmeshed with pagan and culture-heroine roles. In this sense, I propose that she made her Late Antiquity debut already in possession of a relatively greater stature than other biblical women. As such, she could be useful to the Rabbis in developing their priorities, and each time they did so, her renown in turn would be expected to further enlarge. This same growth process likely occurred as she became a subject of intercultural interest, and I suspect that Christianity's interest in modeling Mary after Miriam played some role in the Rabbis' motivation to more holistically portray her association with the Well as a uniquely Jewish tradition and plant Miriam's Well firmly within the surrounds of Tiberias, a center of rabbinic deliberations.

In having provided and discussed the model whose essence is portrayed in the midrashic and historical juxtapositions of Figure VII-I-1, I have demonstrated how the fruits of Novel Assertion methodology can spur thinking through historical correlations. In so doing, I have fulfilled the requirement of the third tenet of this Dissertation. However, there is much further work to be done to raise these potential correlations to more substantial theories. Such an effort would require submitting all

the women to whom Miriam has been compared to the full assessments to which I have subjected her. For example, my conjecture that Miriam had a more significant elaboration even prior to Late Antiquity than other biblical women would require a more detailed assessment of their own Novel Assertions, using a tool such as the Bar Ilan Database rather than Ginzberg's *Legends*. Only then could the themes for each of these women be trended as I have done for Miriam in Appendices C1 and C2. Such information would in turn undoubtedly uncover perplexities that would trigger historical correlations and a search for precursor traditions among Qumran, early Authors, and perhaps involving mythic patterning, analogous to what has been done in researching Miriam. Once this was accomplished more definitive observations might be possible to place in finer perspective the impression of Miriam's uniqueness among women in extra-biblical traditions of Late Antiquity. To these opportunities for future research, I might add the need for ongoing linguistic and stylistic analysis of the midrashim themselves to allow for the better dating and ordering of individual items that appear in collections whose contents may be of diverse vintage. Likewise, I have already touched upon the value of incorporating what is known about some of the individual midrashists into the mix of historical perspective. As a rather grandiose application of Novel Assertion methodology to the larger historical contexts of Late Antiquity, I have often taken note of the propensity of midrashic material in the second half of the era to become more novel in character to the point that I observed in Figure III-B-4 a doubling of the rate of accrual for Unanticipated Miriam theme Novel Assertions in the last 90 years of the era. I personally attribute this to the intercultural challenges Judaism faced as it interacted with Christianity as it became the official

state religion of the Roman Empire ca. 379 CE. I believe that the Rabbis felt a clock ticking, motivating them to further develop a corpus of midrashic literature that would place Judaism's best cards on the table. In so doing, I believe they focused not only on content, but on a structure in possession of its own literary charm. I suspect that with some conscious awareness they realized that their midrashim were an appropriate vehicle of allure through which to captivate hearts. This may explain the propensity towards more colorful and novel presentations that I have noted in Novel Assertions from later collections dealing with Miriam. However, further proving that this trend towards increased novelty was generalized and motivated by intercultural challenges will require researching many other midrashic themes in contexts that also consider historical correlations. Finally, it should be noted that despite the size of the current study, I have only scratched the surface in looking for historical correlations. I have only analyzed portions of the Novel assertions sufficient to demonstrate the tenets of the Thesis Statement. Yet, I am confident that from among Novel Assertions that I have catalogued, there are many further discoveries and correlations waiting to be made given a continued scrutiny of their content. Notwithstanding the importance and intrigues of such future research, the current effort demonstrates that the systematic application of Novel Assertions for assessing Miriam's midrashic portrayal is a productive tool from which emerges the observation of her disproportionate elaboration among women in the midrashic literature of Late Antiquity and organizes data in a format that facilitates the development of historical hypotheses addressing this uniqueness.

SECTION VII-J

A Coda Regarding the Well in Search of an Owner

Since this study began with the Well, which was then placed somewhere in the wings when Miriam became the more major area of focus, it is perhaps appropriate to accord it the honor of occupying the closing paragraphs to this study, a debt owed to its midrashim for having provided the first perplexities that called for the ensuing research on Miriam. Among these challenges, the first deals with why the Well was linked to Miriam at all. The second asks why what had been casually ascribed to Miriam's merit but had remained a nameless and ownerless well, since initially being described by Pseudo-Philo and in collections of the first half of Late Antiquity, finally became known as Miriam's Well in collections of ca. 400 CE. This bonding between entity and persona was much more enhanced than in the case of the manna, which was never referred to as "Moses' Manna," and the clouds, which were never called "Aaron's Clouds." How then can one explain the formulation, "Miriam's Well?"

Albeit speculative, my view is that in popular traditions of Antiquity there was always a stronger conception of Miriam's special relationship to the rock/Well and the provision of water than portrayed by Pseudo-Philo and the early midrashists. I suspect that this association was much more tangibly a component of Israel's recollections than the associations of her siblings with the more ephemeral manna and clouds. I base this on several observations. First, once settled in the Land, the people would grow their own grains and construct their own shelters. By way of contrast, the crucial commodity of water would remain more uncertain, predicting evolving traditions of

mediators involved in its availability. Second, the tradition of the female water-giver is prototypically apparent in Hathor, and the patterning between Hathor and Miriam invites a speculation from Near Eastern myth of the plausibility of Israel also having a female provider of water. Thirdly, compared to the Manna and Clouds, the Well's EBNI score shows that it was much more an object of midrashic expansion than the other two gifts. Novel Assertions linking Miriam and the Well constitute the largest single group from among the Unanticipated Themes dealing with her. Though the term "Miriam's Well" was not introduced in collections until ca. 400 CE, the tradition of its naming may date to Rab in the first half of the third century, making its naming conceivably known to the Rabbis from very early on. Furthermore, Pseudo-Philo noted the association of Miriam to the Well arguably in the first century BCE. Given these indicators of the popularity and vintage of Miriam-Well associations, logic rests on the side of there having been significant precursor traditions about Miriam and the Well in Antiquity. This observation is strengthened by the Rivers in the Desert theme, used to show that contentions of substantial novelty appearing early in Late Antiquity predicted significant precursor traditions.

In the Introductory Chapter, an intriguing question was posed: Did the fame of the Well lend prestige to Miriam in a way that served to enhance her image, or did Miriam's stature provide the Well with the publicity necessary to assure its renown? The question can be considered in more than one light. My review of both Well and Miriam attestations shows not only that she consistently accrued more Novel Assertions, but that her story line has been more qualitatively complex and historically implicated in events of Late Antiquity. Yet, the "Miriam's Well" formulation

uncannily seems to focus attention on the Well, whereas “Miriam” remains but its associate. However, I do not view this as substantively detracting from Miriam’s prominence, and it is my personal speculation that the Well would never have been a sustainable entity without an owner-controller, either within mythic traditions or the midrashim. The closest, albeit imperfect linguistic analogy I can offer to generalize the human tendency to focus on an end product instead of an ultimate provider comes from the dismay the prophet Isaiah voiced over a nation overly focused on its oaks and gardens (Is 1:29). but forgetful of their ultimate source:

Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth; for the Lord has spoken, I have reared children and brought up, and they have transgressed against me. The ox knew its owner and the ass its master’s crib; Israel did not know, my people did not understand. (Is 1:2-3)

And so, if the charm of the Well’s legacy appears on occasion to draw more attention than its ultimate controller (be it God Himself or mythical Miriam), some accommodation must be given to human nature in understanding this. I believe that early on the Rabbis recognized the popularity of both Miriam and the Well, and felt that both were worth their further midrashic polish. Furthermore, I suspect that they sensed from fourth century intercultural challenges to Judaism that the beloved legacy of both the Prophetess and her Well would continue to buoy the spirits of a people facing future challenges. Thusly motivated, they took stock of the fullness of past traditions of Miriam’s Well and provided elaborations in keeping with the Judaism they wished to preserve. I believe the midrashists’ own words show how they approached Miriam’s Well. Using the same verb, רעו = “stir” with which the Deuteronomist lovingly depicts how the “eagle will stir her nest” (Deut 32:11), and

Isaiah stirs the people to don their beautiful garments (Is 52:1), the Rabbis stir the Well to awaken it from its literary repose of the fourth century:

W-145 400 The sages stirred Miriam's Well in the Sea of Tiberias.
C2e

They do so specifically calling it, for the first time in their collections, "Miriam's Well," as if to show that, at least in their minds, the fullness of its meaning should be understood in contexts relating it to Israel's Prophetess of greatest renown.

Though I do not suggest that the midrashists were necessarily aware of all the primal traditions I have postulated of Miriam's controlling hand over water, their involvement ca. 400 CE in finally including the "Miriam's Well" formulation in their writings provides a fitting conclusion to this study. I do not credit myself with being able to see what the Rabbis could not see. In this regard, I do not believe that in redacted Scripture it is coincidental that Miriam, who watched over Israel's future deliverer at water's edge, is later the very one who sang a song over water to celebrate the successful conclusion of her brother's mission in leading Israel through its midst. Likewise, I do not attribute to coincidence that the Prophetess Miriam whose most memorable depictions were so entwined with water at River and Sea, and again tellingly juxtaposed at her death with the lack of water in Num 20:1, was only by chance associated in extra-biblical traditions with having had placed upon her hand the quenching and fructifying water of the Well. Rather, I suspect that the nameless Well of Pseudo-Philo and Midrash finally found more than just a convenient namesake. In its search for an owner between the lines of rabbinic midrashim, the Well had come across not just any owner, but its original Owner from Antiquity. And because the

Rabbis had risen to the challenges placed upon *their* hands of responding to internal and intercultural challenges, they were able to portray much more effectively and powerfully the Prophetess Miriam, whom they had suitably midrashically cleansed of any telling pagan associations, making the waters of her Well clean. Thus, her role was crucial as one of Israel's three wilderness leaders, as midwife saving its babes from Pharaoh's decree, as sister in watching over Moses at the River, and during Israel's wilderness trek by assuring through her Well that the people would not want for water. Either knowingly or unwittingly, in the end the Rabbis had no hesitancy in uniting the Well to its original Owner, justly presenting it as I believe it likely to have been known among the very earliest of traditions of Antiquity.

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APPENDIX A-1

Well Midrashim: Hebrew and English Texts

1. משנה מסכת אבות פרק ה משנה ו

עשרה דברים נבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות ואלו הן פי הארץ ופי הבאר ופי האתון והקשת והמן והמטה והשמיר והכתב והמכתב והלוחות ויש אומרים אף המזיקין וקבורתו של משה ואילו של אברהם אבינו ויש אומרים אף צבת בצבת עשויה :

1. Ca 300: Mishnah Abot 5:6

Ten things were created on the eve of the Sabbath, at twilight and these are they: the mouth of the earth and the mouth of the well and the mouth of the ass and the rainbow and the manna and the bed and the *shamir* and the writing and the tablets, and there are [those] who say also the sparks and Moses' tomb and even of Abraham our Father, and there [those] who say also the tongs were made.

1e. מדרש תנחומא (בבב) פרשת חקת סימן א

מעשה בשיחין באחד סומא שירד לטבול במים במערה, נזדמנה לו בארה של מרים וטבל ונתרפא.

1e. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 1

An incident in Sichin about a blind man who went down to dip in the water in a cave. He happened upon Miriam's well and dipped and was healed.

2. תוספתא מסכת סוכה (ליברמן) פרק ג

הלכה ג

למה נקרא שמו שער המים שבו מכניסין צלוחית של מים של ניסוך בחג ר' ליעזר בן יעקב אומ' בו מים מפכין מלמד שמפככין ויוצאין כמי הפך הזה ועתידין להיות יוצאין מתחת מפתן הבית וכן הוא אומר בצאת האיש קדים וקו בידו וימד אלף ויעבירני במים מי אפסים מלמד שאד' עוב' במים עד קרסוליו וימד אלף ויעבירני במים מים ברכים מלמד שאדם עובר במים עד ברכיו.

הלכה ז

יכול לא יעברנו בספינה קטנה אבל יעברנו בספינה גדולה תלמוד לומר בל תלך בו אני שיט יכול לא יעברנו בספינה גדולה אבל יעברנו בבורני גדולה ת"ל וצי אדיר לא יעברנו ואומ' ביום ההוא יצאו מים מירושלם.

הלכה ט

יכול יתערבו במי מעיינות אחרות ת"ל ביום ההוא יהיה מקור נפתח וג' מקור אחד הוא לחטאת ולנדה לאן הולכין לים הגדול לימה של טבריה ולימה של סדום כדי לרפות את מימן שני ויאמר אלי המים האלה יוצאין אל הגלילה הקדמונה וירדו אל הערבה ובאו הימה אל הימה המוצאים ונרפאו המים המים האלה יוצאין אל הגלילה הקדמונה זה ימה של סדום וירדו אל הערבה זה ימה של טבריה ובאו הימה אל הימה המוצאים ונרפאו המים זה הים הגדול ואומ' והיה כל נפש חיה אשר ישרוף אל כל אשר יבא שם נחלים יחיה והיה הדגה רבה מאד כי באו שמה המים האלה וירפאו וחי כל אשר יבוא שמה הנחל.

הלכה י

ואומ' והיה ועמדו עליו דוגים וגו' ביצותיו וגבאיו וגו' ואו' ועל הנחל יעלה על שפתו וגו' מלמד שכל מימי בראשית עתידין להיות יוצאין כמפי הפך הזה.

הלכה יא

וכך היתה הבאר שהיתה עם ישראל במדבר דומה לסלע מלא כברה מפככת ועולה כמפי הפך הזה עולה עמהן להרים ויורדת עמהן לגאיות מקום שישראל שורין היא שורה כנגדן מקום גבוה כנגד פתחו של אהל מועד נשיאי ישראל באין וסובבין אותה במקלותיהן ואומ' עליה את השירה עלי באר ענו לה עלי באר ענו לה והן מבעבעין ועולין כעמוד למעלה וכל אחד ואחד מושך במקלו איש לשבטו ואיש למשפחתו שני באר חפרוה שרים וגו'.

הלכה יב

וממתנה נחליאל ומנחליאל במות ומבמות הגיא וגוי היא סובבת כל מחנה ישראל ומשקה את כל הישימון שני ונשקפה על פני הישימון והיא נעשית נחלים גדולים שני ונחלים ישטפו הן יושבין באיספקאות ובאין זה אצל זה שני הלכו בציות נהר.
הלכה יג

העולה דרך ימין עולה דרך ימין והעולה דרך שמאל עולה דרך שמאל כן מים שמתמצין הימנה היא נעשית נחל גדול והולכין לים הגדול ומביאין משם כל חמדת העולם שני זה ארבעים שנה ה' אליך עמך לא חסרת דבר.

2. 200-250: Tosefta Sukah (Lieberman) 3

3. Why is its name called "The Water Gate"? Because there they put in a flask of water of libation on the festival. R. Liezer b. Yaaqov says, "In it waters gurgle" teaches that they gurgle and go out like the waters of this cruse, and their future is to go out from under the threshold of the House. And thus it says, "As the man was going out eastward, and a line in his hand, and he measured a thousand [cubits], and he caused me to cross in water, water of the ankles" [Ez 47:3]. It teaches that a man crosses in water up to his ankles. "And he measured a thousand [cubits] and he caused me to cross in water, water of the knees" [Ez 47:4]. It teaches that a man crosses in water up to his knees.

7. It could be he did not cause him to cross in a small boat but in a big boat. It is taught, "No ship with oars will go in it" [Is 33:21]. It could be he did not cause him to cross in a big boat, but he caused him to cross in a big sail boat. It is taught, "And a mighty ship will not cross it" [Is 33:21]. And it says, "On that day waters will come forth from Jerusalem." [Zech 14:8]

9. Is it possible that they will mix themselves with the waters of other springs? It teaches that on that day a source will be opened and three are a single source for sin and for menstrual impurity. Where do they go? To the Great Sea, to the Sea of Tiberias, and to the Sea of Sodom, in order to heal their waters, as it is said, "And he said to me, 'these waters go forth to the eastern Galilee and they will go down to the steppe, and they will come to the sea, to the sea of the putrid waters and the waters will be healed'" [Ez 47:8]. This is the Great Sea. And it says, "And every living creature that will swarm wherever the rivers go will live, and there will be a great many fish for these waters came there and everything where the river goes will be healed and live" [Ez 47:9].

10. And it says, "And it will happen, and fishermen will stand over it," etc. [Ez 47:10]. "Its swamps and its marshes" [Ez 47:11]. And it says, "And on the wadi it will go up on its bank," etc. [Ez 47:12]. It teaches that all the waters of the beginning in the future will be going out as if from this cruse.

11. And thus was the well that was with the people of Israel in the wilderness similar to a full rock, a trickling sieve, and going up like this cruse, going up with them to the mountains and going down with them to the valleys. The place where Israel encamp, it encamps opposite them, [on] a high place opposite the door of the Tent of Meeting. The princes of Israel come and surround it with their sticks and say over it the song, "Come up well, sing to it, Come up well, sing to it" [Num 21:17], and [the waters] bubble and come up like a pillar, upwards, and everyone pulls with his stick, each man for his tribe and each man for his family, as it is said, "A well that the officers dug up" [Num 21:18], etc.

12. "And from Matanah to Nachaliel, and from Nachaliel to Bamot [Num 21:19], and from Bamot to the valley" [Num 21:20], etc. It surrounds all the encampment of Israel and irrigates all the desert, as it is said, "And it is seen on the surface of the desert" [Num 21:20]. And it is made into big streams, as it is said, "And streams overflowed" [Ps 78:20]. They sit in boats and come one to the other, as it is said, "They went in the arid land as a river" [Ps 105:41]. [play on words between words for "arid" and "ships"].

13. He who goes up to the right, goes up to the right, and he who goes up to the left, goes up to the left. Thus the water that flows from it is made into a great river and they go to the Great Sea and bring from there every desirable thing in the world, as it is said, "These forty years the Lord your God was with you, you lacked nothing" [Deut 2:7].

R. [E]liezer b. Yaaqov	T-1	10-90
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2e. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת כתובות פרק יב דף לה טור ב/ה"ג

אמר רבי חייה בר בא כל מי שהוא עולה להר הישימון וראה כמין כברה קטני בים טיבריא זו היא בארה של מרי' א"ר יוחנן בר מרה שערינהו רבנן והא היא מכוונא כל קבל תרעא מציעתא דכנישתא עתיקתא דים דוטגין.

2e. Ca. 400: J Talmud Ktubot 12:35b

R. Chiyyah b. Ba said, "Anyone who goes up to the mountain of the wilderness and saw a sort of small sieve in the Sea of Tiberias, this is the Well of Miriam." R. Yochanan b. Marah said, "That the Sages stirred and behold, it is located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of the Sea of VTGN."

R. Chiyyah b. [A]bba	A-3	290-320
R. Yochanan b. Marah	A-5	350-380

3 תוספתא מסכת סוטה (ליברמן) פרק ד הלכה ב

באברהם הוא אומ' יקח נא מעט מים אף המקום ברוך הוא בישר ונתן לבניו באר במדבר שהיתה שופעת בכל מחנה ישראל שני באר חפרוה שרים כרוה נדיבי העם מלמד שהיתה הולכת פני כל הדרום ומשקה את כל פני הישימון ונשקפה על פני הישימון ...

3. 200-250: Tosefta Sotah (Lieberman) 4:2

About Abraham, it says, "Let a little water be taken," also God, blessed be He, delivered good news and gave his children a well in the wilderness that used to flow abundantly in every encampment of Israel, as it is said, "A well that the officers dug up, the nobles of the people dug it" – it teaches that [the well] used to go over the surface of all the south and was seen on the surface of the wilderness ...

3e. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת כלאים פרק ט דף לב טור ג/ה"ג

כתיב הנשקפה על פני הישימון אמר רבי חייה בריא כל מי שהוא עולה להר ישימון ומצא כמין כברה בים טיבריא זו היא בורה של מרים.

3e. Ca. 400: J Talmud Kelaim 9:32c

It is written, "That it is seen on the surface of the wilderness." R. Chiyyah Barya, "Anyone who goes up to the mountain of the wilderness and found a sort of sieve in the sea of Tiberias, this is Miriam's pit."

R. Chiyyah	A-3	290-320
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4. תוספתא מסכת סוטה (ליברמן) פרק יא הלכה א

כל זמן שהיתה מרים קיימת היתה באר מספקת את ישראל משמתה מרים מהו או' ותמת שם מרים ולא היה מים לעדה שנסתלקה הבאר ...

4. 200-250: Tosefta Sotah (Lieberman) 11:1

All the time that Miriam existed, a well used to supply Israel. When Miriam died, what does it say? "And Miriam died there and there was no water for the congregation" for the well had departed.

5. תוספתא מסכת סוטה (ליברמן) פרק יא הלכה ח

ר' יוסה בר' יהודה אומ' כיון שיצאו ישראל ממצרים נתמנו להן שלשה פרנסין טובין אילו הן משה אהרן ומרים בזכותן נתנו להן שלש מתנות עמוד הענן ומן ובאר באר בזכות מרים עמוד ענן בזכות אהרן מן בזכות משה מתה מרים בטלה הבאר וחזרה בזכות משה ואהרן מת אהרן בטל עמוד הענן וחזרו שניהם בזכות משה מת משה בטלו שלשתן ולא חזרו שני ואכחיד את שלשת בירח אחד.

5. 200-250: Tosefta Sotah (Lieberman) 11:8

R. Yoseh in [the name of] R. Judah says, "When Israel went out from Egypt, three good leaders/providers were appointed for them. These are Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. In their merit three gifts were given to them: the pillar of cloud and manna and well. The well in Miriam's merit, the pillar of

cloud in Aaron's merit, the manna in Moses' merit. Miriam died, the well ceased to exist and returned in the merit of Moses and Aaron. Aaron died, the pillar of cloud ceased to exist, and both returned in the Moses' merit. Moses' died, the three of them ceased to exist and did not return, as it is written, 'And I destroyed the three in one month.'"

5e. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה כב ד"ה [ד] ד"א ויתרון

אמ' ר' תנחומי אפילו במים הקב"ה עושה שליחותו. מעשה במוכה שחין אחד שירד לטבול בים בטבריא וארעת שעתא וטפת בירא דמרים ואיתסי. והיכן היא בירא שלמרים, אמ' ר' חייא בר אבא כתי' ונשקפה על פני הישימון (במדבר כא, כ), שכל מי שהוא עולה על ראש הר ישימון ורואה כמין כברה קטנה בים שלטבריא, זה הוא בארה שלמרים. אמ' ר' יוחנן בן מריא שערר רבן והיא מכוונת כל קביל תרעא מציעיא דכנישתא עתיקתא דסרינגית.

5e. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 22:[4]

R. Tanchuma said, "Even with water the Holy One, blessed be He, does his mission. An incident of a man stricken with boils, who went down to dip in the Sea of Tiberias and it happened that he floated into Miriam's well, and he was healed." And where is Miriam's well? R. Chiyya b. Abba said, "It is written, 'And it is seen on the surface of the wilderness' (Num 21:20), so that anyone who goes up on the top of the mountain of the wilderness and sees a sort of small sieve in the Sea of Tiberias, this is Miriam's well." R. Yochanan b. Mari said, "That the Sages stirred and it is located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit."

R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
R. Chiyyah b. Abba	A-3	290-320
R. Yochanan b. Mari	A-5	350-380

6. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא א פרק כ ד"ה דבר אחר

... ויש אומרים כל זמן שהיה משה עומד על שפת הבאר היו המים צפין ועולין לקראתו כיון שחזר חזרו המים לאחוריהם.

6. 6th-7th cent.: Abot de Rabbi Natan A 20

And there are those who say, "All the time that Moses would stand on the edge of the well, the water would anticipate it and go up towards him. When he returned, the water turned back.

6e. תלמוד בבלי מסכת שבת דף לה עמוד א

רבי נחמיה אומר כדי שיהלך אדם משתשקע החמה חצי מיל - אמר רבי חנינא: הרוצה לידע שיעורו של רבי נחמיה יניח חמה בראש הכרמל, וירד ויטבול בים ויעלה, וזהו שיעורו של רבי נחמיה. אמר רבי חייא: הרוצה לראות בארה של מרים, יעלה לראש הכרמל ויצפה ויראה כמין כברה בים, וזו היא בארה של מרים. אמר רב: מעין המיטלטל - טהור, וזהו בארה של מרים.

6e. Ca. 550: B Talmud Shabbat 35a

R. Nechemyah says, "So that a man may walk from the setting of the sun half a *mil*." R. Chanina said, "He who wants to know R. Nechemyah's measure will put the sun on the top of the Carmel and will come down and dip in the sea and go up, and this is R. Nechemyah's period." R. Chiyyah said, "He who wants to see Miriam's well, will go up to the top of the Carmel and watch, and he will see a sort of sieve in the sea, and this is Miriam's well." Rab said, "A spring that wanders – it is clean, and this is Miriam's well."

R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
R. Chanina	T-4	160-190
R. Chiyyah	A-3	290-320
Rab	A-1	d. 247

7. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא א פרק לג ד"ה בשעה שעמדו

ויש אומרים היה יוצא להם מים חיים מן הים ושותין בתוך הגזרים לפי שמימי הים מלוחים הן שנאמר נוזלים. ואין נוזלים אלא מתוקים שנאמר באר מים חיים ונוזלים מן לבנון (שיר השירים ד' ט"ו).

7. 6th-7th cent.: Abot de Rabbi Natan A 33

And there are those who say that living water went out for them from the sea and they drank inside the lanes since the sea water was salty, as it is said, "flowing." But it is not flowing but sweet, as it is said, "A well of living and flowing water from Lebanon" (Song of Songs 4:15).

7e. תלמוד בבלי מסכת בבא מציעא דף פו עמוד ב

אמר רב יהודה אמר רב: כל מה שעשה אברהם למלאכי השרת בעצמו - עשה הקדוש ברוך הוא לבניו בעצמו, וכל [מה] שעשה אברהם על ידי שליח - עשה הקדוש ברוך הוא לבניו על ידי שליח. +בראשית י"ח+ ואל הבקר רץ אברהם - +במדבר יא+ ורוח נסע מאת ה'. +בראשית י"ח+ ויקח חמאה וחלב - +שמות ט"ז+ הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים. +בראשית י"ח+ והוא עמד עליהם תחת העץ - +שמות י"ז+ הנני עמד לפניך שם על הצור [וגו']. +בראשית י"ח+ ואברהם הלך עמם לשלחם - +שמות י"ג+ וה' הלך לפניו יומם. +בראשית י"ח+ יקח נא מעט מים - +שמות י"ז+ והכית בצור ויצאו ממנו מים ושתה העם. ופליגא דרבי חמא ברבי חנינא - דאמר רבי חמא ברבי חנינא, וכן תנא דבי רבי ישמעאל: בשכר שלשה זכו לשלשה, בשכר חמאה וחלב - זכו למן, בשכר והוא עמד עליהם - זכו לעמוד הענן, בשכר יקח נא מעט מים - זכו לבארה של מרים.

7e. Ca. 550: B Talmud Baba Metsia 86b

R. Yehudah said Rab said, "Everything that Abraham himself did for the ministering angels, the Holy One, blessed be He, Himself did for His children, and everything that Abraham did upon the hand of an agent, the Holy One, blessed be He, did for His children upon the hand of an agent. (Gen 18) 'And Abraham ran to the cattle' - (Num 11) 'And a wind came out from the Lord.' (Gen 18) 'And he took butter and milk' - (Ex 16) 'Behold I cause to rain bread from the heavens for you.' (Gen 18) 'And he stood over them under the tree' - (Ex 17) 'Behold I stand before you there upon the rock [etc.]. (Gen 18) 'And Abraham went with them to send them away' - (Ex 13) 'And the Lord went before them by day.' (Gen 18) 'Let a little water be brought' - (Ex 17) 'And you will strike the rock, and water will come out of it and the people will drink.'" And the conflict with R. Chama b. R. Chanina: That R. Chama b. R. Chanina said and thus taught the school of R. Yishmael, "As a reward for three, they merited three: as a reward for 'butter and milk,' they merited the manna; as a reward for 'and he stood over them,' they merited the pillar of cloud; as a reward for 'let a little water be brought,' they merited Miriam's well."

R. Yehudah	A-2	260-290
Rab	A-1	d. 247
R. Chama b. R. Chanina	A-2	260-290

8. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא ב פרק לז ד"ה עשרה דברים

עשרה דברים נבראו בין השמשות [הקשת]. והזיקים. והעננים. הבאר. והמן. והמטה. ופי הארץ. ופי האתון. ומקלו של אהרן. והמערה. ויש אומרים אף [קברו של משה רבינו. ואילו] של אברהם אבינו. רבי נתן אומר אף כתב והמכתב והלוחות. רבי יהושע אומר אף [והעד] [העור] והשמיר. רבי נחמיה אומר אף האור והפרדה:

8. Ca. 300: Abot de Rabbi Natan B 37

Ten things were created at twilight: [the rainbow], and the sparks, and the clouds, and the well, and the manna, and the bed, and the mouth of the earth, and the mouth of the ass, and Aaron's stick, and the cave. And there are those who say also [the tomb of Moses' our Master, and even] of Abraham our father. R. Natan says, also the writing and the tablets. R. Yehoshua says also [the skin/leather] and the *shamir*. R. Nechemyah says, also the light and the separation.

R. Natan	T-4	160-190
R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160

8e. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה ה' ד"ה ה' ור' תנחומא

א"ר תנחומא אפילו במים הקב"ה עושה שליחותו ומעשה במוכה שחין שירד לטבול בימה של טבריא וארעת שעתא וטפת בארה של מרים ואסחי ואיתסי, והיכן היא בארה של מרים, א"ר חייא בר אבא כתיב (במדבר כ"א) ונשקפה על פני הישימון שכל מי שעולה על הר ישימון רואה כמין כברה קטנה בימה של טבריא וזו היא בארה של מרים, רבי יוחנן אמר שיערו אותה רבן והיא מכוונת כל קבל תרעא מציעאה דכנשתא עתיקתא דסרונגיא.

8e. 6th-8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 5:5

R. Tanchuma said, "Even with water the Holy One, blessed be He, does his mission. And an incident of a man stricken with boils, who went down to dip in the Sea of Tiberias and it happened that he floated into Miriam's well, and bathed and was healed." And where is Miriam's well? R. Chiyya b. Abba said, "It is written (Num 21), 'And it is seen on the surface of the wilderness', so that anyone who goes up on the mountain of the wilderness sees a sort of small sieve in the Sea of Tiberias, and this is Miriam's well." R. Yochanan said, "That the Sages stirred it and it is located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Serungi."

R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
R. Chiyyah b. Abba	A-3	290-320
R. Yochanan	A-5	350-380

9e. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יח ד"ה כב יתברך שמו

מעשה בשיחין אחד סומא שירד במים לטבול נזדמנה לו בארה של מרים וטבל ונתרפא,

9e. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 18:22

An incident in Sichin, a blind man who went down to dip in the water and happened upon Miriam's well and he dipped and was healed.

10. תלמוד בבלי מסכת פסחים דף נד עמוד א

והא תניא: עשרה דברים נבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות, אלו הן: באר, והמן, וקשת, כתב, ומכתב, והלוחות, וקברו של משה, ומערה שעמד בו משה ואלהיו, פתיחת פי האתון, ופתיחת פי הארץ לבלוע את הרשעים. רבי נחמיה אומר משום אביו: אף האור והפרד. רבי יאשיה אומר משום אביו: אף האיל והשמיר. רבי יהודה אומר: אף הצבת ...
תנו רבנן: עשרה דברים נבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות, ואלו הן: באר, ומן, וקשת, הכתב, והמכתב, והלוחות, קברו של משה, ומערה שעמד בה משה ואלהיו, פתיחת פי האתון, ופתיחת פי הארץ לבלוע את הרשעים. ויש אומרים: אף מקלו של אהרן שקדיה ופרכיה, ויש אומרים אף המזיקין, ויש אומרים: אף בגדו של אדם הראשון.

10. Ca. 550: B. Talmud Pesachim 54a

And this is the teaching: Ten things were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, these are they: Well, and the manna, and rainbow, writing, and written, and the tablets, and Moses' tomb, and the cave in which Moses stood and Elijah, the opening of the ass's mouth, and the opening of the earth's mouth to swallow the wicked ones. R. Nechemyah says because of his father: "Also the light and the mule". Rabbi Yoshiyyah says because of his father: "Also the ram and the *shamir*." R. Yehudah says: "Also the tongs ..."

The Sages teach: 10 things were built in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, and these are they: Well, and manna, and rainbow, the writing, and the written, and the tablets, and Moses' tomb, and the cave in which Moses stood and Elijah, the opening of the ass's mouth, and the opening of the earth's mouth to swallow the wicked ones. And there are those who say: Also the stick of Aaron, the almond tree and its flowers, and there are those who say: Also the garment of the first human being [the first Adam].

R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
R. Yoshiyyah	T-3	130-160
R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160

10e. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור כד ז"ה [נ] כי הוא

כתיב ונשקפה על פני הישימון (במדבר כא כ), אמר ר' חייא בר אבא כל מי שעולה להר מבוא, ורואה כמין כברה בימא של טבריה, זו היא בארה של מרים.

10e. 3rd-13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) Ps 24:[6]

It is written, "And it is seen on he surface of the wilderness (Num 21:20)." R. Chiyah b. Abba said, "Anyone who goes up to the mountain westward, and sees a sort of sieve in the Sea of Tiberias, this is Miriam's well."

R. Chiyah b. Abba	A-3	290-320
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11. תלמוד בבלי מסכת תענית דף ט עמוד א

ואמר רבי יוחנן: מטר - בשביל יחיד, פרנסה - בשביל רבים. מטר בשביל יחיד - דכתיב +דברים כ"ח+ יפתח ה' לך את אוצרו הטוב ..., פרנסה בשביל רבים - דכתיב +שמות ט"ז+ הנני ממטיר לכם לחם. מיתבי, רבי יוסי ברבי יהודה אומר: שלשה פרנסים טובים עמדו לישראל, אלו הן: משה, ואהרן, ומרים. ושלש מתנות טובות ניתנו על ידם, ואלו הן: באר, וענן, ומן. באר - בזכות מרים, עמוד ענן - בזכות אהרן, מן - בזכות משה. מתה מרים - נסתלק הבאר. שנאמר +במדבר כ"ו+ ותמת שם מרים, וכתיב בתריה ולא היה מים לעדה, וחזרה בזכות שניהן. מת אהרן - נסתלק ענני כבוד, שנאמר +במדבר כ"א+ וישמע הכנעני מלך ערד, מה שמועה שמע - שמע שמת אהרן ונסתלק ענני כבוד, וכסבור ניתנה לו רשות להלחם בישראל. והיינו דכתיב +במדבר כ"ו+ ויראו כל העדה כי גוע אהרן. אמר רבי אבהו: אל תקרי ויראו אלא וייראו. כדריש ריש לקיש, דאמר ריש לקיש... חזרו שניהם בזכות משה, מת משה - נסתלקו כולן, שנאמר +זכריה י"א+ ואכחד את שלשת הרעים בירח אחד. וכי בירח אחד מתו? והלא מרים מתה בניסן, ואהרן באב, ומשה באדר! אלא: מלמד שנתבטלו שלש מתנות טובות שנתנו על ידן, ונסתלקו כולן בירח אחד.

11. Ca. 550: B Talmud Taanit 9a

And R. Yonatan said, "Rain – for an individual, livelihood for many. Rain for an individual – as it is written (Deut 28), 'May the Lord open for you His good treasure' ... Livelihood for many, as it is written (Ex 16), 'Behold, I cause it to rain bread for you.' Responding, R. Yosi in the name of R. Yehudah says, "Three good providers arose for Israel, these are they: Moses and Aaron and Miriam. And three good gifts were given upon their hand, and these are they: Well and cloud and manna. Well – in Miriam's merit; cloud – in Aaron's merit; manna – in Moses' merit. Miriam died, the well went away. As it said (Num 20), 'And Miriam died there,' and it is written after it, 'and there was no water for the congregation;' and it [the well] returned in the merit of both of them. Aaron died – the clouds of glory went away, as it said (Nurm 20:1), 'And the Canaanite heard, the King of Arad.' What report did he hear? He heard that Aaron died and the clouds of glory went away, and as understood, he was given permission to fight with Israel. And that is written (Num 20), 'And all the congregation saw that Aaron had expired.'" Said R. Abbahu, "Do not read 'And they saw' [vayir'u], but 'And they feared' [vayyir'u], as Resh Laqish expounded," for Resh Laqish said, ... "Both of them returned in Moses' merit; Moses died – all went away, as it is said (Zech 11), 'And I destroyed the three shepherds in one month.' And did they die in one moon? Didn't Miriam die in Nisan, and Aaron in Ab, and Moses in Adar! Rather: It teaches that three good gifts that were given upon their hand were cancelled, and went away in one month."

R. Yonatan	A-2	250-290
R. Yosi	A-3	290-320
R. Yehudah	A-2	250-290
R. Abbahu	A-3	290-320
Resh Laqish	A-2	250-290

12. תלמוד בבלי מסכת חולין דף צב עמוד א

אמר לו רבי יהושע: וכי מראין לו לאדם מה שהיה? והלא אין מראין לו לאדם אלא מה שעתידי להיות! אלא: גפן - זה תורה, שלשה שריגים - אלו משה ואהרן ומרים, והיא כפורחת עלתה נצה - אלו סנהדרין, הבשילו אשכולותיה ענבים - אלו הצדיקים שבכל דור ודור. אמר ר"ג: עדיין צריכין אנו למודעי, דמוקים ליה כוליה בחד מקום; רבי אלעזר המודעי אומר: גפן - זה ירושלים, שלשה שריגים - זה מקדש, מלך, וכהן גדול, והיא כפורחת עלתה נצה - אלו פרחי כהונה, הבשילו אשכולותיה ענבים - אלו נסכים. רבי יהושע בן לוי מוקים לה במתנות, דאמר ר' יהושע בן לוי: גפן - זו תורה, שלשה שריגים - זה באר, עמוד ענן, ומן.

12. Ca. 550: B Talmud Chulin 92

R. Yehoshua said to him: "And do they show man what was? Don't they show man but what will be in the future! Rather, vine – this is Torah, three shoots – these are Moses and Aaron and Miriam; and it, as it was budding, its blossom ascended – these are the Sanhedrin; its clusters ripened into grapes – these are the righteous ones in every generation." R. Gamaliel said: "We still need the Modii, who sets all up in one place; R. Eleazar the Modii [of Modiin] says: 'Vine – this is Jerusalem; three shoots – these are Temple, king, and high priest; and as it was budding, its blossom ascended – these are the flowers of the priesthood; its clusters ripened into grapes – these are libations.'" R. Yehoshua b. Levi sets it up as gifts, for R. Yehoshua b. Levi said: "Vine – this is Torah; three shoots – this is well, pillar of cloud, and manna ..."

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Gamaliel	T-2	90-130
R. Eleazar of Modiin	T-2	90-130
R. Yehoshua b. Levi	A-1	220-250

13. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת מגילה פרק ג דף עד טור ב/ה"ז

ר' יונתן ספרא דגופתה נחת להכא חמא לבר אבונא ספרא קרי שירת הבאר ומברך לפניו ולאחריה אמר ליה ועבדין כן אמר ליה ואדיין את לזו כל השירות טעונות ברכה לפנייהן ולאחריהן אישתאלת לרי סימון אמר לון רבי סימון בשם רבי יהושע בן לוי אין לך טעון ברכה לפניו ולאחריו אלא שירת הים ועשרת הדיברות.

13. Ca. 400: J Talmud Megillah 3:74:2

R. Yonatan ... of Gufta came down here to... to Bar Abuna ... read the Song of the Well and blessed before it and after it. He said to him, "And thus they do." He said to him, "And how do you [infer] this?" All the songs require a blessing before and after. They asked R. Simon. R. Simon said to them in the name of R. Yehoshua b. Levi, you have no requirement for a blessing before or after it, except for the Song of the Sea and the 10 Commandments and the curses that are in the Torah of the priests and in the Mishneh Torah.

R. Yonatan	A-2	250-290
R. Abuna	A-3	290-320
R. Simon	A-3	290-320
R. Yehoshua b. Levi	A-1	220-250

14. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דזויה בשלח פתיחתא ד"ה ויהי בשלח

ד"א כל שכן לא הביאן הקב"ה דרך פשוטה לארץ ישראל אלא דרך המדבר אמר הב"ה אם אני מביא עכשיו את ישראל לארץ מיד מחזיקים אדם בשדהו ואדם בכרמו והם בטלים מן התורה אלא אקיפם במדבר ארבעים שנה שיהיו אוכלין מן ושותין מי הבאר והתורה נבללת בגופן מכאן היה ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אומר לא ניתנה התורה לדרוש אלא לאוכלי המן ושויין להם אוכלי תרומה.

14. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach

Another matter: Since the Holy One, blessed be He, did not bring them by a simple road to the Land of Israel but by way of the wilderness. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "If I bring Israel to the Land

now, at once each man takes hold of his field and each man his vineyard, and they separate from the Torah. Rather, I will encircle them in the wilderness for forty years so that they will eat manna and drink the water of the well and the Torah is mixed in their bodies.” From here R. Shimeon b. Yochai used to say, “The Torah was not given to search, but to the eaters of the manna and the eaters of the *terumah* are compared to them.

R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-3	130-160
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15. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויהי בשלח פתיחתא ד"ה ויסב אלהים

ויסב אלהים את העם דרך המדבר מפני מה כדי לעשות להם נסים וגבורות במן ובשלי ובבאר.

15. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach

And God caused the people to revolve by way of the wilderness, why? In order to make miracles and mighty deeds for them with the manna and the quail and the well.

16. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויהי בשלח פתיחתא ד"ה וה' הולך

וה' הולך לפניו יומם, ... ר' יהודה אומר שלשה עשר עננים היו שנים שנים לכל רוח ורוח שנים מלמעלה ושנים מלמטה ואחד שהיה מהלך לפניו. ר' יאשיה אומר ארבעה אחד לפניו ואחד לאחריהם אחד למעלה ואחד למטה. רבי אומר שנים: וה' הולך לפניו יומם, ללמדך שבמדה שאדם מודד בה מודדין לו. אברהם לווה מלאכי השרת שני ואברהם הולך עמם לשלחם (בראשית יח טז) והמקום לווה את בניו במדבר ארבעים שנה שני וה' הולך לפניו יומם בעמוד ענן. באברהם כתיב יוקח נא מעט מים והב"ה העלה לבניו את הבאר במדבר שני אז ישיר ישראל את השירה זאת עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז).

16. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach

“And God walks before them by day” ... R. Yehudah says, “thirteen clouds” ... R. Yoshiyyah says, “Four” ... Rabbi says, “Two: ‘And God walks before them by day,’ to teach you that with the measure that a man measures, with it do they measure him. Abraham accompanied the ministering angels, as it is said, ‘And Abraham was walking with them to send them’ (Gen 18:16) and God accompanied his children in the wilderness for forty years, as it is said, ‘And God walks before them in a pillar of cloud.’ About Abraham, it is written, ‘Let a little water be taken,’ and the blessed be He brought up for his children the well in the wilderness, as it is said, ‘Then Israel sang this song, “Come up, well, sing to it” (Num 21:17) ...

R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160
R. Yoshiyyah	T-3	130-160
Rabbi	T-4	d. 217

17. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויהי בשלח פרשה ד ד"ה ויסע מלאך

ויסע מלאך האלהים ההולך, ר' יהודה אומר הרי זה מקרא עשיר במקומות הרבה. משל למה הדבר דומה לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך והיה מנהיג את בנו לפניו באו לסטים לשבותו מלפניו נטלו מלפניו ונתנו לאחריו בא הזאב ליטלו מאחריו נטלו מאחריו ונתנו מלפניו באו לסטים מלפניו וזאבים מאחריו נטלו ונתנו על זרועותיו התחיל הבן מצטער מפני החמה פרש עליו אביו בגדו רעב האכילו צמא השקהו. כך עשה הקב"ה שני ואנכי תרגלתי לאפרים קחם על זרועותיו ולא ידעו כי רפאתים (הושע יא ג), התחיל הבן מצטער מפני החמה פרש עליו בגדו שני פרש ענן למסך ואש להאיר לילה (תהלים קה לט), הרעיב האכילו לחם שני הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים (שמות טז ד), צמא השקהו מים שני ויוציא נוזלים מסלע (תהלים עח טז) ואין נוזלים אלא מים חיים שני מעין גנים באר מים חיים ונוזלים וגוי (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ד טו) ואומר שתה מים מבורך ונוזלים מתוך בארך (משלי ה טו).

17. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach

“And the angel of God, who walked [before them] traveled.” R. Yehudah says, “Behold, this is an incident rich in many places. A parable, what does the matter resemble? To one who was walking on

the way and was leading his son before him. Robbers came to capture him from before him; he took him from before and put him behind him. The wolf came to take him from behind him; he took him from behind and put him before him. Robbers came before him and wolves behind him; he took him and put him in his arms. The son started to feel bad because of the sun; the father spread his garment over him. [When] hungry, he fed him, [when] thirsty, he gave him to drink. Thus did the Holy One, blessed be He, ... as it is said, He spread a cloud as a covering and fire to light up the night (Ps 105:39); when [Israel] became hungry, He fed him bread, as it is said, 'Behold, I am causing bread to rain from the heavens for you' (Ex 16:4); thirsty, He gave him water to drink, as it is said, 'And he brought out liquid from a rock (Ps 78:16), and not [any] liquid but living water, as it is said, 'A source of gardens, a well of living flowing water, etc.' (Song 4:15), and said, 'Drink living water from your cistern and liquid from your well (Prov 5:15).

R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160
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18. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' זשירה בשלח פרשה א

ד"א משה ובני ישראל מגיד שאמר משה שירה כנגד כל ישראל: את השירה הזאת וכי שירה אחת היא והלא עשר שירות הן, הראשונה שנאמרה במצרים שני השיר יהיה לכם כליל התקדש חג וגוי (ישעיה ל כט), השנייה שנאמרה על הים שני אז ישיר משה השלישית שנאמרה על הבאר שני אז ישיר ישראל (במדבר כא יז), הרביעית שאמר משה שני ויהי ככלות משה לכתוב את דברי השירה הזאת (דברים לא כד), החמישית שאמר יהושע שני אז ידבר יהושע לה' ביום תת ה' וגוי (יהושע י יב), הששית שאמרה דבורה וברק שני ותשר דבורה וברק בן אבינועם (שופטים ה א), השביעית שאמר דוד שני וידבר דוד לה' את דברי השירה הזאת (ש"ב = שמואל ב' = כב א), השמינית שאמר שלמה שנאמר מזמור שיר חנוכת הבית לדוד (תהלים ל א).

18. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, Deshirah 1

Another matter: "Moses and the Children of Israel" says that Moses said a song before all Israel. "This song." And is it [only] one song? Aren't they ten songs? The first one that was sung in Egypt, as it is said, "The song will be to them as a night of sanctifying a holiday, etc." (Is 30:29); the second, that was sung at the sea, as it is said, "Then Moses sang"; the third that was sung at the well, as it is said, "Then Israel sang" (Num 21:17); the fourth that Moses sang, as it is said, "And it happened at Moses' finishing to write the words of this song" (Deut 31:24); the fifth that Joshua sang, as it is said, "Then Joshua spoke to God on the day of God's giving," etc. (Josh 10:12); the sixth that Deborah and Baraq sang, as it is said, "And Deborah sang, and Baraq the son of Abinoam" (Jud 5:1); the seventh that David sang, as it is said, "And David spoke the words of this song" (2Sam 22:1); the eighth that Solomon sang, as it is said, "Song of/to David for the dedication of the house" (Ps 30:1).

19. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' זשירה בשלח פרשה ו ד"ה וברוח אפך

שני ויוציא נוזלים מסלע (תהלים עח טז) ואין נוזלים אלא מים חיים שני מעין גנים באר מים חיים (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ד טו) ואומ' שתי מים מבוריך ונוזלים מתוך בארך (משלי ה טו).

19. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, Deshirah 6

As it is said, "And he brought out liquid from a rock" (Ps 78:16) and not [any] liquid but living water, as it is said, "A source of gardens, a well of living flowing water," etc. (Song 4:15), and it is said, "Drink living water from your cistern and liquid from your well" (Prov 5:15).

20. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויסע בשלח פרשה ה ד"ה ויאמר ה'

ויאמר ה' אל משה עד אנה מאנתם, ר' יהושע אומר אמר לו הקב"ה למשה משה אמור להם לישראל הוצאתי אתכם ממצרים וקרעתי לכם את הים והורדתי לכם המן והעליתי לכם הבאר והגזתי לכם השליו ונלחמתי לכם מלחמת עמלק ועשיתי לכם נסים וגבורות עד מתי מאנתם לשמור מצותי ותורותי ...

20. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, Devayisa 5

And the Lord said to Moses, "Until when will you refuse." R. Yehoshua says, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, 'Moses, tell Israel, "I brought you out of Egypt and split the sea for you, and brought down manna for you, and brought up the well for you, and speedily delivered to you the quail and fought for you the war with Amaleq, and did for you miracles and mighty deeds. Until when will you refuse to keep my commandments and my teachings?"

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
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21. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויסע בשלח פרשה ה ד"ה ובני ישראל

ובני ישראל אכלו את המן ארבעים שנה, ר' יהושע אומר ארבעים יום אכלו את המן אחרי מות משה ... ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר שבעים יום אכלו את המן אחר מיתתו של משה ... ר' אליעזר אומר שבעים יום אכלו ישראל את המן אחר מיתתו של משה ... ר' יוסי אומר חמשים וארבע שנה אכלו ישראל את המן ארבעים שנה בחיי משה וארבע עשרה אחר מיתתו שנאמר ובני ישראל אכלו את המן ארבעים שנה עד באם שאין ת"ל את המן אכלו עד בואם אל קצה ארץ כנען אלא אלו ארבע עשרה שנה שאכלוהו אחר מיתת משה ואלו הן שבע שכבשו ושבע שחלקו מתה מרים נסתלקה הבאר מת אהרן נסתלקו ענני כבוד מת משה נסתלק המן. ר' יהושע אומר מתה מרים נסתלקה הבאר וחזרה בזכות משה ואהרן מת אהרן נסתלק עמוד הענן וחזרו שניהם בזכות משה מת משה נסתלקו שלשתן ולא חזרו ...

21. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, Devayisa 5

And the children of Israel ate the manna for forty years. R. Yehoshua says, "They ate the manna for forty days after Moses' death ..." R. Eleazar the Modii says, "They ate the manna for seventy days after Moses' death ..." R. Eliezer says, "Israel ate the manna for seventy days after Moses' death ..." R. Yosi says, "Israel ate the manna for fifty-four years: forty years in the life of Moses and fourteen years after his death, as it is said, 'And the children of Israel ate the manna for forty years until their coming' because it doesn't teach us that they ate the manna until their coming to the edge of the Land of Canaan, but also fourteen years that they ate it after Moses' death, and these are they: seven that they conquered and seven that they apportioned. Miriam died, the well went away; Aaron died, the clouds of glory went away; Moses died, the manna went away." R. Yehoshua says, "Miriam died, the well went away and returned in the merit of Moses and Aaron; Aaron died, the pillar of cloud went away and both returned in Moses' merit. Moses died, the three of them went away and did not return ..."

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Eleazar of Modiin	T-2	90-130
R. Eliezer	T-2	90-130
R. Yosi	T-3	130-160

22. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל יתרו - מס' דעמלק יתרו פרשה א ד"ה ויחד יתרו

ויחד יתרו על כל הטובה וגו'. ר' יהושע אומר: בטובת המן הכתוב מדבר, אמרו לו: המן הזה שנתן לנו המקום, אנו טועמין בו טעם הפת, טעם בשר, טעם דגים טעם חגבים, טעם כל המטעמים שבעולם ... ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר: בטובת הבאר הכתוב מדבר; אמרו לו: הבאר הזה שנתן לנו המקום, אנו טועמין בו טעם יין ישן, טעם יין חדש, טעם חלב, טעם דבש, טעם כל הממתקים שבעולם ... ר' אליעזר אומר: בטובת ארץ ישראל הכתוב מדבר, אמרו לו: עתיד המקום ליתן לנו שש מדות טובות, ארץ ישראל, והעולם הבא, ומלכות בית דוד, ועולם חדש, וכהונה ולויה ...

22. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Yitro, Deamaleq 1

... R. Yehoshua says: "On the goodness of the manna the Scripture speaks: 'They said to him: "This manna that God gave us, we taste in it the taste of a piece of bread, the taste of meat, the taste of fish, the taste of grasshoppers, the taste of all the delicacies in the world"' ..." R. Eleazar the Modii says: "On the goodness of the well the Scripture speaks: 'They said to him: "This well that God gave us, we taste in it the taste of old wine, the taste of new wine, the taste of milk, the taste of honey, the taste of all

the sweet things in the world ...” R. Eliezer says, “On the goodness of the Land of Israel the Scripture speaks.” They said to him: “In the future God will give us six good measures, the Land of Israel, and the world to come, and the kingdom of the house of David, and a new world, and priesthood, and levitehood ...

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Eleazar of Modiin	T-2	90-130
R. Eliezer	T-2	90-130

23. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל יתרו - מס' דבחדש יתרו פרשה ה ד"ה אנכי ה'

אנכי ה' אלהיך. מפני מה לא נאמרו עשרת הדברות בתחלת התורה, משלו משל למה הדבר דומה, לאחד שנכנס במדינה, אמר להם, אמלוך עליכם; אמרו לו, כלום עשית לנו טובה שתמלוך עלינו. מה עשה, בנה להם את החומה, הכניס להם את המים, עשה להם מלחמות. אמר להם, אמלוך עליכם; אמרו לו, הן והן. כך המקום הוציא את ישראל ממצרים, קרע להם את היס, הוריד להם את המן, העלה להם את הבאר, הגיז להם את השלו, עשה להם מלחמת עמלק. אמר להם אמלוך עליכם, אמרו לו הן והן.

23. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Yitro, Debachodesh 5

I am the Lord your God. Why weren't the Ten Commandments said at the beginning of the Torah? They made a parable, what does the matter resemble? To one who entered a province. He said to them, “I will reign over you.” They said to him, “You did nothing good for us so you can reign over us.” What did he do? He built the wall for them, brought them the water, made war for them. He said to them, “I will reign over you.” They said to him, “Yes, of course.” Thus God brought Israel out of Egypt, split the sea for them, brought down the manna for them, brought up the well for them, speedily delivered the quail to them, fought the war of Amaleq for them. He said to them, “I will reign over you.” They said to him, “Yes, of course.”

24. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק יג פסוק (ז)

ד"א כי קרוב הוא קרובה היא פורענותן של מצרים ושל פרעה לבא עליהן. כי אמר אלקים פן ינחם העם אמר הקב"ה אם אני מכניסן דרך פשוטה עכשיו הן מחזיקין בשדות ובכרמים ובטילין מן התורה אלא הריני מקיפן למדבר ארבעים שנה ויאכלו את המן וישתו מי באר והתורה מתישבת בגופן. מכאן היה ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אומר לא ניתנה תורה לדרוש אלא לאוכלי מן שניים להן אוכלי תרומה. ד"א כיון ששמעו כנעניים שישראל נכנסין לארץ עמדו ושרפו את הזרעים וקצצו את הנטיעות וסותרו הבנינות וסיתמו המעינות אמר הקב"ה אני הבטחתי לאבותיהם שאני מכניסן לארץ חריבה אלא כך הן מובטחים ובתים מלאים כל טוב אשר לא מלאת (דב' ו יא) הריני מעכבן במדבר עד שיעמדו כנעניים ויתקנו מה שקלקלו. בראתם מלחמה זו מלחמת העמלקי שנה וירד העמלקי הישב בהר ההוא (במ' יד מה) ד"א זו מלחמת בני אפרים שיצאו קודם לקץ. ושבו מצרימה שלא יראו עצמות אחיהם בני אפרים ויחזרו.

24. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon Bar Yochai 13:17

Another matter: “For it is close.” Close is the trouble of Egypt and of Pharaoh to come upon them. For God said, “Lest the people repent.” Said the Holy One, blessed be He, “If I bring them in by a simple road, now they hold onto fields and vineyards and separate from the Torah. Behold I surround them in the wilderness for 40 years and they will eat the manna, and they will drink the water of the well, and the Torah settles in their body.” From here R. Shimeon b. Yochai used to say, “The Torah was not given to expound, but to eaters of manna ...

R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-3	130-160
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25. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק טו פסוק (א)

ד"א [משה] ובני ישי' מלמד שאמר משה שירה כנגד כל ישי' את [השירה] הזאת וכי שירה אחת היא והלא עשר שירות הן ר[אשונה] שנאמרה במצי' השיר יהיה לכם כליל וגומי' [ישע' ל כט]. שנייה ש[נאמרה] על הים זה אלי ואנוהו וגומי' (שמי' טו ב) שלישית שנאמי' על הבאר אז [ישיר] ישי' וגומי'

(במי כא יז) רביעית שאמי וידבר משה באזני כל קהל ישי וגומי (דב' לא ל) [. חמישית שאמי יהושע אז ידבר יהושע ליי גומי (יהו' י יב) ששית שאמי דבורה ותשר דבורה וגומי (שופט' ה א) שביעית שאמר דוד (ליי) וידבר דוד ליי [וגו'] (ש"ב כב א) שמינית שאמי שלמה מזמור שיר חנוכת וגומי (תה' ל א).

25. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon Bar Yochai 15:1

Another matter: [Moses] and the children of Israel teaches that Moses sang a song before all Israel, this [song]. And is this song really only one, but aren't they ten songs? A fi[rs]t one] that was sung in Egypt, "The song will be to them as a night, etc." (Is 30:29). A second that [was sung] at the sea, "This is my God and I will praise him," etc. (Ex 15:2). A third that was sung at the well, "Then Israel [sang], etc." (Num 21:17). A fourth that said, "And Moses spoke in the ears of all the congregation of Israel," etc. (Deut 31:30)[.] A fifth that Joshua sang, "Then Joshua spoke to the Lord," etc. (Josh 10:12). A sixth that Deborah sang, "And Deborah sang," etc. (Jud 5:1). A seventh that David sang [to the Lord], "And David spoke to the Lord," [etc.] (2Sam 22:1). An eighth that Solomon sang, "A song for the dedication of the house, etc." (Ps 30:1).

26. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק טז פסוק (לב)

אמתי נעשה [ה]ארון בשנה שניה וזה אחד מן הדבר[ים שנבראו בין] השמשות בערב שבת ואילו הן קשת ומן ובא[ר] והכתב והמכתב[ב] והלוחות ופי האתון ופי הארץ וקבורתו שלמשה ומערה שעמד בה משה ואליהו ומקלו של אהרן שקדיה ופרחיה ויש אומי אף בגדו שלאדם הראשון ויש אומי [אף הכתונות] והמ[זיקים] ר' יאשיה אומי משום אביו אף האיל והשמ[יר]. ר' נחמיה אומי אף האור והפרדה ר' יהודה אומי אף הצבת הוא היה אומי צבתא בצבתא מתעבדא צבתא קדמיתא מה הות הא לאו ביריה הות. שבעה דברים מכוסין מבני אדם ואילו הן יום מיתה ויום נחמה ועמק הדין ואין אדם יודע במה משתכר ואין אדם יודע מה בלבו שלחברו ומלכות בית דויד ומלכות חייבת.

26. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon Bar Yochai 16:32

When was [the] Ark made? On the second year and this is one of the things that were created at twilight in the eve of the Sabbath, and these are they: rainbow, and manna, and well, [and the writing and the] and the tablets, and the mouth of the ass, and the mouth of the earth, and the burial place of Moses, and the cave in which stood Moses and Elijah, and Aaron's stick, almond tree and its blossoms; and there are those who say, [also the tunics] and the sp[arks]. R. Yoshiyyah says because of his father, "Also the ram and the *sha[mir]*." R. Nechemyah says, "Also the light and the separation. R. Yehudah says, "Also the tongs."

R. Yoshiyyah	T-3	130-160
R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160

27. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק טז פסוק (לה)

ובני ישי אכלו את המן ארבעים שנה ר' יהושע אומי ארבעים יום אכלו ישי את המן אחר מיתתו שלמשה ... ר' אלעזר המודעי אומי שבעים יום אכלו ישי את המן אחר מיתתו שלמשה ... [ר'] אלעזר אומי שבעים יום אכלו ישי את המן אחר מיתתו] ... אחרים אומי חמשים וארבע שנה אכלו ישי את המן ארבעים בחייו שלמשה וארבע עשרה לאחר מיתתו שלמשה שבע שכיבשו ושבע שחילקו ... מתה מרים בטלה הבאר וחזרה מת אהרן בטל עמוד ענן וחזר מת משה בטלו שלשתן ולא חזרו.

27. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon Bar Yochai 16:35

And the children of Israel ate the manna for forty years. R. Yehoshua says, "Israel ate the manna for forty days after the death of Moses ..." R. Eleazar the Modii says, "Israel ate the manna for seventy days after the death of Moses ..." [R. Eliezer says, "Israel ate the manna for seventy days after his death] ...] Others say, "Israel ate the manna for fifty-four years: forty during Moses' life and fourteen after Moses' death – seven that they conquered and seven that they apportioned... Miriam died, the well

ceased to exist and returned; Aaron died, the pillar of cloud ceased to exist and returned; Moses died, all three of them ceased to exist and did not return.

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Eleazar of Modiin	T-2	90-130
R. Eliezer	T-2	90-130

28. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק יח פסוק (ט)

על כל הטובה ר' יהושע אומר בטובת המן הגיד לו אמר לו מן שנתן לנו המקום אנו טועמין בו טעם פת טעם בשר טעם דגים טעם חגבים טעם כל מטעמים שבעולם ... ר' אלעזר המודעי אומר בטובת הבאר הגיד לו אמר לו באר שנתן לנו המקום אנו טועמין בה טעם דבש טעם חלב טעם יין חדש טעם יין ישן טעם כל מטעמים שבעולם ... ר' אליעזר אומר בטובת ארץ ישראל הגיד לו אמר לו עתיד המקום ליתן לנו ארץ ישראל ועולם הבא ועולם חדש ומלכות בית דוד וכהונה ולויה ...

28. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon Bar Yochai 18:9

“For all the good.” R. Yehoshua says ... “On the goodness of the manna, tell him, say to him, ‘The manna that God gave us, we taste in it the taste of a piece of bread, the taste of meat, the taste of fish, the taste of grasshoppers, the taste of all the delicacies that are in the world ...’” R. Eleazar the Modai says: “On the goodness of the well, tell him, say to him, ‘The well that God gave us, we taste in it the taste of honey, the taste of milk, the taste of new wine, the taste of old wine, the taste of all the delicacies in the world ...’” R. Eliezer says, “On the goodness of the Land of Israel, tell him, say to him, ‘In the future God will give us the Land of Israel, and the world to come, and a new world, and the kingdom of the house of David, and priesthood, and levitehood ...’”

R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Eleazar of Modiin	T-2	90-130
R. Eliezer	T-2	90-130

29. ספרי במדבר פסקא צה ד"ה (צה) ויאמר

ויאמר משה שש מאות אלף רגלי, רשב"י אומר ר' עקיבא היה דורש בו דבר אחד ואני דורש בו שני דברים ודבריי נראים משל רבי הרי הוא אומר הצאן ובקר ישחט להם ומצא להם אפילו אתה מכניס להם כל צאן ובקר ספיקין הן להן ואני אומר וכי מפני שאין להם בשר לאכול הם מתרעמים והלא כבר נאמר ביציאתם ממצרים וגם ערב רב עלה אתם וצאן ובקר (שמות יב לח) יכול שאכלום במדבר ת"ל ומקנה רב היה לבני ראובן ולבני גד (במדבר לב א) אלא שמבקשים עלילה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום אם את כל דגי הים יאסף להם אפילו אתה מכניס להם דגים לאכול היו מתרעמים והלא הלכה עמהם באר במדבר והיתה מעלת להם דגים שמנים יותר מצרכם אלא שמבקשים עלילה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום.

29. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 95

“And Moses said, ‘Six hundred thousand men on foot.’” R. Shimeon b. Yochai says, “R. Aqiba used to expound about it one thing, and I expound two things about it, and my words are more reasonable than those of Rabbi’s because he says, ‘If the flock and cattle be slaughtered for them and it sufficed for them, even if you gather for them all sheep and cattle they would be sufficient for them.’ And I say, ‘And since they have no meat to eat they get angry, and wasn’t it already said in their going out of Egypt, “And also a mixed multitude came up with them and sheep and cattle” (Ex 12:38)? It could be that they ate them in the wilderness, as it is taught, “And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad had much cattle” (Num 32:1). Rather, that they request an action as to how to spread out from behind God. If all the fish of sea be gathered for them, even if you were to bring in for them fish to eat they would complain. And didn’t the well go with them and it used to bring up for them fat fish, more than they needed? Rather it teaches that they requested an action of how to spread out from behind God.

R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-3	130-160
R. Aqiba	T-2	90-130

30. ספרי זוטא פסקא יא ד"ה כא. ויאמר

ויאמר משה שש מאות אלף רגלי וגוי' הצאן ובקר ישחט להם וגוי', ר' שמעון היה אומר ר' עקיבא היה דורש בו דבר אחד ואני דורש בו דבר אחד ונראים דברי מדבריו ר"ע הוא אומר וכי אינו אפילו את מכנס כל הצאן שבעולם הן ספיקות להן אם את כל דגי הים יאסף להם וכי אינו אפילו את מכנס כל דגים שבעולם הן ספיקין להן ואני דורש בו ד"א ונראין דברי מדברי ר' הצאן ובקר ישחט להם ומצא להם יכול מפני שלא היה להם בשר לאכול היו מתרעמין והלא כבר נאמר וגם ערב רב עלה אתם וצאן ובקר מקנה כבד מאד (שמות יב לח) יכול מפני שאכלום במדבר והלה כבר נאמר בכניסתן לארץ ומקנה רב היה לבני ראובן ולבני גד (במדבר לב א) אלא מלמד שהיו מבקשין עלילה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום: אם את כל דגי הים יאסף להם ומצא להם, יכול מפני שלא היו להם דגים לאכול היו מתרעמים והלא באר היתה עמהן ומעלה להם דגים שמנים כל צורכן אלא מלמד שהיו מבקשין עלילה היאך לפרוש מאחרי המקום.

30. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 11:21

"And Moses said, 'Six hundred thousand men on foot,' etc. 'If the flock and the cattle be slaughtered for them,' etc." R. Shimeon used to say, "R. Aqiba used to expound about it one thing and I expound another about it, and my words are more reasonable than R. Aqiba's words. He says, 'For not even the hoard of all the flocks in the world, they are sufficient for them, if all the fish of the sea He will gather for them, for not even the hoard of all the fish in the world, they are sufficient for them.' And I expound another thing about it, and my words are more reasonable from the words of R. 'If the sheep and the cattle be slaughtered for them and it sufficed for them,' it could be that because they did not have meat to eat they complained. And wasn't it said already, 'And also a mixed multitude went up with them and very abundant sheep and cattle' (Ex 12:38)? It could be that because they ate them in the wilderness. And wasn't it already said that upon entering the land, 'And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad had much cattle' (Num 32:1)? Rather it teaches that they requested an action of how to spread out from behind God. If all the fish of sea be gathered for them and it sufficed them, it could be that because they did not have fish to eat they complained. And wasn't a well with them and wouldn't it bring up for them fat fish, all that they needed?" Rather it teaches that they requested an action of how to spread out from behind God.

R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-3	130-160
R. Aqiba	T-2	90-130

31. ספרי דברים פסקא שה ד"ה בשנה אחת

בשנה אחת מתו שלשה צדיקים משה ואהרן ומרים שוב לא מצאו ישראל נחת רוח אחרי משה שנאמר +זכריה יא ח+ ואכחיד את שלשת הרועים בירח אחד וכי בירח אחד מתו והלא בשנה אחת מתו שנאמר +תהלים מז י+ נדיבי עמים נאספו עם אלהי אברהם אלא מתה מרים בטלה הבאר וחזרה בזכות משה ואהרן מת אהרן בטל עמוד ענן וחזרו שניהם בזכות משה מת משה בטל שלשתם ולא חזרו.

31. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 305

In one year died three righteous persons: Moses and Aaron and Miriam. Israel did not again find pleasure and pride after Moses, as it is said (Zech 11:8), "And I destroyed the three shepherds in one month," but did they die in one month? Didn't they die in one year, as it is said (Ps 47:10), "The princes of the peoples were gathered, the people of the God of Abraham"? But Miriam died, the well ceased to exist and returned in the merit of Moses and Aaron; Aaron died, the pillar of cloud ceased to exist and both returned in Moses' merit; Moses died, the three of them ceased to exist and did not return.

32. ספרי דברים פסקא שיג ד"ה דבר אחר

דבר אחר ימצאנו בארץ מדבר, הכל מצוי ומסופק להם במדבר באר עולה להם, מן יורד להם, שליו מצוי להם, ענני כבוד מקיפות עליהם. ובתוהו ילל ישימון, במקום הצרות במקום הגייסות במקום הלסטים. יסובבנהו, בדגלים שלשה מן הצפון שלשה מן הדרום שלשה מן המזרח שלשה מן המערב.

יבוננהו בשתי מתנות שכשהיה אחד מן האומות פושט ידו לקמוץ מן המן לא היה עולה בידו כלום למלאות מים מן הבאר לא היה עולה בידו כלום.

32. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 313

Another matter: “He found him in a land of wilderness.” Everything is available and supplied for them in the wilderness: a well comes up for them, manna comes down for them, quail is available for them, clouds of glory encompass them above. And in the waste the wilderness wailed, in the place of troubles, in the place of the armies, in the place of the robbers. He surrounded him with flags, three from the north, three from the south, three from the east, three from the west. He built him up with two gifts that, when one of the nations extends its hand to take from the manna, nothing came up in his hand, to fill up water from the well, nothing came up in his hand.

33. ספרי דברים פיסקא שנה ד"ה כי שם

כי שם חלקת מחוקק ספון, זו קבורתו של משה ... וזה אחד מן הדברים שנבראו בערב שבת בין השמשות ואלו הם קשת ומן באר וכתב וכתב והלוחות ופי האתון ופי הארץ וקברו של משה ומערה שעמד בה משה ואלהיה ומקלו של אהרן ושקדיה ופרחיה ויש אומרים אף בגדי אדם הראשון, ויש אומרים אף כתנות והמזיקים, רבי יאשיה אומר משום אביו אף האיל והשמיר רבי נחמיה אומר אף האור והפירדה רבי יהודה אומר אף הצבת וכן הוא אומר צבתא בצבתא תתעבד צבתא קדמייתא מאי הוית הא לו ברייה הות אמרו לו והרי יכול לעשותה בדפוס ולהתיכה בתוכו הא לו ברייה הות.

33. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 355 Ki shem

“For there is the lawgiver’s portion hidden,” this is Moses’ tomb ... and this is one of the things that were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, and these are they: rainbow, manna, well, and writing, , and the tablets, and the mouth of the ass, and the mouth of the earth, and Moses’ tomb, and the cave in which Moses and Elijah, and Aaron’s rod, and almond tree and its blossoms, and there are those who say, also the garments of the first man [Adam], and there are those who say, also the tunics and the sparks, R. Yoshiyyah says, because of his father, also the ram and the *shamir*. R. Nechemyah says, also the light and the separation. R. Yehudah says, also the tongs ...

R. Yoshiyyah	T-3	130-160
R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160

34. ספרי דברים פיסקא שנה ד"ה צדקת ה'

צדקת ה' עשה, וכי מה צדקה עשה משה בישראל והלא כל ארבעים שנה שהיו ישראל במדבר באר עולה להן ומן יורד להם ושלימו מצוי להם וענני כבוד מקיפות אותם.

34. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 355 Tsidqat H'

“He did the Lord’s righteousness,” and what righteousness did Moses do in Israel? Isn’t it that for all the forty years that Israel were in the wilderness, a well comes up for them, and manna comes down for them, and quail is available for them, and the clouds of glory surround them?

35. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק א פסוק ט - י

ואמר לכם בעת ההיא לאמר אמר להם לא מעצמי אני אומר לכם : לא אוכל לבדי שאת אתכם אפשר שלא היה משה יכול לדונן אדם שהוציאן ממצרים וקרע להם את הים והוריד להם את המן והגיו להם את השליו והעלה להם את הבאר ועשה להם כמה נסים ונפלאות.

35. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy 1:9-10

And he said to you at that time saying, “Say to them, not for myself do I say to you, ‘I will not be able to carry you by myself.’” Is it possible that Moses was not able to judge a person that he took them out of Egypt and split the sea for them, and brought down the manna for them, and delivered to them the quail, and caused the well to come up, and did for them several miracles and wonders?

36. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לב פסוק ט

ד"א ימצאהו בארץ מדי הכל מצוי ומסופק להן מן המדבר הבאר עולה והמן יורד והסליו מצוי וענני כבוד מקיפין אותן : ובתי יליל ישימי במקום צרות במקום גייסות במקום לסטים : יסבבהו בדגלים שלשה בדרום שלשה במזרח ג' במערב ג' בצפון : יבונהו בשתי מתנות טובות ואלו הן המן והבאר כשהיה אחד מאומות העולם קומץ מן המן ולא היה עולה בידו כלום דולה מן הבאר ולא היה עולה בידו כלום :

36. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy 32:9

Another matter: "He found him in a land of wil ..." Everything is available and provided for them from the wilderness: the well comes up and the manna comes down and the quail is available and the clouds of glory encompass them. And in the waste the wilderness wailed, in a place of troubles, in a place of armies, in a place of robbers. He surrounded him with flags, three in the south, three in the east, three in the west, three in the north. He built him up with two good gifts and these are they: the manna and the well. When one of the nations [tried to] take a handful from the manna, nothing came up in his hand, [or] to draw from the well, nothing came up in his hand.

37. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לב פסוק מח

מה ראה לומר במשה בעצם היום הזה אלא אמ' הקב"ה אם נכנס למערה בלילה עכשו ישראל אומ' כך מכך לא היינו יודעים בו שאלו היינו יודעים בו לא היינו מניחים אותו להיכנס אדם שהוציאנו ממצרים וקרע לנו את הים והוריד לנו את המן והעלה לנו את הבאר והגיו לנו את השליו ועשה לנו כמה נסים וגבורות היינו מניחים אותו להיכנס לכך אמ' הקב"ה הריני מכניסו בחצי היום ומי שיש בו כוח יבוא וימחה לכך נאמ' וידבר ה' אל משה בעצם היום הזה לאמ' :

37. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy 32:48

What did He see to say about Moses "precisely on this day"? Rather the Holy One, blessed be He, said, "If he enters a cave at night." Now Israel says, "Thus and so. We did not know about it; because if we had known about we would not have let him enter. The man who took us out of Egypt, and split the sea for us, and brought down the manna for us, and brought up the well for us, and delivered us the quail, and did so many miracles and mighty deeds, would we have let him enter?" Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, said, "Behold I cause him to enter in the middle of the day and he who has strength, let him come and let him protest." Therefore it is said, "And the Lord spoke to Moses precisely on this day, saying."

38. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לג פסוק כא

צדקת ה' עשה ומש' עם ישר' וכי מה עשה משה צדקה עם ישראל והלא כל אותן ארבעים שנה שעשו ישראל במדבר היה המן יורד להם והבאר עולה להם והשליו מצוי להם וענני כבוד מקיפין אותן .

38. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy 33:21

"He did the Lord's righteousness, and His judgments with Isr." And really what righteousness did Moses do with Israel? And isn't it that for all those forty years that Israel spent in the wilderness, the manna came down for them and the well came up for them, and the quail was available for them, and the clouds of glory surrounded them?

39. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לד פסוק ח

וישלשה פרנסים טובים עמדו להן לישראל והן משה ואהרן ומרים : ושלש מתנות טובות ניתנו להן לישראל על ידיהם ואלו הן הבאר ועמוד הענן והמן : מתה מרים נסתלקה הבאר וחזרה להן בזכות משה : מת אהרן נסתלק עמוד הענן וחזר להן בזכות משה : מת משה נסתלקו שלשתן ולא חזרו שני (זכריה יא ח) ואכחיד את שלשת הרעים בירח אחד וכי בירח אחד מתו והלא מרים בניסן ואהרן באב ומשה באדר ומה ת"ל ואכחיד את שלשת הרעים בירח אחד אלא יום שמת משה נסתלקו שלשתן ולא חזרו עוד :

39. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim on Deuteronomy 34:9

And three good providers arose for Israel and they are Moses, and Aaron, and Miriam. And three good gifts were given to them for Israel upon their hands, and these are they: The well, the cloud, and the manna. Miriam died, the well went away and returned to them in Moses' merit. Aaron died, the pillar of cloud went away and returned in Moses' merit. Moses died, the three of them went away and did not return, as it is said (Zech 11:8), "And I destroyed the three shepherds in one month." And did they die in one moon? And didn't Miriam die in Nisan, and Aaron in Ab, and Moses in Adar! Rather, it teaches that "And I destroyed the three shepherds in one month" is that the day that Moses died, the three of them went away and did not return again.

43. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק ה ד"ה ממרה נסעו לאילים

מלמד שהיו (יש) [ישראל] אוכלין מעוגה שהוציאו בידן (ממצ) [ממצרים] כל שלשים יום. ובו ביום כלתה ובערב אכלו את השלו ולמחרת לקטו את המן. ובאלוש ניתנה להם את השבת ושם עשו שבת ראשונה וישבתו העם (שמות טז: לא). ובעשרים ושלשה באייר נסעו מאלוש ויבואו לרפידיים שם ניתנה להם את הבאר ושם עשו שבת שנייה.

43. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 5

It teaches that (Is) [Israel] ate from a cake that they brought out in their hand (from Eg) (from Egypt) for all thirty days. And on that day it was finished and in the evening they ate the quail and the next day they gathered the manna. And in Alush the Sabbath was given to them and there they celebrated a first Sabbath and the people ceased/rested (Ex 16:31 [sic], should be 30). And on the 23rd of Iyyar they traveled from Alush and came to Refidim. There the well was given to them and there they celebrated a second Sabbath.

44. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק ט ד"ה ויבאו בני ישראל

ויבאו בני ישראל כל העדה מדבר צן בחדש הראשון וישב העם בקדש ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם ולא היה מים לעדה ויקהלו על משה ועל אהרן (במדבר כ: א - ב) שנסתלקה הבאר שנת ארבעים היתה וראש חדש ניסן היה. ובו בפרק וישלח משה מלאכים מקדש אל מלך אדום כה אמר אחיך ישראל אתה ידעת את כל התלאה אשר מצאתנו (במדבר כ: יד)... ויעל אהרן הכהן אל הר ההר על פי ה' וימת ... אלא ממקום שמת אהרון חזרו לאחוריהן ז' מסעות עד שחנו במוסרה. משם נסעו הגדגדה (דברים י: ז). ומשם בארה (במדבר כא: טז) שחזרה להם הבאר.

44. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 9

"And the children of Israel, the entire congregation, came to the wilderness of Tsinnai in the first month and the people dwelt in Qadesh. And Miriam died there and she was buried there and there was no water for the congregation. And they congregated against Moses and Aaron" (Num 20:1-2), for the well had gone away. It was the fortieth year and it was the beginning of the month of Nissan. And in it, in the chapter, "And Moses sent messengers from Qadesh to the king of Edom, 'Thus said your brother Israel, "You yourself have known all the hardship that has found us"' (Num 20:14) ... And Aaron the Priest went up to Mt. Hor at God's command and died ... So, from the place where Aaron died they returned backwards 7 journeys until they camped in Mesorah, from there they traveled to Gudgod (Deut 10:7). And from there to Beer (Num 21:16), that the well returned to them.

45. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק י ד"ה שלשה פרנסין טובין

שלשה פרנסין טובין עמדו להן (ליש) [לישראל] ואילו הן משה (וא) [ואהרן] ומרים ושלש מתנות טובות נתנו להן (ליש) [לישראל] על ידיהן ואילו הן הבאר ועמוד הענן והמן מיתה מרים וניסתלקה הבאר וחזרה להן בזכות (מש) [משה] ואהרן מת (אה) [אהרן] וניסתלק עמוד הענן וחזר להן בזכות משה מת (מש) [משה] וניסתלקו שלושתן ולא חזרו שני ואכחיד את שלשת (זכריה יא: ח) וכי בירח אחד מתו והלא בשנה אחת מתו מרים באחד בניסן אהרן באחד באב משה באדר אלא מה תלי לוי ואכחיד את שלשתן אלא יום שמת משה ניסתלקו שלשתן ולא חזרו.

45. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 10

Three good providers arose for them (for Is) [for Israel] and these are they: Moses, (and A) [and Aaron], and Miriam. And three good gifts were given to them (to Is) [to Israel] upon their hands, and these are they: The well, and the pillar of cloud, and the manna. Miriam died, the well went away and returned to them in the merit of (Mos) [Moses] and Aaron. (Aa) [Aaron] died, the pillar of cloud went away, and returned to them in Moses' merit. (Mos) [Moses] died, and the three of them went away and did not return, as it is said, "I destroyed the three" (Zech 11:8). And did they die in one month? And didn't they die in one year? Miriam on the 1st of Nissan, Aaron on the 1st of Ab, Moses in Adar. Rather ... on the day that Moses died, the three of them went away and did not return.

52. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה מח ד"ה (ד) יוקח נא

יוקח נא מעט מים אמר לו הקב"ה אתה אמרת יוקח נא מעט מים חייך שאני פורעה לבניך הה"ד אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר וגוי' (במדבר כא יז).

52. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 48:4

"Let a little water be brought," the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him [Abraham], "You said, 'Let a little water be brought,' upon your life that I pay back to your children, as it is written, 'Then Israel sang this song, 'Come up well,' etc.'" (Num 21:17).

53. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה נד ד"ה (ל) ויאמר כי

ויאמר כי את שבע כבשת וגוי' רבנין אמ' רועי אבימלך היו מדיינין עם רועי אברהם, אילו אמרו שלנו היא הבאר [ואילו אמרו שלנו היא הבאר], אמרו להם רועי אברהם כל מי שהמים רואין את צאנו ועולים שלו היא הבאר, כיון שראו המים צאנו שלאבינו אברהם מיד עלו, אמר לו הקב"ה סימן לבניך שתהא הבאר עולה להן הה"ד עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז).

53. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 54:30

"And he said, 'For the seven lambs,' etc. The Rabbis say, "Abimelekh's shepherds were arguing with Abraham's shepherds. These said, 'The well is ours,' [and these say, 'The well is ours']. Abraham's shepherds said to them, 'Everyone for whom the waters see his flock and come up, the well is his.' When the waters saw the flock of Abraham our Father, immediately they came up. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, '[It is] a sign for your children, that the well will come up for them, as it is, "Come up well, sing to it" (Num 21:17).

54. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה ס ד"ה ותרד העינה ותמלא

ותרד העינה ותמלא כל הנשים יורדות וממלאות מן העין וזו כיון שראו אותה מים מיד עלו, אמר לו הקב"ה את סימנת סימן לבנייך, מה את כיון שראו אותך מים מיד עלו אף בנייך כיון שהבאר רואה אותם מיד תהא עולה הה"ד אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז).

54. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 60

"And she went down to the spring and she filled." All the women go down and fill from the spring. And when the waters saw her, immediately they went up. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "You marked a sign for your children. How when the waters saw you, immediately they went up; also your children, when the well sees them, immediately it will go up, as it is written, "Then Israel sang this song, 'Come up well, sing to it' (Num 21:17)."

55. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה סב ד"ה (יא) ויהי אחרי

ויהי אחרי מות אברהם ויברך וגוי' אמר ר' סימון בכל מקום שני ויהי אחרי חזר העולם לאחוריו, ויהי אחרי מות אברהם מיד כל הבארות אשר חפרו עבדי אביו בימי אברהם אבי סיתמום פלשתים (בראשית כו טו), ויהי אחרי מות משה (יהושע א א) מיד פסק הבאר והמן וענני כבוד.

55. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 62:11

“And it happened after Abraham’s death, and He blessed,” etc. R. Simon said, “In every place where it says ‘And it happened after,’ the world returned backwards: ‘And it happened after the death of Abraham,’ immediately ‘all the wells that his father’s servants had dug in the days of Abraham, my father, Philistines stopped them up’ (Gen 26:15). ‘And it happened after the death of Moses’ (Josh 1:1), immediately ceased the well, and the manna, and clouds of glory.”

R. Simon	A-3	290-320
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56. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה סו ד"ה מטל השמים זה

מטל השמים זה המן שני ויאמר י"י אל משה הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים וגוי' (שמות טז ד), ומשמני הארץ זו הבאר שהיתה מעלה להם דגים שמנים יתר מדיי ...

56. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 66

“Of the dew of the heavens,” this is the manna. And the Lord said to Moses, “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens,” etc. (Ex 16:4). And of the fats of the earth, this is the well that used to bring up for them fat fish, more than enough ...

57. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה ע ד"ה (ב ג) וירא

וירא והנה באר בשדה וגוי' ר' חמא בר' חנינא פתר בה שת שיטין וירא והנה באר בשדה זו הבאר, והנה שם שלשה עדרי צאן רובצים עליה משה אהרן ומרים, כי מן הבאר ההיא ישקו העדרים שמשם היה כל אחד ואחד מושך לדגלו ולשבטו ולמשפחתו, והאבן גדולה על פי הבאר אמר ר' חנינא כמלוא פי כברה קטנה היה בה, ונאספו שמה כל העדרים בשעת המחנות, וגללו את האבן מעל פי הבאר והשקו את הצאן שמשם היה כל אחד ואחד מושך לדגלו ולשבטו ולמשפחתו, והשיבו את האבן על פי הבאר למקומה בשעת המסעות.

57. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 50:2-3

“And he saw, and behold a well in the field,” etc. [Gen 29:2]: R. Chama b. Chanina interpreted, “... ‘and behold a well in the field,’ this is the well; ‘and behold three flocks of sheep lie down upon it,’ Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, ‘for from that well they watered the flocks,’ that from there each one draws water for his standard and for his tribe and for his family.” “And the rock on the mouth of the well was big”: R. Chanina said, “There was in it a sort of small sieve, ‘and all the flocks were gathered there’ at the time of the encampments, and rolled the rock from upon the mouth of the well and watered the flock, that from there each one draws water for his standard and from his tribe and from his family, and they returned the rock to its place at the time of the journeys.”

R. Chama b. Chanina	A-2	250-290
R. Chanina	A-1	220-250

58. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כה ד"ה בר' סימון

ד"א וה' אלהי הצבאות שהוא עושה צביונו בעולם, כשבקש הוציא לחם מן הארץ שנאמר (שם /תהלים ק"ד/) להוציא לחם מן הארץ, והוריד מים מן השמים שנאמר (דברים יא) למטר השמים תשתה מים, וכשבקש העלה מים מן הארץ שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר ענו לה, והוריד מן לישראל מן השמים שנאמר הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים.

59. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 25:2

Another matter: And the Lord, the God of Hosts, for He makes His nature in the world, when He sought to bring bread out of the earth, as it is said (Ps 104), “To bring bread out of the earth.” And to bring down water from the heavens, as it is said (Deut 11), “By the rain of the sky will you drink water.” And when He sought to bring up water from the earth, as it is said (Num 21), “Come up well, sing to it,” etc.” and to bring down manna for Israel from the heavens, as it is said, “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens.”

60. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כה

שנאמר וילונו כל עדת בני ישראל ... למשה ... כי הוצאתם אותנו ממצרים אל המדבר הזה להמית את כל הקהל הזה ברעב, אמרו רעב של לחם ורעב של מים ... אמר הקב"ה הן עשו כמות שהן ואני אעשה כמות שאני, אמור להם בשחרית יהיה המן יורד לכם ... שכיון שכלתה העוגה יעמדו ויבקשו רחמים מלפני אלא עמדו ושפכו תרעומות כלפי מעלה, לפיכך אמר הכתוב (שם) /ישעיהו ס"ה/ הנני הנני אל גוי לא קרא בשמי, מהו הנני ב' פעמים אלא הנני על הבאר שנאמר (שמות יז) הנני עומד לפניך שם על הצור, והנני על המן שנאמר הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים.

60. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 25:4

As it is said, "And all the congregation of Israel complained ... to Moses ... 'For you brought us out of Egypt to this wilderness to kill us, all this congregation with hunger.'" They said, "hunger of bread and hunger of water" ... Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "They did their part and I will do My part. Say to them, 'In the morning will the manna come down to you,' ... when the cake was finished, they [should have] arisen and requested mercy before Me. Rather, they arose and threw grievances upwards." Therefore Scripture says (Is 65), "Behold Me, behold Me, to a nation not called by my name." What is "Behold Me" twice but "Behold Me" about the well, as it is said (Ex 17), "Behold I stand before you there on the rock," and behold Me about the manna, as it is said, "Behold, I cause it to rain bread for you from the heavens."

61. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כה ד"ה ו ד"א הנני

הקב"ה שומר ישראל שנאמר (תהלים קכא) לא ינום ולא יישן שומר ישראל, בב"ו המים מלמעלה והלחם מלמטן והקב"ה אינו כן אלא המים מלמטן זו הבאר שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר וגוי, והלחם מלמעלה הנני ממטיר לכם וגוי.

61. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 25:6

The Holy One, blessed be He, keeps Israel, as it is said (Ps 121), "He will not sleep and He will not slumber, the Keeper of Israel." In flesh and blood the water is from above and the bread from below. But the Holy One, blessed be He, is not so. Rather, the water is from below, this is the well, as it is said (Num 21), "Come up well," etc., and the bread is from above: "Behold I cause [bread] to rain for you," etc.

62. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כה ד"ה ז ד"א הנני

ד"א הנני ממטיר לכם לחם [הה"ד] [דכתיב] (משלי ט) לכו לחמו בלחמי ושתו ביין מסכתי, אמר הקב"ה מי גרם לכם לאכול מן המן ולשתות מהבאר מפני שקבלתם את החוקים ואת המשפטים כמה שנאמר (שמות טו) שם שם לו חק ומשפט וגוי, הוי בזכות לחמי נטלתם לחמו של מן ובזכות יין שמשכתי שתיתם מי הבאר שנאמר ושתו ביין מסכתי, ולמה לא אמרו שירה על המן כשם שאמרו על הבאר אלא על המן היו מוציאים דברי תפלות שנאמר (במדבר יא) ועתה נפשנו יבשה אין כל, אמר הקב"ה איני מבקש לא תרעומותיכם ולא קלוסיכם לפיכך לא נתן להם רשות לומר שירה אלא על הבאר מפני שהיו מחבבין אותה שנאמר (שם) /במדבר/ כא) עלי באר ענו לה, ד"א הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים הה"ד (תהלים כג) תערוך לפני שלחן נגד צוררי אימתי אמרו ישראל דבר זה כשיצאו ממצרים והיו אומות אומרים עתידין אלו למות במדבר ואמרו (שם) /תהלים/ עח) היוכל אל לערוך שלחן במדבר, מה עשה הקב"ה הסיבן תחת ענני כבוד ... והאכילם מן ... והיו אומות רואין את ישראל מסובין ואוכלין ומקלסין להקב"ה שנאמר (תהלים כג) תערוך לפני שלחן נגד צוררי דשנת בשמן ראשי זה השליו, (שם) /תהלים כ"ג/ כוסי רויח, זה הבאר.

62. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 25:7

Another matter: "Behold I cause bread to rain for you" [as it is] (as it is said) (Prov 9) "Go eat bread of my bread and drink of the wine that I mixed." Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "Who caused you to eat of the manna and to drink from the well since you received the statutes and judgments, as it is said (Ex 15) 'There He set for them a statute and a judgment?' Hoy, in the merit of my bread you took the bread of manna and in the merit of the wine that I mixed you drank the water of the well, as it is said, 'And drink of the wine that I mixed.'" And why did they not sing a song overt the manna as they did

over the well? Rather about the manna they brought forth words of folly, as it is said (Num 11), “And now our soul is dry, there is nothing at all.” Said the Holy One, blessed be He, “I do not seek either your complaints or your praise.” Therefore He did not give them permission to sing a song except about the well because they loved it, as it is said (Num 21), “Come up well, sing to it.” Another matter, “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens,” as it is written (Ps 23), “You will prepare a table before me facing my enemies.” When did Israel say this thing? When they went out of Egypt and the nations were saying that their future was to die in the wilderness, and they said (Ps 78), “Will God be able to set a table in the wilderness?” What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He encompassed them under clouds of glory... and caused them to eat manna ... And the nations saw Israel encompassed and eating and praising the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said (Ps 23) “You will prepare a table before me facing my enemies. You have anointed my head with oil,” this is the quail, (Ps 23) “My cup overflows,” this is the well.

63. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כה ד"ה ח ד"א הנני

דבר אחד לחמו נתן זה המן שנא' (שמות טז) הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים, מימיו נאמנים זה הבאר, שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר ענו לה.

63. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 25:8

Another matter: “He gave His bread,” this is the manna, as it is said (Ex 16), “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens.” “His reliable water,” this is the well, as it is said (Num 21), “‘Come up well,’ sing to it.”

64. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה כז ד"ה א וישמע יתרו

ויאמר רבי יהושע בן לוי כשהגלה נבוכדנצר את ישראל לבבל היו כפותים מאחוריהם, כמו שכתוב במדרש איכה עד (שם /ישעיהו/ כא) כי מפני חרבות נדדו, אביכם שהיה מושלך במדבר פתחתי לו באר מים ואתם עשיתם כך, הוי (משלי כז) טוב שכן קרוב מאח רחוק.

64. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 27:1

And R. Yehoshua b. Levi said, “When Nebuchadnezzar exiled Israel to Babylon, they were shackled from behind, as it is written in the Midrash of Lamentations (Is 21:15), ‘For they fled from before the swords.’ Your father who was cast away in the wilderness, I opened for him a well of water and you did thus. Oh (Prov 27:10), ‘Better a close neighbor than a faraway brother.’”

R. Yehoshua b. Levi	A-1	220-250
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65. שמות רבה (וילנא) פרשה לב ד"ה ה ר' יצחק

ד"א הזונה בשעה שיש לה אוהב והוא מכבדה בחפץ היא מראתו לחברותיה ואומרת ראו כמה כבדני אוהבי ואתם בית ישראל לא עשיתם כן אלא עשיתי לכם נסים וגבורות שהיו ענני כבוד מקיפין אתכם והמן יורד והבאר עולה והשליי מצוי ולא קלסתם אותי ולא הייתם כזונה לקלט אתן ...

65. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (V) 32:5

Another matter: The prostitute at the time that she has a lover and he honors her with an object, she shows it to her friends and says, “See how much my lover honors me.” And you, House of Israel, you did not do so. Rather, I did miracles and mighty deeds for you, for clouds of glory surrounded you, and the manna fell, and the well came up and the quail was available, but you did not praise me and you were not like the prostitute praising a gift ...

66. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, לב וישב

וישב בארץ מדין וישב על הבאר (שמות ב'). קלט דרך אבות. ג' נזדווגו להם זיווגיהון מן הבאר : יצחק ויעקב ומשה ...
ויאמר אל בנתיו [ואין] (שמות ב'). אמר להן : סימן זה שאתם אומרות שדלה והשקה כל הצאן, זה מבני בניו של יעקב שעמד על הבאר, שהבאר מכרת את אדוניה.

66. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1

“And he dwelt in the Land of Midian and he sat by the well” (Ex 2). He absorbed the ways of the Fathers. Three were matched to their mates from the well: Isaac, and Jacob, and Moses...

“And he said to his daughters [‘and where is he?’]” (Ex 2). He said to them, “This is a sign that you say that he drew and watered all the flock, this one is from the sons of the sons of Jacob, who stood by the well, for the well knows its master.”

67. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה ב ד"ה ב, ד וינהג

וינהג את הצאן אחר המדבר (שמות/ג). למה היה רודף למדבר? לפי שראה שישראל נתעלו מן המדבר, שנאמר: מי זאת עלה מן המדבר (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ג): המן והשלו והבאר והמשכן והשכינה והכהונה והמלכות וענני כבוד.

67. 10th cent.: Exodus Rabbah (S) 2:2

“And he led the flock to the back of the wilderness” (Ex 3). Why was he pursuing to the wilderness? Because he saw that Israel were brought up from the wilderness, as it is said, “Who is this coming from the wilderness?” (Song 3) The manna, and the quail, and the well, and the Tabernacle, and the Shekhinah, and the priesthood, and the kingship, and clouds of glory.

72. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה כה ד"ה [ה] מי שת

אמי ר' לוי בערביא צווחין לתרגלא סכויא. הדא תרגלא כד אפרוחיה דקיקין מכנשא להון ויהבא להון תחת אגפיה ומשחנא להון ומעדרא קדמיהון וכד אינון רביין חד מינהון בעי יקרב לותה והיא נקרא בגו רישיה ואמרה ליה זיל עדור בקיקלתך. כך כשהיו ישראל במדבר ארבעים שנה המן יורד והבאר עולה והשלימו מצוי להם וענני כבוד מקיפות אותן ועמוד ענן מסיע לפניהם, כיון שנכנסו לארץ ישראל אמי להן משה כל אחד ואחד מכם יטעון ...

72. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (V) 25:5

R. Levi said, “In Arabia they call the hen *sikhvaya* [“female rooster”]. This hen, when her chicks are very small, she gathers them, and she brings them under her wings, and she keeps them warm, and she picks before them. But when they grow up, one of them wants to get near her, and she pecks on his head and says to him, ‘Go and pick in your dunghill.’ Thus when Israel were in the wilderness for forty years, the manna coming down, and the well coming up, and the quail available for them, and clouds of glory encompassing them, and a pillar of cloud traveling before them. When they entered the Land of Israel, Moses said to them, ‘Each every one of you will plant ...’”

R. Levi	A-3	290-320
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73. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה כז ד"ה [ו] עמי מה

ומה הלאיתיך (מיכה ו, ג), אמי ר' ברכיה למלך ששלח שלשה שלוחין למדינה ועמדו בני המדינה לפנייהם ושימשו אותן באימה ביראה ברתת ובזיע. כך אמי להן הקב"ה לישראל שלשה שלוחים שלחתי לכם, משה אהרן ומרים, שמא אכלו מכם, שמא שתו מכם, שמא הטריחו עליכם כלום, לא בזכותן אתם מתפרנסין, המן בזכות משה, הבאר בזכות מרים, ענני כבוד בזכות אהרן.

73. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 27:6

“And how have I wearied you?” (Micah 6:3). R. Berekhyah said, “[It is] like a king who sent three messengers to a province and the citizens of the province arose before them and served them with terror, with fear, with trembling, and with shuddering. Thus the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel, ‘I sent three messengers to you, Moses, Aaron and Miriam, who – what did they eat from you? What did they drink from you? With what did they trouble you? Nothing! No, from their merit you support yourselves: The manna in Moses’ merit; the well in Miriam’s merit; clouds of glory in Aaron’s merit.’”

R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380
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74. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה לד ד"ה [ח] ר' סימון

ר' סימון בשי ר' לעזר אמ' מי הוא שעשה חסד עם מי שלא היה צריך חסד, אברהם עם מלאכי השרת, דכתי' והוא עומד עליהם תחת העץ ויאכלו (בראשית יח, ח), וכי היו אוכלין, אמ' ר' יודן נראין כאילו אוכלין והראשון ראשון מסתלק. וראה מה פרע הקב"ה לבניו המן והבאר והשלי ווענני כבוד מקיפין עליהן. והרי דברים קל וחומ', ומה אם מי שעשה חסד עם מי שלא היה צריך חסד ראה מה פרע הקב"ה לבניו, מי שהוא עושה חסד עם מי שהוא צריך חסד על אחת כמה וכמה. ר' סימון בשם ר' אלעזר אמ' בה שיטה חורי. ר' סימון בשי ר' אלעזר אמ' מי הן שלא עשו חסד עם מי שלא היה צריך חסד, עמון ומואב עם ישראל, דכתי' על דבר אשר לא קדמו אתכם בלחם ובמים (דברים כג, ה). וכי צריכין היו להן ישראל, והלא כל אותן ארבעים שנה שהיו ישראל במדבר היה המן יורד והבאר עולה והשליו מצוי וענני כבוד מקיפין עליהן.

74. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 34:8

R. Simon says in the name of R. Leazar, "Who is he who did kindness with one who did not need kindness? Abraham for the ministering angels, as it is written, "And he was standing over them under the tree and they ate" (Gen 18:8). But did they eat? R. Yudan said, "They look like they are eating, but the very first one went away. And see what the Holy One, blessed be He, paid to His children: The manna, and the well, and the quail, and clouds of glory encompass them. And behold, matters are *gal vachomer* [one follows from the other]. And what if one did kindness with those who did not need kindness? See what the Holy One, blessed be He, paid to His children: He who did kindness with one who needs kindness, how much more so." R. Simon said in the name of R. Eleazar, "Who are they who did not do kindness with those who did not need kindness? Amon and Moab for Israel, as it is written, 'On the matter that they did not receive them with bread and water' (Deut 23). But did Israel need them? Those forty years that Israel was in the wilderness, weren't the manna coming down for them and the well coming up, and the quail available, and clouds of glory encompassing them?"

R. Simon	A-3	290-320
R. [E]leazar	A-3	290-320
R. Yudan	A-4	320-350

78. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יז ד"ה א כי תבאו

עלי באר ענו לה מה האב נותן לבנו נכסים כך הקב"ה עשה לישראל (ירמיה ג) ואתן לך ארץ חמדה.

78. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 17:1

"Come up well, sing to it." What does a father give to his son? Assets. Thus the Holy One, blessed be He, did to Israel (Jer 3), "And I will give you a desirable land."

79. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יט ד"ה טו וישלח משה

ד"ה א שההולך לארץ שאינו שלו ויש בידו צורכו לא יאכל ממה שבידו אלא שלו יהא מונח ויקנה מן החנוני בשביל להנותו כך אמר לו משה הבאר עמנו ומן אנו אוכלין לא תאמר שאנו מטריחין עליך.

79. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 19:1

Another matter: That one who goes to a land that is not his and he has in his hand what he needs, he will not eat from what is in his hand but will lay his aside and will buy from the shopkeeper in order to please him. Hence Moses said to him, "The well is with us and we eat manna. Do not say that we cause problems for you ...

80. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יט ד"ה כה אז ישיר

כה אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת השירה הזאת נאמרה בסוף מ' שנה והבאר נתנה להם מתחלת ארבעים ומה ראה ליכתב כאן הענין הזה נדרש למעלה הימנו על כן יאמר בספר מלחמות ה' את והב שעשה להם הקב"ה אותות ונסים בנחלי ארנון כנסים שעשה להם בים סוף ומה הם נסים של נחלי ארנון אדם עומד על הר זה ומדבר עם חברו בהר הזה והוא רחוק ממנו ז' מילין והדרך יורד לתוך הנחל ועולה ודרך של ישראל לעבור בתוך הנחל נתכנסו כל האומות לשם אוכלוסין שאין להם סוף ישבו מקצתן בתוך הנחל והנחל מלמעלן עשוי מערות וכנגד המערות הר

שכנגדו עשוי סלעים סלעים כגון שדים שנא' ואשד הנחלים נכנסו האוכלסין לתוך המערות ואמרו כשירדו ישראל לתוך הנחל אלו עומדין לפנייהם שבתוך הנחל ואלו למעלה מן המערות ונהרוג את כולם כיון שהגיעו ישראל לאותו מקום לא הצריכן לירד למטה מן הנחל אלא רמו להרים ונכנסו שדים של הר זה לתוך מערות ומתו כולם והקיפו ההרים ראשיהם זה לזה ונעשו דרך כבושה ולא נודע אי זה הר נסמך לחבירו ואותו נחל מפסיק בין תחומי ארץ ישראל לתחומי ארץ מואב שנא' כי ארנון גבול מואב בין מואב ובין האמורי הר שבארץ מואב לא נזדעזע שבו המערות וההר מארץ ישראל נזדעזע שבו הסלעים כמין שדים ונסמך להר שכנגדו ומפני מה נזדעזע מפני שהוא מארץ ישראל משל לשפחה שראתה בן אדוניה בא אצלה קפצה וקדמה אותו וקבלתו נכנסו הסלעים לתוך המערות ורצצו כל אותן גבורין והבאר ירדה לתוך הנחל ומתגברת שם ואבדה כל האוכלסין כדרך שאבד אותן הים לכך הקיש את והב בסופה לנחלי ארנון ועברו ישראל על אותן ההרים ולא ידעו כל נסים הללו אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא הריני מודיע לבני כמה אוכלוסין אבדתי מפניהם ירדה הבאר לאותן המערות והוציאה גולגליות וזרועות ורגלים שאין להם חקר וישראל חזרו לבקש את הבאר וראו אותה שהיא יוצאה מלאה מתוך הנחל ומוציאה איברים ומנין שהבאר הודיע בהן שנאמר ואשד הנחלים ומשם בארה וכי משם היתה והלא מתחלת מ' שנה היתה עמהם אלא שירדה לפרסם את הנסים והיו ישראל עומדים על הנחלים ואומרים לה עלי באר ענו לה ואמרו שירה עליהם.

80. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 19:25

“Then Israel sang this song.” This song was said at the end of 40 years but the well was given to them at the beginning of the forty. And what did it see to write here? This matter was expounded above from it. “Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, ‘Vahev,’” that the Holy One, blessed be He, did for them signs and miracles in the wadis of Arnon like the miracles that He did for them at the Sea of Reeds. And what are the miracles of the wadis of Arnon? A man stands on this mountain and speaks with his friend on this mountain, and he is 7 miles far away from him. And the way goes down into the wadi and it goes up, and the way of Israel [must] cross inside the wadi. All the nations got in there, armies without end. Some of them sat inside the wadi, and the wadi above them was made of caves, and opposite the caves, a corresponding mountain made of rocks, rocks, like breasts, as it is said, “And the slope of the wadis.” The armies entered into the caves and said, “When Israel come down into the wadi, these standing before them, who are inside the wadi, and these above from the caves, and we will kill them all.” When Israel arrived at that very place, He did not require them to go down below from the wadi. Rather, He signaled to the mountains and the breasts of this mountain got into caves and all of them died. And the mountains drew their heads together and they made a paved road, and it was not known which mountain was leaning towards its fellow, and this same wadi stopped between the boundaries of the Land of Israel and the Land of Moab, as it is said, “For Arnon is the boundary of Moab between Moab and the Amorite.” A mountain that is in the Land of Moab, in which the caves were, was not shaken, and the mountain from the Land of Israel, in which the rocks sort of like breasts were, was shaken and leaned towards the corresponding opposite mountain. And why was it shaken? Because it was from the Land of Israel. This is like a maidservant who saw her master’s son approaching her; she jumped and she greeted him and she received him. The rocks got into the caves and crushed all those mighty men, and the well went down into the wadi and it became mightier there and it destroyed all the armies the way that the sea had destroyed them. Therefore it concluded, “Vahev in Sufah to the wadis of Arnon.” And Israel crossed on those very mountains and they did not know all those miracles. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, “Behold, I am informing my children how many armies I destroyed from before them.” The well went down to those very caves and it brought out craniums and arms and legs that cannot be fathomed. And Israel returned to seek the well and saw it that it was coming out from inside the wadi and bringing out limbs, limbs. And from where that the well informed about them? As it is said, “And the slope of the wadis,” “and from there to Beer [“Well”],” but was it from there, and wasn’t it from the beginning of the 40 years that it was with them? Rather, that it went down to make public the miracles and Israel were standing over the wadis and saying to it, “Come up well, sing to it,” and they sang a song over them.”

81. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יט ד"ה כו אז ישיר

אז ישיר ישראל מפני מה לא נזכר משה שם מפני שנענש ע"י המים ואין אדם מקלס לאיספקלטור שלו ולמה שמו של הקב"ה לא נזכר בה משל לשלטון שעשה סעודה למלך אמר המלך אוהבי שם אמרו לו לאו אמר אף אני איני הולך לשם אף כך אמר הקב"ה הואיל ומשה אינו נזכר שם אף אני איני נזכר שם, באר חפרוה שרים כרוה נדיבי העם וכי חפירה היתה שם אלא שנתנה בזכות אבות שנקראו שרים שנאי (תהלים קה) פתח צור ויזובו מים כי זכר את דבר קדשו את אברהם עבדו כרוה נדיבי העם במחוקק במשענותם שהיו הנשיאים עומדים על גבה ומושכין במטותיהן כל אחד ואחד לשבטו ולמשפחתו וריוח שבין הדגלים מלא מים מגוברין אשה שהיתה צריכה לילך אצל חברתה מדגל לדגל היתה מהלכת בספינה שנאי (שם /תהלים ק"ה/) הלכו בציות נהר ואין ציות אלא ספינות שנאי (ישעיה לג) וצי אדיר לא יעברנו והמים יוצאים חוץ למחנה ומקיפין פיסא גדולה שנאי (תהלים כג) ינחני במעגלי צדק למען שמו ומגדלים מיני דשאים ואילנות לאין סוף שנאמר בנאות דשא ירביצני על מי מנוחות ינהלני כל ימים שהיו במדבר כך היו משתמשין בה לכך קילסו עלי באר חפרוה שרים וממדבר מתנה שנתנה להם במדבר לשמשן, ... ונשקפה על פני הישימון זה באר שבאה עמהן עד שנכנסה לתוך ימה של טבריה והעומד על פני הישימון רואה בתוך הים כמלא תנור והוא הבאר הנשקף על פני הישימון.

81. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 19:26

"Then sang Israel." Why isn't Moses mentioned there? Because he was punished by water and no man praises his executioner. And why isn't the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, mentioned in it? It resembles a governor who made a banquet for a king. The king said, "Is my favorite there?" They said, "No." He said, "Neither am I going there." Also so the Holy One, blessed be He, said, "Since Moses isn't mentioned there, neither am I mentioned there." "A well that princes dug, the nobles of the people dug it." But was it really dug there? Rather it was [already] given in the merit of the Fathers, who were called "princes," as it is said (Ps 105), "He opened the rock and water flowed for He remembered his holy word to Abraham his servant." "The princes of the people dug it," "with the scepter and with their rods," that the princes were standing over it and pulling with their rods, each one for his tribe and for his family. And the space between the standards was full of mighty waters. A woman who had to go to her friend, from standard to standard she went about in a boat, as it is said (Ps 105), "They went, a river in dry places," and there are no dry places, rather boats, as it is said (Is 33), "And a mighty ship will not pass by." And the waters go forth out of the camp and surround a large area, as it is said (Ps 23), "He guides me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake." And they grow [different] species of grasses and trees to no end, as it is said, "He causes me to lie down on grassy pastures. He leads me to still waters." All the days that they were in the wilderness, they used it. Hence they praised, "Come up well that princes dug." "And from the wilderness, a gift," that it was given to them in the wilderness to use it ... "And it is seen on the surface of the wilderness," this is the well that came with them until it entered the Sea of Tiberias. And he who stands on the surface of the wilderness sees into the sea the size of an oven, and it is the well that is seen on the surface of the wilderness.

82. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה כ ד"ה יט וישא משלו

ד"א מה אקוב לא קבה אל בנוהג שבעולם לגיון שמרד במלך חייב מיתה ואלו כפרו בו ומרדו ואמרו (שמות לב) אלה אלהיך ישראל לא היה צריך לכלותן, אלא אפילו באותה שעה לא זז מחיבתן, לוח להן ענני כבוד ולא פסקו מהן המן והבאר וכה"א (נחמיה ט) כי עשו להם עגל מסכה וגו' ואתה ברחמך הרבים לא עשיתם כלה במדבר עמוד הענן לא סר מעליהם יומם ומנך לא מנעת מפיהם ומים מסלע הוצאת להם.

82. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 20:19

Another matter: "How will I curse? God has not cursed." In the manner of the world, a legion that rebelled against a king is liable for execution. And these denied Him and rebelled and said (Ex 32), "These are your gods, Israel." Wasn't it necessary to make a full end of them? But even at that very hour, this was not their charge. Clouds of glory accompanied them and the manna and the well did not stop, as it is said (Neh 9), "For they made for themselves a molten calf" etc., and you in your great compassion did not utterly destroy them in the wilderness. The pillar of cloud did not turn aside from

above them by day, and your manna you did not prevent from their mouth, and water from a rock you brought forth for them.

86. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת דברים ד"ה כג. אל תתגר

מה עשו האמוריים הלכו הגבורי שלהם וישבו להם במערות, אמרו כשירדו ישראל לתוך הנחל הזה אנו יורדין עליהם ואינן מרגישינן בנו, עד שאנו באים עליהם מאחריהם ומכלין אותם, וישרי אינן יודעים, אמ' הקב"ה שלא יהו ישראל מתייגעין עליהם עולין ויורדין, הקיף הקב"ה את ההרים זה לזה, ונכנסו אותן ההרים לתוך המערות וריצצו כל הגבורים (שבתו) [שבתוכן], ועברו ישראל ולא ידעו מה נעשה להם, וחזרו ההרים למקומן, וישראל משעברו אמר הקב"ה ולא אודיעם מה נסים עשיתי להם, אמ' רשב"ג נתת פת לתינוק הודע לאמו, הבאר ירדה לה וישבה בנחל זה, והיתה מתגברת ועולה והוציאה את כל ההרוגין שבמערות, והיו צפין על פני המים, וישראל מבקשין את הבאר ולא היו מוצאין אותה, הסבו פניהם וראו אותה, וראו שם הרוגין שאין להם חקר ומספר, וכה"א ומשם בארה היא הבאר אשר אמר ה' +במדבר כ"א ט"ז+, והלא כבר יש לה עמהם מ' שנה, ומהו בארה, אלא שהיו גדולים הנסים שנעשו להם ע"י הבאר משנעשה להם על היס, אותה שעה פתחו ישראל את פיהם ואמרו שירה, שנא' אז ישיר ישראל +במדבר כ"א י"ז+.

86. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Devarim 23

What did the Amorites do? Their mighty men went and sat in the caves. They said, "When Israel comes down into this wadi, we go down upon them and they will not perceive us until we come upon them from behind and destroy them, and Israel will not know." Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "So that Israel will not weary themselves over them going up and down," He drew the mountains together to each other, and those mountains entered into the caves and crushed the mighty men [inside them]. And Israel passed and did not know what was done for them, and the mountains returned to their places. And Israel, when they had passed, said the Holy One, blessed be He, "And will I not let them know what miracles I did for them?" R. Shimeon b. Gamaliel said, "If you gave a piece of bread to a child, it was made known to his mother." The well went down and settled in this wadi and became mighty and brought out all the slain ones who were in the caves, and they floated on the surface of the water. And Israel was looking for the well and they were not finding it. They turned their faces and saw it, and they saw there slain without number. And so it is written, "And from them to Beer" ["well"] that is the well that the Lord said (Num 21:16). And didn't they have it with them already 40 years? And what is Beerah [to Beer], but that the miracles that were done for them were great, as it is said, "Then Israel sang" (Num 21:17).

R. Shimeon b. Gamaliel [II?]	T-3	130-160
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87. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת דברים כד. ד"א רב

א"ר אלעזר מה אם בשעה שהיתה שכינה ביניהן ורואין כל אותו הכבוד, המן והבאר וענני כבוד מנהיגין אותם.

87. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Devarim 23

R. Eleazar said, "Perhaps at the time that the Shekhinah was among them and they saw all that glory: the manna and the well and clouds of glory guiding them."

R. Eleazar	T-4	160-190
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88. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת ואתחנן ד"ה ד"א אז יבדיל

ויך את המצרי, וכיון שהרגו ברח לעיר מקלט שנא' ויברח משה מפני פרעה, וישב על הבאר +שמות ב' ט"ו+, מהו וישב על הבאר שאמ' שירה, שנא' אז ישיר משה. ולמה אמ' שירה, שהוא היה יודע צערו של רוצח.

88. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Vaetchanan

(Ex 2:12) And [Moses] smote the Egyptian, and since he killed him, he fled to a city of refuge, as it is said, "And Moses fled from before Pharaoh and sat upon the well (Ex 2:15). What is "and he sat upon

the well"? That he sang a song, as it is said, "Then Moses sang." And why did he sing a song? Because he knew the sorrow of a murderer.

89. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת עקב ד"ה ת. שמע ישראל

ר' נחמיה אומ' כביכול ידו של הקב"ה ראה הים ונקרע, שנא' ראוך מיא אלהים ראוך מיא יחילו. כשעלו מן הים ובאו למרה עשה להם נסים במים, שנא' ויצעק אל ה' ויורהו ה' עץ. מסלע עשה להם נסים במים, שנא' ודברתם אל הסלע, בבאר שבע עשה להם נסים ואמר שירה, שנא' אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר ענו לה.

89. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Egeq 8

R. Nechemyah says, "As it were, the sea saw the hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, and it was split, as it is said, 'The waters saw You O God, the waters saw you, they trembled.'" When they went up from the sea, and they came to Marah, He did miracles for them with water, as it is said, "And he cried to the Lord and the Lord showed him a tree." From a rock He did miracles for them with water, as it is said, "And you shall speak to the rock." In Beer Sheva He did miracles for them and [Israel] said a song, as it is said, "Then Israel sang this song, 'Come up well, sing to it.'"

R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
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90. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תבא ד"ה יא. מהו לא

ר' אלעזר בנו של רשב"י את ר"ש בר' יוסי ... א"ל ולא היה ריחן רע מכח הזיעה, א"ל היו מתענגים בנאות דשאים של באר והיה ריחן מפעפע בכל העולם, שנא' וריח שלמותיך כריח לבנון, וכל השבח הזה מהיכן, מעין גנים באר מים חיים.

90. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tavo 11

[Conversation between R. Eleazar b. R. Shimeon b. Yochai and R. Shimeon b. Yosi] He said to him, "And their smell was not bad from the strength of the sweat." He said to him, "They took pleasure in green pastures of the well and their smell permeated the whole world, as it is said (Song 4), 'And the smell of your garments is like the smell of Lebanon,' and all this praise from where? "Spring of gardens, a well of living waters."

R. Eleazar b. R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-4	160-190
R. Shimeon b. R. Yosi	T-4	160-190

91. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ב ד"ה ב תני רשב"י

תני רשב"י בשעה שיצאו ישראל ממצרים למה היו דומין, לבן מלך שעמד מחליו אמר לו פדגוגו ילך בנך לאיסכולי, אמר לו המלך עדיין לא בא בני בזיוו שנסתנה מחליו, אלא יתעדן ויתענג בני כשלשה חדשים במאכל ובמשתה ואח"כ ילך לאיסכולי, כך בשעה שיצאו ישראל ממצרים היו בהן בעלי מומין משעבוד טיט ולבנים, אמרו לו מלאכי השרת הרי השעה תן להם את התורה, אמר להם הקב"ה עדיין לא בא זיותן של בני משעבוד טיט ולבנים, אלא יתעדנו בני עד ג' חדשים בבאר ומן ושליו ואח"כ אתן להם התורה ואימתי בחדש השלישי.

91. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 2:2

R. Shimeon b. Yochai taught, "At the time that Israel went out of Egypt, what did they resemble? The son of a king who stood up from his illness. A tutor said, 'Let your boy go to school,' The king said to him, 'My son has still not come to his freshness that was changed by his illness. Rather, let my son enjoy and take pleasure for three months with food and drink, and afterwards he will go to school.' Thus, at the time that Israel went out of Egypt there were among them people with deficiencies from enslavement of mud and bricks. The ministering angels said to [God], 'Now is the time, give them the Torah.' The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them, 'My sons' freshness still has not come from the enslavement of mud and bricks. Rather, let my sons enjoy another three months with well, manna, and quail, and afterwards I will give them the Torah.' And when? In the third month.

R. Shimeon b. Yochai	T-3	130-160
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92. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ב ד"ה ג בשלפי השמד

כנס ר' נחמיה ודרש (דברים כ"ג) לא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל ה' ... למה (שם/דברים כ"ג) על דבר אשר לא קדמו אתכם בלחם ובמים, וכי צריכין היו ישראל באותה שעה, והלא כל ארבעים שנה שהיו ישראל במדבר היה הבאר עולה להם והמן יורד להם והשלו מצוי להם וענני כבוד מקיפין אותם ועמוד ענן נוסע לפניהם.

92. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 2:2

R. Nechemyah entered and interpreted (Deut. 23), "An Ammonite and a Moabite will not come into the congregation of the Lord." ... Why? Because they did not meet you with bread and water. But did Israel need [those] at that time? And all the 40 years that Israel were in the wilderness, didn't the well come up and the manna come down for them and wasn't the quail available for them, and didn't clouds of glory surround them, and a pillar of cloud travel before them?

R. Nechemyah	T-3	130-160
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93. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ד ד"ה ב תאמי צביה

ר' יהושע דסכנין בשם ר' לוי ... כך כתיב (זכריה י"א) ואכחיד את שלשת הרועים בירח אחד, והלא לא מתו אלא בשנה אחת, אלא בירח אחד נגזרה עליהם גזירה על שלשתן, הה"ד (תהלים מ"ד) נדיבי עמים נאספו, ר' יוסי אומר שלשה פרנסין טובים עמדו לישראל, ואלו הן, משה ואהרן ומרים, ובזכותן נתנו להם שלש מתנות טובות, הבאר, המן, וענני כבוד, המן בזכות משה, הבאר בזכות מרים, בזכות אהרן ענני הכבוד, מתה מרים ופסקה הבאר, והיו אומרים לא מקום זרע ותאנה, וחזרה בזכות משה ואהרן, מת אהרן נסתלקו ענני הכבוד, הה"ד (במדבר כ') ויראו כל העדה כי גוע אהרן, אל תקרי ויראו אלא וייראו, וחזרו שניהם בזכות משה, מת משה נסתלקו שלשתן ושוב לא חזרו ... אמר שמואל בר נחמני מרים ויוכבד הן הן חיותיהן של ישראל, והיו רועות את ישראל שלבם רך כשושנים, והיכן היתה מרעיתן של ישראל במצרים עד ים סוף.

93. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 4:2

R. Yehoshua de Sikhnin in the name of R. Levi, ... "Thus it is written (Zech 11), 'And I destroyed the three shepherds in one month.' But didn't they die in one year? Rather, in one month a decree was decreed over all three, as it is written (Ps 47), 'The princes of the peoples were gathered.'" R. Yosi says, "Three good providers arose for Israel, and these are they: Moses, and Aaron, and Miriam. And in their merit, three good gifts were given to them: the well, the manna, and clouds of glory. The manna in Moses' merit, the well in Miriam's merit, in Aaron's merit, the clouds of glory. Miriam died and the well stopped and they said, 'Not a place of seed and fig tree;' and it returned in the merit of Moses and Aaron. Aaron died, the clouds of water went away, as it is (Num 20), 'And the entire congregation saw that Aaron had expired.' Do not read, 'And they saw,' but 'And they feared;' and they both returned in Moses' merit. Moses died, the three went away and did not return again..."

Shmuel b. Nachamani said, "Miriam and Jochebed, they themselves are the revivers of Israel, and they shepherded Israel for their heart was tender as roses, and where was Israel's pasture? In Egypt, up to the Sea of Reeds."

R. Yehoshua de Sikhnin	A-4	320-350
R. Levi	A-3	290-320
R. Yosi	A-3	290-320
Shmuel b. Nachamani	A-3	290-320

94. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ד ד"ה ב דבש וחלב

שאל ר' אלעזר בר"ש את ר"ש בר' יוסי בן לקוניא חמוי אמר ליה כלי קוריוס יצאו עם ישראל למדבר, אמר ליה לאו, אמר לו מהיכן היו לובשין כל אותן מ' שנה שעשו ישראל במדבר, אמר לו ממה שהלבישום מלאכי השרת הה"ד ואלבישך ... ולא היו עושין ריח רע מריח הזיעה של גופן,

אמר ליה מתגעגין היו בעשב הבאר הה"ד (תהלים כ"ג) בנאות דשא ירביצני, והיה ריחן נודף מסוף העולם ועד סופו.

94. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 4:2

R. Eleazar b. R. Shimeon asked R. Shimeon b. R. yosi b. Leqonyah, his father-in-law. He said to him, "Did leather garments go out with Israel to the wilderness?" He said to him, "No." He said to him, "From where were they dressed all those 40 years that Israel spent in the wilderness?" He said to him, "From what the ministering angels dressed them, as it is written, 'And I will dress you with embroidery' ... "And they did not make a bad smell from the smell of the sweat of their body." He said to him, "They used to roll about on the grass of the well, as it is (Ps 23), 'He causes me to lie down in grassy pastures,' and their smell wafted from one end of the world to its end ..."

R. Eleazar b. R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
R. Shimeon b. R. Yosi b. Leqonyah	T-4	160-190

95. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ד ד"ה ג ד"א שלחין

ד"א שלחין פרדס רמונים שלחין עתיד הקב"ה לעשותך כפרדס רמונים לעתיד לבא, ואיזה זה, זה הבאר מאן היו ישראל מנטרים כל מי שנה שעשו במדבר, רבי יוחנן אמר מן הבאר, וממנו היו רוב הנייתן דא"ר יוחנן הבאר היתה מעלה להם מיני דשאים, מיני זרעונים, מיני אילנות, תדע לך שהוא כן, שכיון שמתה מרים ופסקה הבאר מהן היו אומרים (במדבר כ') לא מקום זרע ותאנה וגפן, רבי לוי אמר מן האשכול על שם (שם/במדבר י"ג) ויכרתו משם זמורה ואשכול ענבים אחד.

95. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 4:3

Another matter: "Your shoots are an orchard of pomegranates." "Your shoots," in the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will make you like an orchard of pomegranates. "In the future to come," and which one is this? This is the well. From where did Israel guard [suggested reading: offer libations?] all 40 years that they spent in the wilderness? R. Yochanan said, "From the well. And from it was the majority of their enjoyments." As R. Yochanan said, "The well brought up for them species of grasses, species of seeds, species of trees. You should know that it was so: that when Miriam died and the well stopped, what did they say? (Deut 20), 'Not a place of seed and fig tree and vine.'" R. Levi said, "From the cluster that is named [in the text] (Num 13), 'And they cut a branch from there and one cluster of grapes.'"

R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290
R. Levi	A-3	290-320

96. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ד ד"ה א [יד] נרד

ומהיכן היו בנות ישראל מתקשטות ומשמחות לבעליהן כל מי שנה שעשו ישראל במדבר, ר' יוחנן אמר מן הבאר הה"ד מעין גנים באר מים חיים, ר' אבהו אמר מן המן ...

96. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 4:1 [14]

And from where did the daughters of Israel adorn themselves and gladden their husbands all 40 years that Israel spent in the wilderness? R. Yochanan said, "From the well, as it is written, 'A spring of gardens, a well of living waters.'" R. Abbahu said, "From the manna ..."

R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290
R. Abbahu	A-3	290-320

97. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ד ד"ה א [טו] מעין

מעין גנים באר מים חיים, א"ר יוחנן ארבעים ושמונה פעמים כתיב בתורה באר באר, כנגד ארבעים ושמונה דברים שנקנה בס התורה, הה"ד מעין גנים באר מים חיים, ונוזלים מן לבנון, א"ר עזריה זה מזיל מקצת דבר וזה מזיל מקצת דבר עד שתהא הלכה יוצאת כמין לבנון, א"ר תנחומא זה מלחים מקצת דבר וזה מלחים מקצת דבר עד שתהא הלכה יוצאת כמין לחיים.

97. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 4:1 [15]

“A spring of gardens, a well of living waters.” R. Yochanan said, “Forty eight times is in the Torah ‘well,’ ‘well,’ corresponding to forty eight things by which Torah can be acquired, as it is written, ‘A spring of gardens, a well of living waters, and flowing from Lebanon.’” R. Azariah said, “This pours forth a little thing and this pours fourth a little thing until there will be *halakhah* going forth as water from Lebanon.” R. Tanchuma said, “This welds a little thing and this welds a little thing until there will be *halakhah* going forth as water for life.”

R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290
R. Azariah	A-5	350-380
R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380

99. איכה רבה (בובר) פרשה ב

מה אדמה לך. לאיזו אומה דימיתי לך, לאיזו אומה העליתי השלו, והמן, והבאר, וענני כבוד, כמו שנתתי לך.

99. 400-450: Lamentations Rabbah (B) 2

“To what will I liken you?” To which nation did I liken you? For which nation did I bring up the quail, and the manna, and the well, and clouds of glory, as I gave to you”

100. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה א ד"ה א מה שהיה

רבי ברכיה אמר בש"ר יצחק כגואל ראשון כך גואל אחרון, מה גואל ראשון נאמר (שמות ד) ויקח משה את אשתו ואת בניו וירכיבם על החמור, כך גואל אחרון, שנאמר (זכריה ט"ו) עני ורוכב על החמור, מה גואל הראשון הוריד את המן, שנאמר (שמות ט"ז) הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים, אף גואל אחרון יוריד את המן, שנאמר (תהלים ע"ב) יהי פסת בר בארץ, מה גואל ראשון העלה את הבאר, אף גואל אחרון יעלה את המים, שנאמר (יואל ד') ומעין מבית ה' יצא והשקה את נחל השטים.

100. 6th -8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 1:1

R. Berekhyah said in the name of R. Yitschaq, “‘As the first redeemer, thus the last redeemer.’ What is first redeemer? It is said (Ex 4), ‘And Moses took his wife and his sons and mounted them on the ass.’ Thus the last redeemer, as it is said (Zech 9), ‘Poor and riding on an ass.’ What is first redeemer? He brought the manna down, as it is said (Ex 16), ‘Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens.’ Also the last redeemer will cause the manna to come down ... What is the first redeemer? He caused the well to come up. Also the last redeemer will cause the water to come up, as it is said (Joel 4), ‘And a spring from the House of the Lord will come forth and will water the wadi of Shitim.’”

R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380
R. Yitschaq	A-2	250-290

101. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה ג ד"ה ב ד"א את

א"ר יצחק ראויין היו ישראל בשעה שיצאו ממצרים שתנתן להם תורה מיד אלא אמר הקב"ה עדיין לא בא זיוון של בני משעבוד טיט ולבנים יצאו ואין יכולין לקבל תורה מיד מלח"ד למלך שעמד בנו מחליו ואמרו לו ילך בנך לאיסכולי שלו אמר עדיין לא בא זיוון של בני ואתה אומר ילך בנך לאיסכולי שלו אלא יתעדן בני שנים ושלשה ירחים במאכל ובמשתה ויבריא ואחר כך ילך לאיסכולי שלו, כך אמר הקב"ה עדיין לא בא זיוון של בני משעבוד טיט ולבנים יצאו ואני נותן להם את התורה אלא יתעדנו בני ב' וגי' חדשים במן ובאר ושלו ואח"כ אני נותן להם את התורה אימתי בחדש השלישי.

101. 6th -8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 3:2

R. Yitschaq said, “Israel were worthy, at the time that they went out of Egypt, that Torah would be given to them immediately. But the Holy One, Blessed be He, said, “The freshness of my children has still not come yet. They came out from their enslavement of mud and bricks and they cannot receive

Torah immediately. A parable, to what does the matter resemble? To a king whose son stood up from his illness and they said to him, 'Let your son go to his school.' He said, 'My son's freshness still has not come, and you tell me, "Let your son go to his school." Rather, let my son enjoy two and three months with food and drink and let him convalesce, and afterwards he will go to his school.' Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, 'My children's freshness still has not come. They came out from their enslavement of mud and bricks and I give them the Torah? Rather, let my children enjoy two and three months with manna and well and quail, and afterwards I give them the Torah. When? In the third month.'"

R. Yitschaq	T-4	160-190
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102. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה ז ד"ה ד ר' פנחס

ר' פנחס אמר אדם חביב בשמו ואיני יודע באיזה מהן, בא שלמה ופרש טוב שם משמן טוב ויום המות מיום הולדו, נולד אדם מונין לו למיתה, מת מונין לו לחיים, נולד אדם הכל שמחין, מת הכל בוכין, ואינו כן, אלא נולד אדם ואין שמחין לו, שאין יודעין באיזה פרק ומעשים יעמוד, אם צדיק ואם רשע אם טוב ואם רע, ומת הם צריכין לשמוח שנפטר בשם טוב ויצא מן העולם בשלום ... את מוצא כשהצדיקים נולדין אין בריה מרגשת וכשמתין הכל מרגישים, כשנולדה מרים לא הרגיש בה בריה וכשמתה נסתלקה הבאר והרגישו הכל, הבאר הודיעה מיתתה, נולד אהרן כהן גדול ולא הרגיש בו בריה וכשמת נסתלקו ענני כבוד הרגישו הכל, הענן הודיע מיתתו, נולד משה רבינו ולא הרגיש בו בריה, וכשמת הרגישו הכל, המן הודיע מיתתו ששבת ...

102. 6th-8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 7:4

R. Pinchas said, "A man is well liked for his name and I do not know which of them. Solomon came and interpreted, 'A name is better than good oil and the day of death to the day of his being born.' A man is born, they count him for death; he dies, they count him for life. A man is born, all are happy; he dies, all cry, and it is not so. Rather, a man is born and there is no rejoicing for him since it is not known in what season and deeds he will stand: whether righteous or wicked, good or evil. But [when] he dies, they need to rejoice that he passed away with a good name and went out of the world in peace ... You find when the righteous are born no one notices, but when they die, all feel it. When Miriam was born, no one noticed her, but when she died the well went away and all felt it: the well proclaimed her death. Aaron the High Priest was born and no one noticed him, but when he died the clouds of glory went away, all felt it: the cloud proclaimed his death. Moses our Master was born and no one noticed, but when he died all felt it: the manna proclaimed his death for it stopped ...

R. Pinchas	A-4	320-350
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103. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה יא ד"ה א [א] שלח

אלעזר ברבי סימאי פתר באברהם אבינו אמר לו הקדוש ברוך הוא אתה אמרת (בראשית י"ח) ואקחה פת לחם חייך שאני פורע לבניך במדבר וביישוב ולעתיד לבא, במדבר שנאמר (שמות ט"ז) הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים, בישוב, שנאמר (דברים ח') ארץ חטה ושעורה, לעתיד לבא שנאמר (תהלים ע"ב) יהי פסת בר בארץ, אמרת ורחצו רגליכם חייך אני פורע לבניך במדבר ובישוב ולעתיד לבא, במדבר, שנאמר (יחזקאל ט"ז) וארחצך במים וגו', בישוב שנאמר (ישעיה א') רחצו הזכו, לעתיד לבא, שנאמר (שם /ישעיה/ ד') אם רחץ ה' את צואת בנות ציון, אמרת יקח נא מעט מים חייך אני פורע לבניך במדבר וביישוב ולעתיד לבא, במדבר, שנאמר (במדבר כ"א) עלי באר וגו', בישוב שנא' (דברים ח') ארץ נחלי מים וגו', לעתיד לבא, שנא' (יואל ד') והיה ביום ההוא יטפו ההרים עסיס וכל הגבעות תלכנה חלב וכל אפיקי יהודה ילכו מים וגו'.

103. 6th-8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 11:1[1]

R. Eleazar b. R. Simai interpreted about Abraham our Father, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, 'You said (Gen 18), "And I will take a piece of bread." By your life! I pay it off to your children in the wilderness, and in the settlement, and for the future to come. In the wilderness, as it is said (Ex 16), "Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens." In the settlement, as it is said (Deut 8), "A land of wheat and barley." In the future to come, as it is said (Ps 72), "May he be a corn field in the

land.” You said, “And wash your feet.” Upon your life! I pay it off to your children in the wilderness, and in the settlement, and for the future to come. In the wilderness, as it is said (Ez 16), “And I will wash you with water,” etc. In the settlement, as it is said (Is 1), “Wash, purify.” For the future to come, as it is said (Is 4), “If the Lord would wash the filth of the daughters of Israel.” You said, “Let a little water be brought.” Upon your life! I pay it off to your children in the wilderness, and in the settlement, and for the future to come. In the dessert, as it is said, (Num 21), “Come up well,” etc. In the settlement, as it is said (Deut 8), “A land of wadis of water,” etc. For the future to come, as it is said (Joel 4), “And it will happen on that day the mountains will drip sweet wine, and all the hills will flow with [go] milk, and all the river beds of Judah will flow with [go] water,” etc.

R. Eleazar b. R. Simai	T-3/4 (?)	130-190
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104. מדרש זוטא - שיר השירים (בנובר) פרשה א ד"ה [א] שיר השירים

עשר שירות הן. שירת אדם, שירת אברהם, שירת היים, שירת הבאר, שירת משה, שירת יהושע, שירת דבורה, שירת דוד, שירת שלמה דשיר השירים ושירת לעולם הבא [שנאמר] שירו לה' שיר חדש (ישעיה מ"ב י'), ושיר השירים משובחת מכולם, שכל השירים יש מהם שתחלתו שבח וסופו גנאי, ויש מהם שתחלתו גנאי וסופו שבח, השיר שאמרו ישראל על הבאר תחלתו שבח וסופו גנאי.

104. 10th cent.: Midrash Zutta – Song of Songs (B) 1:1

There are ten songs: the Song of Adam, the Song of Abraham, the Song of the Sea, the Song of the Well, the Song of Moses, the Song of Joshua, the Song of Deborah, the Song of David, the Song of Solomon, that is the Song of Songs, and the Song for the World to Come, [as it is said,] “Sing to the Lord a new song” (Is 42”10), and the Song of Songs is the most praiseworthy of all. For of all the songs, there is among them that whose beginning is praise and its end is shame, and there is among them that whose beginning is shame and its end is praise. The song that Israel said over the well, its beginning is praise and its end is shame.

105. מדרש זוטא - קהלת (בנובר) פרשה ז ד"ה [א] טוב שם

טוב שם משמן טוב ... א"ר יהודה בר' סימון מצינו שבעלי שמן טוב נכנסו להקריב ויצאו שרופין, שנאמר ותצא אש וגוי', חנניה מישאל ועזריה עלו לגו אתון נורא יקידתא מכפתין ויצאו חיים, שנאמר באדין נפקין וגוי' (שם שם /דניאל ג'), נולדה מרים אין הכל יודעין מה היא, מתה נסתלק הבאר והרגישו הכל, וכן אהרן...

105. 6th-8th cent.: Midrash Zutta – Ecclesiastes (B) 7:1

“A name is better than good oil” ... Said R. Yehudah b. R. Simon, “We concluded that the owners of good oil entered to sacrifice and came out burned, as it is said, “And fire came out,” etc. Chananyah, Mishael, and Azariah went up “into the midst of a burning fiery furnace bound” and came out alive, as it is said, “Then they came out,” etc. (Dan 3). Miriam was born, not all know what she is. She died, the well went away and all felt [it]. And thus Aaron ...

R. Yehudah b. R. Simon	A-4	290-320
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106. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה יא ד"ה [ת] ולא נחם

ולא נחם אלהים דרך ארץ פלשתים (שמות יג : יז). מלמד שלא ניהגן כדרך הארץ. ר' לוי בשם ר' חמא בר חנינה אמ' ... דרך הארץ המים מלמעלן והלחם מלמטן, ברם הכא הלחם מלמעלן והמים מלמט'. הלחם מלמעלן, הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים (שמות טז : ד). והמים מלמטן, אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא : יז).

106. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 11:8

“And God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines” (Ex 13:17). It teaches that He did not guide them as the way of the earth. R. Levi said in the name of R. Chama b. Chaninah, “... The way of the earth is the water from above and the bread from below, but here the bread from above and the water from below. The bread from above, ‘Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens’

(Ex 16:4). And the water from below, “Then Israel sang this song, “Come up well, sing to it” (Num 21:17).”

R. Levi	A-3	290-320
R. Chama b. Chaninah	A-2	250-290

107. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה יא ד"ה [כא] ר' לעזר

ר' לעזר ברי שמעי שאל את ר' שמעי ברי יוסי בר לקוניה חמויי, אמר ליה מה הוא דין דכתי שמלתך לא בלתה מעליך (דברים ח: ד) ... ולא היו צריכין תכבוסת ... ולא היה ריחן קשה מריח הזיעה, אמר ליה מתכלכלין היו בדשאי הבאר, וריח שלמתך כריח לבנון (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ד: יא).

107. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 11:21

R. [E]leazar b. Shime[on] asked R. Shime[on] b. Yosi b. Leqonya, his father-in-law. He said to him, “What is this that is written, ‘Your garment did not wear out from upon you’ (Deut 8:4)?” ... “And they did not need laundering.” ... “And their smell was not strong from the smell of sweat.” He said to him, “They used to roll on the grasses of the well, “And the smell of your garment is like the smell of Lebanon” (Song 4:11).

R. Eleazar b. R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
R. Shimeon b. R. Yosi b. Leqonyah	T-4	160-190

108. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה יב ד"ה [ג] ר' יצח

ד"א כי חולת אהבה אני (שם /שיר השירים ב/), א"ר לוי לבן מלך שעמד מחליו, א' פידגוגו ילך לך לאסכלי, אמר המלך עדיין לא בא זיוו של בני מחליו והוא הולך לו לאיסכלי, אלא יתעדן בני שנים שלשה חדשים במאכל ובמשתה ואחר כך הוא הולך לאסכלי. כך כיון שיצאו ישרי /ישראל/ ממצרים היו ראויין לקבל את התורה, והיו בהם בעלי מומין משיעבוד טיט ולבינים, אמר הקב"ה עדיין לא בא זיוון של בניי משיעבו טיט ולבינים והן מקבלין את התורה, אלא יתעדנו בניי /בני/ שנים שלשה חדשים בבאר ובמן ובשלי, ואחר כך מקבלין את התורה. אמתיי, בחדש השלישי (שמות יט: א).

108. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 12:3

Another matter: “For I am lovesick” (Song of Songs 2). R. Levi said, “To the son of a king who stood up from his illness. A teacher said, ‘Let him go to school.’ The king said, ‘My son’s freshness still has not come from his illness and he goes to school? Rather, let him enjoy two three months with food and drink, and afterwards he goes to school.’ Thus, when Israel went out of Egypt, they were worthy of receiving the Torah, but there were among them people with deficiencies from the enslavement of mud and bricks. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, ‘The freshness of my children still has not come from the enslavement of mud and bricks, and they receive the Torah? Rather let my children enjoy two-three months with the well, and the manna, and the quail, and afterwards they receive the Torah. When? In the third month (Ex 19:1).

R. Levi	A-3	290-320
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109. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה יב ד"ה ביום הזה באו

אצל הנחתום ומילא חיקי קלוסקיות, הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים (שם /שמות/ טז: ד). אצל החנווני והשקה אותה קונדיטון, אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא: יז).

109. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 12

The baker approached and filled her bosom with rolls: “Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens” (Ex 16:4). The shopkeeper approached and gave her spiced wine to drink: “Then Israel sang this song, ‘Come up well, sing to it’ (Num 21:17).

110. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת וירא סימן ה

וישא עיניו וירא וגוי (בראשית יח ב). אמר ר' סימאי אמר הקב"ה לאברהם, בזכות שלש ריצות שרצתה, חייך כשאבוא ליתן תורה לישראל, שאני רץ לפנייהם שלש ריצות ... אתה אמרת להם מים, חייך שאני מעלה לבניך את הבאר, שנאמר עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא ז), ומנין אף משכנסו לארץ, שנאמר כי ה' אלהיך מביאך אל ארץ טובה [ארץ נחלי מים וגוי] (דברים ח ז), מנין אף לעולם הבא, שנאמר והיה על [כל] הר גבוה [ועל כל גבעה נשאה פלגים יבלי מים] (ישעיה ל כה).

110. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayera 5

"And he lifted his eyes and he saw," etc. (Gen 18:2). R. Simai said, "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Abraham, 'In the merit of the three runnings that you ran, by your life, when I come to give Torah to Israel, that I run before them three runnings. ... You said to them, 'water.' Upon your life that I bring up for your children the well, as it is said, "Come up well, sing to it," (Num 21:17). And from where 'also since they entered the land'? As it is said, 'For the Lord your God is bringing you to a good land [a land of wadis of water,' etc.] (Deut 8:7). From where 'also for the world to come'? As it is said, 'And there will be upon [every] lofty mountain, [and upon every high hill streams and watercourses] (Is 30:28).

R. Simai	T-5	190-220
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111. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת תולדות סימן טז

ד"א מטל השמים זה המן, שנאמר וברדת הטל (במדבר יא ט), ומשמני הארץ זה הבאר.

111. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Toldot 16

Another matter: "From the dew of the heavens," this is the manna, as it is said, "And with the descent of the dew" (Num 11:9), "And from the fats of the earth," this is the well.

112. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת שמות סימן יב

וינהג את הצאן אחר המדבר (שמות ג א). ... שראה שהוא נוטל גדולה מן המדבר. תורה מן המדבר, מצות מן המדבר, משכן מן המדבר, שכינה מן המדבר, מלכיות וכהונה מן המדבר, הבאר מן המדבר, המן מן המדבר, ענני כבוד מן המדבר, לפיכך היה רודף אחר המדבר.

112. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Shemot 12

"And he led the flock to the furthest end of the wilderness" (Ex 3:1) ... Because he saw that he would receive greatness from the wilderness: Torah from the wilderness, unleavened bread from the wilderness, Tabernacle from the wilderness, *Shekhinah* from the wilderness, kingship and priesthood from the wilderness, the well from the wilderness, the manna from the wilderness, clouds of glory from the wilderness. Therefore he ran after the wilderness.

113. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת משפטים סימן י

אכן בגדה אשה מרעה (ירמיה שם כ), אמר ר' יהודה בר סימון ולואי כאשה בוגדת, האשה הזו שיש לה ריע מאכילה ומשקה, והיא אוהבת אותו, כיון שנתמעטה ידו, היא מנחת אותו והולכת לה, אכן בגדה אשה מרעה, אני לא עשיתי לכם כך, המן היה יורד לכם, והבאר עולה.

113. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Mishpatim 10

"Indeed, a woman double crossed her companion" (Jer 3:20). R. Yehudah b. Simon said, "And would that as a treacherous woman, this woman who has a companion who feeds her and gives her to drink and she loves him, after his hand dwindles, she leaves him and goes her way. Indeed, a woman double crossed her companion [but] I did not do so to you: the manna came down for you and the well came up.

R. Yehudah b. Simon	A-4	320-350
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114. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת ויקרא סימן ד

שנאמר ויאמר משה אל ה' לא איש דברים אנכי גם מתמול גם משלשום גם מאז דברך אל עבדך כי כבד פה וכבד לשון אנכי (שם שם / שמות ד' ו'), אי"ל הקב"ה למשה חייך סופך לילך, כיון שהלך ואמר כה אמר ה' אלהי (העברים) [ישראל] וגוי' (שם / שמות / ה א), אמר אותו רשע מי ה' אשר אשמע בקולו (שם שם / שמות ה' ב), התחיל משה אומר אני כבר עשיתי שליחותי הלך וישב לו, אמר לו הקב"ה ישבת לך, בא דבר אל פרעה מלך מצרים (שם / שמות / ו יא), על כל דבור ודבור לך אל פרעה, השכם בבוקר, ללמדך שהיה בורח מן השררה, לסוף הוציאם וקרע להם את הים, והביאם אל המדבר, והוריד להם את המן, והעלה להם את הבאר, והגיו להם את השליו, ועשה את המשכן, ואמר מכאן ואילך מה יש לי לעשות, עמד וישב לו, אמר לו הקב"ה חייך יש לך מלאכה גדולה מכל מה שעשית ללמד לבני ...

114. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayiqra 4

As it is said, "And Moses said to the Lord, 'I am not a man of words, neither yesterday nor the day before, or since Your speaking to your servant, for I am heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue'" (Ex 4:10). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, "By your life, your end is to go." After he went, and He said, "Thus said the Lord God (of the Hebrews) [of Israel]," etc. (Ex 5:1), the wicked one said to him, "Who is the Lord that I should listen to his voice? (Ex 5:2), Moses started to say, "I already did my mission. He went and sat down. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "You sat down? Go, speak to Pharaoh, king of Egypt" (Ex 6:11) about every speaking go to Pharaoh, early in the morning, to teach you that he was fleeing from the authority. In the end he took them out, and split the sea for them, and brought them to the wilderness, and brought down the manna for them, and brought up the well for them, and delivered the quail to them, and made the Tabernacle, and said, "From here on, what do I have to do?" He stood and he sat down. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "By your life, you have a greater task than all that you have done: to teach my children..."

115. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת קדושים סימן ז

וכי תבאו אל הארץ ונטעתם כל עץ מאכל וגוי' (ויקרא יט כג), זש"ה ועתה לא כימים הראשונים וגוי' כי זרע השלום הגפן תתן פריה והארץ תתן את יבולה וגוי' (זכריה ח יא יב), מהו לא כימים הראשונים, כיון שיצאו ישראל ממצרים, והיו מהלכין במדבר, והוריד להם את המן, והגיו להם שליו, והעלה להם את הבאר, והיה כל שבט ושבט עשה לו אמת המים, [וממשיכה מן הבאר], ומכניסה אצלו, והיה [כל אחד ואחד] נוטע תאנים וגפנים ורמונים, ועושין פירות בני יומן, כשם שהיה מתחילת ברייתו של עולם, עץ פרי עשה פרי למינו (בראשית א יא), אילו זכו בני אדם, עד עכשיו כך היה, אדם נוטע אילן ועשה פירות מיד, כיון שחטא אדם נתקללה האדמה שנאמר ארורה האדמה בעבורך (שם / בראשית / ג יז), מכאן ואילך בעצבון תאכלנה כל ימי חייך (שם / בראשית / ג' / זרע חטים וצמחה דרדרים, שנאמר וקוץ ודרדר תצמיח לך (שם שם / בראשית / ג' / יח), כשיצאו ממצרים העלה להם [הקב"ה] את הבאר, והיו נוטעין על מימיה, והיו האילנות עושי פירות בני יומן, משנסתלקה הבאר [נסתלקה הטובה].

115. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Qedoshim 7

"And when you come to the land and plant every tree for food," etc. (Lev 19:23), this is what the Scripture says, "And now, it is not like the first days," etc. "For as the seed of peace the vine will give its fruit and the earth its crop," etc. (Zech 8:11-12). What is "not like the first days"? After Israel went out of Egypt and were walking about in the wilderness, and He caused the manna to come down for them, and delivered them the quail, and caused the well to come up for them, and each tribe made its own aqueduct [and drew from the well], and brought it to itself, and [each and every one] planted figs and vines and pomegranates and they bore fruit within a day, as it was at the beginning of the creation of the world, a fruit tree bore fruit according to its kind (Gen 1:11). If only people merited it, it would be so until now: man planted a tree and it made fruits immediately. When man sinned, the land was cursed, as it is said, "Cursed is the ground because of you (Gen 3:17). From then on, "with sorrow you will eat all the days of your life" (Gen 3:17). When they went out of Egypt, [the Holy One, blessed be He] caused the well to come up for them and they planted on its waters, and the trees used to make fruits within a day. Since the well went away [the benefit went away].

117. מדרש תנחומא (בנובר) פרשת במדבר סימן ב

אמר הקב"ה לישראל על שאמרתם למשה למה העליתנו (מארץ מצרים) [ממצרים] (במדבר כה כה כא ה), המדבר הייתי לישראל (ירמיה שם ב' ל"א), כמדבר עשיתי לכם, בנוהג שבעולם מלך בשר ודם שיוצא למדבר, שמא [מוצא שם] שלוח, כשם שהיה [מוצא] בפלטיך שלו, או אכילה או שתיה, ואתם הייתם עבדים לפרעה במצרים, והוצאתי אתכם משם, והרבצתי אתכם תחת ענני כבוד, והעמדתי לכם שלשה גואלים משמשין אתכם, [שנאמר] ואשלח לפניך [את] משה אהרן ומרים (מיכה ו ד), [בזכות משה הייתם אוכלים את המן שלא ראו האבות הקדושים, שנאמר ויענך וירעיבך ויאכילך את המן וגו' (דברים ח ג), ובזכות ובזכות אהרן הקפתי אתכם בענני כבוד, שנאמר פרש ענן למסך ואש להאיר לילה (תהלים קה לט)], שבעה עננים היו, מלמעלה ומלמטה ומארבע רוחות ואחת בפניהם, מכה נחשים ועקרבים, ומשוה להם את ההרים ואת העמקים ושורף את הקוצים, והן מעלין עשן, ורואין אותו כל מלכי מזרח ומערב, ואומות העולם אומרים מי זאת עולה מן המדבר כתמרות עשן (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ג ו), וכתוב ואולך אתכם ארבעים שנה במדבר [לא בלו שלמותיכם וגו'] (דברים כט ד), התינוק הזה כל זמן שהוא [גדל] לבושו ושמלותיו גדליו עמו, והבאר בזכות מרים, שאמרה שירה על המים, אמר ר' ברכיה הכהן בשם ר' לוי משל למלך בשר ודם שיש לו מדינה, והוא משלח בני אדם גדולים לתוכה, שיהיו נושאים משואן ועושין משפטו, מי צריך להיות זקוק למזונותיהם, לא בני המדינה צריכין להיות זקוקים למזונותיהם, והקב"ה לא עשה כן, אלא שלח למשה ולאהרן [ומרים], שנאמר ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים (מיכה ו ד), שבזכותן היו ישראל מתנהגין, המן בזכות משה, [תדע לך שהוא כן, כיון שנסתלק משה מה כתיב, וישבות המן ממחרת (יהושע ה יב)], ענני כבוד בזכות אהרן, תדע לך שהוא כן, כיון שנסתלק אהרן מה כתיב, ותקצר נפש העם בדרך (במדבר כא ד), שהיתה השמש זורחת עליהן, והבאר בזכות מרים, שנאמר ותמת שם מרים, ולא היה מים לעדה (במדבר כא ב), והיאך היתה [הבאר] עשויה, כמין סלע היתה מתגלגלת ובאה עמהן במסעות, כיון שהיו הדגלים חונים, והמשכן עומד, היה הסלע בא ויושב לו בחצר אהל מועד, והנשיאים עומדים על גביו ואומרים עלי באר (שם / במדבר / כא יז), והבאר עולה, ואח"כ הבאתי להם שלום ...

117. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Bemidbar 2

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Israel, "Because you said to Moses, 'Why did you bring us up (from the Land of Egypt) [from Egypt]?' (Num 21:5). 'Have I been a wilderness to Israel?' (Jer 2:31) As a wilderness I made for them? In the manner of the world, a king of flesh and blood who goes out to the wilderness who [finds there] tranquility, as there was [he found] in his palace, or food or drink. And you were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt and I took you out of there and caused you to lie down under clouds of glory and appointed for you three redeemers to serve you, [as it is said], "And I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Micah 6:4). [In Moses' merit you ate the manna that the holy Fathers did not see, as it is said, "And He afflicted you and He caused you to be hungry, and He caused you to eat the manna," etc. (Deut 8:3). And in Aaron's merit I surrounded you with clouds of glory, as it is said, "He spread a cloud for a curtain, and fire to illuminate night" (Ps 105:39)]. There were seven clouds, from above and from below, and from the four winds, and one in front of them, smiting serpents and scorpions, and smoothing for them the mountains and the valleys, and burning the thorns. And they cause smoke to go up, and all the kings of the East and the West see it, and the nations of the world say, "Who is this coming up from the wilderness like pillars of cloud" (Song 3:6). And it is written, "And I caused you to walk forty years in the wilderness, [your garments did not wear out," etc.] (Deut 29:4). This infant, all the time that he [was growing up], his clothes and his garments were growing with him. And the well in the merit of Miriam, who sang a song over the water. Said R. Berekhyah the Priest in the name of R. Levi, "This can be compared to a king of flesh and blood who has a province and he dispatches great persons to its midst who will carry their burdens and do their judgments. Who must be responsible for their nourishment? Shouldn't the citizens of the province be responsible for their nourishment? But the Holy One, blessed be He did not do so. Rather He sent Moses, and Aaron, [and Miriam], as it is said, 'I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam' (Micah 6:4), in whose merit Israel conducted themselves: the manna in Moses' merit: know for yourself that it is so. When Moses went away, what is written? 'And the manna stopped the next day' (Josh 5:12). Clouds of glory in Aaron's merit, know for yourself that it is so. When Aaron went away, what is written? 'And the soul of the people became impatient on the way' (Num 21:4), for the sun was shining upon them. And the well in Miriam's merit, as it is said, 'And Miriam died there,' 'and there was no water for the

congregation' (Num 20:1-2). And how was [the well] made? As a sort of rock. It rolled and came with them in journeys: when the standards encamped and the Tabernacle was standing, the rock came and settled itself in the courtyard of the Tent of Meeting, and the princes stood over it and sang, 'Come up well' (Num 21:17) and the well came up, and afterwards I brought you quail..."

R. Berekhyah the Priest	A-5	350-380
R. Levi	A-3	290-320

118. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת חקת סימן לה

נעברה נא בארצך וגוי ולא נשתה מי באר (שם/במדבר/ כ יז). מי בורות היה צריך לומר, לימדך תורה דרך ארץ, שההולך לארץ שאינה שלו, (ויש בידו צרכיו), שלא ישתה ממה שבידו, אלא שלו היא מונח, ויקנה מן החנוני בשביל להנותו, וכך אמר לו משה, הבאר עמנו, ומן שלנו אנו אוכלים, לא תאמר שאנו מטריחין עליך, שכר אתה עושה לעצמך, וכך אמר משה אוכל בכסף תשביירי (דברים ב כח) ...

118. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 35

"Let us pass in your land," etc. "and we will not drink well water" (Num 20:17). It should say "water of pits." Torah taught you courtesy, that one who goes to a land that is not his [and he has his own necessities in his hand], that he will not drink from what he has in his hand but his own will be laid [aside] and he will buy from the shopkeeper in order to please him. And thus said to him Moses, "The well is with us and our manna we eat. You will not say that we trouble you, wages you make for yourself." And thus Moses said, "You will sell me food for money" (Deut 2:28).

119. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת חקת סימן מז

אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת (שם/במדבר/ כא יז). נאמרה שירה זו בסוף ארבעים, והבאר נתנה להם מתחלת ארבעים, ומה ראה לכתב כאן, הענין הזה נדרש למעלה הימנו, על כן יאמר בספר מלחמות ה' את והב בסופה (שם שם/במדבר כ"א/ יד), אותות ונסים [שנעשו להם] בנחלי ארנון, כנסים שנעשו להם בים סוף, מה הם הנסים של נחלי ארנון, אדם עומד על ההר מזה, ומדבר עם חבירו בהר הזה, והוא רחוק ממנו ז' מילין, והדרך יורד לתוך הנחל ועולה, ודרך של ישראל לעבור בתוך הנחלים, נתכנסו כל האומות אוכלוסין עד אין סוף, ישבו מקצתן בתוך הנחל, והנחל עשוי מלמעלן מערות מערות, וכנגדן הר שכנגדו עשוי סלעים סלעים כמין שדים, שנאמר ואשד הנחלים (שם שם/במדבר כ"א/ טו), נכנסו האוכלוסין לתוך המערות, ואמרו כשיורדין ישראל לתוך הנחל, אלו עומדין מלפניהם שבתוך הנחל, ואלו למעלה מן המערות ונהרוג את כולם, כיון שהגיעו ישראל לאותו מקום, לא הצריכן הקב"ה לירד למטה לתוך הנחל, אלא רמו להרים ונכנסו שדיים של הר זה לתוך המערות ומתו כולם, והקיפו ההרים ראשיהם זה לזה, ונעשו דרך כבושה, ולא נודע איזה נסמך לחבירו, ואותו נחל מפסיק בין תחומי ארץ ישראל לארץ מואב, שנאמר כי ארנון גבול מואב (שופטים יא יח), הר שבארץ מואב [לא] נזדעזע, שבו המערות, והר שבארץ ישראל נזדעזע שבו הסלעים, כמין שדיים, ונסמך להר שכנגדו, ומפני מה נזדעזע, מפני שהוא מארץ ישראל, משל לשפחה שראתה בן אדונה בא אצלה, קפצה וקידמה אותו וקיבלתו, נכנסו הסלעים לתוך המערות, ורוצצו כל אותן הגבורים, והבאר ירדה הנחל, ונתגברה שם, ואיבדה כל האוכלוסין, כשם שאיבד אותם הים, לכך כתיב את והב בסופה ואת הנחלים ארנון (במדבר שם/כ"א/ יד), ועברו ישראל על אותן ההרים, ולא ידעו כל הנסים האלו, אמר הקב"ה הרי אני מודיע לבני ישראל כמה אוכלוסין איבדתי מפניהם, ירדה הבאר לתוך המערה, והוציאה גולגליות וזרועות ורגלים שאין להם חקר, וישראל חזרו לבקש את הבאר, וראוה מאירה כלבנה בתוך הנחל, שהיא מוציאה את איברי האוכלוסין, ומנין שהבאר הודיעה בהם, שנאמר ואשד הנחלים וגוי (שם שם/במדבר כ"א/ טו). ומשם בארה (שם שם/במדבר כ"א/ טז), וכי משם היתה, והלא מתחלת שנת הארבעים היתה עמהם, אלא שירדה לפרסם את הנסים, והיו ישראל עומדין על הנחלים ואומרים לה עלי באר ענו לה, ואמרו שירה עליה.

119. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 47

"Then Israel sang this song" (Num 21:17). This song was said at the end of forty [years] but the well was given to them from the beginning of forty. And what did it see to write here? This matter is expounded above from it. "Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, Vahev in Sufah"

(Num 21:14). Signs and miracles [that were done for them] in the wadis of Arnon like the miracles that were done for them at the Sea of Reeds. What are the miracles of the wadis of Arnon? A man stands on the mountain from this [side] and speaks with his friend on this mountain, and he is 7 miles away from him. And the way goes down into the wadi and it goes up. And Israel's way [must] cross in the midst of the wadis. All the nations got in, armies without end. Some of them sat inside the wadi, and the wadi above them was made of caves, caves, and opposite them, a corresponding mountain made of rocks, rocks, sort of like breasts, as it is said, "And the slope of the wadis" (Num 21:15). The armies entered into the caves and they said, "When Israel come down into the wadi, these standing before them who are inside the wadi, and these above from the caves, and we will kill them all." When Israel arrived at that very place, the Holy One, blessed be He, did not require them to go down below into the wadi. Rather, He signaled to the mountains, and the breasts of this mountain got into the caves, and all of them died. And the mountains drew their heads together this to this and they became a paved road, and it was not known which was leaning towards its fellow. And this same wadi stops between the boundaries of the Land of Israel and the Land of Moab, as it is said, "For Arnon is the boundary of Moab" (Jud 11:18). A mountain that was in the Land of Moab was [not] shaken, where the caves were; and a mountain that was in the Land of Israel was shaken, where the rocks sort of like breasts were, and it leaned towards the opposite corresponding mountain. And why was it shaken? Because it was from the land of Israel. This can be compared to a maidservant who saw her master's son coming to her; she jumped and she greeted him and she received him. The rocks entered into the caves and crushed all those mighty men. And the well went down to the wadi and it became mightier there, and it destroyed all the armies just as the sea had destroyed them. Therefore it is written, "Vahev in Sufah and the wadis of Arnon" (Num 21:14). And Israel crossed on those very mountains and they did not know all these miracles. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "Behold, I am informing the Children of Israel how many armies I destroyed from before them." The well went down into the cave and it brought out craniums and arms and legs that cannot be fathomed. And Israel returned to seek the well and they saw it shining like the moon inside the wadi for it was bringing out the limbs of the armies. And from where that the well informed about them? As it is said, "And the slope of the wadis," etc. (Num 21:15). "And from there to Beer ["the Well"]" (Num 21:16), but was it really from there, and wasn't it with them from the beginning of the forty years? Rather, that it went down to make public the miracles, and Israel were standing over the wadis and were saying to it, "Come up well, sing to it," and they sang a song over it.

120. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת חקת סימן מח

אז ישיר ישראל. ומפני מה לא נזכר משה שם, מפני שנענש על המים, ואין אדם מקלס לספקטור שלו, ולמה שמו של הקב"ה אינו נזכר שם, משל לשלטון שעשה סעודה למלך, אמר המלך פלוני אוהבי שם, אמרו לו לאו, אמר גם אני איני הולך לשם, [אף כאן אמר הקב"ה הואיל ומשה אינו נזכר, אף אני איני נזכר שם]. באר חפרוה שרים (שם שם / במדבר כ"א / יח). וכי חפרוה היתה שם, אלא שניתנה בזכות אבות שנקראו שרים, שנאמר פתח צור ויזובו מים וגוי' (כי) זכר את דבר קדשו את אברהם עבדו (תהלים קה מא מב). כרוה נדיבי העם וגוי' (במדבר שם / כ"א / א), שהיו הנשיאים עומדין על גבה, ומושכין במטותיהן כל אחד ואחד לשבטו ולמשפחתו, וריוח שהיה בין הדגלים, מלא מים מגוברין, אשה שהיתה צריכה לילך אצל חבירתה, היתה הולכת מדגל לדגל בספינה, שנאמר הלכו בציות נהר (תהלים קה מא), ואין ציות אלא ספינות, שנאמר וצי אדיר (בל יעברנהו) [לא יעברנו] (ישעיה לג כא), והמים היו יוצאין חוץ למחנה ומקיפין פיסא גדולה, שנאמר ינחני במעגלי צדק (תהלים כג ג), ומגדלין מיני דשאים ואילנות שאין להם סוף, שנאמר בנאות דשא רביצני על מי מנוחות ינהלני (שם שם / תהלים כ"ג / ב), כל הימים שהיו במדבר היו משמשין בו, לכך קילסו עליה, באר חפרוה שרים. וממדבר מתנה (במדבר כא יח), שבמדבר ניתנה להם לשמשין.

120. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 48

"Then sang Israel." And why isn't Moses mentioned there? Because he was punished by water and no man praises his executioner. And why isn't the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, mentioned there? This can be compared to a government that made a banquet for a king. The king said, "Is So-and-so my favorite there?" They said to him, "No." He said, "Neither am I going there." [Also here the Holy One, blessed be He, said "Since Moses isn't mentioned, neither am I mentioned there."] A well that princes dug" (Num 21:18). And was it really dug there? Rather it was given in the merit of the Fathers, who were called "princes," as it is said, "He opened the rock and water flowed," etc. "for He

remembered his holy word to Abraham his servant” (Ps 105:41-42). “The princes of the people dug it,” etc. (Num 21), for the princes were standing over it and pulling with their rods, each one for his tribe and for his family.” And the space that was between the standards was full of mighty waters. A woman who needed to go to her friend would go from standard to standard in a boat, as it is said, “They went, a river in dry places” (Ps 105:41). And there are no dry places, rather boats, as it is said, “And a mighty ship (will not pass by)” (Is 33:21). And the waters went forth out of the camp and surrounded a large area, as it is said, “He guides me in paths of righteousness” (Ps 23:3). And they grew [different] species of grasses and trees without end, as it is said, “He causes me to lie down on grassy pastures. He leads me to still waters” (Ps 23:2). All the days that they were in the wilderness, they used it. Hence they praised about it, “A well that princes dug.” “And from the wilderness, a gift” (Num 21:18), because in the wilderness it was given to them to use it.

121. מדרש תנחומא (בנבר) פרשת חקת סימן נ

ונשקפה על פני הישימון (במדבר שם כ"א/כ), שמשם תורה יוצאה לעולם. ד"א ונשקפה. זה לענין באר שבאתה עמהם, עד שנגנזה לתוך ימה של טבריא, והעומד על פני הישימון רואה בתוך הים כמלא פי תנור, והיא הבאר הנשקפה על פני הישימון.

121. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 50

“And it is seen on the surface of the desert” (Num 21:20), because from there Torah goes out to the world. Another matter: “And it is seen,” this is regarding the well that came with them until it was hidden inside the Sea of Tiberias, and one who stands on the surface of the desert sees inside the sea, the size of the mouth of an oven, and that is the well that is seen on the surface of the desert.

122. מדרש תנחומא (בנבר) פרשת בלק סימן יח

בנוהג שבעולם לגיון שמרד במלך חייב מיתה, ואלו כפרו ומרדו בו ואמרו לעגל אלה אלהיך ישראל (שמות לב ד), לכך לא היו ראויין לכלותן אפילו באותה שעה, לא זו מחיבתן אלא לווה עליהם ענני כבוד, ולא מנע מהם המן והבאר, וכן הוא אומר אף כי עשו להם עגל מסכה וגוי, ואתה ברחמיך הרבים לא (עשיתם כלה) [עזבתם במדבר וגוי] ומנך לא מנעת מפייהם (נחמיה ט יח כ).

122. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Balaq 18

In the manner that is in the world, a legion that rebelled against a king is liable for execution. And these denied Him and rebelled against Him and said to the calf, “These are your gods, Israel” (Ex 32:4). Thus, weren't they worthy to make a full end of them? Even at that very hour, this was not their charge. Rather, clouds of glory accompanied them and the manna and the well were not refused them, and thus it says, “Although they made for themselves a molten calf,” etc., “and You in Your great mercy did not (utterly destroy them) [leave them in the wilderness,” etc.] “and Your manna You did not refuse from their mouth (Neh 9:18, 19, 20).

123. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת בראשית סימן ד

אמר רבי חנינא בן גמליאל בנוהג שבעולם חיטין מלמטה ומים מלמעלן והקב"ה אינו עושה כן אלא חיטין מלמעלה שנא' (שמות טז) הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים ומים מלמטה שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר ענו לה.

123. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Bereshit 4

Said R. Chanina b. Gamaliel, “In the manner that is in the world, wheat from below and water from above. But the Holy One, blessed be He, does not do so. Rather, wheat from above, as it is said (Ex 16), ‘Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens,’ and water from below, as it is said (Num 21), ‘Come up well, sing to it.’”

124. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת וירא סימן ד

וישא עיניו וירא והנה שלשה אנשים נצבים עליו וירא וירץ לקראתם ... אי"ל הקב"ה בשכר שלש ריצות שרצת, אני ארוץ לפני בניך שלש ריצות בשעת מתן תורה, ואלו הן שלש ריצות של אברהם וירא וירץ לקראתם, ואל הבקר רץ אברהם, וימהר לעשות אותו, מה פרע לבניו בסיני שנאמר ויאמר ה' מסיני בא ... (דברים לג) אתה אמרת להן יוקח אני נותן לבניך מצות פסח שנאמר (שמות יב) ויקחו להם איש שה, אתה אמרת להן נא אני נותן לבניך מצות פסח אל תאכלו ממנו נא (שם/שמות י"ב) אתה אמרת מעט אני אגרש את שונאיהן מעט מעט שנא' (שם/שמות/כג) מעט מעט אגרשנו מפניך, אתה אמרת מים אני נותן להם באר מים במדבר שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר.

124. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayera 4

"And he lifted his eyes and he saw, and behold three men standing over him, and he saw and he ran towards them ..." The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "As a reward for the three runnings that you ran, I Myself will run before your children three runnings at the time of the giving of Torah." And these are the three runnings of Abraham: "And he saw and he ran towards them," "And to the cattle ran Abraham," "And he hurried to do it." What did He pay off to his children at Sinai? As it is said, "And he said, the Lord came from Sinai ..." (Deut 33). As for you, you said to them, "Let it be taken," I give to your children the Pesach commandment, as it is said (Ex 12), "And they will take for themselves, each man a lamb." As for you, you said to them, "na." I give to your children the Pesach commandment, "Do not eat from it na" (Ex 12). As for you, you said, "a little," I Myself will drive out their enemies little by little, as it is said (Ex 23), "Little by little I will drive him out from before you." As for yourself, you said, "water," I give them a well of water in the wilderness, as it is said (Num 21), "Come up well."

125. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת ויצא סימן ה

וירא ה' כי שנואה לאה, זשה"כ כי הוא יודע מתי שוא וירא און ולא יתבונן (איוב יא) הכתוב מדבר בישמעאל בשעה שאמרה שרה לאברהם גרש את האמה הזאת וגוי' (בראשית כא) כל אותו הענין מה כתיב שם וישכם אברהם בבקר ויקח לחם וגוי', כיון שכלו המים מן החמת והיה ישמעאל מת בצמא מיד ותשלך את הילד תחת אחד השיחים, ר' מאיר אומר זה הרוותם הגדל במדבר, רבי יוסי בר חלפתא אומר מקום שהסיח עמה אחד מן המלאכים, רבי ברכיה אמר שהטיחה דברים קשים כלפי מעלה, אמרה לפניו רבשי"ע כביכול אתה דומה לבני אדם שהן אומרים ליתן דבר וחוזרים בהן לא כך אמרת לי הרבה ארבה את זרעך הרי הוא מת בצמא, מיד רמז הקב"ה למלאך להראות לה את הבאר, אמר אותו מלאך רבשי"ע לרשע הזה שעתיד לקפח את העוברים ואת השבים אתה מעלה לו את הבאר, אי"ל הקב"ה מהו עכשיו לא צדיק הוא איני דן את האדם אלא על שעה שעומד בה בדן לפני, לפיכך כתיב כי שמע אלהים אל קול הנער באשר הוא שם, הוי אומר כי הוא ידע מתי שוא וירא און ולא יתבונן.

125. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayetse 5

"And God saw that Leah was hated." This is what the text says "For He knows false men and [if] He saw wickedness, would He not consider it?" (Job 11). The Scripture speaks about Ishmael at the time that Sarah said to Abraham, "Drive out this maidservant," etc. (Gen 21) All that matter, what is written there? "And Abraham rose early in the morning and he took bread," etc. After the water from the water skin was finished and Ishmael was dying of thirst, immediately, "And she flung the child under one of the bushes." R. Meir says, "It is the broom bush that grows in the wilderness." R. Yosi b. Chalafta says, "The place where one of the angels talked with her." R. Berekhyah said, "Because she hurled harsh words upwards. She said before the Master of the universe, 'As it were, You resemble the people who say they will give something and take it back. Didn't You say to me thus: "Much will I multiply your seed"? Behold, he dies of thirst!' Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, signaled to an angel to show her the well. That same angel said, 'Master of the Universe, for this wicked person who is likely to assault those passing and returning, do You bring up the well for him?' The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, 'What is it? Is he not righteous now? I do not judge the man but at the time that he stands for judgment before me.'" Therefore it is written that God heard the voice of the boy since he was there. Oh, it says, "For He knows false men and [if] He saw wickedness, would He not consider it?"

R. Meir	T-3	130-160
R. Yosi b. Chalafta	T-3	130-160
R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380

126. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת שמות סימן י

וישב בארץ מדין וישב על הבאר לקח דרך אבותיו שלשה נזדמנו להן זווגן מן הבאר, יצחק יעקב ומשה ...

126. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shemot 10

"And he dwelt in the land of Midian and sat upon the well," he took the way of his Fathers. Three were presented to their mate from the well: Isaac, Jacob, and Moses ...

127. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת שמות סימן יא

כך אמרו בנות יתרו למשה יישר כחך שהצלנתנו מיד הרועים אמר להן משה אותו המצרי שהרגתי הוא הציל אתכם ולכך אמרו לאביהן איש מצרי ... ויאמר אל בנותיו ואיו, אמר להם סימן זה שאתם אומרות שדלה והשקה זה מבני בניו של אותן שעמדו על הבאר שהבאר מכרת את אדוניה.

127. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shemot 11

Thus said the daughters of Yitro to Moses, "May your strength be upright! For you saved us from the hand of the shepherds." Moses said to them, "The same Egyptian whom I killed, he saved you." And therefore they told their father, "An Egyptian man ..." "He said to his daughters, 'And where is he?'" He said to them, "It is a sign – for you say that he drew and he watered – this one is from the sons of the sons of those who stood upon the well, for the well knows its masters."

128. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת שמות סימן יז

וינהג את הצאן אחר המדבר, א"ר יוחנן ... לפי שראה שישראל נתעלו מן המדבר שניא' מי זאת עולה מן המדבר עלייה מן המדבר התורה מן המדבר המן והשליו מן המדבר המשכן מן המדבר השכינה מן המדבר הכהונה ומלכות מן המדבר הבאר מן המדבר ענני כבוד מן המדבר ...

128. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shemot 14

"And he led the flock to the furthest end of the wilderness." R. Yochanan said, "... Because he saw that Israel were brought up from the wilderness, going up from the wilderness: the Torah from the wilderness, the manna and the quail from the wilderness, the Tabernacle from the wilderness, the *Shekhinah* from the wilderness, the priesthood and kingship from the wilderness, the well from the wilderness, clouds of glory from the wilderness ..."

R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290
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129. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת בשלח סימן א

אמר הקב"ה אם אני מוליכן דרך פשוטה עכשיו מחזיקין איש איש בשדה ובכרם ומבטלין מן התורה אלא אני מוליכן דרך המדבר ויאכלו את המן וישתו מי באר והתורה מתישבת בגופן.

129. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Beshalach 1

The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "If I cause them to go on a simple road now, each man grabs a field and a vine and they are nullified from the Torah. Rather, I cause them to go by way of the wilderness and they will eat the manna and they will drink well water, and the Torah settles itself in their bodies."

130. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת בשלח סימן י

משל לאחד שהיה מהלך בדרך והיה מנהיג בנו לפניו באו ליסטים לשבותו מלפניו החזירו לאחוריו, בא הזאב נטלו מאחוריו נתנו לפניו, ראה לסטין מאחוריו וזאב מלפניו נתנו על זרועותיו, אף כך הקב"ה לישראל הים לפנייהם ומצרים לאחוריהם קחם על זרועותיו, התחיל מצטער פירש עליו בגדו שנאמר (שם/תהלים/קה) פרש ענן למסך, הרעיב נתן לו לחם שנאמר הנני ממטיר לכם לחם, צמא נתן לו מים שנאמר (שם/תהלים/ע"ח) ויוציא נזולים מסלע, כנגדן אמרי ליה ישראל

עשר שירות, הראשונה במצרים שנאמר (ישעיה ל) השיר יהיה לכם כליל התקדש חג, השנית על הים שנאמר אז ישיר משה, השלישית על הבאר (במדבר כא) אז ישיר ישראל את השירה.

130. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Beshalach 10

This may be compared to one who was walking on the way and would guide his son in front of him. Robbers came to take him prisoner from in front of him, he turned him back behind him. The wolf came, he took him from behind and put him in front of him. He saw robbers behind him and a wolf in front of him, he took put him in his arms. Also thus the Holy One, blessed be He, to Israel – The sea before them and Egypt behind them – taking them in His arms, He began to be sorry, He spread over him His garment, as it is said (Ps 105), “He spread a cloud for cover. He was hungry, He gave him bread, as it is said, “Behold I cause bread to rain for you.” Thirsty, He gave him water, as it is said (Ps 78), “And he brought out flowing [water] from a rock.” Correspondingly, Israel sang ten songs: The first one in Egypt, as it is said (Is 30)...; the second one on the sea, as it is said, “Then Moses sang;” the third one on the well (Num 21), “Then Israel sang this song.”

131. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת משפטים סימן יז

א"ר יהודה בי רב שלום ולואי כאשה בגדה מריעה האשה שיש לה ריעה /ריע/ הוא מאכילה ומשקה אוהבת אותו כיון שנתמעטה ידו מנחת אותו והולכת לה אכן בגדה אשה מריעה אני לא עשיתי כן, אלא המן ירד לכם והבאר עולה ...

131. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Mishpatim 17

R. Yehudah b. R. Shalom said, “Indeed, as a woman who double crossed her companion: the woman who has a companion, he feeds her and gives her to drink, she loves him. After his hand dwindles, she leaves him and goes her way. Indeed, a woman double crossed her companion [but] I did not do so to you. Rather, the manna came down for you and the well comes up ...”

R. Yehudah b. R. Shalom	A-5	350-380
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132. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת ויקהל סימן א ד"ה (א) ילמדנו רבינו

ד"א שמן טוב נופל על האור והוא נשרף שם טוב נופל על האור ואינו נשרף ... ויום המות מיום הולדו נולדה מרים אין הכל יודעין, מתה נסתלק הבאר, נולד אהרן אין הכל יודעין מת נסתלק עמוד הענן נולד בצלאל אין הכל יודעין נתמנה למלאכת המשכן ידעו אותו הכל, טוב שם משמן טוב טוב שמו של בצלאל מבני אהרן שנמשחו בשמן המשחה שבצלאל הקב"ה מעיד עליו ראו קרא ה' בשם בצלאל.

132. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayaqhel 1

Another matter: Good oil falls on the light and it is burned. A good name falls on the light and it is burned ... “And the day of death rather than the day of his being born. Miriam was born, not all know; she died, the well went away. Aaron was born, not all know; he died, the pillar of cloud went away. Betsalel was born, not all know; he was appointed to the work of the Tabernacle, all knew it. “A good name is better than good oil”: Betsalel’s name is better than that of the sons of Aaron who were anointed with the anointing oil, for the Holy One, blessed be He, testifies for Betsalel. See, God called on the name of Betsalel.

R. Yehudah b. Simon	A-4	320-350
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133. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת ויקרא סימן ג

ויאמר משה אל ה' בי אדני לא איש דברים אנכי גם מתמול וגו' ... אמר ליה הקב"ה ישבת לך בא דבר אל פרעה מלך מצרים, וכן על כל דבור ודבור לך אל פרעה השכם בבקר והתיצב לפני פרעה, ללמדך שהיה בורח מן השררה, לסוף הוציאם ממצרים וקרע להם את הים והביאם אל המדבר והוריד להם את המן והעלה להם את הבאר והגיו להם את השליו ועשה את המשכן ואמר מכאן ואילך מה יש לי לעשות, עמד וישב, א"ל הקב"ה חייך יש לי מלאכה גדולה מכל מה שעשית יש לך ללמד לישראל.

133. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayiqra 3

And Moses said to the Lord, "Please, my Lord, 'I am not a man of words, neither yesterday,'" etc. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "You sat? Come, speak to Pharaoh, king of Egypt." And thus about every speaking. "Go to Pharaoh. Rise early in the morning and stand before Pharaoh," to teach you that he was fleeing from the authority. In the end he took them out of Egypt, and he split the sea for them, and he brought them to the wilderness, and he brought down the manna for them, and he brought up the well for them, and he delivered the quail to them, and he made the Tabernacle, and he said, "From here on, what is there for me to do?" He stood and he sat down. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "By your life, I have a greater task than all that you have done: you have to teach Israel."

134. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת קדושים סימן ז

כי תבואו אל הארץ ונטעתם כל עץ מאכל זש"ה ועתה לא כימים הראשונים אני כי זרע השלום הגפן תתן את פריה והארץ תתן יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם (זכריה ח) מהו ועתה לא כימים הראשונים אני, כיון שישראל יצאו ממצרים והיו מהלכין במדבר הוריד להם הקב"ה את המן והגיו להם את השלום והעלה להם את הבאר והיה כל שבט ושבט עושה לו אמת המים ומכניס אצלו והיה נוטע בו תאנים ורמונים ועושין פירות בן יומן כשם שהיה מתחלת ברייתו של עולם עץ פרי עושה פרי למינו (בראשית א) חטא אדם זורעין חטים וצומח קוף ודרדר, משנסתלק הבאר מה כתיב שם (במדבר כ) לא מקום זרע ותאנה וגפן ורמון כל כך למה ומים אין לשתות א"ל הקב"ה למשה אמר להם לישראל כשתכנסו לארץ אני מחזיר לכם את כל הטובה.

134. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Qedoshim 7

"When you come to the land and you will plant every tree for food." This is what the Scripture says, "And now, not like the first days will I be, but the seed of peace, the vine will give its fruit and the earth its crop, and the heavens will give their dew" (Zech 8). What is "not like the first days will I be"? After Israel went out of Egypt and they were walking about in the wilderness, the Holy One, blessed be He, caused the manna to come down for them, and He delivered to them the quail, and He caused the well to come up, and each tribe made its own aqueduct and it brought it to itself, and it planted with it figs and vines and they bore fruit within a day, as it was at the beginning of the creation of the world, "a fruit tree bore fruit according to its kind" (Gen 1). Man sinned, they plant wheat, and thorns and thistles sprout. Since the well went away, what is written there? (Num 20) "Not a place of seed, and fig tree, and vine, and pomegranate." So much so, why "and there is no water to drink"? The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, Moses, "Tell them, to Israel, 'When you enter the land I am returning to you all the goodness.'"

134a. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת במדבר סימן ב

אמר להם הקב"ה לישראל על שאמרתם למשה למה העלינו ממצרים למות במדבר (במדבר יט) המדבר הייתי לישראל כמדבר עשיתי לכם או כמדבר נהגתי אתכם, בנוהג שבעולם מלך בשר ודם שיוצא למדבר שמא מוצא שם שלום כשם שהיה בפלטרין שלו אכילה ושתיה ואתם הייתם עבדים למצרים והוצאתי אתכם משם והרבצתי אתכם בסבסטיין (ס"א סוגמטין) שנאמר (שמות יג) ויסב אלהים את העם דרך המדבר, מאי ויסב מלמד שהרביצם כדרך שהמלכים מסובין רבוצין על מטותיהן ולא העמדתי להם שלשה פרעושין אפילו לצער אתכם ואף העמדתי לכם שלשה גואלים משמייעין אתכם, שנא' (מיכה ו) ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים, בזכות משה אכלתם את המן ... ובזכות אהרן הקפתי אתכם ענני כבוד ... הבאר בזכות מרים שאמרה שירה על הים, א"ר ברכיה הכהן בשם ר' לוי מלך ב"ו שיש לו מדינה והוא משלח לתוכה בני אדם גדולים שיהיו נושאים משאם ועושין משפטם מי צריך להיות זקוק במזונותיהם לא בני המדינה, והקב"ה לא עשה כן אלא שלח למשה ואהרן ומרים שנא' ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים שבזכותן ישראל מתנהגין, המן בזכות משה תדע לך שכיון שנסתלק משה מה כתיב שם (יהושע ה) וישבות המן ממחרת, הענן בזכות אהרן שכשנסתלק אהרן מה כתיב שם (במדבר כא) ותקצר נפש העם בדרך שהיתה השמש זורחת עליהם, והבאר בזכות מרים שנא' (שם/במדבר/כ) ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם ולא היה מים לעדה, והיאך היתה הבאר עשויה כמין סלע כמין כוורת או כדורת והיתה מתגלגלת ובאה עמהן במסעות, כיון שהיו הדגלים חוננין והמשכן עומד היה אותו הסלע בא ויושב

לו בחצר אהל מועד, והנשיאים באין ועומדין על גבה ואומרים עלי באר ענו לה (שם/במדבר/ כא), והיה עולה, ואח"כ הבאתי להם שלום.

134a. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Bemidbar 2

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them to Israel, "About what you said to Moses, 'Why did you bring us out of Egypt to die in the wilderness?' (Num 19). Was I a wilderness to Israel? Did I do to you as a wilderness? Or as a wilderness did I guide you? In the manner of the world, a king of flesh and blood who went out to the wilderness, perhaps he finds there tranquility, just as he found in his palace, food and drink. As for you, you were slaves for Egypt and I took you out of there and caused you to lie down in couches, as it is said (Ex 13), 'And God caused the people to wander around by way of the wilderness.'" What is "And God caused to wander around"? It teaches that He caused them to lie down in the way of kings who lie down on their beds. And I did not appoint for you even three fleas to annoy you, but also did appoint three redeemers to inform you/cause you to know, as it is said (Micah 6), 'And I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. In Moses' merit you ate the manna ... And in Aaron's merit I surrounded you with clouds of glory ... The well in Miriam's merit, for she said a song over the sea. R. Berekhyah the Priest said in the name of R. Levi, "A king of flesh and blood who has a province and he dispatches great persons to its midst so that they carry on their business and execute their judgments, who needs to be responsible for their nourishment? Aren't the citizens of the province? But the Holy One, blessed be He, did not do thus. Rather, He sent Moses, and Aaron, and Miriam, as it is said, 'And I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam,' in whose merit Israel conduct themselves. The manna in Moses' merit: you should know that when Moses went away, what is written there? (Josh 5) 'And the manna stopped the next day.' The cloud in Aaron's merit, that when Aaron went away, what is written there? (Num 21) 'And the soul of the people became impatient on the way' because the sun was shining upon them. And the well in Miriam's merit, as it is said, (Num 20) 'And Miriam died there and she was buried there, and there was no water for the congregation.'" And how was the well made? As a sort of rock, as a sort of beehive or round object and it would roll and come with them on journeys. When the standards encamped and the Tabernacle was standing, that same rock would come and settle itself in the courtyard of the Tent of Meeting, and the princes came and stood over it and sang, "'Come up, well," they sang' (Num 21), and it came up. And afterwards I brought the quail."

R. Berekhyah the Priest	A-5	350-380
R. Levi	A-3	290-320

135. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת שלח סימן יד ד"ה (יד) ילמדנו רבינו

ומה האב זקוק לבנו להאכילו ולהשקותו לרחצו ולסוכו ולהלבישו כך עשה הקב"ה לישראל שנאמר (יחזקאל טז) וארחצך במים ואשטוף דמיך ואלבישך רקמה ואנעלך תחש, להאכילו שנא' (שם) /יחזקאל ט"ז/ ולחמי אשר נתתי לך וגו', להשקותו שנאמר (במדבר כא) עלי באר ענו לה.

135. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shalach 14

And what is the father obliged [to do] for his son? To feed him, to give him to drink, to wash him and to anoint him, and to dress him. Thus did the Holy One, blessed be He, do for Israel, as it is said (Ez 16), "And I will wash you with water, and I will rinse your blood, and I will dress you in embroidery, and I will cause you to wear *tachash* shoes." To feed him, as it is said (Ez 16), "And my bread that I gave you," etc. To give him to drink, as it is said (Num 21), "Come up well, sing to it."

136. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת חקת סימן א

מעשה בשיחין אחד סומא שירד במים לטבול במערה נזדמנו לו באר של מרים וטבל ונתרפא.

136. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Chuqat 1

A story in Sichin, a blind man who went down into the water to immerse in a cave. He happened to arrive at Miriam's well and he immersed and was healed.

137. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת חקת סימן יב

נעברה נא בארצך וגוי' מי באר מי בורות היה צריך לומר, למדך תורה דרך ארץ שההולך לארץ שאינו שלו ויש בידו צרכיו לא יאכל ממה שיש בידו אלא שלו יהא מונח ויקנה מן החנוני בשביל להחנותו, כך א"ל משה הבאר עמנו ומן אנו אוכלין לא תאמר שאנו מטריחין עליך שכר אתה עושה לעצמך, וכך א"ל הקדוש ברוך הוא למשה אוכל תשברו מאתם בכסף ואכלתם.

137. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Chuqat 12

“Let us pass in your land,” etc. “Well water,” it should say “water of holes.” Torah taught you courtesy, that one who goes to a land that is not his and he has his own necessities in his hand, he will not eat from what he has in his hand but his own will be laid [aside] and he will buy from the shopkeeper in order to please him. And thus said to him Moses, “The well is with us and manna we eat. You will not say that we trouble you, wages you make for yourself.” And thus the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, “Food you will buy from them for silver and you will eat.” (Deut 2:28) ...

138. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת חקת סימן כ

אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת נאמרה בסוף ארבעים שנה והבאר נתנה להם מתחלת ארבעים שנה מה ראה לכתוב כאן, הענין הזה כבר נדרש למעלה הימנו, על כן יאמר בספר מלחמות ה' את והב בסופה מהו שעשה להם הקדוש ברוך הוא אותות ונסים בנחלי ארנון כנסים שעשה להם בים סוף, ומה הם נסים נחלי ארנון, אדם עומד על ההר מזה ומדבר עם חברו בהר אחר והוא רחוק ממנו שבעה מילין והדרך יורד לתוך הנחל ועולה לדרך של ישראל לעבור בתוך ההרים, נתכנסו כל האומות לשם אוכלוסין שאין להם סוף ישבו מקצתן בתוך הנחל, וההר מלמעלן עשוי מערות מערות וכנגד המערות הר שכנגדו עשוי סלעים סלעים כמין שדים שנא' ואשד הנחלים, נכנסו האוכלוסין לתוך המערות ואמרו כשירדו ישראל לתוך הנחל אלו עומדין לפניהם בתוך הנחל ואנו למעלה מן המערות ונהרוג את כלן, בין שהגיעו ישראל לאותו מקום לא הצריכן הקדוש ב"ה לירד למטן לנחל אלא רמז להרים ונכנסו שדים של הר זה לתוך מערות של הר זה ומתו כלן, והקיפו ההרים ראשיהם זה לזה ונעשה דרך כבושה, ולא נודע אי זה הר נסמך לחבירו, ואותו נחל מפסיק בין תחומי ארץ ישראל לארץ מואב שנאמר כי ארנון גבול מואב בין מואב ובין האמורי, הר שבארץ מואב לא נזדעזע שבו המערות והר שבא"י נזדעזע שבו הסלעים כמין שדים ונסמך להר שכנגדו, ומפני מה נזדעזע אותו ההר שבארץ ישראל, מלה"ד לשפחה שראתה בן אדוניה בא אצלה קפצה הוא וקדמה כנגדו וקבלתו, כך נכנסו הסלעים לתוך המערות ורצצו כל אותן גבורים, והבאר ירדה לתוך הנחל ונתגברה שם ואבדה כל האוכלוסין כשם שאבד אותם הים, לכך הקיש הכתוב את והב בסופה לנחלי ארנון, ועברו ישראל על אותן ההרים ולא ידעו כל הנסים האלו, אמר הקב"ה הריני מודיע לבני כמה אוכלוסין אבדתי מפניהם, ירדה הבאר לאותן המערות והוציאה גולגליות וזרועות ורגלים שאין להם חקר, וישראל חזרו לבקש את הבאר וראו אותה מאירה כלבנה בתוך הנחל שהיתה מוציאה אברים אברים, ומנין שהבאר הודיעה להן, שנאמר ואשד הנחלים וגוי' ומשם בארה, וכי משם היתה ולא מתחלת ארבעים שנה היתה עמהם, אלא שירדה לפרסם את הנסים, והיו ישראל עומדים על הנחלים ואומרים לה עלי באר ענו לה.

138. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Chuqat 20

“Then Israel sang this song” (Num 21:17). It was said at the end of forty years but the well was given to them from the beginning of forty years. What did it see to write here? This matter was already expounded above from it. “Therefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, ‘Vahev in Sufah.’” What is it that the Holy One, blessed be He, did for them? Signs and miracles in the wadis of Arnon like the miracles that He did for them at the Sea of Reeds. And what are the miracles of the wadis of Arnon? A man stands on the mountain from this [side] and he speaks with his friend on another mountain, and he is seven miles far away from him, and the way goes down into the wadi and it goes up to Israel's way to cross inside the mountains. All the nations got in there, armies that have no end. Some of them sat inside the wadi, and the mountain above them was made of caves, caves, and opposite the caves, a corresponding mountain made of rocks, rocks, sort of like breasts (*shdym*), as it is said, “And the slope (*shd*) of the wadis.” The armies entered into the caves and they said, “When Israel come down into the wadi, these standing before them inside the wadi and we above from the caves, and we will kill them all.” While Israel arrived at that very place, the Holy One, blessed be He, did not require them to go down below to the wadi. Rather, He signaled to the mountains, and the

breasts of this mountain got into the caves of this mountain and all of them died. And the mountains drew their heads together this to this and they made a paved road, and it was not known which mountain was leaning towards its fellow. And that same wadi stopped between the boundaries of the Land of Israel and the Land of Moab, as it is said, "For Arnon is the boundary of Moab, between Moab and the Amorite." A mountain that was in the Land of Moab, in which the caves were, was not shaken; and a mountain that was in the Land of Israel, in which the rocks sort of like breasts were, was shaken and leaned towards the mountain opposite. And why did that same mountain that was in the Land of Israel shake? To what does the matter resemble? To the maidservant who saw her master's son coming to her; she jumped and she greeted him and she received him. Thus did the rocks get into the caves and they crushed all those mighty men. And the well went down into the wadi and it became mightier there and it destroyed all the armies just as the sea had destroyed them. Therefore the Scripture concluded, "Vahev in Sufah to the wadis of Arnon." And Israel crossed on those very mountains and they did not know all these miracles. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "Behold, I am informing my children how many armies I destroyed from before them." The well went down to those very caves and it brought out craniums and arms and legs that cannot be fathomed. And Israel returned to seek the well and they saw it shining like the moon inside the wadi as it was bringing out limbs, limbs. And from where that the well informed them? As it is said, "And the slope (*'shd*) of the wadis," etc. "And from there to Beer ["Well"]" (Num 21:16), but was it really from there and wasn't it with them from the beginning of forty years? Rather, that it went down to make public the miracles, and Israel were standing over the wadis and saying to it, "Come up well, sing to it."

139. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת חקת סימן כא

באר חפרוה שרים ... אלא שניתנה בזכות אבות שנקראו שרים שנא' (תהלים עח) פתח צור ויזובו מים הלכו בציות נהר כי זכר את דבר קדשו את אברהם עבדו כרוה נדיבי העם במחוקק במשענותם שהיו הנשיאים עומדין על גבה ומושכים במטותיהם כל אחד ואחד לשבטו ולמשפחתו וריוח שהיה בין הדגלים מלא מים מגבורין, ואשה שהיתה צריכה לילך אצל חברתה מדגל לדגל היתה הולכת בספינה שנאמר הלכו בציות נהר ואין ציות אלא ספינות שנאמר (ישעיה לג) וצי אדיר לא יעברנו והמים היו יוצאין חוץ למחנה ומקיפין פיסא גדולה שנאמר (תהלים כג) ינחני במעגלי צדק למען שמו, ומגדילין מיני דשאים ואילנות שאין להם סוף שנאמר (שם/תהלים כ"ג) בנאות דשא וגו', כל אותן ימים שהיו ישראל במדבר כך היו משמשין בה, לכך קלסו עליה באר חפרוה שרים, וממדבר מתנה שנתנה להם מתנה במדבר לשמשן... דבר אחר אמר משה ... מן המדבר נתן להם את התורה שנאמר וממדבר מתנה וע"י נחלו אותה שנאמר וממתנה נחליאל, ומשנחלו אותה גזרת עלי מיתה ומנחליאל במות בא מות, ומבמות הגיא אשר בשדה מואב וגו' זו קבורה שנאמר (דברים לד) ... ונשקפה על פני הישמוון זה לענין באר שבאת עמהם עד שנגנזה לתוך ימה של טבריה והעומד על פני הישמוון רואה בתוך הים כמלא פי תנור והוא הבאר הנשקף על פני הישמוון.

139. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Chuqat 21

"A well that princes dug" ... Rather it was given in the merit of the Fathers, who were called "princes," as it is said, (Ps 78) "He opened the rock and waters flowed, they went a river in the dry land," "for He remembered his holy word to Abraham his servant" [Ps 105]. "The princes of the people dug it with the scepter, with their staves," for the princes were standing over it and pulling with their rods, each one for his tribe and for his family." And the space that was between the standards was full of mighty waters. And a woman who needed to go to her friend from standard to standard would go in a boat, as it is said, "They went, a river in dry places." And there are no dry places, rather boats, as it is said (Is 33), "And a mighty ship will not pass by." And the waters would go forth out of the camp and surround a large area, as it is said (Ps 23), "He guides me in paths of righteousness for His name's sake." And they grow [different] species of grasses and trees without end, as it is said (Ps 23), "on grassy pastures," etc. All those days that Israel were in the wilderness, they would use it thus. Hence they praised it, "A well that princes dug." "And from the wilderness, a gift," for a gift was given to them in the wilderness to use it. ... Another matter: Moses said, ... "From the wilderness He gave them the Torah, as it is said, "And from the wilderness a gift," and the people of Israel took possession of it, as it is said, "Umimatanah nachaliel." And since they took possession, You decreed a death sentence on me: "And from Nachaliel to Bamot" *Ba mot* ["death comes"]. "And from Bamot to the valley that is in the field of Moab," etc., that is burial, as it is said (Deut 34) ... "And it is seen on the surface of the desert," this

is on the matter of the well that came with them until it was hidden into the Sea of Tiberias, and he who stands on the surface of the desert sees inside the sea, the size of the mouth of an oven, and that is the well that is seen on the surface of the desert.

140. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת בלק סימן יב

ד"א מה אקוב לא קבה אל בנוהג שבעולם לגיון שמורד במלך חייב מיתה ואלו כפרו בו ומרדו בו ואמרו לעגל אלה אלהיך ישראל (שמות לב), לא היה צריך לכלותם באותה שעה אעפ"כ לא זו מחיבתן אלא ליוה עליהם ענני כבוד ולא פסקו מהם המן והבאר.

140. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Balaq 12

Another matter: "How shall I curse whom God did not curse?" In the manner of the world, a legion that rebels against a king is liable for execution. And these denied Him and rebelled against Him and said to the calf, "These are your gods, Israel" (Ex 32). Wasn't it necessary to make a full end of them at that very hour? Despite everything, this was not their charge. Rather, clouds of glory accompanied them and the manna and the well did not stop from them.

141. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - בראשית אות קב

ויכלו המים מן החמת ותשלך את הילד תחת אחד השיחים, זה הרוותם הגדל במדבר. ר' יוסי בן חלפתא או' במקום שהשיח עמה אחד מן המלאכים. ר' ברכיה אמ' שהשיח דברים קשים כלפי מעלה, אמרה לפניו: את דומה לבני אדם שהן או' ליתן דבר וחוזרין בהם, לא כך אמרת הרבה את זרעך (שם, ט"ז, י'), הרי הוא מת בצמא. מיד רמז הב"ה למלאך להראות לה את הבאר. אמ' אותו מלאך: לרשע זה שעתיד לקפח את בניך אתה מגלה לו את הבאר.

141. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Gen 102

"And the water in the skin was spent, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs." This is the broom shrub that grew in the wilderness. R. Yosi b. Chalafta says, "In the place where one of the angels talked with her." R. Berekhyah said, "For she hurled harsh words upwards. She said before him, 'You resemble people who say they will give something and take it back. Didn't You say to me thus: "Much will I multiply your seed"?' (Gen 16:10) Behold he dies of thirst!' Immediately the Holy One, blessed be He, signaled to an angel to show her the well. That same angel said, 'For this wicked person that is likely to assault your children, You reveal to him the well?'"

R. Yosi b. Chalafta	T-3	130-160
R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380

142. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - בראשית אות קלד

כשהיה יעקב בתחום חרן תלה עיניו וראה בית המקדש בנוי וחרב ובנוי ... וראה בנין שלישי שאינו חרב לעולם ושמה. ומנין שראה את כל אלה, שני וירא והנה באר בשדה, באר, זו תורה שכתוב בה באר מים חיים (שה"ש ד', ט"ו) ...

142. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Gen 134

When Jacob was in the area of Charan, he gazed and saw the Temple built, destroyed, and built... and saw a third building that would never be destroyed, and he rejoiced. And from where that he saw all this? As it is said, "And he saw, and behold a well in the field." "Well," this is Torah, about which it is written, "A well of living waters (Song 4:15) ...

143. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת חקת (דף ע"ח, ע"ב) ד"ה כשיצאו ישר'

ממצרים

כשיצאו ישר' ממצרים והיו מהלכין במדבר הוריד להם הב"ה מן והגיו להם שלוים והעלה להם הבאר, והיה כל שבט ושבט עושה לו אמת המים ונובעין אצלו, והיה נוטע תאנים ורמונים וגפנים ועושין פירות בני יומן כשם שהיה בתחלת ברייתו שלעולם: עץ פרי עושה פרי. חטא אדם, זרע חטים והעלה קוץ ודרדר. משנסתלקה הבאר מה כתי' שם: לא מקום זרע ותאנה וגו'. וכל כך למה: ומים אין לשתות.

143. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Chuqat Kesheyatsu

When Israel went out of Egypt and were walking about in the wilderness, the Holy One, blessed be He, brought down for them manna, and delivered to them quail, and brought up the well for them. And every tribe made for itself an aqueduct and the water would flow to it, an [the tribe] planted figs, and pomegranates, and vines and they bore fruit within a day, just as it was in the beginning of the creation of the world: a fruit bearing tree bearing fruit. Man sinned, he sowed wheat and brought up thorns and thistles. When the well went away, what is written there? “Not a place of seed and fig tree,” etc. And so much so, why? “And there was no water to drink.”

144. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת חקת ד"ה נעברה נא בארצך

נעברה נא בארצך... ולא נשתה מי באר אינו אוי אלא מי באר.

144. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Chuqat Naavrah

“Let us pass in your land ... and we will not drink well water.” It does not say “but well water.”

145. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת חקת (דף פ"ב, ע"א) ד"ה את והב בסופה

את והב בסופה. שנעשו להם אותות ומופתים בנחלי ארנון כנסים שנעשו להם... ומה הם הנסים שנעשו להם בנחלי ארנון אדם... חברו בהר הזה... והדרך יורד לתוך הנחל ועולה. באו אומות העולם וארבו לישר' במערות שבים ושדים היו לצד ההר הב' כנגד אותן מערות. כשבאו ישר' סמוך להר קפצה הארץ וקדמה לקבל ישר' כשפחה שראתה בן אדוניה השכן (?) אצלה קפצה לקראתו וכו' לקמן. והה"ד ומשם בארה, וכי משם היה הבאר, והלא מתחלת ארבעים שנה היתה עמהם, אלא שירדה לפרסם את הנסים.

145. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Chuqat Et Vahev

“Vahev and Sufah.” For signs and wonders were done for them in the wadis of Arnon like the miracles that were done for them ... And what are the miracles that were done for them in the wadis of Arnon? A man ... his friend on this mountain ... and the way goes down into the wadi and goes up. The nations of the world came and ambushed Israel in the caves that were in the sea [?]. And the side of the second mountain had breasts opposite those same caves. When Israel came near the mountain, the earth jumped and went forward to receive Israel – as a maidservant who saw her master’s son who was dwelling (?) with her – she jumped towards him, etc. And so it is written, “And from there to Beer [“Well”],” but was the well really from there? And wasn’t it with them from the beginning of forty years? Rather, it went down to make public the miracles.

146. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת חקת ד"ה היאך היתה הבאר

היאך היתה הבאר עשויה? כמין סלע והיתה מתגלגלת... והיתה גולה.

146. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Chuqat Heiach

How was the well made? Like a sort of rock and it rolled ... and it was round.

147. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת חקת (דף פ"ב, ע"ב) ד"ה כרוה נדיבי העם

כרוה נדיבי העם וגו', שהיו נשיאים עומדין על גבה... וריוח שהיה בין הדגלים היה מלא מים וכשהיתה האשה צריכה... חוץ למחנה ומקיפין אותו שני על מי מנוחות ינהלני. וכל הימים שהיו ישר' במדבר כך היו משתמשים. לכך קלסו עליה באר חפרוה שרים. וממדבר... לשמשון.

147. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Chuqat Karuha

“Princes of the people dug it,” etc., that princes/nobles stood over it ... And a space that was between the standards was full of water and when a woman had to ... out of the encampment and surrounded it, as it is said, “On restful waters He will lead me.” An all the days that Israel were in the wilderness, thus they used it. Therefore they praised about it, “A well that princes dug.” “And from the wilderness ...” for their use.

148. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור ה' ד"ה [א] למנצח אל

[דבר אחר ומדבר מתנה וממחנה נחליאל ...], אמרה כנסת ישראל מתוך שנתן לי הקב"ה הבאר מתנה נחלתי אותו, לכך נאמר וממתנה נחליאל, וכן הוא אומר חלקי ה' אמרה נפשי (איכה ג כד), אמר להם הקב"ה אני חלקכם ואתם חלקי, שנאמר כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו (דברים לב ט), אמר דוד אתם נחלתו של הקב"ה והוא נחלתכם, שנאמר ונחלתי ישראל (ישעיה יט כה), למנצח על הנחלה אין כתיב כאן, אלא אל הנחילות, על הנחלה שנחלתם אותו, ועל הנחלה שנחל אתכם, ומנין אתה למד שמן המתנה נחלוהו, שנאמר וממתנה נחליאל (במדבר כא יט), עד שלא שתו מן הבאר.

148. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 5:1

[Another matter: "And from the wilderness to Matanah and from Matanah to Nachaliel." ...] The assembly of Israel said, "Since the Holy One, blessed be He, gave me the well as a gift (*Matanah*), I took possession of it (*Nachalti*)." Thus it is said, "And from Matanah (a gift) *Nachaliel* (God caused me to take possession). And thus it says, "My portion is the Lord," said my soul" (Lam 3:24). The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them, "I am your portion and you are my portion," as it is said, "For the portion of the LORD is His people, Jacob the lot of His inheritance" (Deut 32:9). David said, "You are the possession of the Holy One, blessed be He, and He is your possession," as it is said, "And my possession is Israel" (Is 19:25). "To the victor about his possession" is not written here, rather the possessions, regarding the possession that you took possession of, as it is said, and regarding the possession that he caused you to possess. And from where do you learn that from the gift He caused him to take possession, as it is said, "And from a gift, God caused me to take possession" (Deut 21:19), until they did not drink from the well.

149. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור ה' ד"ה [ח] לא יתיצבו

אמרו מלאכי השרת לפני הקב"ה רבונו של עולם אדם שהוא עתיד להמית בניך בצמא אתה מעלה לו את הבאר.

149. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 5:8

The ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He, "Master of the universe, a man who is likely to kill your children with thirst, for him You cause the well to go up?"

150. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור יג ד"ה [ד] הביטה ענני

אמר להם הקב"ה תנו לי משלי, ממה שקדמתי לכם בעולם הזה, ואני אגמול לכם לעולם הבא, נסכו לפני מים בחג, וכבר קדמתי לכם, עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז), ואני פורע לכם לעוה"ב, יטפו ההרים עסיס (יואל ד יח).

150. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 13:4

The Holy One, blessed be He, said to them, "Give me from what is mine, from what I advanced to you in this world, and I will reward you for the world to come. Offer a libation before water on a festival, and I have already advanced to you, "Come up well, sing to it." (Num 21:17), and I will pay you for the world to come, "The mountains will drip sweet wine" (Joel 4:18).

151. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור כב ד"ה [יא] דבר אחר

ר' אלעזר בשם ר' יוסי בן זמרא אומר ... והיו אומות העולם רואים את העשן, ואומרים מי זאת עולה מן המדבר כתימרות עשן (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ג ו), ורואין היאך הקב"ה עושה להם נס, ומוריד להן את המן, ומעלה להן את הבאר, ומגיד להן את השליו.

151. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 22:11

R. Eleazar says in the name of R. Yosi b. Zimra, "... And the nations of the world saw the smoke and said, 'Who is this coming from the wilderness as a pillar of smoke' (Song 3:6) and saw how the Holy One, blessed be He, did a miracle for them, and caused the manna to come down for them, and caused the well to come up for them, and delivered the quail to them."

R. Eleazar	A-3	290-320
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R. Yosi b. Zimra	A-1	220-250
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152. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור כג ד"ה [ד] בנאות דשא

בנאות דשא ירביצני. שאל ר' אליעזר את ר' שמעון ואמר לו כשיצאו ישראל ממצרים ... אמר ליה ולא היו מסריחין מריח הזיע שלא היו מחליפין לבושיהן, אמר ליה הבאר היה מעלה להן מיני דשאים, ומיני בשמים, והיו מגעגעיין בהם, שנאמר בנאות דשא ירביצני על מי מנוחות ינהלני, והיה ריחו נודף מסוף העולם ועד סופו, בא שלמה ואמר וריח שלמותיך כריח לבנון (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ד יא), ואמר נרד וכרכום קנה וקנמון [וגו'] עם כל ראשי בשמים (שם שם /שיר השירים ד' /יד), וכל אלו מהיכן היו, מן מעין גנים באר מים חיים (שם שם /שיר השירים ד' /טו), כיון שראו ישראל היאך הקב"ה מנהיגן ומעדנן במדבר, התחילו מקלסין אותו, ואמרו את הוא רעיה טבא דלא חסרת טיבותך לעלם. על מי מנוחות ינהלני. אמר ר' שמואל יש מים שנאים לשתות ואין נאים לרחוץ, ויש מים שנאים לרחוץ ואין נאים לשתות, אבל מי הבאר נאים לשתות ונאים לרחוץ, נוח לעצם ומרפא לנפש, שנאמר על מי מנוחות ינהלני.

152. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 23:4

"He will cause me to lie down in green pastures." R. Eliezer asked R. Shimeon and he said to him, "When Israel went out of Egypt ... He said to him, "And they did not stink from the smell of sweat, for they did not change their clothes." He said to him, "The well brought up for them [different] species of grasses and species of spices, and they rolled about in those, as it is said, 'He causes me to lie down in grassy pastures. He leads me to still waters.' And his smell permeated from the end of the world to its end. Solomon came and said, 'And the smell of your garments is like the smell of Lebanon' (Song 4:11). And he said, 'Spikenard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon,' [etc.] "with all the chief spices" (Song 4:14). And all those, where did they come from? From a 'spring of gardens, a well of living waters' (Song 4:15). After Israel saw how the Holy One, blessed be He, was guiding and delighting them in the wilderness, they started praising Him and they said, 'You are a good shepherd, that Your goodness is not absent forever.'" "He leads me to still waters." R. Shmuel said, "There are waters that are good for drinking but not good for washing, and there are waters that are good for washing but not good for drinking, but the waters of the well are good for drinking and good for washing, comfortable for the bone and healing for the soul, as it is said, 'He leads me to still waters.'"

R. Eliezer	T-4	160-190
R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
R. Shmuel	A-4	320-350

153. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור כג ד"ה [ה] נפשי ישוב

נפשי ישוב. נפשי ישוב בתורה, [שנאמר תורת ה' תמימה משיבת נפש (תהלים יט ח)]. ינחני במעגלי צדק. במן בשליו במי באר בענני כבוד, ולא שיש לי זכות, אלא למען שמו.

153. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 23:5

"My soul He will restore." My soul He will restore with the Torah [as it is said, "The law of the Lord is perfect, it restores the soul" (Ps 19:8)]. "He guides me in paths of righteousness." With the manna, with the quail, with the water of [the] well, with clouds of glory. And not because I have merit, rather, for His name's sake.

154. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור מח ד"ה [ד] סובו ציון

אמר רב נחמן מה שהיה הוא שיהיה, כשם שהיו ישראל אומרים שירה במדבר והבאר עולה להם, שנאמר אז ישיר (משה) [ישראל] את השירה הזאת עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז), אף לעתיד לבא הן אומרים שירה והמים עולין להם.

154. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 48:4

Said R. Nachman, "What was is what will be: just as Israel sang the song in the wilderness and the well came up for them, as it is said, 'Then (Moses) [Israel] sang this song, "Come up well, sing to it" (Num 21:17), also in the future to come they will sing a song and the water will come up for them.

R. Nachman	A-3	290-320
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155. מדרש תהלים (בזכר) מזמור עח ד"ה [ח] והוא רחום

כמה ימרוהו במדבר יעציבוהו בישימון. בשאילת מן ושלו ומי באר ושאר נסיונות, מה סופיהן, במדבר הזה יתמו ושם ימותו (במדבר יד לה).

154. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 78:8

“How much did they disobey Him in the wilderness, saddened Him in the desert” with the demand for manna and quail, and the water of the well, and the rest of the trials? What was their end? “In this wilderness they will be finished and there they will die” (Num 14:35).

156. מדרש תהלים (בזכר) מזמור פז ד"ה [ז] ה' יספור

אמר ר' יהודה בר סימון בשם ר' מאיר כשם שהבאר נובע מים חדשים בכל שעה, כך ישראל אומרים שירה חדשה בכל שעה, הדא הוא דכתיב ושרים כחוללים כל מעיני בך. ורבנן אמרו כשם שאמרו האנשים כך אומרות הנשים שירה, שנאמר ושרים כחוללים כל מעיני בך.

156. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 87:7

R. Yehudah b. Simon said in the name of R. Meir, “Just as the well gushes new water at every hour, so Israel say a new song at every hour, as it is written, ‘And those singing, like those dancing, all my springs are with you.’” And our Rabbis said, “Just as the men sang, also the women sing a song, as it is said, ‘And those singing, like those dancing, all my springs are with you.’”

R. Yehudah b. Simon	A-4	320-350
R. Meir	T-3	130-160

157. מדרש תהלים (בזכר) מזמור צא ד"ה [ז] [נוסחא אחרת]

והיה מתפלל לפני הקב"ה, ואומר רבונו של עולם אם תשיבני למקום הזה בשלום, אז אזבחה לפניך זבחי תודה ועולה, שנאמר וידר יעקב נדר לאמר (שם שם /בראשית כ"ח/ כ'), ונדר ושלם, ומשם נשא רגליו, ושם הניח את הבאר, שהיתה הבאר מהלכת לפניו, ובהריפת עין בא לחרן, שנאמר [וישא יעקב רגליו (שם /בראשית/ כט א), ואומר] ויצא יעקב מבאר שבע וילך חרנה (שם /בראשית/ כח י), ועליו הכתוב אומר בלכתך לא יצר צעדך ואם תרוץ לא תכשל (משלי ד יב). אמר ר' אבהו בשם ר' יוחנן המלאכים טענו אותו, שנאמר על כפים ישאונך. ולא צרו צעדי של יעקב ולא נכשל כחו, וכגבור גלל את האבן מעל פי הבאר, והיתה הבאר עולה ושופעת מים חוצה לה, וראו הרועים ותמהו.

157. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 91:7

And [Jacob] prayed before the Holy One, blessed be He, and he said, “Master of the universe, if You will cause me to return to this place in peace, then I will sacrifice before you thanksgiving and holocaust sacrifices, as it is said, “And Jacob vowed a vow saying” (Gen 28:20). And he swore and he finished and from there he lifted his legs. And there He put the well, for the well was walking about before him, and in the blink of an eye he came to Charan, as it is said [“And Jacob lifted his legs “ (Gen 28:1), and it says,] “And Jacob went out of Beer Sheva and went towards Charan” (Gen 28:10). And about him the Scripture says, “In your walking, your step will not be troubled, and if you run, you will not stumble” (Pr 4:12). R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Yochanan, “The angels carried him, as it is said, ‘On [their] hands they carried you,’ and Jacob’s steps did not falter and his strength did not fail, and as a mighty man he rolled the rock from upon the mouth of the well, and the well went up and streamed water outwards, and the shepherds saw and were amazed.

R. Abbahu	A-3	290-320
R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290

158. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור קג ד"ה [טו] כי רוח

אמר ר' תנחומא משל לאלמנה שהי' לה בן, כל הימים שלא נשא בנה אשה היה נזקק לה, כיון שנשא אשה אמרה אימיה ידענא אנא דלית את מזדקיך לי כמה דהוית לקדמאי, אלא הו' דכיר לי, כך כל הימים שהיו ישראל במדבר היה המן יורד להם, והבאר עולה להם לשמרי בריתו...

158. 3rd -13th century: Midrash on Psalms (B) 103:15

R. Tanchuma said, "It is like the widow who had a son. All the days that her son did not marry a wife, he was dependent upon her. When he married a wife, his mother said, 'I know that you are not dependent upon me like you were before, but remember me. Thus all the days that Israel were in the wilderness the manna came down for them and the well came up for them, for the keepers of His covenant ...'"

T. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
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159. מדרש משלי (בובר) פרשה יד ד"ה [א] חכמות נשים

חכמות נשים בנתה ביתה. זו יוכבד שהעמידה שלשה צדיקים, משה ואהרן ומרים, ושלשתם זכו לשמש את ישראל, משה על המן, אהרן על ענני כבוד, ומרים על הבאר, ושלשתם היו נביאים. משה ... (דברים לד ז). אהרן ... (שמות ז א). מרים מנין, שנאמר ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן (שם/שמות/ טו כ). אמר רב הונא מה נבואה נתנבאה, אמרה לאביה עתידה אמי לילד בן שמושיע את ישראל, וכיון שנולד נתמלא הבית שלו אורה, עמד אביה ונשקה על ראשה, אמר לה בתי נתקיימה נבואתך, וכיון שהשליכוהו ליאור עמדה אמה וטפחה על ראשה, אמרה לה היכן נבואתך, ועדיין היא מתחזקת בנבואתה, שנאמר ותתצב אחותה מרחוק (שמות ב ד), ואין יציבה אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר ראיתי את ה' נצב על המזבח (עמוס ט א), ואין אחותו אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר אמור לחכמה אחותי את (משלי ז ד). מרחוק. אין רחוק אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר מרחוק ה' נראה לי (ירמיה לא ג). לדעה. אין דעה אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר כי אל דעות ה' (ש"א = שמואל א' = ב ג). מה. אין מה אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר ועתה ישראל מה ה' אלהיך שואל (ממד) [מעמד] (דברים י יב). יעשה. אין יעשה אלא רוח הקודש, שנא' כי לא יעשה ה' אלהים דבר כי אם גלה סודו (עמוס ג ז). לו. אין לו אלא רוח הקודש, שנאמר ויקרא לו ה' (אלהים) שלום (שופטים ו כד). אמר ר' אלעזר כשם שאמר משה שירה כך אמרה מרים, משה מנין, שנאמר אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל (שמות טו א). מרים מנין, שנאמר ותען להם מרים שירו לה' (שם שם/שמות ט"ו/ כא).

159. 7th -9th century: Midrash on Proverbs (B) 14:1

"The wise ones of women, she built her house." This is Jochebed who brought up three righteous persons, Moses and Aaron and Miriam. And the three of them merited serving Israel: Moses with the manna, Aaron with clouds of glory, and Miriam with the well. And the three of them were prophets. Moses ... (Deut 34:10). Aaron ... (Ex 7:1). Miriam, from where? As it is said, "And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took" (Ex 15:20). R. Huna said, "What prophecy did she prophesy? She said to her father, 'In the future, my mother will give birth to a son who will deliver Israel.' And when he was born, his house was filled with light. Her father stood and kissed her on the head. He said to her, 'My daughter, your prophecy has come true.' And when they cast him into the Nile, her mother stood and struck her on the head. She said to her, 'Where is your prophecy?' And still she stood by her prophecy, as it is said, 'And her sister stood from afar' (Ex 2:4). And there was none to hold her up except for the Holy Spirit, as it is said, 'I saw the Lord standing upon the altar' (Amos 9:1). And was not his sister but the Holy Spirit? As it is said, 'Say to Wisdom, "You are my sister"' (Prov 7:4). 'From afar.' Isn't 'afar' but the Holy Spirit? As it is said, 'From afar the Lord appeared to me' (Jer 31:3[2!]). 'To know.' There is no knowing but the Holy Spirit, as it is said, 'For a God of knowledge is the Lord' (1Sam 2:3). 'What.' There is no 'what' except for the Holy Spirit, as it is said, 'And now Israel, what does the Lord your God require (from you) [from your people]?' (Deut 10:12). 'Will be done.' There is no 'will be done' except for the Holy Spirit, as it is said, 'For the Lord will do nothing but He revealed His secret to (Amos 3:7). 'To Him.' There is no 'to him' except for the Holy Spirit, as it is said, 'And the Lord (God) called to him "Peace"' (Jud 6:24)." R. Eleazar said, "Just as Moses sang a song, so did Miriam sing. Moses, from where? As it is said, 'Then sang Moses and the Children

of Israel' (Ex 15:1). Miriam, from where? As it is said, 'And Miriam sang out to them, "Sing to the Lord"' (Ex 15:21).

R. Huna	A-3	290-320
R. Eleazar	A-3	290-320

160. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק יח

עשרה דברים נבראו בין השמשות, פי הארץ, ופי הבאר, ופי האתון, וקשת, והמן, והשמיר, והכתב, והמכתב, והלוחות, ואילו של אברהם אבינו.

160. 8th century: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 18

Ten things were created at twilight: The mouth of the earth, and the mouth of the well, and the mouth of the ass, and the rainbow, and the manna, and the *shamir*, and the writing, and the written, and the tablets, and the ram of Abraham our Father.

161. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק כט

שני כי שמע אלהים את קול הנער באשר הוא שם, ושם נפתחו להם הבאר שנבראת בין השמשות, והלכו ושתו ומלאו את החמת מים, שני ויפתח אלהים את עיניה, ושם הניחו הבאר ומשם נשאו את גליהם והלכו אל המדבר כלו עד שהגיעו למדבר פארן ומצאו שם מוצאי מים וישבו שם.

161. 8th century: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 29

As it is said, "For God heard the voice of the boy" in that he was there and for them were opened [sic] the well created at twilight. And they went and drank and filled the skin with water, as it is said, "And God opened her eyes," and there they placed [sic for He placed] the well, and from there they lifted their feet and went to the entire wilderness until they reached the wilderness of Paran and they found outlets of water and they settled there.

162. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק לד

טוב אחרית דבר מראשיתו, הברכות הראשונות שברך יצחק ליעקב על טללי שמים ועל דגן הארץ, שני ויתן לך אלהים מטל השמים, הברכות האחרונות ברכות יסוד עולם ואין בהם סוף, ויצאו מים חיים מירושלם, היא הבאר שעתידה לעלות בירושלם ולהשקות את כל סביבותיה, ועל שמצאו אותם פעמים רבות קראו אותה שבעה, שני ויקרא אותה שבעה, על שם הבאר נקראת העיר באר שבע, בן שבעים ושבע שנה היה יעקב בצאתו מבית אביו והיתה הבאר מהלכת לפניו.

162. 8th century: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 34

"The end of a matter is better than its beginning." The first blessings with which Isaac blessed Jacob, about the dews of heaven and about the grain of the earth, as it is said, "And God will give you from the dew of the heavens." The last blessings are the blessings of the foundation of the world and they have no end. "And living waters will come out from Jerusalem," that is the well that in the future will come up in Jerusalem and water all of its surroundings, and because they found it many times, they called it "Shiv'ah" [seven], as it is said, "And he called it Shiv'ah." Upon the name of the well the city is called Beer Sheva. Jacob was 77 years old at his going out of his father's house, and the well went about before him.

163. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק לה

בלכתך לא יצר צעדך ואם תרוץ לא תכשל, לא צרו צעדיו של יעקב ולא נכשל כחו, וכגבור גלל האבן מעל פי הבאר, והיתה הבאר עולה ושופעת מים חוצה לה, וראו הרועים ותמהו ... ר' עקיבא אומ' כל מקום שהיו אבותינו הולכים היה הבאר מהלכת לפניהם, וחופרן בארץ שלשה פעמים ומוציאין אותן לפניהם, אברהם חפר שלשה פעמים ומצא אותה לפניו, שני וישב יצחק ויחפור את בארות המים, ויצחק חפר בארץ שני פעמים ומצא אותה לפניו.

163. 8th century: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 35

“In your going, your step will not falter, and if you run, you will not stumble.” Jacob’s steps did not falter and his strength did not fail, and like a mighty man he rolled the stone from upon the mouth of the well. And the well would go up and overflow water outwards, and the shepherds saw and were astonished ... R. Aqiba says, “Every place where our Fathers went, the well went about before them. And they dug in the earth three times and found them before them. Abraham dug three times and found it before him, as it is said, ‘And Isaac sat and dug the wells of water,’ and Isaac dug twice and he found it before him.”

R. Aqiba	T-2	90-130
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164. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק נ

ר' פנחס אומ' מי הבאר עתידין לעלות תחת מפתן הבית ומפרים ונובעים ויוצאים ... שנים עשר נחלים כנגד שנים עשר שבטים, שני ושיבני אל פתח הבית והנה מים יוצאין מתחת מפת ... והמים נמשכין ויורדין אל ערבות יריחו, שני וירדו אל כל הערבה, וכל שדה וכרם שאינם עושין פרי משקין מאותם המים האלה ונכנסין לים המלח והם מרפאין אותן, שני ובאו הימה המים ונרפאו המים ... שהם נמתקין כמן ועולין בנחל עד ירושלים ושם נאחזין במכמרותיהן, שני והיה כי יעמדו עליו דווגים יעמדו ושם הם נצמחים מאליהם עד שפתי הנחל כל מין עץ אילן עושה פרי למינו ... שני כי מימיו מן המקדש המה יוצאין וכל אדם שהוא חולה ורוחץ באותם המים מתרפא, שני לכל אשר יבא נחלים יחיה, וכל אדם שיש לו מכה לוקח מעליהם ונותן על מכתו ומתרפא, שני והיה פרו למאכל ועליהו לתרופה, מה הוא לתרופה, אמ' ר' יוחנן לתרפא מצן עליה.

164. 8th century: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer 50

R. Pinchas says, “The waters of the well in the future will go up under the threshold of the Temple and increase and flow and go out ... as twelve rivers, corresponding to twelve tribes, as it is said, ‘And he brought me back to the door of the house, and behold, waters came out from under the threshold’ ... And the waters go on and go down to the steppes of Jericho, as it is said, ‘And they will go down to the entire Aravah,’ and every field and vineyard that does not bear fruit, they water them from these same waters. And they go into the Salt [Dead] Sea and they heal it, as it is said, ‘And the waters will come to the sea, and the waters will be healed’ ... for they become sweet as manna and go up in a stream until Jerusalem, and there they hold unto their fishing nets, as it is said, ‘And it will be that fishermen will stand over it.’ They will stand and there sprout from them up to the banks of the stream every kind of tree, fruit bearing tree according to its kind ... as it is said, ‘For its waters, they come out of the sanctuary.’ And every man who is sick and bathes in those waters is healed, as it is said, ‘Wherever the rivers come will live.’ And every man who has an injury/plague takes from their leaves and puts [them] on his injury and he is healed, as it is said, ‘Let its fruit be for food and its leaf for medicine.’” “What is for medicine?” R. Yochanan said, “For healing they suck on it.”

R. Pinchas	A-4	320-350
R. Yochanan	A-2	250-290

165. אגדת בראשית (בובר) פרק מג ד"ה [ד] ויתן לך

ד"א ויתן לך האלהים מטל השמים. זה המן, שנאמר וברדת הטל (במדבר יא ט), זה המן. ומשמני הארץ. זה הבאר, שהיתה מעלה להן דגים.

165. 10th cent.: Aggadat Bereshit (B) 43:4

Another matter: “And God will give you from the dew of the heavens.” This is the manna, as it is said, “And in the coming down of the dew” (Num 11:9), this is the manna. “And from the fats of the earth.” This is the well that would bring up fish for them.

166. אגדת בראשית (בומר) פרק ט"ז [א] שיר המעלות

באו למדבר והיו צמאים, שנאמר רעבים גם צמאים נפשם בהם תתעטף, ויצעקו אל ה' וגוי' (תהלים קז ה ו). כיון שראו באר המים מיד אמרו שירה, שנאמר אז ישיר ישראל את השירה הזאת עלי באר וגוי' (במדבר כא יז).

166. 10th cent.: Aggadat Bereshit (B) 60:1

They came to the desert and were thirsty, as it is said, "Hungry, also thirsty, their soul fainted in them. And they cried to the Lord," etc. (Ps 107:5-6). When they saw the well of water they immediately said a song, as it is said, "Then Israel sang this song, 'Come up well,' etc." (Num 21:17).

167. אגדת בראשית (בומר) פרק ט"ז [א] למה תאמר

ד"א למה תאמר יעקב אמר רב אל תקרא למה תאמר יעקב, אלא למה תימר יעקב משל לאדם שהשיא את בתו, התחיל קובל על חתנו, ואומר אינו מעלה לה מזונות, אמר חתנו, לא מה שאתה אומר, אלא מה שאומר השליש שבינותינו, כך יהי שמו של הקדוש ברוך הוא מבורך, בתו של יעקב זו כנסת ישראל, שנאמר כה תאמר לבית יעקב (שמות יט ג), והקב"ה חתנו, שנאמר ויאמר משה אל העם אל תיראו כי לבעבור וגוי' (שם /שמות/ כ טז), התחיל יעקב קובל, אמר לו הקב"ה לא מה שאתה אומר, אלא הרי השמים יוכיחו, שהורידו לבניך מן, שנאמר הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים (שם /שמות/ טז ד), והארץ תוכיח שהעלה להם את הבאר, שנאמר עלי באר ענו לה (במדבר כא יז), וכל אלו בשביל אהבה שאהבתך.

167. 10th cent.: Aggadat Bereshit (B) 62:1

Another matter: "Why will you say, O Jacob?" Said Rab, "Do not read 'What will you say, O Jacob?' but 'Why will you weep bitterly, O Jacob?' It is like a man who married off his daughter and began to complain about his son-in-law and says, 'He does not bring up foods for her.' His son-in-law said, 'Not what you say, rather what the arbitrator who is between us says.' Thus, may the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, be blessed, the daughter of Jacob is the assembly of Israel, as it is said, 'Thus will you say to the House of Jacob' (Ex 19:3), and the Holy One, blessed be He, is his son-in-law, as it is said, And Moses said to the people, 'Do not be afraid, for it is for the sake,' etc. (Ex 20:16). Jacob began to complain. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, "Not what you say, rather behold the heavens, they will confirm, that they brought down manna for your children, as it is said, "Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens" (Ex 16:4); and the earth will confirm that it brought up for them the well, as it is said, "Come up well, sing to it." (Num 21:17), and all these for the love that I loved you."

Rab	A-1	d. 247
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172. אליהו רבה (איש שלום) פרשה יג ד"ה ברוך המקום ברוך

ברוך המקום ברוך הוא שמשלם לאוהביו וליראייו (שכך) [שכך] דרך הארץ בעולם הזה וקורן קיימת לו לעוה"ב, שבשכר קיתון של מים שרחצו (ידיהם) [רגליהם] מלאכי שרת נתן להן הקב"ה באר לישראל ארבעים שנה במדבר. באר ... בזמן שהיו ישראל עושין רצונו של מקום היתה משכמת והולכת ונובעת במקום שהיו ישראל שרויין, ובזמן שאין ישראל עושין רצונו של מקום היתה מאחרת כשעה כשתים כשלוש כארבע כחמש, עד שהיו יוצאין נערים קטנים ותלמידי חכמים ואומרים, עלי באר בזכות אברהם יצחק ויעקב, עלי באר בזכות משה ואהרן ומרים, ואחר כך היתה הולכת ונובעת בין שבטו של יהודה לשבטו של יששכר, שנאמר באר חפרוה שרים וגוי' (במדבר כ"א י"ח), באותה שעה היתה שמחה גדולה לישראל מגדוליהם ועד קטניהם.

172. 10th century: Eliyahu Rabbah 13

Blessed be God, blessed be He, who compensates those who love Him and fear Him, [which is] (a reward) according to the way of the earth in this world and an existing glory for him for the world to come, that as a reward for a jug of water with which the ministering angels washed (their hands) [their feet], the Holy One, blessed be He, gave a well to Israel for forty years in the wilderness. A well ... [which,] at the time when Israel did God's will, would rise up early and go and flow at the place where Israel were encamped; and at the time that Israel did not do God's will, would delay an hour or two or three or four or five, until little boys and wise students came out and said, "Come up well, in the merit

of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Come up well, in the merit of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.” And then the well went and flowed between the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Issaschar, as it is said, “A well that princes dug,” etc. (Num 21:18). At that time, Israel had great happiness, from their big ones to their small ones.

173. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד יא

שלשה פרנסים העמיד הקב"ה לישראל ואלו הן : משה אהרן ומרים שנאמר ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים, ובזכותן היו ישראל מתפרנסים במדבר, המן בזכות משה שנאמר ויאכילך את המן, תדע לך שבזכות משה היה יורד שכיון שנאסף משה מה כתיב וישבת המן וגו'. בזכות אהרן ענני הכבוד ותדע לך שכיון שנאסף אהרן ותקצר נפש העם בדרך (במדבר כ"א ד'), שהיתה השמש שוזפת עליהם. בזכות מרים היה הבאר שכיון שנאספה מרים מה כתיב ולא היה מים לעדה וגו'. הא למדת שבזכות שלשתן היו ישראל מתפרנסים.

ואכחיד את שלשת הרועים בירח אחד, וכי בירח א' מתו אהרן ומרים ומשה, והלא מרים מתה בא' בניסן ונגזז הבאר, ובב' בו מתו שני בני אהרן, ובא' באב מת אהרן הכהן ונסתלקו ענני כבוד, ובז' באדר מת משה רבינו עבד ה', ואע"פ שלא היתה מיתתן בירח אחד גזרתן בירח א' היתה. וגי' מתנות טובות נתנו לישראל על ידם : בזכות מרים ניתן הבאר, ובזכות אהרן ענני כבוד, ובזכות משה ניתן להם המן. מתה מרים נסתלקה הבאר כדי שיכירו ישראל שבזכותה היה להם הבאר, והיו משה ואהרן בוכים מבפנים וישראל בוכים מבחוץ, ועד שש שעות לא ידע משה עד שנכנסו ישראל וא"ל עד מתי אתה יושב ובוכה. א"ל ולא אבכה על אחותי שמתה, א"ל בעוד שאתה בוכה על נפש אחת בכה על כולנו. א"ל למה? א"ל אין לנו מים לשתות. עמד מהארץ ויצא וראה הבאר בלא טיפת מים.

173. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 11

The Holy One, blessed be He, appointed three leaders for Israel and these are they: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, as it is said, “And I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam,” and in their merit Israel maintained themselves in the wilderness. The manna in Moses’ merit, as it is said, “And he caused you to eat manna.” You should know that it came down in Moses’ merit because when Moses was gathered, what is written? “And the manna stopped,” etc. In Aaron’s merit, the clouds of glory, and you should know that when Aaron was gathered, “And the soul of the people became impatient on the way” (Num 21:4) because the sun burned them. In Miriam’s merit was the well, because when Miriam was gathered, what is written? And there was no water for the congregation,” etc. Here you learned that in the merit of the three of them Israel maintained themselves.

“And I will destroy the three shepherds in one month.” But did Aaron, and Miriam, and Moses die in one month? And didn’t Miriam die on the first of Nissan and the well was hidden? And on the second died Aaron’s two sons. And on the first of Ab, Aaron the Priest died and [the] clouds of glory went away. And on the seventh of Adar died Moses our Master, the Lord’s servant. And even though their death did not occur in one month, their decree was in one month. And three good gifts were given to Israel upon their hand: In Miriam’s merit the well was given, and in Aaron’s merit, clouds of glory, and in Moses’ merit the manna was given to them. Miriam died, the well went away so that Israel would know that in her merit they had had a well. And Moses and Aaron were crying inside and Israel were crying outside, and for six hours Moses did not know until Israel came in and said to him, “Until when will you sit and cry?” He said to them, “And will I not cry for my sister who died?” They said to him, “As long as you are crying for the soul of one, cry for us all.” He said to them, “Why?” They said to him, “We have no water to drink.” He stood up from the ground and went out, and he saw the well without a drop of water.

174. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד קלח ד"ה (ה') ויבואו בני

ויבואו בני ישראל כל העדה מדבר צין וגו' ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם (שם/במדבר/ כ' א') סמך לכאן מיתת מרים לומר כשם שפרה אדומה מכפרת כך מיתת מרים מכפרת. ותמת שם ותקבר שם, מלמד שמתה על פי ה', ... ולא היה מים לעדה, שלש מתנות טובות נתן הקב"ה לישראל בשביל ג' אחין, המן בזכות משה, דכתיב וישבת המן ממחרת וגו' (יהושע ה' י"ב), הבאר בזכות מרים דכתיב ותמת שם מרים וסמך ליה ולא היה מים לעדה.

174. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 138:5

“And the Children of Israel came, all the congregation, to the wilderness of Tsin,” etc. “And Miriam died there and she was buried there” (Num 20:1). Miriam’s death is close to here, meaning, just as a red cow atones, so does Miriam’s death atone. “And she died there and was buried there” teaches that she dies by the Lord’s mouth.” ... “And there was no water for the congregation.” Three good gifts did the Holy One, blessed be He, give to Israel for 3 siblings: The manna in Moses’ merit ... the well in Miriam’s merit, as it is written, “And Miriam died there” and near it, “And there was no water for the congregation.”

175. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד קסב ד"ה ג' הטיחו הזהרות

ר' יהודה אומר שלשה פרנסים טובים עמדו לישראל ושלש מתנות גדולות נתנו על ידיהם: באר בזכות מרים וענן בזכות אהרן והמן בזכות משה, מתה מרים נסתלק הבאר, מת אהרן נסתלק הענן וחזרו שתייהם בזכות משה, מת משה בטלו כולן.

175. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 162

R. Yehudah says, “Three good providers arose for Israel and three good gifts were given upon their hands: A well in Miriam’s merit, and a cloud in Aaron’s merit, and the manna in Moses’ merit. Miriam died, the well went away; Aaron died, the cloud went away, and both returned in Moses’ merit; Moses died, all of them ceased to exist.

R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160
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176. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד קסב ד"ה (א') עשרה דברים

עשרה דברים נבראו בע"ש בין השמשות ואלו הן: פי הארץ ופי הבאר ופי האתון והקשת והמן והמטה והשמיר והכתב והמכתב והלוחות, וי"א אף המזיקין וכו'.

176. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 162:1

Ten things were created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, and these are they: The mouth of the earth, and the mouth of the well, and the mouth of the ass, and the rainbow, and the manna, and the staff, and the *shamir*, and the writing, and the written, and the tablets. And there are those who say, “Also the tongs,” etc.

177. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד קסב ד"ה עשרים ושנים מדות

עשרים ושנים מדות טובות ברא הקב"ה בעולמו, ובעון הדורות בטלו כולן חוץ משתים ... אנשי דור המדבר בטלו המן והבאר ועמוד הענן ועמוד האש ...

177. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 162

Twenty-two good traits did The Holy One, blessed be He, create in His world, and with sin the generations nullified all of them except two ... The men of the generation of the wilderness nullified the manna, and the well, and the pillar of cloud, and the pillar of fire ...

178. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד רצג ד"ה (ט') כתיב והלויים

הבאר היתה בפתח החצר סמוכה לאהל של משה והיא היתה מודיעה לכל המחנות היאך יחנו, כיצד? כיון שעמדו קלעי החצר היו י"ב נשיאים עומדים על הבאר ואומרים שירה שנאמר באר חפרוה שרים (במדבר כ"א י"ח), והיו מימי הבאר יוצאין ונעשין נהרים נהרים, נהר אחד יוצא ומקיף את מחנה שכניה, ומאותו נהר יוצאין ארבעה נהרות בד' זוויות החצר כל או"א הולך לרוח אחת, לבסוף משמש ב' רוחות דרום ומזרח ויוצא אל מחנה ישראל. עבר מחנה הלויים היו מתערבין נהרים זה לזה ומקיפין את כל מחנה הלויים ומהלכין בין משפחה למשפחה ונראין טבליות טבליות מקיפין את מחנה השכינה ונהר גדול מקיף את כל מחנה ישראל מבחוץ ונעשין נהרים נהרים בין כל שבט ושבט והיו הנהרות מודיעין בין כל או"א גבולן, ואין אחד צריך לחבירו. ולא תאמר שמא בסילות המים אלא מנדלין להם כל מיני מעדנים מעין עולם הבא שנאמר שלחך פרדס רימונים נרד וכרכום (שה"ש = שיר השירים = ד' י"ג) ... והנהרות מקיפין מבפנים ומבחוץ ומצינין אותו טבליות מראש ועד סוף שיהא להם רשות להלך בשבת למחנה שכניה וממחנה למחנה.

178. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 293:9

The well was at the opening of the courtyard close to Moses' tent, and it would inform all the encampments how they would camp. How? When the latticework of the courtyard stood, the twelve princes would stand by the well and sing a song, as it is said, "A well that princes dug" (Num 21:18). And the waters of the well would go out and they would be made into rivers, one river going out and surrounding the encampment of the *Shekhinah*, and from that same river went out four rivers at the four corners of the courtyard, each one going to a [compass] point, finally it served two points south and east, and went out to the encampment of Israel. On the other side of the encampment of the Levites, the rivers would mix this with this and they would surround all the encampment of the Levites, and they went about between family and family. And planks, planks were seen surrounding the encampment of the *Shekhinah*. And a great river surrounded the entire encampment of Israel from outside and rivers, rivers were made between each tribe and the rivers would inform each one their borders, and no one needed their fellow. And do not say, "Perhaps the waters ???." Rather, they cause to be drawn for them all sorts of delicacies similar to the World to Come, as it is said, "Your shoots are an orchard of pomegranates, spikenard, and saffron" (Song 4:13). And the rivers surrounded them on the inside and on the outside and planks marked it from beginning to end so that they were allowed to walk on Shabbat to the encampment of the *Shekhinah* and from encampment to encampment.

180. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד שנו ד"ה וכשהגיע יומו של

ואומר להם שעל ידי בקעת הים ונתת התורה לישראל והמטרת להם לחם מן השמים ארבעים שנה והעלית מים מן הבאר והוצאת להם מים מן הסלע ... א"ל הקב"ה למשה ... וכן עשיתי שנאמר הנני ממטיר לכם לחם מן השמים ואומר עלי באר ענו לה.

עמוד שנו ד"ה הן קרבו ימיד

אמר לפניו רבש"ע יוכבד אמי שקהו שינייה בשני בניה יקהו שינייה עוד במיתתי, לפי שבשנה אחת מתו שלשתם שנא' ואכחיד את שלשת הרועים בירח אחד, וכי בירח אחד מתו והלא בשנה אחת מתו, אלא מתה מרים נסתלק הבאר וחזר בזכות משה ואחיו שנא' אז ישיר ישראל עלי באר ענו לה, מת אהרן נסתלקו ענני כבוד ובטל עמוד ענן ... וחזרו שניהם בזכות משה, מת משה בטלו שלשתן, הרי שמתו שלשת הצדיקים בשנה אחת ונחשב כאלו מתו בירח אחד, ועל זה היה משה מצטער על אמו.

180. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 356

And I said to them that upon my hand You split the sea, and You gave the Torah to Israel, and You caused bread to rain for them from the heavens for forty years, and You brought up water from the well, and You took out water for them from the rock ... The Holy One said to him, to Moses, ... "And thus I did, as it is said, "Behold I cause bread to rain for you from the heavens," and it says, "Come up well, sing to it."

He said before him, "Master of the universe, my mother Jochebed whose teeth were set on edge by her two sons, her teeth will again be set on edge by my death because in one year the three of them died." As it is said, "And I will destroy the three shepherds in one month." But did they really die in one month? And didn't they die in one year? Rather, Miriam died, the well went away and returned in the merit of Moses and his brother, as it is said, "Then sang Israel, 'Come up well,' sing to it." Aaron died, [the] clouds of glory went away and [the] pillar of cloud ceased to exist ... and they both returned in Moses' merit. Moses died, the three of them ceased to exist. Therefore the three righteous ones died one year and it was reckoned as if they had died in one month, and because of this Moses was sorry for his mother.

181. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד תז ד"ה סמ"ד, אל תקרי

זו התורה שסביב סמוך לה הנביאים וכתובים משנה מדרש הלכות ואגדות ושמועות ותוספות, שנאמר באר חפרוה שרים כרוה נדיבי עם (פי חוקת), אין באר אלא תורה שנמשלה לבאר שנאמר באר מים חיים ואין מים אלא תורה שנאמר הוי כל צמא לכו למים (ישעיה נ"ה).

181. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 407

This is the Torah around which, near to it, are the Prophets and Writings, Mishnah, Midrash, *Halakhot*, and *Aggadot*, and *Shemuot*, and *Tosafot*, as it is said, "A well that princes dug, leaders of the people dug

it” (P. Chuqat). It is not a well but Torah that is likened to a well, as it is said, “A well of living waters.” And it is not water but Torah, as it is said, “Ho, every one who thirsts, go to the water” (Is 55).

182. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד תעד ד"ה (ב') המשכן נעשה

ייעש כיורים עשרה (דהיי"ב = דברי הימים ב' = ד' ו') כדי להרבות את הגשמים שהיו בכיורות מים. עשרה כיוורות כנגד עשרת הדברות, ולמה לא עשה במדבר אלא כיוור אחד? שלא היו צריכין ישראל במדבר לגשמים, לפי שהיה המן יורד להם מן השמים והבאר היה עמהם.

182. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 474:2

“And he made ten basins” (2Chr 4:6) in order to increase the rains that were in the water basins. Ten basins corresponding to the Ten Commandments. And why did he make only one basin in the wilderness? Because Israel did not need rains in the wilderness because the manna was coming down for them from the heavens and the well was with them.

183. אוצר המדרשים (אייזנשטיין) עמוד תקה ד"ה פרק העשרות. - (א')

עשרה דברים נבראו בין השמשות: המן והבאר והקשת והכתב והמכתב והלוחות ופתיחת פי הארץ ופתיחת פי האתון ומקלו של משה ומקלו של אהרן. וי"א אף עמוד אש ועמוד ענן והמזיקין וקבורתו של משה (עי' פסחים נ"ד).

183. 10th cent.: Otsar Midrashim 505

Ten things were created at twilight: The manna, and the well, and the rainbow, and the writing, and the written, and the tablets, and the opening of the mouth of the earth, and the opening of the mouth of the ass, and Moses' staff, and Aaron's staff. And there are those who say, “Also [the] pillar of fire, and [the] pillar of cloud, and the tongs, and Moses' burial place” (Pesachim 54).

APPENDIX A-2

Miriam Midrashim: Hebrew and English Texts

204. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק ג ד"ה וימת יוסף וכל

נמצא משמת לוי ועד שיצאו ישראל ממצרים קי"ו שנה ואין השעבוד יותר על כן ולא פחות משמונים ושש שנים כשנותיה שלמרים. ולמה נקרא שמה מרים על שם מירור.

204. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 3

It is found [that] from when Levi died until Israel went out from Egypt, it is 116 years, and the bondage is not more than that and not less than eighty-six years, [the same] as Miriam's years. And why was her name called Miriam? Because of embitterment.

205. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק ז ד"ה ועל אותו היום

איכלו רעים (שם /שיר השירים ה' : א/) זה משה ואהרן ומרים ...

205. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 7

"Eat, friends" (Song of Songs 5:1). This is Moses and Aaron and Miriam ...

206. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק ח ד"ה ויהי בשנה השנית

נסעו מקברות התאווה ובאו לחצרות ועשו שם שבעה ימים שנאמר ותסגר מרים שבעת ימים (במדבר יב : טו).

206. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 8

They traveled from Kivrot Hataavah and came to Chatserot, and they spent there seven days, as it is said, "And Miriam was shut up seven days" (Num 12:15).

207. סדר עולם רבה (מיליקובסקי) פרק כא ד"ה באבינו אברהם הוא

באבינו אברהם הוא אוי ועתה השב אשת האיש וגוי' (בראשית כ : ז). ובשרה הוא אוי בת הרן אבי מלכה ואבי יסכה (בראשית יא : כט). ומנין שכל האבות והאמהות ניקראו (נבי) [נביאים] שני (ויתהל) [ויתהלכו] מגוי אל גוי לא היניח אדם לעשקם וגוי' אל תיגעו במשיחי וגוי' (תהלים קה : יג - טו). ובמרים הוא אוי ותקח מרים (הנב) [הנביאה] (שמות טו : כ).

207. 200-220: Seder Olam Rabbah (M) 21

About our father Abraham it says, "And now give back the man's wife," etc. (Gen 20:7). And about Sarah it says, "The daughter of Haran, the father of Milkah, and the father of Yiskah. (Gen 11:29). And from where that all the Fathers and the Mothers were called (proph) [prophets]? As it is said, "(And they we) [And they went about] from nation to nation ... He allowed no man to do them wrong, etc. ... Do not touch my anointed ones," etc. (Ps 105:13-15). And about Miriam, it says, "And Miriam (the pro) [the prophetess] took" (Ex 15:20).

208. ספרי דברים פיסקא א ד"ה וחצרות, אמר

וחצרות, אמר להם לא היה לכם ללמוד ממה שעשיתי למרים בחצרות אם למרים הצדקת לא נשאתי לה פנים בדין קל וחומר לשאר בני אדם. דבר אחר ומה מרים שלא דברה אלא באחיה הקטן ממנה כך נענשה המדבר במי שגדול ממנו על אחת כמה וכמה. דבר אחר ומה מרים שכשדברה דבר לא שמעה כל בריה אלא המקום בלבד כענין שנאמר +במדבר יב ב+ וישמע ה', כך נענשה המדבר בגנותו של חבירו ברבים על אחת כמה וכמה.

208. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 1

"And Chatserot." He said to them, "Didn't you learn from what I did to Miriam in Chatserot? If I did not lift up her face [= was not partial] in judgment to Miriam the righteous, how much more to the rest

of mankind?” Another matter, and what of Miriam, who spoke but about her brother younger than she, thus she was punished. He who speaks against him who is greater than he, how much more? Another matter, and what of Miriam, who when she spoke a word, no creature heard her, but only God, as in the case where it is said, (Num 12:2), “And God heard,” thus she was punished? He who speaks about the shame of his fellow to many, how much more?

209. ספרי דברים פיסקא נו ד"ה (ג, כג)

רבי שמעון אומר משל למלך שהיה מהלך בדרך ובנו עמו בקרוכין שלו הגיע למקום צר נהפכה קרוכין שלו על בנו נסמת עינו נקטעה ידו נשברה רגלו, כשהיה המלך מגיע לאותו מקום אומר כאן נזק בני כאן נסמת עינו כאן נקטעה ידו כאן נשברה רגלו אף כך המקום מזכיר שלש פעמים מי מריבה מי מריבה מי מריבה לומר כאן הרגתי את מרים כאן הרגתי את אהרן כאן הרגתי את משה וכן הוא אומר +תהלים קמא+ נשטמו בידי סלע שופטיהם.

209. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 26

R. Shimeon says, “It is like a king who was walking about on the way and his son was with him in his carriage. He arrived at a narrow place; his carriage was overturned on his son. His eye was blinded, his hand was cut off, his leg was broken. When the king arrived at that same place, he said, ‘Here my son was injured: here his eye was blinded, here his hand was cut off, here his leg was broken.’ Thus God mentions three times, ‘The water of quarrel, the water of quarrel, the water of quarrel,’ to say, ‘Here I killed Miriam, here I killed Aaron, and here I killed Moses.’ And thus it says (Ps 141), ‘Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock.’”

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210. ספרי דברים פיסקא רעה

זכור אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים, וכי מה ענין זה לזה נתנו הענין לו ללמדך שאין נגעים באים אלא על לשון הרע, והלא דברים קל וחומר ומה מרים שלא דברה אלא שלא בפניו של משה ולהניחו של משה ולשבחו של מקום ולבנינו של עולם כך נענשה המדבר בגנותו של חברו ברבים על אחת כמה וכמה שיענש. בדרך, בשעת טירופכם. בצאתכם ממצרים, בשעת גאולתכם אלא שתלה הכתוב במרים ללמדך שכל זמן שהיו הדגלים נוסעים לא היו הולכים עד שמרים מקדמת לפניהם וכן הוא אומר +מיכה ו ד+ ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים.

210. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 275

“Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam” ... To teach you that afflictions do not come but through slander. And aren't matters *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other]? And what of Miriam, who spoke, but not to Moses' face and for Moses' benefit, and to praise God and for the building of the world – thus she was punished? He who speaks about the shame of his fellow to many, how much more will he be punished? “On the way,” at the time of your insanity; “At your going out of Egypt,” at the time of your deliverance. Rather, that Scripture pinned [this] on Miriam to teach you that every time that the standards traveled, they did not go until Miriam advanced before them, and thus it says (Micah 6:3), “And I will send before you Moses and Aaron and Miriam.”

211. ספרי דברים פיסקא שלח ד"ה הר העברים

הר העברים הזה, שנקרא ארבעה שמות הר העברים הר נבו הר ההר ראש הפסגה, ולמה קורים אותו הר נבו שנקברו בו שלשה נביאים הללו שמתו שלא מידי עבירה ואלו הם משה אהרן ומרים.

211. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 338

“This mountain of Avarim,” which was called four names: Mountain of Avarim, Mt. Nebo, Mountain of the Mountain, Rosh Hapisgah. And why do they call it Mt. Nebo? Because there were buried those three prophets who died, not through a transgression, and these are they: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

212. ספרי דברים פיסקא שלט ד"ה והאסף אל

והאסף אל עמיד, אצל אברהם יצחק ויעקב אצל עמרם וקהת אצל מרים ואהרן אחיך.

212. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 339

“And be gathered to your people,” alongside Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; alongside Amram and Qehat; alongside Miriam and Aaron, your brother.

213. ספרי דברים פיסקא שמת ד"ה תומיך ואוריך

תומיך ואוריך לאיש חסידיך, מי שעתיד ללבוש אורים ותומים. לאיש חסידיך, למי שנעשו לו חסדים על ידי בניך. אשר נסיתו במסה, הרבה נסיונות נסיתו ונמצא שלם בכל נסיונות. תריבהו על מי מריבה, סקיפנטים נסתקפת לו, אם משה אמר + במדבר כ י+ שמעו נא המורים אהרן ומרים מה עשו.

213. 250-300: Sifre on Deuteronomy 349

“Your saintly man has Your *Tumim* and Your *Urim*,” he who in the future will wear *Urim* and *Tumim*. “Your saintly man,” for whom favors were made by Your children. “Whom You tested in Masah,” You tested him with many tests, and he was found perfect in all tests. “You quarreled with him by the waters of Meribah,” a false denunciation was turned against him. If Moses said (Num 20:10), “Do hear, rebels!” Aaron and Miriam, what did they do?

214. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יא ד"ה לה. מקברות

מקברות התאווה נסעו העם חצרות, זו היתה בשעה שנצטרעה מרים מלמד שחזרו חנייה אחת לאחוריהם בשביל מרים:

214. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 11:35

“From Qivrot Hataavah the people traveled to Chatserot,” that was at the time that Miriam became leprous. It teaches that they went back one encampment for Miriam.

215. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה א. ותדבר

ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה, קשה היא לשון הרע שלא נצטרעה מרים אלא על לשון הרע שנא' ותדבר מרים ואהרן מרים פתחה הדברים ואמרה לאהרן והוסיף אהרן על דבריה ונשאו ונתנו בדבר. ר' שמעון אומר אף צפורה פתחה בדברים ואמרה למרים ומרים אמרה לאהרן ואהרן הוסיף על דבריהם ונשאו ונתנו בדברים ומה היו הדברים אמרו כיון שנתמנו הזקנים הדליקו כל ישראל נרות ועשו שמחה בשביל שעלו שבעים זקנים לשררה וכיון שראת מרים הנרות אמרה אשרי אלו ואשרי נשותיהן אמרה לה צפורה אל תאמרי אשרי נשותיהן אלא אוי לנשותיהן שמיום שדבר הקב"ה עם משה אחיך לא נדקק לי מיד הלכה מרים אצל אהרן והיו נושאים ונותנים בדבר שני ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה על אדות האשה על עסקי פרישותו מן האשה אמרו גיותן הוא משה וכי לא דבר הקב"ה אלא עמו בלבד כבר דבר עם נביאים הרבה ועמנו ולא פירשנו מנשותינו כמו שפירש שני הרק אך במשה דבר ה'.

215. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:1

“And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses.” Harsh is slander, for Miriam did not become leprous except through slander, as it is said, “And Miriam spoke, and Aaron.” Miriam opened the words and said to Aaron, and Aaron added to her words and they carried on with the matter. R. Shimeon says, “Also Zipporah opened the words and said to Miriam, and Miriam said to Aaron, and Aaron added to their words, and they carried on with the matters. And what were the words they said? When the elders were appointed, all Israel lit candles and made a joyous occasion because the elders were promoted to authority, and when Miriam saw the candles, she said, ‘Happy are these and happy are their wives.’ Zipporah said to her, ‘Do not say, “Happy are their wives,” but rather, “Woe to their wives,” for from the day that the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke with Moses, your brother has not had need of me.’ Immediately Miriam went to Aaron and both carried on with the matter, as it is said, ‘And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses concerning the woman,’ concerning the business of his separation from the woman. They said, ‘Moses is pretentious, for the Holy One, blessed be He, did not speak only to him alone. He has already spoken with many prophets and with us, and we have not separated from our wives as he has, as it is said, ‘Has the Lord indeed spoken only with Moses?’”

R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
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216. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה ה. וירד

וירד ה' בעמוד ענן, מגיד שהיה מדבר עמהן בענן ... בשעה שהיו ישראל רואין את עמוד הענן בין השמים ובין הארץ היו יודעין שהוא מדבר עם משה ... ויעמד פתח האהל, ולמה לא נכנס לאהל שלא נתקדש המשכן לפורענות אלא לטובה... ויקרא אהרן ומרים ויצאו שניהם, ולמה יצאו שניהן חוץ לאהל מועד [והניחו את משה בתוך האהל] שלא יהא משה אומר דומה שנמצא בי פגם שכן הודחתי מן האהל ושלא יהו ישראל אומרין דומה שנמצא במשה פגם שכן נדחה מן האהל. ר' יהודה אומר משלו משל למה"ד = למה הדבר דומה = למלך שבא אוהבו אצלו והיה מבקש לומר דבר לבן ביתו אמר המלך מה אני מוציא את אוהבי לשוק אלא יהא בכבודו בטרקלין ואני ובן ביתי נצא לשוק [אף כאן הוציא אהרן ומרים מפני כבודו של משה שאין מושכין את הגדול מלפני הקטן לדבר עמו אבל מושכין את הקטן מלפני הגדול לדבר עמו] ד"א אין אומרין שבחו של אדם בפניו ואין תובעין עלבונו של אדם בפניו :

216. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:5

"And the Lord came down in column of cloud," says that He spoke with them in a cloud ... At the time that Israel saw the column of cloud between heaven and earth, they knew that He was speaking with Moses ... "And He stood at the opening of the tent," but why didn't He enter the tent? So that the Tabernacle would not be sanctified for divine punishment, but only for good ... "And He called Aaron and Miriam, and both of them went out." And why did they go out of the Tent of Meeting [and left Moses inside the tent]? So that Moses would not say, "It seems that a blemish has been found in me, so I have been driven out of the tent." And so that Israel would not say, "It seems that a blemish has been found in Moses, so he has been driven out of the tent." R. Yehudah says his parable, "A parable, to what does the matter resemble? To a king whose favorite came to him and asked to say a word to a member of his household. The king said, 'What? Do I take my favorite out to the marketplace? Rather, let him be in honor in the hall, and I and a member of my household will go out to the marketplace.' [Also here He took Aaron and Miriam out from before Moses' honor because one does not pull the great one from before the small one to talk to him, but one pulls the small one from before the great one to talk to him]." Another matter, one does not say a man's praise to his face, and one does not convey a man's insult to his face.

R. Yehudah	T-3	130-160
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217. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה ט. ויחר

ויחר אף י"י בם, בשניהם: וילך, מיד נתרפא אהרן. ואומר והענן סר מעל האהל מלמד שסר הענן מעליו ולמה פרסם הכתוב במרים ורמז באהרן לפי שהיא התחילה בדבר משל למה הדבר דומה לשנים שעברו על כרם ירד אחד מהן לתוכו וליקט ואכל והאכיל חבירו כשבא בעל הכרם לא תפס אלא אותו שנמצא בתוך כרמו כך אהרן ומרים שניהם דברו ושניהם לקו ולא פרסם אלא מרים שנאמר והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג מפני שהתחילה בדבר. י"א וילך שנסתלקה שכינה ... ולמה נסתלקה השכינה שלא תטמא מרים בפני השכינה. ד"א שלא יהא הענן עומד ויבקש משה רחמים שלא יצטערו ואף אהרן היה ראוי לכך לכך נאמר בם אלא שהיה לובש את המעיל שהוא מכפר על לשון הרע והלא דברים קל וחומר ומה אם אלו שדברו באחיהן הקטן מהן ולא דברו בגנותו אלא שהשוו אותו לשאר נביאים כך נענשו המדבר בגנותו של חבירו בפניו על אחת כמה וכמה וכן הוא אומר זכור את אשר עשה י"י אלהיך למרים (דברים כד ט) שחטאת בפה ולקו כל איבריה :

217. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:9

"And the Lord's anger was kindled at them," at both of them. "And He departed," immediately Aaron was healed. And it says, "And the cloud turned aside from above the tent." It teaches that the cloud turned aside from above him. And why did the text reveal Miriam but only hinted at Aaron? Because she started on the matter. A parable, to what does the matter resemble? To two who passed by a vineyard. One of them went down into it and plucked and ate and fed his fellow. When the owner of the vineyard came, he did not catch but that one who was found inside his vineyard. Thus Aaron and Miriam, both of them spoke and both of them were afflicted, but it did not reveal but Miriam, as it is

said, "And behold Miriam was leprous as snow" because she started on the matter. There are those who say, "And He departed," that the *Shekhinah* went away ... And why did the *Shekhinah* go away? So that Miriam would not become impure before the *Shekhinah*. Another matter, so that the cloud would not be standing and Moses would ask for mercy so that they should not become leprous, and even Aaron was deserving of this. Therefore it is said, "Against them," but he was wearing the coat in which he atoned over slander. And aren't the matters *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other]? And what if these who spoke about their younger brother and did not speak for his shame, but rather that they equated him to the rest of the prophets, were thus punished, then he who speaks for the shame of his fellow to his face, how much more so? And thus it says, "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam" (Deut 24:9), who sinned with her mouth and all her limbs were afflicted.

218. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה י. והענן

והענן סר מעל האהל מיד נסתלקה שכינה כמו שנאמר למעלה וכיון שנסתלקה שכינה והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג. לפי שהיו מלבינים ומאדימים לפי כך נטמאו בבהרת עזה ולבנה : - ויפן אהרן אל מרים, לפי שנסתכל אהרן בנגעו והלך לו אמר אהרן עכשיו אני מסתכל בנגעה של אחותי והוא הולך לו ומניין אתה אומר כל מי שהיה מביט בו היה רותת אמרת ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת. ד"א ויפן אהרן אל מרים אמר הקב"ה אם יצטרע אהרן אין כהן בעל מום יכול להקריב על גבי המזבח אלא הוא יראה אחותו ויתמה ויתוכח מעצמו שנאמר ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת :

218. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:10

"And the cloud turned aside from above the tent." Immediately the *Shekhinah* went away as it is said, "Upwards." And after the *Shekhinah* went away, "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow." Because they turned white and red, accordingly they became impure with an intense white lesion. "And Aaron turned to Miriam," because Aaron looked at his affliction and it went away, Aaron said, "Now I will look at my sister's affliction and it will go away." From where do you say, "Anyone who looked at it would tremble"? The saying, "And Aaron turned to Miriam and behold she was leprous." Another matter, "And Aaron turned to Miriam." The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "If Aaron becomes leprous, a priest with a blemish cannot sacrifice on the altar. Rather he will see his sister and he will be shocked, and he will argue of his own accord, as it is said, "And Aaron turned to Miriam and behold she was leprous."

219. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה טו. ותסגר

ותסגר מרים מחוץ למחנה שבעת ימים, כיון שהתפלל עליה משה נפטרה מהסגר שני שהרי נתרפאת מתוך שבוע ראשון : והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים לפה שנא' ותצב אחותו מרחוק (שמות ב ד) מרים המתינה שעה אחת לידע מה יעשה באחיה אמי המקום יהא משה ואהרן ושכינה וארון וישראל ממתניין לה שבעת ימים עד שתטהר לפי שנאמר בסאסאה בשלחה תריבנה (ישעיה כז ח) במדה שאדם מודד בה מודדין לו :

219. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:15

"And Miriam was shut up outside the camp seven days." After Moses prayed over her, she was exempted from a second quarantine because, behold, she was healed from the first week. "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam." According to what is said, "And his sister stood from afar" (Ex 2:4), Miriam waited for an hour to know what would be done with her brother. God said, "Let Moses, and Aaron, and the *Shekhinah*, and the Ark, and Israel wait for her seven days until she is cleansed," according to what is said, "In full measure, in sending her away, you will contend with her" (Is 27:8), "With the measure that a man measures, with it do they measure him."

220. ספרי זוטא פיסקא יב ד"ה טז. ואחר

ואחר נסעו מחצרות, כיצד היו השבטים נוסעין חציין נסעו וחציין לא נסעו שנאמר ואחר נסעו העם מחצרות. כיון שטהרה מרים ויחנו במדבר פארן היו ראויין ליכנס לארץ ישראל מיד אלולי שעמדו ובקשו לשלוח לפנייהם מרגלים לפי שעיקר חנייתן במדבר פארן היתה להכנס לארץ ישראל שנאמר ויסעו מהר י"י דרך שלשת ימים לתור להם מנוחה (במדבר י לג) ואין מנוחה אלא ארץ ישראל וירושלם שנא' זאת מנוחתו עדי עד פה אשב כי אויתיה (תהלים קלב יד) :

220. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 12:16

And afterwards they traveled from Chatserot. How did the tribes travel? Half of them traveled and half of them did not travel, as it is said, “And afterwards the people traveled from Chatserot.” After Miriam was cleansed, “And they encamped in the wilderness of Paran.” They were worthy of entering the Land of Israel immediately, had it not been that they arose and they requested to send before them spies because the basis for their encamping in the wilderness of Paran was to enter the Land of Israel, as it is said, “And they traveled from the Mountain of the Lord, a three day journey, to search for rest for them” (Num 10:33). And there is no rest but the Land of Israel, as it is said, “This is my rest forever, here I will settle for I have longed for her” (Ps 132:14).

221. ספרי זוטא פיסקא נז ד"ה טו. וידבר

ויצעק משה אל יי לאמר אל נא רפא נא לה (במדבר יב יג) מה ת"ל לאמר אמר לו הודיעני אם מרפא אתה את מרים ואם אין אתה מרפא.

221. 200-250: Sifre Zutta 27:15

“And Moses cried to the Lord, saying, ‘God, do heal her; God, do heal her’ (Num 12:13). What does “saying” teach? He said, “Cause me to know if you will heal Miriam or if you will not heal.”

222. משנה מסכת סוטה פרק א משנות ח-ט

[ח] שמשון הלך אחר עיניו לפיכך נקרו פלשתים את עיניו שנאמר (שופטים ט"ז) ויאחזוהו פלשתים וינקרו את עיניו אבשלום נתגאה בשערו לפיכך נתלה בשערו ולפי שבא על עשר פילגשי אביו לפיכך נתנו בו עשר לונביות שנאמר (שמואל ב' י"ח) ויסבו עשרה אנשים נושאי כלי יואב ולפי שגנב שלשה לבבות לב אביו ולב בית דין ולב ישראל שנאמר (שם ט"ו) ויגנוב אבשלום את לב אנשי ישראל לפיכך נתקעו בו שלשה שבטים שנאמר (שם י"ח) ויקח שלשה שבטים בכפו ויתקעם בלב אבשלום : [ט] וכן לענין הטובה מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת שנאמר (שמות א' ב/) ותתצב אחותו מרחוק לפיכך נתעכבו לה ישראל שבעה ימים במדבר שנאמר (במדבר י"ג יב/) והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים יוסף זכה לקבור את אביו ואין באחיו גדול ממנו שנאמר (בראשית ג) ויעל יוסף לקבור את אביו ויעל עמו גם רכב גם פרשים מי לנו גדול מיוסף שלא נתעסק בו אלא משה משה זכה בעצמות יוסף ואין בישראל גדול ממנו שנאמר (שמות י"ג) ויקח משה את עצמות יוסף עמו מי גדול ממשה שלא נתעסק בו אלא המקום שנאמר (דברים ל"ד) ויקבור אותו בגיא לא על משה בלבד אמרו אלא על כל הצדיקים שנאמר (ישעיה נ"ח) והלך לפניך צדקך כבוד ה' יאספך :

222. 200-250: Mishnah Sotah 1:9

(8) Samson went after his eyes, therefore the Philistines gouged out his eyes, as it is said (Jud 16), “And the Philistines grabbed him and they gouged out his eyes.” Absalom was proud of his hair, therefore he was hanged by his hair; and since he came upon his father’s ten concubines, therefore they put ten lances into him, as it is said (2Sam 18), “And ten men, the carriers of Joab’s arms, surrounded him.” And since he had stolen three hearts – his father’s heart, and the heart of the court, and the heart of Israel – as it said (2Sam 15), “And Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel, therefore three rods were thrust in him,” as it is said (2Sam 18), “And he took three rods in his hand and he thrust them in Absalom’s heart.”

(9) And thus on the matter of the good. Miriam waited for Moses one hour, as it is said (Ex 1:2 [sic], should be 2:4), “And his sister stood from afar.” Therefore, Israel were delayed for her in the wilderness seven days, as it is said (Num 13:12[sic] should be 12:15), “And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam.” Joseph earned merit by burying his father and there is not among his brother a greater one than he, as it is said (Gen 50), “And Joseph went up to bury his father and a great multitude went up with him, and also chariots and riders went up with him.” Whom do we have greater than Joseph, over whom none other but Moses occupied himself? Moses earned merit with Joseph’s bones and there is no one in Israel greater than he, as it is said (Ex 13), “And Moses took Joseph’s bones with him.” Who is greater than Moses, over whom none but God occupied Himself, as it is said (Deut 34), “And He buried him in the valley.” Not only about Moses did they say, but about all the righteous ones, as it is said (Is 58), “And your righteousness will walk before you, the honor of the Lord will gather you.”

223. ספרא ברייתא דרבי ישמעאל פרשה א ד"ה רבי ישמעאל

רבי ישמעאל אומר בשלש עשרה מדות התורה נדרשת ... מקל וחומר כיצד ויאמר ה' אל משה ואביה ירק ירק בפניה הלא תכלם שבעת ימים תסגר שבעת ימים קל וחומר לשכינה ארבעה עשר יום אלא דיו לבא מן הדין להיות כנדון תסגר מרים שבעת ימים מחוץ למחנה ואחר תאסף.

223. 250-300: Sifra Baraita de Rabbi Ishmael 1

R. Yishmael says, "With thirteen principles is the Torah expounded ... From *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other], how? 'And the Lord said to Moses, "And had her father indeed spit in her face, wouldn't she be ashamed for seven days? Let her be shut up seven days.' [Then] how much more so for the *Shekhinah*? Rather, it was sufficient for what came from judgment to be as it was judged, 'Let Miriam be shut up outside the camp, and afterwards let her be gathered.'"

R. Yishmael	T-2	90-130
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224. ספרא תזריע פרשה ב ד"ה פרשה ב

... וכמה תהא לבנוניתה כשלג שנאמר והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג.

224. 250-300: Sifra Tazria 2

... and how much will its whiteness be as snow, as it is written, "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow."

225. ספרא מצורע פרשה ה

(ז) ... ידקדק הכהן כיצד בא הנגע לביתו, לאמר יאמר לו הכהן דברי כיבושים בני אין הנגעים באים אלא על לשון הרע שנאמר השמר בנגע הצרעת לשמור מאד ולעשות, זכור את אשר עשה ה' למרים, וכי מה ענין זה לזה אלא מלמד שלא נענשה אלא על לשון הרע.
(ח) והלא דברים קל וחומר ומה אם מרים שדברה שלא בפניו של משה כד, מדבר גנאי של חברו בפניו על אחת כמה וכמה.

225. 250-300: Sifra Metsora 5

(7) ... the priest will check how the affliction came to his house, "saying," the priest will say to him words of rebuke, "My son, the afflictions do not come but by slander ... Remember what the Lord did to Miriam," for what does this matter [have to do] with this except that it teaches that she was punished but for slander.

(8) And isn't it obvious, if Miriam who talked not to Moses' face, he who speaks the shame of his fellow to his face how much more so.

226. ספרא בחוקותי פרשה א ד"ה אם בחוקותי

וכן הוא אומר זכור את יום השבת לקדשו יכול בלבד, כשהוא אומר שמור, הרי שמירת לב אמורה, הא מה אני מקיים זכור, שתהי שונה בפיך, וכן הוא אומר זכור ואל תשכח את אשר הקצפת את ה' אלהיך במדבר, יכול בלבד, כשהוא אומר אל תשכח הרי שכיחת לב אמורה, הא מה אני מקיים זכור שתהא שונה בפיך, וכן הוא אומר זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים.

226. 250-300: Sifra Bechuqotai 1

And thus it says, "Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it," it could be in your heart. When it says, "Keep," behold the keeping of the heart is stated. And so what do I affirm? "Remember," so that it will be repeated in your mouth. And thus it says, "Remember and do not forget that you provoked the Lord in the wilderness," it could be in your heart. When it says "Do not forget," behold the forgetfulness of the heart is stated. And so what do I affirm? "Remember," so that it will be repeated in your mouth, and thus it says, "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam."

227. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויהי פתיחתא ד"ה ויקח משה

רבי נתן אומר בקיפוסולין של מצרים היה קבור יוסף ללמדך שבמדה שהאדם מודד בה מודדים לו. מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת שנא' ותצב אחותו מרחוק לדעה (שמות ב ד) והמקום עכב לה

במדבר הארון והשכינה והכהנים והלויים וכל ישראל שבעת ימים עם ענני כבוד שנה' והעם לא נסע עד האסוף מרים (במדבר יב טו).

227. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, de Vayehi, Vayiqach Mosheh

R. Natan says, "Joseph was buried in the necropolis of Egypt to teach that with the measure that a man measures, with it do they measure him. Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said, 'And her sister stood from afar to know' (Ex 2:4), and God detained for her in the wilderness the Ark, and the *Shekhinah*, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Israel seven days, with the clouds of glory, as it is said, 'And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam' (Num 12:15)."

R. Natan	T-4	160-190
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228. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דשירה פרשה י ד"ה ותקח מרים

ותקח מרים הנביאה, וכי היכן מצינו שנביאה היתה מרים אלא שאמרה לאביה סופך אתה מוליד בן שמושיע את ישראל מיד מצרים מיד וילך איש מבית לוי ויקח וגוי' (שמות ב א) ותהר ותלד בן וגוי' ולא יכלה עוד הצפינו. נוף בה אביה אמ' לה בתי היכן נבואתיך ועודה מחזקת בנבואתה שני ותתצב אחותו מרחוק לדעה מה יעשה לו ואין יציבה אלא נבואה ... לדעה אין דעה אלא רוח הקדש ... מה יעשה לו אין עשייה אלא רוח הקדש ... אחות אהרן ולא אחות משה ומה ת"ל אחות אהרן אלא לפי שנתן אהרן נפשו על אחותו נקראת אחותו על שמו ... את התוף בידה, וכי מנין היו להם לישראל תופים ומחולות במדבר אלא הצדיקים היו מובטחים ויודעים שהקב"ה עושה להם נסים וגבורות עת שיוצאין ממצרים והתקינו להם תופים ומחולות. ותען להם מרים שירו לה' כי גאה גאה סוס ורוכבו רמה בים, מגיד הכתוב כשם שאמר משה שירה לאנשים כך אמרה מרים שירה לנשים שנאמר שירו לה' וגוי'.

228. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach, de Shirah, 10

"And Miriam the Prophetess took." And where did we really conclude that Miriam was a prophetess? Indeed when she said to her father, "You will end up begetting a son who saves Israel from Egypt" Immediately, "And a man from the house of Levi went and took," etc. (Ex 2:1), "And she conceived and gave birth to a son," etc. and she could not hide him anymore. Her father rebuked her. He said to her, "My daughter, where is your prophecy?" And she still held onto her prophecy, as it is said, "And her sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him." And none set her up except prophecy ... "To know." There is no knowledge except the Holy Spirit ... "What would be done to him." There is no doing, except the Holy Spirit ... "Aaron's sister." And not Moses' sister? And what does "Aaron's sister" teach us, but that since Aaron risked his life for his sister, his sister is called by his name ... "The timbrel in her hand." And from where did Israel have timbrels and dances in the wilderness? Rather the righteous were assured and they knew that the Holy One, blessed be He, would do miracles and mighty deeds for them at the time of their going out of Egypt and they prepared for themselves timbrels and dances. "And Miriam sang to them, 'Sing to the Lord for He is indeed exalted. Horse and its rider He has cast into the sea.'" The text tells that just as Moses sang a song to the men, so did Miriam sing a song to the women, as it is said, "Sing to the Lord," etc.

229. מכילתא דרבי ישמעאל בשלח - מס' דויסע פרשה ג ד"ה ויהי בערב

ואף ה' חרה בעם ויך ה' בעם מכה רבה מאד מקברות התאוה נסעו העם מחצרות וכי מחצרות נסעו ובחצרות חנו אלא מלמד שחזר מסען לאחוריהם שלשה מסעות בשביל מרים.

229. 250-300: Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael Beshalach

And also the Lord's anger was kindled at the people and the Lord struck the people with a very great plague. From Qivrot Hataavah the people traveled from Chatserot. And really, did they travel from Chatserot and encamp in Chatserot? Rather it teaches that [the people] returned their travel backwards three journeys for Miriam.

230. ספרי במדבר פיסקא עח ד"ה (עח) ויאמר

וכן אתה מוצא ברות המואביה מה אמרה לחמותה עמד עמי ואלהיך אלהי באשר תמותי אמותי (רות א טז - יז) אמר לה המקום לא הפסדת כלום הרי המלכות שלך בעולם הזה הרי המלכות שלך

בעולם הבא ויואש ושרף אשר בעלו למואב יואש ושרף זה מחלון וכליון יואש שנתייאשו מן הגאולה, יואש שנתייאשו מדברי תורה, שרף ששרפו בניהם לעבודה זרה אשר בעלו למואב שנשאו נשים מואביות אשר בעלו למואב שהניחו ארץ ישראל ונהפכו בשדה מואב ... מנין אתה אומר שלא מתה רות המואביה עד שראתה שלמה בן בנה שהיה יושב ודן דינן של זונות ... והרי כבר נאמר ויאמר מלך מצרים למילדות העבריות וגוי' (שמות א טו) שפרה זו יוכבד פועה זו מרים, שפרה שפרה ורבה, שפרה שמשפרת את הוולד, שפרה שפרו ורבו ישראל בימיה, פועה שהיתה פועה ובוכה על אחיה שני ותצב אחותו מרחוק לדעה מה יעשה לו (שם /שמות/ ב ד) ויאמר בילדכן את העבריות ותראן המילדות את האלהים וגוי'. בתים אלו איני יודע מה הם כשהוא אומר מקצה עשרים שנה אשר בנה שלמה את שני הבתים (מלכים א' ט) את בית ה' זו כהונה ואת בית המלך זו המלכות, זכתה יוכבד לכהונה ומרים למלכות שני וקוץ הוליד את ענוב ואת הצבבה ומשפחות אחרחל בן הרם (דה"י = דברי הימים = א' ד ח) אחרחל זו מרים שנאמר ותצאן כל הנשים אחריה (שמות טו כ) בן הרם זו יוכבד שנאמר כל חרם בישראל לך יהיה (במדבר יח יד) נשאת מרים שנאמר ותמת עזובה ויקח לו כלב את אפרת ותלד לו את חור (דה"י = דברי הימים = א' ב יט) ואלה היו בני כלב בן חור (שם /דברי הימים א' ב' נ') ואומר ודוד בן איש אפרתי הזה מבית לחם יהודה (שמואל א' יז יב) נמצא דוד מבני בניה של מרים הא כל המקרב עצמו מן השמים מקרבין אותו: חותן משה, זו יפה לו יותר מכולם שנקרא חותנו של מלך:

230. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 78

And thus you find Ruth the Moabitess, what she said to her mother-in-law, "Your people is my people and your God my God, where you die I will die (Ruth 1:16-17). God said to her, "you did not miss out on anything, therefore the kingship is yours in this world and the kingship is yours in the world to come. And Yoash and Saraf, who married Moab. Yoash and Saraf are Mahlon and Khilyon. Yoash, because they despaired of the redemption; Yoash, because they despaired of Torah words. Saraf, because they burned their sons for idolatry, that they married Moab, that they married Moabite women, that they married Moab, that they left the Land of Israel and were overturned in the field of Moab ... From where do you say that Ruth the Moabitess did not die until she saw Solomon the son of her son, who sat and judged the judgment of the prostitutes? ... And therefore it has already been said, "And the king of Egypt said to the Hebrew midwives, etc. (Ex 1:15). Shifrah is Jochebed, Puah is Miriam. Shifrah, who was fruitful and multiplied; Shifrah, who beautifies the newborn; Shifrah, because the Children of Israel were fruitful and multiplied in her day. Puah, who groaned and cried over her brother, as it is said, "And his sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him" (Ex 2:4). And he said, "As you assist the Hebrew women in giving birth," "and the midwives feared God," etc. These houses, I do not know what they are. When it says, "at the end of 20 years that Solomon built the two houses (1Kings 9:10): the House of God is priesthood and the House of the King is the kingship. Jochebed merited the priesthood and Miriam the kingship, as it is said, "And Kotz begot Anuv and Hatsovehah and the families of Acharchel Ben Harum" (1Chr 4:8). Acharchel is Miriam, as it is said, "And all the women went forth after her (Ex 15:20)." Ben Harum is Jochebed ... Miriam is married to Caleb, as it is said, "And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur" (1Chr 2:19). "And these were the sons of Caleb the son of Hur" (1Chr 2:50). And it says, "And David is the son of this Efratite man from the House of Bethlehem Judah" (1Sam 17:12). David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons. Here everyone who brings himself closer, from heaven they bring him closer: Moses' father-in-law, this is the nicest of all, that he was called father-in-law of a king.

231. ספרי במדבר פיסקא צח ד"ה מקברות התאווה

מקברות התאווה נסעו העם חצירות, הרי זו היתה בשעה שנצטרעה מרים.

231. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 98

"From Kivrot Hataavah the people traveled to Chatserot." Behold, this was at the time that Miriam became leprous.

232. ספרי במדבר פיסקא צט ד"ה (צט) ותדבר

ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה, אין דיבר בכל מקום אלא לשון קשה וכן הוא אומר דבר האיש אדוני הארץ אתנו קשות (בראשית מב ל) וידבר העם באלהים ובמשה (במדבר כא ה) הא אין דיבר בכל

מקום אלא לשון קשה ואין אמירה בכל מקום אלא תחנונים וכן הוא אומר ויאמר אל נא אחי תרעו (בראשית יט ז) ויאמר שמעו נא דברי (במדבר יב ו): ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה, מלמד ששניהם דברו בו אלא שמרים פתחה בדבר שלא היתה מרים רגילה לדבר בפני אהרן אלא מפני צורך השעה כיוצא בו אתה אומר ובאת אתה וקראת במגילה אשר כתבת מפי (ירמיה לו ו) ולא שהיה ברוך רגיל לדבר בפני ירמיה אלא מפני צורך השעה.

ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה, מנין היתה מרים יודעת שפירש משה מפריה ורביה אלא שראת את צפורה שאינה מתקשטת בתכשיטי נשים אמרה לה מה לך שאין את מתקשטת בתכשיטי נשים אמרה לה אין אחיך מקפיד בדבר לכך ידעה מרים ואמרה לאחיה ושניהם דברו בו [ר' נתן אומר מרים היתה בצד צפורה בשעה שנא' וירץ הנער כיון ששמעה צפורה אמרה אוי לנשותיהם של אלו בכך ידעה מרים ואמרה לאחיה ושניהם דברו בו] והרי דברים ק"ו ומה מרים שלא נתכוונה לדבר באחיה לגניי אלא לשבח ולא למעט מפריה ורביה אלא לרבות ובינה לבין עצמה כך נענשה המתכוון לדבר בחבירו לגניי ולא לשבח ולמעט מפריה ורביה ולא לרבות ובינו לבין אחרים ולא בינו לבין עצמו עאכ"ו.

232. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 99

“And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses.” There is no “spoke” in any place except for harsh language, and thus it says, “The man, the lord of the land, spoke to us harshly” (Gen 42:30), “And the people spoke against God and Moses” (Num 21:5). And so there is no “spoke” in any place except for harsh language, and there is no “saying” in any place except for supplications. And thus it says, “And he said, ‘Do not, O my brothers, act wickedly’” (Gen 19:7), “And he said, ‘Do hear my words’” (Num 12:6). “And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses” teaches that both of them spoke about him, except that Miriam opened with a word because Miriam was not used to speaking in Aaron’s presence, except because of the need of the time. As it comes out there, you say, “And you will come and read in the scroll that you wrote from my mouth” (Jer 36:6), and not that Baruch was used to speaking in Jeremiah’s presence but for the need of the time.

“And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, against Moses.” From where did Miriam know that Moses separated from fruitfulness and increase, but that she saw Zipporah who did not adorn herself with women’s ornaments? She said to her, “What is with you that you are not adorning yourself with women’s ornaments?” She said to her, “Your brother is not fussy on this matter.” In this way Miriam knew and said to her brother, and both of them spoke against him. [R. Natan says, “Miriam was by Zipporah’s side at that time, as it is said, ‘And the young woman ran.’ When she heard Zipporah saying, ‘Woe to the wives of those,’ by this Miriam knew and she said to her brother and both of them spoke against him.”] ... if Miriam who did not intend to speak about her brother for shame, but rather to improve and to not exclude from fruitfulness and increase but for many reasons and by herself, was thus punished, then he who intends to speak about his fellow for shame and not to improve and to exclude from fruitfulness and increase, and not for many reasons, and between himself and others and not by himself, how much more so.

R. Natan	T-4	160-190
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233. ספרי במדבר פיסקא קב ד"ה (קב) ויאמר

ויאמר ה' פתאום אל משה ואל אהרן ואל מרים, ר' שמעון בן מנסיא אומר פתאום נתירא משה בפתאום נדבר עמו.
ויקרא אהרן ומרים ויצאו שניהם, מפני מה לא יצא משה עמהם שלא יהיו ישראל אומרים אף משה היה עמהם בכלל הכעס.

233. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 102

“And the Lord said suddenly to Moses and to Aaron and to Miriam.” R. Shimeon b. Menasyah says, “‘Suddenly,’ Moses became fearful that he was spoken to suddenly.”
“And he called, Aaron and Miriam, and they both went out.” Why didn’t Moses go out with them? So that Israel would not say, “Moses was also with them included in the anger.”

R. Shimeon b. Manasi	T-4	160-190
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234. ספרי במדבר פיסקא קה ד"ה (קה) והענן

והענן סר מעל האהל, משל למלך בשר ודם שאמר לפדגוג רדה את בני אבל משאלך לי רדהו מפני שרחמי האב על הבן והרי דברים ק"ו אם חס המקום על הצדיקים בשעת כעס ק"ו בשעת רצון שנאמר כה אמר ה' בעת רצון עניתיך (ישעיה מט ח) : והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג, מלמד שנצטרעה בעזה ללמדך שנקית בשר היתה וכן הוא אומר ויאמר ה' לו עוד הבא נא ידך בחיקך וגוי' (שמות ד ו) ללמדך שנקיי בשר היו : ויפן אהרן, שנפנה מצרעתו רבי יהודה בן בתירה אומר עתיד ליתן את החשבון כל מי שאומר נתנגע אהרן ... ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת, מגיד הכתוב שכל זמן שהיה רואה אותה היתה פורחת בה.

234. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 105

"And the cloud turned aside from the tent." It is like a king of flesh and blood who said to the tutor, "Punish my son but consult with me. Subdue him because the compassion of the father for the son" And behold, the matters are *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other]: if God has pity on the righteous at a time of anger, then at a time of good will, as it is said, "Thus said the Lord, 'At a time of good will I have answered you'" (Is 49:8). "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow" teaches that she became fiercely leprous. To teach you that she had been clean of flesh. And thus it says, "And the Lord said to him furthermore, 'Cause your hand to go into your bosom,'" etc. (Ex 4:6) to teach you that they had been clean of flesh. "And Aaron turned," that he turned from his leprosy. R. Yehudah b. Batirah says, "In the future will be brought into account anyone who says, 'Aaron was afflicted' ... "And Aaron turned to Miriam and behold, she was leprous" says that every time he saw her, she broke out with it.

R. Yehudah b. Batirah

T-2

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235. ספרי במדבר פיסקא קו ד"ה תסגר, הקב"ה

תסגר, הקב"ה הסגירה והקב"ה טימאה והקב"ה טיהרה : שבעת ימים והעם לא נסע, ללמדך שבמדה שאדם מודד בה מודדים לו מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת שנאמר ותתצב אחותו מרחוק (שמות ב ד) לפיכך עיכב לה המקום שכונה וארון כהנים ולוים וישראל ושבעה ענני כבוד שנאמר והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים... ואחר נסעו העם מחצרות, וכי שתי חצרות היו שנסעו מזו וחנו בזו אלא כיון שנסעו ישראל לא הספיקו להלוך עד ששמעו שנצטרעה מרים וחזרו וחנו לאחוריהם לכך נאמר ואחר נסעו העם מחצרות.

235. 250-300: Sifre on Numbers 106

"Let her be shut up." The Holy One, blessed be He, shut her up and the Holy One, blessed be He, rendered her impure, and the Holy One, blessed be He, cleansed her. "Seven days and the people did not travel," to teach you that with the measure that a man measures, with it do they measure him. Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said, "And his sister stood from afar" (Ex 2:4). Therefore God detained for her *Shekhinah* and Ark, priests and Levites and Israel, and seven clouds of glory, as it is said, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam" ... "And afterwards the people traveled from Chatserot." But were there two Chatserot, so that they traveled from this one and encamped in that one? Rather, when Israel traveled, they did not have enough time to walk before they heard that Miriam had become leprous and they returned and they encamped behind them. Therefore it is said, "And afterwards the people traveled from Chatserot."

236. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא ב פרק מא ד"ה בעון לשון

בעון לשון הרע הצרעת נשלחת בבני אדם שנאמר זכור את אשר עשה ה' [אלהיך] למרים (דברים כ"ד ט). והרי הדברים ק"ו ומה מרים הנביאה שלא היתה כוונתה אלא לשבחו של משה ולכבודו של משה אף על פי כן נענשה עונש גדול אבל לא דבר מועט המדבר בגנאי של חבירו והמבקש רעתו על אחת כמה וכמה שיתבע הדבר מידו :

236. Ca. 300: Abot de Rabbi Natan B 41

On the transgression of slander leprosy is sent onto the sons of Adam, as it is said, "Remember what the Lord [your God] did to Miriam" (Deut 24:9). And behold, the matters are *qal vachomer* [one follows

from the other]: and what about Miriam the prophetess whose intention was but the praising of Moses and for the honor of Moses. In spite of this she was punished with a big punishment. But it is not a small thing: He who speaks about the shame of his fellow-man and who wants his distress, how much more that the matter will be claimed from his hand.

237. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן הוספה ב לנוסחא א פרק ד ד"ה ר' שמעון

ר' שמעון בן אלעזר אומי אף על מספרי לשון הרע נגעין באין שכן מצינו באהרן ומרים שספרו לשה"ר במרע"ה מיד באת עליהם את הפורענות שני ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה וגוי' הלכה צפורה ושחה לה למרים הלכה מרים ושחה לו לאהרן עמדו שניהם ודברו על אותו צדיק. וכיון שעמדו שניהם ודברו על אותו צדיק מיד נענשו שני והענן סר מעל האהל וגוי'. ואף על אהרן באת עליו הפורענות שני ויחר אף ה' בם וילך מלמד שנסתלק מאהרן ונדבק במרים אבל מרים עסקה בדברים היתה שכן דרך נשים להיות משיחות זו לזו. מרים אמרה עלי היה דבור לא פרשתי מאצל בעלי. אהרן אמר עלי היה דבור לא פרשתי מאצל אשתי. אבותינו הראשונים עליהם דבור לא פרשו מנשותיהם הוא שדעתו גסה עליו פרוש מאצל אשתו. ולא היו דנין בפניו אלא שלא בפניו. ולא היו דנין בודאי אלא בספק. ספק דעתו גסה עליו ספק אין דעתו גסה עליו [ומה מרים שלא דברה אלא באחיה וחביבה ולא דברה אלא שלא בפניו מיד נענשה] ק"ו כל אדם המדבר דברים כנגד חברו ומבישו עאכו"כ הוא עונשו. באותה שעה אמי אהרן למשה. משה אחי כסבור אתה שצרעת זו על מרים נתונה הא אינה נתונה אלא בשרו של אבא עמרם. משלו משל למה"ד לאחד שנתנו לו גחלת לתוך ידו אע"פ שהו מופנה ממקום למקום בשרו נכוה שני אל נא תהי כמת וגוי'. התחיל אהרן לפייס את משה. אמי לו משה אחי כלום עשינו [רעה] לאחד מן העולם. א"ל לאו. ואם לאחד מן העולם לא עשינו רעה אתה אחינו והיאך נעשה עמך רעה אלא מה נעשה שגגה היא שהיתה בידינו אל תבטל ברית שהיתה בינינו לביניך. מפני שברית כרותה לאחים. ומנין שברית כרותה לאחים שני ולא זכרו ברית אחים. באותה שעה עג עוגה קטנה ועמד בתוכה ואמי לפניו רבש"ע איני זו מכאן עד שתרפא מרים אחותי שני ויצעק משה אל יוי ויאמר וגוי'. מכאן אמרו כל המאריך בתפלתו אל יאריך יתיר ממשה. וכל המקצר בתפלתו אל יקצר יתיר ממשה. [והיכן מצינו במשה שהאריך בתפלתו שני ואתפלל לפני יוי את מ' היום ואת מ' הלילה אשר התנפלתי וגוי'. והיכן מצינו במשה שקיצר בתפלתו שני אל נא רפא נא לה. באותה שעה אמי הבר"ה למשה. משה אילו אביה נזף בה כדאי היא שתכלם שבעה. אני ממ"ה ב"ה לא דין הוא שתכלם לי"ד אלא למענך אני מוחל לה על הסגר השני שני ויאמר יוי אל משה ואביה וגוי'.

237. Ca 300: Abot de Rabbi Natan (Addition B to Version A) 4

R. Shimeon b. Eleazar says, "Afflictions come upon those who tell slander, for so we have concluded from Aaron and Miriam who told slander of Moses our master, may his memory be for peace, and divine punishment came upon them, as it is said, 'And Miriam and Aaron spoke about Moses,' etc. Zipporah went and told Miriam. Miriam went and told Aaron. Both stood and they talked about that righteous man. And since they both stood and spoke about that righteous man, they were punished immediately, as it is said, 'And the cloud turned aside from above the tent,' etc. And also upon Aaron, the divine punishment came upon him, as it is said, 'And the Lord's anger was kindled at them and he departed.' It teaches that it went away from Aaron and was stuck to Miriam. But Miriam was a busybody on matters, because it is the way of women to be talking to one another. Miriam said, '[God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my husband.' Aaron said, 'And [God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my wife.' 'Our first forefathers, [God's] speech was upon them and they did not separate from their wives. He, who is very haughty, is separated from his wife.' And they did not judge him to his face, rather not to his face. And they did not judge him with certainty but with doubt: doubt that he was haughty, doubt that he was not haughty." [And what of Miriam, who did speak but about her brother and her loved one, and spoke not to Moses' face, she was immediately punished], *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other] every man who speaks words against his friend and shames him, how much more is his punishment. At the same time, Aaron said to Moses, "Moses, my brother, are you of the opinion that this leprosy put on Miriam here is not rather put on the flesh of Father Amram?" They told a parable as to what the matter is like: to one in whose hand they put an ember. Even though he turns it over from place to place, his flesh is scorched, as it is said, "Indeed let her not be as one dead," etc. Aaron began to placate Moses. He said to him, "Moses, my brother, we did nothing [evil] with anyone from the world." He said to him, "No." He said to him, "And

if we did no evil with anyone, you are our brother, and how would we do evil with you? But, what can we do? An unintentional transgression is what was in our hand. Do not rescind the covenant that was between us and you for a covenant is made for siblings.” And from where that a covenant is made for brothers? As it is said, “And they did not remember the covenant of brothers” (Amos 1:9). At that time, Moses drew a small circle and stood inside it and said before the Master of the Universe, “I am not moving from here until Miriam, my sister, is healed,” as it is said, “And Moses cried to the Lord and said,” etc. From here they said, “Anyone who lengthens his prayer should not lengthen it more than Moses. And he who shortens his prayer should not shorten it more than Moses.” [And how did we conclude about Moses that he lengthened his prayer? As it is said, “And I prayed before the Lord for forty days and forty nights that I fell [bowed] down,” etc. And how did we conclude about Moses that he shortened his prayer? As it is said, ‘God, do heal her! God, do heal her!’ At that time, the Blessed One, said to Moses, “Moses, if her father had rebuked her, it would be worth that she should be ashamed seven [days]. I am the king of the kings of kings, the Blessed One, shouldn’t it be the law that she should be ashamed fourteen days? Rather, for your sake I forgive her the second quarantine,” as it is said, “And the Lord said to Moses, ‘And her father,’” etc.

R. Shimeon b. Eleazar	T-4	160-190
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238. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן הוספה ב לנוסחא א פרק ט ד"ה ד"א פתח
... הלילו אלוני בשן זה משה אהרן ומרים.

238. Ca 300: Abot de Rabbi Natan (Addition B to Version A) 9
[Lamenting the destruction of the Temple] ... The oaks of Bashan ululated: this is Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

239. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק א פסוק א

+ [ד"א וחצרות אמר להם לא היה לכם ללמוד ממרים ממה שעשיתי בה בחצרות והרי הדברים קל וחומר ומה אם מרים הצדקת נענשה על אחת כמה וכמה שאר כל אדם].+

239. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 1:1
[Another matter, “And Chatserot.” He said to them, did you not learn from Miriam, from what I did to her in Chatserot? ... if Miriam the Righteous was punished, how much more so the rest of mankind?]

240. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק ג פסוק כג

ר' שמעון אומר מלה"ד למלך בשר ודם שהיה מהלך במדבר בקרובין (שלא) [שלו] הגיע למקום (יפה) [שיפה] נהפכה קרובין (שלא) [שלו] על בנו [נסמת עינו] נקטעה ידו נשברה רגלו כשהיה המלך מגיע לאותו מקום אומר כאן ניזוק בני כאן נסמת עינו כאן נקטעה ידו כאן נשברה רגלו אף כך הקב"ה מזכיר ואומר כאן הרגתי את מרים כאן הרגתי את אהרן כאן הרגתי את משה וה"א (תהלים קמ"א ו') נשמטו בידי סלע שפטיהם :

240. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 3:23
R. Shimeon says, “A parable, to what does the matter resemble? To a king of flesh and blood who was walking about in the wilderness with [his] carriage. He arrived at a place that was [beautiful]. [His] carriage overturned on his son. [His eye was blinded], his hand was cut off, his leg was broken. When the king arrived at that same place, he said, ‘Here my son was injured: here his eye was blinded, here his hand was cut off, here his leg was broken.’ Thus also the Holy One, blessed be He, mentions and says, ‘Here I killed Miriam, here I killed Aaron, here I killed Moses.’ Did it not say, (Ps 141:6), ‘Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock.’”

R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
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241. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק כד פסוק ט

זכור את אשר עשי' ה' אלהיך למר' וכי מה ענין זה לזה אלא ללמדך שאין הנגעים באים אלא על המהרהר אחר הזקנים : ועל האומי' לשון הרע והלא הדברים קל וחומר מה אם מרים אותה הצדקת

כך נענשה אחרים על אחת כמה וכמה והרי הדברים קל וחומר מה אם מרים שדברה שלא בפניו של משה כך נענשה: האומי גנאו של חברו בפניו על אחת כמה וכמה: והלא הדברים קל וחומר מה אם מרים שדברה באחיה הקטן ממנה כך נענשה המדבר בגדולים ממנו על אחת כמה וכמה והרי הדברים קל וחומר ומה מרים שלא נתכוונה לדבר באחיה לגנאי אלא לשבח לא למעט מפריה ורביה אלא להרבות בפריה ורביה ולא בינה לבין אחרים אלא בינה לבין עצמה כך נענשה המתכוין לדבר בחבירו לגנאי ולא לשבח לא להרבות בפריה ורביה אלא למעט מפריה ורביה לא בינו לבין עצמו אלא בינו לבין אחרים על אחת כמה וכמה יהא ענשו והרי הדברים קל וחומר ומה אם מרים שאמי דבר שלא שמעו בריה אלא הקב"ה ת"ל (במד' יב ב) וישמע ה' כך נענשה האומר גנאו של חבירו בצבור על אחת כמה וכמה:

241. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 24:9

"Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam." And what business is this to this, except to teach you that the afflictions come but to him who thinks ill of the elder, and to him who says the slander. And aren't the matters *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other]? If Miriam the Righteous herself was punished thus, others how much more so. And behold, the matters are *qal vachomer*: if Miriam, who did not speak before Moses, was thus punished, he who says the shame of his fellow before him how much more so. And aren't matters *qal vachomer*? If Miriam, who spoke against her younger brother was thus punished, he who speaks against those greater than himself how much more so. And behold, the matters are *qal vachomer*: if Miriam, who intended to speak about her brother not for shame but for praise, not to exclude from fruitfulness and increase, not to others but to herself, was thus punished, he who intends to speak against his fellow for shame and not for praise, not to increase fruitfulness and increase but to exclude from fruitfulness and increase, not to himself, but to others, how much more so will his punishment be! And behold, the matters are *qal vachomer*: if Miriam, who said a word that no one heard, except for the Holy One, blessed be He, as it teaches (Num 12:2), "And the Lord heard," he who says the shame of his friend in public, how much more so.

242. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לב פסוק מט

הר נבו הר שנקראו לו ארבעה שמות הר עברים: הר נבו: הר ההר: ראש הפסגה: ד"א הר נבו הר שמתו בו שלשה נביאים שלא מתחת ידי עבירה משה אהרן ומרים: ...
ד"א והאסף אל עמי אצל מרים ואהרן אחיד:

242. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 32:49

Mt. Nebo, which is called four names: Mountain of Avarim, Mt. Nebo, Mountain of the Mountain, Rosh Hapisgah. Another matter, Mt. Nebo, a mountain where three prophets died, who did not die due to a transgression: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam...
Another matter, "And be gathered to your people": alongside Miriam, and Aaron your brother.

243. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לג פסוק ח

תמיד ואוריך למה שראוי ללבוש אורים ותומים: לאיש חסיי למי שנעשו לו חסדים על ידי בניך: אשר נסיי במי בכל שנסיתו עמד בנסיונו: תריי על מי מריי סיקה פנטיון נעשה לאחיו אם משה אמר שמעו נא המי (במד' כ י) אהרן ומרים מה עשו:

243. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 33:8

"Your *Tumim* and your *Urim*," for him who is worthy of wearing *Urim* and *Tumim*. "Your saintly man," for whom favors were made by Your children. "Whom they tested in Masah," In everything that they tested him, He withstood his test. "You quarreled with him by the waters of Meribah," a false denunciation was made against his brother. If Moses said (Num 20:10), "Do hear, rebels!" Aaron and Miriam, what did they do?

244. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לד פסוק א

הר נבו הר שנקראו לו ארבעה שמות הר העברים הר נבו הר ההר וראש הפסגה: ד"א הר נבו הר שמתו בו שלשה נביאים שלא מתחת ידי עבירה משה אהרן ומרים:

244. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 34:1

Mt. Nebo, which is called four names: Mountain of Avarim, Mt. Nebo, Mountain of the Mountain, and Rosh Hapisgah. Another matter, Mt. Nebo, a mountain where three prophets died, but not due to a transgression: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam

245. מדרש תנאים לדברים פרק לד פסוק ה

על פי ה' בנשיקה מלמד שמיתת משה מפי הקדש ... מיתת אהרן מפי קדש אף מיתת משה מפי קודש אין לי אלא מיתת משה ואהרן ומני אף מיתת מרים אמי' (במדד' כז יג) גם אף מיתת מרים

245. 250-300: Midrash Tannaim to Deuteronomy 34:5

"By the mouth of the Lord, with a kiss." It teaches that Moses' death was from the mouth of the Holy One... even Aaron's death... and from where also even Miriam's death? It is said (Num 27:13) also even Miriam's death.

246. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת וישלח סימן יז

... מדבר בחוה, כשבקש הקב"ה לבראותה, אמר הקב"ה אם אני בורא אותה מן הראש של אדם, רוחה גסה עליה, מעיניו סוקרנית, מפיו תהא דברנית, מידיו תהא גנבת, מרגליו תהא פרסנית, אמר הקב"ה כל העצה הזאת נטלתי עד שלא בראתי אותה, ולא יצאתי מהם אמרתי אם בורא אני אותה מראשו רוחה גסה עליה, שנאמר ויאמר ה' יען כי גבהו בנות ציון וגוי' (ישעיה ג טז), ומעיניו, מסקריות עינים, (שם שם /ישעיהו ג' ט"ז/), ומאזניים ושרה שומעת (בראשית יח י), ומפיו, ותדבר מרים (במדבר יב א), ומידי, ותגנוב רחל (בראשית לא יט), ומרגליו היא נכנסת ויוצאה ותצא דינה...

246. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayishlach 17

... It speaks about Eve: When the Holy One, blessed be He wanted to create her, said the Holy One, blessed be He, "If I create her from the head of Adam, she will be haughty; from his eyes, prying; from his mouth, she will be garrulous; from his hands, she will be a thief; from his feet, she will be a gadabout." Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "I took all this counsel until I would not create her if I did not ignore them. I said, 'if I create her from his head, she will be haughty, as it is said, 'And the Lord said, "Because the daughters of Zion have become haughty," etc. (Is 3:16); and from his eyes, prying of eyes (Is 3:16); and from the ears, "And Sarah was listening" (Gen 18:10); and from his mouth, "And Miriam spoke" (Num 12:1); and from his hands, "And Rachel stole" (Gen 31:19); and from his feet, she will be coming in and going out, "And Dinah went out" ...

247. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת בא סימן ז

אלו שמונים ושש שנים שחזק השיעבוד על ישראל במצרים משנולדה מרים, לפיכך נקרא שמה מרים על שם המירור.

247. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Bo 7

These are eighty six years that the enslavement upon Israel was strengthened from when Miriam was born. Therefore her name was called Miriam, for the embitterment.

248. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת יתרו סימן ח

בחדש השלישי. התורה משולשת, ואותיותיה משולשות, והאבות משולשין, והשבט שניתנה על ידו משולש, ומשה (משולש מביניהם) [שלישי ביניהם], ואותיותיו משולשין, ואחים שלשה, ונצפן לג' ירחים [וביום השלישי, ובחדש השלישי], התורה משולשת תורה נביאים וכתובים, ואותיותיה משולשות אלף בית גימל, האבות משולשין אברהם יצחק ויעקב, ומשה שלישי ביניהם אנכי עומד בין ה' וביניכם (דברים ה ה), ואותיות משולשות משה, ומשבט שלישי ראובן שמעון ולוי, ואחים שלשה משה אהרן ומרים, ונצפן לג' ותצפנהו שלשה ירחים (שמות ב ב), וביום השלישי כי ביום השלישי ירד ה' וגוי' (שם /שמות/ יט יא).

248. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Yitro 8

“In the third month.” The Torah is triple, and its letters are triple, and the Patriarchs are triple, and the tribe into whose hand it was given is triple, and Moses (triple from among them) [third among them], and his letters are triple, and three siblings, and he was hidden for 3 months, [and on the third day, and in the third month]. The Torah is triple: Torah, Prophets, and Writings; and its letters are triple: *alef, beit, gimmel*. The Patriarchs are triple: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And Moses is the third among them, “I stand between the Lord and you” (Deut 5:5). And the letters are triple: *MSH*. And from the third tribe: Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. And three siblings: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. And he was hidden three months (Ex 2:2). And on the third day, “For on the third day the Lord came down,” etc. (Ex 19:11).

249. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת ויקהל סימן ה

וכל השבח הזה מהיכן בא, משבטו של יהודה, [שנאמר] למטה יהודה, זש"ה אז ראה ויספרה הכינה וגם חקרה, ויאמר לאדם הן יראת ה' היא חכמה (איוב כח כז כח), ר' אחא ורבותינו, רבותינו אומרים שתי פעמים היה אומר הדיבור בינו לבין עצמו, ואחר כך אומר לישראל, שנאמר אז ראה ויספרה, הרי אחד, הכינה וגם חקרה, הרי שנים, ואחר כך ויאמר לאדם, ור' אחא אמר ד' פעמים, שנאמר ראה ויספרה הכינה וגם חקרה, הרי ד' פעמים, ממי אתה למד, מיוכבד ומרים, מה כתיב (ויקרא) [ויאמר] מלך מצרים למילדות (שמות א טו), מה אמר להן, וראיתן על האבנים (שם שם /שמות א' טז), למה עשה כן, אלא שהיו האיסטרוולגין אומרים להן ביום הזה גואל של ישראל נולד, ואין אנו יודעים אם מצרי ואם לאו, באותה שעה כינס כל המצרים ואמר להם השאילו לי בניכם יום אחד, שנאמר כל הבן הילוד (שם שם /שמות א' כב), של ישראל אין כתיב כאן, אלא כל הבן, בין ישראל ובין מצרי, ותראינה המילדות, ומה פרע להן הקב"ה, ויעש להן בתים (שם שם /שמות א' כא), בתי כהונה ובתי לוויה ומלכות, יוכבד נטלה כהונה ומלכות שכרה, משה ואהרן, ומה נטלה מרים שכרה, חכמה, שנאמר הן יראת ה' היא חכמה (איוב שם /כ"ח/), העמיד ממנה בצלאל שהיה חכם, ואמלא אותו רוח אלהים.

249. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Vayaqhel 5

“And all this praise,” from where did it come? From the tribe of Judah, [as it is said,] “To the staff of Judah.” This is what the text says, “Then He saw and He recounted it, He established it and He examined it. And He said to the man, ‘Behold, the fear of God, that is wisdom’” (Job 28:27-28). R. Acha and our rabbis: Our rabbis say, “Twice He said the saying to Himself and afterwards He said to Israel, as it is said, ‘Then He saw and He recounted it’ is one; ‘He established it and He examined it’ is two, and then ‘And He said to the man.’” And R. Acha says, “Four times, as it is said, ‘He saw and He recounted it, He established it and He examined it’ is four times. From whom do you learn? From Jochebed and Miriam. What is written? ‘And the king of Egypt (called) [said] to the midwives’ (Ex 1:15). What did he say to them? ‘And you will look upon the two stones’ (Ex 1:16). Why did he do so? Because the astrologists said to them, ‘On this day the redeemer of Israel will be born, and we do not know if he is Egyptian or not.’ At the same time, he assembled all the Egyptians and said to them, ‘Lend me your sons [for] one day,’ as it is said, ‘Every son who is born’ (Ex 1:22). ‘Of Israel’ there is no writing here, but rather ‘every son,’ from Israel and Egyptian. ‘And the midwives feared,’ and how did the Holy One, blessed be He, repay them? ‘And He made for them houses’ (Ex 1:21), houses of priesthood and houses of levitehood and kingship. Jochebed took priesthood and kingship as her reward: Moses and Aaron. What did Miriam take as her reward? Wisdom, as it is said, ‘Behold the fear of the Lord is wisdom’ (Job 28). He caused Betsalel, who was wise, to come from her, ‘And I will fill him with God’s spirit.’”

R. Acha	A-4	320-350
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250. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת מצורע סימן ו

[זאת תהיה תורת המצורע. מי שהוא מדבר לשון הרע בחבירו הצרעת באה עליו, מנין את למד ממרים], ראה מה כתיב במרים, ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה (במדבר יב א), לפיכך ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה [מרים] מצורעת כשלג (שם שם /במדבר י"ב ו/), מה כתיב שם, זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים (דברים כד ט), ומה דברה במשה, אמרה נטל משה אשה, והוא בטל מפריה ורביה,

מה עשה להן הקב"ה, נגלה עליהן והיו צריכין טבילה, שנאמר ויאמר ה' פתאום אל משה ואל אהרן ואל מרים (במדבר יב ד), מהו פתאום, שנגלה אליהם והיו צריכין למים פתאום, אמר להם וכך היו צריכין למים, ואני מדבר עמכם, מיד לקתה מרים בצרעת, שנאמר והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג (שם שם /במדבר י"ב /ו), והלא דברים קל וחומר, ומה מרים שלא דברה כי אם באחיה חביבה שלא בפניו, ולא נתכוונה אלא להחזירו לאשתו, כך, המספר לשון הרע על חבירו על אחת כמה וכמה, מה כתיב למעלה מן הענין השמר בנגע הצרעת (דברים כד ח), ואף אהרן שהיה כהן גדול נגעה בו ידו של הקב"ה, שנאמר ויחר אף ה' בם (במדבר יב ט), באהרן ובמרים, אלא שאהרן נתרפא מיד, ומרים לאחר [שבעת] ימים, [שנאמר] ותסגר מרים [מחוץ למחנה] שבעת ימים (במדבר יב טו), הוי זאת תהיה תורת המצורע, המוציא רע שמצא רע.

250. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Metsora 6

["This will be the teaching of the leper." Anyone who speaks slander about his fellow, leprosy comes upon him. From where do you learn? From Miriam.] See what is written about Miriam, "And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses" (Num 12:1), therefore "Aaron turned to Miriam, and behold [Miriam] was leprous as snow" (Num 12:10). What is written there? "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam" (Deut 24:9). And what did she speak about Moses? She said, "Moses took a wife and he stopped from procreating." What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do to them? He revealed Himself to them and they needed immersion, as it is said, "And the Lord said suddenly to Moses and to Aaron and to Miriam" (Num 12:4). What is "suddenly"? That He revealed Himself to them and they needed water suddenly. He said to them, and thus they needed water, "And I am speaking to you." Immediately Miriam was afflicted with leprosy, as it is said, "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow" (Num 12:10). And aren't matters *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other]? Miriam who spoke but about her beloved brother, not to his face, and intended but to cause him to return to his wife, thus he who tells slander about his fellow, how much more so? What is written above of the matter? "Protect yourself from the affliction of leprosy" (Deut 24:8). And also Aaron, who was High Priest, the hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, afflicted him, as it is said, "And the Lord's anger was kindled at them" (Num 12:9): at Aaron and at Miriam, except that Aaron was healed immediately and Miriam after [seven] days, [as it is said,] "And Miriam was shut up [outside the camp] seven days" (Num 12:15). Woe, "This will be the teaching of the leper," he who brings out evil that finds evil.

251. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת מצורע סימן י

ילמדנו רבינו על כמה דברים הצרעת באה... ועל לשון הרע, מן מרים, [דכתיב והנה מרים מצורעת כשלג, ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת] (במדבר יב ז), ואומר זאת תהיה תורת המצורע, המוציא רע.

אמר ר' אבא בר אבינא מפני מה נסמכה פרשת מרים לפרשת אפר פרה, אלא מלמד שכשם שאפר פרה מכפר, כך מיתת צדיקים מכפרת

251. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Metsora 10

Let our rabbi teach us upon how many things leprosy comes ... and upon slander, from Miriam, [as it is written, "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow. And Aaron turned to Miriam, and behold she was leprous] (Num 12:10), and it says, "This will be the teaching of the leper," he who brings out evil. R. Abba b. Abina said, "Why is the portion on Miriam next to the portion of the heifer's ashes? Because it teaches that just as heifer's ashes atone, so the death of righteous ones atones.

R. Abba b. Abina	A-2	250-290
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252. מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת שלח סימן ו

[ו] [שלח לך אנשים]. זש"ה לא ידעו ולא יבינו (בחשיכה יתהלכו) כי טח מראות עיניהם (ישעיה מד יח), מה ראה לומר אחר מעשה מרים, שלח לך, אלא שהיה צפוי לפני הקב"ה שהם באין ואומרים לשון הרע על הארץ, אמר הקב"ה שלא יאמרו לא היינו יודעים עונשו של לשון הרע מהו, לפיכך סמך את הענין [זה] לזה, ולפי שדיברה מרים באחיה, לקתה בצרעת, כדי שיהו הכל יודעים עונשו של לשון הרע, שנאמר ואחר נסעו העם מחצרות ויחנו במדבר פארן (במדבר יב טז), שאם באו לומר

לשון הרע יהיו מסתכלין במעשה מרים, ואעפ"כ לא רצו ללמד, לכך נאמר לא ידעו ולא יבינו, לכך כתב הקב"ה שילוח מרגלים, אחר מעשה מרים.

252. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Shelach 6

["Send for yourself men."] This is what the text says, "They did not know, and they will not understand [they will walk about in darkness] because their eyes are covered from seeing" (Is 44:18). See what it says after the incident of Miriam, "Send for yourself," so it was anticipated by the Holy One, blessed be He, that they would come and say slander about the land. The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "So that they will not say, 'We did not know what the punishment for slander was.'" Therefore He put [this] matter next to this matter, and since Miriam spoke slander against her brother, she was afflicted with leprosy so that all would know the punishment for slander, as it is said, "And afterwards the people traveled from Chatserot and encamped in the wilderness of Paran" (Num 12:16), for if they came to say slander they would be looking at the incident of Miriam, and even so they did not want to learn. For that reason it is said, "They did not know, and they will not understand." For that reason did the Holy One, blessed be He, wrote the sending of spies after the incident of Miriam.

253. מדרש תנחומא (בנובר) פרשת חקת סימן לח

ויאמר ה' אל משה ואל אהרן בהר ההר [וגוי] יאסף אהרן (במדבר כ כג כד). מלמד שמודיעין לצדיקים יום מיתתן, כדי שיורישו כתרם לבניהם, ומפני מה לא מת אהרן כמו שמתה מרים, ולא ידע בה בריה, אלא נאמר למשה יאסף אהרן, משל למלך שהיו לו שני (קלנליקין) [קתוליקין], ולא היו עושין בלא דעת המלך, היה לאחד מהן חלוק יפה אצל המלך, והיה המלך צריך לו, אמר המלך אע"פ שאני / שאיני צריך לו שהוא ברשותי, איני מסלקו עד שאני מודיעו, אף כך אמר הקב"ה, הללו שני צדיקים לא עשו דבר חוץ מדעתי, עכשיו שאני מסלקו, איני מסלקו עד שאודיעם, לכך נאמר יאסף אהרן.

253. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (B) Chuqat 38

"And the Lord said to Moses and Aaron in Hor the Mountain, etc. Let Aaron be gathered" (Num 20:23-24). It teaches that they cause the righteous ones to know the day of their death so that they will bequeath their crown among themselves. And why didn't Aaron die as Miriam died, and no one knew, but it was told to Moses, "Let Aaron be gathered"? A parable of a king who had two controllers and they did not act without the king's knowledge. One of them had a beautiful robe at the king's and the king needed it. The king said, "Even though I need / do not need it, since it is under my authority, I will not remove it until I cause him to know." Thus also the Holy One, blessed be He, "Those two righteous ones did not do anything out of my knowledge. Now that I am removing them, I will not remove them until I cause them to know." For that reason it is said, "Let Aaron be gathered."

254. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת וישב סימן ו

א"ר יהודה בר שלום ... כשבקש הקב"ה לברוא את חוה היה מחשב מאיזה מקום לבראותה אמר אם אברא אותה מן הראש תהיה רוחה גסה, מן העין תהיה סקרנית, מן הפה תהיה פטפטנית, מן האזן תהיה צייתנית, מן הידים תהיה גונבת, מן הרגלים תהיה פדרנית, מה עשה הקב"ה בראה מן הצלע ממקום צנוע כדי שתהיה צנועה יושבת בבית שנאמר ויקח אחת מצלעותיו (בראשית ב), ואעפ"כ לא יצאו ידיהן מאלו המומין, לא בראה מן הראש שלא תהא רוחה גסה, עמדו בנות ציון והיתה רוחן גסה שנאמר ויאמר ה' יען כי גבהו בנות ציון וגוי (ישעיה ג'), לא בראה מן העין שלא תהא סקרנית עמדה חוה והיתה סקרנית שנאמר (בראשית ג) ותרא האשה כי טוב העץ וגוי, לא בראה מן הפה שלא תהא פטפטנית עמדה לאה והיתה פטפטנית שנאמר (שם / בראשית ל) ותאמר לה המעט קחתך את אישי, וכן (במדבר יב) ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה.

254. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayeshev 6

R. Yehudah b. Shalom said, "... When the Holy One, blessed be He, wanted to create Eve, He thought of what part to create her from. He said, 'If I create her from the head, she will be haughty; from the eye, she will be prying; from the mouth, she will be a chatterbox; from the ear, she will be an eavesdropper; from the hands, she will be a thief; from the feet, she will be a gadabout.' What did the Holy One, blessed be He, do? He created her from the rib, from a modest place so that she would be

modest, sitting at home, as it is said, 'And He took one of his ribs' (Gen 2). And even so their strengths did not go out from these blemishes. He did not create her from the mouth so that she would not be a chatterbox ... and behold (Num 12), 'And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses.'"

R. Yehudah b. Shalom	A-5	350-380
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255. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת בשלח סימן ב

מרים המתינה שעה אחת למשה שנאמר (שמות ב) ותצב אחרתו מרחוק, לפיכך עכב הקב"ה במדבר וענני הכבוד והכהנים והלויים שבעת ימים שנאמר (במדבר יב) והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים.

255. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Beshalach 2

Miriam waited for an hour for Moses, as it is said (Ex 2), "And his sister stood from afar." Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, detained in the wilderness and [sic] the clouds of glory, and the priests, and the Levites seven days, as it is said (Num 12), "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam."

256. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת יתרו סימן י

בחדש השלישי, ... אמר ר' יהושע ברבי נחמיה זו תורה שאותיותיה משולשים אל"ף ביי"ת גימ"ל, והכל היה משולש תורה משולשת תורה נביאים וכתובים, משנה משולשת תלמוד הלכות ואגדות, הסרסור משולש מרים אהרן ומשה ... שלשה בנים לעמרם מרים אהרן ומשה

256. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Yitro 10

"In the third month." ... R. Yehoshua b. R. Nechemyah said, "This is a Torah whose letters are triple, AL" P, BY" T, GM" L. And everything was triple: Torah is triple – Torah, Prophets, and Writings; Mishnah is triple – Talmud, *halakhot*, and *aggadot*; the intermediaries are triple – Miriam, Aaron, and Moses; ... Amram had three children – Miriam, Aaron, and Moses."

R. Yehoshua b. Nechemyah	A-4	320-350
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257. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת תרומה סימן י

ועשית את המזבח עצי שטים ... ושלוש אמות קומתו כנגד שלשה גואלין שנאמר (מיכה ו) ואשלח לפניך את משה אהרן ומרים.

257. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Terumah 10

"And you will make the altar of acacia wood ..." And its height of three cubits corresponding to three redeemers, as it is said (Micah 6), "And I will send before you Moses, Aaron, and Miriam."

258. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת כי תשא סימן יג

משמת חצרון בא כלב אל אפרת זו מרים שפרו ורבו ישראל על ידיה וכתוב ותמת עזובה ויקח לו כלב את אפרת ותלד לו את חור וחור הוליד את אורי ואורי הוליד את בצלאל (שם) דברי הימים א' ב'.

258. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Ki Tisa 13

When Chetsron died, Caleb came to Efrat, who is Miriam, for Israel were fruitful and multiplied upon her hands. And it is written, "And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur, and Hur begot Uri, and Uri begot Betsalel" (1Chr 1:2).

259. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת ויקהל סימן ד

ורבי אחא אומר ארבע פעמים היה אומר כל דבור ודבור ואח"כ אומרו לישראל שנאמר אז ראה ויספרה וגו' ואח"כ ויאמר לאדם ממי את למד מיוכבד וממרים מה כתיב בהם ויקרא מלך מצרים למילדות ויאמר להן וגו' וראיתן על האבנים במקום שהולד נבנה אם בן הוא וגו' (שמות א), ולמה היו עושין כן, אלא שאמרו לו אסטרוֹלוגין שלו ביום הזה גואל ישראל נולד ואין אנו יודעים אם

מצרי הוא אם ישראל באותה שעה כנס את כל המצריים אמר להם השאלו לי בניכם יום אחד שנאמר (שם / שמות א') כל הבן הילוד, מישראל אין כתיב כאן אלא כל הבן הילוד בין מצרי בין ישראל היאורה תשליכוהו, ותיראן המילדות את האלהים וגו', מה פרע להם הקב"ה עשה להם בתים, ומה בתים עשה להם בית כהונה ובית מלכות, יוכבד נטלה כהונה ומלכות אהרן כהן גדול משה מלך ויהי בישראל מלך, ומה שכר נטלה מרים חכמה שנאמר (איוב כח) יראת ה' היא חכמה שיצא ממנה בצלאל שכתוב בו ואמלא אותו רוח אלהים.

259. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Vayaqhel 4

And R. Acha says, "Four times it said each saying, and afterwards they were said to Israel, as it is said, 'Then He saw and He told it,' etc. and later, 'And He said to man.' From whom do you learn? From Jochebed and from Miriam. What is written about them? 'And the king of Egypt called to the midwives and he said to them, etc. And you will look at the two stones,' at the place that the infant is delivered. 'If he is a son,' etc. (Ex 1). And why did they do thus? Because his astrologists told him, 'On this day the redeemer of Israel will be born, and we do not know if he is an Egyptian or Israel.' At that time, he assembled all the Egyptians. He said to them, 'Lend me your sons [for] one day,' as it is said (Ex 1), 'Every son born.' It is not written from Israel here, but 'Every son born' among Egyptian and Israel, 'You shall cast him into the Nile.' 'And the midwives feared God,' etc. How did the Holy One, blessed be He, repay them? "He made for them houses." And what houses did He make for them? A house of priesthood and a house of kingship. Jochebed took priesthood and kingship: Aaron, High Priest; Moses, king ... And what reward did Miriam take? Wisdom, as it is said (Job 28), 'The fear of the Lord is wisdom,' for Betsalel went out from her, about whom it is written, 'And I will fill him with God's spirit.'"

R. Acha	A-4	320-350
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260. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת צו סימן יג ד"ה (יג) זאת תורת

וכן אתה מוצא במרים שנאי (במדבר יב) צאו שלשתכם לא היה צריך משה לצאת שלא דבר עמו כלום, אלא כדי שיהא מזומן להתפלל על מרים לרפא אותה ויקרא אהרן ומרים למה קראם ועזב למשה, לפי שאומרים מקצת שבחו של אדם בפניו וכלו שלא בפניו, וכן מצינו בנח שלא בפניו אמר איש צדיק תמים (בראשית ו) ובפניו אמר כי אותך ראיתי צדיק לפני, דבר אחר שלא ישמע בנזיפתו של אהרן, אמר שמעו נא דברי אין נא אלא לשון בקשה, אם יהיה נביאכם ה' במראה אליו אתודע (במדבר יב) שכניתי אין נגלה עליו באספקלריא מאירה אלא בחלום וחזיון, ולמה אלא שדברו במשה שנאמר ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה ואין דבור בכל מקום אלא ל' קשה, וכן הוא אומר דבר האיש אדוני הארץ אתנו קשות (בראשית מב) ואין אמירה אלא תחנונים, וכן הוא אומר ויאמר אל נא אחי תרעו (שם / בראשית / יט) ויאמר שמעו נא דברי כל נא לשון בקשה, ולמה אמר תחלה מרים ואח"כ אהרן אלא שהיא פתחה בדבר תחלה, ולפיכך הקדימה הכתוב, ומה אמרו הרק אך במשה דבר ה', כלומר במשה דבר ה' לבדו שפירש מאשתו, הלא גם בנו דבר כמו כן דבר עמנו ולא פירשנו מדרך ארץ, ומנין היתה יודעת מרים שפירש משה מן האשה, רבי נתן אומר מרים היתה בצד צפורה כשאמרו למשה אלדד ומידד מתנבאים במחנה וכיון ששמעה צפורה אמרה או להם לנשותיהם של אלו, ומאיזה זמן פירש משה מדרך ארץ, אלא בשעה שאמר הקב"ה למשה בסיני קודם מתן תורה שיקדש את העם ואמר להם לשלש ימים אל תגשו אל אשה, פירשו הם מנשותיהם ופירש משה מאשתו, ואחר מ"ת = מתן תורה = אמר ליה הקב"ה לך אמור להם שובו לכם לאהליכם ואתה פה עמוד עמדי (דברים ה) ואל תשוב לדרך ארץ, וכשאמרה צפורה אוי לנשותיהן של אלו הן נזקקין לנבואה שיהו פורשין מנשותיהם כמו שפירש בעלי הימני, ומשם ידעה מרים והגידה לאהרן ומה מרים שלא נתכוונה לגנותו של משה נענשה ק"ו למספר בגנותו של חברו ובלשון הרע ילקה האדם בצרעת ...

ויחר אף ה' בס וילך (שם / במדבר י"ב) למד כי מאחר שהודיע סרחונם אחרי כן גזר עליה נידוי ק"ו ב"ו = בשר ודם = שלא יכעוס על חברו עד שיודיענו סרחונו, והענן סר מעל האהל ואחרי כן והנה מרים מצורעת כשגל, משל למלך שאמר לפדגוגו הכה את בני אבל לא תכנו עד שאלך מאצלך שרחמי עליו, אל נא תשת עלינו חטאת אשר נואלנו (שם / במדבר י"ב) אל נא תהי כמת, מה מת מטמא בביאה אף מצורע מטמא בביאה, אשר בצאתו מרחם אמו, מרחם אמנו היה לו לומר אלא שכנהו הכתוב כן, וכן חצי בשרו היה לו לומר חצי בשרנו ולפי משמעו נראה לי כן אין ראוי להניח את אחותינו להיות כמת כי מאחר שיצאת מרחם אמו של זה שהיה בידו לעזור ואינו עוזרו הרי

יאכל חצי בשרו שאחיו בשרו הוא, דבר אחר אל נא תהי כמת אם אינך רופאה בתפלה מי מסגירה ומי מטמאה כי איני אפשר לראותה כי אני קרוב ואין קרוב רואה את הנגעים וכהן אחר אין בעולם, וזהו שנאמר אשר בצאתו מרחם אמו, אל נא רפא נא לה בא הכתוב ללמדך דרך ארץ שהשואל דבר צריך שיאמר שנים או שלשה דברי תחנונים ואחר כך יבקש שאלותיו, לאמר מה ת"ל, א"ל השיבני אם מרפא אתה אותה אם לאו, עד שהשיבו ואביה ירוק בפינה, ומפני מה לא האריך משה בתפלה זו כדי שלא יהיו ישראל אומרים אחותו נתונה בצרה והוא מרבה בתפלה תסגר שבעת ימים אחר תאסף, ואני אומר כי כל האסיפות שיש במצורעים יהיו על שם שהוא משולח מן המחנה וכשהוא נרפא נאסף אל המחנה, כל אסיפה לשון הכנסה הוא, והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים כבוד זה חלק לה המקום בשביל שעה אחת שנתעכבה למשה כשהושלך ליאור שנאמר (שמות ב) ותצב אחותו מרחוק היא עכבה שעה אחת וכל ישראל עכבו בשבילה שבעת ימים.

260. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Tsav 13

And thus you find with Miriam, as it is said (Num 12), "Come out, you three." It was not necessary for Moses to come out for He did not speak with him at all. Rather, so that he would be ready to pray for Miriam to heal her. "And He called Aaron and Miriam." Why did He call them and left out Moses? Because they say a little of a man's praise to his face and all of it not to his face, and thus we concluded with Noah, that not to his face did it say, "He was an innocent man" (Gen 6), and to his face He said, "For you I saw, a righteous man before Me." Another matter: So that he would not hear Aaron's rebuke. He said, "Do hear my words," there is no *na* but in the language of request. "If there were a prophet among you, [I] the Lord, in a vision, will make Myself known to him" (Num 12) ... And why did they speak about Moses? As it is said, "And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses." And there is no "speaking" anywhere except for harsh language, and thus it says, "The man, the lord of the land, spoke to us harshly" (Gen 42). And there is no "saying" except for supplications. And thus it says, "And he said, 'Do not, O my brothers, act wickedly'" (Gen 19), "And he said, 'Do hear my words'" (Num 12): every *na* is the language of request. And why did it say at the beginning Miriam and afterwards Aaron? Because she opened with a word at the beginning, and therefore preceded the text. And what did they say? "Has the Lord indeed spoken only with Moses?" That is to say, did the Lord speak with Moses alone, that he separated from his wife? Didn't He speak with us? Furthermore He spoke with us and we did not separate from the way of the earth. And from where did Miriam know that Moses had separated from the woman? R. Natan says, "Miriam was by Zipporah's side when they told Moses, 'Eldad and Meidad are prophesying in the camp.' And when Zipporah heard, she said, 'Woe to the wives of those.' And from what time did Moses separate from the way of the earth? At the time that the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses in Sinai, prior to the giving of the Torah, that he should sanctify the people. And he said to them, 'For three days do not approach a woman.' They separated from their wives and Moses separated from his wife, and after the giving of the Torah the Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, 'Say to them, "Return to your tents," and you stand here with Me (Deut 5) and do not return to the way of the earth.' And when Zipporah said, 'Woe to the wives of those. They are dependent on prophecy and they will separate from their wives like my husband separated from me.' And from there Miriam knew and she said to her brother. And if Miriam, who did not intend her brother's shame, was punished, *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other] he who tells the shame of his fellow and [speaks] slander will be afflicted with leprosy"...

"And the Lord's anger was kindled against them, and He went" (Num 12). Learn that after He caused them to know their moral corruption, afterwards He decreed banishment upon her, all the more so flesh and blood, who will not be angry at his fellow until he has caused him to know his moral corruption. "And the cloud turned aside from the tent," and afterwards, "And behold Miriam, leprous as snow." A parable of a king who said to the tutor, 'Hit my son, but do not hit him until he asks from you that I have mercy upon him.'" "Do not put upon us a sin, for we have done something foolish" (Num 12). "Let her indeed not be as one dead." What does a dead person defile? Upon arrival, also a leper defiles upon arrival. "In his coming out of his mother's womb," "Of our mother's womb," he should have said, but Scripture set it so. And thus "half of his flesh," he should have said, "Half of our flesh." And according to its meaning, it seems to me so. "It is not worthy to leave our sister to be as one dead," for from another who came out from the womb of his mother of this in whose hand was to help and did not help him, indeed half of his flesh will be eaten for his brother is his flesh. Another matter, "Let her indeed not be as one dead," if you do not heal her with prayer, who will shut her up and who will purify

her? For it is not possible for me to see her because I am a relative, and a relative does not see the afflicted, and there is no other priest in the world. And this is what is said [about] “when he is coming out of his mother’s womb.” “God, do heal her, God do heal her.” Scripture comes to teach courtesy, for the one who requests a thing must say two or three words of supplication, and afterwards he should request his petitions. What does it teach us? He said to him, “Answer me if you are healing her or not” until “And had her father indeed spit in her face.” And why wasn’t Moses long in prayer. This is in order that Israel would not say, “His sister was in distress, and he enlarges the prayer.” “Let her be shut up seven days, after she will be gathered.” And I say that all the gatherings there are were with lepers because he is sent away from the camp, and when he is healed, he is gathered to the camp. Every gathering is the language of bringing in. “And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam,” God apportioned this honor to her for the one hour that she was detained for Moses when he was cast into the Nile, as it is said (Ex 2), “And her sister stood from afar,” she delayed for one hour and all Israel delayed for her seven days.

R. Natan	T-4	160-190
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261. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת מצורע סימן ב

כך נאמר זאת תהיה תורת המצורע, ללמדך שהמספר לה"ר הנגעים באין עליו שנאמר זאת תהיה תורת המצורע המוציא שם רע מוצא רע שהנגעים רעים מוצאין בגופו, ראה מה כתיב במרים (במדבר יב) ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה לפיכך ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת, מה כתיב שם זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים וגו' (דברים כד) והלא דברים ק"ו ומה מרים שלא דברה אלא באחיה חביבה שלא בפניו ולא נתכונה אלא להחזירו לאשתו כך המספר לשון הרע על חבירו עאכ"ו, מה כתיב למעלה מן הענין השמר בנגע הצרעת (שם /דברים כ"ד/) ואף אהרן שהיה כהן גדול נגעה בו ידו של הקב"ה שנאמר (שם /במדבר י"ט/) ויחר אף ה' בם וילך, בם במרים ובאהרן אלא שאהרן נתרפא מיד ומרים לאחר שבעה ימים שנאמר (שם /במדבר י"ב/) ותסגר מרים שבעת ימים.

261. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Metsora 2

So it is said, “This will be the teaching of the leper,” to teach you that he who tells slander, the afflictions come upon him, as it is said, “This will be the teaching of the leper,” he who brings out an evil name finds evil because the evil afflictions find his body. See what is written about Miriam (Num 12), “And Miriam spoke, and Aaron about Moses.” Therefore “And Aaron turned to Miriam and behold she was leprous.” What is written there, “Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam,” etc. (Deut 24) ... If Miriam, who spoke but about her beloved brother, not to his face, and intended but to return him to his wife was [punished] so, he who tells slander about his fellow how much more so? What is written above from the matter? “Protect yourself from the affliction of leprosy” (Deut 24). And also Aaron, who was High Priest, the hand of the Holy One, blessed be He, afflicted him, as it is said (Num [12]:9), “And the Lord’s anger was kindled at them, and He went.” “At them,” at Miriam and at Aaron, except that Aaron was healed immediately and Miriam after seven days, as it is said (Num 12), “And Miriam was shut up seven days.”

262. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת מצורע סימן ד ד"ה (ד) ילמדנו רבינו

ילמדנו רבינו על כמה דברים נגעים באים על האדם, כך שנו רבותינו על אחת עשרה דברים הנגעים באים ... ועל לשון הרע מנין ממרים דכתיב (במדבר יב) ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצורעת.

262. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Metsora 4

Let our rabbi teach us for how many things do afflictions come upon man. Thus taught our rabbis, “For twelve things the afflictions come ... and for slander, from where? From Miriam, as it is written (Num 12), ‘And Aaron turned to Miriam, and behold, she was leprous.’”

263. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת אחרי מות סימן ז

אמר רבי אבא בר אבינא מפני מה נסמכה מיתת מרים לפרשת אפר הפרה, אלא ללמד שכשם שאפר הפרה מכפרת אף מיתת מרים מכפרת.

263. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Acharei Mot 7

R. Abba b. Abina said, "Why was Miriam's death put next to the portion of the heifer's ashes but to teach that just as the heifer's ashes atone, also Miriam's death atones?"

R. Abba b. Abina	A-2	250-290
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264. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת שלח סימן ה

דבר אחר שלח לך אנשים מה כתיב למעלה מן הענין (במדבר יב) ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה ואח"כ שלח לך אנשים, זש"ה לא ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות עיניהם מהשכל לבותם (ישעיה מד) מה ראה לומר אחר מעשה מרים שלח לך אנשים, אלא שהיה צפוי לפני הקב"ה שיהיו באין ואומרים לשון הרע על הארץ, אמר הקב"ה לא יהיה להם פתחון פה לומר לא היינו יודעים עונש של לשון הרע מה הוא לפיכך סמך הקב"ה הענין הזה לזה כדי שידעו הכל עונשו של לשון הרע שאם בקשו לומר לשון הרע יהו מסתכלין מה נעשה במרים אעפ"כ לא רצו ללמוד לכך נאמר לא ידעו ולא יבינו (שם/ישעיהו מ"ד) לכך כתב הקב"ה שלוח המרגלים אחר מעשה מרים.

264. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Shelach 5

Another matter, "Send for yourself men." What is written above from the matter? (Num 12) "And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses," and afterwards, "Send for yourself men." This is what is written, "They did not know, and they will not understand because their eyes are covered from seeing, from the understanding of their heart" (Is 44). See what it says after the incident of Miriam, "Send for yourself," so it was anticipated by the Holy One, blessed be He, that they would come and say slander about the land. The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "They will not have an opportunity to say, 'We did not know what the punishment for slander was.'" Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, put this matter next to this one, so that all would know the punishment for slander, that if they sought to say slander, they would look at what was done to Miriam. Even so, they did not want to learn. For that reason it is said, "They did not know, and they will not understand" (Is 44). For that reason did the Holy One, blessed be He, wrote the sending of spies after the incident of Miriam.

265. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת חקת סימן טו

(טו) ויאמר ה' אל משה ואל אהרן בהר ההר וגוי' יאסף אהרן אל עמיו מלמד שמודיעין לצדיקים יום מיתתן כדי שיורישו את כתרן לבניהם, ומפני מה לא מת אהרן כמה שמתה מרים ולא נתעסק בו בריה אלא נאמר למשה יאסף אהרן, מלה"ד למלך שהיו לו שני קתוליקין ולא היו עושין דבר בלא דעת המלך, היה לאחד מהן חלוק יפה אצל המלך והיה המלך צריך לו, אמר המלך אע"פ שהוא ברשותי איני לובש חלוק עד שאני מודיעו, אף כאן אמר הקב"ה הללו שני צדיקים לא עשו דבר חוץ מדעתי ועכשיו שאני מסלקן איני מסלקן עד שאודיעם, לכך נאמר יאסף אהרן.

265. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Chuqat 15

"And the Lord said to Moses and Aaron in Hor the Mountain, etc. Let Aaron be gathered to his people." It teaches that they cause righteous people to know the day of their death so that they will bequeath their crown to their sons. And why didn't Aaron die like Miriam died, and no one occupied himself with it, but it was told to Moses, "Let Aaron be gathered." A parable: To what does the matter resemble? To a king who had two controllers and they did not do anything without the king's knowledge. One of them had a beautiful robe at the king's, and the king needed it. The king said, "Even though it is within my authority, I do not wear the robe [until] I cause him to know." Also here the Holy One, blessed be He, said, "These two righteous ones did not do anything outside of my knowledge and now that I am removing them, I will not remove them until I cause them to know. Thus it is said, "Let Aaron be gathered."

266. מדרש תנחומא (ורשא) פרשת פינחס סימן ז

ותקרבנה בנות צלפחד אותו הדור הנשים היו גודרות מה שאנשים פורצין שכן את מוצא שאמר להם אהרן פרקו נזמי הזהב (שמות לב) ולא רצו הנשים ומיחו בבעליהן שנאמר ויתפרקו כל העם וגוי' והנשים לא נשתתפו במעשה העגל, וכן במרגלים שהוציאו דבה וישבו וילינו עליו ועליהם נגזרה גזרה שאמרו לא נוכל לעלות אל העם (במדבר יג) אבל הנשים לא היו עמהם בעצה שהרי

כתיב למעלה מן הענין כי אמר ה' להם מות ימותו במדבר ולא נותר מהם איש וגוי איש ולא אשה על מה שלא רצו להכנס לארץ, אבל הנשים קרבו עצמן לבקש נחלה ותקרבה בנות צלפחד ולכך נכתבה פרשה זו סמוך למיתת מרים שמשם פרצו האנשים וגדרו הנשים.

266. 400-700: Midrash Tanchuma (W) Pinchas 7

“And the daughters of Tselofechad approached.” In that generation the women fenced in what the men breached, for thus you find that Aaron said to them, “Remove the gold nose rings,” and the women did not want to and they protested against their husbands, as it is said, “And all the people removed,” etc. and the women did not participate in the event of the calf. And thus with the spies who brought out slander and they repeated it and they complained about it, and upon them was decreed a decree for they had said, “We will not be able to go up against the people” (Num 13). But the women were not with them in the counsel, for it is written above the matter, “For the Lord said to them, ‘They will indeed die in the wilderness,’ and not a man of them remained,” etc. “A man” and not “a woman” because they had not wanted to enter the land. But the women approached for themselves to ask for a possession: “And the daughters of Tselofechad approached.” And thus this portion was written next to Miriam’s death, for from there the men broke out and the women refrained.

267. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - בראשית אות קסד

כשרצה הב"ה לברא את האשה, היה מחשב מאי זה אבר לבראתה. אמר: אם אברא אותה מן הראש, תהא רוחה גסה; מן העין, תהא סקרנית; מן הפה, תהא פשטית; מן האזן, תהא ציתנית; מן הידים, תהא גנבית; מן הגלים תהא פרדנית. מה עשאה, בראה מן הצלע, ממקום צנוע, כדי שתהא צנועה וישבת בבית. ואעפ"כ יצאו ידיהן. לא בראה מן הראש שלא תהא רוחה גסה, עמדו בנות ציון שהיתה רוחם גסה, שני יען כי גבהו בנות ציון וגוי (יש' ג', ט"ז). לא בראה מהעין שלא תהא סקרנית, עמדה חוה והיתה סקרנית, שני ותרא האשה כי טוב העץ וגוי (ברי' ג', ו'). לא בראה מהפה שלא תהא פטטית, עמדה לאה והיתה פטטית, שני ותאמר לה המעט קחתך אישי וגוי (שם, ל', ט"ו), וכן ותדבר מרים (במי' י"ב, א').

267. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Yalqut Talmud Torah, Gen 164

When the Holy One, blessed be He, wanted to create woman, He pondered from which part to create her. “If I create her from the head, she will be haughty, from the eye, she will be prying; from the mouth, she will be chatty [sic. “simple”]; from the ear, she will be eavesdropping; from the hands, she will be thieving; from the feet [sic. “waves”], she will be a runabout” What did He do? He created her from the rib, from a modest place so that she would be modest, sitting at home. And even so their strengths came out... He did not create her from the mouth so that she would not be chatty ... and behold, “And Miriam spoke” (num 12:1).

268. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה - פרשת שלח (דף נ"א, ע"א) ד"ה יבש חציר נבל

ד"א שלח לך אנשים. מה כתיב למעלה מן הענין ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה וגוי, מה ראה לסמוך פרשת מרגלים לפר' מרים, אלא שהיה גלוי וידוע לפניו שהיו באים ומספרים לשון הרע, לפי סמך זה לזה. ולפי שדברה באחיה לקתה בצרעת כדי שידעו הכל ענשו של לשון הרע מהו. ואעפ"כ לא למדו ממנה. ועליהם הוא או' לא ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות עיניהם.

268. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Yalqut Talmud Torah, Shelach (p. 51, 61)

Another matter, “Send for yourself men.” What is written above of the matter? “And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses,” etc. What did He see to put the portion of the spies next to the portion of Miriam, but that it was revealed and known before Him that they would come and tell slander. Therefore He put this one next to this one. And as she spoke about her brother, she was afflicted with leprosy so that all would know what the punishment of slander was. And even so, they did not learn from her. And about them it says, “They did not know and they will not understand because their eyes are covered from seeing.”

269. מדרש ילמדנו (מאן) ילקוט תלמוד תורה – פרשת פינחס ד"ה ר' שמעון או'

ר' שמעון או' למה"ד למלך שהיה מהלך בדרך ובנו עמו על קרובין, כיון שהגיע למקום צר נהפכו קרובין על בנו, נסמית עינו, נקטעה ידו, נשברה רגלו. כל זמן שהיה מגיע לאותו מקום היה או' כאן נסמית עינו שלבני כאן נקטעה ידו כאן נקטעה רגלו. כך הב"ה מזכיר בתורה ג' פעמים מי מריבה, מי מריבה, מי מריבה: כאן הרגתי מרים, כאן הרגתי אהרן, כאן הרגתי משה. הה"ד נשמטו בידי סלע שפטיהם.

269. 400-700: Midrash Yelamdenu (M) Yalqut Talmud Torah, Pinchas

R. Shimeon says, "To what does the matter resemble? To a king who walked about on the way and his son was him in a carriage. When he arrived to a narrow place, the carriage overturned upon his son, his eye was blinded, his hand was cut off, his leg was broken. Every time that he arrived at the same place, he said, 'Here my son's eye was blinded, here his hand was cut off, here his leg was cut off.' Thus, the blessed be He mentions in the Torah 3 times, 'The waters of Meribah, the waters of Meribah, the waters of Meribah. Here I killed Miriam, here I killed Aaron, here I killed Moses.' As it is written, 'Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock.'"

R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
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270. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק יג פסוק (ד) היום

היום אתם יוצאים בחדש האביב כשר לא חם ולא צונן וכן הוא אומר אלקים מושיב יחידים ביתה מוציא אסירים בכושרות (תה' סח ז) [ד"א] בכושרות במעשה כשרים שבהן אלו אברהם יצחק ויעקב. ד"א זה משה אהרן ומרים.

270. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon b. Yochai 13:4

"This day ye go forth in the month Abib," in a month that is suitable, that it is not hot and not cool, and thus it says, "God causes individuals to settle in a house; He brings out prisoners into prosperity" (Ps 68:7). [Another matter,] "Into prosperity." On the subject of worthy [persons], that among them are these, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Another matter, This is Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

271. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק טו פסוק (כ) ותקח

ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן היכן נתנבאה מרים הרי הוא אומ' ותהר האשה ותלד בן ותרא אותו וגומ' (שמי' ב ב) אמרה לו לאביה סופך להוליד בן שעתיד לגאל את ישי' ממצ' ענה אביה ואמ' לה היכן היא נבואתך ועדיין היא בנבואתה עומדת [שנא'] ותתצב אחותו מרחוק (שם ב ד) אין כל יציבה בכל מקום אלא רוח הקודש שנא' קרא את יהושע וגומ' (דבי' לא יד) ואומ' ויבא ייי ויתיצב וגומ' (ש"א ג י) והנה ייי נצב עליו וגו' (ברי' כח יג) ראיתי את ייי נצב על המזבח וגומ' (עמי' ט א) מרחוק (שמי' ב ד) אין מרחוק אלא רוח הקדש שנא' מרחוק ייי נראה לי וגומ' (ירמי' לא ב) לדעה (שמי' ב ד) אין לדעה אלא רוח הקדש שנא' כי מלאה הארץ דעה את ייי וגומ' (ישעי' יא ט). אחות אהרן וכי אחות אהרן היתה והלא אחות שניהם אלא לפי שנתן נפשו עליה נקראת על שמו. כיוצא בו אתה אומ' ויקחו שני בני יעקב וגומ' (ברי' לד כה) וכי אחות שניהם הייתה והלא אחות כל השבטים הייתה א[לא לפי שנתנו] נפשם עליה נקראת על שמו. כיוצא בו אתה אומ' בת נשיא מדין אחותם (במי' כה יח) וכי אחותם [בת אומתם] הייתה אלא לפי שנתנה אומתה נפשי עליה נקי על שמה. את התף בידה. וכי מאין להם <לישי> תופים על היס אלא לפי שהצדיקים מובטחין עם יציאתן ממצ' שהמקי עושה להן ניסין וגבורות לפיכך נטלו טופין ומחולות בידם.

271. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon b. Yochai 15:20

"And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took." And where did Miriam prophesy? Here it says, "And the woman conceived and gave birth to a son, and she saw him," etc. (Ex 2:2). She said to her father, "You will end up begetting a son, who in the future will redeem Israel from Egypt." Her father answered and he said to her, "Where is your prophecy?" And she still stood by her prophecy, [as it is said,] "And his sister stood from afar" (Ex 2:4). There is no "standing" anywhere except for the Spirit of Holiness, as it is said, "Call Joshua," etc. (Deut 31:14). And it says, "And the Lord came and stood," etc. (1Sam 3:10); "And behold the Lord was standing over him," etc. (Gen 28:13); "I saw the Lord standing above the altar" (Amos 9:1). "From afar" (Ex 2:4). There is no "From afar" except for the

Holy Spirit, as it is said, “From afar the Lord revealed Himself to me,” etc. (Jer 31:2). “To know” (Ex 2:4). There is no “To know” except for the Spirit of Holiness, as it is said, “For the earth was full of knowledge of the Lord,” etc. (Is 11:9). “Aaron’s sister.” But was she Aaron’s sister? And wasn’t she the sister of both of them? Rather, since he risked his life for her, she was called by his name. As it comes out in it, you say, “And the two sons of Jacob took,” etc. (Gen 34:25), but wasn’t she the sister of all the tribes? R[ather, since they risked] their lives for her, she was called by their names. As it comes out in it, you say, “Their sister was the daughter of the prince of Midian” (Num 25:18), but was their sister [a daughter of their nation]? Rather, since her nation risked its life for her, she was called by her name. “The timbrel in her hand.” And from where did they <Israel> have timbrels by the sea? Rather that as the righteous were assured with their going out from Egypt that God would make for them miracles and mighty deeds, they took timbrels and dances in their hands.

272. מכילתא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי פרק טו פסוק (כא) ותען

ותען להן מרים מגיד הכתי שכשם שאמי משה שירה לאנשים כך אחותו אמרה שירה לנשים שירו ליי כי גאה גאה.

272. 4th cent.: Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimeon b. Yochai 15:21

“And Miriam sang to them [fem].” Scripture tells that just as Moses sang a song to the men, so his sister sang a song to the women, “Sing to the Lord, for He is indeed exalted.”

276. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה מה ד"ה (ה) ותאמר שרי

ר' מנחמה בשם ר' אבון חימסה פניו, ורבנין אמי ארבע מידות נאמרו בנשים גרגרניות צייתניות עצלניות קנאות ... ר' יהושע בר נחמיה אמר אף איסטטניות ודברניות, איסטטניות ותאמר שרי אל אברם חמסי עליך, דברניות ותדבר מרים ואהרן וגוי (במדבר יב א), ר' לוי אמר אף גנבות ופרסניות, גנבות ותגנב רחל את גוי (בראשית לא יט), פרסניות ותצא דינה (שם /בראשית/ לד א).

276. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 45:5

R. Manchamah in the name of R. Abun injured his face, and the rabbis say, “Four traits were said of the women: gluttony, curiosity, laziness, jealousy.” ... R. Yehoshua b. Nechemyah said, “Also querulousness and garrulousness ... ‘Garrulousness,’ ‘And Miriam spoke, and Aaron,’ etc. (Num 12:1).” R. Levi said, “Also thievery and being a gadabout...”

R. Manchamah	A-6	380-420
R. Abun	A-4	320-350
R. Yehoshua b. Nechemyah	A-4	320-350
R. Levi	A-3	290-320

277. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה פ ד"ה אחי דינה וכי

אחי דינה וכי אחות שניהם היית ולא אחות לכל השבטים, אלא לפי שנתנו עצמם עליה נקראת לשמם, דכוותה ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן (שמות טו כ) ולא אחות משה, אלא לפי שנתן אהרן נפשו עליה נקראת על שמו...

277. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 80

“Dinah’s brothers.” But was she the sister of both of them and not the sister of all the tribes? Rather, as they gave themselves for her, she is called by their name. Like her, “And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron’s sister, took” (Ex 15:20), and not Moses’ sister? Rather, since Aaron’s risked his life for her, she is called by his name ...

278. בראשית רבה (תיאודור-אלבק) פרשה פח ד"ה (ט י) ויספר

ויספר שר המשקים וגוי והנה גפן לפני ... ובגפן שלשה שריגים משה אהרן ומרים,

278. 400-450: Genesis Rabbah (T-A) 89

“And the butler told, etc. And behold, a vine before me” ... “And on the vine, three shoots,” Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

279. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת יומא פרק א דף לח טור ב/ה"א

אמר רבי חייה בר בא בני אהרן באחד בניסן מתו ולמה הוא מזכיר מיתתן ביום הכיפורים ללמדך שכשם שיום הכיפורים מכפר על ישרי' כך מיתתן של צדיקים מכפרת על ישראל אמר רבי בא בר בינה למה סמך הכתוב מיתת מרים לפרשת פרה ללמדך שכשם שאפר פרה מכפרת על ישראל כך מיתתן של צדיקים מכפרת על ישרי'

279. Ca. 400: J Talmud Yoma 1:38b

Said R. Chiyah b. Ba, "Aaron's sons died on the first of Nissan. But why does it mention their death on the Day of Atonement? To teach you that just as the Day of Atonement atones for Israel, so the death of righteous ones atones for Israel." R. Ba b. Binah, "Why does the text put Miriam's death next to the portion of the [red] heifer? To teach you that just as the ashes of the heifer atone for Israel, so the death of righteous ones atones for Israel."

R. Chiyah b. Ba	A-3	290-320
R. Ba b. Binah	A-2	250-290

280. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת תענית פרק ד דף סח טור ד/ה"ה

א"ר לוי כתיב אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם ואין מאור עיניו של אדם חוזר אלא לאחר ארבעים יום הדא היא דכתיב ויהי בשנה השנית בחדש השיני בעשרים בחודש וגוי' וכתיב ויסעו מהר יי' דרך שלשת ימים רבי זכריה חתניה דרבי לוי לאילין טלייא דמיתפניי מן סיפרא ונפקון לון בכפריי בו ביום נתאוו תאוו עד חודש ימים עד אשר יצא מאפכם ובשבעת ימי מרים ותסגר מרים מחוץ למחנה ובארבעים יום של מרגלים וישבו מתור הארץ מקץ ארבעים יום וילכו ויבואו אל משה ואל אהרן וגוי'

280. Ca. 400: J Talmud Taanit 4:68d

R. Levi said, "It is written, 'That the man will do them and live by them,' and there is no vision of a man who returns but after forty days, as it is written there, 'And it was in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth day,' etc. And it is written, 'And they traveled from the Mountain of the Lord, a three day journey.'" R. Zecharyah, R. Levi's son-in-law, "To those young men who are released from the teacher and they go out in the villages. On that day they are seized with craving until a month of days, until it went out of their noses. And on seven days of Miriam, 'And Miriam was shut up outside the encampment.' And of the forty days of spies, 'And they came back from scouting the land at then end of forty days, and they went and they came to Moses and Aaron,' etc."

R. Levi	A-3	290-320
R. Zecharyah, R. Levi's s.i.l.	A-4	320-350

281. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת מועד קטן פרק ג דף פג טור ד/ה"ז

רבי תנחום בר' עילאי דמך בחנוכתא רבי דוסא דמך בריש ירחא דניסן עבדין ליה איברייא סברין מימר מן דעתון דרבנן ובדקון ואשכחון דלא מן דעתון דרבנן ר' קרוספי דמך במועדא ועבדון ליה איברייא סברין מימי' מן דעתיה דרבי אמי ובדקון ואשכחון דלא מן דעתיה דרבי אמי ר' חלבו רבי בא בר זבדא בשם רב אפילו לשעה מן הדא ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם ואנן חמי רבנן עניין בדיבורא

281. Ca. 400: J Talmud Moed Qatan 3:83d

R. Tanchum b. Ilai died in Chanukah, R. Dosa died on the New Month of Nissan. They prepared for him a mourner's meal. They understood the commandment to be with the consent of the rabbis, but they examined and found that it was not with the consent of the rabbis. R. Crispai died during a festival and they prepared for him a mourner's meal. They understood the commandment to be with the consent of R. Ammi, but they examined and found that it was not with the consent of R. Ammi. R. Chelbo [and] R. Ba b. Zabda [said] in the name of Rab, "Even for an hour from this woman, 'And Miriam died there and she was buried there,' and we, the sons-in-law of rabbis, are poor in revelation."

R. Chelbo	A-4	320-350
R. Ba b. Zabda	A-2	250-290
Rab	A-1	d. 247

282. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת סוטה פרק א דף טז טור א/מ"ט

וכן לעניין הטובה מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת שנאמר ותצב אחותו מרחוק לפיכך נתעכבו לה כל ישר' שבעת ימים במדבר שנאמר והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים

282. Ca. 400: J Talmud Sotah 1:16a

And thus on the matter of the good. Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said, "And his sister stood from afar." Therefore, all Israel were delayed for her seven days in the wilderness, as it is said, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam."

283. תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת סוטה פרק א דף יז טור ב/ה"ח

וכן לעניין הטובה מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת שנאמר ותצב אחותו מרחוק וגוי לפיכך נתעכבו לה ישראל שבעת ימים במדבר שנאמר והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים אמר רבי יוחנן פסוק זה ברוח הקודש נאמר ותצב אחותו ראיתי את יי' נצב על המזבח אחותו אמור לחכמה אחותי את מרחוק מרחוק יי' נראה לי לדעה כי מלאה הארץ דעה את יי' מה יעשה לו כי לא יעשה יי' אלהים דבר כי אם גלה סודו אל עבדיו הנביאים

283. Ca. 400: J Talmud Sotah 1:17b

And thus on the matter of the good. Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said, "And his sister stood from afar," etc. Therefore, all Israel were delayed for her seven days in the wilderness, as it is said, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam." R. Yochanan said, "This verse was said with the Spirit of Holiness. "And his sister stood," I saw the Lord standing on the altar. "His sister," is said of wisdom, "You are my sister." "From afar," "From afar the Lord appeared to me." "To know," for the earth is full of knowledge of the Lord." "What would be done to him," for the Lord God would not do anything except if He revealed His secret to His servants the prophets.

R. Yochanan	A-2	d. 279
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290. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה טו ד"ה [ח] תנא כיצד

תנא כל הנגעין אדם רואה חוץ מנגעי עצמו. ר' מאיר אוי' אף לא נגעי קרוביו. מי ראה נגע מרים, אם תאמר משה ראה, אין זר רואה את הנגעים. ואם תאמר אהרן ראה, אין קרוב רואה את הנגעים. אמר הקב"ה אני כהנא, אני מסגירה, אני מטהרה. הה"ד והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים (במדבר יב, טו). אמר ר' סימון העם היה עם השכינה והשכינה היתה ממתנת לה. ר' לוי בשי' ר' חמא בר' חנינה צער גדול היה לו למשה בדבר הזה, כך הוא כבודו שלאחרן אחי להיות רואה את הנגעים,

290. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 15:9

A *tanna* teaches, "A man sees all the afflictions except his own afflictions." R. Meir says, "Neither the afflictions of his relatives." Who saw Miriam's affliction? If you say, "Moses saw," a stranger [i.e. non-priest] does not see the afflictions. And if you say, "Aaron saw," a relative does not see the afflictions. The Holy One, blessed be He, said, "I am a priest, I shut her up, I purify her." As it is written there, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam" (Num 12:15). R. Simon said, "The people was with the *Shekhinah* and the *Shekhinah* was waiting for her." R. Levi said in the name of R. Chama b. Chaninah, "Moses had a great sorrow about this matter, thus it was his brother Aaron's honor to see the afflictions."

R. Meir	T-3	130-160
R. Simon	A-3	290-320
R. Levi	A-3	290-320
R. Chama b. Chaninah	A-2	250-290

291. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה טז ד"ה [א] זאת תהיה

ר' ראובן אמ' לשון יווני הוא סירון סירון. לשון שקר (משלי ו, יז), ממרים, ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה (במדבר יב, א). ומנין שלקת בצרעת, שני והענן סר מעל האהל וגוי' (שם) /במדבר י"ב/ פסוק י.

291. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 16:1

R. Reuben said, "[In] the tongue of a Greek it is, 'sweep, sweep.' A lying tongue" (Prov 7:17). From Miriam, 'And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses' (Num 12:1). And from where that she was afflicted with leprosy? As it is said, 'And the cloud turned aside from above the tent,' etc. (Num 12:10)."

R. Reuben	A-2	250-290
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292. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה טז ד"ה [ה] אל תתן

רבנן פתרינן קרייא במרים. אל תתן את פיך לחטיא את בשרך. אל תתן רשות לאחד מאיבריך לחטיא את כל איבריך, פיך לחטיא את כל גופך. אל תאמר לפני המלאך, זה משה, הה"ד וישלח מלאך ויוציאנו ממצרים (במדבר כ, טז). כי שגגה היא, אשר נואלנו ואשר חטאנו (במדבר יב, יא). למה יקצף האלהים על קולך, על אותו הקול ויחר אף י"י בס וילך (שם) /במדבר י"ב/ פסוק ט. וחיבל את מעשה ידיך, אמ' ר' יוחנן מרים בפיה חטאת ושאר כל איברים לקו, הה"ד והענן סר מעל האהל (שם) /במדבר י"ב/ פסוק י.

292. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 16:5

Our rabbis interpret the verse on Miriam: "Do not allow your mouth to cause your flesh to sin. Do not give permission to one of your body parts to cause your other body parts to sin, your mouth to cause your whole body to sin. Do not say before the angel, 'This is Moses,' as it is written there, 'And He sent an angel and he brought us out of Egypt' (Num 20:16), for it is an error 'that we have done something foolish and that we have sinned' (Num 12:11). 'Why would God get angry at your voice,' at the same voice?' 'And the Lord's anger was kindled at them, and He departed' (Num 12:9). 'And He destroyed your handiwork.'" R. Yochanan said, "Miriam sinned with her mouth and the rest of all the parts were afflicted, as it is written there, 'And the cloud turned aside from above the tent'" (Num 12:10).

R. Yochanan	A-2	d. 279
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293. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה יז ד"ה [ג] גופה. על

על עשרה דברים נגעים באים. ... ועל לשון הרע ממרים, ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה (במדבר יב, א). ומנין שלקת בצרעת, שני והענן סר מעל האהל וגוי' (שם) /במדבר י"ב/ י,

293. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 17:3

For ten things afflictions come ... and for slander, from Miriam, "And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses" (Num 12:1). And from where that she was afflicted with leprosy? As it is said, "And the cloud turned aside from above the tent," etc. (Num 12:10)

294. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה כ ד"ה [יב] אמ' ר'

[יב] אמ' ר' אבא מפני מה נסמכה מיתת מרים לאפר פרה, אלא מלמד שכשם שאפר פרה מכפר כך מיתת מרים מכפרת.

294. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 20:12

R. Abba said, "Why was Miriam's death put next to the heifer's ashes? Because it teaches that just as the heifer's ashes atone, thus Miriam's death atones."

R. Abba	A-3	290-320
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295. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה לא ד"ה ראשך עליך ככרמל

ר' שמעון מושלו משל למה הדבר דומה, למלך שהיה מהלך בדרך ובנו עמו על קרוכין, כיון שהיגיעו למקום צר נהפכה קרוכין על בנו, נסמת עינו נקטעה ידו נשברה רגלו, כיון שהיה המלך מגיע לאותו מקום היה מזכיר וא' אי לי כן ניזק בני, כן ניסמת עינו, כן ניקטעה ידו, וכן נשברה רגלו. כך הקב"ה מזכיר בתורתו מי מריבה שלשה פעמים, לומר כן הרגתי את משה, כן הרגתי את אהרן, כן הרגתי את מרים. ה' ה' נשמטו בידי סלע שופטיהם ושמעו אמרי כי נעמו (תהלים קמא, ו)

295. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 31

R. Shimeon tells a parable, "To what does the matter resemble? To a king who was walking on the way and his son was with him on a carriage. When they arrived at a narrow place, the carriage overturned on his son. His eye was blinded, his hand was cut off, his leg was broken. When the king would arrive at that same place, he would be reminded and say, 'Woe is me! Thus my son was injured: thus his eye was blinded, thus his hand was cut off, and thus his leg was broken.' Thus the Holy One, blessed be He, mentions in His Torah, 'Waters of Meribah, waters of Meribah, waters of Meribah, three times. That is to say, 'Thus I killed Moses, thus I killed Aaron, thus I killed Miriam.'... 'Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock, and they will hear my utterances for they were pleasant' (Ps 141:6)."

R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
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296. ויקרא רבה (מרגליות) פרשה לב ד"ה [ו] אמ' ר'

אמ' ר' שמעון בן לקיש מדכרין ומניחין מדכרין ומשחקין. מדכרין ומניחין, ראה קראתי בשם בצלאל בן אורי בן חור למטה יהודה (שמות לא, ב). מדכרין ומשחקין, עכן בן כרמי בן זבדי בן זרח למטה יהודה (יהושע ז, יח). מדכרין ומניחין, ויהי איש אחד מן הרמתיים צופים מהר אפרים (ש"א = שמואל א' = א, א). מדכרין ומשחקין, ויהי איש אחד מהר אפרים (שופטים יז, א). מדכרין ומניחין, פקד את בני לוי (במדבר ג, טו). מדכרין ומשחקין, פקדתי את אשר עשה עמלק (ש"א = שמואל א' = טו, ב). מדכרין ומניחין, זכור את אשר עשה י"י אלהיך למרים (דברים כד, ט).

296. 5th cent.: Leviticus Rabbah (M) 32:6

R. Shimeon b. Laqish said, "Mentioned and blessed, mentioned and laughed at. Mentioned and blessed, see, 'I called by name Betsalel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur of the tribe of Judah' (Ex 31:2). Mentioned and laughed at, 'Achan, the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerach, of the tribe of Judah' (Josh 7:18). Mentioned and blessed, 'And there was one man from the Ramatayim Tsofim, from the mountain of Ephraim' (1Sam 1:1). Mentioned and laughed at, 'And there was one man from the mountain of Ephraim' (Jud 17:1). Mentioned and blessed, 'Count the children of Levi' (Num 3:15). Mentioned and laughed at, 'I remember what Amaleq did to Israel' (1Sam 15:2). Mentioned and blessed, 'Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam' (Deut 24:9)."

R. Shimeon b. Laqish	A-2	250-290
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297. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה ה ד"ה [ט] ענה דודי

א"ר תנחומי עיקר טרחותה מיטרא, עיקר שיעבודן של ישראל לא היה אלא שמנים ושש שנה משעה שנולדה מרים. ולמה הוא קורא מרים, א"ר יצחק לשון מרור, כמה דאת אמר וימררו את חייהם בעבודה קשה בחומר (שמות א : יד).

297. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana (M) 5:9

R. Tanchuma said, "The root of the discomfort is the rain. The root of the enslavement of Israel was nothing but eighty-six years from the time that Miriam was born." And why does it call her Miriam? R. Yitschaq said, "Language of embitterment, as it says, 'And they caused their lives to be bitter with harsh work with mortar' (Ex 1:14).

R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
R. Yitschaq	A-3	290-320

298. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה יב ד"ה [יג] ד"א בחדש

ד"א בחדש השלישי (שמות יט : א), התורה משולשת, והאבות משולשות, והשבט שניתנה על ידו משולש, והחדש משולש. ומניין שהתורה משולשת, א"ר אבון הלוי ברי' מנין שנקראת משולשת, המשול' הזה נוטה שלשה מינים, יין ודבש ופלפלים. יין מני, שני לכו לחמו בלחמי ושתו ביין מסכת (משלי ט : ה). דבש מניין, ומתוקים מדבש (תהלים יט : יא). ופלפלין מני, א"ר אבון הלוי ברי' כל אמרת אלוה צרופה (משלי ל : ה), אילו הפילפלין. הא מכאן שהתורה משולש. כל מעשה אותו היום היה משולש. התורה משולשת, התורה והנביאים וכתובים. ואותותיה משולש, אלף בית גמל. וישר' משולש, כהנים ולוים וישר'. בני אבות שלשה, אברהם יצחק ויעקב. ומשה שלישי ביניהם, אנכי עמד בין י"י וביניכם (דברים ה : ה). ואותותיו משולשים, משה. ומשבט שלישי, ראובן שמעון לוי. ואותותיו משולשים, לוי. ואחים שלשה, משה אהרן ומרים

298. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 12:13

Another matter, "In the third month" (Ex 19:1). The Torah is triple, and the Patriarchs are triple, and the tribe that was set by Him is triple, and the month is triple. R. Abun the Levite b. R. [Manin] said, "... Behold from here that the Torah is triple. Every incident of that day was triple. The Torah is triple: the Torah, and the Prophets, and the Writings. And its letters are triple: *alef, beit, gimmel*. And Israel is triple: Priests, Levites, and Israel. The forefathers are triple: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And Moses is the third between them: 'I am standing between the Lord and you' (Deut 5:5). And his letters are triple: *MSH*. And from the third tribe: Reuben, Simeon, Levi. And its letters are triple, *LVY*. And three siblings: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

R. Abun the Levite, b. Manin	A-4	320-350
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299. פסיקתא דרב כהנא (מנדלבוים) פרשה כו ד"ה [יא] א"ר אבא

א"ר אבא בר זבינא מפני מה ניסמכה מיתת מרים לפרשת אפר הפרה, אלא מלמד שכשם שאפר הפרה מכפר כך מיתת מרים מכפרת.

299. 5th cent.: Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 26:11

R. Abba b. Zebina said, "Why was Miriam's death put next to the portion of the heifer's ashes? Rather it teaches that just as the heifer atones, thus Miriam's death atones."

R. Abba b. Zebina	A-4	320-350
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300. תלמוד בבלי מסכת ברכות דף לד עמוד א

תנו רבנן: מעשה בתלמיד אחד שירד לפני התיבה בפני רבי אליעזר והיה מאריך יותר מדאי. אמרו לו תלמידיו: רבינו, כמה ארכן הוא זה! - אמר להם: כלום מאריך יותר ממשה רבינו? דכתיב ביה: +דברים ט'+ את ארבעים היום ואת ארבעים הלילה וגו'. שוב מעשה בתלמיד אחד שירד לפני התיבה בפני רבי אליעזר והיה מקצר יותר מדאי. אמרו לו תלמידיו: כמה קצרן הוא זה! אמר להם: כלום מקצר יותר ממשה רבינו? דכתיב: +במדבר י"ב'+ אל נא רפא נא לה. אמר רבי יעקב אמר רב חסדא: כל המבקש רחמים על חבירו אין צריך להזכיר שמו, שנאמר: אל נא רפא נא לה, ולא קמדכר שמה דמרים.

300. Ca. 550: B Talmud Berakhot 34a

Our Rabbis taught: "An incident with one student who went down before the Ark before R. Eliezer, and he lengthened [his prayer] too much. His students said to him, 'Our teacher, how longwinded is this one!' He said to them, 'No one lengthens more than Moses, our Teacher, of whom it is written: "The forty days and the forty nights," etc.' Another incident with one student who went down before the Ark before R. Eliezer, and he shortened [his prayer] too much. His students said to him, 'How concise is this one!' He said to them, 'No one shortens more than Moses, our Teacher, as it is written: "God, do heal her!"' R. Yaaqov said R. Chisda said: Everyone who requests mercy for his fellow, he need not mention his name, as it is said: "God, do heal her, God, do heal her," and he did not mention Miriam's name.

R. Eliezer	T-3 ?	130-160
R. Yaaqov	A-3	290-320
R. Chisda	A-3	d. 309

301. תלמוד בבלי מסכת ברכות דף נה עמוד ב

אמימר ומר זוטרא ורב אשי הוו יתבי בהדי הדדי, אמרי: כל חד וחד מינן לימא מלתא דלא שמיע ליה לחבריה. פתח חד מינייהו ואמר: האי מאן דחזא חלמא ולא ידע מאי חזא, ליקום קמי כהני בעידנא דפרסי ידיהו, ולימא הכי: רבונו של עולם, אני שלך וחלומותי שלך, חלום חלמתי ואיני יודע מה הוא, בין שחלמתי אני לעצמי ובין שחלמו לי חבירי ובין שחלמתי על אחרים, אם טובים הם - חזקם ואמצם כחלומותיו של יוסף, ואם צריכים רפואה - רפאם כמי מרה על ידי משה רבינו, וכמרים מצרעתה, וכחזקיה מחליו, וכמי יריחו על ידי אלישע

301. Ca. 550: B Talmud Berakhot 55b

Amemar, Mar Zutra and Rab Ashi were once sitting together. They said, "Each one of us should say to his fellows something that they have not heard." One of them began and said, "If one saw a dream and does not know what he saw, let him stand before the priests at the time when they spread out their hands, and thus, 'Master of the Universe, I am yours and my dreams are yours. I dreamed a dream and I do not know what it is. Whether I myself dreamed for myself or my fellows dreamed about me, or whether I dreamed about others, if they are good, strengthen them and reinforce them like the dreams of Joseph, and if they require healing, heal them, as the waters of Marah by the hands of Moses, our Teacher, and as Miriam of her leprosy and as Hezekiah of his sickness, and as the waters of Jericho by Elisha.'"

Amemar	A-6	380-420
Mar Zutra	A-6	380-420
Rab Ashi	A-6	380-420

302. תלמוד בבלי מסכת שבת דף צז עמוד א

+במדבר יב+ ויחר אף ה' בם וילך מלמד שאף אהרן נצטרע, דברי רבי עקיבא. אמר לו רבי יהודה בן בתירא: עקיבא, בין כך ובין כך אתה עתיד ליתן את הדין. אם כדברך - התורה כסתו ואתה מגלה אותנו! ואם לאו - אתה מוציא לעז על אותו צדיק. ואלא הכתיב בם? - ההוא בנוזפה בעלמא. תניא כמאן דאמר אף אהרן נצטרע, דכתיב +במדבר יב+ ויפן אהרן אל מרים והנה מצרעת תנא: שפנה מצרעתו.

302. Ca 550: B Talmud Shabbat 97a

(Num 12) "And the Lord's anger was kindled at them; and He departed" teaches that also Aaron became leprous, the words of R. Aqiba. R. Yehudah b. Batira said to him, "Aqiba, between this way and this way, you will have to give the judgment in the future. If it's according to your words, the Torah covered it, and you are revealing it! And if not, you are slandering that righteous man." But isn't it written, 'at them'? That is merely a rebuke. It was taught as if it said, "Also Aaron became leprous," as it is written (Num 12), "And Aaron turned [vayifan] to Miriam and behold, she was leprous." It was taught that he freed himself [panah] from his leprosy.

R. Yehudah b. Batira	T-2	90-130
R. Aqiba	T-2	90-130

303. תלמוד בבלי מסכת תענית דף כט עמוד א

בתשעה באב נגזר על אבותינו שלא יכנסו לארץ מנלן? דכתיב +שמות מ'+ ויהי בחדש הראשון בשנה השנית באחד לחדש הוֹקם המשכן. ואמר מר: שנה ראשונה עשה משה את המשכן, שניה הקים משה את המשכן ושלח מרגלים, וכתיב +במדבר י'+ ויהי בשנה השנית בחדש השני בעשרים בחדש נעלה הענן מעל משכן העדת, וכתיב +במדבר י'+ ויסעו מהר ה' דרך שלשת ימים. אמר רבי חמא בר חנינא: אותו היום סרו מאחרי ה'. וכתיב +במדבר י"א+ והאספסוף אשר בקרבן התאוו תאוה וישבו ויבכו גם בני ישראל וגו'. וכתיב +במדבר י"א+ עד חדש ימים, וגו' - דהוו להו עשרין

ותרתין בסיון. וכתוב +במדבר י"ב+ ותסגר מרים שבעת ימים - דהו להו עשרין ותשעה בסיון,
וכתוב: +במדבר י"ג+ שלח לך אנשים.

303. Ca. 550: B Talmud Taanit 29a

On the 9th of Ab it was decreed upon our Fathers that they would not enter the Land. From where to us [How do we know?]? As it is written (Ex 40), "And it was in the first month, in the second year, on the first of the month, the Tabernacle was set up." And Mar said, "The first year Moses made the Tabernacle. The second, Moses set up the Tabernacle and sent spies." And it is written (Num 10), "And it was in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth of the month, the cloud was removed from the Tabernacle of the assembly." And it is written (Num 10), "And they traveled from the Mountain of the Lord a three day journey." R. Chama b. Chanina said, "That same day they turned aside from following the Lord." And it is written (Num 11), "And the mixed multitude that was in its midst craved a craving, and the children of Israel also repeated and cried," etc. And it is written (Num 11), "up to one month of days," etc. – that they had the twenty-second of Sivan, and it is written (Num 12), "And Miriam was shut up seven days" – they had the twenty ninth of Sivan, and it is written (Num 13), "Send for yourself men.

Mar	?	?
R. Chama b. Chanina	A-2	250-290

304. תלמוד בבלי מסכת מגילה דף יד עמוד א

שבע נביאות מאן נינהו? שרה, מרים, דבורה, חנה, אביגיל, חולדה, ואסתר... מרים - דכתיב +שמות ט"ו+ ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן ולא אחות משה? - אמר רב נחמן אמר רב: שהיתה מתנבאה כשהיא אחות אהרן, ואומרת: עתידה אמי שתלד בן שיושיע את ישראל. ובשעה שנולד נתמלא כל הבית כולו אורה, עמד אביה ונשקה על ראשה, אמר לה: בתי נתקיימה נבואתיך. וכיון שהשליכוהו ליאור - עמד אביה וטפחה על ראשה, ואמר לה: בתי, היכן נבואתיך? היינו דכתיב +שמות ב'+ ותצב אחתו מרחק לדעה - לדעת מה יהא בסוף נבואתה.

304. Ca. 550: B Talmud Megilah 14a

There are seven prophetesses, who are they? Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Chanah, Abigail, Chuldah, and Esther ... Miriam, as it is written (Ex 15), "And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took." And not Moses' sister? R. Nachman said Rab said, "She who prophesied when she was Aaron's sister and said, 'My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who will save Israel.' And at the time he was born, the entire house was filled with light. Her father stood and kissed her on the head. He said to her, 'My daughter, your prophecy came to be.' And when they cast him into the Nile, her father stood and slapped her on the head, and said to her, 'My daughter, Where is your prophecy? As it is written (Ex 2), 'And his sister stood from afar to know' – to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy.'"

R. Nachman	A-3	290-320
Rab	A-1	d. 247

305. תלמוד בבלי מסכת מועד קטן דף כח עמוד א

אבל שאר נשים - מניחין. רבי אלעזר אמר: אפילו שאר הנשים, דכתיב +במדבר כ'+ ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם - סמוך למיתה קבורה. ואמר רבי אלעזר: אף מרים בנשיקה מתה, אתיא שם שם ממש. ומפני מה לא נאמר בה על פי ה' - מפני שגנאי הדבר לאומרו. אמר רבי אמי: למה נסמכה מיתת מרים לפרשת פרה אדומה - לומר לך: מה פרה אדומה מכפרת - אף מיתתן של צדיקים מכפרת.

305. Ca. 550: B Talmud Moed Qatan 28a

[This follows a discussion on whether it is proper to set down a woman's bier on the public street, some say it is forbidden for those who died in childbirth], "but the rest of women, they set down." R. Eleazar said, "Even the rest of the women, as it is written (Num 20), 'And Miriam died there and she was buried there,' death is close to burial." And R. Eleazar said, "Also Miriam died with a kiss, [the expression]

'there' occurs as [the expression] 'there' from Moses." And why was it not said of her "by the mouth of the Lord"? Because the matter is disrespectful to say it. R. Ammi said, "Why was Miriam's death put near to the portion of the red heifer? To say to you, 'What the red heifer atones, also the death of the righteous atones.'"

R. Eleazar	A-3	290-320
R. Ammi	A-3	290-320

306. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף ט עמוד ב

שמשון הלך אחר עיניו, לפיכך נקרו פלשתים את עיניו, שנאמר: +שופטים יז/טז/+ ויאחזוהו פלשתים וינקרו את עיניו. אבשלום נתגאה בשערו, לפיכך נתלה בשערו; ולפי שבא על עשר פלגשי אביו, לפיכך נתנו בו עשר לונביות, שנאמר: +שמואל ב' יח/+ ויסבו עשרה אנשים נושאי כלי יואב; ולפי שגנב ג' גנבות, לב אביו ולב ב"ד ולב ישראל, (שנאמר: +שמואל ב' טו/+ ויגנב אבשלום את לב אנשי ישראל), לפיכך נתקעו בו ג' שבטים, שנאמר: +שמואל ב' יח/+ ויקח... שלשה שבטים בכפו ויתקעם בלב אבשלום. וכן לענין הטובה, מרים המתינה למשה שעה אחת, שנאמר: +שמות ב'+ ותצב אחותו מרחוק, לפיכך נתעכבו לה ישראל ז' ימים במדבר, שנאמר: +במדבר יב/+ והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים.

306. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 9a

Samson went after his eyes, therefore the Philistines gouged out his eyes ... Absalom was proud of his hair, therefore he was hung by his hair ... And thus on the matter of the good, Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, as it is said (Ex 2), "And his sister stood from afar," therefore Israel were delayed for her seven days in the wilderness, as it is said (Num 12), "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam."

307. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יא עמוד א

וכן לענין הטובה, מרים וכו'. מי דמי? התם חדא שעתא, הכא שבעה יומי! אמר אביי, אימא: ולענין הטובה אינו כן. א"ל רבא: הא וכן לענין הטובה קתני! אלא אמר רבא, הכי קתני: וכן לענין הטובה דבאותה מדה, ולעולם מדה טובה מרובה ממדת פורענות. +שמות ב'+ ותצב אחותו מרחוק - א"ר יצחק: פסוק זה כולו על שם שכינה נאמר; ותצב - דכתיב: +שמואל א' ג'+ ויבא ה' ויתיצב וגו', אחותו - דכתיב: +משלי ז'+ אמור לחכמה אחותי את, מרחוק - דכתיב: +ירמיהו לא'+ מרחוק ה' נראה לי, לדעת - דכתיב: +שמואל א' ב'+ כי אל דעות ה', מה - דכתיב: +דברים י'+ מה ה' אלהיך שואל מעמדך, יעשה - דכתיב: +עמוס ג'+ כי לא יעשה [ה'] אלהים דבר, לו - דכתיב: +שופטים ו'+ ויקרא לו ה' שלום.

307. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 11a

And thus on the matter of the good, "Miriam," etc. Is there anything? There one hour, here seven days! Abaye said, "I might think that 'And on the matter of the good' it is not so. Rabba said to him, "But 'And on the matter of the good' it is different!" "Rather," Rabba said, "Thus it is different: 'And on the matter of the good' that it is with the same measure, and always a good measure is greater than a measure of punishment." (Ex 2) "And his sister stood from afar." R. Yitschaq said, "This entire verse is said because of the *Shekhinah*. 'And she stood,' as it is written (Sam 1:3), 'And the Lord came and stood,' etc. 'His sister,' as it is written (Prov 7), 'Say to wisdom, "You are my sister."' 'From afar,' as it is written (Jer 31), 'From afar the Lord appeared to me.' 'To know,' as it is written (Sam 1:2), 'For the Lord is a God of knowledge.' 'What,' as it is written (Deut 10), 'What does the Lord your God ask of you?' 'Would be done,' as it is written (Amos 3), 'For [the Lord] will not do anything.' 'To him,' as it is written (Jud 6), 'And the Lord called to him, "Peace.'"

Abaye	A-4	320-350
Rabba	A-4	320-350

308. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יא עמוד ב

ויואמר מלך מצרים למילדות העבריות וגוי' - רב ושמואל, חד אמר: אשה ובתה, וחד אמר: כלה וחמותה. מ"ד אשה ובתה, יוכבד ומרים; ומ"ד כלה וחמותה, יוכבד ואלישבע. תניא כמ"ד אשה ובתה, דתניא: שפרה - זו יוכבד, ולמה נקרא שמה שפרה? שמשפרת את הולד; ד"א: שפרה - שפרו ורבו ישראל בימיה. פועה - זו מרים, ולמה נקרא שמה פועה? שהיתה פועה (ומוציאה את הולד); ד"א: פועה - שהיתה פועה ברוח הקודש, ואומרת: עתידה אמי שתלד בן שמושיע את ישראל. + שמות א+ ויאמר בילדכן את העבריות וגוי' - מאי אבנים? א"ר חנן: סימן גדול מסר להן, אמר להן: בשעה שכורעת לילד, ירכותיה מצטננות כאבנים. ואית דאמר, כדכתיב: + ירמיהו יח+ וארד בית היוצר והנה הוא עושה מלאכה על האבנים, מה יוצר זה - ירך מכאן וירך מכאן וסדן באמצע, אף אשה - ירך מכאן וירך מכאן והולד באמצע - אם בן הוא והמתן אותו - א"ר חנינא, סימן גדול מסר להן: בן - פניו למטה, בת - פניה למעלה. + שמות א+ ותיראן המילדות את האלהים ולא עשו כאשר דבר אליהן וגוי' - להן מיבעי ליה! א"ר יוסי בר' חנינא: מלמד, שתבען לדבר עבירה ולא נתבעו. + שמות א+ ותחיינן את הילדים - תנא: לא דיין שלא המיתו אותן, אלא שהיו מספיקות להם מים ומזון: + שמות א+ ותאמרן המילדות אל פרעה כי לא כנשים וגוי' - מאי חיות? אילימא חיות ממש, אטו חיה מי לא צריכה חיה אחריתי לאולודה? אלא, אמרו לו: אומה זו כחיה נמשלה, יהודה - +בראשית מט+ גור אריה, דן - יהי דן נחש, נפתלי - אילה שלוחה, יששכר - חמור גרם, יוסף - בכור שור, בנימין - זאב יטרף, דכתיב ביה - כתיב ביה, ודלא כתיב ביה - כתיב: (ביה) + יחזקאל יט+ מה אמך לביא בין אריות רבצה וגוי' + שמות א+ ויהי כי יראו המילדות את האלהים ויעש להם בתים - רב ושמואל, חד אמר: בתי כהונה ולויה, וחד אמר: בתי מלכות. מ"ד בתי כהונה ולויה, אהרן ומשה; ומ"ד בתי מלכות, דוד נמי ממרים קאתי, דכתיב: + דברי הימים א' ב+ ותמת עזובה (אשת כלב) ויקח לו כלב את אפרת ותלד לו את חור, וכתיב: + שמואל א' יז+ ודוד בן איש אפרתי וגוי'. + דברי הימים א' ב'+ וכלב בן חצרון הוליד את עזובה אשה ואת יריעות ואלה בניה ישר ושובב וארדון - בן חצרון? + במדבר יג+ בן יפנה הוא! בן שפנה מעצת מרגלים. ואכתי בן קנז הוא, דכתיב: + שופטים א+ וילכדה עתניאל בן קנז אחי כלב! אמר רבא: חורגו דקנז הוה. [י"ב] דיקא נמי, דכתיב: + יהושע יד+ הקניזי, ש"מ.]

308. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 11b

"And the king of Egypt spoke to the Hebrew midwives," etc. Rab and Shmuel: one said, "A woman and her daughter," and one said, "A daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law." He who said, "A woman and her daughter," Jochebed and Miriam; and he who said, "A daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law," Jochebed and Elisheba. It has been taught according to him who said, "a woman and her daughter," the teaching. Shifrah – this is Jochebed. And why was her name called Shifrah? Because she would make the infant pleasing. Another matter: Shifrah – because Israel were fruitful and multiplied in her days. Puah – this is Miriam. And why was her name called Puah? Because she would cry out (and take out the infant.) Another matter: Puah, because she cried out through the Holy Spirit and said, "My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who saves Israel." (Ex 1) "And he said, 'In your assisting the Hebrew women,' etc." What is "Two stones"? R. Chanan said, "He handed them a big sign. He said to them, 'At the time that she kneels for the child, her thighs become cold like stones.' There is one who says, as it is written (Jer 18), 'And I went down to the potter's house, and behold he was doing work on the two stones.' What [of this] potter? A thigh here and a thigh here, and a stump in the middle. Also a woman: a thigh here and a thigh here, and the infant in the middle. 'If it is a son, you will kill him.'" R. Chanina said, "He handed them a big sign: 'A son – his face is downward, a daughter – her face is upward.'" "But the midwives feared God and did not do as he had spoken to them," etc. – it should say *lahen* [not *aleihen*!] R. Yosi b. Chanina said, "It teaches that he demanded a matter of transgression and they were unyielding." (Ex 1) "And they kept the [male] children alive." A *tanna* [taught], "It was not enough for them that they did not kill them, but they supplied them with water and food." (Ex 1) "And the midwives said to Pharaoh, 'For not like the women,' etc." What is *chayot*? Is it said really "animals" because an animal does not need another animal to deliver [her baby]? Rather, they said to him, "This nation is comparable to an animal." Judah (Gen 49) is a lion's cub; Dan – let Dan be a serpent; Naphtali is a swift doe; Issaschar is a strong ass; Joseph is a firstborn ox; Benjamin is preying wolf, as it is written ... (Ex 1) "And it happened that the midwives feared God and He made houses for them." Rab and Shmuel, one said, "Houses of priesthood and levitehood," and one said, "Houses of kingship." He who said, "Houses of priesthood and levitehood," Aaron and

Moses. And he who said, "Houses of kingship," David also came from Miriam. As it is written (1Chr 2), "And Azuvah died (Caleb's wife), and he took for himself Efrat, and she bore for him Hur." And it is written (1Sam 17), "And David was the son for an Efratite man," etc. (1Chr 2) "And Caleb the son of Chetsron begot Azuvah a woman and Yeriot and these are her children, Yesher and Shobab and Ardon." The son of Chetsron? (Num 13) He was Ben Yefuneh! A son who turned from the counsel of spies. And still he was the son of Qenaz, as it is written (Jud 1), "And Otniel the son of Qenaz, the brother of Caleb, captured it! Rabba said, "He was the stepson of Qenaz." [12a: It is also precise, as it is written (Josh 14), "The Qenizite."]

Rab	A-1	d. 247
Shmuel	A-1	d. 254
R. Chanan	A-4	320-350
R. Chanina	A-1	220-250
R. Yosi b. Chanina	A-2	250-290
Rabba	A-4	320-350

309. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יב עמוד א

עזובה - זו מרים, ולמה נקרא שמה עזובה? שהכל עזובה מתחילתה. הוליד? והלא מינסב הוה נסיב לה! א"ר יוחנן: כל הנושא אשה לשם שמים, מעלה עליו הכתוב כאילו ילדה. יריעות - שהיו פניה דומין ליריעות. ואלה בניה - אל תקרי בניה אלא בונה. ישר - שישר את עצמו; שובב - ששיבב את יצרו; וארדון - שרדה את יצרו; ואיכא דאמרי: על שהיו פניה דומין לורד. +דברי הימים א' ד+ ולאשחור אבי תקוע היו שתי נשים חלאה ונערה, אשחור - זה כלב, ולמה נקרא שמו אשחור? שהושחרו פניו בתעניות: אבי - שנעשה לה כאב; תקוע - שתקע את לבו לאביו שבשמים. היו שתי נשים - נעשה מרים כשתי נשים, חלאה ונערה - לא חלאה ונערה הואי, אלא בתחילה חלאה ולבסוף נערה. +דברי הימים א' ד+ ובני חלאה צרת וצהר ואתנן, צרת - שנעשית צרה לחברותיה; צהר - שהיו פניה דומין כצהרים; אתנן - שכל הרואה אותה מוליד אתנן לאשתו. +שמות א+ ויצו פרעה לכל עמו - א"ר יוסי בר' חנינא: אף על עמו גזר. ואמר ר"י בר' חנינא, שלש גזירות גזר: בתחילה - אם בן הוא והמתן אותו, ולבסוף - כל הבן הילוד היאורה תשליכוהו, ולבסוף - אף על עמו גזר. +שמות ב+ וילך איש מבית לוי - להיכן הלך? אמר רב יהודה בר זבינא: שהלך בעצת בתו. תנא: עמרם גדול הדור היה, כיון (שראה שאמר) +מסורת הש"ס: [שגזר]+ פרעה הרשע כל הבן הילוד היאורה תשליכוהו, אמר: לשוא אנו עמלין! עמד וגירש את אשתו, עמדו כולן וגירשו את נשותיהן. אמרה לו בתו: אבא, קשה גזירתך יותר משל פרעה, שפרעה לא גזר אלא על הזכרים, ואתה גזרת על הזכרים ועל הנקיבות! פרעה לא גזר אלא בעוה"ז, ואתה בעוה"ז ולעוה"ב! פרעה הרשע, ספק מתקיימת גזירתו ספק אינה מתקיימת, אתה צדיק בודאי שגזירתך מתקיימת, שנאמר: +איוב כב+ ותגזר אומר ויקם לך! עמד והחזיר את אשתו, עמדו כולן והחזירו את נשותיהן. ויקח - ויחזור מיבעי ליה! א"ר יהודה בר זבינא: שעשה לו מעשה ליקוחין, הושיבה באפריזן ואהרן ומרים מרקדין לפניו, ומלאכי השרת אמרו: +תהלים קיג+ אם הבנים שמחה...

309. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 12a

"Azuvah," this is Miriam. And why was her name called Azuvah? Because all abandoned her at the beginning. "Begot," and isn't it "married"? He was married to her! R. Yochanan said, "Everyone who marries a wife for the name of heaven, the text accredits to him as though he had begotten her." "Yeriot," because her face was like curtains. "And these are her sons." Do not read "her sons," but "her builders." "Yesher," because he set himself right. "Shobab," because he turned his inclination aside. "And Ardon," because he subjugated his inclination. And there are those who say, "Because her face was like a rose." (1Chr 4) "And Ashchur, the father of Teqoa had two wives, Chelah and Naarah." "Ashchur," this is Caleb. And why was his name called Ashchur? Because his face was blackened by fasts. "Father," because he became as a father to her. "Teqoa," because he fixed his heart to his Father in heaven. "Had two wives," Miriam became like two wives. "Chelah and Naarah," she was not Chelah and Naarah. Rather, at the beginning she was Chelah and at the end Naarah. (1Chr 4). "And the sons of Chelah were Tseret and Tsohar and Etnan. "Tseret," because she had become a rival to her fellow-women. "Tsohar," because her face was like the noon. "Etnan," because everyone who saw her brought a gift to his wife. (Ex 1) "And Pharaoh commanded all his people." R. Yosi b. Chanina said,

“He also decreed on his people.” And R. Yosi b. Chanina said, “He decreed three decrees: In the beginning, ‘If it is a son, and you will kill him.’ And in the end, ‘Every son born, into the Nile you will cast him.’ And in the end, ‘He also decreed on his people.’” (Ex 2) “And a man from the house of Levi went.” Where did he go? R. Yehudah b. Zebina said, “Because he went in the counsel of his daughter.” A *tanna* [taught], “Amram was the greatest one of his generation. When (he saw that) the wicked Pharaoh (had said) [had decreed] ‘Every son born, into the Nile you will cast him,’ he said, ‘We labor in vain!’ He arose and divorced his wife. All arose and divorced their wives. His daughter said to him, “Father, your decree is harsher than that of Pharaoh, because Pharaoh only decreed against the males, and you decreed against the males and the females! Pharaoh decreed only about this world, and you about this world and the world to come! The wicked Pharaoh, there is doubt as to whether his decree will be fulfilled [and] doubt as to whether it will not be fulfilled. You are righteous, it is certain that your decree will be fulfilled, as it is said (Job 22), ‘You will decree an utterance, and it will arise for you!’ He arose and caused his wife to return. All arose and caused their wives to return.” “And he took,” it should have said, “And he took back.” R. Yehudah b. Zebina said, “That he performed a marriage. He caused her to sit in a covered chair, and Aaron and Miriam were dancing before her, and the ministering angels said (Ps 113), ‘The mother of the children is joyful.’” ...

R. Yochanan	A-2	d. 279
R. Yosi b. Chanina	A-2	250-290
R. Yehudah b. Zebina	A-3	290-320

310. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יב עמוד ב

ותאמר אחותו אל בת פרעה האלך וקראתי לך אשה מינקת מן העבריות - ומאי שנא מעבריות? מלמד, שהחזירוהו למשה על כל המצרות כולן ולא ינק ... ותאמר לה בת פרעה לכי וגוי - א"ר אלעזר: מלמד, שהלכה בוריזות כעלמה. ר' שמואל בר נחמני אמר: העלמה - שהעלימה את דבריה ... + שמות טו+ ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן וגוי - אחות אהרן ולא אחות משה? אמר רב עמרם אמר רב, ואמרי לה אמר רב נחמן אמר רב: מלמד, שהיתה מתנבאה כשהיא אחות אהרן,

310. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 12b

And his sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, “Should I go and call for you a wet nurse from the Hebrew women?” And why “from the Hebrew women”? It teaches that they handed Moses to all the Egyptian women and he did not nurse ... And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, “Go,” etc. R. Eleazar said, “It teaches that she went quickly like a young woman.” R. Shmuel b. Nachamani said, “‘The young woman,’ that she concealed her words” ... (Ex 15) “And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took,” etc. – Aaron's sisters and not Moses sister? R. Amram said Rab said, and [others] say that R. Nachman said Rab said, “It teaches that she prophesied when she was Aaron's sister ...”

R. Eleazar	A-3	290-320
R. Shmuel b. Nachamani	A-3	290-320
R. Amram	A-2	250-290
Rab	A-1	d. 247
R. Nachman	A-3	290-320

311. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יג עמוד א

ואומרת: עתידה אמי שתלד בן שמושיע את ישראל; וכיון שנולד משה, נתמלא כל הבית כולה אור, עמד אביה ונשקה על ראשה, אמר לה: בתי, נתקיימה נבואתיך! וכיון שהטילוהו ליאור, עמד אביה וטפחה על ראשה, אמר לה: בתי, היכן נבואתיך! והיינו דכתיב: + שמות ב+ ותצב אחותו מרחוק לדעה מה יעשה לו, לידע מה יהא בסוף נבואתה.

311. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 13a

“... and she said, ‘My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who saves Israel.’ And when Moses was born, the entire house was filled with light. His father stood and kissed her on the head. He said to her, ‘My daughter, your prophecy came to be!’ And when they threw him into the Nile, her

father stood and slapped her on the head. He said to her, 'My daughter, where is your prophecy!' And this is what is written (Ex 2), 'And her sister stood from afar to know what would be done to him,' to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy."

312. תלמוד בבלי מסכת סוטה דף יג עמוד ב

א"ר יהודה: אילמלא מקרא כתוב אי אפשר לאומרו, היכן משה מת? ... (נבו ששם מתו ג' נביאים משה ואהרן ומרים).

312. Ca. 550: B Talmud Sotah 13b

R. Yehudah said, "If the biblical text had not been written, it would not be possible to say it, 'Where did Moses die? ... Nebo, where three prophets died, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam)."

R. Yehudah	A-2	250-290
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313. תלמוד בבלי מסכת בבא קמא דף כה עמוד א

ור"ט לית ליה דיו? והא דיו דאורייתא הוא! דתניא: מדין ק"ו כיצד? +במדבר י"ב+ ויאמר ה' אל משה ואביה ירק ירק בפניה הלא תכלם שבעת ימים, ק"ו לשכינה ארבעה עשר יום, אלא דיו לבא מן הדין להיות כנדון! כי לית ליה דיו - היכא דמפריך ק"ו, היכא דלא מפריך ק"ו - אית ליה דיו, התם שבעה דשכינה לא כתיבי, אתא ק"ו אייתי ארבסר, אתא דיו אפיק שבעה ואוקי שבעה, אבל הכא חצי נזק כתיבי, ואתא ק"ו ואייתי חצי נזק אחרינא ונעשה נזק שלם, אי דרשת דיו אפריך ליה ק"ו. ורבנן? שבעה דשכינה כתיבי: תסגר שבעת ימים. ור"ט? ההוא תסגר דדרשינן דיו הוא. ורבנן? כתיבי קרא אחרינא: ותסגר מרים.

313. Ca. 550: B Talmud Baba Kamma 25a

And does R. Tarfon hold the principle of *dayyo* [the conclusion must not contain anything that was not present in the premises]? And this *dayyo* is from the Torah! As it is taught: of the law of *qal vachomer* [one follows from the other], how? (Num 12) "And the Lord said to Moses, 'And had her father indeed spit in her face, would she not be ashamed seven days?'" *Qal vachomer*, for the *Shekhinah* fourteen days. But the *dayyo* following from the law is to be as judged! If he holds the *dayyo* – where does it break *qal vachomer*? Where it does not break *qal vachomer* does he hold *dayyo*? In that case the seven of the *Shekhinah* is not written; with *qal vachomer* it should be fourteen; with *dayyo*, seven are excluded and seven take place. But here half of the damages is written, otherwise and it is made full damages. If you seek *dayyo* it breaks *qal vachomer*. And the Rabbis? Seven for the *Shekhinah*, as it is written, "Let her be shut out from the camp seven days." And R. Tarfon? The "Let her be shut up" that we expound is *dayyo*. And the Rabbis? The text says different: "And Miriam was shut up."

314. תלמוד בבלי מסכת בבא בתרא דף יז עמוד א

תנו רבנן: ששה לא שלט בהן מלאך המות, ואלו הן: אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, משה, אהרן ומרים. אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, דכתיב בהו: בכל, מכל כל; משה, אהרן ומרים, דכתיב בהו: +במדבר ל"ג+ +דברים ל"ד+ על פי ה'. והא מרים לא כתיב בה על פי ה'! אמר ר"א: מרים נמי בנשיקה מתה, דאתיא שם שם ממשה, ומפני מה לא נאמר בה על פי ה'? שגנאי הדבר לומר. תנו רבנן: שבעה לא שלט בהן רמה ותולעה, ואלו הן: אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, משה, אהרן ומרים, ובנימין בן יעקב. אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, דכתיב [בהו]: בכל, מכל, כל; משה, אהרן ומרים, דכתיב [בהו]: ע"פ ה'.

314. Ca. 550: B Talmud Baba Batra 17a

Our rabbis taught, "Six that the angel of death did not have dominion over them, and these are they: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as it is written about them, "in all, of all, all." Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, as it is written about them (Num 33; Deut 34), "By the mouth of the Lord." But Miriam, it is not written about her, "By the mouth of the Lord"! R. Eleazar said, "Miriam also died with a kiss, as we learn from [the] 'there,' 'there' of Moses. And why wasn't it said of her, 'By the mouth of the Lord'? Because the matter is disrespectful to say." Our rabbis taught, "Seven that maggots and worms did not have dominion over them, and these are they: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses, Aaron and Miriam, and Benjamin, the son of Jacob. Abraham,

Isaac, and Jacob, as it is written [about them], “in all, of all, all.” Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, as it is written [about them], “By the mouth of the Lord.”

R. Eleazar	A-3	290-320
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315. תלמוד בבלי מסכת בבא בתרא דף קכ עמוד א

אמר רב יהודה בר זבידא: מלמד שעשה לה מעשה לקוחין, הושיבה באפריון, ואהרן ומרים משוררים לפניו.

315. Ca. 550: B Talmud Baba Batra 120a

R. Yehudah b. Zebida, “It teaches that he performed a marriage. He caused her to sit in a covered chair, and Aaron and Miriam were singing before her.”

R. Yehudah b. Zabidah	A-2	250-290
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316. תלמוד בבלי מסכת עבודה זרה דף כט עמוד ב

+במדבר כ+ ותמת שם מרים, וכתוב התם: +דברים כא+ וערפו שם את העגלה בנחל, מה להן אסור בהנאה, אף כאן נמי אסור בהנאה. והתם מנלן? אמרי דבי רבי ינאי: כפרה כתיב בה כקדשים.

316. Ca. 550: B Talmud Avodah Zarah 29b

(Num 20) “And Miriam died there.” And it is written there (Deut 21), “And they shall break the heifer’s neck there in the wadi.” What before was forbidden for benefit, also here it is forbidden for benefit. And there from where to us? Those of R. Yannai say, “Atonement is written about like holy ones.”

R. Yannai	A-1	220-250
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317. תלמוד בבלי מסכת זבחים דף קא עמוד ב

מרים מי הסגירה? א”ת משה הסגירה, משה זר הוא,

317. Ca. 550: B Talmud Zebachim 101b

Miriam, who shut her up? If you say, “Moses shut her up,” Moses is an outsider, ...

318. תלמוד בבלי מסכת זבחים דף קב עמוד א

ואין זר רואה את הנגעים! וא”ת אהרן הסגירה, אהרן קרוב הוא, ואין קרוב רואה את הנגעים! אלא כבוד גדול חלק לה הקב”ה למרים, אותה שעה: אני כהן ואני מסגירה, אני חולטה ואני פוטר.

318. Ca. 550: B Talmud Zebachim 102a

... and an outsider does not see the afflictions! And if you say, “Aaron shut her up,” Aaron is a relative, and a relative does not see the afflictions! But, the Holy One, blessed be He, apportioned a great honor to Miriam at that time, “I am a priest and I shut her up, I examine her, and I set her free.”

319. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה א ד”ה ה ר’ עזריה

א”ר עזריה מצאנו שנפשו של אהרן לא נטלה אלא בנשיק’ הה”ד (במדבר לג) ויעל אהרן הכהן אל הר ההר על פי ה’ וימת שם, ונפשו של משה מנין שנא’ (דברים לד) וימת שם משה עבד ה’ על פי ה’ מרים מנין דכתיב (במדבר כ) ותמת שם מרים מה שם שנא’ להלן על פי ה’ אף כאן כן אלא שגנאי לפרשו...

319. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 1:5

Said R. Azaryah, “We found that Aaron’s soul was taken but by a kiss, as it is written there (Num 33), ‘And Aaron the Priest went up to Hor the Mountain, by the mouth of the Lord, and he died there.’ And

Moses' soul, from where? As it is said (Deut 34), 'And Moses died there, the servant of the Lord, by the mouth of the Lord.' Miriam, from where? As it is written (Num 20), 'And Miriam died there.' What is 'there,' that it is said below, 'By the mouth of God'? Also here it is thus, except that it is shameful to clarify it.

R. Azaryah	A-5	350-380
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320. שיר השירים רבה (וילנא) פרשה ב ד"ה א [יא] כי

כי הנה הסתו עבר, אלו ת' שנה שנגזרו על אבותינו במצרים, הגשם חלף הלך לו, אלו מאתים ועשר שנים, ולא הוא הגשם ולא הוא הסתו, אמר ר' תנחומא עיקר טרחותא מיטרא הוא, כך עיקר שעבודן של ישראל במצרים שמונים ושש שנים היו משעה שנולדה מרים, (פירושה, שלכך נקרא שמה מרים על שום שנאמר (שמות א') וימררו את חייהם כי מרים לשון מירור הוא).

320. Ca. 550: Song of Songs Rabbah (V) 2:1

"For behold, the autumn has passed." These are 400 years that were decreed upon our fathers in Egypt. "The rain has passed by, it has gone." These are two-hundred and ten years, and it is not the rain and it is not the autumn. R. Tanchuma said, "The root of the discomfort is the rain. Thus the root of the enslavement of Israel was eighty-six years from the time that Miriam was born. (Its meaning, that therefore was her name called Miriam for it is said (Ex 1), 'And they caused their lives to be bitter,' for Miriam is the language of embitterment.)"

R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
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330. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה ה. זכור את

א"ר חגי אין הנגעים באין אלא על לשון הרע, שהרי מרים הצדקת ע"י שדברה לשון הרע במשה אחיה קרבו בה הנגעים, מנין, שנא' זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים.

330. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 8

Said R. Chaggai, "The afflictions come but by slander, for behold Miriam the Righteous: since she spoke slander about her brother Moses, the afflictions approached her. From where? As it is said, "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam."

R. Chaggai	A-4	320-350
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331. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה ט. ד"א זכור

ריב"ל אמ' אם הרגלת לשונך לדבר באחיך שמאביך ולא מאמך סופך בבן אמך תתן דופי, שכל מי שמגיס לבו לדבר בגדול ממנו גורם לעצמו שיקרבו הנגעים בו, ואם אין את מאמין הרי מרים הצדקי' סימן לכל בעלי לשון הרע, הוי זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים.

331. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 9

R. Yehudah b. Laqish said, "If you accustomed your tongue to speak about your brother, who is from your father and not from your mother, your end is that you will set fault on the son of your mother; for everyone who inducts his heart to speak about one greater than himself causes for himself that the afflictions approach him. And if you do not believe, behold Miriam the Righteous, a sign for all slanderers. Woe, 'Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam.'"

R. Yehudah b. Laqish	T-4	160-190
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332. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה י. ד"א זכור

למה יקצוף האלהים על קולך, על אותו הקול שיוצא מפך וחבל את מעשה ידיך, שאותו האיש לוקה בנגעים, ואם אין אתה מאמין הרי מרים ע"י שאמרה לשון הרע על משה אחיה לקתה, הוי זכור את אשר [עשה] ה' אלהיך למרים, ומתוך כך לקתה בצרעת.

332. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 10

“Why would God get angry at your voice,” at the same voice that comes out of your mouth? “And destroyed your handiwork,” for that same man was afflicted with afflictions. And if you do not believe, behold Miriam, since she spoke slander about her brother Moses she was afflicted. Woe, “Remember what the Lord your God [did] to Miriam,” and thereby she was afflicted with leprosy.

333. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה יא. א"ר יצחק

א"ר יצחק לה"ד, לעכינא שהיתה יושבת על פרשת דרכים ונושכת לעוברים ושבים, בא הדרקון וישב לו כנגדה, בא החבר וראה אותן, אמי' זו עכינא, כך היא דרכה לשוך, אך על זה אני תמה שבא ונדבק לה, כך היה משה אומי' [מרים דברה] כך היא דרכם של נשים דברניות אהרן [הצדיק] אף הוא צריך לדבר בי. אמי' משה ותדבר מרים, ואהרן, שמא אהרן, כיון שידע משה, שאף אהרן דבר בו, התחיל צווח, גם איש שלומי אשר בטחתי בו וגו', מהו גם איש שלומי, זה אהרן שמשים שלום עלי, שנאי' וישם לך שלום, אשר בטחתי בו שגער את מלאך המות, מנין, שנאי' וישב אהרן אל משה אל פתח וגו'. ומהו אוכל לחמי, אלו כ"ד מתנות כהונה שאוכל מישראל, ואחר כל השבח הזה הגדיל עלי עקב, הוי ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה. ר' לוי אמר ד' מדות בנשים, גרגרניות וצייתניות וקנאיות ועצלניות, [גרגרניות] מן חוה, דכתי' ותרא האשה כי טוב העץ למאכל. צייתניות מנין, דכתי' ושרה שומעת, שהיתה מצייתת למלאכים. קנאיות מנין, דכתי' ותקנא רחל באחותה. עצלניות מנין, דכתי' [ותקנא רחל באחותה] מהרי שלש סאים, רבנין אמרי עוד איסטסניות, דכתי' ותאמר שרה חמסי עליך, ופוטטות, דכתי' ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה. א"ר יהושע דסכנין כשבא הקב"ה לבראת חוה היה מתבונן מהיכן לבראת אותה, דכתי' ויבן ה' אלהים את הצלע, אמי' הקב"ה לא אברא אותה מן הראש שלא תהא זוקפת ראשה, ולא מן העין שלא תהא עינה רמה, ולא מן האוזן שלא תהא צייתנית, ולא מן הפה שלא תהא דברנית, ולא מן היד שלא תהא גונבת, ולא מן הרגל שלא תהא רגלה פורסת, ומאיכך ברא אותה, מאבר הצנוע שיש באדם, מן הצלע, ואעפ"כ לא הועיל לו כלום, וכל מה שנתכוון הקב"ה שלא יהו בה כוליהן בכשרות שבהן. אמי' הקב"ה לא אברא אותה מן העין שלא תהא עינה רמה, הנה כתיב ותרא האשה, לא אברא אותה מן האזן שלא תהא צייתנית, וכתיב ושרה שומעת פתח האהל, לא אברא אותה מן היד שלא תהא גונבת, ורחל כתי' בה, ותגנוב רחל את התרפים, לא אברא אותה מן הרגל, שלא תהא רגלה פורסת, ודינה כתי' בה, ותצא דינה בת לאה, לא אברא אותה מן הפה שלא תהא דברנית, ומרים הצדקת כתי' בה, ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה, וראה מה הגיע אותה, הוי זכור את אשר עשה ה' אלהיך למרים.

333. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 11

Said R. Yitschaq, “To what does the matter resemble? To a snake that sat at a crossroads and bit the passerby. The dragon came and he sat opposite her. The friend came and saw them. He said, ‘This is a snake, thus her way is to bite, however I am surprised that he came and he was attached to her.’ Thus did Moses say, [Miriam spoke,] that is the way of garrulous women. Aaron [the Righteous], must he also speak about me?’ Moses said, ‘And Miriam spoke, and Aaron,’ doubting Aaron. When Moses knew that Aaron also spoke about him, he started to cry out, ‘Also the peaceful man, whom I trusted, etc.’ What is ‘Also the peaceful man’? This is Aaron who puts peace upon me, as it is said, ‘And he will put peace for you,’ in whom I trusted, who rebuked the angel of death. From where? As it is said, ‘And Aaron returned to Moses to the tent,’ etc. ‘And who is eating my bread,’ these are the 24 gifts of priesthood that he eats from Israel. And after all this praise, ‘He raised his heel upon me,’ Woe, ‘And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses.’” R. Levi said, “There are 4 traits in in women: gluttony, and curiosity, and jealousy, and laziness. Gluttony, from Eve, as it is written, ‘And the woman saw that the tree was good to eat.’ Curiosity, from where? As it is written, ‘And Sarah was listening,’ for she was eavesdropping on the angels. Jealousy, from where? ‘And Rachel was jealous of her sister.’ Laziness, from where? ‘Be quick with three measures.’” The rabbis say more, “querulousness, as it is written, ‘And Sarah said, ‘My wrong is upon you’; and talkativeness, as it is said, ‘And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses.’” R. Yehoshua of Sikhnin said, “When the Holy One, blessed be He, came to create Eve, He considered from where to create her, as it is written, ‘And the Lord God built the rib.’ Said the Holy One, blessed be He, ‘I will not create her from the head so she will not be haughty; and not from the eye so her eye will not be cheating; and not from the ear so she he will not be an eavesdropper; and not from the mouth so she will not be garrulous; and not from the hand so she will not be thieving; and not from the foot so her foot will not wander.’ And from where did He create her?”

From the most modest part that there is in man, from the rib, and even so it was of no avail to Him, and all that the Holy One, blessed be He, had intended to not be in her, all of them were in the most suitable of them. Said the Holy One, blessed be He, '... I will not create her from the mouth so she will not be garrulous.' And Miriam the Righteous, it is written about her, 'And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses,' and see what happened to her. Woe, 'Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam.'"

R. Yitschaq	A-3	290-320
R. Levi	A-3	290-320
R. Yehoshua of Sikhnin	A-4	320-350

334. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה יב. ד"א זכור

ד"א זכור, רבנין אמרי לה"ד, למלך שעלה מן המלחמה, קילסה אותו מטרונה, אמר המלך תקרא אימן של סוינקטיקי. לאחר ימים התחילה מערבת חוטה של מלך, אמי המלך מה עשית תיטרד למילין, כך כשעשה הקב"ה מלחמת הים אמרה מרים שירה, נקראת נביאה, מנין, שנא' ותקח מרים הנביאה, כיון שאמרה לשון הרע על אחיה, אמי תיטרד למילין, שנא' ותסגר מרים.

334. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 12

Another matter: "Remember." The rabbis say, "To what does the matter resemble? To a king who went up from the war. A lady praised him. The king said, 'Let her be called "Mother of the Senate." Days later she started to stir up the king's quarters. The king said, 'What did you do?' Let her be driven out to the mines.' Thus, when the Holy One, blessed be He, made the war of the sea, Miriam sang a song and was called 'Prophetess.' When she spoke slander about her brother, He said, 'Let her be driven out to the mines,' as it is said, 'And Miriam was shut up.'"

335. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה יג. ד"א זכור

ד"א זכור, כיון שראה משה מה הגיע לאחותו, (ו) [התחיל] צווח ומתפלל עליה בכל נפשו, אל נא רפא נא לה. רבנין אמרי אי"ל משה, רבשי"ע, כבר עשית אותי רופא, אם אתה מרפא אותה הרי יפה, ואם לאו, הרי אני מרפא אותה. ד"א מהו אל נא, אי"ר אבא בר כהנא לה"ד, לתלמידו של רופא שעלת לו מלוגנא באחותו, הביאה אותה אצל רבו, אמי אותו תלמיד לרבו, מרי, כבר למדת אותי כל סידרן של רפואות, אם אתה מרפא אותה הרי יפה, ואם לאו הריני מרפא אותה, כך אמי משה, רבשי"ע, כבר למדת אותי כל סדרן של נגעים, אם אתה מרפא אותה הרי יפה, ואם לאו הריני מרפא אותה. ד"א ויצעק משה אל ה' לאמר, לה"ד, לגבור שהיה הקולר בצוארו, נפנה מאותו הקולר, לאחר ימים ראה הקולר נתון בצוארו של אחד, התחיל צווח, אי"ל המלך, מה לך צווח, אי"ל אין אתם יודעים, אני יודע באי זה צער הוא נתון, כך היה הקולר בצוארי ואני יודע באיזה צער הוא נתון, כך היה משה צווח, אי"ל הקב"ה, מה לך צווח, אי"ל משה, רבשי"ע, אני יודע באיזה צער היא נתונה, שאני זכור שלשלת שהיתה ידי בתוכה, שנא' והנה ידו מצורעת כשלג. כיון שנתפלל משה עליה רפא אותה הקב"ה, מנין, שנא' והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים, לפי הו' זכורין מה שהגיע למרים מתחת ידי לשון הרע.

335. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 13

Another matter: "Remember." When Moses saw what happened to his sister, (and) he [started] to cry and pray for her with all his soul, "God, do heal her! God, do heal her!" The rabbis say, "Moses said, 'Master of the Universe, You have already made me a healer. If you heal her, it is well done indeed, and if not, behold, I will heal her.'" Another matter: What is "God, do heal her! God, do heal her!?" R. Abba b. Kahana said, "To what does the matter resemble? To the student of a healer upon whose sister an illness came. He brought her to his teacher. He said to him, that same student to his teacher, 'My teacher, you have already taught me all the orders of remedies. If you heal her, behold, it is beautiful, and if not, behold, I will heal her.' Thus Moses said, 'Master of the Universe, You have already taught me all the orders of afflictions. If you heal her, behold, it is beautiful, and if not, behold, I will heal her.'" Another matter, "And Moses cried to the Lord, saying." To what does the matter resemble? To a warrior who had a collar on his neck. He was freed from that collar. Days after, he saw the collar put on someone's neck. He started to cry. The king said to him, "Why are you crying?" He said to him, "You do not know. I know with what suffering he is beset. Thus was the collar on my

neck and I know with what suffering he is beset.” Thus Moses cried. The Holy One, blessed be He, said to him, “Why are you crying?” Moses said to Him, “Master of the Universe, I know with what suffering she is beset for I remember the chain in which my hand was,” as it is said, “And behold his hand, leprous as snow.” After Moses prayed for her, the Holy One, blessed be He, healed her. From where? “And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam.” Therefore, remember what happened to Miriam because of slander.

R. Abba b. Kahana	A-3	290-320
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336. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תצא ד"ה יד. ד"א א"ר

ד"א א"ר אסי אין אדם אומי לשון הרע עד שכופר בהקב"ה, שנאמר אשר אמרו ללשונו נגביר שפתינו וגו'. אר"ש ומה מרים הצדקת שלא נתכוונה לומי לשון הרע אלא דברה בשביל פריה ורביה כך הגיע אותה, הרשעים שמתכוונים לומי לשון הרע על חביריהם, לחתוך את חייהם עאכ"ו

336. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tetse 14

Another matter: R. Assi said, “No man says slander until he denies the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, “Those who said, “Our tongue we will make mighty, our lips,” etc.” R. Shimeon said, “And what about Miriam the Righteous who did not intend to say slander, but spoke for fruitfulness and increase, thus befell her, the wicked ones who do intend to say slander about their friends, to cut their lives, how much more so?”

R. Assi	A-1	220-250
R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190

337. דברים רבה (ליברמן) פרשת כי תבא ד"ה ה. ויקרא משה

ויקרא משה אל כל ישראל, הלכה, אדם מישראל שעומד לקרות בתורה מהו שיהא מותר פחות משלש פסוקי. כך שנו חכמי הקורא בתורה לא יפחות מג' פסוקי, ולמה התקינו שלא לפחות פחות מג' פסוקים, כנגד אברהם יצחק ויעקב. ד"א כנגד משה ואהרן ומרים שניתנה תורה על ידיהם.

337. 450-800: Deuteronomy Rabbah (L) Ki Tavo 8

“And Moses called all Israel.” *Halakhah*: A man from Israel who stands to read in the Torah. What is that would be permitted? Less than three verses? Thus taught the sages, “He who reads in the Torah will not lessen from 3 verses.” And why did they institute not to lessen to less than 3 verses? To correspond to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Another matter: to correspond to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, for the Torah was given by their hands.

338. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא א פרק ט ד"ה רבי שמעון

רבי שמעון אומר על מספרי לשון הרע נגעים באים עליהם שכן מצינו באהרן ומרים שספרו לשון הרע במשה ובאת עליהם הפורענות שנאמר ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה (שם י"ב א'): למה הקדים הכתוב מרים לאהרן מלמד שהלכה צפורה ושחה לה למרים הלכה מרים ושחה לו לאהרן עמדו שניהם ודברו בצדיק ההוא. מתוך שעמדו שניהם ודברו בצדיק באת עליהם הפורענות שנאמר ויחר אף ה' בס וילך (שם שם ט'). מה ת"ל וילך מלמד שנסתלק מאהרן ודבק במרים. מפני שלא היה אהרן עסקן בדברים אבל מרים שהיתה עסקנית בדברים מיד נענשה יותר. מרים אמרה עלי היה הדבור ולא פירשתי מבעלי. אהרן אמר ועלי היה הדבור ולא פירשתי מאשתי. ואף אבותינו הראשונים היה הדבור עליהם ולא פירשו מנשותיהם אבל הוא מפני שדעתו גסה עליו פירש לו מאשתי. ולא היו דנין אותו בפניו אלא שלא בפניו. ולא היו דנין אותו בודאי אלא בספק. ספק שדעתו גסה עליו ספק שאין דעתו גסה עליו והרי דברים ק"ו ומה מרים שלא דברה אלא באחיה ולא דברה אלא שלא בפניו של משה נענשה אדם הדיוט המדבר דברים בפני חברו ומביישו על אחת כמה וכמה שיהא עונשו מרובה: באותה שעה א"ל אהרן למשה משה אחי כסבור אתה בעצמך שצרעת זו על מרים נתונה אינה נתונה אלא על בשרו של אבא עמרם. אמשול לך משל למה הדבר דומה לאחד שנתן גחלת לתוך ידו אע"פ שהופכה ממקום למקום מכל מקום בשרו נכוה שנאמר אל נא תהי כמת (שם שם י"ב). באותה שעה התחיל אהרן מפייס למשה א"ל משה אחי כלום עשינו רעה עם אחד בעולם. א"ל לאו. [א"ל] ומה עם אחר בעולם לא עשינו רעה אתה שאחינו אתה היאך

נעשה עמך רעה. אבל מה אעשה שגגה היא בנותינו ברית שבינינו לבינך בטלנו שנאמר ולא זכרו ברית אחים (עמוס א' ט'). מפני ברית הכרותה בינינו שבטלנו נאבד את אחותינו. באותה שעה עג משה עוגה קטנה ועמד בתוכה וביקש רחמים עליה ואמר איני זו מכאן עד שתרפא מרים אחותי שנאמר אל נא רפא נא לה (במדבר י"ב י"ג). באותה שעה א"ל הקב"ה למשה אלו מלך נזף בה אלו אביה נזף בה היה לה שתכלם שבעת ימים. אני שאני מלך מלכי המלכים על אחת כמה וכמה לא דין הוא שתכלם ארבעה עשר יום. אלא למענך מחול לה שנאמר ויאמר ה' אל משה ואביה ירק ירק בפניה וגו' (שם שם י"ד):

338. 6th-7th cent.: Abot de Rabbi Natan A 9

R. Shimeon says, "Afflictions come upon those who tell slander, for so we have concluded from Aaron and Miriam who told slander of Moses and divine punishment came upon them, as it is said, 'And Miriam and Aaron spoke about Moses' (Num 12:1). Why did Scripture put Miriam before Aaron? It teaches that Zipporah went to Miriam and told Miriam. Miriam went and told Aaron. Both stood and talked about that righteous man. Since they both stood and spoke about a righteous man, divine punishment came upon them, as it is said, 'And the Lord's anger was kindled at them and He departed' (Num 12:9). What does 'and He departed' teach? It teaches that it went away from Aaron and clung to Miriam since Aaron was not a busybody on matters. But Miriam, who was a busybody on matters, immediately was made worse. Miriam said, '[God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my husband.' Aaron said, 'And [God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my wife. And also our forefathers, [God's] speech was upon them and they did not separate from their wives. But he, since he is very haughty, he separated from his wife.' And they did not judge him to his face, but not to his face. And they did not judge him with certainty but with doubt: doubt that he was haughty or that he was not haughty, and behold matters were inferred. And what of Miriam, who spoke but against her brother, and spoke but not to Moses' face. A person who speaks words before his friend and shames him is made an idiot, how much more will his punishment be multiplied. At that time, Aaron said to Moses, 'Moses, my brother, are you of the opinion that this leprosy put on Miriam is not rather put on the flesh of Father Amram? I will tell you a parable as to what the matter is like: to one who put an ember in his hand even though he turned it over from place to place, from every place his flesh was scorched, as it is said, "Indeed let her not be as one dead" (Num 12:12).' At the time Aaron began to placate Moses, he said to him, 'Moses, my brother, we did nothing evil with anyone in the world.' He said to him, 'No.' He said to him, 'And what – [if] we did no evil with another in the world – with you, our brother, how would we do evil with you? But, what can I do? An unintentional transgression is between us; we rescinded the covenant between us and you, as it is said, "And they did not remember the covenant of brothers" (Amos 1:9). Because of the covenant cut between us that we rescinded, will we be deprived of our sister?' At that time, Moses drew a small circle and he stood inside it and he requested mercy upon her and he said, 'I am not moving from here until Miriam, my sister, is healed,' as it is said, 'God, do heal her! God, do heal her!' (Num 12:13). At that time, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, 'If a king had rebuked her, if her father had rebuked her, she would have been ashamed seven days. I, since I am the king of the kings of kings, how much more so. Isn't it the law that she will be ashamed fourteen days? Rather, for your sake, it is forgiven to her,' as it is said, 'And the Lord said to Moses, "And had her father indeed spit in her face,"' etc. (Num 12:14).

R. Shimeon	T-4	160-190
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339. מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא א פרק לו ד"ה ודור המדבר

ודור המדבר לא חיין ולא נידונין שנאמר במדבר הזה יתמו ושם ימותו (שם י"ד ל"ה) ואומר אשר נשבעתי באפי אם יבואון אל מנוחתי (תהלים צ"ה י"א) דברי רבי אליעזר. רבי יהושע אומר באין הן ועליהן הוא אומר אספו לי חסידי כורתי בריתי עלי זבח (שם נ"ה). אמר לו ר"א מה אתה מקיים אשר נשבעתי באפי. אמר לו אלו מרגלים וכל רשעי הדור כולן. אמר לו רבי יהושע ומה אתה מקיים אספו לי חסידי. אמר לו זה משה ואהרן וכל חסידי הדור משבט לוי: משיבין על דבריו רשעים נאמר בהם שם וצדיקים לא נאמר בהם שם. והלא כבר נאמר שמה קברו את אברהם ואת שרה אשתו (בראשית מ"ט ל"א) ואומר בקברי אשר כריתתי לי בארץ כנען שמה (שם נ"ה) ואומר ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם (במדבר כ"א) ויעל אהרן הכהן וגוי וימת שם (שם ל"ג ל"ח) ואומר וימת שם משה עבד ה' בארץ מואב על פי ה' (דברים ל"ד ה'): רבי יוסי הגלילי אומר אינן באין שנאמר במדבר

הזה יתמו ושם ימותו ואומר וערפו שם את העגלה בנחל (שם כ"א ד'). מה שם האמור להלן בעגלה ערופה שתמות ולא תזוז ממקומה אף שם האמור כאן ימותו ולא יזוזו ממקומן

339. 6th-7th cent.: Abot de Rabbi Natan A 36

And the wilderness generation were not alive and not judged, as it is said, "In this wilderness they will be finished and there they will die" (Num 14:25). And it says, "That I swore in My wrath if they come to My rest" (Ps 95:11), the words of R. Eliezer. R. Yehoshua says, "They come and about them it says, 'Gather my pious ones to Me, those that have made a covenant with Me by sacrifice' (Ps 50:5). R. Eliezer said to him, "How do you understand, 'That I swore in My wrath'?" He said to him, "These are the spies and all the evil ones of the generation all together." R. Yehoshua said to him, "And how do you understand, 'Gather my pious ones to Me'?" He said to him, "This is Moses and Aaron and all the pious of the generation of the tribe of Levi." They reply to his words. "Evil ones, is it said of them, 'there,' but righteous ones, is it not said of them 'there'? And wasn't it already said, "There they buried Abraham and his wife Sarah?" (Gen 49:31)? And it says, "In my grave that I dug for me in the Land of Canaan there? (Gen 50:5). And it says, "And Miriam died there and she was buried there (Num 20:1). "And Aaron the priest went up, etc. and he died there" (Num 33:38). And it says, "And Moses died there, the servant of the Lord, in the Land of Moab, by the Lord's mouth" (Deut 34:5). R. Yosi the Galilean says, "They do not enter, as it is said, 'In this wilderness they will be finished and there they will die.' And it says, 'And they shall break the heifer's neck there in the wadi' (Deut 21:4). What is written there below about the broken-necked heifer? That it will die and will not move from her place. Also there is the statement, 'Here they will die and they will not move from their place.'"

R. Eliezer	T-2	90-130
R. Yehoshua	T-2	90-130
R. Yosi the Galilean	T-2	90-130

340. פסיקתא רבתי (איש שלום) פרשה טו ד"ה ענה דודי ואמר

ויאמר רבי תנחומא עיקר טרחותא מטרא, עיקר שיעבודן של ישראל לא היה אלא שמונים ושש שנים משעה שנולדה מרים, ולמה הוא קורא אותה מרים, אמר ר' יצחק לשון מירור הוא כמה דאת אמר וימררו את חייהם (שמות א' י"ד)

340. 6th-7th cent.: Pesiqta Rabbati 15

And R. Tanchuma said, "The root of the discomfort is the rain. The root of the enslavement of Israel was nothing but eighty-six years from the time that Miriam was born." And why does it call her Miriam? R. Yitschaq said, "Language of embitterment, as it says, 'And they caused their lives to be bitter with harsh work with mortar'" (Ex 1:14).

R. Tanchuma	A-5	350-380
R. Yitschaq	A-3	290-320

341. פסיקתא רבתי (איש שלום) פרשה מג ד"ה [דבר אחר כי

דבר אחר מושיבי עקרת הבית א"ר ברכיה בשם ר' שמואל בר נחמן זו יוכבד, וכי עקרה היתה, הרי ילדה אהרן ומרים, אלא את מוצא בשעה שגזר פרעה כל הבן הילוד היארה תשליכוהו (שמות א' כ"ב) כיון ששמע עמרם כן הוא ובית דינו באותה שעה גזרו ומנעו ישראל מפרייה ורביה, והוציאו את נשיהם, את נשי עמי תגרשון מבית תענוגיה (מיכה ב' ט'), לפיכך קורא (אותה) [את] יוכבד עקרה שנתעקרה מביתה, מרים היתה אותה שעה בת שש שנים ואמרה אבא אבא פרעה היה טוב לישראל יותר ממך, למה, פרעה גזר בזכרים ואת בזכרים ובנקיבות, פרעה גזר ספק נתקיימה גזירתו ספק לא, ואתה גזרת ונתקיימה גזירתך, כיון ששמע עמרם את דבריה הביא אותה לפני סנהדרין ואמרה לפניהם, ואמרו לו עמרם אתה אסרת ואתה צריך להתיר את הדבר, אמר להם ומה אתם אומרים לי נחזור בחשאי, אמרו לו ומי מודיע לכל ישראל, א"ר יהודה בר זבידא הושיבה עמרם בפוריא והיה אהרן מכאן ומרים מכאן טוענים קורקנות ומהלכים לפניה, ורוח הקודש צווחת מושיבי עקרת הבית אם הבנים שמחה, ולמה עשה עמרם כן, כדי שידעו ישראל ויחזירו את

נשיהם, וכיון שראו אמרו שירה להקב"ה, ולא אמרו שירה אלא אמרו עכשיו משה הגואל נולד ואנו (נגאלנו) [נגאלים] ממצרים.

341. 6th-7th cent.: Pesiqta Rabbati 43

Another matter, "He causes the barren woman to settle at home." R. Berekhyah said in the name of R. Shmuel b. Nachman, "This is Jochebed. But was she barren? Behold she had borne Aaron and Miriam. Rather, you find that at the time that Pharaoh decreed, 'Every son born, into the Nile you will cast him' (Ex 1:22), when Amram heard so, he and his court at the same time decreed and prevented Israel from fruitfulness and increase, and put their wives out: 'The women of my people you divorced from the house of her pleasure' (Micah 2:9). Therefore, it calls (her) Jochebed barren, because she was uprooted from her house. Miriam was at that time six years old, and she said, 'Father, father, Pharaoh was better to Israel than you. Why? Pharaoh decreed on the males and you on the males and the females. Pharaoh decreed, [there was] doubt [as to whether] his decree would be fulfilled, a doubt [whether] not. But you decreed and your decree has been fulfilled.' When Amram heard her words, he brought her before the Sanhedrin and she said before them. And they said to him, 'Amram, you have bound and you must release the matter.' He said to them, 'And what you say to me, we will retract in secret.' They said to him, 'And who will cause all Israel to know?'" "R. Yehudah b. Zabida said, "Amram caused her to sit on a litter, and Aaron from here and Miriam from here were carrying castanets and walking about before her, and the Holy Spirit crying, 'He causes the barren woman to settle at home, the mother of the children is happy.' And why did Amram do? So that Israel would know and cause their wives to return. And when they saw, they sang a song to the Holy One, blessed be He. And they did not sing a song, but said, 'Now Moses the Redeemer is born and we (have been redeemed) [are being redeemed] from Egypt.

R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380
R. Shmuel b. Nachman	A-3	290-320
R. Yehudah b. Zabida	A-2	250-290

342. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה ה ד"ה א [ה] אל

ר' מני פתר קרייא במרים, אל תתן את פיד זו מרים, לחטיא את בשרך שאמרה לשון הרע במשה (במדבר י"ב) הרק אך במשה, לפני המלאך זה משה שנאמר (שם) וישלח מלאך, כי שגגה היא, אשר נואלנו ואשר חטאנו, למה יקצוף האלהים על קולך ותדבר מרים, וחבל את מעשה ידיך מרים שאמרה בפיה ולקו כל איבריה.

342. 6th-8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 5:1

R. Mani interpreted this verse on Miriam, "Do not allow your mouth," this is Miriam. "To cause your flesh to sin," for she said slander about Moses (Num 12), 'Has the Lord indeed [spoken] only with Moses?' 'Before the angel,' this is Moses, as it is said (Num 20), 'And He sent an angel.' 'That it is an error,' 'That we have done something foolish and that we have sinned.' Why should God be angry at your voice? 'And Miriam spoke.' 'And destroyed your handiwork.' Miriam, who said with her mouth and all her parts were afflicted."

R. Mani	A-2	250-290
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343. קהלת רבה (וילנא) פרשה ז ד"ה ג אמר ר'

אמר ר' יהודה מרים ויוכבד הן הן היו חיותיהם של ישראל דכתיב (שמות א') שם האחת שפרה ושם השנית פועה, שפרה זו יוכבד שהיתה משפרת את הילדים, ד"א שפרה ורבה, ד"א שפרו ורבו ישראל על ידיה, ד"א ששפרו אותן במצות ובמעשים טובים, ד"א שפרה לשם שבח שנאמר (איוב כ"ו) ברוחו שמים שפרה, פועה זו מרים שהיתה פועה באשה והולד יוצא, ד"א פועה שהיתה פועה ובוכה על אחיה משה שהושלך ליאור שנאמר (שמות ב') ותצב אחותו מרחוק, ד"א פועה שהופיעה את מעשה אחיה, ד"א שפעת בפני פרעה ואמרה לו אוי לך מיום הדין.

343. 6th-8th cent.: Ecclesiastes Rabbah (V) 7:3

R. Yehudah said, "Miriam and Jochebed, they were the midwives of Israel, as it is written (Ex 1), 'The name of the one was Shifrah and the name of the second one Puah.' Shifrah, this is Jochebed, who beautified the children. Another matter, that she was fruitful and multiplied. Another matter, that Israel were fruitful and multiplied by her hands. Another matter, that they beautified them with commandments and good deeds. Another matter, she beautified for praise, as it is said (Job 26), 'By His spirit the heavens are serene.' Puah, this is Miriam, who screamed at the woman and the infant came out. Another matter, Puah, for she screamed and cried about her brother Moses who was cast into the Nile, as it is said (Ex 2), 'And his sister stood from afar.' Another matter, Puah, for she made public her brother's action. Another matter, that she screamed in Pharaoh's face and she said to him, 'Woe to you from the day of judgment.'"

R. Yehudah	???	???
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344. מדרש משלי (בובר) פרשה כב ד"ה [כ] הלא כתבתי

אמר ר' ישמעאל כל מעשה תורה משולש, תורה נביאים וכתובים. אותיותיה משולשים, אל"ף מ"ם תי"ו, אמ"ת. ושבת משולש ראובן שמעון לוי, ואותיותיו משולשים לוי, ואחים שלשה משה אהרן ומרים.

344. 7th-9th cent.: Midrash on Proverbs (B) 22:20

R. Yishmael said, "Every Torah occurrence is triple: Torah, Prophets, and Writings. Her letters are triple: *Alef, Mem, Tav, Emet* ["Truth"]. And tribe is triple: Reuben, Shimeon, Levi. And its letters are triple: LVI. And three siblings: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam."

R. Yishmael	T-2	90-130
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345. מדרש משלי (בובר) פרשה לא ד"ה [ז] חגרה בעז

חגרה בעז מתניה. זו מרים שקודם שנולד משה אמרה עתידה אמי שתלד בן שמושיע את ישראל, כיון שנולד וכבד עליהם עול מלכות, עמד אביה וטפחה על ראשה, אמר לה היכן נבואתיך, ועמד וירק בפניה, ועם כל זאת היא מתאמצת בנבואתה, דכתיב ותצב אחותו מרחוק (שמות ב ד).

345. 7th-9th cent.: Midrash on Proverbs (B) 31:17

"She girded her loins with strength." This is Miriam, who before Moses was born said, "My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who saves Israel." When he was born and the yoke of kingship was heavy upon them, her father arose and slapped her on the head. He said to her, "Where is your prophecy?" And he arose and spat in her face, and with all this she insists on her prophecy, as it is written, "And his sister stood from afar" (Ex 2:4).

346. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק מא

שני אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל, ראתה מרים התחילה לשורר ולזמר לפני הב"ה והלכו כל הנשים אחריה, שני ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן את התוף בידה, וכי מניין היה להם תופים ומחולות, אלא לעולם הצדיקים יודעין ומתפייסין ומבטיחין שהב"ה עושה להם נסים וגבורות, עד יציאתן ממצרים התקינו להם תופים ומחולות.

346. 8th cent.: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer (Chorev) 41

As it is said, "Then Moses and the Children of Israel sang." Miriam saw, she started to sing and to chant before the blessed be He, and all the women went after her, as it is said, "And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took the timbrel in her hand." And from where did they have timbrels and dances? Because the righteous always know and are appeased and trust that the blessed be He will make for them miracles and mighty deeds, thus in their going out of Egypt they prepared for themselves timbrels and dances.

347. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק מד

וכשקבלו ישראל את התורה ר"ל עשרת הדברות לאחר ארבעים יום שכחו את אלהיהם ואמרו לאהרן המצריים היו נושאים את אלהיהם ומשוררין ומזמרין לפנינו ורואין אותו לפנייהם קום עשה לנו אלהים אשר ילכו לפנינו כשקו"ץ הלכו להם אצל עושי דברו של משה ואהרן וחור בן אחותו, ומניין שהיה חור בן אחותו, שני ויקח לו כלב את אפרת ותלד לו את חור, ולמה נקרא שמה של מרים אפרת אלא פלטי של בת מלכים גדולי הדור שכל נשיא וגדול שעמד בישראל נקרא שמו אפרתי וכן ודוד בן איש אפרתי.

347. 8th cent.: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer (Chorev) 44

And when Israel received the Torah, that is to say the Ten Commandments, after forty days they forgot their God and said to Aaron, "The Egyptians carried their god and sang and chanted before him and saw him before them. Stand up and make us gods that will walk before us like the abomination of the Egyptians and we will see him before us," as it is said, "Stand up, make us gods that will go before us" as an abomination. They went to those who did according to the word of Moses, and Aaron, and Hur, his sister's son. And from where that Hur was his sister's son? As it is said, "And Caleb took Ephraim and she bore him Hur." And why was Miriam's name called Ephraim? Rather that she was a noblewoman, a daughter of kings, the great ones of the generation, that every prince and great one who arose in Israel was called by the name "Ephraimite," and thus "David was the son of an Ephraimite man."

348. פרקי דרבי אליעזר (היגר) - "חורב" פרק נב

ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה על אודות האשה הכושית אשר לקח, וכי כושית היתה, אלא מה כושי זה גופו משונה מכל הבריות, כך צפורה משונה משונה במעשיה הטובים, לפי נקראת כושית... שני וירד ה' בעמוד ענן ויעמד פתח האהל ויצאו שניהם, אמ' להם הב"ה כל המלשין את רעהו בסתר אין לו רפואה על אחיו בין אביו ובין אמו על אחת כמה וכמה, וכעס עליהם הב"ה ונסתלקה מעל האהל, שני ויחר אף ה' בס וילך, והענן סר מעל האהל, ומיד נצטערה מרים, אמ' הב"ה אם יהיה אהרן מצורע אין כהן בעל מום יכול להקריב על מזבחי, אלא יראה אחותו ויתמה, שני ויפן אהרן אל מרים, הלך אצל משה ואמ' לו אדננו משה אין האחין מתפרשין זה מזה אלא מתוך מיתה, שני כי הוא בין אחים יפריא, ואחותנו עד שהיא בחיים נפרשה ממנו, שני אל נא תהי כמת ולא עוד אלא עד עכשו ישמעו כל ישראל ויאמרו אחותם אל משה ואל אהרן מצורעת היא וחצי שם רע שלך הוא, ונתרצה משה בדברים ועמד ונתפלל עליה ונעתר לו, שני ויצעק משה אל ה' ויאמר אל נא רפא נא לה, ר' לויטס איש יבנה אומ' אם אין מצורעת מרקקת בפניו אינו מתרפא ואם אין אביו מרקק בפניו אינו מתרפא, שני ויאמר ה' אל משה ואביה ירוק ירק בפניה, מכאן אמרו זב שבעה, זבה שבעה, נדה שבעה, טמא מת שבעה, אבל שבעה, משתה שבעה, מצורע שבעה, (מצורה) [מצורעת שבעה],

348. 8th cent.: Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer (Chorev) 52

"And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses because of the Cushite woman he had taken," for she was a Cushite, but what is a Cushite? His body is different from all mankind. Thus Zipporah was different: different in her good deeds, therefore she was called Cushite...

As it is said, "And the Lord came down in a column of cloud and He stood by the opening of the tent, and both of them came out." The Blessed be He said to them, "Anyone who slanders his fellow in secret, he has no remedy, against his brother, whether from his father or his mother, how much more so? And the blessed be He got angry at them. He and went away from the tent, as it is said, "And the Lord's anger was kindled at them, and He went, and the cloud turned aside from above the tent," and immediately Miriam became leprous. The Blessed be He said, "If Aaron were leprous, a priest with a blemish cannot sacrifice on my altar, instead he will see his sister and he will be shocked, as it is said, "And Aaron turned to Miriam." He went to Moses and said to him, "Our lord Moses, siblings do not separate themselves from each other except through death, as it is said, 'For he will be fruitful among the reed plants [play on words for "brothers"],' and our sister, though she is still in life was separated from us, as it is said, 'Let her not be as one dead.' And not until now did all Israel hear and they said, 'The sister of Moses and Aaron is leprous,' and half of the bad reputation is yours." And Moses was reconciled with the matters and he arose and he prayed for her, and it was granted to him, as it is said,

“And Moses cried to the Lord and said, ‘God, do heal her! God, do heal her!’” R. Levitas, a man from Yabneh, says, “If a leprous woman does not spit in his face, he is not healed. And if his father does not spit in his face, he is not healed, as it is said, ‘And the Lord said to Moses, ‘And had her father indeed spit in her face.’” From here they said, “A man with a flow, seven; a woman with a flow, seven; a menstruating woman, seven; one unclean for a dead one, seven; mourning, seven; a feast, seven; a leprous man, seven; [a leprous woman, seven].”

R. Levitas of Yabneh	T-2	90-130
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362. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, יג וכשראה

וכשראה פרעה שהם רבים גזר על הזכרים, הדא הוא דכתיב: ויאמר מלך מצרים למילדת [העברית] (שמות/ א'). מי הם? רב אמר: כלה וחמותה - אלישבע בת עמינדב ויוכבד. ושמואל בר נחמן אמר: אשה ובתה - יוכבד ומרים. ולא היו למרים אלא חמש שנים, היה אהרן גדול ממשו שלוש שנים. אמר ר"ש בן גמליאל: הולכת היתה עם יוכבד אמה ועושה צרכיה והיתה מזרזת, שעד שהתינוק קטן הוא ניכר, שנאמר: גם במעלליו יתנכר נער (משלי כ). אשר שם האחת שפרה ושם השנית פועה (שמות/ א'). והלא יוכבד ומרים שמם! ולמה נקרא שם יוכבד שפרה? שהיתה משפרת את הוולד. מרים - פועה? שהיתה נופעת יין בתינוק אחר אמה. דבר אחר: שפרה - שפרו ורבו ישראל על ידה. פועה - שהיתה מפעה את התינוק, כשהיו אומרים מת. דבר אחר: שפרה - ששפרה מעשיה לפני האלהים. פועה - שהפיעה לישראל לאלהים. דבר אחר: פועה - שהופיעה פנים כנגד פרעה וזקפה חוטמה בו. אמרה לו: אוי לאותו האיש כשיבא האלהים לתבוע ממנו וליפרע ממנו! מיד נתמלא עליה חמה להורגה. שפרה - שהיתה משפרת על דברי בתה ומפייסת על ידיה. אמרה לו: על זו אתה משגיח? תינוקת היא ואינה יודעת כלום. ר' יוסי בר יצחק אמר: שפרה - שהעמידה ישראל לאביהם, שבשבילם נבראו השמים, שכתוב בהם: ברוחו שמים שפרה (איוב כו). פועה - שהופיעה פנים כנגד אביה עמרם, שהיה ראש סנהדרין באותה שעה. כיון שגזר פרעה ואמר: כל הבן הילוד היארה תשליכהו (שמות/ א'), אמר עמרם: ולריק ישראל שוכב את אשתו? מיד הוא הוציא את אשתו יוכבד ופירש את עצמו ממנה, ועמד וגרש את אשתו כשהיא מעוברת ג' חדשים. ועמדו כל ישראל וגרשו נשותיהם. אמרה לו בתו: אבא, גזרתך קשה משל פרעה. פרעה לא גזר אלא על הזכרים, ואתה גזרת על הזכרים ועל הנקבות. פרעה הרשע, ספק גזרתו קיימת, אבל אתה צדיק וגזרתך מתקיימת. עמד הוא והחזיר את אשתו. עמדו כל ישראל והחזירו נשותיהן. הרי פועה - שהופיעה פנים כנגד אביה.

362. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:13

And when Pharaoh saw that they were many, he decreed upon the males, as it is written there, “And the king of Egypt said to the [Hebrew] midwives” (Ex 1). Who are they? Rab says, “A daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law, Elisheba bat Aminadab and Jochebed.” And Shmuel b. Nachman says, “A woman and her daughter, Jochebed and Miriam. And Miriam was but five years old. Aaron was three years older than Moses.” R. Shimeon b. Gamaliel says, “She went with Jochebed, her mother, and did what she needed and was so diligent that even though the baby was small, he discerned it, as it is said, ‘Also for his deeds will a lad be known’ (Prov 20).” “Of whom the name of the one was Shifrah and the name of the second Puah” (Ex 1). And aren’t Jochebed and Miriam their names? And why was Jochebed’s name called Shifrah? Because she beautified the infant. Miriam, Puah? Because she blew wine on the baby after her mother. Another matter: “Shifrah,” for Israel were fruitful and multiplied by her hand. “Puah” because she revived the baby when they said, “dead.” Another matter: “Shifrah,” for she beautified her deeds before God. “Puah” because she lifted Israel to God. Another matter, “Puah” because she lifted her face against Pharaoh and raised her nose at him. She said to him, “Woe to that man when God comes to demand and to exact payment from him!” Immediately he was filled with anger against her to kill her. “Shifrah,” for she beautified her daughter’s words and appeased for her. She said to him, “Of this one you take notice? She is a baby and she doesn’t know anything.” R. Yosi b. Yitschaq said, “‘Shifrah,’ for she established Israel for their Father, that for them the heavens were created, for it is written about them, ‘By His spirit the heavens are serene’ (Job 26). Puah, for she lifted her face against her father Amram, who was the head of the Sanhedrin at that time. When Pharaoh decreed and said, ‘Every son born into the Nile you will cast him’ (Ex 1), Amram said, ‘And in vain does Israel cohabit with his wife? Immediately he put his wife Jochebed out and separated himself

from her, and he arose and divorced his wife when she was 3 months pregnant. And all Israel arose and divorced their wives. His daughter said to him, 'Father, your decree is harsher than Pharaoh's. Pharaoh did not decree but concerning the males and you decreed concerning the males and the females. Evil Pharaoh, there is doubt as to whether his decree will be fulfilled, but you are righteous and your decree will be fulfilled.' He arose and caused his wife to return. All Israel arose and caused their wives to return. Thus 'Puah,' for she lifted her face against her father."

Rab	A-1	d. 247
R. Shmuel b. Nachman	A-3	290-320
R. Shimeon b. Gamaliel	T-3 ?	130-160 ?
R. Yosi b. Yitschaq	?	?

363. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, טז וייטב

וייטב אלהים למילדת (שמות/ א'). אמר ר' ברכיה בשם ר' אבא: ויאמר לאדם הן יראת אדני היא חכמה (איוב כח). מהו שכר היראה - תורה. לפי שיוכבד היתה יראה לפני הקב"ה העמיד ממנה משה, שנאמר: כי טוב הוא (שמות/ ב'), ונתנה תורה על - ידו הנקראת לקח טוב, שנאמר: כי לקח טוב נתתי לכם [תורת אל תעזבון] (משלי ד), ונקראת על שמו, שנאמר: זכרו תורת משה עבדי (מלאכי ג). ומרים יצא ממנה בצלאל, שהיה מלא חכמה, דכתיב: ואמלא אתו רוח אלהים בחכמה (שמות/ ל"א), ועשה ארון לתורה הנקראת טוב, הוי: וייטב אלהים למילדת.

363. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:16

"And God was good to the midwives" (Ex 1). R. Berekhyah said in the name of R. Abba, "And He said to the man, 'Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom' (Job 28). What is the reward of the fear? Torah. Since Jochebed feared the Holy One, blessed be He, He raised from her Moses, as it is said, 'That he was good' (Ex 2), and Torah was given by his hand, which is called by his name, as it is said, 'Remember the Torah of Moses my servant' (Mal 3). And Miriam, from her came out Betsalel, who was full of wisdom, as it is written, 'And I will fill him with the spirit of God in wisdom' (Ex 31), and he made the ark for the Torah, which is called good. So, 'And God was good to the midwives.'"

R. Berekhyah	A-5	350-380
R. Abba	A-3	290-320

364. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, יז ויהי

ויהי כי יראו המילדת את האלהים ויעש להם בתים (שמות/ א'). רב ולוי. חד אמר: בתי כהונה ולויה, וחד אמר: בתי מלכות. בתי כהונה ולויה - משה ואהרן. בתי מלכות - ממרים, לפי שדוד בא ממרים, דכתיב: וכלב בן חצרון הוליד את עזובה אשה ואת יריעות ואלה בניה ישר ושובב [וארדון] (דה"א = דברי הימים א' = ב). עזובה זו מרים. ולמה נקרא שמה עזובה? שהכל עזובה. הוליד - והלא אשתו היתה? ללמדך, שכל הנושא אשה לשם שמים מעלה עליו הכתוב כאילו ילדה. יריעות - שהיה זיו פניה דומות ליריעות. ואלה בניה - אל תיקרי בניה אלא בוגיה. ישר זה כלב, שישר את עצמו. שובב - ששיבב את עצמו. וארדון - שרידה את יצרו. ותמת עזובה (שם / דברי הימים א' ב) - מלמד שנחלית ונהגו בה מנהג מיתה ועזובה וגם כלב עזבה. ויקח לו כלב את אפרת (שם / דברי הימים א' ב). אפרת זו מרים, ולמה נקרא שמה אפרת? שפרו ישראל ורבו על ידיה. ומהו ויקח לו? מאחר שנתרפאת עשה בה מעשה ליקוחין, הושיבה באפריון מרוב שמחתו בה. וכן אתה מוצא שקורא למרים במקום אחר שתי שמות על שם המאורע שארע לה, הדא הוא דכתיב: ולאשחור אבי תקוע היו שתי נשים חלאה ונערה (שם / דברי הימים א' ד). אשחור זה כלב, לפי שאשחור בן חצרון היה. ולמה נקרא שמו אשחור? שהשחירו פניו בתענית. אבי תקוע - נעשה לו כאב. תקוע - שתקוע לבו לאביו שבשמים. שתי נשים - כשתי נשים. חלאה ונערה - לא חלאה ולא נערה היא אלא מרים שמה. ולמה נקרא שמה חלאה ונערה? שחלתה ונערה מחוליה והחזירה הקב"ה לנערותיה. ותלד לו נערה (שם / דברי הימים א' ד'), לאחר שנתרפאת ילדה לו בנים. את אחזם ואת חפר [...] ובני חלאה צרת וצחר ואתן (שם / דברי הימים א' ד'). צרת שנעשית צרה לחברותיה. צחר - שהיו פניה דומים לצהרים. אתן - שכל הרואה אותה מולכת אתן לבעלה. לכך כתיב: [ויקח לו כלב את אפרת] ותלד לו את חור (שם / דברי הימים א' ב). ומנין שדוד בא ממרים? דכתיב: ודוד בן איש אפרתי מבית לחם יהודה (שמו"א = שמואל א' = יז). וכן את מוצא שכתוב אחד אומר: ובני חלאה צרת וצחר

ואתנן וקוץ הוליד את ענוב (דה"א /דברי הימים א' /ד). וקוץ זה כלב, שקצץ עצת מרגלים. הוליד את ענוב - סיגל מעשים טובים בעת שהיבאו אשכול ענבים, שאילולי כלב לא הביאו. ואת הצבבה (שם /דברי הימים א' ד') - שנעשה צביונו של הקב"ה. ומשפחות אחרחל בן הרום (שם /דברי הימים א' ד') - זה מרים. ולמה נקרא שמה אחרחל? על שם: ותצאן כל הנשים אחריה בתפים ובמחלת (/שמות/ ט"ו). ומהו ומשפחות? זכה להעמיד ממנה משפחות. בן הרום - שזכתה שיצא ממנה דוד, שרימם הקב"ה מלכותו, כמה דאת אמר: [ויתן עז למלכו] וירם קרן משיחו (שמ"א =שמואל א' =ב).

364. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:17

"And it was because the midwives feared God, and He made for them houses" (Ex 1). Rab and Levi. One said, "Houses of priesthood and levitehood," and one said, "Houses of kingship." Houses of priesthood and levitehood: Moses and Aaron. Houses of kingship: from Miriam, since David comes from Miriam, as it is written, "And Caleb, the son of Chetsron begot Azuvah, a woman, and Yeriot. And these are her sons, Yashar and Shobab [and Ardon]" (1Chr 2). "Azuvah," this is Miriam. And why was Miriam's name called Azuvah? Because all abandoned her. "Begot" – but wasn't she his wife? To teach you that everyone who marries a wife in the name of heaven, Scripture accredits it to him as if he had born her. "Yeriot" – for the brilliance of her face was like curtains. "And these are her sons" – do not read "her sons" but "her builders." "Yashar," this is Caleb, who straightened himself out. "Shobab," because he chastened himself. And "Ardon," for he subdued his inclination. "And Azuvah died" (1Chr 2) – it teaches that she became sick and they behaved towards her according to the custom of death, and abandoned her, and also Caleb abandoned her. "And Caleb took for himself Efrat" (1Chr 2). "Efrat," this is Miriam. And why was her name called Efrat? Because Israel were fruitful and multiplied by her hands. And what is "And he took for himself"? After she was healed, he performed with her a marriage. He caused her to sit in a covered chair from his great happiness in her. And thus you find that it calls Miriam two names in another place because of the incident that happened to her, as it is written there: "And Ashchur, the father of Teqoa had two wives, Chelah and Naarah" (1Chr 4). "Ashchur," this is Caleb, because Ashchur was Chetsron's son. And why was his name called Ashchur? Because his face became black from fasting. "The father of Teqoa" – he was made like a father. "Teqoa" – because he fixed his heart to his Father, who is in heaven. "Two wives" – like two wives. "Chelah and Naarah" – She was neither Chelah nor Naarah but Miriam was her name. And why was her name called Chelah and Naarah? Because she was sick and recovered from her illness and the Holy One, blessed be He, caused her to return to her youth. "And Naarah bore him" (1Chr 4), after she was healed, she bore him sons, Achuzam and Chefer [...] "And the sons of Chelah were Tseret, and Tsochar, and Etnan" (1Chr 4). "Tseret" because she was a rival to her friends. "Tsochar" because her friends were like noon. "Etnan" because everyone who saw her brought a gift to her husband. Therefore it is written, ["And Caleb took for himself Efrat] and she bore him Hur" (1Chr 2). And from where that David came from Miriam? As it is written, "And David was the son of an Efratite man from Bethlehem in Judah" (1Sam 17). And thus you find that a passage says, "And the sons of Chelah were Tseret, and Tsochar, and Etnan, and Qots begot Anub" (1Chr 4). And Qots, this is Caleb, who cut short the counsel of the spies. "Begot Anub" – he acquired good deeds at the time for they brought the cluster of grapes, that if not for Caleb they would not have brought. "And the Tsovevah" (1Chr 4) – that God's will was done. "And the families of Acharchel the son of Harum" (1Chr 4) – this is Miriam. And why was her name called Acharchel? Because "And all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances" (Ex 15). And what is "And the families"? He merited to establish families from her. "The son of Harum" – that she merited that David would come forth from her, whose kingdom the Holy One, blessed be He, exalted, as it is said, ["And he will give strength to His king] and exalt the horn of His anointed" (1Sam 2).

Rab	A-1	d. 247
Levi	A-3	290-320

365. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, יט ויקח

ויקח את בת לוי (/שמות/ ב'). והחזיר לא נאמר אלא ויקח. אמר ר' יהודה בר אביןא: שעשה בה מעשה לקוחים: הושיבה באפריון ומרים ואהרן מרקדין לפניו ומלאכי השרת אומרים: אם הבנים שמחה הללויה (תהלים קיג).

365. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:19

“And he took a daughter of Levi” (Ex 2). It does not say “He took her back,” but “He took.” R. Yehudah b. Abinah said, “For he performed a marriage with her: He caused her to sit in a covered chair, and Miriam and Aaron were dancing before her, and the ministering angels were saying, ‘A mother of children is happy, *Halleluyah*’ (Ps 113).”

R. Yehudah b. Abinah	Prob. A-3	290-320
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366. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, כב ותתצב

ותתצב אחתו מרחק [לדעה מה יעשה לו] (שמות/ ב'). למה עמדה מרים מרחוק? אמר רב עמרם בשם רב: לפי שהיתה מרים מתנבאת ואומרת - עתידה אמי שתלד בן שמושיע את ישראל. וכיון שנולד נתמלא כל הבית אורה. עמד אביה ונשקה על ראשה. אמר לה: בתי, נתקיימה נבואתך. והיינו דכתיב: ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן [את התף בידה] (שמות/ ט"ו), וכי אחות אהרן ולא אחות משה? אלא שאמרה כשהוא אהרן ועדיין לא נולד משה. וכיון שהטילוהו ליאור עמדה אמה וטפחה על ראשה ואמרה לה: היכן היא נבואתך? היינו דכתיב: ותתצב אחתו מרחק לדעה מה יעשה לו - לדעת מה יהא בסוף נבואתה. ורבנין אמרי: כל הפסוק הזה על שם רוח הקדש נאמר. ותתצב על שם: ויבא ה' ויתיצב (שמ"א = שמואל א' = ג), אחתו על שם: אמר לחכמה אחתי את (משלי ז), מרחק על שם: מרחוק ה' נראה לי (ירמיהו לא), לדעה על שם: כי אל דעות ה' (שמ"א = שמואל א' = ב).

366. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:22

“And his sister stood from afar [to know what would be done to him]” (Ex 2). Why did Miriam stand from afar? R. Amram said in the name of Rab, “Because Miriam had prophesied and said, ‘My mother’s future is that she will give birth to a son who saves Israel.’ And when he was born, the entire house was filled with light. Her father arose and kissed her on the head. He said to her, ‘My daughter, your prophecy was fulfilled.’ It is written, ‘And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron’s sister, took [the timbrel in her hand]’ (Ex 15). And was she Aaron’s sister and not Moses’ sister? Rather that she said [it] when it was [only] Aaron and Moses was still not born. And when they flung him into the Nile, her mother arose and slapped her on the head, and said to her, ‘Where is your prophecy?’ It is written, ‘And his sister stood from afar to know what would be to him,’ to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy.” And the Rabbis say, “This entire verse was said through the Holy Spirit, ‘And she stood’ because of ‘And the Lord came and He stood’ (1Sam 3). ‘His sister’ because of ‘Say to wisdom, ‘You are my sister’” (Prov 7). ‘From afar’ because of ‘From afar the Lord showed Himself to me’ (Jer 31). ‘To know’ because of ‘For a God of knowledge is the Lord’ (1Sam 2).”

R. Amram	A-2	250-290
Rab	A-1	d. 247

367. שמות רבה (שנאן) פרשה א ד"ה א, כה ותאמר

ותאמר אחתו אל בת פרעה [האלך וקראתי לך אשה מינקת מן העבריות] (שמות/ ב'). למה אמרה מרים מן העבריות? וכי אסור היה למשה לינק מחלב הנוכריות?

367. 10th century: Exodus Rabbah (S) 1:1:25

“And his sister said to Pharaoh’s daughter, [‘Should I go and call for you a nursing woman from the Hebrews?’]” (Ex 2). Why did Miriam say, “From the Hebrews”? And was it forbidden to Moses to nurse from the milk of foreign women?

368. מסכתות קטנות מסכת דרך ארץ פרק א הלכה יז

שבעה שכבו בכבודו של עולם, ולא שלטה בהם רימה, אילו הן, אברהם, יצחק, ויעקב, משה, ואהרן, מרים, ובנימן בן יעקב, ויש אומרים אף דוד מלך ישראל, שנאמר לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי אף בשרי ישכן לבטח.

368. 7th -11th cent.: Derekh Erets 1:17

Seven lay down in the honor of the world and maggots did not overcome them. These are they: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses and Aaron, Miriam, and Benjamin the son of Jacob. And there are those who say, also David the king of Israel, as it is said, "Therefore will my heart be joyful and my honor rejoice, also my flesh will dwell in safety."

390. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה טז ד"ה ו דבר אחר

דבר אחר שלח לך אנשים ויתורו (שם/במדבר/יב) ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה ואחר כך שלח לך זה שאמר הכתוב (ישעיה מד) לא ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות עיניהם מה ראה לומר אחר מעשה מרים שלח לך אנשים אלא שהיה צפוי לפני הקב"ה שיאמרו לשון הרע על הארץ אמר הקב"ה שלא יהיו אומרים לא היינו יודעין עונש לשון הרע לפיכך סמך הקב"ה הענין זה לזה לפי שדברה מרים באחיה ולקתה בצרעת כדי שידעו הכל עונשו של לשון הרע שאם בקשו לומר לשון הרע יהיו מסתכלין מה נעשה למרים ואף על פי כן לא רצו ללמד לכך נאמר לא ידעו ולא יבינו כי טח מראות עיניהם.

390. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 16:6

Another matter: "Send for yourself men and they will scout." (Num 12) "And Miriam spoke, and Aaron, about Moses," and afterwards "Send for yourself." This is what the text said (Is 44), "They did not know, and they did not understand because their eyes are covered from seeing." What did he see? Namely after the incident of Miriam, "Send for yourself men," but that it was anticipated by the Holy One, blessed be He, that they would say slander about the land? Said the Holy One, blessed be He, "So that they will not say, 'We did not know the punishment for slander.'" Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, put this case next to this one because Miriam spoke against her brother and was afflicted with leprosy so that all would know the punishment for slander, so that if they wanted to say slander, they would look at what was done to Miriam, and nevertheless they did not want to learn. Therefore it is said, "They did not know, and they did not understand because their eyes are covered from seeing."

391. במדבר רבה (וילנא) פרשה יט ד"ה יז מלמד שמודיעים

מלמד שמודיעים לצדיקים יום מיתתן כדי שיורישו כתרים לבניהם, ומפני מה לא מת אהרן כמו שמתה מרים שלא ידע בה בריה אלא נאמר למשה יאסף אהרן

391. Ca. 400: Numbers Rabbah (V) 19:17

It teaches that they inform the righteous the day of their death so that they bequeath crowns to their children. And why didn't Aaron die as Miriam died, that no one knew about her but rather it was told to Moses, "Let Aaron be gathered"?

392. מדרש תהלים (בוכר) מזמור א ד"ה [יד] דבר אחר

ר' זעירא בשם ר' יהושע בן לוי אמר מכל שבטו של לוי [האנשים] והנשים לא מתו אלא משה ואהרן ומרים.

392. 3rd -13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) 1:14

R. Zeira said in the name of R. Yehoshua b. Levi, "From all the tribe of Levi, [the men] and the women, none died except Moses, Aaron, and Miriam."

R. Zeira	?	?
R. Yehoshua b. Levi	A-1	220-250

393. מדרש תהלים (בוכר) מזמור טו ד"ה [ד] הולך תמים

דאמר ר' סימון והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים (במדבר יב טו), מלמד שנתעבב לה עמוד הענן.

393. 3rd -13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) 15:4

R. Simon said, "And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam' (Num 12:15) teaches that the column of cloud was detained for her."

R. Simon	A-3	290-320
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394. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור כד ד"ה [יא] מי הוא

אמר ר' סימון כתיב והעם לא נסע עד האסף מרים (במדבר יב טו), מלמד שנתעכב לה הענן.

394. 3rd-13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) 24:11

R. Simon, "It is written, 'And the people did not travel until the gathering of Miriam' (Num 12:15). It teaches that the cloud was detained for her."

R. Simon	A-3	290-320
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395. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור נב ד"ה [א] למנצח משכיל

דבר אחר אל תתן את פיך. רבנין אמרין במרים הכתוב מדבר, בשעה שדברה במשה נצטרעה, שנאמר ותדבר מרים ואהרן במשה (במדבר יב א), מה היה לה, והנה מרים מצורעת כשילג (שם שם /במדבר י"ב/ ז). ואל תאמר לפני המלאך. זה משה. למה יקצוף האלהים על קולך. על אותו הקול שהוציאה בפיה על משה הצדיק. וחבל את מעשה ידך. אלו התופים, שנאמר ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהרן את התוף בידה (שמות טו כ).

395. 3rd-13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) 52:1

Another matter: "Do not allow your mouth." The rabbis say, "About Miriam Scripture speaks. At the time that she spoke about Moses, she became leprous, as it is said, 'And Miriam spoke, and Aaron about Moses' (Num 12:1), what happened to her? 'And behold Miriam, leprous as snow' (Num 12:10). 'And do not say before the messenger,' this is Moses. 'Why would God be angry at your voice,' at that same voice that she caused to go out with her mouth about Moses the righteous? 'And destroy your handiwork,' these are the timbrels, as it is said, 'And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron's sister, took the timbrel in her hand' (Ex 15:20)."

396. מדרש תהלים (בובר) מזמור סח ד"ה [יג] אמר ה'

בתוך עלמות תופפות. ותקח מרים הנביאה [וגוי] את התוף בידה ותצאן כל הנשים אחריה בתופים ובמחולות (שמות טו כ).

396. 3rd-13th cent.: Midrash on Psalms (B) 68:13

"In the midst of young women playing timbrels." "And Miriam the Prophetess," [etc.] "the timbrel in their hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances" (Ex 15:20).

397. אליהו זוטא (איש שלום) פרשה ג ד"ה בשלשה דברים (מסתכל

ומנין לנושא אשה לשם שמים שהוויין לו בנים שמושיעין את ישראל בעת צרתם, צא למד [מעמרים שנשא אשה לשם שמים, ויצאו ממנו משה ואהרן ומרים, שרבו תורה ומצות בישראל, וצא ולמד] מבוועז בן שלמון בן נחשון בן עמינדב שנשא אשה לשם שמים, סוף יצא ממנו דוד ושלמה בנו, שהרבו תורה ומצות בישראל,

397. 5th-9th cent.: Eliyahu Zutta (I.S.) 3

And from where, "He who marries a wife in the name of heaven"? For he will have children who will save Israel at the time of their distress. Go forth, learn [from Amram who married a wife in the name of heaven, and from her came forth Moses and Aaron and Miriam, who increased Torah and commandments in Israel. And go forth and learn] from Boaz the son of Salmon, the son of Nachshon b. Aminadab, who married a wife in the name of heaven: at the end came forth from him David and his son Solomon, who increased Torah and commandments in Israel.

398. משנת רבי אליעזר פרשה א [עמוד 16-17]

ויאמרו הרק אך במש' דבר ייי. רק מיעוט, אך מיעוט. אמרה וכי במשה דבר הקב"ה ולא באהרן, והלא דבר עמי עד שלא נידבר עמו, ובאהרן עד שלא נידבר עמו. ומני שנידבר עם מרים קודם למש'.

שני ותקח מרים הנביאה אחות אהי, והלא אף משה אחותו היא, אלא שהתחילה להתנבות
משהיתה אחות אהי ועדיין לא נולד משה.

398. 8th cent.: Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer 1, pp. 16-17

And they said, “Has the Lord indeed spoken only with Moses?” Only belittling but belittling. She said, “Did He speak to Moses and not to Aaron? And didn’t He speak to me, only that I did not speak to Him? And to Aaron, only that he did not speak to Him?” And from where that He spoke to Miriam before Moses? As it is said, “And Miriam the Prophetess, Aaron’s sister, took.” But wasn’t she also Moses’ sister? Rather that she started to prophesy from [the time] when she was Aaron’s sister and Moses had not be born yet.

APPENDIX B-1

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE

(A bolded line divides sources before and after ca. 640 CE)

(Theme ID Codes are as listed in Table II-D-4)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-1	200 The Well returned on Aaron and Moses' merit when Miriam died. C45	5
W-2	200 The Well was a good gift. C45	9
W-3	200 The Well was given upon Miriam's hand. C45	3
W-4	200 The Well was given them when they traveled from Alush and came to Rephidim. C43	7
W-5	200 The Well was given to Israel on the 23 rd of Iyyar. C43	10
W-6	200 The Well was one of three gifts. C45	9
W-7	200 The Well went away at the beginning of Nissan. C44	18
W-8	200 The Well went away in the 40 th year. C44	18
W-9	200 The Well went away when Miriam died. C44	18
W-10	225 After Aaron died, the Well returned on the merit of Moses. C5	5
W-11	225 Each prince drew at the Well for his tribe and each for his family. C2	16
W-12	225 God gave Abraham's children a well in the wilderness. C3	9
W-13	225 Just as in Gen 18:4 Abraham said, "Let a little water be taken," the Holy One brought the Well up for his children, as it is said, "Thus sang Israel this Song, 'Come up, well,' they sang of it." C3	21
W-14	225 The "Water Gate" of the Temple is so called because from a flask of water of libation placed at that site, waters gurgled out similarly to the waters from the cruse which housed the waters of the Well. C2	22
W-15	225 The big streams that came from the Well overflowed. C2	13
W-16	225 The Holy One brought the Well up for his children on Abraham's merit. C3	5
W-17	225 The Israelites went in boats in the waterways created by the Well's waters. C2	13
W-18	225 The princes of Israel surrounded the Well with sticks. C2	16
W-19	225 The princes sang, "Come up well." C2	16
W-20	225 The princes say the song over the Well. C2	16
W-21	225 The rock came to Israel's encampments. C2	12
W-22	225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2	23
W-23	225 The water of the Well makes big streams. C2	13
W-24	225 The waters from the flask in the future, which is as the cruse of the Well, will go out from under the threshold of the House (Temple). C2	23
W-25	225 The waters of the Well bring from the Great Sea every desirable thing in the world. C2	11
W-26	225 The waters of the Well go to the Great Sea. C2	13
W-27	225 The waters of the Well irrigate the desert. C2	13

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-28	225 The waters of the Well surround the encampment. C2	13
W-29	225 The waters that will gurgle from the cruse, as the waters that gurgled from the Well, will go to the Great Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Sodom, to heal their waters. C2	20
W-30	225 The Well stops on a high place opposite the door of the Tent of Meeting. C2	12
W-31	225 The Well stops where Israel stops opposite them. C2	12
W-32	225 The Well used to flow abundantly in every encampment of Israel. C3	12
W-33	225 The Well used to go over the surface of all the south and was seen on the surface of the wasteland. C3	12
W-34	225 The Well was a cruse. C2	7
W-35	225 The Well was a gift. C5	9
W-36	225 The Well was given in Miriam's merit. C5	3
W-37	225 The Well was similar to a full rock. C2	7
W-38	225 The Well was similar to a trickling sieve. C2	7
W-39	225 The Well went up with them to the mountains and down with them to the valleys. C2	12
W-40	225 There is a relation between the cruse from whose mouth one day will come water at the Temple Water Gate and the cruse that was the Well of the wilderness. C2	23
W-41	225 There is a relation between the waters of the beginning and the waters of the Well. C2	7
W-42	225 There was a Well with them that brought up all the fat fish they wanted. C30	11
W-43	225 There was a Well with them that brought up whatever they needed. C30	11
W-44	225 When Deut 2:7 says, "These forty years the Lord your God was with you, you lacked nothing," it refers to how the Well went to the Great Sea from which it brought every desirable thing in the world. C2	21
W-45	225 When Miriam died, the Well ceased to exist. C5	18
W-46	225 When Moses' died, the Well and the other two gifts all ceased to exist and did not return. C5	18
W-47	225 When Num 21:20 says, "It is seen on the surface of the desert," this refers to the Well. C2	21
W-48	225 When Num 20:1-2 says, "Miriam died there and there was no water for the congregation," it means that the Well departed when she died. C4	21
W-49	225 When Ps 105:41 says, "They went in the arid land as a river," it refers to the boats the Israelites went in as they cruised the big streams of the wilderness created by the Well. C2	21
W-50	225 When Ps 78:20 says, "And streams overflowed," it refers to the big streams that came from the Well in the wilderness. C2	21
W-51	225 When the princes sing to the Well, the waters bubble like an upwards column. C2	14
W-52	225 When the waters of the Well bubble up, each prince pulls with his stick C2	16

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-53	225 When Zech 11:8 says, “And I destroyed the three in one month,” it refers to the Well and other two gifts that went away in the same month. C5	21
W-54	225 When Zech 14:8 says “On that day waters will come forth from Jerusalem,” it refers to the water that will gurgle in a way similar to the waters which gurgled from the Well. C2	21
W-55	225 While Miriam existed, a Well used to supply Israel. C4	3
W-56	275 A Well came up for them for 40 years. C34, C38	9
W-57	275 God brought Israel water with the Well to prove that He was worthy of reigning over them and issuing them commandments. C23	9
W-58	275 God used gifts like the Well to build Israel up. C32, C36	9
W-59	275 In Ps 78:16, the “liquid of the rock” refers to the Well giving living waters that produced gardens. C17, C19	21
W-60	275 In Ps 78:16, the Well refers to the one God gave Israel in the Wilderness C17, C19	21
W-61	275 In Song 4:15, the “living water” refers to the Well God gave in the wilderness. C17, C19	21
W-62	275 Israel said that the man who took them out of Egypt and brought up the Well, etc, should be able to enter [the land]. C31, C37	6
W-63	275 Moses caused the Well to come up. C35, C37	6
W-64	275 Of the Well, the taste is of all the sweet things in the world. C22	11
W-65	275 Of the Well, the taste is of honey. C22	11
W-66	275 Of the Well, the taste is of milk. C22	11
W-67	275 Of the Well, the taste is of new wine. C22	11
W-68	275 Of the Well, the taste is of old wine. C22	11
W-69	275 The Holy One said to Moses, “I brought up the Well for you.” C20	6
W-70	275 The Holy One wished that they would eat manna and drink water of the Well for 40 years and have Torah mixed in their bodies rather than deal immediately with the distractions of settling the land. C14	8
W-71	275 The liquid of the Well was not any liquid, but living water. C17, C19	7
W-72	275 The Well came up for forty years. C34, C38	7
W-73	275 The Well coming up for them for forty years was one of the ways Moses did righteousness in Israel. C38	6
W-74	275 The Well coming up was a miracle. C15, C35	9
W-75	275 The Well provided them more fat fish than they needed. C29	11
W-76	275 The Well was a mighty deed. C15	9
W-77	275 The Well was like a shepherd for Israel. C31, C39	9
W-78	275 The Well was one of the things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed third in the list of ten items). C33	1
W-79	275 The Well was one of the ways God showed Israel miracles and mighty deeds. C15	8
W-80	275 The Well was part of the “everything” that God supplied for them in the wilderness. C32	9
W-81	275 The Well, like the other two gifts, was destroyed in one month. C31, C39	18
W-82	275 There were ten songs that were really one – the third was sung at the Well. C18	17

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-83	275 When Israel thirsted, God gave them water to drink from the rock. C17	9
W-84	275 When one of the nations tried to draw from the Well, nothing came up in his hand. C32	10
W-85	275 When Prov 5:15 refers to “living waters,” it refers to the Well God gave in the wilderness. C17, C19	21
W-86	275 With so many miracles that Moses did, including causing the Well to come up, could Moses not judge a person he had taken out of Egypt? C35	22
W-87	300 The mouth of the Well was one of ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Listed second in list of ten items). C1	1
W-88	350 In the Well God gave us we taste the taste of all the delicacies in the world C28	11
W-89	350 The Well had goodness within it. C28	11
W-90	350 Worried that they would be preoccupied by fields and vineyards and separate from Torah, the Holy One surrounded them in the wilderness for 40 years, drinking water of the Well, so that Torah settles in their body.” C24	8
W-91	375 The Holy One led them by the wilderness route instead of the simple road to the Land and its preoccupations so that they would drink from the Well and Torah would settle in their bodies. C129	8
W-92	400 A blind man dipped in Miriam’s Well and was healed. C9e	20
W-93	400 A Well appearing like a sieve in the Sea of Tiberias seen from the mountain of the wilderness is Miriam’s Well. C2e, C3e	4
W-94	400 Despite their rebellion, the Well was not refused them. C82	9
W-95	400 Each prince pulls with his rod from the Well. C81	16
W-96	400 Israel did not know of the miracles until the Well informed them. C80	15
W-97	400 Israel grew species of grasses from the Well’s water. C81	11
W-98	400 Israel grew species of trees from the Well’s water. C81	11
W-99	400 Israel praised the Well saying, “A well that princes dug.” C81	16
W-100	400 Israel returned to seek the Well. C80	15
W-101	400 Israel sang the song only after becoming aware of the miracle the Well had done at Arnon. C80	17
W-102	400 Israel sang the song, at the end of the 40 years. C80	17
W-103	400 Israel saw how the waters brought out the limbs. C80	15
W-104	400 Israel used the Well’s waters all the days they were in the wilderness. C81	10
W-105	400 Miriam’s Pit is found from a mountain in the wilderness. C3e	19
W-106	400 Miriam’s Pit is in the Sea of Tiberias. C3e	19
W-107	400 Miriam’s Well can be seen from a mountain in the wilderness. C2e, C5e	19
W-108	400 Miriam’s Well is in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e, C5e	19
W-109	400 Moses wasn’t mentioned among those who sang over the Well. C81	6
W-110	400 The craniums, arms, and legs which the Well brought out were without number. C80	15
W-111	400 The gift of the Well given in the wilderness was for their use. C81	9
W-112	400 The pit found from the wilderness mountain in the Sea is Miriam’s Pit [Well]. C3e	4

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-113	400 The Princes really did not dig the Well. C81	16
W-114	400 The princes stood over the Well C81	16
W-115	400 The Rabbis debated if the Song of the Well required a blessing before and after it as did the Song of the Sea. C13	22
W-116	400 The reason why Moses did not sing over the Well is because Moses was punished by water, and no man praises his chastiser. C81	6
W-117	400 The river came from a rock that flowed in compliance with a promise to Abraham. C81	5
W-118	400 Miriam's Well was located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of VTGN. C2e	19
W-119	400 The waterways from the Well were abundant so that one saw many boats. C81	13
W-120	400 The Well brought out craniums and arms and legs. C80	15
W-121	400 The Well came with Israel till it entered the Sea of Tiberias. C81	7
W-122	400 The Well can be seen in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e	19
W-123	400 The Well destroyed all the populations. C80	15
W-124	400 The Well destroyed the populations the way that the sea had destroyed them. C80	15
W-125	400 The Well filled the spaces between standards with mighty waters. C81	13
W-126	400 The Well was given in the merit of the Fathers who were called "princes." C81	5
W-127	400 The Well was given them from the beginning of 40 years. C80	7
W-128	400 The Well went down into the cave. C80	15
W-129	400 The Well went down into the wadi. C80	15
W-130	400 The Well went down to make public the miracles. C80	15
W-131	400 The Well's waters surrounded a large area. C81	13
W-132	400 The Well's waters went forth out of the camp. C81	13
W-133	400 Though those who rebelled against Him should have been liable for execution, instead the Well did not stop from them, etc. C82	9
W-134	400 When Is 33:21 says, "And a mighty ship will not pass by," it refers to the boats that could navigate the rivers of the Well's waters. C81	21
W-135	400 When it is said that the signs and wonders were done near the end of the forty years, it is just to draw attention to how the Well made public the miracle at the end of the forty years. C80	15
W-136	400 When Neh 9:18-20 says, "Although they made for themselves a molten calf ... in your great mercy you did not utterly destroy them," it refers to the provision of the Well, manna, and clouds despite Israel's errant ways. C82	21
W-137	400 When Num 21:8 says, and from the wilderness a gift," it means that in the wilderness the Well was given to them as a gift. C81	21
W-138	400 When Ps 23:2 says, "He leads me to still waters," it refers to the species of grasses and trees without end grown from the Well's water." C81	21
W-139	400 When Ps 23:2 talks of "grassy pastures," it refers to what grew by the waterways created by the Well in the wilderness. C81	21

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-140	400 When Ps 23:3 says, "He guides me in paths of righteousness," it refers to how the Well's waters went forth out of the camp and surrounded a large area. C81	21
W-141	400 When Ps 105:41 says "He opened the rock and water flowed," it alludes to the Well God provided on Abraham's merit. C81	21
W-142	400 Women visited friends in other standards by navigating the rivers made by the Well's waters. C81	13
W-143	400 The Well entered the Sea of Tiberias. C81	19
W-144	400 Because they had their own Well, they had no need to cause problems when they passed through the land of others. C79	9
W-145	400 The sages stirred Miriam's Well in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e	12
W-146	400 The Well opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of VTGN was Miriam's Well. C2e	4
W-147	425 Abraham's shepherds said, "Everyone for whom the waters see his flock and come up, the Well is his." C53	14
W-148	425 As it happened at the death of Abraham "all the wells that his father's servants had dug the Philistines topped them up," So too after the death of Moses – "Immediately ceased the Well ..." C55	18
W-149	425 At encampments, they rolled the rock off the Well. C57	12
W-150	425 For Abraham's shepherds, the waters [of the Well] saw and came up. C53	14
W-151	425 Gen 29:2, "From that well they watered their flocks," refers that each one draws water for his standard, tribe, and family from the Well. C57	16
W-152	425 In Gen 29:2, the reference to the three flocks Jacob saw deals with The Well, and refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C57	21
W-153	425 Over the Well, Abimelech's and Abraham's shepherds argued. C53	14
W-154	425 The expression in Gen 27:28, "fat of the earth" refers to the Well which brought up fish. C56	21
W-155	425 The Holy One asked for which nation He caused the Well to come up. C98, C99	9
W-156	425 The Holy one assured Rebecca that the water of the Well would also come up for her children. C54	14
W-157	425 The Holy said this was a sign that for Abraham's children, the Well would come up, as is written, "Come up, well." C53	14
W-158	425 The rock on the mouth of the Well was big." C57	7
W-159	425 The waters of the Well came up for Rebecca. C54	14
W-160	425 They returned the rock to its place on the mouth of the Well so that they could journey. C57	12
W-161	425 When in Gen 27:28 it says, "And from the fats of the earth," it refers to the Well. C56	21
W-162	450 A man happened to float into Miriam's Well and was healed. C5e	20
W-163	450 A man stricken with boils, on dipping into Miriam's Well, was healed. C5e	20
W-164	450 As a recently recovered child is not ready yet to go to school, so too let Israel who just left the enslavement of Egypt first enjoy two or three months with the Well and afterwards they receive the Torah. C108	9
W-165	450 God was kind in providing the Well in the wilderness C73	9

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-166	450 Israel did not smell from sweat, for they used to roll on the grasses of the Well. C107	11
W-167	450 Israel sang, "Come up, well" as if a shopkeeper had given them spiced wine to drink. C109	17
W-168	450 Israel's smell after rolling in the grass of the Well wafted from one end of the world to the other. C107	11
W-169	450 Miriam's Well was located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit. C5e	19
W-170	450 The Well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam's Well. C5e	4
W-171	450 The Well the sages located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam's Well. C5e	4
W-172	450 Though Amon and Moab did not receive them with bread and water, Israel did not need them, for the Well came up, etc. C74	9
W-173	450 Though usually bread comes from the earth and water from above, God arranged for them that the bread would come from above and the water from the Well below. C106	9
W-174	450 When Hos 14:7 says, "And the smell of your garment is like the smell of Lebanon" it refers to Israel not smelling from sweat because they used to roll on the grasses of the Well. C107	21
W-175	550 A majority of what was given came from the Well. C95	11
W-176	550 A sieve seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel is Miriam's Well. C6e	4
W-177	550 As from each water given by the Well, so will halakhah go forth as water for life. C97	22
W-178	550 Because they had the Well, they did not need the water of holes of the land. C118, C137	9
W-179	550 Despite Israel's errant ways, the Holy One did not double-cross Israel, for the Well came up. C113, C131	9
W-180	550 A system of aqueducts was constructed to bring the Well's water to each tribe. C 115, C134, C143	13
W-181	550 Each tribe brought the water to itself from the Well. C115, C134, C143	16
W-182	550 Each tribe made its own aqueduct. C 115, C134, C143	13
W-183	550 Each tribe planted figs with the Well's waters. C115, C134, C143	11
W-184	550 Each tribe planted vines with the Well's waters. C115, C134, C143	11
W-185	550 Feeling sorry for their predicament at the Sea, the Holy One brought flowing [water] from a Rock. C130	9
W-186	550 Forty eight times is written in the Torah 'well,' 'well' to relate Torah and the Well of living waters. C97	22
W-187	550 From the way Israel tried to patronize the shopkeepers of Edom by buying their water instead of using water from the Well that God gave them, one learns the courtesy to be followed when not in ones own land. C118, C137	22
W-188	550 How was the Well made? A sort of rock. C117, C134a, C146	7
W-189	550 In Gen 40:10, the "three shoots" refer to the Well and two other gifts. C12	21

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-190	550 In the end, Moses brought the Well for them, etc. C114, C114	6
W-191	550 Israel guarded the Well all 40 years in the wilderness. C95	10
W-192	550 Israel merited Miriam's Well as a reward for Abraham. C7e	9
W-193	550 Israel saw the Well shinning like the moon inside the wadi. C119, C138	15
W-194	550 Israel took possession of the Well. C139	10
W-195	550 It was from the Well that the daughters of Israel adorned themselves and gladdened their husbands all 40 years in the wilderness as it is said, "A spring of gardens, a well of living waters." C96	11
W-196	550 Just as the Well was provided by the Holy one to give to drink, so is a father obliged to give his son to drink. C135	22
W-197	550 Like Isaac and Jacob, Moses found his mate at the Well. C126	6
W-198	550 Miriam died, the Well stopped. C93, C95	18
W-199	550 Miriam's Well can be seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel as a sort of sieve. C6e	19
W-200	550 Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C6e	7
W-201	550 Miriam's Well is clean. C6e	7
W-202	550 Miriam's Well was in Sichin. C1e	19
W-203	550 Moses led his flock to the furthest end of the wilderness, because he saw that the Well was from the wilderness. C112, C128	6
W-204	550 Once the Well went away, the growth of seed and fig tree was no longer possible. C93, C95, C134, C143	18
W-205	550 Ten things were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, the Well, etc. (Well listed first on the list of ten items) C10	1
W-206	550 That on Miriam's merit the Well was provided is linked to her having sung over water. C117, 134a	17
W-207	550 The angel argued to the Holy One, Why should You bring up the Well for one who would do evil? C125, C141	2
W-208	550 The fast growth (within a day) of figs, vines, and pomegranates watered by the Well resembled how the vegetation grew in a day at the beginning of the world's creation. C115, C134, 143	22
W-209	550 The figs, vines, and pomegranates grown with the Well's waters bore fruit within a day. C115, C 134, C143	11
W-210	550 The forty eight uses of the word 'well' in the Torah correspond to forty eight things by which Torah can be acquired, as is written, "A spring of gardens, a well of living waters, and flowing from Lebanon." C97	22
W-211	550 The grass and tree species that grew from the Well's water were without end. C120, C139	11
W-212	550 The Holy One brought up the Well for them when they were walking about in the wilderness. C115, C134, C143	9
W-213	550 The Holy One told an angel to show Hagar the Well. C125, C141	2
W-214	550 The Holy One caused the Well to come up when Israel left Egypt. C115, C134	9
W-215	550 The rapid fruition of the fruit trees grown by the Well was like at the beginning of creation. C143	11
W-216	550 The Rock settled itself in the courtyard of the Tent of Meeting. C 117, C134a	12

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-217	550 The tribes planted pomegranates to be watered by the Well water. C115, C143,	11
W-218	550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam's Well. C6e	4
W-219	550 The Well came with Israel till it was hidden in the Sea of Tiberias. C121, 139	7
W-220	550 The Well came with them on journeys. C117, 134a	12
W-221	550 The Well can be seen by one standing on the surface of the desert. C121, C139	19
W-222	550 The Well had provided a place of seed and fig tree and vine. ² C93, C95, C134, C143	11
W-223	550 The Well in which a blind man was healed in a cave in Sichin was Miriam's Well. C1e	4
W-224	550 The well into which a blind man immersed in a cave and was healed was Miriam's Well. C136	20
W-225	550 The Well is a sort of full oven mouth. C121, C139	7
W-226	550 The Well knows its master- therefore Moses was able to water as did the Patriarchs. C127	14
W-227	550 The Well rolled. C117, C134a, C146	7
W-228	550 The Well shone like the moon inside the wadi. C119, C138	15
W-229	550 The Well was a round object. C134a	7
W-230	550 The Well was a sort of beehive. C134a	7
W-231	550 The Well was hidden in the Sea of Tiberias. C121, C139	19
W-232	550 The Well that Israel merited was Miriam's Well. C7e	4
W-233	550 When Jer 3:20 talks of the woman who double-crossed her companion, it is to contrast how the Holy One, despite Israel's errant ways, still provided the Well, manna, and clouds. C113, C131	21
W-234	550 When Num 20:1-2 says that "Miriam died...there was no water," it shows that the Well was on Miriam's merit. C11, C117, C134a	21
W-235	550 When Num 20:17 mentions the Well, it refers to the Well that came with them, not water holes of the land. C118, C137	21
W-236	550 When Num 20:5 says, "Not a place of seed and fig tree," it means that when Miriam died and the Well went away, the vegetation was no more. C93, C95, 134, 143	21
W-237	550 When the Well stopped, the vegetation it nourished was no longer able to grow. C93	18
W-238	550 When the Well went away, the benefit went away. C115	18
W-239	600 During the crossing of the sea, they drank fresh water from the Well that came up for them. As is said, "A well of living and flowing water..."- and flowing is sweet. C7	12
W-240	600 When Moses returned (turned away), the water turned back. C6	14
W-241	600 When Moses would stand on the edge of the Well, the water would anticipate it and go up towards him. C6	14
W-242	625 When Moses fled after killing the Egyptian, he sat upon the Well. This means that he sang a song. C88	22
W-243	625 When the Shekhinah was with Israel, they saw all the glory- the Well, etc. C87	10

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-244	650 The first redeemer, He caused the Well to come up." C100	9
W-245	650 The last redeemer, He will cause the Well to come up. C100	9
W-246	650 Because the Well went away, all felt Miriam's death. C102, C105	18
W-247	650 The Well proclaimed Miriam's death. C102	18
W-248	650 When Joel 4:18 says, "And a spring from the House of the Lord will come forth and will water the wadi of Shitim.," it refers to the Well. C100	21
W-249	750 Abraham dug three times and found the Well before him. C163	12
W-250	750 According to R. Aqiba, "Every place where our Fathers went, the Well went about before them." C163	12
W-251	750 Because they found it many times, they called the Well "Shiv'ah." C162	12
W-252	750 Every man who has an injury/plague takes from the Well's waters and puts it on his injury and is healed. C164	20
W-253	750 Every man who is sick and bathes in those waters of the Well is healed. C164	20
W-254	750 From the Well Hagar and Ishmael went and drank and filled the skin. C161	2
W-255	750 God opened Hagar's eyes, and there He placed the Well. C161	2
W-256	750 Isaac dug twice and found the well before him." C163	14
W-257	750 Jacob's might was needed to roll the stone from the mouth of the Well. C163	12
W-258	750 Miriam merited to serve Israel with the Well. C159	4
W-259	750 On hearing Ishmael's voice, God opened for them the Well that was created at twilight. C161	2
W-260	750 The shepherds saw the response of the Well to Jacob and were astonished by the Well's behavior. C163	14
W-261	750 The waters of the Well in the future will fertilize. C164	23
W-262	750 The waters of the Well in the future will go out as twelve rivers, corresponding to the twelve tribes. C164	23
W-263	750 The waters of the Well in the future will go to the Salt Sea to heal it. C164	23
W-264	750 The waters of the Well will go to every field and vine that does not bear fruit and water them. C164	23
W-265	750 Our Fathers dug three times and found them before them. C163	12
W-266	750 When Jacob removed the stone, the Well went up and water overflowed outwards. C163	14
W-267	950 At the time that Israel did not do God's will, the Well would delay an hour or two or three or four or five. C172	10
W-268	950 Bridges cross from this river made from the Well's water to the other side and surrounded all the encampment between family and family. C178	13
W-269	950 Despite the miracles and mighty deeds ... the Well, etc, Israel did not praise God. C65	9
W-270	950 From the main river created by the Well went out four rivers at the corners of the courtyard, each to a compass point ... finally going out to the encampment of Israel. C178	13
W-271	950 God announced that the earth would confirm its faithfulness to Him by bringing up the Well for his love of Israel. C167	9

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Well Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
W-272	950 God provided a Well for those he cast into the wilderness. C64	9
W-273	950 God said He had brought up water from the Well and took out water for them from the rock, as it says, "Come up well." C180	9
W-274	950 In Ps 23:5, the words "My cup overflows" refers to the Well. C62	21
W-275	950 Jethro said that because the Well knew Moses as its master and provided him its water, he was from the sons of Jacob. C66	14
W-276	950 Little boys and wise students came and said to the Well, "Come up well, on the merit of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Come up well, on the merit of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." And then the Well flowed between the tribe of Judah and Issaschar. C172	10
W-277	950 One river from the Well's waters surrounds the encampment of the Shekhinah. C178	13
W-278	950 Rivers from the Well's water were made between each tribe for borders. C178	13
W-279	950 The delicacies provided by the Well's waters were similar to the World to Come. C178	11
W-280	950 The Holy One caused Israel to drink from the Well because they received the statutes and judgments. C62	9
W-281	950 The Holy one caused Israel to drink from the Well. C62	9
W-282	950 The Israelites crossed bridges over the Well's rivers to walk to other areas on Shabbat. C178	22
W-283	950 The men of the generation of the wilderness nullified varied good things bestowed by God including the Well. C177	10
W-284	950 The reason why the Well went away when Miriam died was so that Israel would know on whose merit they had a well. C173	18
W-285	950 The Well informed all the encampments how they would camp. C178	13
W-286	950 The Well was a reliable source of water from the Holy One. C63	9
W-287	950 The Well was at the opening of the courtyard, close to Moses' tent. C178	7
W-288	950 The Well was close to Moses' tent. C178	7
W-289	950 They cried to the Lord over their thirst- and when they saw the Well of water, they immediately sang a song, as it is said ... C166	17
W-290	950 When after Miriam died the people complained of their thirst, Moses went and saw the Well without a drop of water. C173	18
W-291	950 When in Is 65 it twice says "Behold me," it refers to the Well and the manna. C60	21
W-292	950 When Is 55:1 says, "Ho, every thirsty one, go to the water," this refers to the Well that the princes dug, and intends to liken Torah to the Well, as is said, "A well of living waters." C181	21
W-293	950 When Israel did God's will, the Well would rise up early and go and flow at the place where Israel were encamped. C172	10
W-294	950 When Prov 9:2 speaks of the "wine that I mixed," it refers to the water of the Well. C62	21
W-295	950 Why did they not sing over the manna as they did over the Well? They did not love the manna but complained over its dryness, but they loved the Well, "Come up, well" they sang to it. C62	10

APPENDIX B-2

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE

(A bolded line divides sources before and after ca. 640 CE)

(Theme ID Codes are as listed in Table II-D-5 and III-B-13)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-1	200 When Song 5:1 says, “Eat, friends,” it refers to Miriam along with Moses and Aaron. C205	21
M-2	200 Miriam’s name reflected embitterment. C204	1
M-3	200 The bondage is neither more nor less than the eighty-six years of Miriam’s years (i.e. her age at the time of the Exodus). C204	2
M-4	200 The number of days they spent in Chatserot can be inferred from “And Miriam was shut up seven days” (Num 12:15). C206	2
M-5	200 The well given upon Miriam’s hand was one of three gifts. C405/45	22
M-6	200 When it says that “Miriam the Prophetess took” (Ex 15:20), it is to convey that she served as did the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who prophesied to Israel and were inscribed in Scripture. C207	18
M-7	200 As a provider, Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, arose. C405/45	18
M-8	200 Miriam died in the same one year as Moses and Aaron. C405/45	19
M-9	200 Miriam died on the first of Nissan. C405/45	19
M-10	200 Miriam was one of three good providers along with Aaron and Moses appointed over Israel. C405/45	18
M-11	200 When Zech 11:8 speaks of three [shepherds], it is saying that Miriam, Aaron, and Moses were the three [shepherds]. C405/45	21
M-12	200 The Well given upon Miriam’s hand was a good gift. C405/45	22
M-13	200 The well was given upon Miriam’s hand. C405/45	22
M-14	200 The well went away when Miriam died. C404/44, C405/45	22
M-15	225 That Miriam was punished for talking against Moses not even to his face is given as an example of the greater punishment deserved by one who talks against his fellow to his face. C217	10.6
M-16	225 When Miriam died, the well ceased to exist. C407/5	22
M-17	225 God called Aaron and Miriam, excluding Moses because it is not becoming to praise a person to his face. C260	10.9
M-18	225 Miriam learned that Moses had separated from Zipporah from Zipporah herself. C215	8
M-19	225 Miriam spoke against her brother Moses. C217	10.1
M-20	225 Miriam’s Well was a reward for Abraham’s invitation, “Let a little water be brought.” C411/3	22
M-21	225 “And He went” refers to the <i>Shekhinah</i> leaving so that Miriam would not become impure before the <i>Shekhinah</i> . C217	10.9
M-22	225 Aaron added to Miriam’s words against Moses. C215	10.1

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-23	225 Aaron and Miriam deserved the same punishment, but he was wearing the coat in which he atoned over slander. C217	10.1
M-24	225 Aaron turned to Miriam to make her affliction go away. C218	10.7
M-25	225 After Miriam spoke words to Aaron against Moses, they continued to carry on about the matter. C215	10.1
M-26	225 As a result of Moses' prayer over Miriam, she was exempted from a second quarantine. C219	10.8
M-27	225 As Miriam waited an hour upon Moses, God said, "Let Moses, and Aaron and the <i>Shekhinah</i> and the Ark wait one week for Miriam till she is cleansed." C219	11
M-28	225 Both Miriam and Aaron turned white and red and impure with an intense white lesion. C218	10.1
M-29	225 For Miriam's sin of the mouth, all of her limbs were afflicted. C217	10.1
M-30	225 God called Miriam and Aaron out of the Tent of Meeting so as not to make Moses think that a blemish had been found on him. C216	10.9
M-31	225 It was in Chatserot that Miriam was inflicted with Leprosy. C214	10.0
M-32	225 Miriam and Aaron said, "Moses is pretentious, for the Holy One, blessed be He, did not speak only to him alone. He has already spoken with many prophets and with us, and we have not separated from our wives as he has..." C215	10.1
M-33	225 Miriam instigated the words with Aaron against Moses. C215	10.1
M-34	225 Miriam is testimony that such afflictions come only through slander. C210	10.1
M-35	225 Miriam merited punishment even though her words against Moses were heard only by God. C208	10.5
M-36	225 Miriam saw the candles that all Israel lit on the joyous occasion of the appointment of the elders. C215	8
M-37	225 Miriam sinned with her mouth. C217	10.1
M-38	225 Miriam spoke to Aaron about Moses' separation from Zipporah. C215	10.1
M-39	225 Miriam spoke to Aaron against Moses immediately after Zipporah talked to her. C215	10.0
M-40	225 Miriam waited an hour to know what would be done with her brother. C219	6
M-41	225 Miriam was married. C215	12
M-42	225 Miriam was punished despite her tact in choosing how to speak against Moses. C217	10.5
M-43	225 Miriam was scheduled to have two periods of quarantine. C219	10.9
M-44	225 Miriam's speaking against Moses could be viewed more favorably as an older sibling relating to a younger one. C217	10.4
M-45	225 Moses cried to the Lord to ask Him if He intended to heal Miriam or not. C221	10.8
M-46	225 Moses was greater than Miriam. C216	18
M-47	225 On seeing the lit candles, Miriam said, "Happy are these [men] and happy are their wives." C215	8
M-48	225 One reason why Miriam (along with Aaron) was punished was that she (and Aaron) equated their brother with other prophets. C217	10.1

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-49	225 That Aaron was immediately healed but Miriam was not is due to the fact she started on the matter against Moses. C217	10.1
M-50	225 That God took Miriam and Aaron aside instead of making Moses leave to talk to them indicates that compared to Moses greatness, Miriam and Aaron were small. C216	10.9
M-51	225 That Miriam spoke against a younger brother with good intent is given as an example of how much more those deserve punishment who speak for shame of one's fellow to his face. C217	10.6
M-52	225 The injunction to "Remember what the Lord did to Miriam" is to teach against sinning with one's mouth. C217	10.1
M-53	225 The people traveled from Chatserot after Miriam was cleansed. C220	2
M-54	225 The people went back one encampment for Miriam. C214	11
M-55	225 Three times the term "water of quarrel" is used by God to refer to the death of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C209	21
M-56	225 Though Aaron was spared being leprous because he would not then be able to officiate on the altar, he was affected in the sense of being shocked when he saw his sister. C218	10.7
M-57	225 Zipporah talked to Miriam regarding her relationship with Moses. C215	8
M-58	225 Zipporah said to Miriam, "Do not say 'Happy are their wives,' but 'Woe to their wives,' for from the day the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke with Moses, your brother has not had need of me." C215	8
M-59	225 Miriam became leprous due to slander. C215	10.1
M-60	225 Miriam's choice of how to speak against Moses reflected her desire to benefit Moses. 217	10.3
M-61	225 The well was given on Miriam's merit. C407/5	22
M-62	225 While Miriam existed, a well used to supply Israel. C406/4	22
M-63	225 Miriam was appointed. C407/5	3
M-64	275 Miriam and Aaron were less tested than Moses. C213	18
M-65	275 Whoever thinks Miriam could speak against Moses because he was a younger sibling must note that her seniority did not save her from punishment. C208	10.5
M-66	275 Every time the standards traveled, they did not go till Miriam advanced before them. C 210	11
M-67	275 God called Miriam "the righteous." C208	3
M-68	275 God inquired rhetorically, "had they not learned from what he did to Miriam in Chatserot?" C208	10.6
M-69	275 God justified not being partial to mankind since He was not even partial to Miriam. C208	10.2
M-70	275 God said, "Here I killed Miriam, Aaron, and Moses." C209	19
M-71	275 God was not partial in judgment to Miriam. C208	10.2
M-72	275 Like her siblings, Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211	18
M-73	275 Miriam did not speak to Moses' face. C210	10.4

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-74	275 Miriam is given as an example of one who spoke in private so that only the Holy One heard, to show how much more deserving of punishment is one who shames a friend in public. C208, C241	10.6
M-75	275 Miriam was a provider. C210	3
M-76	275 Miriam was buried in Mt. Nebo. C211	19
M-77	275 Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211	19
M-78	275 Miriam's words against Moses were heard only by God. C208	10.4
M-79	275 That Miriam spoke only to benefit and not to shame is given as an example of the punishment deserved by those who speak to shame. C210	10.6
M-80	275 The reason why Miriam's speaking against Moses and her punishment were included in Scripture was as a way to indicate the regard the people had for her as one of the providers before whom they did not move. C210	11
M-81	275 The words of Micah 6:3 lead one to understand that the standards did not travel till Miriam, Moses, and Aaron advanced before them. C210	21
M-82	275 When Ps. 141 says, "Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock" it refers to God killing Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C209	21
M-83	275 Miriam was a shepherd. C401/31	3
M-84	275 Miriam was one of the three shepherds whom God destroyed in one month. C401/31	19
M-85	275 Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron, was a shepherd. C401/31	18
M-86	275 When Ps 47:10 talks of the "princes of the people," these are Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C401/31	21
M-87	275 Moses was gathered to his people, alongside Miriam, Aaron, the Patriarchs, Amram, and Qehat. C212	18
M-88	275 When it says that "a man from the house of Levi went," it means that he went in the counsel of his daughter (Miriam). C228	5
M-89	275 A similarity is drawn between Moses and Miriam in that just as Moses sang a song to the Men, so did Miriam say a song to the women. C228	18
M-90	275 Acharchel is Miriam as referred to in 1Chr 4:8. C230	3
M-91	275 As a measured response that Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, God detained the <i>Shekhinah</i> , Ark, Levites, Israel, and seven clouds of glory for her till she was gathered. C227, C235	11
M-92	275 David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons. C230	15
M-93	275 Despite her father's rebuke, Miriam still held to her prophecy. C228	5
M-94	275 Every time Aaron turned to see Miriam, she broke out with Leprosy. C234	10.7
M-95	275 From Miriam, we learn that the white spot of leprosy is as white as snow. C224	20
M-96	275 God arranged that Moses did not go out with Aaron and Miriam so that Israel would not say, "Moses was also included with them in the anger." C233	10.9
M-97	275 God's making houses meant that kingship was accorded Miriam. C230	4

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-98	275 In "And Miriam spoke against Moses," "spoke" is to be taken as harsh language. C232	10.1
M-99	275 Miriam (as Puah) groaned and cried over her brother. C230	6
M-100	275 Miriam as midwife feared God. C230	4
M-101	275 Miriam asked Zipporah, "What is with you that you are not adorning yourself with women's ornaments? C232	8
M-102	275 Miriam did not intend to speak against her brother for shame. C232	10.3
M-103	275 Miriam died on Mt. Nebo C242, C244	19
M-104	275 Miriam died with a kiss by the mouth of the Lord. C245	19
M-105	275 Miriam elected to speak in Aaron's presence because of the need of that time. C232	10.3
M-106	275 Miriam intended to speak against her brother to improve and not exclude from fruitfulness and increase. C232	10.3
M-107	275 Miriam is called "Aaron's sister and not Moses's sister because Aaron risked his life for her. C228	3
M-108	275 Miriam is given as a case of one who thought ill of the elder. C241	10.1
M-109	275 Miriam is given as an example of one who says slander. C241	10.1
M-110	275 Miriam knew of Moses' separation from Zipporah because Zipporah did not adorn herself with women's ornaments. C232	8
M-111	275 Miriam merited the kingship. C230	4
M-112	275 Miriam prophesied to her father that he would beget a son who would save Israel from Egypt. C228	5
M-113	275 Miriam prophesied. C228	5
M-114	275 Miriam was by Zipporah's side at the time she (Miriam) spoke against Moses. C232	8
M-115	275 Miriam was called Acharchel as is said, "And all the women went forth after her (Ex 15:20). C230	3
M-116	275 Miriam was Efrat. C230	3
M-117	275 Miriam was married to Caleb as is said in 1Chr 2:19: "And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur." C230	12
M-118	275 Miriam was meritorious. C230	3
M-119	275 Miriam was not used to speaking in Aaron's presence. C232	10.1
M-120	275 Miriam was one of three prophets (along with Aaron and Moses) who died on Mt. Nebo. C242, C244	18
M-121	275 Miriam was punished only for slander. C225	10.1
M-122	275 Miriam/Puah was one of the Hebrew midwives. C230	4
M-123	275 Miriam's death by the mouth of the Lord with a kiss was as were Aaron's and Moses'. C245	18
M-124	275 Miriam's having spoken against a younger brother is given as an example of how much more punishment others deserve who speak against those who are greater. C208, C241	10.6
M-125	275 Miriam's punishment is given as an example of how others of lesser stature should not be spared punishment. C208, C241	10.6
M-126	275 Miriam's son through Caleb was Hur C230	14
M-127	275 No one instructed Miriam to wait to see what would be done to Moses except prophecy. C228	6
M-128	275 Puah is Miriam. C230	3

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-129	275 That Miriam intended only to speak to improve her brother that he not be excluded from fruitfulness and increase is given as an example of how much more those deserve punishment who speak against a fellow for shame. C232, C241	10.6
M-130	275 That Miriam pursued to see what would be done to him is the doing of none other than the Holy Spirit. C228	6
M-131	275 That Moses was to be gathered to his people was a reference to him being gathered alongside Miriam and Aaron. C212, C242	18
M-132	275 That the rest of mankind should be subject to punishment was inferred from God's decision to punish even Miriam. C208, C239	10.2
M-133	275 The argument that God uses in making an analogy between Miriam's punishment and one whose father spit in her face is an example of the <i>qal vachomer</i> [If A, then also B] principle of expounding the Torah. C223	20
M-134	275 The degree to which Miriam became white as snow was to emphasize the fierce degree of transition from her former state of being clean of flesh. C234	10.1
M-135	275 The Holy One cleansed Miriam. C235	10.9
M-136	275 The Holy One shut Miriam up. C235	10.9
M-137	275 The people did not have enough time to walk before hearing that Miriam had become leprous. C235	11
M-138	275 For Miriam, the people turned backwards three journeys in their travel. C229	11
M-139	275 The real conclusion that Miriam was a prophetess comes from her telling her father, "You will end up begetting a son who saves Israel from Egypt. C228	5
M-140	275 The travel to Chatserot occurred at the time Miriam became leprous. C231	2
M-141	275 When Moses could no longer be hidden, Miriam's father rebuked her saying, "My daughter, where is your prophecy?" C228	5
M-142	275 With the same strength as one is told to "remember" what the Lord did to Miriam, so too is one to "remember" and sanctify the Sabbath and "remember" how the Lord was provoked in the wilderness. C226	20
M-143	275 Zipporah said to Miriam, "Your brother is not fussy on this matter." C232	8
M-144	300 Miriam and Aaron conversed regarding Moses separation from his wife. C237	10.1
M-145	300 Miriam loved Moses. C237	10.3
M-146	300 Aaron told Moses that neither Miriam nor he had done evil with anyone in the world. C237	10.7
M-147	300 God argued that the law was that Miriam should be shamed for fourteen days. C237	10.9
M-148	300 Moses drew a circle and stood inside it to request mercy for Miriam. C237	10.8
M-149	300 When Amos 1:9 says, "And they did not remember the covenant of brothers" this refers to Miriam and Aaron's transgression against Moses. C237	21

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-150	300 "The cloud turned aside from above the tent," means that Miriam (and Aaron) were punished immediately. C237	10.1
M-151	300 A covenant existed between Moses and Aaron/Miriam. C237	10.7
M-152	300 Aaron asked Moses how Miriam or he could possibly have thought to do evil against him, their brother. C237	10.7
M-153	300 Aaron asked Moses if he felt that Miriam's leprosy would not reflect negatively on their father. C237	10.7
M-154	300 Aaron asked Moses not to rescind the covenant by which Miriam and he were bound to Moses. C237	10.7
M-155	300 Aaron described his and Miriam's transgression as unintentional. C237	10.7
M-156	300 Drawing a circle around himself, Moses said to God, "I am not moving from here till Miriam, my sister, is healed." C237	10.8
M-157	300 God forgave Miriam her second quarantine for Moses' sake. C237	10.9
M-158	300 Miriam (and Aaron) did not judge Moses to his face. C237	10.4
M-159	300 Miriam (and Aaron) did not judge Moses with certainty, but with doubt about his haughtiness. C237	10.4
M-160	300 Miriam (and Aaron) told slander of Moses. C237	10.1
M-161	300 Miriam and Aaron said, "Our first forefathers, speech was upon them and they did not separate from their wives." C237	10.1
M-162	300 Miriam did not speak except against her beloved brother. C237	10.4
M-163	300 Miriam said, "[God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my husband." C237	10.1
M-164	300 Miriam said, "He, who is very haughty, is separated from his wife." C237	10.1
M-165	300 Miriam told Aaron what Zipporah had told her about Moses. C237	10.1
M-166	300 Miriam was a busybody on matters. C237	3
M-167	300 Miriam was punished with a big punishment despite her good intention. C236	10.5
M-168	300 Miriam's intention was to honor Moses. C236	10.3
M-169	300 Miriam's intention was to praise Moses. C236	10.3
M-170	300 Moses prayer to God was, "God, do indeed heal her! God, do indeed heal her!" C237	10.8
M-171	300 That leprosy is sent onto the sons of Adam is taught by "Remember what the Lord did to Miriam." C236	10.1
M-172	300 That Miriam spoke only against her brother, a loved one, and not even to his face is an example of how much more one who speaks to cause shame is deserving of punishment. C237	10.6
M-173	300 The oaks of Bashan, lamenting the destruction of the Temple, wailed, "This is Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." C238	20
M-174	300 The punishment went away from Aaron and was stuck to Miriam. C237	10.1
M-175	350 Miriam is called Aaron's sister and not Moses' sister because she prophesied when she was Aaron's sister before Moses' birth. C271	3
M-176	350 Just as Dinah is called Simeon and Levi's sister, and Cozbi the sister of the prince of Midian, so too is Miriam called the sister of Aaron. C271	16

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-177	350 When Ps 68:7 mentions "Into prosperity, " this alludes to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C270	21
M-178	400 A well appearing like a sieve in the sea of Tiberias, seen from the mountain of the wilderness, is Miriam's Well. C418/2e, C419/3e	22
M-179	400 Miriam who was so worthy in waiting upon Moses for an hour, and yet she was buried with no mourner's meal, and we rabbis - who are supposed to understand the laws of mourning - do not reach the height of our ancestors in this regard. C281	20
M-180	400 Miriam's death served as atonement for others. C279	19
M-181	400 The 7 days of waiting for Miriam are like other periods of days described in the Torah, to see whether the opportunity of those days of waiting and reflection would change the hearts of the people. C280	20
M-182	400 The pit seen from the wilderness mountain in the sea is Miriam's pit [well]. C419/3e	22
M-183	400 The Red Heifer portion following Miriam's portion shows Miriam's death, like the ashes, atoned. C279	20
M-184	400 The Red Heifer portion following Miriam's portion shows that the death of the righteous ones atoned. C279	20
M-185	400 When Prov 7:4 talks of wisdom as a sister, this can be understood as Miriam, the sister of Moses, possessing wisdom. C283	17
M-186	400 Miriam's waiting for an hour has to do with Miriam's possession of wisdom. C283	17
M-187	400 A blind man dipped in Miriam's well and was healed C403/9e	22
M-188	425 Miriam exhibited a trait of women in being garrulous as she spoke against Moses. 276	9
M-189	425 Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron was one of the three shoots on the vine of the butler's dream. C278	21
M-190	425 When Gen 29:2 speaks of "three flocks of sheep," this refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." C417/57	21
M-191	425 When Gen 40:10 speaks of the three shoots on the vine of the butler's dream, these refer to Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron. C275, C278	21
M-192	450 "Do not allow your mouth to cause your flesh to sin" from Ecc 5:5 refers to Miriam. C292	21
M-193	450 A man happened to float into Miriam's Well. C422/5e	22
M-194	450 A man stricken with boils on dipping into Miriam's well was healed. C422/5e	22
M-195	450 As her relative, it was difficult for Aaron to see Miriam's affliction, but he was honored to do so because he was a priest. C290	10.7
M-196	450 From Miriam's merit, along with that of Aaron and Moses, Israel supported itself. C423/73	18
M-197	450 It was difficult for Moses to see Miriam's affliction because he was not a priest. C290	10.8
M-198	450 Miriam is linked to others such as Betsalel and others who are mentioned in the sense that they were worthy of blessing as opposed to those who are mentioned though their names are more associated with negative laughter. C296	16

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-199	450 Miriam was a messenger. C423/73	3
M-200	450 Slander of the type Miriam committed with the tongue is described in the tongue of the Greek as “sweep, sweep.” C291	20
M-201	450 The cloud that provided protection turned aside and no longer provided protection, and thus Miriam was stricken. C293	10.1
M-202	450 The Holy One said that as a priest, it was He who shut Miriam up and who would purify her. C290	10.9
M-203	450 The Holy one sent three messengers – Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C423/73	18
M-204	450 The <i>Shekhinah</i> was waiting for Miriam. C290	10.9
M-205	450 The Torah has many “three’s: the third month, the Torah [Tanakh], the Patriarchs, the select tribe, Israel (Priests, Levites and Israel, the letters, Moses the third born, and three letters of his name, and the three siblings- Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C298	20
M-206	450 The well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam’s Well. C422/5e	22
M-207	450 The well the sages located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam’s Well C422/5e	22
M-208	450 Though Miriam sinned with but her mouth, the rest of all her body was afflicted. C292	10.1
M-209	450 When Deut 24:9 says “Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam,” “remember” is mentioned in the sense that Miriam was deserving of blessing. C296	21
M-210	450 When Prov 7:17 talks of the “lying tongue” this is exemplified by Miriam speaking against Moses. C291	21
M-211	550 Both Miriam and Aaron were the recipients of divine punishment. C302, C250, C261	10.5
M-212	550 Though the Holy One had taken measures not to create Eve from Adam’s mouth, yet Miriam spoke against Moses. C246, C254	9
M-213	550 Miriam concealed her words. C310	6
M-214	550..Miriam served Israel. C410/117	3
M-215	550 Miriam was called “young woman” because she concealed her words. C310	3
M-216	550 Miriam was called “young woman” because she went quickly. C310	3
M-217	550 It says “Aaron’s sister took the tambourine” instead of Moses’ sister because she prophesied when Moses was not yet born. C310	3
M-218	550 The statement of Job 28 that “The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom” refers to Miriam, who feared the Lord and from her came Betsalel, who was full of wisdom. C249, C259	21
M-219	550 No one (specifically Moses) knew of Miriam’s death until he (Moses) was told. C253, C265	19
M-220	550 A reason why Miriam stood from afar ‘to know’ was to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy. C304, C311	6
M-221	550 A sieve seen in the sea from the top of Carmel is Miriam’s Well. C424/6e	22

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-222	550 Because Miriam waited an hour for Moses, the Holy One detained the clouds of glory, priests, and Levites for seven days in the wilderness. C255	11
M-223	550 Betsalel was a great grandson of Miriam by Caleb. C258	14
M-224	550 Betsalel was wise through coming from his wise foremother Miriam. C249, C259	14
M-225	550 Caleb as Ashchur became a father to Miriam. C309	12
M-226	550 Caleb married Miriam/Azuvah in the name of heaven. C309	12
M-227	550 Caleb married Miriam/Azuvah. C309	12
M-228	550 Caleb married Miriam/Efrat. C258, C308	12
M-229	550 Caleb's marriage to Miriam/Efrat was so that Israel be fruitful and multiply upon her hands. C258	12
M-230	550 David came from Miriam. C308	15
M-231	550 First, Miriam was known as Caleb's wife Chelah. C309	3
M-232	550 From Miriam's leprosy one learns that whoever brings out an evil name finds evil afflicting his body. C261	10.1
M-233	550 God planned that after Miriam's slander they would travel from Chatserot to Paran so as to confront the spies with the slander that had occurred. C216	10.0
M-234	550 God rewarded Miriam for her fear of God as a midwife. C249, 259	4
M-235	550 God told Moses to come out with Miriam and Aaron only so that Moses would be ready to pray for Miriam to heal her. C260	10.9
M-236	550 In the same month it was decreed that Moses, Aaron, and Miriam would die. C428/93	18
M-237	550 Just as evil is repaid with evil, good is repaid by good even more so, as for Miriam waiting upon Moses for an hour, and Israel waited upon her for seven days. C307	11
M-238	550 Just as Moses did not need to mention Miriam's name in his prayer for her, so too is it not necessary to mention the name of one for whose benefit a prayer is said. C300	20
M-239	550 Later, Miriam was known as Caleb's wife Naarah. C309	3
M-240	550 Maggots had no dominion over Miriam. C314	19
M-241	550 Miriam (as Chelah) had three sons. C309	14
M-242	550 Miriam is compared to Jochebed in having a heart as tender as roses. C428/93	16
M-243	550 Miriam along with Jochebed shepherded Israel. C428/93	16
M-244	550 Miriam along with Jochebed was a reviver of Israel. C428/93	16
M-245	550 Miriam and Aaron danced before their mother on her remarriage to Amram. C309	5
M-246	550 Miriam and Aaron sang before their mother when Amram remarried her. C315	5
M-247	550 Miriam and Aaron shared that though the Lord also spoke to them, they did not separate from the way of the earth. C260	10.3
M-248	550 Miriam and Jochebed as midwives not only did not kill the infants, but supplied them with water and food. C308	4
M-249	550 Miriam became like two wives. C309	12
M-250	550 Miriam had a heart as tender as roses. C428/93	3

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-251	550 Miriam heard Zipporah say, "Woe to the wives of those. They are dependant on prophecy and they will separate from their wives like my husband separated from me." C260	8
M-252	550 Miriam intended to return Moses to his wife. C250, C261	10.3
M-253	550 Miriam is also known as "Yeriot." C309	3
M-254	550 Miriam is also known as Azuvah. C309	3
M-255	550 Miriam is called Azuvah because all abandoned her at the beginning (over her illness). C309	3
M-256	550 Miriam is called Puah because she cried out and took out the infant. C308	3
M-257	550 Miriam is called Puah because she cried out through the Holy spirit. C308	3
M-258	550 Miriam is included among the seven (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Benjamin) over whom maggots and worms have no dominion. C314	18
M-259	550 Miriam is listed along with Aaron and Betsalel as those who were born, though not all knew of their birth. C412/132	18
M-260	550 Miriam is one of seven prophetesses. C304	18
M-261	550 Miriam later was known as Naarah, to hint that she was as a young girl. C309	3
M-262	550 Miriam prophesied, "My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who will save Israel. C304	5
M-263	550 Miriam quoted Job 22 to her father, "You will decree an utterance, and it will arise for you!" C309	5
M-264	550 Miriam said to her father when he divorced his wife and others followed his lead, "Father, your decree is harsher than that of Pharaoh because Pharaoh decreed only against the males, and you decreed against the males and females! Pharaoh decreed only about this world and you about this world and the world to come! The wicked Pharaoh, there is doubt as to whether his decree will be fulfilled and doubt as to whether it will not be fulfilled. You are righteous, and it is certain that your decree will be fulfilled." C309	5
M-265	550 Miriam sang a song over the Sea. C413/134a	7
M-266	550 Miriam sang a song over water. C410/117	7
M-267	550 Miriam served the role of an intermediary as did her siblings. C256	3
M-268	550 Miriam spoke against Moses saying, "Moses took a wife and he stopped from procreating." C250	10.3
M-269	550 Miriam was a redeemer. C410/117, C413/134a, C257	3
M-270	550 Miriam was a reviver of Israel. C428/93	3
M-271	550 Miriam was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know. C413/134a	3
M-272	550 Miriam was by the side of Zipporah when Moses was told that Eldad and Meidad were prophesying in the camp. C260	8
M-273	550 Miriam was first known as Chelah, to hint that she was sickly C309	3
M-274	550 Miriam was married to Ashchur who was the same as Caleb. C309	12
M-275	550 Miriam was one of six (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron) upon whom the angel of death had no dominion. C314	18

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-276	550 Miriam was one of three redeemers along with Moses and Aaron appointed to serve Israel. C410/117	18
M-277	550 Miriam was punished even though she did not intend her brother shame. C260	10.5
M-278	550 Miriam was rewarded with Wisdom. C249, C259	17
M-279	550 Miriam was sent to nourish Israel. C410/117	3
M-280	550 Miriam was talkative despite precautions God took in creating Eve. C254	9
M-281	550 Miriam was the ancestress of Betsalel. C249, C259	14
M-282	550 Miriam went quickly like a young woman to find a Hebrew nursemaid for Moses. C310	6
M-283	550 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know. C413/134a	18
M-284	550 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, was one of three redeemers. C257	18
M-285	550 Miriam's (as Chelah) three sons were called Tseret, Tsohar and Etnan. C309	14
M-286	550 Miriam's being gathered was not made known as were Aaron and Moses' being gathered because Moses and Aaron were more like two regularly involved "controllers to the King" than Miriam had been. C253, C265	18
M-287	550 Miriam's being gathered was not made known. C253, C265	19
M-288	550 Miriam's being talkative represented a concern God had about women since His creation of Eve. C246, C254, C267	9
M-289	550 Miriam's father told her, "My daughter, your prophecy came to be." C304, C311	5
M-290	550 Miriam's name "Yeriot" was because her face was like curtains (bright). C309	3
M-291	550 Miriam's name reflects the embitterment of slavery. C247, C320	1
M-292	550 Miriam's sons are also known as "builders." C309	14
M-293	550 Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C424/6e	22
M-294	550 Miriam's Well is in the sea. C424/6e	22
M-295	550 Moses did not say a longer prayer on Miriam's behalf so that Israel would not think that he treated her distress with favoritism. C260	10.8
M-296	550 Moses' prayer to heal Miriam is an example of an appropriately very short prayer. C300	10.8
M-297	550 Not all know the day Miriam was born. C412/132	2
M-298	550 Of Miriam it was not said, "By the mouth of the Lord" because the matter is disrespectful. C305, C314, C319	18
M-299	550 That Miriam also died with a kiss can be inferred from the use of the word "there" related to Moses. C305, C314, C319	18
M-300	550 That Miriam stood is to be understood that the Lord/Shekhinah was involved with her in this regard. C307	6
M-301	550 That Miriam's son was named Etnan meant that all who saw her brought gifts to their wives. C309	14
M-302	550 That Miriam's son was named Tsochar meant that her face was like the noon. C309	14

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-303	550 That Miriam's son was named Tseret indicated that she had become a rival to her fellow women. C309	14
M-304	550 That Num 20:1 has Miriam's burial immediately following her death teaches that burial should not be unduly delayed. C305	20
M-305	550 That the episode of the spies followed the episode of Miriam's slander is to show that the spies too would say slander, about the land. C252, C268	20
M-306	550 The angel of death had no dominion over Miriam. C314	19
M-307	550 The dating of the decree that they would not enter the land can in part be calculated based on the timing of the seven days that Miriam was shut up. C303	2
M-308	550 The episode of the spies follows Miriam's slander so that the spies would not be unaware of the punishment for slander. C252, C268	20
M-309	550 The Holy One revealed Himself to Miriam and Aaron when they needed water suddenly. C250	10.9
M-310	550 The holy one sent Miriam along with Moses and Aaron for Israel's nourishment. C410/117, C413/134a	18
M-311	550 The Holy one took the divine initiative as priest to shut up, examine, and set Miriam free. C318	10.9
M-312	550 The Lord decreed banishment upon Miriam. C260	10.5
M-313	550 The matter of the daughters of Tselofechad follows Miriam's death because these daughters behaved righteously, unlike the spies who did not deserve to follow the account of Miriam's death, since they did not heed the lesson of Miriam's slander, and spoke slander about the land. C266	10.6
M-314	550 The people did not learn the lesson from Miriam regarding slander related to the episode of the spies. C268	10.6
M-315	550 The Rabbis asked that prayers they made for healing be heeded by God even as He had responded to the prayer that Miriam be healed. C301	20
M-316	550 The sons of Miriam were Yesher, Shobab, and Ardon. C309	14
M-317	550 The three cubits height of the altar corresponds to the three redeemers, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C257	20
M-318	550 The Torah contains many three's- Moses the third born, the three months of Moses being hidden, three Patriarchs, Levi the third-born, the third-day on which the Lord came down. Include among these three are three siblings- Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C248	20
M-319	550 The Torah contains many three's- the third month, the letters of word roots, the Torah-Prophets-Writings that make up the Tanakh, the Talmud, halakhot, and aggadot the make up the Mishnah, the three Intermediaries –Miriam, Aaron and Moses, and Amrams's three children- Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C256	20
M-320	550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam's Well. C424/6e	22
M-321	550 The well was on Miriam's merit, who sang a song over the Sea. C413/134a	22
M-322	550 The well was on Miriam's merit, who sang a song over water. C410/117	22

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-323	550 The well that Israel merited was Miriam's Well. C425/7e	22
M-324	550 The wisdom with which Miriam was rewarded was because as a midwife she feared God. C249, C259	17
M-325	550 There is debate as to whether Aaron shared in Miriam's punishment of leprosy. C302	10.1
M-326	550 Unlike Aaron, Miriam's impending death was not announced beforehand. C253, C265	19
M-327	550 Unlike others over whom the angel of death had no dominion, it is not written that Miriam died "by the mouth of the Lord." C314	18
M-328	550 Uri was a grandson of Miriam by Caleb. C258	14
M-329	550 When Moses was cast into the Nile, her father said to her, "My daughter, Where is your prophecy? C304	5
M-330	550 When Moses was cast into the Nile, her father stood and slapped her on the head. C304, C311	5
M-331	550 When Num 20:1-2 says that "Miriam died...there was no water," it shows that the well was on Miriam's merit. C402/11, C410/117, C413/134a	22
M-332	550 When Num 20:5 says, "Not a place of seed and fig tree," it means that when Miriam died and the well went away, the vegetation was no more. C428/93, C408/95, C409/143	22
M-333	550 When the entire house was filled with light on Moses birth, Miriam's father stood and kissed her on the head. C304, C311	5
M-334	550 When the test of Ps 113 says that "the mother of the children is joyful" this refers to Jochebed and her children Miriam and Aaron. C309	21
M-335	600 Aaron admitted to Moses that his and Miriam's transgression had rescinded a covenant among siblings. C338	10.7
M-336	600 Aaron classified his and Miriam's transgression as unintentional. C338	10.4
M-337	600 Aaron told Moses that his and Miriam's rescinding of the covenant would deprive them of their sister. C338	10.7
M-338	600 Amram brought Miriam before the Sanhedrin. C341	5
M-339	600 Miriam addressed the Sanhedrin. C341	5
M-340	600 Miriam carried castanets and walked about before Jochebed at her re-marriage to Amram. C341	5
M-341	600 Miriam is included along with Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, Aaron, and Moses as "the righteous ones" because "there" is used to describe where they were buried. 339	18
M-342	600 Miriam was 6 years old when Amram divorced Jochebed. C341	2
M-343	600 Miriam's being a busybody was why her affliction was made worse than Aaron's. C338	10.1
M-344	600 Miriam's words were heard by her father Amram. C341	5
M-345	600 Scripture put Miriam before Aaron in telling slander because Miriam began the process. C338	10.1
M-346	600 "He departed" means that divine punishment went away from Aaron and clung to Miriam. C338	10.1
M-347	625 Miriam did not intend to say slander against Moses. C336	10.4

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-348	625 Miriam is compared to Aaron and Moses as being among the hands through which the Torah was given. C337	18
M-349	625 Miriam is counted along with Moses and Aaron as those who will increase Torah and commandments in Israel. C397	18
M-350	625 Miriam is counted along with Moses and Aaron as those who will save Israel in times of distress. C397	18
M-351	625 Miriam was favored in singing a song at the Sea. C334	7
M-352	625 Miriam was favored. C334	3
M-353	625 Miriam's affliction was a sign for all slanderers. C331	10.6
M-354	625 Moses compassion for Miriam was raised because he recalled his own suffering when his hand was made leprous as snow. C335	10.8
M-355	625 Moses said of Miriam that her talking was the way of women. C333	9
M-356	625 Moses told God that He would do well to heal Miriam. C335	10.8
M-357	625 Moses' being greater than Miriam contributed to why she was punished. C331	10.5
M-358	625 On seeing what happened to Miriam, Moses started to cry and pray for her with all his soul. C335	10.8
M-359	625 The precept that those called to read the Torah will read no less than three verses corresponds to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam upon whose hands the Torah was given. C337	20
M-360	625 Though Miriam was favored when she sang a song honoring the Holy One at the sea, her coming into favor was reversed when she talked against her brother and was shut up. C334	10.1
M-361	650 In the case of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses, though no one noticed their birth, all felt their death. C431/102	18
M-362	650 Miriam said to Pharaoh, "Woe to you from the day of judgment. C343	4
M-363	650 Miriam screamed at the woman and the infant came out. C343	4
M-364	650 Miriam screamed in Pharaoh's face. C343	4
M-365	650 Miriam/Puah made public her brother's action. C343	10.1
M-366	650 When Miriam died, all felt it. C431/102, C432/105	19
M-367	750 "Say to Wisdom, 'You are my sister' of Prov 7:4 refers to Miriam. C433/159	21
M-368	750 Aaron said to Moses, that both of them would share fifty-fifty in having a reputation of having a leprous sister. C348	10.7
M-369	750 Aaron told Moses that he should not let Miriam be as one who was dead, since she was still alive, and siblings do not separate from one another except through death. C348	10.7
M-370	750 All Israel heard that Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, was leprous. C348	10.0
M-371	750 Jochebed told Miriam: "Where is your prophecy?" C433/159	5
M-372	750 Miriam along with Aaron and Moses is one of three righteous persons that Jochebed brought up. C433/159	18
M-373	750 Miriam asked, "Did not the Lord speak also to Aaron? C398	18
M-374	750 Miriam asked, "Did not the Lord speak to me even though I did not speak to Him and Aaron did not speak to Him? C398	18
M-375	750 Miriam saw that Moses and the Children of Israel sang. C346	7

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-376	750 Miriam was called Efrat because she was of royalty, a daughter of a great one of her generation. C347	3
M-377	750 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, merited to serve Israel. C433/159	18
M-378	750 Moses arose and prayed for Miriam. C348	10.8
M-379	750 Moses prayer for Miriam was granted. C348	10.8
M-380	750 Once Miriam saw that Moses and the Children of Israel sang, Miriam started to sing and chant before the blessed be He. C346	7
M-381	750 The Lord spoke to Miriam before He ever spoke to Moses. C398	18
M-382	750 The Torah has many "three's": the Torah, Prophets and Writings. Her letters <i>Alef, Mem, Tav</i> = Emet), the third tribe (Levi), etc, and the three siblings (Moses, Aaron, and Miriam). C344	20
M-383	750 Those who wished the Golden Calf to be made went before Aaron and Miriam's son Hur. C347	14
M-384	750 Though Miriam prophesied, she did not know what she prophesied. C354	5
M-385	750 We learn that Hur was Miriam's son from, "And Caleb took Efrat and she bore him Hur." C347	14
M-386	750 When Moses was cast into the Nile, Jochebed struck Miriam on the head. C433/159	5
M-387	750 When Pro 31:17 says, "she girded her loins with strength," it refers to Miriam prophesying that her mother would give birth to a son who would save Israel. C345	21
M-388	850 Some say Miriam was not only among the seven, but also shared with David that they were not overcome by maggots. C368	16
M-389	950 "And Ashchur had two wives, Chelah and Naarah," refers to the sick Miriam and the recovered Miriam. C364	12
M-390	950 "And Azuvah died" teaches that Miriam became sick such that they behaved to her according to the custom of death, abandoning her. C364	13
M-391	950 Caleb abandoned Miriam/Azuvah. C364	12
M-392	950 Caleb caused Miriam to sit in a covered chair because of his great happiness in her. C364	12
M-393	950 Caleb had great happiness in Miriam. C364	12
M-394	950 Everyone who saw Miriam brought a gift to her husband. C364	13
M-395	950 Israel were crying over Miriam's death. C435/173	19
M-396	950 Miriam was known as Puah because she revived the baby when they said, "dead." C362	4
M-397	950 Miriam bore Caleb sons after she was healed. C364	14
M-398	950 Miriam did what Jochebed needed. C362	4
M-399	950 Miriam lifted her face against Pharaoh C36	4
M-400	950 Miriam merited that David would come forth from her. C364	15
M-401	950 Miriam raised her nose at Pharaoh C362	4
M-402	950 Miriam recovered from her illness. C364	13
M-403	950 Miriam said to Pharaoh, "Woe to that man when God comes to demand and to exact payment from him!" C362	4
M-404	950 Miriam was diligent. C362	4
M-405	950 Miriam was five years old when she went with Jochebed. C362	4

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier)	Theme ID Code
M-406	950 Miriam was healed from her illness. C364	13
M-407	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she lifted her face against Pharaoh and raised her nose at him. C362	3
M-408	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she lifted Israel to God. C362	3
M-409	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she revived the baby when they said, "dead." C362	3
M-410	950 Miriam was sick. C364	13
M-411	950 Miriam's name "Efrat" is because Israel were fruitful and multiplied by her hands. C364	3
M-412	950 Miriam was known as Puah because she blew wine on the baby after her mother. C362	3
M-413	950 Moses and Aaron cried over Miriam's death. C435/173	19
M-414	950 Moses asked why Israel objected to his crying over Miriam who died. C435/173	19
M-415	950 Once Miriam was healed, Caleb performed with her a marriage. C364	12
M-416	950 Puah/Miriam lifted her face against her father Amram. C362	5
M-417	950 The baby discerned that Miriam was diligent. C362	4
M-418	950 The Holy one caused Miriam to return to her youth. C364	13
M-419	950 The names of the sons Miriam bore to Caleb after being healed were Achuzam and Chefer. C364	14

APPENDIX C-1

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE

(A bolded line divides sources before and after ca. 640 CE)

(Theme ID Codes are as listed in Table II-D-4)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme #1: Earliest Origin of the Well	Theme ID Code
W-78	275 The Well was one of the things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Well listed third in the list of ten items). C33	1
W-87	300 The mouth of the Well was one of ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight. (Listed second in list of ten items). C1	1
W-205	550 Ten things were created in the eve of the Sabbath at twilight, the Well, etc. (Well listed first on the list of ten items) C10	1

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme #2: God's Justice in Providing the Well for Ishmael	Theme ID Code
W-207	550 The angel argued to the Holy One, Why should You bring up the Well for one who would do evil? C125, C141	2
W-213	550 The Holy One told an angel to show Hagar the Well. C125, C141	2
W-254	750 From the Well Hagar and Ishmael went and drank and filled the skin. C161	2
W-255	750 God opened Hagar's eyes, and there He placed the Well. C161	2
W-259	750 On hearing Ishmael's voice, God opened for them the Well that was created at twilight. C161	2

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme #3: Miriam's Special Status Regarding the Well	Theme ID Code
W-3	200 The Well was given upon Miriam's hand. C45	3
W-36	225 The Well was given in Miriam's merit. C5	3
W-55	225 While Miriam existed, a Well used to supply Israel. C4	3

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 4: Well Specifically Identified as “Miriam’s Well”	Theme ID Code
W-93	400 A Well appearing like a sieve in the Sea of Tiberias seen from the mountain of the wilderness is Miriam’s Well. C2e, C3e	4
W-112	400 The pit found from the wilderness mountain in the Sea is Miriam’s Pit [Well]. C3e	4
W-146	400 The Well opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of VTGN was Miriam’s Well. C2e	4
W-170	450 The Well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam’s Well. C5e	4
W-171	450 The Well the sages located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam’s Well. C5e	4
W-176	550 A sieve seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel is Miriam’s Well. C6e	4
W-218	550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam’s Well. C6e	4
W-223	550 The Well in which a blind man was healed in a cave in Sichin was Miriam’s Well. C1e	4
W-232	550 The Well that Israel merited was Miriam’s Well. C7e	4
W-258	750 Miriam merited to serve Israel with the Well. C159	4

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 5: Well Given in Merit of Abraham, Moses, and Aaron	Theme ID Code
W-1	200 The Well returned on Aaron and Moses’ merit when Miriam died. C45	5
W-10	225 After Aaron died, the Well returned on the merit of Moses. C5	5
W-16	225 The Holy One brought the Well up for his children on Abraham’s merit. C3	5
W-117	400 The river came from a rock that flowed in compliance with a promise to Abraham. C81	5
W-126	400 The Well was given in the merit of the Fathers who were called “princes.” C81	5

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 6: Moses’ Interaction with the Well	Theme ID Code
W-62	275 Israel said that the man who took them out of Egypt and brought up the Well, etc, should be able to enter [the land]. C31, C37	6
W-63	275 Moses caused the Well to come up. C35, C37	6
W-69	275 The Holy One said to Moses, “I brought up the Well for you.” C20	6
W-73	275 The Well coming up for them for forty years was one of the ways Moses did righteousness in Israel. C38	6
W-109	400 Moses wasn’t mentioned among those who sang over the Well. C81	6

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 6 (<i>cont</i>): Moses' Interaction with the Well	Theme ID Code
W-116	400 The reason why Moses did not sing over the Well is because Moses was punished by water, and no man praises his chastiser. C81	6
W-190	550 In the end, Moses brought the Well for them, etc. C114, C114	6
W-197	550 Like Isaac and Jacob, Moses found his mate at the Well. C126	6
W-203	550 Moses led his flock to the furthest end of the wilderness, because he saw that the Well was from the wilderness. C112, C128	6

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 7: Dating, Shape, Construction, and Purity of the Well and its Water	Theme ID Code
W-4	200 The Well was given them when they traveled from Alush and came to Rephidim. C43	7
W-34	225 The Well was a cruse. C2	7
W-37	225 The Well was similar to a full rock. C2	7
W-38	225 The Well was similar to a trickling sieve. C2	7
W-41	225 There is a relation between the waters of the beginning and the waters of the Well. C2	7
W-71	275 The liquid of the Well was not any liquid, but living water. C17, C19	7
W-72	275 The Well came up for forty years. C34, C38	7
W-121	400 The Well came with Israel till it entered the Sea of Tiberias. C81	7
W-127	400 The Well was given them from the beginning of 40 years. C80	7
W-158	425 The rock on the mouth of the Well was big. C57	7
W-188	550 How was the Well made? A sort of rock. C117, C134a, C146	7
W-200	550 Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C6e	7
W-201	550 Miriam's Well is clean. C6e	7
W-219	550 The Well came with Israel till it was hidden in the Sea of Tiberias. C121, 139	7
W-225	550 The Well is a sort of full oven mouth. C121, C139	7
W-227	550 The Well rolled. C117, C134a, C146	7
W-229	550 The Well was a round object. C134a	7
W-230	550 The Well was a sort of beehive. C134a	7
W-287	950 The Well was at the opening of the courtyard, close to Moses' tent. C178	7
W-288	950 The Well was close to Moses' tent. C178	7

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 8: God's Intent in Giving the Well to Israel in the Wilderness	Theme ID Code
W-70	275 The Holy One wished that they would eat manna and drink water of the Well for 40 years and have Torah mixed in their bodies rather than deal immediately with the distractions of settling the land. C14	8
W-79	275 The Well was one of the ways God showed Israel miracles and mighty deeds. C15	8
W-90	350 Worried that they would be preoccupied by fields and vineyards and separate from Torah, the Holy One surrounded them in the wilderness for 40 years, drinking water of the Well, so that Torah settles in their body. ²² C24	8
W-91	375 The Holy One led them by the wilderness route instead of the simple road to the Land and its preoccupations so that they would drink from the Well and Torah would settle in their bodies. C129	8

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 9: The Well as a Divine Kindly Gift, Deserved or Undeserved	Theme ID Code
W-2	200 The Well was a good gift. C45	9
W-6	200 The Well was one of three gifts. C45	9
W-12	225 God gave Abraham's children a well in the wilderness. C3	9
W-35	225 The Well was a gift. C5	9
W-56	275 A Well came up for them for 40 years. C34, C38	9
W-57	275 God brought Israel water with the Well to prove that He was worthy of reigning over them and issuing them commandments. C23	9
W-58	275 God used gifts like the Well to build Israel up. C32, C36	9
W-74	275 The Well coming up was a miracle. C15, C35	9
W-76	275 The Well was a mighty deed. C15	9
W-77	275 The Well was like a shepherd for Israel. C31, C39	9
W-80	275 The Well was part of the "everything" that God supplied for them in the wilderness. C32	9
W-83	275 When Israel thirsted, God gave them water to drink from the rock. C17	9
W-94	400 Despite their rebellion, the Well was not refused them. C82	9
W-111	400 The gift of the Well given in the wilderness was for their use. C81	9
W-133	400 Though those who rebelled against Him should have been liable for execution, instead the Well did not stop from them, etc. C82	9
W-144	400 Because they had their own Well, they had no need to cause problems when they passed through the land of others. C79	9
W-155	425 The Holy One asked for which nation He caused the Well to come up. C98, C99	9
W-164	450 As a recently recovered child is not ready yet to go to school, so too let Israel who just left the enslavement of Egypt first enjoy two or three months with the Well and afterwards they receive the Torah. C108	9
W-165	450 God was kind in providing the Well in the wilderness C73	9

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 9 (<i>cont</i>): The Well as a Divine Kindly Gift, Deserved or Undeserved	Theme ID Code
W-172	450 Though Amon and Moab did not receive them with bread and water, Israel did not need them, for the Well came up, etc. C74	9
W-173	450 Though usually bread comes from the earth and water from above, God arranged for them that the bread would come from above and the water from the Well below. C106	9
W-178	550 Because they had the Well, they did not need the water of holes of the land. C118, C137	9
W-179	550 Despite Israel's errant ways, the Holy One did not double-cross Israel, for the Well came up. C113, C131	9
W-185	550 Feeling sorry for their predicament at the Sea, the Holy One brought flowing [water] from a Rock. C130	9
W-192	550 Israel merited Miriam's Well as a reward for Abraham. C7e	9
W-212	550 The Holy One brought up the Well for them when they were walking about in the wilderness. C115, C134, C143	9
W-214	550 The Holy One caused the Well to come up when Israel left Egypt. C115, C134	9
W-244	650 The first redeemer, He caused the Well to come up." C100	9
W-245	650 The last redeemer, He will cause the Well to come up. C100	9
W-269	950 Despite the miracles and mighty deeds ... the Well, etc, Israel did not praise God. C65	9
W-271	950 God announced that the earth would confirm its faithfulness to Him by bringing up the Well for his love of Israel. C167	9
W-272	950 God provided a Well for those he cast into the wilderness. C64	9
W-273	950 God said He had brought up water from the Well and took out water for them from the rock, as it says, "Come up well." C180	9
W-280	950 The Holy One caused Israel to drink from the Well because they received the statutes and judgments. C62	9
W-281	950 The Holy one caused Israel to drink from the Well. C62	9
W-286	950 The Well was a reliable source of water from the Holy One. C63	9

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 10: Israel's Interaction with and Relation to the Well	Theme ID Code
W-5	200 The Well was given to Israel on the 23 rd of Iyyar. C43	10
W-84	275 When one of the nations tried to draw from the Well, nothing came up in his hand. C32	10
W-104	400 Israel used the Well's waters all the days they were in the wilderness. C81	10
W-191	550 Israel guarded the Well all 40 years in the wilderness. C95	10
W-194	550 Israel took possession of the Well. C139	10
W-243	625 When the Shekhinah was with Israel, they saw all the glory- the Well, etc. C87	10

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 10 (<i>cont</i>): Israel's Interaction with and Relation to the Well	Theme ID Code
W-267	950 At the time that Israel did not do God's will, the Well would delay an hour or two or three or four or five. C172	10
W-276	950 Little boys and wise students came and said to the Well, "Come up well, on the merit of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Come up well, on the merit of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." And then the Well flowed between the tribe of Judah and Issaschar. C172	10
W-283	950 The men of the generation of the wilderness nullified varied good things bestowed by God including the Well. C177	10
W-293	950 When Israel did God's will, the Well would rise up early and go and flow at the place where Israel were encamped. C172	10
W-295	950 Why did they not sing over the manna as they did over the Well? They did not love the manna but complained over its dryness, but they loved the Well, "Come up, well" they sang to it. C62	10

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 11: Diverse Benefits of the Well that Supplied all their Needs	Theme ID Code
W-25	225 The waters of the Well bring from the Great Sea every desirable thing in the world. C2	11
W-42	225 There was a Well with them that brought up all the fat fish they wanted. C30	11
W-43	225 There was a Well with them that brought up whatever they needed. C30	11
W-64	275 Of the Well, the taste is of all the sweet things in the world. C22	11
W-65	275 Of the Well, the taste is of honey. C22	11
W-66	275 Of the Well, the taste is of milk. C22	11
W-67	275 Of the Well, the taste is of new wine. C22	11
W-68	275 Of the Well, the taste is of old wine. C22	11
W-75	275 The Well provided them more fat fish than they needed. C29	11
W-88	350 In the Well God gave us we taste the taste of all the delicacies in the world C28	11
W-89	350 The Well had goodness within it. C28	11
W-97	400 Israel grew species of grasses from the Well's water. C81	11
W-98	400 Israel grew species of trees from the Well's water. C81	11

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 11 (<i>cont</i>): Diverse Benefits of the Well that Supplied all their Needs	Theme ID Code
W-166	450 Israel did not smell from sweat, for they used to roll on the grasses of the Well. C107	11
W-168	450 Israel's smell after rolling in the grass of the Well wafted from one end of the world to the other. C107	11
W-175	550 A majority of what was given came from the Well. C95	11
W-183	550 Each tribe planted figs with the Well's waters. C115, C134, C143	11
W-184	550 Each tribe planted vines with the Well's waters. C115, C134, C143	11
W-195	550 It was from the Well that the daughters of Israel adorned themselves and gladdened their husbands all 40 years in the wilderness as it is said, "A spring of gardens, a well of living waters." C96	11
W-209	550 The figs, vines, and pomegranates grown with the Well's waters bore fruit within a day. C115, C134, C143	11
W-211	550 The grass and tree species that grew from the Well's water were without end. C120, C139	11
W-215	550 The rapid fruition of the fruit trees grown by the Well was like at the beginning of creation. C143	11
W-217	550 The tribes planted pomegranates to be watered by the Well water. C115, C143,	11
W-222	550 The Well had provided a place of seed and fig tree and vine. C93, C95, C134, C143	11
W-279	950 The delicacies provided by the Well's waters were similar to the World to Come. C178	11

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 12: Travels of the Well	Theme ID Code
W-21	225 The rock came to Israel's encampments. C2	12
W-30	225 The Well stops on a high place opposite the door of the Tent of Meeting. C2	12
W-31	225 The Well stops where Israel stops opposite them. C2	12
W-32	225 The Well used to flow abundantly in every encampment of Israel. C3	12
W-33	225 The Well used to go over the surface of all the south and was seen on the surface of the wasteland. C3	12
W-39	225 The Well went up with them to the mountains and down with them to the valleys. C2	12
W-145	400 The sages stirred Miriam's Well in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e	12
W-149	425 At encampments, they rolled the rock off the Well. C57	12
W-160	425 They returned the rock to its place on the mouth of the Well so that they could journey. C57	12
W-216	550 The Rock settled itself in the courtyard of the Tent of Meeting. C117, C134a	12
W-220	550 The Well came with them on journeys. C117, 134a	12

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 12 (<i>cont</i>): Travels of the Well	Theme ID Code
W-239	600 During the crossing of the sea, they drank fresh water from the Well that came up for them. As is said, "A well of living and flowing water..."- and flowing is sweet. C7	12
W-249	750 Abraham dug three times and found the Well before him. C163	12
W-250	750 According to R. Aqiba, "Every place where our Fathers went, the Well went about before them." C163	12
W-251	750 Because they found it many times, they called the Well "Shiv'ah." C162	12
W-257	750 Jacob's might was needed to roll the stone from the mouth of the Well. C163	12
W-265	750 Our Fathers dug three times and found them before them. C163	12

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 13: Rivers in the Desert	Theme ID Code
W-15	225 The big streams that came from the Well overflowed. C2	13
W-17	225 The Israelites went in boats in the waterways created by the Well's waters. C2	13
W-23	225 The water of the Well makes big streams. C2	13
W-26	225 The waters of the Well go to the Great Sea. C2	13
W-27	225 The waters of the Well irrigate the desert. C2	13
W-28	225 The waters of the Well surround the encampment. C2	13
W-119	400 The waterways from the Well were abundant so that one saw many boats. C81	13
W-125	400 The Well filled the spaces between standards with mighty waters. C81	13
W-131	400 The Well's waters surrounded a large area. C81	13
W-132	400 The Well's waters went forth out of the camp. C81	13
W-142	400 Women visited friends in other standards by navigating the rivers made by the Well's waters. C81	13
W-180	550 A system of aqueducts was constructed to bring the Well's water to each tribe. C 115, C134, C143	13
W-182	550 Each tribe made its own aqueduct. C 115, C134, C143	13
W-268	950 Bridges cross from this river made from the Well's water to the other side and surrounded all the encampment between family and family. C178	13
W-270	950 From the main river created by the Well went out four rivers at the corners of the courtyard, each to a compass point ... finally going out to the encampment of Israel. C178	13
W-277	950 One river from the Well's waters surrounds the encampment of the Shekhinah. C178	13
W-278	950 Rivers from the Well's water were made between each tribe for borders. C178	13
W-285	950 The Well informed all the encampments how they would camp. C178	13

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 14: Well Bubbles Up and Knows its Owner	Theme ID Code
W-51	225 When the princes sing to the Well, the waters bubble like an upwards column. C2	14
W-147	425 Abraham's shepherds said, "Everyone for whom the waters see his flock and come up, the Well is his." C53	14
W-150	425 For Abraham's shepherds, the waters [of the Well] saw and came up. C53	14
W-153	425 Over the Well, Abimelech's and Abraham's shepherds argued. C53	14
W-156	425 The Holy one assured Rebecca that the water of the Well would also come up for her children. C54	14
W-157	425 The Holy said this was a sign that for Abraham's children, the Well would come up, as is written, "Come up, well." C53	14
W-159	425 The waters of the Well came up for Rebecca. C54	14
W-226	550 The Well knows its master- therefore Moses was able to water as did the Patriarchs. C127	14
W-240	600 When Moses returned (turned away), the water turned back. C6	14
W-241	600 When Moses would stand on the edge of the Well, the water would anticipate it and go up towards him. C6	14
W-256	750 Isaac dug twice and found the well before him." C163	14
W-260	750 The shepherds saw the response of the Well to Jacob and were astonished by the Well's behavior. C163	14
W-266	750 When Jacob removed the stone, the Well went up and water overflowed outwards. C163	14
W-275	950 Jethro said that because the Well knew Moses as its master and provided him its water, he was from the sons of Jacob. C66	14

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 15: The Well and the Miracle at Arnon	Theme ID Code
W-96	400 Israel did not know of the miracles until the Well informed them. C80	15
W-100	400 Israel returned to seek the Well. C80	15
W-103	400 Israel saw how the waters brought out the limbs. C80	15
W-110	400 The craniums, arms, and legs which the Well brought out were without number. C80	15
W-120	400 The Well brought out craniums and arms and legs. C80	15
W-123	400 The Well destroyed all the populations. C80	15
W-124	400 The Well destroyed the populations the way that the sea had destroyed them. C80	15
W-128	400 The Well went down into the cave. C80	15
W-129	400 The Well went down into the wadi. C80	15
W-130	400 The Well went down to make public the miracles. C80	15
W-135	400 When it is said that the signs and wonders were done near the end of the forty years, it is just to draw attention to how the Well made public the miracle at the end of the forty years. C80	15
W-193	550 Israel saw the Well shining like the moon inside the wadi. C119, C138	15

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 15 (<i>cont</i>): The Well and the Miracle at Arnon	Theme ID Code
W-228	550 The Well shone like the moon inside the wadi. C119, C138	15

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 16: The Princes and the Well	Theme ID Code
W-11	225 Each prince drew at the Well for his tribe and each for his family. C2	16
W-18	225 The princes of Israel surrounded the Well with sticks. C2	16
W-19	225 The princes sang, "Come up well." C2	16
W-20	225 The princes say the song over the Well. C2	16
W-52	225 When the waters of the Well bubble up, each prince pulls with his stick C2	16
W-95	400 Each prince pulls with his rod from the Well. C81	16
W-99	400 Israel praised the Well saying, "A well that princes dug." C81	16
W-113	400 The Princes really did not dig the Well. C81	16
W-114	400 The princes stood over the Well C81	16
W-151	425 Gen 29:2, "From that well they watered their flocks," refers that each one draws water for his standard, tribe, and family from the Well. C57	16
W-181	550 Each tribe brought the water to itself from the Well. C115, C134, C143	16

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 17: Song of the Well Issues	Theme ID Code
W-82	275 There were ten songs that were really one – the third was sung at the Well. C18	17
W-101	400 Israel sang the song only after becoming aware of the miracle the Well had done at Arnon. C80	17
W-102	400 Israel sang the song, at the end of the 40 years. C80	17
W-167	450 Israel sang, "Come up, well" as if a shopkeeper had given them spiced wine to drink. C109	17
W-206	550 That on Miriam's merit the Well was provided is linked to her having sung over water. C117, 134a	17
W-289	950 They cried to the Lord over their thirst- and when they saw the Well of water, they immediately sang a song, as it is said ... C166	17

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 18: Well's Departure Issues	Theme ID Code
W-7	200 The Well went away at the beginning of Nissan. C44	18
W-8	200 The Well went away in the 40 th year. C44	18
W-9	200 The Well went away when Miriam died. C44	18
W-45	225 When Miriam died, the Well ceased to exist. C5	18
W-46	225 When Moses' died, the Well and the other two gifts all ceased to exist and did not return. C5	18
W-81	275 The Well, like the other two gifts, was destroyed in one month. C31, C39	18
W-148	425 As it happened at the death of Abraham "all the wells that his father's servants had dug the Philistines topped them up," So too after the death of Moses – "Immediately ceased the Well ..." C55	18
W-198	550 Miriam died, the Well stopped. C93, C95	18
W-204	550 Once the Well went away, the growth of seed and fig tree was no longer possible. C93, C95, C134, C143	18
W-237	550 When the Well stopped, the vegetation it nourished was no longer able to grow. C93	18
W-238	550 When the Well went away, the benefit went away. C115	18
W-246	650 Because the Well went away, all felt Miriam's death. C102, C105	18
W-247	650 The Well proclaimed Miriam's death. C102	18
W-284	950 The reason why the Well went away when Miriam died was so that Israel would know on whose merit they had a well. C173	18
W-290	950 When after Miriam died the people complained of their thirst, Moses went and saw the Well without a drop of water. C173	18

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 19: Tiberias as Location Site of Well	Theme ID Code
W-105	400 Miriam's Pit is found from a mountain in the wilderness. C3e	19
W-106	400 Miriam's Pit is in the Sea of Tiberias. C3e	19
W-107	400 Miriam's Well can be seen from a mountain in the wilderness. C2e, C5e	19
W-108	400 Miriam's Well is in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e, C5e	19
W-118	400 The sages located Miriam's Well opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of the Sea of VTGN. C2e	19
W-122	400 The Well can be seen in the Sea of Tiberias. C2e, C5e	19
W-143	400 The Well entered the Sea of Tiberias. C81	19
W-169	450 Miriam's Well was located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit. C5e	19
W-199	550 Miriam's Well can be seen in the Sea from the top of Mt. Carmel as a sort of sieve. C6e	19
W-202	550 Miriam's Well was in Sichin. C1e	19
W-221	550 The Well can be seen by one standing on the surface of the desert. C121, C139	19
W-231	550 The Well was hidden in the Sea of Tiberias. C121, C139	19

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 20: Healing Effects of the Well	Theme ID Code
W-29	225 The waters that will gurgle from the cruse, as the waters that gurgled from the Well, will go to the Great Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Sea of Sodom, to heal their waters. C2	20
W-92	400 A blind man dipped in Miriam's Well and was healed. C9e	20
W-162	450 A man happened to float into Miriam's Well and was healed. C5e	20
W-163	450 A man stricken with boils, on dipping into Miriam's Well, was healed. C5e	20
W-224	550 The well into which a blind man immersed in a cave and was healed was Miriam's Well. C136	20
W-252	750 Every man who has an injury/plague takes from the Well's waters and puts it on his injury and is healed. C164	20
W-253	750 Every man who is sick and bathes in those waters of the Well is healed. C164	20

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 21: Well Allusions or Theme Elaborations in Biblical Texts	Theme ID Code
W-13	225 Just as in Gen 18:4 Abraham said, "Let a little water be taken," the Holy One brought the Well up for his children, as it is said, "Thus sang Israel this Song, 'Come up, well,' they sang of it." C3	21
W-44	225 When Deut 2:7 says, "These forty years the Lord your God was with you, you lacked nothing," it refers to how the Well went to the Great Sea from which it brought every desirable thing in the world. C2	21
W-47	225 When Num 21:20 says, "It is seen on the surface of the desert," this refers to the Well. C2	21
W-48	225 When Num 20:1-2 says, "Miriam died there and there was no water for the congregation," it means that the Well departed when she died. C4	21
W-49	225 When Ps 105:41 says, "They went in the arid land as a river," it refers to the boats the Israelites went in as they cruised the big streams of the wilderness created by the Well. C2	21
W-50	225 When Ps 78:20 says, "And streams overflowed," it refers to the big streams that came from the Well in the wilderness. C2	21
W-53	225 When Zech 11:8 says, "And I destroyed the three in one month," it refers to the Well and other two gifts that went away in the same month. C5	21
W-54	225 When Zech 14:8 says "On that day waters will come forth from Jerusalem," it refers to the water that will gurgle in a way similar to the waters which gurgled from the Well. C2	21
W-59	275 In Ps 78:16, the "liquid of the rock" refers to the Well giving living waters that produced gardens. C17, C19	21
W-60	275 In Ps 78:16, the Well refers to the one God gave Israel in the Wilderness C17, C19	21

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 21 (<i>cont</i>): Well Allusions or Theme Elaborations in Biblical Texts	Theme ID Code
W-61	275 In Song 4:15, the “living water” refers to the Well God gave in the wilderness. C17, C19	21
W-85	275 When Prov 5:15 refers to “living waters,” it refers to the Well God gave in the wilderness. C17, C19	21
W-134	400 When Is 33:21 says, “And a mighty ship will not pass by,” it refers to the boats that could navigate the rivers of the Well’s waters. C81	21
W-136	400 When Neh 9:18-20 says, “Although they made for themselves a molten calf ... in your great mercy you did not utterly destroy them,” it refers to the provision of the Well, manna, and clouds despite Israel’s errant ways. C82	21
W-137	400 When Num 21:8 says, and from the wilderness a gift,” it means that in the wilderness the Well was given to them as a gift. C81	21
W-138	400 When Ps 23:2 says, “He leads me to still waters,” it refers to the species of grasses and trees without end grown from the Well’s water.” C81	21
W-139	400 When Ps 23:2 talks of “grassy pastures,” it refers to what grew by the waterways created by the Well in the wilderness. C81	21
W-140	400 When Ps 23:3 says, “He guides me in paths of righteousness,” it refers to how the Well’s waters went forth out of the camp and surrounded a large area. C81	21
W-141	400 When Ps 105:41 says “He opened the rock and water flowed,” it alludes to the Well God provided on Abraham’s merit. C81	21
W-152	425 In Gen 29:2, the reference to the three flocks Jacob saw deals with The Well, and refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C57	21
W-154	425 The expression in Gen 27:28, “fat of the earth” refers to the Well which brought up fish. C56	21
W-161	425 When in Gen 27:28 it says, “And from the fats of the earth,” it refers to the Well. C56	21
W-174	450 When Hos 14:7 says, “And the smell of your garment is like the smell of Lebanon” it refers to Israel not smelling from sweat because they used to roll on the grasses of the Well. C107	21
W-189	550 In Gen 40:10, the “three shoots” refer to the Well and two other gifts. C12	21
W-233	550 When Jer 3:20 talks of the woman who double-crossed her companion, it is to contrast how the Holy One, despite Israel’s errant ways, still provided the Well, manna, and clouds. C113, C131	21
W-234	550 When Num 20:1-2 says that “Miriam died...there was no water,” it shows that the Well was on Miriam’s merit. C11, C117, C134a	21
W-235	550 When Num 20:17 mentions the Well, it refers to the Well that came with them, not water holes of the land. C118, C137	21
W-236	550 When Num 20:5 says, “Not a place of seed and fig tree,” it means that when Miriam died and the Well went away, the vegetation was no more. C93, C95, 134, 143	21
W-248	650 When Joel 4:18 says, “And a spring from the House of the Lord will come forth and will water the wadi of Shitim,,” it refers to the Well. C100	21

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 21 (<i>cont</i>): Well Allusions or Theme Elaborations in Biblical Texts	Theme ID Code
W-274	950 In Ps 23:5, the words “My cup overflows” refers to the Well. C62	21
W-291	950 When in Is 65 it twice says “Behold me,” it refers to the Well and the manna. C60	21
W-292	950 When Is 55:1 says, “Ho, every thirsty one, go to the water,” this refers to the Well that the princes dug, and intends to liken Torah to the Well, as is said, “A well of living waters.” C181	21
W-294	950 When Prov 9:2 speaks of the “wine that I mixed,” it refers to the water of the Well. C62	21

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 22: Citing a Well Event to Elucidate some Peripheral Point	Theme ID Code
W-14	225 The “Water Gate” of the Temple is so called because from a flask of water of libation placed at that site, waters gurgled out similarly to the waters from the cruse which housed the waters of the Well. C2	22
W-86	275 With so many miracles that Moses did, including causing the Well to come up, could Moses not judge a person he had taken out of Egypt? C35	22
W-115	400 The Rabbis debated if the Song of the Well required a blessing before and after it as did the Song of the Sea. C13	22
W-175	550 As from each water given by the Well, so will halakhah go forth as water for life. C97	22
W-186	550 Forty eight times is written in the Torah ‘well,’ ‘well’ to relate Torah and the Well of living waters. C97	22
W-187	550 From the way Israel tried to patronize the shopkeepers of Edom by buying their water instead of using water from the Well that God gave them, one learns the courtesy to be followed when not in ones own land. C118, C137	22
W-196	550 Just as the Well was provided by the Holy one to give to drink, so is a father obliged to give his son to drink. C135	22
W-208	550 The fast growth (within a day) of figs, vines, and pomegranates watered by the Well resembled how the vegetation grew in a day at the beginning of the world’s creation. C115, C134, 143	22
W-210	550 The forty eight uses of the word ‘well’ in the Torah correspond to forty eight things by which Torah can be acquired, as is written, “A spring of gardens, a well of living waters, and flowing from Lebanon.” C97	22
W-242	625 When Moses fled after killing the Egyptian, he sat upon the Well. This means that he sang a song. C88	22
W-282	950 The Israelites crossed bridges over the Well’s rivers to walk to other areas on Shabbat. C178	22

Well Novel Assertions Listed by Theme Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Well ID No.	Synthesis of Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 23: The Well-like Cruse of the Future Temple	Theme ID Code
W-22	225 The water of the beginning is destined to go forth from the mouth of the cruse at the Temple Gate as water went from the cruse that was the Well. C2	23
W-24	225 The waters from the flask in the future, which is as the cruse of the Well, will go out from under the threshold of the House (Temple). C2	23
W-40	225 There is a relation between the cruse from whose mouth one day will come water at the Temple Water Gate and the cruse that was the Well of the wilderness. C2	23
W-261	750 The waters of the Well in the future will fertilize. C164	23
W-262	750 The waters of the Well in the future will go out as twelve rivers, corresponding to the twelve tribes. C164	23
W-263	750 The waters of the Well in the future will go to the Salt Sea to heal it. C164	23
W-264	750 The waters of the Well will go to every field and vine that does not bear fruit and water them. C164	23

APPENDIX C-2

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE

(A bolded line divides sources before and after ca. 640 CE)

(Theme ID Codes are as listed in Table II-D-5 and III-B-13)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 1: The Meaning of the Name “Miriam”	Theme ID Code
M-2	200 Miriam’s name reflected embitterment. C204	1
M-291	550 Miriam’s name reflects the embitterment of slavery. C247, C320	1

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme #2: Identifying Varied Events by Miriam’s Life	Theme ID Code
M-3	200 The bondage is neither more nor less than the eighty-six years of Miriam’s years (i.e. her age at the time of the Exodus). C204	2
M-4	200 The number of days they spent in Chatserot can be inferred from “And Miriam was shut up seven days” (Num 12:15). C206	2
M-53	225 The people traveled from Chatserot after Miriam was cleansed. C220	2
M-140	275 The travel to Chatserot occurred at the time Miriam became leprous. C231	2
M-297	550 Not all know the day Miriam was born. C412/132	2
M-307	550 The dating of the decree that they would not enter the land can in part be calculated based on the timing of the seven days that Miriam was shut up. C303	2
M-342	600 Miriam was 6 years old when Amram divorced Jochebed. C341	2

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 3: Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them.	Theme ID Code
M-63	225 Miriam was appointed. C407/5	3
M-67	275 God called Miriam “the righteous.” C208	3
M-75	275 Miriam was a provider C210	3
M-83	275 Miriam was a shepherd. C401/31	3
M-90	275 Acharchel is Miriam as referred to in 1Chr 4:8. C230	3
M-107	275 Miriam is called “Aaron’s sister and not Moses’s sister because Aaron risked his life for her. C228	3
M-115	275 Miriam was called Acharchel as is said, “And all the women went forth after her (Ex 15:20). C230	3

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 3 (<i>cont</i>): Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them.	Theme ID Code
M-116	275 Miriam was Efrat. C230	3
M-118	275 Miriam was meritorious. C230	3
M-128	275 Puah is Miriam. C230	3
M-166	300 Miriam was a busybody on matters. C237	3
M-175	350 Miriam is called Aaron's sister and not Moses' sister because she prophesied when she was Aaron's sister before Moses' birth. C271	3
M-199	450 Miriam was a messenger. C423/73	3
M-214	550..Miriam served Israel. C410/117	3
M-215	550 Miriam was called "young woman" because she concealed her words. C310	3
M-216	550 Miriam was called "young woman" because she went quickly. C310	3
M-217	550 It says "Aaron's sister took the tambourine" instead of Moses' sister because she prophesied when Moses was not yet born. C310	3
M-231	550 First, Miriam was known as Caleb's wife Chelah. C309	3
M-239	550 Later, Miriam was known as Caleb's wife Naarah. C309	3
M-250	550 Miriam had a heart as tender as roses. C428/93	3
M-253	550 Miriam is also known as "Yeriot." C309	3
M-254	550 Miriam is also known as Azuvah. C309	3
M-255	550 Miriam is called Azuvah because all abandoned her at the beginning (over her illness). C309	3
M-256	550 Miriam is called Puah because she cried out and took out the infant. C308	3
M-257	550 Miriam is called Puah because she cried out through the Holy spirit. C308	3
M-261	550 Miriam later was known as Naarah, to hint that she was as a young girl. C309	3
M-267	550 Miriam served the role of an intermediary as did her siblings. C256	3
M-269	550 Miriam was a redeemer. C410/117, C413/134a, C257	3
M-270	550 Miriam was a reviver of Israel. C428/93	3
M-271	550 Miriam was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know. C413/134a	3
M-273	550 Miriam was first known as Chelah, to hint that she was sickly C309	3
M-279	550 Miriam was sent to nourish Israel. C410/117	3
M-290	550 Miriam's name "Yeriot" was because her face was like curtains (bright). C309	3
M-352	625 Miriam was favored. C334	3
M-376	750 Miriam was called Efrat because she was of royalty, a daughter of a great one of her generation. C347	3
M-407	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she lifted her face against Pharaoh and raised her nose at him. C362	3
M-408	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she lifted Israel to God. C362	3
M-409	950 Miriam was known as "Puah" because she revived the baby when they said, "dead." C362	3

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 3 (<i>cont</i>): Varied names, accolades, and identifying information regarding Miriam, and why she obtained/deserved them.	Theme ID Code
M-411	950 Miriam's name "Efrat" is because Israel were fruitful and multiplied by her hands. C364	3
M-412	950 Miriam was known as Puah because she blew wine on the baby after her mother. C362	3

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 4: Miriam as Midwife	Theme ID Code
M-97	275 God's making houses meant that kingship was accorded Miriam. C230	4
M-100	275 Miriam as midwife feared God. C230	4
M-111	275 Miriam merited the kingship. C230	4
M-122	275 Miriam/Puah was one of the Hebrew midwives. C230	4
M-234	550 God rewarded Miriam for her fear of God as a midwife. C249, 259	4
M-248	550 Miriam and Jochebed as midwives not only did not kill the infants, but supplied them with water and food. C308	4
M-362	650 Miriam said to Pharaoh, "Woe to you from the day of judgment. C343	4
M-363	650 Miriam screamed at the woman and the infant came out. C343	4
M-364	650 Miriam screamed in Pharaoh's face. C343	4
M-396	950 Miriam was known as Puah because she revived the baby when they said, "dead." C362	4
M-398	950 Miriam did what Jochebed needed. C362	4
M-399	950 Miriam lifted her face against Pharaoh C36	4
M-401	950 Miriam raised her nose at Pharaoh C362	4
M-403	950 Miriam said to Pharaoh, "Woe to that man when God comes to demand and to exact payment from him!" C362	4
M-404	950 Miriam was diligent. C362	4
M-405	950 Miriam was five years old when she went with Jochebed. C362	4
M-417	950 The baby discerned that Miriam was diligent. C362	4

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 5: Miriam's Interaction with her Parents: Their Divorce and her Prophecy	Theme ID Code
M-88	275 When it says that "a man from the house of Levi went," it means that he went in the counsel of his daughter (Miriam). C228	5
M-93	275 Despite her father's rebuke, Miriam still held to her prophecy. C228	5
M-112	275 Miriam prophesied to her father that he would beget a son who would save Israel from Egypt. C228	5

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 5 (<i>cont</i>): Miriam's Interaction with her Parents: Their Divorce and her Prophecy	Theme ID Code
M-113	275 Miriam prophesied. C228	5
M-139	275 The real conclusion that Miriam was a prophetess comes from her telling her father, "You will end up begetting a son who saves Israel from Egypt. C228	5
M-141	275 When Moses could no longer be hidden, Miriam's father rebuked her saying, "My daughter, where is your prophecy?" C228	5
M-245	550 Miriam and Aaron danced before their mother on her remarriage to Amram. C309	5
M-246	550 Miriam and Aaron sang before their mother when Amram remarried her. C315	5
M-262	550 Miriam prophesied, "My mother's future is that she will give birth to a son who will save Israel. C304	5
M-263	550 Miriam quoted Job 22 to her father, 'You will decree an utterance, and it will arise for you!' C309	5
M-264	550 Miriam said to her father when he divorced his wife and others followed his lead, "Father, your decree is harsher than that of Pharaoh because Pharaoh decreed only against the males, and you decreed against the males and females! Pharaoh decreed only about this world and you about this world and the world to come! The wicked Pharaoh, there is doubt as to whether his decree will be fulfilled and doubt as to whether it will not be fulfilled. You are righteous, and it is certain that your decree will be fulfilled." C309	5
M-289	550 Miriam's father told her, "My daughter, your prophecy came to be." C304, C311	5
M-329	550 When Moses was cast into the Nile, her father said to her, "My daughter, Where is your prophecy? C304	5
M-330	550 When Moses was cast into the Nile, her father stood and slapped her on the head. C304, C311	5
M-333	550 When the entire house was filled with light on Moses birth, Miriam's father stood and kissed her on the head. C304, C311	5
M-338	600 Amram brought Miriam before the Sanhedrin. C341	5
M-339	600 Miriam addressed the Sanhedrin. C341	5
M-340	600 Miriam carried castanets and walked about before Jochebed at her re-marriage to Amram. C341	5
M-344	600 Miriam's words were heard by her father Amram. C341	5
M-371	750 Jochebed told Miriam: Where is your prophecy?" C433/159	5
M-384	750 Though Miriam prophesied, she did not know what she prophesied. C354	5
M-386	750 When Moses was cast into the Nile, Jochebed struck Miriam on the head. C433/159	5
M-416	950 Puah/Miriam lifted her face against her father Amram. C362	5

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 6: Miriam's Watching over the Safety of her Baby Brother Moses	Theme ID Code
M-40	225 Miriam waited an hour to know what would be done with her brother. C219	6
M-99	275 Miriam (as Puah) groaned and cried over her brother. C230	6
M-127	275 No one instructed Miriam to wait to see what would be done to Moses except prophecy. C228	6
M-130	275 That Miriam pursued to see what would be done to him is the doing of none other than the Holy Spirit. C228	6
M-213	550 Miriam concealed her words. C310	6
M-220	550 A reason why Miriam stood from afar 'to know' was to know what would happen at the end of her prophecy. C304, C311	6
M-282	550 Miriam went quickly like a young woman to find a Hebrew nursemaid for Moses. C310	6
M-300	550 That Miriam stood is to be understood that the Lord/Shekhinah was involved with her in this regard. C307	6

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 7: Miriam's Song at the Sea	Theme ID Code
M-265	550 Miriam sang a song over the Sea. C413/134a	7
M-266	550 Miriam sang a song over water. C410/117	7
M-351	625 Miriam was favored in singing a song at the Sea. C334	7
M-375	750 Miriam saw that Moses and the Children of Israel sang. C346	7
M-380	750 Once Miriam saw that Moses and the Children of Israel sang, Miriam started to sing and chant before the blessed be He. C346	7

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 8: Miriam's Interaction with Zipporah	Theme ID Code
M-18	225 Miriam learned that Moses had separated from Zipporah from Zipporah herself. C215	8
M-36	225 Miriam saw the candles that all Israel lit on the joyous occasion of the appointment of the elders. C215	8
M-47	225 On seeing the lit candles, Miriam said, "Happy are these [men] and happy are their wives." C215	8
M-57	225 Zipporah talked to Miriam regarding her relationship with Moses. C215	8
M-58	225 Zipporah said to Miriam, "Do not say 'Happy are their wives,' but 'Woe to their wives,' for from the day the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke with Moses, your brother has not had need of me." C215	8
M-101	275 Miriam asked Zipporah, "What is with you that you are not adorning yourself with women's ornaments? C232	8

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 8 (<i>cont</i>): Miriam's Interaction with Zipporah	Theme ID Code
M-110	275 Miriam knew of Moses' separation from Zipporah because Zipporah did not adorn herself with women's ornaments. C232	8
M-114	275 Miriam was by Zipporah's side at the time she (Miriam) spoke against Moses. C232	8
M-143	275 Zipporah said to Miriam, "Your brother is not fussy on this matter." C232	8
M-251	550 Miriam heard Zipporah say, "Woe to the wives of those. They are dependant on prophecy and they will separate from their wives like my husband separated from me." C260	8
M-272	550 Miriam was by the side of Zipporah when Moses was told that Eldad and Meidad were prophesying in the camp. C260	8

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 9: Miriam as Exemplifying Negative Traits of Women in General	Theme ID Code
M-188	425 Miriam exhibited a trait of women in being garrulous as she spoke against Moses. 276	9
M-212	550 Though the Holy One had taken measures not to create Eve from Adam's mouth, yet Miriam spoke against Moses. C246, C254	9
M-280	550 Miriam was talkative despite precautions God took in creating Eve. C254	9
M-288	550 Miriam's being talkative represented a concern God had about women since His creation of Eve. C246, C254, C267	9
M-355	625 Moses said of Miriam that her talking was the way of women. C333	9

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 10: Miriam's Leprosy	Theme ID Code
	Miriam's Leprosy: General Announcement, Time, and Place	
M-31	225 It was in Chatserot that Miriam was inflicted with Leprosy. C214	10.0
M-39	225 Miriam spoke to Aaron against Moses immediately after Zipporah talked to her. C215	10.0
M-233	550 God planned that after Miriam's slander they would travel from Chatserot to Paran so as to confront the spies with the slander that had occurred. C216	10.0
M-370	750 All Israel heard that Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, was leprous. C348	10.0

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

	Miriam's Leprosy: Details of the Slander as Prototype Sin Causing Leprosy	
M-19	225 Miriam spoke against her brother Moses. C217	10.1
M-22	225 Aaron added to Miriam's words against Moses. C215	10.1
M-23	225 Aaron and Miriam deserved the same punishment, but he was wearing the coat in which he atoned over slander. C217	10.1
M-25	225 After Miriam spoke words to Aaron against Moses, they continued to carry on about the matter. C215	10.1
M-28	225 Both Miriam and Aaron turned white and red and impure with an intense white lesion. C218	10.1
M-29	225 For Miriam's sin of the mouth, all of her limbs were afflicted. C217	10.1
M-32	225 Miriam and Aaron said, "Moses is pretentious, for the Holy One, blessed be He, did not speak only to him alone. He has already spoken with many prophets and with us, and we have not separated from our wives as he has..." C215	10.1
M-33	225 Miriam instigated the words with Aaron against Moses. C215	10.1
M-34	225 Miriam is testimony that such afflictions come only through slander. C210	10.1
M-37	225 Miriam sinned with her mouth. C217	10.1
M-38	225 Miriam spoke to Aaron about Moses' separation from Zipporah. C215	10.1
M-48	225 One reason why Miriam (along with Aaron) was punished was that she (and Aaron) equated their brother with other prophets. C217	10.1
M-49	225 That Aaron was immediately healed but Miriam was not is due to the fact she started on the matter against Moses. C217	10.1
M-52	225 The injunction to "Remember what the Lord did to Miriam" is to teach against sinning with one's mouth. C217	10.1
M-59	225 Miriam became leprous due to slander. C215	10.1
M-98	275 In "And Miriam spoke against Moses," "spoke" is to be taken as harsh language. C232	10.1
M-108	275 Miriam is given as a case of one who thought ill of the elder. C241	10.1
M-109	275 Miriam is given as an example of one who says slander. C241	10.1
M-119	275 Miriam was not used to speaking in Aaron's presence. C232	10.1
M-121	275 Miriam was punished only for slander. C225	10.1
M-134	275 The degree to which Miriam became white as snow was to emphasize the fierce degree of transition from her former state of being clean of flesh. C234	10.1
M-144	300 Miriam and Aaron conversed regarding Moses separation from his wife. C237	10.1
M-150	300 "The cloud turned aside from above the tent," means that Miriam (and Aaron) were punished immediately. C237	10.1
M-160	300 Miriam (and Aaron) told slander of Moses. C237	10.1
M-161	300 Miriam and Aaron said, "Our first forefathers, speech was upon them and they did not separate from their wives." C237	10.1
M-163	300 Miriam said, "[God's] speech was upon me and I did not separate from my husband." C237	10.1
M-164	300 Miriam said, "He, who is very haughty, is separated from his wife." C237	10.1
M-165	300 Miriam told Aaron what Zipporah had told her about Moses. C237	10.1

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam's Leprosy: Details of the Slander as Prototype Sin Causing Leprosy (<i>cont</i>)		
M-171	300 That leprosy is sent onto the sons of Adam is taught by "Remember what the Lord did to Miriam." C236	10.1
M-174	300 The punishment went away from Aaron and was stuck to Miriam. C237	10.1
M-201	450 The cloud that provided protection turned aside and no longer provided protection, and thus Miriam was stricken. C293	10.1
M-208	450 Though Miriam sinned with but her mouth, the rest of all her body was afflicted. C292	10.1
M-232	550 From Miriam's leprosy one learns that whoever brings out an evil name finds evil afflicting his body. C261	10.1
M-325	550 There is debate as to whether Aaron shared in Miriam's punishment of leprosy. C302	10.1
M-343	600 Miriam's being a busybody was why her affliction was made worse than Aaron's. C338	10.1
M-345	600 Scripture put Miriam before Aaron in telling slander because Miriam began the process. C338	10.1
M-346	600 "He departed" means that divine punishment went away from Aaron and clung to Miriam. C338	10.1
M-360	625 Though Miriam was favored when she sang a song honoring the Holy One at the sea, her coming into favor was reversed when she talked against her brother and was shut up. C334	10.1
M-365	650 Miriam/Puah made public her brother's action. C343	10.1
Miriam's Leprosy: The Equity of God's System of Justice		
M-69	275 God justified not being partial to mankind since He was not even partial to Miriam. C208	10.2
M-71	275 God was not partial in judgment to Miriam. C208	10.2
M-132	275 That the rest of mankind should be subject to punishment was inferred from God's decision to punish even Miriam. C208, C239	10.2
Miriam's Leprosy: Miriam's Noble Intentions in Speaking about Moses		
M-60	225 Miriam's choice of how to speak against Moses reflected her desire to benefit Moses. 217	10.3
M-102	275 Miriam did not intend to speak against her brother for shame. C232	10.3
M-105	275 Miriam elected to speak in Aaron's presence because of the need of that time. C232	10.3
M-106	275 Miriam intended to speak against her brother to improve and not exclude from fruitfulness and increase. C232	10.3
M-145	300 Miriam loved Moses. C237	10.3
M-168	300 Miriam's intention was to honor Moses. C236	10.3
M-169	300 Miriam's intention was to praise Moses. C236	10.3
M-247	550 Miriam and Aaron shared that though the Lord also spoke to them, they did not separate from the way of the earth. C260	10.3
M-252	550 Miriam intended to return Moses to his wife. C250, C261	10.3
M-268	550 Miriam spoke against Moses saying, "Moses took a wife and he stopped from procreating." C250	10.3

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam's Leprosy: Rationalizations of Miriam's Speaking about Moses		
M-44	225 Miriam's speaking against Moses could be viewed more favorably as an older sibling relating to a younger one. C217	10.4
M-73	275 Miriam did not speak to Moses' face. C210	10.4
M-78	275 Miriam's words against Moses were heard only by God. C208	10.4
M-158	300 Miriam (and Aaron) did not judge Moses to his face. C237	10.4
M-159	300 Miriam (and Aaron) did not judge Moses with certainty, but with doubt about his haughtiness. C237	10.4
M-162	300 Miriam did not speak except against her beloved brother. C237	10.4
M-336	600 Aaron classified his and Miriam's transgression as unintentional. C338	10.4
M-347	625 Miriam did not intend to say slander against Moses. C336	10.4
Miriam's Leprosy: "Slander" as Inappropriate Despite Rationalizations		
M-35	225 Miriam merited punishment even though her words against Moses were heard only by God. C208	10.5
M-42	225 Miriam was punished despite her tact in choosing how to speak against Moses. C217	10.5
M-65	275 Whoever thinks Miriam could speak against Moses because he was a younger sibling must note that her seniority did not save her from punishment. C208	10.5
M-167	300 Miriam was punished with a big punishment despite her good intention. C236	10.5
M-211	550 Both Miriam and Aaron were the recipients of divine punishment. C302, C250, C261	10.5
M-277	550 Miriam was punished even though she did not intend her brother shame. C260	10.5
M-312	550 The Lord decreed banishment upon Miriam. C260	10.5
M-357	625 Moses' being greater than Miriam contributed to why she was punished. C331	10.5
Miriam's Leprosy: Applying Lessons of Miriam's Punishment to Others		
M-15	225 That Miriam was punished for talking against Moses not even to his face is given as an example of the greater punishment deserved by one who talks against his fellow to his face. C217	10.6
M-51	225 That Miriam spoke against a younger brother with good intent is given as an example of how much more those deserve punishment who speak for shame of one's fellow to his face. C217	10.6
M-68	275 God inquired rhetorically, "had they not learned from what he did to Miriam in Chatserot?" C208	10.6
M-74	275 Miriam is given as an example of one who spoke in private so that only the Holy One heard, to show how much more deserving of punishment is one who shames a friend in public. C208, C241	10.6
M-79	275 That Miriam spoke only to benefit and not to shame is given as an example of the punishment deserved by those who speak to shame. C210	10.6
M-124	275 Miriam's having spoken against a younger brother is given as an example of how much more punishment others deserve who speak against those who are greater. C208, C241	10.6

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam's Leprosy: Applying Lessons of Miriam's Punishment to Others (<i>cont</i>)		
M-125	275 Miriam's punishment is given as an example of how others of lesser stature should not be spared punishment. C208, C241	10.6
M-129	275 That Miriam intended only to speak to improve her brother that he not be excluded from fruitfulness and increase is given as an example of how much more those deserve punishment who speak against a fellow for shame. C232, C241	10.6
M-172	300 That Miriam spoke only against her brother, a loved one, and not even to his face is an example of how much more one who speaks to cause shame is deserving of punishment. C237	10.6
M-313	550 The matter of the daughters of Tselofechad follows Miriam's death because these daughters behaved righteously, unlike the spies who did not deserve to follow the account of Miriam's death, since they did not heed the lesson of Miriam's slander, and spoke slander about the land. C266	10.6
M-314	550 The people did not learn the lesson from Miriam regarding slander related to the episode of the spies. C268	10.6
M-353	625 Miriam's affliction was a sign for all slanderers. C331	10.6
Miriam's Leprosy: Aaron's Involvement		
M-24	225 Aaron turned to Miriam to make her affliction go away. C218	10.7
M-56	225 Though Aaron was spared being leprous because he would not then be able to officiate on the altar, he was affected in the sense of being shocked when he saw his sister. C218	10.7
M-94	275 Every time Aaron turned to see Miriam, she broke out with Leprosy. C234	10.7
M-146	300 Aaron told Moses that neither Miriam nor he had done evil with anyone in the world. C237	10.7
M-151	300 A covenant existed between Moses and Aaron/Miriam. C237	10.7
M-152	300 Aaron asked Moses how Miriam or he could possibly have thought to do evil against him, their brother. C237	10.7
M-153	300 Aaron asked Moses if he felt that Miriam's leprosy would not reflect negatively on their father. C237	10.7
M-154	300 Aaron asked Moses not to rescind the covenant by which Miriam and he were bound to Moses. C237	10.7
M-155	300 Aaron described his and Miriam's transgression as unintentional. C237	10.7
M-195	450 As her relative, it was difficult for Aaron to see Miriam's affliction, but he was honored to do so because he was a priest. C290	10.7
M-335	600 Aaron admitted to Moses that his and Miriam's transgression had rescinded a covenant among siblings. C338	10.7
M-337	600 Aaron told Moses that his and Miriam's rescinding of the covenant would deprive them of their sister. C338	10.7
M-368	750 Aaron said to Moses, that both of them would share fifty-fifty in having a reputation of having a leprous sister. C348	10.7
M-369	750 Aaron told Moses that he should not let Miriam be as one who was dead, since she was still alive, and siblings do not separate from one another except through death. C348	10.7

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam's Leprosy: Moses' Reaction and Intervention on Miriam's Behalf		
M-26	225 As a result of Moses' prayer over Miriam, she was exempted from a second quarantine. C219	10.8
M-45	225 Moses cried to the Lord to ask Him if He intended to heal Miriam or not. C221	10.8
M-148	300 Moses drew a circle and stood inside it to request mercy for Miriam. C237	10.8
M-156	300 Drawing a circle around himself, Moses said to God, "I am not moving from here till Miriam, my sister, is healed." C237	10.8
M-170	300 Moses prayer to God was, "God, do indeed heal her! God, do indeed heal her!" C237	10.8
M-197	450 It was difficult for Moses to see Miriam's affliction because he was not a priest. C290	10.8
M-295	550 Moses did not say a longer prayer on Miriam's behalf so that Israel would not think that he treated her distress with favoritism. C260	10.8
M-296	550 Moses' prayer to heal Miriam is an example of an appropriately very short prayer. C300	10.8
M-354	625 Moses compassion for Miriam was raised because he recalled his own suffering when his hand was made leprous as snow. C335	10.8
M-356	625 Moses told God that He would do well to heal Miriam. C335	10.8
M-358	625 On seeing what happened to Miriam, Moses started to cry and pray for her with all his soul. C335	10.8
M-378	750 Moses arose and prayed for Miriam. C348	10.8
M-379	750 Moses prayer for Miriam was granted. C348	10.8
Miriam's Leprosy: God's Handling of Miriam's Talking about Moses		
M-17	225 God called Aaron and Miriam, excluding Moses because it is not becoming to praise a person to his face. C260	10.9
M-21	225 "And He went" refers to the <i>Shekhinah</i> leaving so that Miriam would not become impure before the <i>Shekhinah</i> . C217	10.9
M-30	225 God called Miriam and Aaron out of the Tent of Meeting so as not to make Moses think that a blemish had been found on him. C216	10.9
M-43	225 Miriam was scheduled to have two periods of quarantine. C219	10.9
M-50	225 That God took Miriam and Aaron aside instead of making Moses leave to talk to them indicates that compared to Moses greatness, Miriam and Aaron were small. C216	10.9
M-96	275 God arranged that Moses did not go out with Aaron and Miriam so that Israel would not say, "Moses was also included with them in the anger." C233	10.9
M-135	275 The Holy One cleansed Miriam. C235	10.9
M-136	275 The Holy One shut Miriam up. C235	10.9
M-147	300 God argued that the law was that Miriam should be shamed for fourteen days. C237	10.9
M-157	300 God forgave Miriam her second quarantine for Moses' sake. C237	10.9
M-202	450 The Holy One said that as a priest, it was He who shut Miriam up and who would purify her. C290	10.9
M-204	450 The <i>Shekhinah</i> was waiting for Miriam. C290	10.9

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

	Miriam's Leprosy: God's Handling of Miriam's Talking about Moses	
M-235	550 God told Moses to come out with Miriam and Aaron only so that Moses would be ready to pray for Miriam to heal her. C260	10.9
M-309	550 The Holy One revealed Himself to Miriam and Aaron when they needed water suddenly. C250	10.9
M-311	550 The Holy one took the divine initiative as priest to shut up, examine, and set Miriam free. C318	10.9

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 11: Miriam's Stature in the Eyes of Israel: Deserved Accommodations	Theme ID Code
M-27	225 As Miriam waited an hour upon Moses, God said, "Let Moses, and Aaron and the <i>Shekhinah</i> and the Ark wait one week for Miriam till she is cleansed." C219	11
M-54	225 The people went back one encampment for Miriam. C214	11
M-66	275 Every time the standards traveled, they did not go till Miriam advanced before them. C 210	11
M-80	275 The reason why Miriam's speaking against Moses and her punishment were included in Scripture was as a way to indicate the regard the people had for her as one of the providers before whom they did not move. C210	11
M-91	275 As a measured response that Miriam waited for Moses for an hour, God detained the <i>Shekhinah</i> , Ark, Levites, Israel, and seven clouds of glory for her till she was gathered. C227, C235	11
M-137	275 The people did not have enough time to walk before hearing that Miriam had become leprous. C235	11
M-138	275 For Miriam, the people turned backwards three journeys in their travel. C229	11
M-222	550 Because Miriam waited an hour for Moses, the Holy One detained the clouds of glory, priests, and Levites for seven days in the wilderness. C255	11
M-237	550 Just as evil is repaid with evil, good is repaid by good even more so, as for Miriam waiting upon Moses for an hour, and Israel waited upon her for seven days. C307	11

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 12: Miriam's Marriage	Theme ID Code
M-41	225 Miriam was married. C215	12
M-117	275 Miriam was married to Caleb as is said in 1Chr 2:19: "And Azuvah died, and Caleb took for himself Efrat, and she bore him Hur." C230	12
M-225	550 Caleb as Ashchur became a father to Miriam. C309	12
M-226	550 Caleb married Miriam/Azuvah in the name of heaven. C309	12
M-227	550 Caleb married Miriam/Azuvah. C309	12

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 12 (<i>cont</i>): Miriam's Marriage	Theme ID Code
M-228	550 Caleb married Miriam/Efrat. C258, C308	12
M-229	550 Caleb's marriage to Miriam/Efrat was so that Israel be fruitful and multiply upon her hands. C258	12
M-249	550 Miriam became like two wives. C309	12
M-274	550 Miriam was married to Ashchur who was the same as Caleb. C309	12
M-389	950 "And Ashchur had two wives, Chelah and Naarah," refers to the sick Miriam and the recovered Miriam. C364	12
M-391	950 Caleb abandoned Miriam/Azuvah. C364	12
M-392	950 Caleb caused Miriam to sit in a covered chair because of his great happiness in her. C364	12
M-393	950 Caleb had great happiness in Miriam. C364	12
M-415	950 Once Miriam was healed, Caleb performed with her a marriage. C364	12

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 13: Miriam's Illness	Theme ID Code
M-390	950 "And Azuvah died" teaches that Miriam became sick such that they behaved to her according to the custom of death, abandoning her. C364	13
M-394	950 Everyone who saw Miriam brought a gift to her husband. C364	13
M-402	950 Miriam recovered from her illness. C364	13
M-406	950 Miriam was healed from her illness. C364	13
M-410	950 Miriam was sick. C364	13
M-418	950 The Holy one caused Miriam to return to her youth. C364	13

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 14: Miriam's Children and Grandchildren	Theme ID Code
M-126	275 Miriam's son through Caleb was Hur C230	14
M-223	550 Betsalel was a great grandson of Miriam by Caleb. C258	14
M-224	550 Betsalel was wise through coming from his wise foremother Miriam. C249, C259	14
M-241	550 Miriam (as Chelah) had three sons. C309	14
M-281	550 Miriam was the ancestress of Betsalel. C249, C259	14
M-285	550 Miriam's (as Chelah) three sons were called Tseret, Tsohar and Etnan. C309	14
M-292	550 Miriam's sons are also known as "builders." C309	14
M-301	550 That Miriam's son was named Etnan meant that all who saw her brought gifts to their wives. C309	14
M-302	550 That Miriam's son was named Tsochar meant that her face was like the noon. C309	14

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 14 (<i>cont</i>): Miriam's Children and Grandchildren	Theme ID Code
M-303	550 That Miriam's son was named Tseret indicated that she had become a rival to her fellow women. C309	14
M-316	550 The sons of Miriam were Yesher, Shobab, and Ardon. C309	14
M-328	550 Uri was a grandson of Miriam by Caleb. C258	14
M-383	750 Those who wished the Golden Calf to be made went before Aaron and Miriam's son Hur. C347	14
M-385	750 We learn that Hur was Miriam's son from, "And Caleb took Efrat and she bore him Hur." C347	14
M-397	950 Miriam bore Caleb sons after she was healed. C364	14
M-419	950 The names of the sons Miriam bore to Caleb after being healed were Achuzam and Chefer. C364	14

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 15: Miriam's Link to David	Theme ID Code
M-92	275 David is found among the sons of Miriam's sons. C230	15
M-230	550 David came from Miriam. C308	15
M-400	950 Miriam merited that David would come forth from her. C364	15

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 16: Comparisons of Miriam to Others in General	Theme ID Code
M-176	350 Just as Dinah is called Simeon and Levi's sister, and Cozbi the sister of the prince of Midian, so too is Miriam called the sister of Aaron. C271	16
M-198	450 Miriam is linked to others such as Betsalel and others who are mentioned in the sense that they were worthy of blessing as opposed to those who are mentioned though their names are more associated with negative laughter. C296	16
M-242	550 Miriam is compared to Jochebed in having a heart as tender as roses. C428/93	16
M-243	550 Miriam along with Jochebed shepherded Israel. C428/93	16
M-244	550 Miriam along with Jochebed was a reviver of Israel. C428/93	16
M-388	850 Some say Miriam was not only among the seven, but also shared with David that they were not overcome by maggots. C368	16

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 17: Miriam's Gift of Wisdom	Theme ID Code
M-185	400 When Prov 7:4 talks of wisdom as a sister, this can be understood as Miriam, the sister of Moses, possessing wisdom. C283	17
M-186	400 Miriam's waiting for an hour has to do with Miriam's possession of wisdom. C283	17
M-278	550 Miriam was rewarded with Wisdom. C249, C259	17
M-324	550 The wisdom with which Miriam was rewarded was because as a midwife she feared God. C249, C259	17

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 18: Miriam's Stature Compared to Patriarchs, Siblings, and Other Prophets	Theme ID Code
M-6	200 When it says that "Miriam the Prophetess took" (Ex 15:20), it is to convey that she served as did the forty-eight prophets and seven prophetesses who prophesied to Israel and were inscribed in Scripture. C207	18
M-7	200 As a provider, Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, arose. C405/45	18
M-10	200 Miriam was one of three good providers along with Aaron and Moses appointed over Israel. C405/45	18
M-46	225 Moses was greater than Miriam. C216	18
M-64	275 Miriam and Aaron were less tested than Moses. C213	18
M-72	275 Like her siblings, Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211	18
M-85	275 Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron, was a shepherd. C401/31	18
M-87	275 Moses was gathered to his people, alongside Miriam, Aaron, the Patriarchs, Amram, and Qehat. C212	18
M-89	275 A similarity is drawn between Moses and Miriam in that just as Moses sang a song to the Men, so did Miriam say a song to the women. C228	18
M-120	275 Miriam was one of three prophets (along with Aaron and Moses) who died on Mt. Nebo. C242, C244	18
M-123	275 Miriam's death by the mouth of the Lord with a kiss was as were Aaron's and Moses'. C245	18
M-131	275 That Moses was to be gathered to his people was a reference to him being gathered alongside Miriam and Aaron. C212, C242	18
M-196	450 From Miriam's merit, along with that of Aaron and Moses, Israel supported itself. C423/73	18
M-203	450 The Holy one sent three messengers – Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C423/73	18
M-236	550 In the same month it was decreed that Moses, Aaron, and Miriam would die. C428/93	18
M-258	550 Miriam is included among the seven (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Benjamin) over whom maggots and worms have no dominion. C314	18

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 18 (<i>cont</i>): Miriam's Stature Compared to Patriarchs, Siblings, and Other Prophets	Theme ID Code
M-259	550 Miriam is listed along with Aaron and Betsalel as those who were born, though not all knew of their birth. C412/132	18
M-260	550 Miriam is one of seven prophetesses. C304	18
M-275	550 Miriam was one of six (Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron) upon whom the angel of death had no dominion. C314	18
M-276	550 Miriam was one of three redeemers along with Moses and Aaron appointed to serve Israel. C410/117	18
M-283	550 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, was appointed to inform/cause Israel to know. C413/134a	18
M-284	550 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, was one of three redeemers. C257	18
M-286	550 Miriam's being gathered was not made known as were Aaron and Moses' being gathered because Moses and Aaron were more like two regularly involved "controllers to the King" than Miriam had been. C253, C265	18
M-298	550 Of Miriam it was not said, "By the mouth of the Lord" because the matter is disrespectful. C305, C314, C319	18
M-299	550 That Miriam also died with a kiss can be inferred from the use of the word "there" related to Moses. C305, C314, C319	18
M-310	550 The holy one sent Miriam along with Moses and Aaron for Israel's nourishment. C410/117, C413/134a	18
M-327	550 Unlike others over whom the angel of death had no dominion, it is not written that Miriam died "by the mouth of the Lord." C314	18
M-341	600 Miriam is included along with Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, Aaron, and Moses as "the righteous ones" because "there" is used to describe where they were buried. 339	18
M-348	625 Miriam is compared to Aaron and Moses as being among the hands through which the Torah was given. C337	18
M-349	625 Miriam is counted along with Moses and Aaron as those who will increase Torah and commandments in Israel. C397	18
M-350	625 Miriam is counted along with Moses and Aaron as those who will save Israel in times of distress. C397	18
M-361	650 In the case of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses, though no one noticed their birth, all felt their death. C431/102	18
M-372	750 Miriam along with Aaron and Moses is one of three righteous persons that Jochebed brought up. C433/159	18
M-373	750 Miriam asked, "Did not the Lord speak also to Aaron? C398	18
M-374	750 Miriam asked, "Did not the Lord speak to me even though I did not speak to Him and Aaron did not speak to Him? C398	18
M-377	750 Miriam, along with Aaron and Moses, merited to serve Israel. C433/159	18
M-381	750 The Lord spoke to Miriam before He ever spoke to Moses. C398	18

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 19: Details of Miriam's Death, What it Taught, and the Benefits it Provided	Theme ID Code
M-8	200 Miriam died in the same one year as Moses and Aaron. C405/45	19
M-9	200 Miriam died on the first of Nissan. C405/45	19
M-70	275 God said, "Here I killed Miriam, Aaron, and Moses." C209	19
M-76	275 Miriam was buried in Mt. Nebo. C211	19
M-77	275 Miriam's death was not due to a transgression. C211	19
M-84	275 Miriam was one of the three shepherds whom God destroyed in one month. C401/31	19
M-103	275 Miriam died on Mt. Nebo C242, C244	19
M-104	275 Miriam died with a kiss by the mouth of the Lord. C245	19
M-180	400 Miriam's death served as atonement for others. C279	19
M-219	550 No one (specifically Moses) knew of Miriam's death until he (Moses) was told. C253, C265	19
M-240	550 Maggots had no dominion over Miriam. C314	19
M-287	550 Miriam's being gathered was not made known. C253, C265	19
M-306	550 The angel of death had no dominion over Miriam. C314	19
M-326	550 Unlike Aaron, Miriam's impending death was not announced beforehand. C253, C265	19
M-366	650 When Miriam died, all felt it. C431/102, C432/105	19
M-395	950 Israel were crying over Miriam's death. C435/173	19
M-413	950 Moses and Aaron cried over Miriam's death. C435/173	19
M-414	950 Moses asked why Israel objected to his crying over Miriam who died. C435/173	19

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 20: Citing a Miriam Event to Elucidate some Peripheral Point	Theme ID Code
M-95	275 From Miriam, we learn that the white spot of leprosy is as white as snow. C224	20
M-133	275 The argument that God uses in making an analogy between Miriam's punishment and one whose father spit in her face is an example of the <i>qal vachomer</i> [If A, then also B] principle of expounding the Torah. C223	20
M-142	275 With the same strength as one is told to "remember" what the Lord did to Miriam, so too is one to "remember" and sanctify the Sabbath and "remember" how the Lord was provoked in the wilderness. C226	20
M-173	300 The oaks of Bashan, lamenting the destruction of the Temple, wailed, "This is Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." C238	20
M-179	400 Miriam who was so worthy in waiting upon Moses for an hour, and yet she was buried with no mourner's meal, and we rabbis - who are supposed to understand the laws of mourning - do not reach the height of our ancestors in this regard. C281	20

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 20 (<i>cont</i>): Citing a Miriam Event to Elucidate some Peripheral Point	Theme ID Code
M-181	400 The 7 days of waiting for Miriam are like other periods of days described in the Torah, to see whether the opportunity of those days of waiting and reflection would change the hearts of the people. C280	20
M-183	400 The Red Heifer portion following Miriam's portion shows Miriam's death, like the ashes, atoned. C279	20
M-184	400 The Red Heifer portion following Miriam's portion shows that the death of the righteous ones atoned. C279	20
M-200	450 Slander of the type Miriam committed with the tongue is described in the tongue of the Greek as "sweep, sweep." C291	20
M-205	450 The Torah has many "three's: the third month, the Torah [Tanakh], the Patriarchs, the select tribe, Israel (Priests, Levites and Israel, the letters, Moses the third born, and three letters of his name, and the three siblings- Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C298	20
M-238	550 Just as Moses did not need to mention Miriam's name in his prayer for her, so too is it not necessary to mention the name of one for whose benefit a prayer is said. C300	20
M-304	550 That Num 20:1 has Miriam's burial immediately following her death teaches that burial should not be unduly delayed. C305	20
M-305	550 That the episode of the spies followed the episode of Miriam's slander is to show that the spies too would say slander, about the land. C252, C268	20
M-308	550 The episode of the spies follows Miriam's slander so that the spies would not be unaware of the punishment for slander. C252, C268	20
M-315	550 The Rabbis asked that prayers they made for healing be heeded by God even as He had responded to the prayer that Miriam be healed. C301	20
M-317	550 The three cubits height of the altar corresponds to the three redeemers, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C257	20
M-318	550 The Torah contains many three's- Moses the third born, the three months of Moses being hidden, three Patriarchs, Levi the third-born, the third-day on which the Lord came down. Include among these three are three siblings- Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C248	20
M-319	550 The Torah contains many three's- the third month, the letters of word roots, the Torah-Prophets-Writings that make up the Tanakh, the Talmud, halakhot, and aggadot the make up the Mishnah, the three Intermediaries –Miriam, Aaron and Moses, and Amrams's three children- Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C256	20
M-359	625 The precept that those called to read the Torah will read no less than three verses corresponds to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam upon whose hands the Torah was given. C337	20
M-382	750 The Torah has many "three's: the Torah, Prophets and Writings. Her letters <i>Alef, Mem, Tav</i> = Emet), the third tribe (Levi), etc, and the three siblings (Moses, Aaron, and Miriam). C344	20

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 21: Biblical Texts Containing Hidden Allusions to Miriam's Life or Roles	Theme ID Code
M-1	200 When Song 5:1 says, "Eat, friends," it refers to Miriam along with Moses and Aaron. C205	21
M-11	200 When Zech 11:8 speaks of three [shepherds], it is saying that Miriam, Aaron, and Moses were the three [shepherds]. C405/45	21
M-55	225 Three times the term "water of quarrel" is used by God to refer to the death of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C209	21
M-81	275 The words of Micah 6:3 lead one to understand that the standards did not travel till Miriam, Moses, and Aaron advanced before them. C210	21
M-82	275 When Ps. 141 says, "Their judges were thrown down on the sides of the rock" it refers to God killing Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C209	21
M-86	275 When Ps 47:10 talks of the "princes of the people," these are Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. C401/31	21
M-149	300 When Amos 1:9 says, "And they did not remember the covenant of brothers" this refers to Miriam and Aaron's transgression against Moses. C237	21
M-177	350 When Ps 68:7 mentions "Into prosperity," this alludes to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. C270	21
M-189	425 Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron was one of the three shoots on the vine of the butler's dream. C278	21
M-190	425 When Gen 29:2 speaks of "three flocks of sheep," this refers to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam." C417/57	21
M-191	425 When Gen 40:10 speaks of the three shoots on the vine of the butler's dream, these refer to Miriam, along with Moses and Aaron. C275, C278	21
M-192	450 "Do not allow your mouth to cause your flesh to sin" from Ecc 5:5 refers to Miriam. C292	21
M-209	450 When Deut 24:9 says "Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam," "remember" is mentioned in the sense that Miriam was deserving of blessing. C296	21
M-210	450 When Prov 7:17 talks of the "lying tongue" this is exemplified by Miriam speaking against Moses. C291	21
M-218	550 The statement of Job 28 that "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom" refers to Miriam, who feared the Lord and from her came Betsalel, who was full of wisdom. C249, C259	21
M-334	550 When the test of Ps 113 says that "the mother of the children is joyful" this refers to Jochebed and her children Miriam and Aaron. C309	21
M-367	750 "Say to Wisdom, 'You are my sister' of Prov 7:4 refers to Miriam. C433/159	21
M-387	750 When Pro 31:17 says, "she girded her loins with strength," it refers to Miriam prophesying that her mother would give birth to a son who would save Israel. C345	21

Miriam Novel Assertions Listed by Date Through ca. 950 CE (*cont*)

Miriam ID No.	Synthesis of Miriam Novel Assertion (Date-Synthesis-Collection Identifier) Theme # 22: Miriam and the Well	Theme ID Code
M-5	200 The well given upon Miriam's hand was one of three gifts. C405/45	22
M-12	200 The Well given upon Miriam's hand was a good gift. C405/45	22
M-13	200 The well was given upon Miriam's hand. C405/45	22
M-14	200 The well went away when Miriam died. C404/44, C405/45	22
M-16	225 When Miriam died, the well ceased to exist. C407/5	22
M-20	225 Miriam's Well was a reward for Abraham's invitation, "Let a little water be brought." C411/3	22
M-61	225 The well was given on Miriam's merit. C407/5	22
M-62	225 While Miriam existed, a well used to supply Israel. C406/4	22
M-178	400 A well appearing like a sieve in the sea of Tiberias, seen from the mountain of the wilderness, is Miriam's Well. C418/2e, C419/3e	22
M-182	400 The pit seen from the wilderness mountain in the sea is Miriam's pit [well]. C419/3e	22
M-187	400 A blind man dipped in Miriam's well and was healed C403/9e	22
M-193	450 A man happened to float into Miriam's Well. C422/5e	22
M-194	450 A man stricken with boils on dipping into Miriam's well was healed. C422/5e	22
M-206	450 The well into which a man stricken with boils floated and was healed is Miriam's Well. C422/5e	22
M-207	450 The well the sages located opposite the middle door of the old synagogue of Seringit was Miriam's Well C422/5e	22
M-221	550 A sieve seen in the sea from the top of Carmel is Miriam's Well. C424/6e	22
M-293	550 Miriam's Well is a wandering spring. C424/6e	22
M-294	550 Miriam's Well is in the sea. C424/6e	22
M-320	550 The wandering spring that is clean is Miriam's Well. C424/6e	22
M-321	550 The well was on Miriam's merit, who sang a song over the Sea. C413/134a	22
M-322	550 The well was on Miriam's merit, who sang a song over water. C410/117	22
M-323	550 The well that Israel merited was Miriam's Well. C425/7e	22
M-331	550 When Num 20:1-2 says that "Miriam died...there was no water," it shows that the well was on Miriam's merit. C402/11, C410/117, C413/134a	22
M-332	550 When Num 20:5 says, "Not a place of seed and fig tree," it means that when Miriam died and the well went away, the vegetation was no more. C428/93, C408/95, C409/143	22

APPENDIX D-1

TANAKH NOVEL ASSERTIONS FOR ALL WOMEN, CALEB, AND AARON

(Numeral following name indicates number of Assertions for Character)

Abigail (69)

1Sam 25:3	Abigail was Nabal's wife. Abigail was a woman of good understanding. Abigail was a woman of beautiful form. Abigail was married to a Calebite man who was harsh and evil in his doings.
1Sam 25:14	Abigail was told by a young man that Nabal had pounced on David's messengers.
1Sam 25:15-16	Abigail was told that David's men were good to them, had not harmed them, had not taken their property, and had protected them
1Sam 25:17	Abigail was told to consider her options regarding the evil intended her husband.
1Sam 25:18	Abigail hurried. Abigail took two hundred loaves. Abigail took two wine-skins. Abigail took five prepared sheep. Abigail took one hundred clusters of raisins. Abigail took two hundred cakes of figs. Abigail put the things on the asses.
1Sam 25:19	Abigail told her lads to go before her. Abigail did not tell her husband.
1Sam 25:20	Abigail rode on the ass. Abigail was going in the cover of the hill. Abigail met David and his men.
1Sam 25:23	Abigail saw David. On seeing David, Abigail hurried. On seeing David, Abigail alighted off her ass. Abigail fell before David on her face. Abigail bowed to the ground.
1Sam 25:24	Abigail fell at David's feet. Abigail told David, "On me, my lord, on me let this iniquity be." Abigail told David to hear what she had to say.
1Sam 25:25	Abigail told David that her husband was foolish and worthless. Abigail reassured David that she was not involved when his men came.
1Sam 25:26	Abigail told David: "... seeing the Lord has restrained you from coming to shed blood ... now let your enemies, and those who seek evil to my lord, be as Nabal."
1Sam 25:27	Abigail wished a blessing on the men who followed David.
1Sam 25:28	Abigail begged David to forgive her. Abigail told David that God would make him a "loyal house" since he fought His battles and evil would not be found in him all his days.
1Sam 25:29	Abigail told David, "If a man will rise up to pursue you, and to seek your soul; the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord your God; and the soul of your enemies, He will sling out, as from the hollow of a sling."
1Sam 25:30	Abigail told David that once God's words to him materialized, he would be appointed ruler over Israel by the Lord.
1Sam 25:31	Abigail told David that neither bloodshed nor vengeance should become a stumbling block, so that God will deal well with him and David remember her.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

1Sam 25:32	David blessed God for having sent Abigail to meet him.
1Sam 25:33	David blessed Abigail for keeping him from shedding blood and avenging himself.
1Sam 25:34	David told Abigail that if she had not come to meet him, he would have finished off every male in Nabal's household.
1Sam 25:35	Abigail's items were received from her hand by David. Abigail was told by David to go up in peace to her house. Abigail was told by David that he had listened to her voice. Abigail was told by David that he had granted her request.
1Sam 25:36	Abigail came to Nabal. Abigail beheld a feast in Nabals house. Abigail was aware that Nabal was drunk. Abigail, because Nabal was drunk, told him nothing, less or more, till morning.
1Sam 25:37	Abigail told Nabal these things in the morning.
1Sam 25:39	Abigail was sent for by David. Abigail was talked to by David about being his wife.
1Sam 25:40	Abigail was approached in Carmel by the servants of David. Abigail was spoken to by David's servants. Abigail was told that David had sent them to her to take her as a wife.
1Sam 25:41	Abigail arose. Abigail bowed herself on her face to the earth. Abigail asked them to let her be a servant to wash their feet.
1Sam 25:42	Abigail hurried. Abigail arose. Abigail rode upon an ass. Abigail was with her five maidens who went after her. Abigail went after the messengers of David.
1Sam 27:3	Abigail was a Carmelitess. Abigail was with David when he stayed with Achish at Gath.
1Sam 30:5	Abigail was taken captive.
2Sam 2:2	Abigail was with David when he went to Hebron.
2Sam 3:2-3	Abigail bore David his second son. Abigail was in Hebron when she bore David's son. Abigail's son was called Kileab.
1Chr 3:1	Abigail bore to David his second son, who was called Daniel.

Asenath (8)

Gen 41:45	Asenat's father is Poti Fera. Asenat's father is a priest of On. Asenat is given to Joseph by Pharaoh. Asenat is Joseph's wife.
Gen 41:50	Asenat bore two sons. Asenat bore two sons to Joseph. Asenat's sons were born before the year of famine.
Gen 46:20	Asenat bore Menasseh and Ephraim in Egypt.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Bathseba (74)

2Sam 11:2	Bathsheba was washing herself. Bathsheba was very beautiful to look upon.
2Sam 11:3	Bathsheba was inquired about by David. Bathsheba was the daughter of Eliam. Bathsheba was the wife of Uriah.
2Sam 11:4	Bathsheba was taken by David. Bathsheba came to David. David lay with Bathsheba. Bathsheba was purified from her uncleanness. Bathsheba returned to her house.
2Sam 11:5	Bathsheba conceived. Bathsheba sent to David. Bathsheba told David she was with child
2Sam 11:26	Bathsheba heard that Uriah her husband was dead. Bathsheba mourned for her husband.
2Sam 11:27	Bathsheba was sent for by David when her mourning was past. Bathsheba became David's wife. Bathsheba bore David a son.
2Sam 12:15	Bathsheba's child was struck by the Lord. Bathsheba's child was very sick.
2Sam 12:18	Bathsheba's child died on the seventh day.
2Sam 12:24	Bathsheba was comforted by David. David went in to Bathsheba. David lay with Bathsheba. Bathsheba bore a son. Bathsheba's son was named by David. The name of Bathsheba's son was Solomon. Bathsheba's son was loved by the Lord
1 King 1:11	Nathan the prophet spoke to Bathsheba. Nathan asked Bathsheba if she had heard that Adonijah was reigning unbeknown to David.
1Kings 1:12	Nathan asked Bathsheba to let him give her counsel to save her life. Nathan asked Bathsheba to let him give her counsel to save her son's life.
1Kings 1:13	Nathan told Bathsheba to approach David regarding Adonijah's reign in lieu of Solomon.
1Kings 1:14	Nathan told Bathsheba that he would confirm her words to David.
1Kings 1:15	Bathsheba went to the king. Bathsheba went into the chamber of the King.
1Kings 1:16	Bathsheba bowed to David. Bathsheba prostrated herself before the king. Bathsheba was asked what she wanted by the king.
1Kings 1:17	Bathsheba told David that he had sworn to her that Solomon would reign after him.
1Kings 1:18	Bathsheba told David that Adonijah was reigning. Bathsheba told David that he did not know that Adonijah was reigning.
1Kings 1:19	Bathsheba told David that Adonijah had called all the sons and others, but not Solomon.
1Kings 1:20	Bathsheba told David that all Israel was waiting for him to say who should sit on the throne.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

1Kings 1:21	Bathsheba told David that unless he acted, she would be considered an offender. Bathsheba told David that unless he acted, Solomon would be considered an offender.
1Kings 1:22	While Bathsheba talked, Nathan came in.
1Kings 1:28	Bathsheba was summoned by King David [when he was old]. Bathsheba came to the king's presence. Bathsheba stood before the king.
1Kings 1:29-30	Bathsheba was reassured by David that he would act on his oath that Solomon would reign after him and sit on his throne that very day.
1Kings 1:31	Bathsheba bowed her face to the earth. Bathsheba prostrated herself to the king. Bathsheba said, "Let my lord king David live forever."
1Kings 2:13	Bathsheba was approached by Adonijah. Bathsheba asked Adonijah if he had come peacefully. Bathsheba was told by Adonijah that he had come peacefully.
1Kings 2:14	Adonijah told Bathsheba that he had something to tell her. Bathsheba told Adonijah to speak.
1Kings 2:15	Adonijah reviewed the history with Bathsheba of his transient reign.
1Kings 2:16	Adonijah advised Bathsheba that he wished to make a petition. Bathsheba again instructed him to speak.
1Kings 2:17	Adonijah asked Bathsheba to speak to Solomon about giving him Abishag to wife.
1Kings 2:18	Bathsheba agreed to talk to Solomon on his behalf.
1Kings 2:19	Bathsheba went to speak to Solomon on Adonijah's behalf. King Solomon rose to meet Bathsheba
1Kings 2:19	King Solomon bowed to Bathsheba
1Kings 2:19	Solomon had a seat brought for his mother Bathsheba.
1Kings 2:19	Bathsheba sat on Solomon's right.
1Kings 2:20	Bathsheba said that she had one petition. Bathsheba asked that he not deny her petition. Bathsheba was told by Solomon that she should ask and would not be denied.
1Kings 2:21	Bathsheba asked Solomon to give Adonijah Abishag for a wife.
1Kings 2:22	Solomon answered Bathsheba in the negative (providing an explanation.)

Bilhah (27)

Gen 29:29	Bilhah was Laban's maidservant. Bilhah was given to Rachel. Bilhah was given to be Rachel's maid.
Gen 30:3	Bilhah was proposed by Rachel to bear children by Jacob for her. Rachel told Jacob to go in to Bilhah. Rachel proposed that Bilhah bear upon her knees.
Gen 30:4	Bilhah was given to Jacob as a wife. Jacob went to Bilhah.
Gen 30:5	Bilhah conceived. Bilhah bore Jacob a son.
Gen 30:6	Bilhah's son was called Dan. Bilhah's son was named by Rachel.
Gen 30:7	Bilhah conceived again. Bilhah bore Jacob a second son.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 30:8	Bilhah's second son was called Naphtali. Bilhah's second son was named by Rachel.
Gen 33:1	Bilhah and Zilpah and all of Jacob's family were divided.
Gen 33:2	Bilhah and Zilpah and their children were in front.
Gen 33:6	Bilhah and Zilpah and their children came near. Bilhah and Zilpah and their children bowed down.
Gen 35:22	Bilhah and Reuben were intimate. Bilhah was Jacob's concubine. Israel was aware that Bilhah and Reuben were intimate.
Gen 35:25	Dan and Naphtali were the sons of Bilhah.
Gen 37:2	Joseph was with the sons of Bilhah.
Gen 46:23-5	The sons which Bilhah bore to Jacob were Dan, Hushim, Naphtali, Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, and Shillem. The souls of Bilhah were seven.

Deborah (21)

Jud 4:4	Deborah was a prophetess. Deborah was the wife of Lapidot/the woman of the torches [?] Deborah judged Israel.
Jud 4:5	Deborah sat under the palm tree of Deborah. Deborah's palm tree was between Ramah and Bethel in the mountain of Efraim. The Children of Israel came up to Deborah for judgment.
Jud 4:6-7	Deborah sent. Deborah called Baraq, son of Avinoam. Deborah reminded Baraq that God had commanded him to take 10,000 men to Mt. Tabor; then God would lead Sisera, the captain of Jabin, the king of Canaan to the Wadi Kishon, where He would deliver him into Baraq's hand.
Jud 4:8	Baraq told Deborah that he would go if she went, but would not go if she did not go.
Jud 4:9	Deborah told Baraq she would go with him, but God would give Sisera into the hand of a woman. Deborah arose. Deborah went with Baraq. Deborah went with Baraq to Qedesh.
Jud 4:10	Deborah went up with Baraq.
Jud 4:14	Deborah said to Baraq, "Arise, for this is the day the Lord gave Sisera into your hand. Didn't the Lord go out before you."
Jud 5:1	Deborah sang. Deborah sang with Baraq. Deborah and Baraq sang on that day.
Jud 5:2-21	Text of Deborah's song.

Delilah (48)

Jud 16:4	Delilah was in the valley of Sorek. Delilah was loved by Samson.
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Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Jud 16:5	Delilah was approached by the lords of the Philistines. Delilah was told that she should entice Samson. Delilah was told to see wherein lay his great strength. Delilah was told to help them discover how they might prevail against Samson. Delilah was told that they aimed to bind and subdue him. Delilah was offered a payment of 1100 silver pieces for her assistance.
Jud 16:6	Delilah asked Samson where his great strength lay. Delilah asked Samson what might be done to bind and subdue him.
Jud 16:7	Samson told Delilah that his strength would be overcome if he were bound by seven fresh still undried bowstrings.
Jud 16:8	Delilah was brought by the lords of the Philistines seven fresh still undried bowstrings. Delilah bound Samson with the bowstrings.
Jud 16:9	Delilah was accompanied by men in wait in her chamber. Delilah announced to Samson that the Philistines were upon him.
Jud 16:10	Delilah told Samson he had mocked her. Delilah told Samson he had told her lies. Delilah told Samson a second time to tell her with what he might be bound.
Jud 16:11	Delilah was told by Samson that binding him with unused rope would make him weak.
Jud 16:12	Delilah took new ropes. Delilah bound Samson. Delilah told Samson a second time that the Philistines were upon him. Men were waiting in Delilah's chamber a second time.
Jud 16:13	Delilah told Samson a second time that he had mocked her. Delilah told Samson a second time he had told her lies. Delilah asked Samson a third time with would he might be bound. Delilah was told by Samson that he could be bound with seven locks of his head with a web woven by her.
Jud 16:14	Delilah fastened the woven locks with the pin. Delilah told Samson a third time that the Philistines were upon him.
Jud 16:15	Delilah asked Samson how he could say he loved her when his heart was not with her. Delilah told Samson that he had mocked her three times. Delilah told Samson a third time that he had not told her wherein lay his great strength.
Jud 16:16	Delilah harassed Samson daily with her words. Delilah harassed Samson to the point that his soul was troubled to death.
Jud 16:17	Delilah was told all Samson's heart. Delilah was told by Samson of his Nazirite vow that a razor had not come upon his head since his birth. Delilah was told by Samson that if he was shaven, his strength would ebb
Jud 16:18	Delilah saw that Samson had told her all his heart. Delilah called for the lords of the Philistines. Delilah told the lords to come up. Delilah told the lords that Samson had told her all his heart. Delilah was approached again by the lords of the Philistines who came up to her. The lord of the Philistines brought money (to her) in their hand.
Jud 16:19	Delilah made Samson sleep upon her knees. Delilah called for a man. Delilah had the man shave off seven locks from Samson's head. Delilah began to torment Samson.
Jud 16:20	Delilah told Samson a fourth time that the Philistines were upon him.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Dinah (14)

Gen 30:20-21	Dinah was born after Zebulun. Dinah was the daughter of Leah.
Gen 34:1	Dinah's father was Jacob. Dinah went out to see the daughters of the land.
Gen 34:2	Dinah was seen by Shechem. Dinah was taken by Shechem. Dinah was intimate with Shechem. Dinah was defiled by Schechem.
Gen 34:3	Dinah was loved by Schechem. Dinah was spoken kindly to by Schechem.
Gen 34:8	Dinah was the subject of a marriage proposed to Jacob by Hamor on behalf of Shechem.
Gen 34:26	Dinah was taken from Shechem's house by her brothers.
Gen 34:31	Dinah's brothers said of her, "Should one deal with our sister as with a harlot?"
Gen 46:15	Dinah was one of the thirty-three souls born to Leah and Jacob.

Esther (111)

Esther 2:7	Esther was brought up by Mordecai. Esther was also known as Hadassah. Esther was the daughter of Mordecai's uncle. Esther had no father. Esther had no mother. Esther was beautiful. Esther was of good presence. Esther was adopted by Mordecai as a daughter when her parents died.
Esther 2:8	Esther was brought to the king's palace. Esther was assigned to the custody of Hegai.
Esther 2:9	Esther pleased the king. Esther won Hegai's favor. Esther was given ointments by Hegai. Esther was appointed portions. Esther was appointed seven maids from the king's palace. Esther was advanced to the best place in the harem.
Esther 2:10	Esther had not declared her people. Esther had not declared her country. Esther had been instructed by Mordecai not to tell her people or country.
Esther 2:11	Mordecai inquired daily how Esther was and what was done to her.
Esther 2:15	Esther's turn came to go to the king. Esther was the daughter of Abihail. Esther asked for nothing. Esther took only what Hegai advised. Esther found favor among all who looked upon her.
Esther 2:16	Esther was taken to the king. Esther was taken to the king's royal palace. Esther was taken to the king's palace in the tenth month in the seventh year of his reign.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Esther 2:17	Esther was loved by the king above all other women. Esther found favor in the king's sight more than all the virgins. The royal crown was set upon Esther's head by the king. Esther was made queen instead of Vashti.
Esther 2:18	A feast was made on Esther's account
Esther 2:20	Esther had still not told her country as Mordecai had charged her. Esther had still not told her people as Mordecai had charged her. Esther did as commanded of Mordecai. Esther did what Mordecai said as when was brought up with him.
Esther 2:22	Esther was told by Mordecai of the matter of those who planned to harm the king Esther informed the king of the matter. Esther informed the king in Mordecai's name.
Esther 4:4	Esther was told about the decree by her maids and eunuchs. Esther was exceedingly distressed. Esther sent garments to clothe Mordecai. Esther sent garments to Mordecai to take away his sackcloth from him. Esther's clothing replacement was not accepted by Mordecai.
Esther 4:5	Esther called for Hatach. The king had appointed Hatach to attend Esther. Esther told Hatach to contact Mordecai regarding what this was, and why it was.
Esther 4:8	Mordecai gave Hatach a copy of the written decree to destroy the Jews issued at Shushan to show to Esther. Through Hatach, Mordecai declared to and charged Esther with going to the king. Through Hatach, Mordecai declared to and charged and Esther with making supplication to the King. Through Hatach, Mordecai declared to and charged Esther with entreating the king for her people.
Esther 4:9	Esther was told by Hatach the words of Mordecai
Esther 4:10	Esther again spoke to Hatach Esther gave Hatach a command for Mordecai
Esther 4:11	Esther said that one who came to the king without being called would be put to death unless the king extended the golden scepter that he may live. Esther said that she had not been called to come to the king for these thirty days.
Esther 4:12	Esther's words were told to Mordecai.
Esther 4:13-14	Mordecai told Esther to not imagine that just by being in the palace she alone of all the Jews would be saved, by keeping quiet now "relief and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place" while she and her father's house would perish since perhaps that is just why she had come to be queen.
Esther 4:15	Esther bade that they provide Mordecai the answer.
Esther 4:16	Esther's answer was: "Go, gather together all the Jews who are found in Shushan, and fast for me, and do not eat and do not drink three days, night and day; also I and my girls will fast thus; and so I will go to the king, which is not according to the law, and if I perish, I perish."
Esther 4:17	All that Esther commanded him, Mordecai did.
Esther 5:1	Esther put on her royal dress on the third day. Esther stood in the inner court of the king's palace, opposite the king's palace.
Esther 5:2	Esther was seen by the king standing in the court. Esther found favor in the king's sight. To Esther the king held out the golden scepter in his hand. Esther drew near. Esther touched the top of the scepter.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Esther 5:3	The king said to Esther, "... what is your request? Up to the half of the kingdom, and it shall be given to you."
Esther 5:4	Esther told the king, "If it seem good to the king, let the king and Haman come this day to the banquet that I have prepared for him."
Esther 5:5	The King acted on Esther's request by advising Haman. Esther prepared the banquet. To the banquet that Esther prepared came the king and Haman.
Esther 5:6	Esther was asked at the wine banquet, "What is your petition? ... Up to the half of the kingdom, and it will be done."
Esther 5:7-8	Esther answered, "If I have found favor in the eyes of the king ... let the king come, and Haman, to the banquet that I will make for them ..."
Esther 5:12	Haman said that Esther had favored him in inviting him to the banquet with the king.
Esther 6:14	The king's eunuchs hurried to bring Haman to the banquet prepared by Esther.
Esther 7:1	To Esther's feast came the king and Haman.
Esther 7:2	The king again said to Esther on the second day of the wine banquet, "What is your petition? ... Up to the half of the kingdom and it will be done."
Esther 7:3-4	Esther answered the king, "If I have found favor in your eyes ... let my life be given me at my petition, and my people at my request ..."
Esther 7:5	Esther was answered by the king, "Who is he, and where is he ...?"
Esther 7:6	Esther said, "An adversary and an enemy, this evil Haman." Haman was afraid before Esther.
Esther 7:7	Esther was begged by Haman for his life.
Esther 7:8	Haman was falling upon the couch where Esther was. The king asked if Haman would force Esther despite his presence in the house.
Esther 8:1	Esther was given by the king the house of Haman. Esther told the king what Mordecai was to her.
Esther 8:2	Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman
Esther 8:3	Esther spoke again before the king. Esther fell down at the king's feet. Esther pleaded with tears. Esther pleaded to avert the evil designs of Haman the Agagite against the Jews.
Esther 8:4	Toward Esther the king held out the golden scepter. Esther arose therefore. Esther stood before the king.
Esther 8:5-6	Esther said, "... let it be written to reverse the letters devised by Haman ..."
Esther 8:7	Esther was told by the king, "... write to the Jews ..."
Esther 9:12	The king told Esther, "In Shushan the capital, The Jews killed and destroyed five hundred men and the ten sons of Haman; in the rest of the king's provinces, what have they done? And what is your petition? ..."
Esther 9:13	Esther told the king, "... let also tomorrow be given to the Jews in Shushan to do according to this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged ..."
Esther 9:14	The king acted on Esther's request.
Esther 9:25	It was when Esther came before the king that he commanded by letters that Haman's wicked plot should return on his own head.
Esther 9:29	Esther (with Mordecai) wrote with all authority to confirm the second letter of Purim.
Esther 9:31	Esther the queen had enjoined upon them the way according to which the days of Purim would be confirmed in their appointed times. The way Esther and Mordecai had enjoined them, they had decreed for themselves. The way Esther and Mordecai had enjoined them, they had decreed for their seed. Esther's enjoyment included issues of fasting. Esther's enjoyment included issues of lamenting.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Esther 9:32	Esther's decree confirmed these matters of Purim. Esther's decree was written in the book.
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Eve (46)

Gen 2: 22	Eve was created from Adam's rib by God. Eve was brought to Adam by God
Gen 2: 23	Adam said that Eve was "bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." Eve was called Woman by Adam because she was taken out of Man.'
Gen 2:24	Eve is the prototype for all women/wives.
Gen 2:25	Eve and Adam were naked. Eve and Adam were not ashamed
Gen 3:1	The serpent asked Eve if God had said, "Do not eat of any tree of the garden?"
Gen 3:2-3	Eve said to the serpent that they could eat fruit from the trees of the garden except the tree in the midst of the garden. Eve said that God had said not to eat of it, nor touch it, lest they die.
Gen 3:4-5	The serpent told Eve that they would not die, but God knew that in the day they ate of it, their eyes would be opened, and they would be as God, knowing good and evil.
Gen 3:6	Eve saw that the tree was good for food. Eve saw that the tree was a delight to the eyes. Eve saw that the tree was to be desired to make one wise. Eve took of the fruit. Eve ate the fruit. Eve gave also to her husband. Her husband was with her.
Gen 3:7	Eve and Adam's eyes were opened. Eve and Adam knew they were naked. Eve and Adam sewed fig-leaves together. Eve and Adam made girdles for themselves.
Gen 3:8	Eve and Adam heard God's voice. Eve and Adam hid themselves from the presence of God. Eve and Adam hid amongst the trees of the garden.
Gen 3:12	Eve was blamed by Adam.
Gen 3:13	God asked Eve, "What is this you have done?" Eve said: "The serpent beguiled me, and I ate."
Gen 3:15	God told the serpent "And I will put enmity between you and the woman ..."
Gen 3:16	God told Eve, "Greatly will I multiply your pain and your travail; in pain thou will bring forth children; and your desire shall be to your man, and he will rule over you."
Gen 3:17	God told Adam, "Because you listened to the voice of your wife ..."
Gen 3:20	Eve was given her name by Adam. Eve was the mother of all living.
Gen 3:21	God made garments of skin for Eve and Adam. God clothed Eve and Adam.
Gen 3:22	God was worried that Eve and Adam would take from the tree of life ...
Gen 3:23	Eve and Adam were sent forth from the Garden of Eden.
Gen 3:24	Eve and Adam were driven out by God.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 4:1	Eve had sexual intercourse with Adam. Eve conceived. Eve bore Cain. Eve said, 'I have gotten a man with the help of the LORD.'
Gen 4:2	Eve bore Abel.
Gen 4:25	Eve had sexual intercourse with Adam again. Eve bore a son. Eve called his name Seth.

Hagar (55)

Gen 16:1	Hagar was Sarai's maidservant. Hagar was an Egyptian.
Gen 16:2	Hagar, by order of Sarai, was to cohabit with Abraham to bear Sarai children.
Gen 16:3	Hagar was taken by Sarai. Hagar was given to Abram by Sarai. Hagar was given to be Abram's wife. Hagar was taken after Abram had lived ten years in Canaan.
Gen 16:4	Abram went in to Hagar. Hagar conceived. Hagar saw that she had conceived. In Hagar's eyes, Sara was despised
Gen 16:5	Sarai complained to Abram that Hagar despised her.
Gen 16:6	Hagar was in Sarai's hand, according to Abraham Hagar could be done with as Sarai pleased. Hagar was dealt with harshly by Sarai Hagar fled from Sarai's face
Gen 16:7	Hagar was at a fountain of water in the way to Shur in the wilderness. Hagar was found by the angel of the Lord
Gen 16:8	Hagar was asked by the angel: "Hagar, Sarai's maid, where did you come from? And where will you go?" Hagar answered that she was fleeing from the face of her mistress Sarai.
Gen 16:9	Hagar was ordered by the angel to return and submit herself under Sarai's hands.
Gen 16:10	Hagar was assured by the angel that her seed would be exceedingly multiplied such that it could not be counted for multitude.
Gen 16:11-12	The angel told Hagar, "... you will give birth to a son ..."
Gen 16:13	Hagar called the name of the Lord who spoke to her "You are a God of seeing." Hagar said, "I have also seen here after Him who sees me?"
Gen 16:14	Hagar bore Abram a son.
Gen 16:14	Hagar's son was named by Abraham. Hagar's son was named Ishmael.
Gen 16:16	Hagar bore Ishmael when Abram was eighty-six.
Gen 21:9	Hagar's son was seen by Sarah to be mocking.
Gen 21:10	Hagar should be cast out wither son, according to what Sarah told Abraham. Hagar's son, according to Sarah, should not be heir with her son Isaac.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 21:14	Hagar was given bread and a bottle of water by Abraham. Hagar was given the bread and water on her shoulder by Abraham. Hagar's child was put on her shoulder by Abraham. Hagar was sent away. Hagar departed. Hagar wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba.
Gen 21:15	Hagar's water supply was spent. Hagar cast the child under one of the shrubs.
Gen 21:16	Hagar went Hagar sat down opposite to the child. Hagar sat a way off, a bowshot's distance from the child. Hagar did not want to see the death of the child. Hagar lifted up her voice. Hagar wept.
Gen 21:17-18	Hagar was called to from the Heavens by the angel of God. Hagar was told: "What ails you ...?"
Gen 21:19	Hagar's eyes were opened by God. Hagar saw a well of water. Hagar went. Hagar filled the bottle with water. Hagar gave Ishmael to drink.
Gen 21:21	Hagar took for Ishmael a wife from the land of Egypt.
Gen 25:12	Hagar's son's (Ishmael) generations were her grandchildren.

Huldah (14)

2Kings 22:14	Hilkiah the priest, Ahikam, Achbor, Shaphan, and Asaiah went to Huldah. Huldah was a prophetess. Huldah was the wife of Shallum, son of Tikvah, son of Harhas. Huldah's husband was the keeper of the wardrobe. Huldah dwelt in Jerusalem. Huldah dwelt in the second quarter. Hilkiah the priest, Ahikam, Achbor, Shaphan, and Asaiah spoke with Huldah.
2Kings 22:15	Huldah said to them that God has a message for the King.
2Kings 22:16	Huldah said that God said He would be bringing evil to the place and its people, as stated in the book of Torah that the king has just read.
2Kings 22:17	Huldah continued delivering God's message accusing the people of abandoning Him and worshipping other gods to provoke Him.
2Kings 22:18-19	Huldah charges the men to give a message to the King of Judah, who sent them. Huldah relays God's message: "Since your heart is tender and you humbled yourself before the Lord when hearing what I spoke about this place and about its inhabitants, to become a desolation and a curse, and you have torn your clothes and you have wept before me ..."
2Kings 22:20	Huldah relays God's message that Josiah is to be gathered to his fathers and will enter his grave in peace, his eyes not having seen the evil that God will bring there.
2Chr 34:22	Huldah was the wife of Shallum, son of Tokhath, son of Hasrah.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Jochebed (26)

Ex 2:1	The daughter of Levi [Jochebed] was taken by a man of the House of Levi.
Ex 2:2	The woman [Jochebed] conceived. The woman [Jochebed] bore a son. The woman [Jochebed] saw her son. The woman [Jochebed] saw her son was good. The woman [Jochebed] hid her son. The woman [Jochebed] hid her son for three months.
Ex 2:3	The woman [Jochebed] could not hide her son any more. The woman [Jochebed] took an ark of bulrushes. The woman [Jochebed] took the ark for her son. The woman [Jochebed] plastered the ark with bitumen and pitch. The woman [Jochebed] put the child in the ark. The woman [Jochebed] put the ark in the reeds. The woman [Jochebed] put the ark in the bank of the Nile.
Ex 2:8	The woman [Jochebed] was called by Miriam.
Ex 2:9	Pharaoh's daughter told [Jochebed], "Take this child and nurse him for me, and I will give you your wages." The woman [Jochebed] took the child. The woman [Jochebed] nursed the child.
Ex 2:10	The woman [Jochebed] took the child to Pharaoh's daughter.
Ex 6:20	Jochebed was taken as wife by Amram. Jochebed was Amram's aunt. Jochebed bore Aaron to Amram. Jochebed bore Moses to Amram.
Num 26:59	Jochebed was the daughter of Levi. Jochebed was born in Egypt. Jochebed bore Miriam to Amram.

Leah (87)

Gen 29:16	Leah was one of Laban's two daughters. Leah was Laban's eldest daughter. Leah was Rachel's older sister.
Gen 29:17	Leah had weak eyes.
Gen 29:23	Leah was taken by Laban in the evening. Leah was brought to Jacob by Laban. Jacob went in to Leah.
Gen 29:24	Leah was given Zilpah for a maidservant by Laban.
Gen 29:25	Leah was discovered by Jacob in the morning in Rachel's place.
Gen 29:26	Leah was substituted due to custom of giving the firstborn first, according to Laban.
Gen 29:27	Leah was to continue to have her week completed with Jacob
Gen 29:30	Leah was less loved by Jacob compared to his love for Rachel.
Gen 29:31	Leah was seen by the Lord as being hated. Leah's womb was opened by the Lord.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 29:32	Leah conceived. Leah bore a son. Leah named her son. Leah named her son Reuben. Leah explained, "Surely the Lord has looked upon my affliction; now therefore my husband will love me."
Gen 29:33	Leah conceived again. Leah's second child was a son. Leah explained, "For the Lord heard that I am hated and He gave me also this one." Leah named her second son. Leah called her second son "Simeon."
Gen 29:34	Leah conceived a third time. Leah's third child was a son. Leah explained, "Now this time will my husband be joined to me, for I have borne him three sons." Leah's third son was called Levi.
Gen 29:35	Leah conceived a fourth time. Leah's fourth child was a son. Leah explained, "Now will I praise the Lord." Leah named her fourth son Judah. After her fourth son, Leah ceased bearing.
Gen 30:8	Leah was said to have been the object of wrestling with Rachel.
Gen 30:9	Leah saw that she had ceased bearing. Leah gave her maid Zilpah to Jacob for a wife.
Gen 30:10	Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a son
Gen 30:11	Leah said, "Fortune has come." Leah named the son born to Zilpah and Jacob Gad
Gen 30:12	Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a second son.
Gen 30:13	Leah said, "Happy am I, for the daughters will call me blessed." Leah named the second son born of Zilpah. Leah named the second son of Zilpah Asher.
Gen 30:14	Reuben brought mandrakes to Leah. Leah was told by Rachel, "Give me, I beg you, of your son's mandrakes."
Gen 30:15	Leah said to Rachel, "Is it a small matter that you have taken my husband? And would you take away my son's mandrakes also?" Leah was told by Rachel: "Therefore he will lie with you tonight for your son's mandrakes."
Gen 30:16	Leah went out to meet Jacob. Leah told Jacob that he must be with her because she hired him with the mandrakes. Leah and Jacob were intimate that night
Gen 30:17	Leah was listened to by God. Leah conceived. Leah bore Jacob the fifth son.
Gen 30:18	Leah said, "God has given me my hire, because I have given my maid to my husband."
Gen 30:18	Leah named her fifth son. Leah's fifth son was named Issachar.
Gen 30:19	Leah conceived a sixth time. Leah bore Jacob the sixth son.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 30:20	Leah said, "God has endowed me with a good dowry. This time will my husband live with me, because I have borne him six sons." Leah named her sixth son. Leah's sixth son was named Zebulun.
Gen 30:21	Leah bore Jacob a daughter after bearing the sixth son. Leah named her daughter. Leah's daughter was called Dinah.
Gen 30:26	Jacob asked Laban to give him Leah (and Rachel) to go.
Gen 31:4	Leah was sent for by Jacob to the field to his flock.
Gen 31:5-13	Leah was told by Jacob they had to leave Laban's house.
Gen 31:14-16	Leah together with Rachel answered Jacob that they were ready to leave.
Gen 31:17	Leah and the other wives and children were set upon a camel by Jacob
Gen 31:26	Laban accused Jacob of carrying away Leah and his other wives as captives.
Gen 31:28	Laban asked Jacob why he did not allow him to kiss Leah.
Gen 31:31	Jacob told Laban that he feared he would have taken Leah and Rachel from him by force.
Gen 31:33	Leah's tent was inspected by Laban.
Gen 31:41	Jacob told Laban that he had served him fourteen years for Leah and Rachel
Gen 31:43	Laban said that Leah and Rachel were his daughters.
Gen 32:1	Leah was kissed by Laban.
Gen 33:1	Jacob divided the children to Leah and Rachel...
Gen 33:2	Jacob put Leah and her children behind the maidservants and their children.
Gen 33:5	Leah was among those seen by Esau.
Gen 33:7	Leah came near to Esau. Leah was accompanied by her children when she came near to Esau. Leah bowed before Esau.
Gen 34:1	Leah's daughter went to see the daughters of the land.
Gen 46 9-15	These are the sons of Leah, 33 souls of Leah born to Jacob offspring.
Gen 46:18	Leah's maidservant Zilpah bore to Jacob 16 souls.
Gen 49:31	Leah was buried by Jacob where Abraham, Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca were buried in the cave of Machpelah.
Ruth 4:11	It was said by the people in the gate and elders that Ruth should be like Leah and Rachel, who built the house of Israel.

Miriam (41)

Ex 2:4	Moses' sister stood from afar. His sister stood to see what would be done to Moses.
Ex 2:7	Moses' sister asked Pharaoh's daughter if she could fetch a Hebrew nursing woman.
Ex 2:8	Pharaoh's daughter told Moses' sister to go. The girl went. The girl called the child's mother.
Ex 15:20	Miriam identified as Prophetess. Miriam was Aaron's sister. Miriam took a tambourine in her hand. All the women came out after Miriam with timbrels and with dances.
Ex 15:21	Miriam sang to the people. Miriam sang to them, "Sing to the Lord, for He is indeed exalted, a horse and its rider He cast into the sea."

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Num 12:1	Miriam spoke about Moses. Miriam spoke together with Aaron. Miriam and Aaron spoke about Moses concerning the Cushite woman.
Num 12:2	Miriam and Aaron said, "Has the Lord spoken only to Moses? Hasn't He also spoken to us?" The Lord heard Miriam and Aaron.
Num 12:4	The Lord said to Miriam, Aaron, and Moses, "Go out, all three of you, to the Tent of Meeting!" Miriam, Aaron, and Moses went out.
Num 12:5	The Lord called to Miriam and Aaron. Miriam and Aaron went out.
Num 12:6-8	The Lord said to Miriam and Aaron, "Do hear my words ..."
Num 12:9	The Lord's wrath flared against Miriam and Aaron.
Num 12:10	Miriam was afflicted with leprosy. Miriam's leprosy was as snow. Aaron turned to Miriam.
Num 12:11-12	Aaron pleaded to Moses on Miriam's behalf.
Num 12:13	Moses beseeched God to heal Miriam.
Num 12:14	The Lord told Moses, "If her father had indeed spit in her face, wouldn't she be ashamed seven days? Let her be shut up seven days outside the camp, and afterwards she will be gathered."
Num 12:15	Miriam was shut up outside the camp seven days. Miriam was gathered back. The people did not travel till Miriam had joined the camp.
Num 20:1	Miriam died in Qadesh. Miriam was buried in Qadesh.
Num 26:59	Miriam's mother was Jochebed. Miriam's father was Amram. Miriam's brother was Moses.
Deut 24:9	Moses admonishes the people to remember what the Lord did to Miriam.
Micah 6:4	Miriam was sent by the Lord. Miriam was sent before the Israelites. Miriam was like Moses and Aaron in having been sent by the Lord.

Naomi (94)

Ruth 1:1	Naomi went to sojourn in the country of Moab. Naomi went with her husband. Naomi went with the two sons. Naomi went in the days when the judges ruled. Naomi went when there was a famine in the land. Naomi's husband was of Beth-Lehem in Judah.
Ruth 1:2	Naomi's husband was called Elimelech. Naomi's two sons were Mahlon and Kilion. Naomi's family members were Ephrathites of Bethlehem in Judah. Naomi's family came to the country of Moab. Naomi's family remained in Moab.
Ruth 1:3	Naomi's husband died. Naomi was left with her two sons.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ruth 1:4	Naomi's sons took Moabite wives. Naomi's daughter-in-laws were called Orpah and Ruth. Naomi dwelled there for about 10 years.
Ruth 1:5	Naomi's two sons died. Naomi was bereft of her two sons. Naomi was bereft of her husband.
Ruth 1:6	Naomi arose. Naomi arose with her daughters-in-law. Naomi arose to return from the country of Moab. Naomi had heard in Moab that the Lord had visited His people. Naomi had heard in Moab that the Lord has given bread to His people.
Ruth 1:7	Naomi went forth out of the place where she was. Naomi's two daughter-in-laws went forth with her. Naomi and her daughters-in-law went on the way to return to the land of Judah.
Ruth 1:8	Naomi said to her two daughters in law: "Go, return each of you to her mother's house; the Lord deal kindly with you, as you have dealt with the dead, and with me."
Ruth 1:9	Naomi wished her two daughters-in-law, "The Lord grant you that you may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband." Naomi kissed them. Naomi's daughters-in-law lifted up their voice and wept.
Ruth 1:10	Naomi's daughters-in-law told her, "No, we will return with you to your people."
Ruth 1:11-13	Naomi told her daughters-in-law, "Turn back, my daughters; why will you go with me? ..."
Ruth 1:14	Naomi's daughter-in-laws again lifted their voice and wept. Naomi was kissed by Orpah. Naomi was held fast to by Ruth.
Ruth 1:15	Naomi told Ruth, "Behold, your sister-in-law is gone back to her people, and to her gods; go back you after your sister-in-law."
Ruth 1:16-17	Naomi was told by Ruth, "Do not entreat me to leave you, or to keep from following you; for wherever you go, I will go ..."
Ruth 1:18	Naomi saw that Ruth was determined to go with her. Naomi stopped speaking to Ruth.
Ruth 1:19	Naomi went accompanied by Ruth. Naomi went till arriving at Bethlehem. When Naomi arrived at Bethlehem, all the city was stirred because of them. Naomi was asked by them, "Is this Naomi"?
Ruth 1:20	Naomi told them not to call her Naomi. Naomi told them to call her Mara. Naomi explained that "the Almighty has dealt very bitterly with me."
Ruth 1:21	Naomi told them, "I went out full, and the Lord has brought me back empty;" Naomi asked them again: "why then do you call me Naomi, seeing the Lord has testified against me, and the Almighty has afflicted me?"
Ruth 1:22	Naomi returned. Naomi returned along with Ruth. Naomi returned at the beginning of the barley harvest.
Ruth 2:1	Naomi had a relative of her husband's. Naomi's relative was a man of wealth Naomi's relative was of the family of Elimelech. Naomi's relative was called Boaz.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ruth 2:2	Naomi was told by Ruth, "Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of grain after him in whose sight I shall find favor." Naomi told Ruth, "Go, my daughter."
Ruth 2:6	The servant answered Boaz that the maiden was Naomi's maiden. Naomi, the servant explained to Boaz, came back from the country of Moab.
Ruth 2:11	Boaz explained that Ruth's kindness and dedication to Naomi was his among his reasons for treating her well.
Ruth 2:18	Naomi saw what Ruth had gleaned. Naomi was given by Ruth what was left over.
Ruth 2:19	Naomi asked Ruth where she had gleaned that day. Naomi asked Ruth where she had worked that day. Naomi blessed whoever had taken notice of Ruth. Naomi was told by Ruth, "The man's name with whom I worked today is Boaz."
Ruth 2:20	Naomi said to Ruth, "Blessed be he by the Lord, who has not abandoned his loving kindness to the living and to the dead." Naomi explained to Ruth, "The man is a relative of ours, one of our close relatives."
Ruth 2:21	Naomi was told by Ruth that Boaz said, "He also said to me, You shall keep close to my young men, until they have ended all my harvest."
Ruth 2:22	Naomi told Ruth, "It is good, my daughter, that you go out with his maidens, that you should not be molested in any other field."
Ruth 2:23	Naomi's instruction to Ruth to keep close to Boaz' maidens was followed. Naomi's daughter-in-law lived with her.
Ruth 3:1	Naomi offered to seek a home for Ruth that it might be will with her.
Ruth 3:2	Naomi noted that Boaz was their relative. Naomi noted that Boaz was winnowing barley that night in the threshing floor.
Ruth 3:3-4	Naomi instructed Ruth, "etc....."
Ruth 3:5	Naomi was told by Ruth that she would cooperate fully
Ruth 3:6	Ruth in fact did according to all that Naomi had told her.
Ruth 3:16	Naomi asked Ruth, "Who are you my daughter?" Naomi was told by Ruth all that the man had done to her.
Ruth 3:17	Naomi was told by Ruth, "He gave me these six measures of barley; for he said to me, Do not go empty to your mother-in-law."
Ruth 3:18	Naomi said, "Sit still, my daughter, until you know how the matter will fall; for the man will not rest, until he settles the matter this day."
Ruth 4:3	Boaz explained to the next of kin that Naomi was selling Elimelech's land.
Ruth 4:4	The next of kin agreed to redeem Naomi's land.
Ruth 4:5	Boaz explained that in addition to redeem the field from Naomi, Ruth would also have to be redeemed.
Ruth 4:9	Boaz advised all the people that he bought all that was Elimelech's, Kilion's, and Mahlon's from Naomi's hand.
Ruth 4:14-15	Naomi was told by the women, "etc....."
Ruth 4:16	Naomi laid Ruth's child in her bosom. Naomi became the child's nurse.
Ruth 4:17	The women of the neighborhood said, "A son has been born to Naomi." Naomi's grandchild was called Obed. Naomi's grandchild was the father of Jesse. Naomi's grandchild was the grandfather of David.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Noadiah (2)

Neh 6:14	Noadiah was a prophetess. Noadiah and other prophets frightened Nehemiah.
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Rachel (106)

Gen 29:6	Rachel was coming with the sheep.
Gen 29:9	Rachel came with the sheep while Jacob talked to the shepherds. Rachel came with the sheep belonging to her father. Rachel kept her father's sheep.
Gen 29:10	Rachel was seen by Jacob. Rachel was the daughter of Laban. Rachel was Jacob's cousin. Rachel was the reason of Jacob's approaching and rolling the stone from the well. Rachel's flock was watered by Jacob.
Gen 29:11	Rachel was kissed by Jacob.
Gen 29:12	Rachel was told by Jacob that he was her father's brother and Rebecca's son. Rachel ran to tell her father about Jacob.
Gen 29:16	Rachel was one of two daughters of Laban. Rachel's sister was Leah. Rachel was the younger daughter of Laban.
Gen 29:17	Rachel was beautiful. Rachel was well favored.
Gen 29:18	Rachel was loved by Jacob. Rachel was the object of Jacob's working seven years for Laban.
Gen 29:19	Laban thought it better to give Rachel to Jacob than to another.
Gen 29:20	For Rachel, Jacob served seven years.
Gen 29:21	Jacob told Laban to give him Rachel as wife. Jacob wished to go in to Rachel.
Gen 29:25	On discovering the deception, Jacob asked Laban if he had not served seven years for Rachel.
Gen 29:26	Rachel was not given first because it was not the custom to give the younger first, according to Laban
Gen 29:27	Rachel was promised to Jacob after the week on a pledge to serve another seven years.
Gen 29:28	Rachel was given to Jacob after the week.
Gen 29:29	Rachel was given Bilhah by her father Laban. Rachel was given Bilhah to be her maid.
Gen 29:30	Jacob went in to Rachel. Jacob loved Rachel when she became his second wife. Jacob loved Rachel more than Leah.
Gen 29:31	Rachel was barren
Gen 30:1	Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children. Rachel envied her sister. Rachel told Jacob, "Give me children or else I die."
Gen 30:2	Rachel was the cause of Jacob becoming angry. Rachel was told by Jacob, "Am I in God's place, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?"
Gen 30:3	Rachel told Jacob to go in to Bilhah, that she may have children by her.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 30:4	Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob as a wife.
Gen 30:6	Rachel said of the son conceived by Bilhah for her, "God has judged me, and has also heard my voice, and has given me a son." Rachel named the son born of Bilhah. The name of the son born to Bilhah was Dan.
Gen 30:7	Rachel's maid Bilhah conceived again. Rachel's maid Bilhah bore a second son.
Gen 30:8	Rachel said, "With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed." Rachel named the second son born of Bilhah. The name of the second son born to Bilhah was Naphtali.
Gen 30:14	Rachel said to Leah, "Give me, I beg you, of your son's mandrakes."
Gen 30:15	Rachel was told by Leah, "Is it a small matter that you have taken my husband? and would you take away my son's mandrakes also?" Rachel told Leah, "Therefore he shall lie with you tonight for your son's mandrakes."
Gen 30:22	Rachel was remembered by God. Rachel was listened to by God. Rachel's womb was opened by God.
Gen 30:23	Rachel conceived. Rachel bore a son. Rachel said, "God has taken away my reproach."
Gen 30:24	Rachel named her first son. Rachel named her first son Joseph. Rachel said, "The Lord shall add to me another son."
Gen 30:25	After Rachel's childbirth (Joseph) Jacob asked Laban to send him away.
Gen 31:4	Rachel and Leah were sent for by Jacob to the field to his flock
Gen 31:5-13	Rachel and Leah were told, "etc....."
Gen 31 14-16	Rachel and Leah said, "etc.....")
Gen 31:17	Rachel was set upon a camel by Jacob.
Gen 31:19	Rachel stole her father's teraphim
Gen 31:26	Laban asked Jacob about his having stolen Rachel (and the others) as captives taken with the sword.
Gen 31:28	Laban asked why Jacob hadn't let him kiss Rachel and Leah farewell.
Gen 31:31	Jacob told Laban that he feared that Laban would have taken Rachel and Leah by force.
Gen 31:32	Rachel had not told Jacob that she had stolen her father's gods.
Gen 31:33	Laban went to Rachel's tent.
Gen 31:34	Rachel took the teraphim. Rachel put the Teraphim in the camel's saddle. Rachel had sat upon the teraphim.
Gen 31:35	Rachel said to Laban, "let it not displease my lord that I can not rise up in your presence, for the manner of women is upon me."
Gen 31:41	Jacob told Laban that he had served fourteen years for Rachel and Leah
Gen 31:43	Laban told Jacob that Rachel and Leah and the children were his and asked what he could do to them.
Gen 31:50	Laban warned Jacob against afflicting Rachel.
Gen 32:1	Rachel was kissed by Laban.
Gen 33:1	Jacob divided the children to Rachel, Leah, and the maids..
Gen 33:2	Rachel and Joseph were placed hindermost by Jacob.
Gen 33:5	Rachel and her children were seen by Esau.
Gen 33:7	Joseph and Rachel were near to one another

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 33:7	Joseph and Rachel bowed to Esau.
Gen 33:7	Joseph and Rachel came last to bow.
Gen 35:16	Rachel labored with child. Rachel labored as they journeyed from Beth-El short of Ephrath. Rachel had a difficult labor
Gen 35:17	Rachel was told during her difficult labor by the midwife, "Fear not, you shall have this son also."
Gen 35:18	Rachel's second child was a son. Rachel's soul was departing. Rachel died. Rachel named her son. Rachel's named her second son Benoni. His father called Rachel's second son Benjamin.
Gen 35:19	Rachel was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.
Gen 35:20	Jacob set a pillar upon Rachel's grave. That is the pillar on Rachel's grave to this day.
Gen 35:24	Rachel's sons were Joseph and Benjamin.
Gen 35:25	Dan and Naphtali were the sons of Rachel's maidservant.
Gen 46:19-22	Rachel's sons and grandchildren numbered fourteen souls as follows: Joseph, Benjamin, Manasseh, Ephraim, Belah, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, Ard.
Gen 46:23-25	From Rachel's maid Bilhah came children and grandchildren numbering seven souls as follows: Dan, Hushim, Naphtali, Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, Shillem.
Gen 48:7	Rachel died when Jacob had come from Padan.
Gen 48:7	Rachel died in the land of Canaan.
Jer 31:14	God said that Rachel refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.
Ruth 4:11	It was said by the people in the gate and elders that Ruth should be like Leah and Rachel, who built the house of Israel.

Rebecca (124)

Gen 22:23	Rebecca's father was Bethuel.
Gen 24:15	Rebecca came out. Rebecca had her water jar upon her shoulder. Rebecca's grandfather was Nahor. Rebecca's grandmother was Milcah. Rebecca was Abraham's grand-niece.
Gen 24:16	Rebecca was very pretty to look upon. Rebecca was a virgin. Rebecca had not been known by any man. Rebecca went down to the well. Rebecca filled her water jar. Rebecca came up.
Gen 24:17	Rebecca was told by the servant, "Let me, I beg you, drink a little water from your water jar."
Gen 24:18	Rebecca told the servant, "Drink, my lord." Rebecca hurried. Rebecca let down her water jar upon her hand. Rebecca gave the servant drink.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 24:19	Rebecca finished giving the servant drink. Rebecca said, "I will draw water for your camels also, until they have finished drinking."
Gen 24:20	Rebecca hurried again. Rebecca emptied her water jar into the trough. Rebecca ran back to the well to draw water. Rebecca drew for all the servant's camels.
Gen 24:22	The man took a golden ear ring of half shekel weight and two bracelets of ten shekels weight of gold for Rebecca's hands.
Gen 24:23	Rebecca was asked by the man whose daughter she was. Rebecca was asked by the man if there was lodging room in her father's house.
Gen 24:24	Rebecca told the man that she was daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor.
Gen 24:25	Rebecca told the man that there was both straw and sufficient provender and a room to lodge.
Gen 24:28	Rebecca ran. Rebecca told those of her mother's house what had happened.
Gen 24:29	Rebecca had a brother. Rebecca's brother was Laban.
Gen 24:30	Rebecca's ear ring and bracelets were seen by her brother. Rebecca's words were heard by her brother.
Gen 24:45	Rebecca came before Eliezer had finished speaking in his heart.
Gen 24:51	Rebecca was in the servant's presence. Rebecca was given to the servant to take her by Laban and Bethuel. Rebecca was to go with the servant according to Laban and Bethuel. Rebecca was to be the wife of the son of the master of the servant by leave of Laban and Bethuel.
Gen 24:53	Rebecca was given jewels of silver and gold by the servant. Rebecca was given garments by the servant.
Gen 24:55	Rebecca, it was proposed by her brother and mother, should stay at least ten days before going.
Gen 24:57	Rebecca, it was proposed by her brother and mother, should be asked of her preference.
Gen 24:58	Rebecca was called. Rebecca was asked if she would go with this man. Rebecca said that she would go.
Gen 24:59	Rebecca was sent away. Rebecca was sent with her nurse. Rebecca went with Abraham's servant. Rebecca went with the servant's men.
Gen 24:60	Rebecca was blessed. Rebecca was told: "You are our sister, be you the mother of thousands of ten thousands, and let your seed possess the gate of those who hate them."
Gen 24:61	Rebecca arose. Rebecca's maids arose with her. Rebecca and her maids rode upon camels. Rebecca and her maids followed the man. Rebecca was taken by the servant.
Gen 24:64	Rebecca lifted up her eyes. Rebecca saw Isaac. Rebecca fell off the camel when she saw Isaac.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 24:65	Rebecca asked the servant what man walked in the field to meet them. Rebecca was told by the servant that it was his master who was coming. Rebecca took a veil. Rebecca covered herself. Rebecca took a veil and covered herself because Isaac was coming.
Gen 24:67	Rebecca was brought by Isaac to his mother's tent. Rebecca was taken by Isaac. Rebecca became the wife of Isaac. Rebecca was loved by Isaac. Rebecca was the cause of Isaac being comforted after his mother's death.
Gen 25:20	Rebecca married Isaac when he was forty. Rebecca was the daughter and sister of Arameans.
Gen 25:21	Rebecca was barren. Rebecca was the object of Isaac's prayer to the Lord because she was barren. Rebecca conceived. Rebecca's conception was due to the Lord granting the prayer.
Gen 25:22	Rebecca had children in her womb. Rebecca's children struggled together inside her. Rebecca said, "If it be so, why am I thus?" Rebecca went to inquire of the Lord.
Gen 25:23	The Lord talked to Rebecca. The Lord told Rebecca, "Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples shall be separated from your bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger."
Gen 25:24	Rebecca's days to be delivered were fulfilled. Rebecca had twins in her womb.
Gen 25:25	Rebecca's firstborn came out red all over like a hairy garment. Rebecca's firstborn was called Esau.
Gen 25:26	Rebecca's twins were both male. Rebecca's second-born took hold of Esau's heel with his hand. Rebecca's second-born was called Jacob. Rebecca's childbirth came when Isaac was sixty years old.
Gen 25:28	Rebecca loved Jacob
Gen 26:7	Rebecca was the subject of an inquiry to Isaac by the men. Rebecca was described by Isaac to be his sister. Over Rebecca, Isaac feared he would be killed. Rebecca's beauty was the reason Isaac feared he would be killed.
Gen 26:8	Rebecca and Isaac were sporting. Rebecca was observed by Abimelech to be sporting with Isaac.
Gen 26:10	That Rebecca may have been the subject of sexual union with one of the people was of concern to Abimelech
Gen 26:11	A death decree was issued for anyone touching Rebecca
Gen 26:35	Rebecca's life was embittered related to Esau's marriage
Gen 27: 5	Rebecca overheard when Isaac spoke to Esau
Gen 27:6	Rebecca spoke to Jacob.
Gen 27:6-10	Rebecca said to Jacob, "Behold, I heard your father speak to Esau your brother, saying, 'Bring me venison, and make me savory food, that I may eat, and I will bless you before the Lord ...'"
Gen 27:11-12	Jacob said to Rebecca, "Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man. Perhaps my father will feel me ..."

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 27:13	Rebecca told Jacob that she would accept the curse for his action and that she should therefore obey him.
Gen 27:14	Rebecca was given the kids of the goat by Jacob. Rebecca made savory food that Isaac loved.
Gen 27:15	Rebecca took Esau's best garments. Rebecca put Esau's garments on Jacob.
Gen 27:16	Rebecca put goatskins on Jacobs hands. Rebecca put goatskins on Jacob's neck.
Gen 27:17	Rebecca gave Jacob the savory food she had prepared. Rebecca gave Jacob the bread she had prepared.
Gen 27:42	Rebecca was told of Esau's words. Rebecca sent for Jacob. Rebecca called Jacob. Rebecca told Jacob, "Behold, your brother Esau comforts himself for you to kill you."
Gen 27:43-45	Rebecca told Jacob, "... arise, flee to Laban my brother to Haran ..."
Gen 27:46	Rebecca told Isaac of her weariness of life over the daughters of Heth. Rebecca told Isaac that little would life mean to her if Jacob also took a wife from the daughters of Heth.
Gen 28:2	Isaac told Jacob to take a wife from the daughters of Rebecca's brother Laban.
Gen 28:7	Esau saw that Jacob obeyed Rebecca and Isaac.
Gen 49:31	Rebecca was buried in the cave of Machpelah. Rebecca was buried in the same place as Isaac and other Patriarch/Matriarchs.

Ruth (128)

Ruth 1:4	Ruth was of the women of Moab. Ruth was taken as a wife by a son of Naomi. Ruth was married for about 10 years.
Ruth 1:5	The husband of Ruth died.
Ruth 1:6	Ruth arose with Naomi to return from the country of Moab.
Ruth 1:7	Ruth went forth with Naomi. Ruth went on the way to the land of Judah.
Ruth 1:8	Ruth was told by Naomi to return to her mother's house. Naomi wished that the Lord deal kindly with Ruth. Ruth had dealt kindly with the dead according to Naomi. Ruth had dealt kindly with Naomi according to Naomi.
Ruth 1:9	Naomi wished that the Lord would grant Ruth rest. Naomi wished that Ruth would have a husband. Ruth was kissed by Naomi. Ruth lifted up her voice. Ruth wept.
Ruth 1:10	Ruth said, "No." Ruth said she would return to Naomi's people.
Ruth 1:11	Naomi told Ruth to turn back. Naomi called Ruth her daughter. Naomi asked Ruth why she would go with her? Naomi asked Ruth if she thought she could still bear sons to be her husband.
Ruth 1:12	Naomi again told Ruth to turn back and go her way.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ruth 1:13	Naomi asked Ruth if she would wait for her sons till they were grown by refraining from having husbands if she had any. Naomi told Ruth that she would not wait.
Ruth 1:14	Ruth again lifted her voice. Ruth wept again. Ruth held fast to her mother-in-law.
Ruth 1:15	Naomi pointed out to Ruth that her sister-in-law had gone back. Naomi told Ruth to go back after her sister-in-law.
Ruth 1:16	Ruth told Naomi not to entreat her to leave her. Ruth told Naomi not to keep her from following her. Ruth told Naomi that she would go wherever she went. Ruth told Naomi that she would lodge wherever she lodged. Ruth told Naomi that her people would be hers. Ruth told Naomi that her God would be her God.
Ruth 1:17	Ruth told Naomi “where you die, I will die. Ruth told Naomi she would be buried where Naomi would be buried. Ruth swore “the Lord do so to me, and more also, if even death parts me from you.”
Ruth 1:18	Ruth was determined to go with Naomi as perceived by Naomi. Ruth was no longer discouraged by Naomi from going with her.
Ruth 1:19	Ruth went with Naomi till Bethlehem. When Ruth came to Beth-Lehem, all the city was stirred because of them.
Ruth 1:22	Ruth came to Beth-Lehem at the beginning of the barley harvest.
Ruth 2:2	Ruth said to Naomi, “Let me now go to the field, and glean ears of grain after him in whose sight I shall find favor.” Ruth was told by Naomi, “Go my daughter.”
Ruth 2:3	Ruth went. Ruth came. Ruth gleaned in the field after the reapers. Ruth happened to a part of the field belonging to Boaz.
Ruth 2:5	Boaz asked whose maiden (Ruth) she was.
Ruth 2:6	The servant answered that the maiden (Ruth) was the Moabite who had accompanied Naomi.
Ruth 2:7	Ruth, according to the servant, said, “I beg you, let me glean and gather after the reapers among the sheaves.” The servant told Boaz, “so she (Ruth) came, and she has continued from morning until now, scarcely spending any time in the hut.”
Ruth 2:8-9	Boaz said to Ruth, “Do you not hear, my daughter? Do not go to glean in another field, nor go away from here, but stay here close to my maidens ...”
Ruth 2:10	Ruth fell on her face. Ruth bowed herself to the ground. Ruth said to Boaz: “Why have I found favor in your eyes, that you should take notice of me, seeing that I am a stranger?”
Ruth 2:11-12	Boaz answered Ruth, “It has been fully told to me, all that you have done for your mother-in-law ...”
Ruth 2:13	Ruth said to Boaz, “Let me find favor in your sight, my lord; for you have comforted me, and spoken kindly to your maidservant, though I am not one of your maidservants.”

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ruth 2:14	Boaz told Ruth at mealtime, "Come here, and eat of the bread, and dip your morsel in the vinegar." Ruth sat beside the reapers. Boaz passed Ruth parched grain. Ruth ate. Ruth was satisfied. Ruth left.
Ruth 2:15	Ruth arose to glean. Boaz instructed his young men that Ruth could glean without reproach.
Ruth 2:16	Boaz instructed his young men to let some handfuls fall on purpose for Ruth for her to glean without rebuke.
Ruth 2:17	Ruth gleaned in the field till evening. Ruth beat out what she gleaned. Ruth accumulated about an ephah of barley.
Ruth 2:18	Ruth took it up. Ruth went into the city. Ruth's mother-in-law saw what Ruth had gleaned. Ruth brought out what remained. Ruth gave to Naomi what was left over after being satisfied.
Ruth 2:19	Ruth was told by Naomi, "Where have you gleaned today? And where have you worked? Blessed is he who took notice of you." Ruth told Naomi with whom she had worked. Ruth told Naomi that the man's name with whom she had worked was Boaz.
Ruth 2:20	Ruth was told by Naomi, "Blessed be he by the Lord, who has not abandoned his loving kindness to the living and to the dead." Ruth was told by Naomi, "The man is a relative of ours, one of our close relatives."
Ruth 2:21	Ruth told Naomi, "He also said to me, You shall keep close to my young men, until they have ended all my harvest."
Ruth 2:22	Ruth was told by Naomi, "It is good, my daughter, that you go out with his maidens, that you should not be molested in any other field."
Ruth 2:23	Ruth followed the instructions to keep close to the maidens of Boaz. Ruth kept close to glean to the end of the barley harvest. Ruth kept close to glean to the end of the wheat harvest. Ruth lived with her mother-in-law.
Ruth 3:1-4	Ruth was given instructions by Naomi as follows: "My daughter, shall I not seek a home for you, that it may be well with you? Now is not Boaz, with whose maidens you were, our relative? ..."
Ruth 3:5	Ruth told Naomi that she agreed to do all she was told.
Ruth 3:6	Ruth went down to the threshing floor. Ruth did all according to what Naomi told her.
Ruth 3:7	Ruth came softly. Ruth uncovered his feet. Ruth laid herself down.
Ruth 3:8	Ruth caused Boaz to be startled.
Ruth 3:9	Ruth was asked by Boaz, "Who are you?" Ruth answered Boaz, "I am Ruth your maidservant; spread your skirt over your maidservant; for you are next of kin."
Ruth 3:10-13	Ruth was told by Boaz, "Blessed be you to the Lord, my daughter; for your last loyal kindness is greater than the first one, because you have not gone after young men, whether poor or rich ..."

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ruth 3:14	Ruth lay at Boaz' feet till morning. Ruth rose up before one could recognize another. Ruth was told by Boaz, "Let it not be known that a woman came into the threshing floor."
Ruth 3:15	Ruth was wearing a veil Boaz told Ruth to bring and hold her veil. Ruth held the veil. Boaz measured six measures of barley and laid it on Ruth. Ruth went into the city.
Ruth 3:16	Ruth came to Naomi. Ruth was asked by Naomi, "Who are you, my daughter? Ruth told Naomi all that the man had done to her.
Ruth 3:17	Ruth told Naomi, "He gave me these six measures of barley; for he said to me, Do not go empty to your mother-in-law."
Ruth 3:18	Ruth was told by Naomi, "Sit still, my daughter, until you know how the matter will fall; for the man will not rest, until he settles the matter this day."
Ruth 4:5	Boaz explained to the next of kin, "on the day that you redeem the field from the hand of Naomi, you must redeem also Ruth the Moabite, the wife of the dead, to restore the name of the dead to his inheritance."
Ruth 4:10	Boaz declared that he had bought Ruth. Boaz declared that he had bought Ruth to be his wife.
Ruth 4:11	The people at the gate declared their wish that Ruth be like Rachel and Leah, who both built the house of Israel
Ruth 4:13	Ruth was taken by Boaz. Ruth was the wife of Boaz. Boaz went in to Ruth. Ruth conceived by the Lord's will. Ruth bore a son.
Ruth 4:15	The women said that Ruth loved Naomi. The women said that Ruth was better to her than seven sons.
Ruth 4:16	Ruth's child was nursed by Naomi.
Ruth 4:17	Ruth's son was named by the women of the neighborhood. Ruth's son was called Obed. Ruth's son is the father of Jesse. Ruth's son is the grand-father of David.

Sarah (106)

Gen 11:29	Sarai was the name of Abram's wife.
Gen 11:30	Sarai was barren. Sarai had no child.
Gen 11:31	Sarai was Terah's daughter-in-law. Sarai was taken by Terah. Sarai went forth from Ur of the Chaldeans. Sarai went to go to the land of Canaan. Sarai came to Haran. Sarai lived in Haran.
Gen 12:5	Sarai was taken by Abram to the land of Canaan.
Gen 12:5	Sarai came to the land of Canaan
Gen 12:11	Sarai was spoken to by Abram as they came near to enter Egypt.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 12:11-13	Abram told Sarai to pretend to be his sister.
Gen 12:14	Sarai was seen by the Egyptians. Sarai was thought by the Egyptians to be very pretty.
Gen 12:15	Sarai was seen by the princes of Pharaoh. Sarai was praised by the princes to Pharaoh. Sarai was taken to Pharaoh's palace.
Gen 12:16	For the sake of Sarai, Abram was treated well by Pharaoh
Gen 12:17	Because of Sarai, Pharaoh and his house were plagued by the Lord.
Gen 16:1	Sarai bore Abram no children. Sarai had a maidservant. The name of Sarai's maidservant was Hagar. Sarai's maidservant was an Egyptian.
Gen 16:2	Sarai talked to Abram. Sarai said to Abram: "Behold now, the Lord has prevented me from bearing; I beg you, go in to my maid; it may be that I may obtain children by her." Sarai was listened to by Abram.
Gen 16:3	Sarai took Hagar. Sarai gave Hagar to Abram to be his wife. Sarai gave Hagar to Abram after he had lived in Canaan ten years.
Gen 16:4	Sarai was despised by Hagar after she conceived
Gen 16:5	Sarai said to Abram: "My wrong be upon you; I have given my maid to your bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes; the Lord judge between me and you."
Gen 16:6	Abram said to Sarai: "Behold, your maid is in your hand; do to her as it pleases you." Sarai dealt harshly with Hagar. From Sarai's face, Hagar fled.
Gen 16:9	Hagar was ordered to return to and submit to Sarai by the angel of the Lord.
Gen 17:15	Sarai's name was changed to Sarah by Abraham at God's instruction
Gen 17:16	Sarah would be blessed by God. Sarah would have a son by Abraham according to God. Sarah was blessed by God a second time. Sarah was to become a mother of nations according to God. From Sarah would come kings of people according to God.
Gen 17:17	Thanking of Sarah, to Abraham it was laughable that Sarah would bear at age 90. Sarah was about 90 when God blessed and made promises to her.
Gen 17:19	Sarah, God reassured Abraham, would bear him a son. Sarah's son was to be called Isaac according to God. Sarah's son would be the object of a perpetual covenant with God according to God.
Gen 17:21	Sarah would bear at this set time in the next year according to God.
Gen 18:6	Sarah was approached by Abraham in her tent. Sarah was told by Abraham, "Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes."
Gen 18:9	"Where is Sarah your wife?" was an inquiry made by the three men.
Gen 18:10	"Sarah your wife shall have a son," said one of the three men. Sarah overheard what the man had said concerning her having a son when she was in the tent door.
Gen 18:11	Sarah was old. Sarah was well advanced in age. Sarah's body had ceased to function after the manner of women.
Gen 18:12	Sarah laughed within herself. Sarah said, "After I am grown old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?"

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 18:13-14	The Lord asked/told Abraham regarding Sarah, "etc..."
Gen 18:15	Sarah denied laughing. Sarah was afraid. Sarah said, "I laughed not." Of Sarah, the man said, "No, you did laugh."
Gen 20:2	Of Sarah, Abraham said "She is my sister." Sarah was sent for by Abimelech. Sarah was taken by Abimelech.
Gen 20:3	Over having taken Sarah, God told Abimelech that he was a dead man.
Gen 20:4	Sarah was not approached by Abimelech.
Gen 20:5	According to Abimelech, Abraham said, "Sarah is mys sister." According to Abimelech, Sarah said, "He is my brother."
Gen 20:6	God did not let Abimelech touch Sarah.
Gen 20:7	God told Abimelech to restore Sarah to Abraham. God told Abimelech that failing to restore Sarah would cause him and his to die.
Gen 20:11	Over Sarah's sake, Abraham was afraid that he would be slain.
Gen 20:12	Abraham clarified that Sarah was indeed his sister. Abraham clarified that Sarah was his father's daughter. Abraham clarified that Sarah was not his mother's daughter.
Gen 20:13	Sara explained that he had told Sarah, "This is your kindness which you shall show to me; at every place where we shall come, say of me, He is my brother."
Gen 20:14	Sarah was returned to Abraham by Abimelech.
Gen 20:16	Sarah was told by Abimelech, "Behold, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver; behold, it is to you a covering of the eyes, to all who are with you, and with all other."
Gen 20:16	Sarah was reproved.
Gen 20:18	Because of Sarah, the Lord had closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech.
Gen 21:1	The Lord visited Sarah as promised. The Lord did to Sarah as spoken.
Gen 21:2	Sarah conceived. Sarah's child was a son.
Gen 21:3	The name of Sarah's son was Isaac.
Gen 21:6	Sarah said, "God has made me laugh, so that all who hear will laugh with me."
Gen 21:7	Sarah said, "Who would have said to Abraham, that Sarah should suckle children? For I have born him a son in his old age."
Gen 21:9	Sarah saw Hagar's son mocking.
Gen 21:10	Sarah told Abraham: "Cast out this slave and her son; for the son of this slave shall not be heir with my son, with Isaac." Sarah did not want Ishmael to inherit with Isaac.
Gen 21:12	Of Sarah's decision to cast out the slave, God said, "etc..."
Gen 23:1	Sarah was a hundred and twenty seven years old when she died.
Gen 23:2	Sarah died in Kiriath-Arba, which is Hebron in the land of Canaan. Abraham came to mourn for Sarah. Abraham came to weep for Sarah.
Gen 23:3	Sarah's death was the apparent cause of Abraham buying the burial site from the Hittites.
Gen 23:19	Abraham buried Sarah. Abraham buried Sarah in the cave of the field of Machpelah. Sarah's burial place was before Mamre.
Gen 24:36	Abraham's servant explained to Laban that Sarah bore a son to Abraham when she was old.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 25:10	Later, Abraham was buried in the same cave in which Sarah had been buried.
Gen 25:12-16	Sarah's maidservant bore to Abraham Ishmael.
Gen 49:31	Where Sarah was buried, so too were buried Isaac, Rebecca, and Leah.
Is 51:2	Isaiah drew attention to how Sarah had given birth to the righteous of the Israelites whom he addressed.

Tamar (49)

Ber 38:6	Tamar was chosen by Judah to be his son Er's wife.
Ber 38:7	Tamar's husband was killed by God.
Ber 38:8	Tamar was to become the wife of her dead husband's brother.
Ber 38:9	Tamar was approached by Onan in an intimate relation, but he spilled his seed.
Ber 38:11	Tamar was told by Judah to remain a widow. Tamar was told by Judah that she should remain in her father's house in her widowhood. Tamar was told that he should remain a widow till his son Shelah be grown. Tamar lived in her father's house.
Ber 38:13	Tamar was told that Judah was going to Timnath to shear sheep.
Ber 38:14	Tamar took off her widow's garments. Tamar covered herself with a veil. Tamar wrapped herself. Tamar sat in an open place. Tamar sat in an open place on the way to Timnath. Tamar saw that though he was grown, she was not given to Shelah for his wife.
Ber 38:15	Tamar had covered her face.
Ber 38:16	Tamar was asked by Judah to let him come in to her. Tamar asked Judah what he would give her in return for her intimacy.
Ber 38:17	Tamar was promised a kid from the flock. Tamar asked Judah about giving her a pledge.
Ber 38:18	Tamar was asked by Judah what type of a pledge she wished. Tamar replied to Judah that she wanted his signet, bracelets, and staff as pledges. Tamar was given the requested pledge items by Judah. Tamar was intimate with Judah. Tamar conceived by Judah.
Ber 38:19	Tamar arose. Tamar went away. Tamar took off her veil. Tamar put on the garments of her widowhood.
Ber 38:24	Tamar was reported to Judah to be pregnant Tamar was reported to Judah to be pregnant about three months later. Tamar was accused of playing the harlot. Tamar was accused of being with child by harlotry. Tamar was ordered by Judah to be brought out. Tamar was ordered by Judah to be burned.
Ber 38:25	Tamar was brought out. Tamar sent to Judah the pledge items. Tamar challenged Judah to identify the pledge items. Tamar advised Judah that the owner of the pledge items had made her pregnant.
Ber 38:26	Tamar was claimed by Judah to be more righteous than he. Tamar had no further intimate relation with Judah.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ber 38:27	Tamar was noted to have twins. Tamar was noted to have twins at the time of her labor.
Ber 38:28	During Tamar's labor, one infant put his hand out first.
Ber 38:29	The first infant to put his hand out of Tamar drew back his hand. Tamar gave birth second to the one whose hand had appeared first. Tamar's firstborn was called Perez.
Ber 38:30	Tamar's second born was called Zarah
Ruth 4:12	Tamar received mention from the elders who blessed Ruth

Vashti (19)

Esther 1:9	Vashti was the queen. Vashti made a banquet. The banquet that Vashti made was for the women. The banquet made by Vashti was in King Ahasuerus' royal palace.
Esther 1:11	Vashti was commanded by the King to be brought before him. Vashti was commanded to come wearing the royal crown. Vashti was commanded by the king to show her beauty. Vashti was beautiful to look on.
Esther 1:12	Vashti refused to come at the king's command. Vashti's refusal angered the king.
Esther 1:15	Vashti's fate over her disobedience was discussed.
Esther 1:16	Vashti had wronged both king, princes, and people according to Memucan
Esther 1:17	Vashti had created a bad example through her disobedience. Vashti's bad deed shall cause women to despise their husbands.
Esther 1:19	Vashti would no longer to come to the king's presence according to a proposed edict. Vashti's royal position would be given to someone better than she.
Esther 2:1	Vashti was remembered by the king for what she had done and what was decreed against her.
Esther 2:4	A plan was proposed to replace Vashti with a new queen.
Esther 2:17	Vashti's replacement for the position of Queen was Esther

Zilpah (17)

Gen 29:24	Zilpah was Laban's maidservant. Zilpah was given as a maidservant by Laban to Leah.
Gen 30:9	Zilpah was given by Leah as a wife to Jacob.
Gen 30:10	Zilpah bore Jacob a son.
Gen 30:11	The name of Zilpah's first soon was Gad. Zilpah's first son was named by Leah.
Gen 30:12	Zilpah bore Jacob a second son.
Gen 30:13	The name of Zilpah's second son was Asher. Zilpah's second son was named by Leah.
Gen 33:1	Zilpah and Bilhah, and all of Jacob's family were divided
Gen 33:2	Zilpah and Bilhah and their children were in front
Gen 33:6	Zilpah and Bilhah and their children came near. Zilpah and Bilhah and their children bowed down.
Gen 35:26	Zilpah's two sons were born to him in Padam-Aram

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Gen 37:2	Zilpah's sons were with the sons of Bilhah when he was feeding the flock.
Gen 46:16-18	The names of Zilpah's grandchildren by Jacob were: Ziphion, Haggi, Shuni, Ezbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli, Jimnah, Ishvah, Isui, Beriah, Serah, Heber, and Malchiel.
Gen 46:18	From Zilpah's union with Jacob came 16 souls.

Zipporah (40)

Ex 2:16	Zipporah was a daughter of the priest of Midian. Zipporah had six sisters. Zipporah and sisters came to the well. Zipporah and sisters drew water. Zipporah and sisters filled the troughs.
Ex 2:17	Zipporah and sisters were driven away by the shepherds. Zipporah and sisters were helped by Moses. Zipporah and sisters' flocks were watered by Moses.
Ex 2:18	Zipporah's father was Reuel. Zipporah and sisters came to their father. Zipporah and sisters were asked by their father why they were early.
Ex 2:19	Zipporah and sisters told Reuel what happened.
Ex 2:20	Zipporah and sisters were told by their father, "where is he? Why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat bread."
Ex 2:21	Zipporah was given by her father to Moses.
Ex 2:22	Zipporah bore Moses a son. Zipporah's son's name was Gershom. Zipporah's son was named by Moses.
Ex 4:20	Moses took Zipporah. Moses set Zipporah on an ass. Zipporah had more than one son. Zipporah's sons were on the ass with her.
Ex 4:25	Zipporah took a sharp stone. Zipporah took the stone at the time that the Lord sought to kill Moses. Zipporah circumcised her son. Zipporah threw the foreskin. Zipporah said, "Surely a bridegroom of blood are you to me."
Ex 4:26	Because of what Zipporah did, he let him go. Zipporah said, "A bridegroom of blood you are, because of the circumcision."
Ex 18:2	Zipporah's father was called Jethro. Zipporah was taken by Jethro. Zipporah was Moses' wife. Moses had sent Zipporah back.
Ex 18:3	Zipporah had two sons
Ex 18:4	Zipporah's second son was Eliezer.
Ex 18:5	Jethro came with Zipporah. When Jethro came with Zipporah, her two sons also came. Jethro came with Zipporah to Moses. Jethro came with Zipporah into the wilderness. Jethro came with Zipporah to where Moses encamped at the mount of God.
Ex 18:6	Zipporah was the subject of Jethro's address to Moses, "I your father-in-law Jethro have come to you, and your wife, and her two sons with her."

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Caleb (82)

Num 13:6	Caleb is the son of Yefuneh. Caleb is the spy from Judah.
Nu 13:17	Caleb and the spies were sent to Canaan.
Nu 13:21	Caleb and the spies scouted the land.
Nu 13:23	Caleb and the spies cut fruit from the land and carried it.
Nu 13:25	Caleb and the spies returned after forty days.
Nu 13:26	Caleb and the spies came to Moses, Aaron and the congregation. Caleb and the spies brought back word. Caleb and the spies showed the fruit to the congregation.
Num 13:30	Caleb quieted the people. Caleb urged the people to go up and take the land.
Nu 13:31	The spies who went with Caleb had a pessimistic report.
Num 14:6-9	Caleb and Joshua tore their clothes. Caleb and Joshua said that the land was very good. Caleb and Joshua asked the people not to rebel against God. Caleb and Joshua said not to fear the people of the land. Caleb and Joshua said God was with Israel.
Num 14:10	The congregation wanted to stone Caleb and Joshua.
Num 14:24	Caleb is God's servant. Caleb had a different spirit. Caleb followed God fully. God will bring Caleb into the land he entered. Caleb's descendants will take possession of it.
Num 14:30	Only Caleb and Joshua will enter the land (the rest of the people will die).
Num 14:38	All the spies died except for Caleb and Joshua.
Num 26:65	All the people died in the wilderness except Caleb and Joshua.
Num 32:12	Caleb and Joshua followed God fully.
Num 34:19	Caleb was the <i>nasi</i> for the tribe of Judah.
Deut 1:36	Only Caleb will see the land. God will give Caleb and his sons the land on which he has trodden.
Josh 14:6	Caleb reminds Joshua of what God said to Moses concerning them both in Kadesh-Barnea.
Josh 14:7	Caleb was forty years old when Moses sent him as a spy. Caleb returned word according to his heart.
Josh 14:9	God will give Caleb and his children the land on which he has trodden as an eternal inheritance.
Josh 14:10	God let Caleb live for forty-five years. Caleb is eighty-five years old.
Josh 14:11	Caleb is still as strong as when Moses sent him.
Josh 14:12	Caleb claims the possession God promised him. Caleb says he will dispossess the giants.
Josh 14:13	Joshua blessed Caleb. Joshua gave Hebron to Caleb for an inheritance.
Josh 14:14	Hebron was the inheritance of Caleb unto this day.
Josh 15:13	Joshua gave Hebron to Caleb according to God's word to Joshua.
Josh 15:14	Caleb drove the three sons of the giant out of Hebron.
Josh 15:16	Caleb had a daughter called Achsah. Caleb said he would give Achsah as wife to the one who would capture Kiriath-Sefer.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Josh 15:17	Caleb had a brother called Kenaz. Caleb had nephew called Otniel. Caleb gave his daughter to Otniel as wife.
Josh 15:18	Caleb's daughter persuaded Otniel to ask Caleb ... Caleb asked his daughter what she wanted.
Josh 15:19	Caleb gave his daughter the upper and lower springs.
Josh 21:12	When Hebron became a city of refuge, they gave Caleb the fields of the city and its villages.
Jud 1:20	They gave Hebron to Caleb, as Moses promised Caleb drove out the three sons of the giant
Jud 3:9-11	Otniel was Caleb's younger brother Caleb's brother was a deliverer who judged Israel and vanquished Aram, so that the land was quiet 40 years.
1Sam 30:14	A part of the Negev is called the Negev of Caleb.
1Chr 2:18	Caleb was the son of Hezron Caleb married Azuba and Yeriote Caleb's sons are Jeshur, Shobab, and Ardon
1Chr 2:19-20	When Azubah died, Caleb married Efratah Caleb's son was Hur Caleb's grandson was Uri Caleb's great-grandson was Betsalel
1Chr 2:24	Caleb-Efratah appears to be a place name
1Chr 2:42	Caleb had a brother called Yerachmeel Caleb's son was Meshah Caleb's grandson was Ziph Caleb's relationship to Mareshah and Hebron [?]
1Chr 2:46	Caleb's concubine was Ephah Caleb's sons were Haran, Moza, and Gazez Caleb's grandson was Gazez
1Chr 2:48	Caleb's concubine was Maacah Caleb's sons were Sheber and Tirhanah
1Chr 2:49	Caleb's sons were Shaaph and Sheva Caleb's grandsons were Madmanah, Machbena, and Gibeon Caleb's daughter was Achsah
1Chr 2:50-52	Caleb's son Hur was the firstborn of Efratah Caleb's son Shobab was the father of Kiriat-Yearim Caleb's son Salma was the father of Bethlehem Caleb's son Hareph was the father of Beth-Gader
1Chr 4:15	Caleb's sons were Iru, Elah, and Naam, and the sons of Elah and Kenaz

Aaron (574)

Ex 4:14	Aaron was Moses' brother. Aaron was a Levite God knew that Aaron was a speaker. God knew that Aaron was going out to meet Moses when Moses was leaving Midian. God noted that Aaron would rejoice in his heart when he saw Moses.
Ex 4:27	God commanded Aaron to go toward Moses, to the wilderness. Aaron went to meet Moses. Aaron met Moses on the mount of God. Aaron kissed Moses.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 4:28	Moses told Aaron all the words with which the Lord had sent him. Moses told Aaron all the signs that the Lord had commanded him.
Ex 4:29	Moses and Aaron went (to Egypt). Moses and Aaron assembled all the elders of the Children of Israel.
Ex 4:30	Aaron spoke all the words that the Lord had spoken to Moses. Aaron performed the signs before the signs before the people.
Ex 5:1	Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh. Moses and Aaron told Pharaoh that the Lord, the God of Israel said, "Send away My people and let them sacrifice to Me in the wilderness."
Ex 5:2	Pharaoh replied to Moses and Aaron, "... I do not know the Lord ..."
Ex 5:3	Moses and Aaron told Pharaoh that God wanted them to go to the wilderness on a three day journey to sacrifice to Him, lest He strike them with the sword.
Ex 5:4	Pharaoh said to Moses and Aaron, "Why, Moses and Aaron, do you disturb the people from their work? Go to your own labors."
Ex 5:5	Pharaoh told Moses and Aaron that they were stopping the people from working.
Ex 5:20	The people met Moses and Aaron standing before them when they came out from Pharaoh's presence.
Ex 5:21	The people said to Moses and Aaron, "May the Lord look upon you and judge, for you have caused our odor to stink in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand[s] to kill us."
Ex 6:13	God commanded Moses and Aaron concerning the children of Israel and concerning Pharaoh to let the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.
Ex 6:20	Aaron's father was Amram. Aaron's mother was Jochebed.
Ex 6:23	Aaron took as wife Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon. Elisheba bore to Aaron Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.
Ex 6:25	Aaron's son Eleazar took one of the daughters of Putiel as a wife. Aaron's grandson was Pinchas.
Ex 6:26	Aaron and Moses are identified by God's having spoken to them. God said to Moses and Aaron, "Take the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt with their legions."
Ex 6:27	Moses and Aaron are the ones who spoke to Pharaoh.
Ex 7:1	God told Moses that Aaron would be Moses' speaker.
Ex 7:2	God told Moses that Aaron would speak to Pharaoh that he let the children of Israel out of his land.
Ex 7:6	Moses and Aaron did as God commanded them.
Ex 7:7	Aaron was three years older than Moses. Aaron was eighty three years old when he and Moses spoke to Pharaoh.
Ex 7:8-9	God told Moses and Aaron that when Pharaoh asked for a sign, Moses should tell Aaron to take his staff and cast it before Pharaoh, and it would become a serpent.
Ex 7:10	Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh again. Moses and Aaron did as God had commanded. Aaron cast his staff before Pharaoh. Aaron cast his staff before Pharaoh's servants. When Aaron cast his staff, it became a serpent.
Ex 7:12	Aaron's staff swallowed those of Pharaoh's servants.
Ex 7:13	Pharaoh did not listen to Moses and Aaron.
Ex 7:19	God told Moses to tell Aaron to take his staff and stretch his hand over all the waters of Egypt, and they would become blood.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 7:20	Moses and Aaron did as God had commanded (regarding stretching the staff over the waters). Aaron raised the staff. Aaron struck the water that was in the Nile. Aaron struck the water in the Nile before the eyes of Pharaoh. Aaron struck the water in the Nile before Pharaoh's servants. When Aaron struck the water that was in the Nile, it turned to blood.
Ex 8:1	God told Moses to tell Aaron to stretch his hand with his staff over rivers, canals, and ponds to bring up the frogs on the land of Egypt.
Ex 8:2	Aaron stretched forth his hand over the waters of Egypt. When Aaron stretched forth his hand over the waters of Egypt, frogs came up and covered the land of Egypt.
Ex 8:4	Pharaoh called Moses and Aaron. Pharaoh asked Moses and Aaron to ask God to remove the frogs and he would let the people out that they may sacrifice to the Lord.
Ex 8:8	Moses and Aaron went away from Pharaoh.
Ex 8:12	God told Moses to tell Aaron to stretch forth his staff and strike the dust of the earth, and it would become lice throughout the entire land of Egypt.
Ex 8:13	Moses and Aaron did what the Lord told them about striking the dust of the earth. Aaron stretched forth his hand with his staff and struck the dust of the earth. When Aaron struck the dust of the earth, lice were upon man and beast, and the earth became lice all throughout the entire land of Egypt.
Ex 8:21	Pharaoh called Moses and Aaron again. Pharaoh said, "Go, sacrifice to your God in the land."
Ex 10:3-6	Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh again. Moses and Aaron said to Pharaoh, "So said the Lord, the God of the Hebrews, O How long will you refuse to humble yourself before Me? Let My people go, and they will worship Me. For if you refuse to let go, behold, tomorrow I am going to bring locusts into your borders ..."
Ex 10:8	Moses and Aaron were brought back to Pharaoh. Pharaoh said to Moses and Aaron, "Go, worship the Lord your God. Who and who are those going?"
Ex 10:10-11	Pharaoh told Moses and Aaron that only the men could go to serve the Lord. Moses and Aaron were driven out from Pharaoh's presence.
Ex 10:16-17	Pharaoh hastened to call Moses and Aaron again. Pharaoh told Moses and Aaron that he had sinned against God and against them and asked that they forgive him and ask God to remove from him "just this death."
Ex 11:10	Moses and Aaron performed miracles before Pharaoh.
Ex 12:1-27	God spoke to Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt. God told Moses and Aaron the laws of the Passover sacrifice and Passover commemoration.
Ex 12:28	The children of Israel went and did as God had commanded Moses and Aaron
Ex 12:31-32	Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron that night. Pharaoh said to Moses and Aaron, "Get up, get out from among my people, both you and the children of Israel, and go, worship the Lord as you have spoken. Also take your flocks and also take your cattle, as you have spoken, and go, but you will also bless me."
Ex 12:43-49	God told Moses and Aaron the laws of the Passover sacrifice.
Ex 12:50	All the children of Israel did as God had commanded Moses and Aaron.
Ex 15:20	Miriam the prophetess was Aaron's sister.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 16:2	All the congregation of the children of Israel complained against Moses and Aaron. The congregation complained against Moses and Aaron in wilderness.
Ex 16:3	The children of Israel told Moses and Aaron that it would have been better to die in Egypt where they had meat and bread to their fill since Moses and Aaron had brought them out into the wilderness to starve to death.
Ex 16:6-7	Moses and Aaron told the children of Israel that by evening, they would know that God had brought them out of Egypt and by morning they would see God's glory, because He had heard their complaints against Him. Moses and Aaron wanted to know why the people complained against them.
Ex 16:8	Moses said that their complaints were against God and not against him and Aaron.
Ex 16:9	Moses told Aaron to tell the people to come near before the Lord because He had heard their complaints.
Ex 16:10	Aaron spoke to all the congregation of the children of Israel. When Aaron spoke to the people, they turned toward the desert and the glory of God appeared in the cloud.
Ex 16:33	Moses told Aaron to take one jug and put there an omerful of manna and put it before the Lord to be preserved for the generations.
Ex 16:34	Aaron deposited the jug before the testimony to be preserved.
Ex 17:10	Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill (in the fight against Amaleq).
Ex 17:12	Aaron and Hur took a stone and placed it under Moses. Aaron supported one of Moses' hands when it became heavy.
Ex 18:12	Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to dine with Moses' father-in-law before God.
Ex 19:24	God told Moses that Aaron should come up with him to Mt. Sinai.
Ex 24:1	God told Moses that he, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and 70 elders should come up to the Lord and prostrate themselves from afar.
Ex 24:9	Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the 70 elders went up.
Ex 24:10	Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the 70 elders saw the God of Israel, and beneath His feet, as brickwork of sapphire.
Ex 24:14	Moses told the elders that Aaron and Hur were there, and if someone had issues, he could go to them.
Ex 27:21	God told Moses that Aaron and his sons were to set up the lamp before the Lord from evening to morning as an everlasting statute for the generations.
Ex 28:1	God told Moses to bring near to him his brother Aaron, and his sons to serve Him.
Ex 28:2	God told Moses to make holy garments for his brother Aaron for honor and glory.
Ex 28:3	God told Moses to speak to all the wise hearted to make Aaron's garments to sanctify him so that he serve God.
Ex 28:4	The garments for Aaron would be a choshen, an ephod, a robe, a tunic of checker work, a cap, and a sash. These holy garments would be for Aaron and his sons to serve God.
Ex 28:12	Aaron was to carry the two stones (on the ephod) with the names of the sons of Israel as a remembrance.
Ex 28:29	Aaron was to carry the names of the sons of Israel in the choshen of judgment over his heart when he entered the Holy, as a remembrance before the Lord at all times.
Ex 28:34	Golden bells and pomegranates would be on the bottom hem of Aaron's robe.
Ex 28:35	The robe would be on Aaron when he performed the services. The bells on Aaron's robe would be heard when Aaron entered the Sanctuary. The bells on Aaron's robe would be heard when Aaron left the Sanctuary. The purpose of hearing the sound of the bells was that Aaron would not die.
Ex 28:36-38	Moses was to make a plate of pure gold engraved with "Holy to the Lord" to be placed on the cap and upon Aaron's forehead, so that Aaron would bear the iniquity of the holy things that the children of Israel sanctify.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 28:40	Moses was to make tunics, sashes, and high hats for Aaron's sons for honor and glory.
Ex 28:41	Moses had to clothe Aaron and his sons with all these. Moses had to anoint Aaron and his sons.
Ex 28:42	Moses had to make linen pants for Aaron and his sons to cover their nakedness.
Ex 28:43	The linen pants were to be worn by Aaron and by his sons when they enter the Tent of Meeting or when they approach the altar as a perpetual statute.
Ex 29:4	Moses had to bring Aaron and his sons near the entrance of the Tent of Meeting and bathe them in water.
Ex 29:5	Moses had to take the garments and clothe Aaron with them and with the choshen, and had to adorn Aaron with the band of the ephod.
Ex 29:6	Moses had to place the cap upon Aaron's head and the holy crown upon the cap.
Ex 29:7	Moses had to pour the anointing oil on Aaron's head.
Ex 29:8	Moses had to gird Aaron and his sons with sashes
Ex 29:9	Moses had to dress Aaron and his sons with high hats. The priesthood was to be a perpetual statute for Aaron and his sons. Moses had to invest Aaron and his sons with full authority.
Ex 29:10	Aaron and his sons had to lean their hands upon the head of bull.
Ex 29:15	Aaron and his sons had to lean their hands upon the ram's head.
Ex 29:19	Aaron and his sons had to lean their hands upon thesecond ram's head.
Ex 29:20	Moses had to put some of the blood of the slaughtered second ram on the cartilage of Aaron's right ear and his sons' right ears, and on the thumbs of their right hands, and the big toes of their right feet.
Ex 29:21	Moses had to sprinkle the blood from the altar and othe anointing oil on Aaron and his garments, and on his sons and their garments to make them holy.
Ex 29:22-24	Moses had to put the fat, diaphragm, kidneys, and right thigh of the ram, one loaf of bread, one loaf of oil bread, and one unleavened bread from the basket that stands before God and put it all upon Aaron's and his sons' hands as a wave offering.
Ex 29:25	After waving them, Moses had to take them from Aaron and his son's hands and make them go up in smoke upon the altar.
Ex 29:26	The breast of the ram of consecration was Aaron's.
Ex 29:27-28	Moses had to sanctify the breast of the waving and the thigh of the uplifting of the ram of consecration that is Aaron's and his sons'. It would remain as a perpetual due from the children of Israel for Aaron and his sons.
Ex 29:29	Aaron's holy garments would be for his sons after him.
Ex 29:30	The one of Aaron's sons who would be priest in his stead had to wear the clothes for seven days.
Ex 29:32	Aaron and his sons had to eat the ram of consecration and the bread from the basket at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting.
Ex 29:33	Aaron and his sons had to eat those things with which atonement has been effected. Aaron and his sons had to eat them in order to be invested with full authority and be sanctified.
Ex 29:35	Moses had to consecrate Aaron and his sons for seven days.
Ex 29:44	God would sanctify Aaron and his sons to serve him.
Ex 30:7	Aaron had to make incense of spices to go up in smoke upon the altar, every morning when he sets the lamps in order.
Ex 30:8	When Aaron kindled the lights in the afternoon, he would make the incense go up in smoke.
Ex 30:10	Aaron had to make atonement upon the horns of the altar once a year with the blood of the sin offering.
Ex 30:19	Aaron and his sons had to wash their hands and feet at the washstand.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 30:20	When Aaron and his sons entered the Tent of Meeting, they had to wash with water so that they would not die.
Ex 30:21	When Aaron and his sons approached the altar to serve, they had to wash their hands and feet so that they would not die. This washing shall be for Aaron and his seed a perpetual statute.
Ex 30:30	Moses had to anoint Aaron and his sons with holy anointing oil. Moses had to sanctify Aaron and his sons to serve God as priests.
Ex 31:1-10	God called on Bezalel to make the holy garments for Aaron and his sons to serve.
Ex 32:1	When the people saw that Moses was late in coming down from the mountain, they gathered against Aaron. The people told Aaron to make gods for them that would go before them since they did not know what happened to Moses.
Ex 32:2	Aaron told the people to remove their golden earrings and bring them to him.
Ex 32:3	All the people stripped themselves of their golden earrings and brought them to Aaron.
Ex 32:4	Aaron took the golden earrings from their hand. Aaron formed it with an engraving tool. Aaron made it into a molten calf.
Ex 32:5	When Aaron saw, he built an altar in front of it. Aaron proclaimed and said: "A festival for the Lord, tomorrow."
Ex 32:21	Moses said to Aaron, "What did this people do to you that you brought upon them a great sin?"
Ex 32:22	Aaron replied, "Let not my lord's anger grow hot! You know the people, that they are into evil."
Ex 32:23	Aaron said, "They said to me, 'Make us gods who will go before us, because this man Moses, who brought us up from the land of Egypt we do not know what has become of him.'"
Ex 32:24	Aaron said, "I said to them, 'Who has gold?' So they took it off and gave it to me." Aaron said, "I threw it into the fire and out came this calf."
Ex 32:25	Moses saw that Aaron had let the people exposed to be disgraced by their enemies.
Ex 32:26	All the sons of Levi [including Aaron] gathered around Moses.
Ex 32:27	Moses told the sons of Levi [including Aaron] to go through the camp and kill the people.
Ex 32:28	The sons of Levi [including Aaron] did according to Moses' word.
Ex 32:35	God struck the people with a plague, because they had made the calf that Aaron made.
Ex 34:30	Aaron and all the children of Israel saw Moses, whose face had become radiant/horny. Aaron and all the children of Israel were afraid to come near him.
Ex 34:31	When Moses called to them, Aaron and all the princes returned to him. Moses spoke to Aaron and the princes.
Ex 35:[10-]19	Every wise hearted person among them was to come and make everything that God had commanded, including the holy garments for Aaron and his sons to serve.
Ex 38:21	The Tabernacle accounts were counted under the direction of Aaron's son, Ithamar.
Ex 39:1	They made Aaron's holy garments as God had commanded Moses.
Ex 39:27	They made the linen tunics for Aaron and his sons
Ex 39:28	They made the linen head coverings for Aaron and his sons. They made the linen pants for Aaron and his sons.
Ex 39:29	They made the linen and wool sashes for Aaron and his sons.
Ex 39:41	They brought the holy garments for Aaron and his sons to serve.
Ex 40:12	God told Moses to bring Aaron and his sons to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting. God told Moses to bathe Aaron and his sons in water.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Ex 40:13	God told Moses to clothe Aaron with the holy garments. God told Moses to sanctify Aaron. Aaron had to be sanctified in order to serve as priest.
Ex 40:14-15	God told Moses to bring Aaron's sons near and clothe them and anoint them as Aaron was anointed so that they could serve. The anointment of Aaron's sons was to remain for them an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations.
Ex 40:31	Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's sons would wash their hands and feet from the washstand.
Ex 40:32	Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's sons would wash when they entered the Tent of meeting.
Lev 1:5	Aaron's sons had to bring the blood, and dash the blood upon the altar.
Lev 1:7	Aaron's sons had to place fire on the altar, and arrange wood on the fire.
Lev 1:8	Aaron's sons had to arrange the pieces, the head and the fat, on top of the wood on the fire, on the altar.
Lev 1:1-11	Aaron's sons had to dash the blood of the sacrifice upon the altar, around.
Lev 2:1-2	A person would bring the meal offering to Aaron's sons, and the priest scooped out his fistful of its fine flour and its oil in addition to all its frankincense. The rest he would make go up in smoke as a fire-offering to God.
Lev 2:3	The remainder of the meal belonged to Aaron and his sons.
Lev 2:7	The remainder of the meal offering made in a pot belonged to Aaron and his sons.
Lev 3:1-2	Aaron's sons had to dash the blood of a peace offering upon the altar, around.
Lev 3:5	Aaron's sons had to make the fire offering from the peace offering to smoke on the altar, apart from the burnt offering.
Lev 3:6	Aaron's sons had to dash the blood of a peace offering from the flock upon the altar.
Lev 3:8	Aaron's sons had to dash the blood of a sacrificed goat upon the altar, around.
Lev 6:1-2	God told Moses to tell Aaron and his sons the law of the burnt offering.
Lev 6:3	The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to put on his linen garments. The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to take up the ashes of the burnt-offering from the altar, and put them beside the altar.
Lev 6:4	The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to take off his garments, and put on other garments. The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to carry the ashes out of the camp to a clean place.
Lev 6:5	The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to kindle wood on the altar every morning. The priest [Aaron or his sons] had to lay the burnt-offering in order upon it, and make smoke the fat of the peace-offerings.
Lev 6:7-8	Aaron's sons had to bring the meal offering before God to the front of the altar.
Lev 6:9	Aaron and his sons would eat the remainder. Aaron and his sons would eat the remainder as unleavened bread. Aaron and his sons would eat in a holy place.
Lev 6:10	God gave Aaron and his sons their portion from His fire offerings.
Lev 6:11	Any male among Aaron's sons could eat it.
Lev 6:12-13	God said to Moses, "This is the offering of Aaron and his sons, which they shall offer to the Lord, on the day when he is anointed ..."
Lev 6:15	The priest who is anointed in Aaron's place from among his sons shall prepare it.
Lev 6:17-18	God said to Moses, "Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying 'This is the law of the sin offering ...'"
Lev 7:10	Any meal offering mixed with oil or dry belonged to all the sons of Aaron.
Lev 7:31	The breast of the peace offering belonged to Aaron and his sons.
Lev 7:33	Any of the sons of Aaron offering up the blood of the peace offering and the fat, got the right thigh as a portion.
Lev 7:34	God gave the breast of the waving and the thigh of elevation to Aaron and his sons as an eternal statute.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Lev 7:35	These were the consecrated portions of Aaron and his sons from the fire offerings to God.
Lev 7:36	God commanded they be given to them on the day of Aaron and his sons' anointing. These portions are a perpetual due to Aaron and his sons.
Lev 8:1-3	God told Moses to take Aaron and his sons, the garments, anointing oil, sin offering bull, two rams, and basket of unleavened bread, and assemble all the people at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting.
Lev 8:6	Moses brought Aaron and his sons forward and bathed them in water.
Lev 8:7	Moses put the tunic on Aaron. Moses girded Aaron with the sash. Moses clothed Aaron with the robe. Moses put the ephod on Aaron. Moses girded Aaron with the band of the ephod. Moses adorned Aaron with the band of the ephod.
Lev 8:8	Moses put the choshen on Aaron.
Lev 8:9	Moses put the cap on Aaron's head. Moses put the holy crown on Aaron's cap. Moses put the crown towards Aaron's face.
Lev 8:12	Moses poured some of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head. Moses anointed Aaron to sanctify him.
Lev 8:13	Moses brought Aaron's sons forward. Moses clothed Aaron's sons with tunics, girded them with sashes, and bound them up with high hats.
Lev 8:14	Moses brought the sin offering bull close, and Aaron and his sons leaned their hands upon the head of the sin offering bull.
Lev 8:18	Moses brought near the burnt offering ram, and Aaron and his sons leaned their hands upon the head of the ram.
Lev 8:22	Moses brought near the second ram, the ram of consecration, and Aaron and his sons leaned their hands upon the ram's head.
Lev 8:23	Moses put some blood on the cartilage of Aaron's right ear. Moses put some blood on Aaron's right thumb. Moses put some blood on Aaron's right big toe.
Lev 8:24	Moses put some blood on the cartilage of their right ears, on the right thumb, and the right big toe.
Lev 8:25-27	Moses put the fat of the tail, the fat on the innards of the diaphragm of the liver, the two kidneys and their fat, the right thigh, one loaf of unleavened bread from the basket before the Lord, one loaf of oily bread, and one wafer, and put them on top of the fats and the right thigh and put it all on Aaron's hands. Moses put all on his sons' hands.
Lev 8:28	Moses took them from Aaron's hands. Moses took them from Aaron's sons' hands.
Lev 8:30	Moses sprinkled some of the anointing oil and blood from the altar on Aaron. Moses sprinkled the oil and blood on Aaron's garments. Moses sprinkled the oil and blood on Aaron's sons and their garments. Moses sanctified Aaron. Moses sanctified Aaron's garments. Moses sanctified Aaron's sons and the sons' garments.
Lev 8:31	Moses told Aaron and his sons to cook the flesh at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting and eat it there and the bread in the basket of the consecration offerings. Moses said he had commanded, "Aaron and his sons will eat it."
Lev 8:32	Moses told Aaron and his sons to burn whatever was left from the flesh and the bread.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Lev 8:33	Moses told Aaron and his sons not to leave the entrance of the Tent of Meeting for seven days, until the day of finishing their consecration. Moses said God would consecrate them seven days.
Lev 8:34	God commanded this to effect atonement for Aaron and his sons.
Lev 8:35	Aaron and his sons were to stay day and night for seven days at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting. Aaron and his sons were to observe God's command. Aaron and his sons were to observe God's command so that they will not die.
Lev 8:36	Aaron and his sons did all that the Lord commanded through Moses.
Lev 9:1	On the eighth day, Moses called Aaron and his sons and the elders of Israel.
Lev 9:2	Moses told Aaron to take a bull calf as a sin offering and a ram as a burnt offering, unblemished, and bring them near before the Lord.
Lev 9:3-4	Moses told Aaron to speak to the people and say, "Take a he goat ... for today the Lord is appearing to you."
Lev 9:7	Moses said to Aaron, "Approach the altar and make your sin offering and your burnt offering, atoning for yourself and for the people, and make the people's sacrifice, atoning for them, as the Lord has commanded."
Lev 9:8	Aaron approached the altar. Aaron slaughtered his sin offering calf.
Lev 9:9	Aaron's sons brought forward the blood to Aaron. Aaron dipped his finger into the blood. Aaron put blood on the horns of the altar. Aaron poured the blood at the base of the altar.
Lev 9:10	Aaron caused the fat, the kidneys, and the diaphragm with the liver offering to smoke on the altar.
Lev 9:11	Aaron burned the flesh and the hide in the fire. Aaron burned them outside the camp.
Lev 9:12	Aaron slaughtered the burnt offering. Aaron's sons presented the blood to Aaron. Aaron dashed the blood on the altar, around.
Lev 9:13	Aaron's sons presented the burnt offering to Aaron in its pieces along with the head. Aaron caused them to smoke on the altar.
Lev 9:14	Aaron washed the innards and the legs. Aaron caused them to smoke on the altar, along with the burnt offering.
Lev 9:15	Aaron brought forward the people's sacrifice. Aaron took the people's sin offering goat. Aaron slaughtered the goat. Aaron made it a sin offering like the first one.
Lev 9:16	Aaron brought forward the burnt offering. Aaron prepared it according to the law.
Lev 9:17	Aaron brought forward the meal offering. Aaron filled his palm with it. Aaron caused it to smoke on the altar, in addition to the morning burnt offering.
Lev 9:18	Aaron slaughtered the ox and the ram, the people's peace offering. Aaron's sons presented the blood to Aaron. Aaron dashed it on the altar, around.
Lev 9:21	Aaron had waved the breast and the right thigh as a wave offering before the Lord, as Moses had commanded.
Lev 9:22	Aaron lifted up his hands towards the people. Aaron blessed the people. Aaron went down from preparing the sin offering, burnt offering, and peace offering.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Lev 9:23	Moses and Aaron went into the Tent of Meeting. Moses and Aaron came out and blessed the people.
Lev 10:1-2	Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu, brought foreign fire that God had not commanded them, and fire from God consumed them and they died.
Lev 10:3	Moses told Aaron that God said, "I will be sanctified through those near to Me, and before all the people I will be glorified." Aaron was silent.
Lev 10:4	Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Aaron's uncle Uzziel, and said to them, "Draw near, carry your kinsmen from within ..."
Lev 10:6-7	Moses told Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar to not loosen their hair or tear their garments so as not to die, but that the people would mourn the burning. They were not to go out of the entrance of the Tent of Meeting because the anointing oil was upon them. Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar did according to Moses' order.
Lev 10:8-11	God told Aaron to not drink alcohol, neither he nor his sons, when going into the Tent of Meeting, so as not to die. This is an eternal statute for your generations...
Lev 10:12-15	Eleazar and Ithamar were Aaron's surviving sons. Moses told Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar: "Take the meal offering that remains ..."
Lev 10:16-18	Moses was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's surviving sons. Moses scolded Aaron's sons.
Lev 10:19	Aaron said to Moses, "... they offered up their sin offering and their burnt offering before the Lord, but [things] like these happened to me, and had I eaten a sin offering today, would it have pleased the Lord?"
Lev 10:20	Moses heard [what Aaron said] and it pleased him.
Lev 11	God told Moses and Aaron, "Speak to the children of Israel ... these are the creatures that you may eat ..."
Lev 13	God told Moses and Aaron that if a man had lesions on the skin, he had to be brought to Aaron or his sons, for priests must deal with these.
Lev 14	God told Moses and Aaron, "When you come to the land of Canaan, which I am giving you as a possession, and I place a lesion of leprosy upon a house ..."
Lev 15	God told Moses and Aaron, "Speak to the children of Israel, and say to them, 'If any man has a discharge from his flesh, his discharge is unclean' ..."
Lev 16:1	God spoke to Moses after the death of Aaron's two sons.
Lev 16:2	God told Moses to tell Aaron that he could not come into the Sanctuary at all times within the dividing curtain in front of the Ark cover, so that he should not die since God appeared over the ark cover in a cloud.
Lev 16:3	Aaron had to enter the Sanctuary with a young bull for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering.
Lev 16:4	Aaron had to wear the holy garments. Aaron had to immerse himself in water and don them.
Lev 16:5	Aaron had to take two he goats as a sin offering, and one ram as a burnt offering from the people.
Lev 16:6	Aaron had to bring his sin offering bull, and atone for himself and his household.
Lev 16:7	Aaron had to take the two he goats, and set them before God at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting.
Lev 16:8	Aaron had to put lots on the two goats, one "for the Lord" and the other "For Azazel."
Lev 16:9	Aaron had to bring the goat with the lot "for the Lord" and assign it as a sin offering.
Lev 16:11	Aaron had to bring his sin offering bull and atone for himself and his household. Aaron had to slaughter his sin offering bull.
Lev 16:12	Aaron had to take a pan full of burning coals from the altar and his hands full of fine incense and bring it within the dividing curtain.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Lev 16:13	Aaron had to place the incense on the fire so that the cloud of incense enveloped the ark cover in order not to die.
Lev 16:14	Aaron had to take some of the bull's blood and sprinkle with his index finger on top of the ark cover on the eastern side. Aaron had to sprinkle seven times from the blood, with his index finger.
Lev 16:15	Aaron had to slaughter the goat of the people's sin offering and bring its blood within the dividing curtain. Aaron had to do with its blood as he had done with the bull's blood. Aaron had to sprinkle it upon the ark cover and before the ark cover.
Lev 16:16	Aaron had to atone upon the Sanctuary from the defilements of the children of Israel and from their rebellions and all their unintentional sins. Aaron had to do likewise to the Tent of Meeting.
Lev 16:17	No man could be in the Tent of Meeting when Aaron came to atone in the Holy, until he came out. Aaron had to atone for himself, for his household, and for all the people.
Lev 16:18	Aaron had to go out to the altar before God and atone upon it. Aaron had to take some of the bull's blood and some of the he goat's blood, and place it on the horns of the altar, around.
Lev. 16:19	Aaron had to sprinkle some of the blood with his index finger seven times and cleanse it and sanctify it of the defilements of the children of Israel.
Lev. 16:20	Aaron had to finish atoning for the Sanctuary, the Tent of Meeting, and the altar. Aaron had to bring the live he goat.
Lev. 16:21	Aaron had to lean both of his hands upon the live he goat's head. Aaron had to confess upon it all the willful transgressions of the children of Israel, all their rebellions, and all their unintentional sins. Aaron had to send the goat off to the desert with an appointed man.
Lev. 16:23	Aaron had to enter the Tent of Meeting. Aaron had to remove the linen garments he had on when he came into the Sanctuary. Aaron had to store them away there.
Lev. 16:14	Aaron had to immerse his flesh in a holy place. Aaron had to don his garments. Aaron had to go out to sacrifice his burnt offering and the people's burnt offering, and atone for himself and for the people.
Lev. 16:25	Aaron had to cause the fat of the sin offering to smoke upon the altar.
Lev 17	God told Moses to speak to Aaron and his sons, and all the children of Israel about non-compliance with slaughtering rules.
Lev 21:1	God told Moses to tell the sons of Aaron, "let none defile himself for a dead person among his people."
Lev 21:16-23	God told Moses to tell Aaron, "any man among your offspring throughout their generations who has a defect shall not come near to offer up his God's bread ... He may eat his God's bread ... Only he shall not go in unto the veil, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish ..."
Lev 21:24	Moses spoke to Aaron, and to his sons, and to all the children of Israel.
Lev 22: 1-2	God told Moses to tell Aaron and his sons, "... and they will separate themselves from the holy things of the children of Israel, which they sanctify to me, and that they will not profane My Holy Name ..."
Lev 22:3	God told Moses to tell Aaron and his sons, "...any of your seed who comes near the holy things that the children of Israel consecrate to the Lord, while his defilement is still upon him, that soul shall be cut off from before me.
Lev 22:4	God told Moses to tell Aaron and his sons that any of Aaron's seed with leprosy or a discharge could not eat of the holy sacrifices until cleansed.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Lev 22:17-19	God told Moses to tell Aaron, his sons, and the children of Israel that anyone offering a sacrifice must bring an unblemished male from cattle, sheep, or goats.
Lev 24:3	Aaron had to set up the oil and lamps before God from evening to morning continually.
Lev 24:8	Each Sabbath day, Aaron had to set up the twelve loaves before God continuously.
Lev 24:9	The bread belonged to Aaron and his sons. Aaron and his sons had to eat it in a holy place, for it was holy of holies for him.
Num 1:3	Moses and Aaron had to count all who were fit to go into the army in Israel.
Num 1:17	Moses and Aaron took these men, who were indicated by names.
Num 1:44	Moses and Aaron and the twelve princes of Israel counted the numbered ones.
Num 2:1-2	God told Moses and Aaron that the children of Israel should encamp each man by his division with the flag staffs of their fathers' house;
Num 3:1	The generations of Aaron and Moses on the day that God spoke to Moses at Mt. Sinai.
Num 3:2	Nadab was Aaron's firstborn.
Num 3:3	Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar are the names of the sons of Aaron, the anointed priests, whom he consecrated to serve as priests.
Num 3:4	Eleazar and Ithamar served priests in the presence of Aaron, their father.
Num 3:5-6	God told Moses to bring close the tribe of Levi and set them before Aaron the priest. The tribe of Levi was to serve Aaron.
Num 3:9	Moses was to give the Levites to Aaron and his sons.
Num 3:10	Moses was to appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall keep their priesthood.
Num 3:32	Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest would be prince over all the princes of the Levites.
Num 3:38	Moses, Aaron, and his sons camped before the Tabernacle, before the Tent of Meeting, to the east. Moses, Aaron, and his sons kept the charge of the Sanctuary.
Num 3:39	There were 22,000 male Levites over one month of age, as counted by Moses and Aaron according to God's word.
Num 3:47-48	Moses was to collect 5 shekels per head and give the money to Aaron and his sons as redemption for the firstborns.
Num 3:51	Moses gave the money of those redeemed to Aaron and his sons.
Num 4:1-3	God told Moses and Aaron, "Make a count of the sons of Kohath ..."
Num 4:5-15	When the camp is about to travel, Aaron and his sons were to take down the curtain. Aaron and his sons were to set upon it a covering of tachash skin and on top of that a cloth of pure blue wool. Aaron and his sons were to spread a cloth of blue wool on the Show Table and put on it the forms, spoons, supports, and jars. The continual bread was to be upon it. Aaron and his sons were to spread upon them a cloth of crimson wool and cover that with a covering of tachash skin. Aaron and his sons were to put its poles into place. Aaron and his sons were to take a blue cloth and cover the menorah and all that was needed for its service. Aaron and his sons were to put all of it into a tachash cover skin and put it on a pole. Aaron and his sons were to spread a cloth of blue wool over the golden altar and cover it with a covering of tachash skin, and then set its poles in place. Aaron and his sons were to take all the Sanctuary vessels, put them in a blue wool cloth, cover them with tachash skin, and put them onto a pole. Aaron and his sons were to remove the ashes from the altar and spread a cloth of purple wool over it. Aaron and his sons were to put on it all the utensils for the altar and spread over it a covering of tachash skin and set its poles into place. Aaron and his sons were to finish covering the holy things and all the vessels of the Sanctuary when the camp is set to travel.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Num 4:16	Eleazar, Aaron's son was charged with oil for lighting, the incense of spices, the continual meal offering, and the anointing oil.
Num 4:17-18	God told Moses and Aaron, "Do not cause the tribe of the families of Kohath to be cut off from among the Levites."
Num 4:19	When the families of Kohath approached the Holy of Holies, Aaron and his sons were to first come and appoint each man individually to his task and his load.
Num 4:27	The service of the sons of Gershon was to be as per instructions of Aaron and his sons.
Num 4:28	Ithamar, Aaron's son, was to supervise the service of the sons of Gershon.
Num 4:33	Ithamar, Aaron's son, was to supervise the service of the sons of Merari.
Num 4:34	Moses, Aaron, and the princes of the congregation counted the sons of the Kohathites, according to their families and their fathers' houses.
Num 4:35-45	Moses and Aaron counted men from 30 to 50 years of age according to their families – Kohath, Gershon, Merari – as commanded by God.
Num 4:46-49	Moses and Aaron counted all Levite men from 30 to 50 years of age, according to their families as commanded by God.
Num 6: 22-26	God told Moses to tell Aaron and his sons, "This is how you shall bless the children of Israel ..."
Num 6:27	God said, "Aaron and his sons shall bestow My Name upon the children of Israel, so that I will bless them."
Num 7:8	Moses gave four wagons and eight oxen to the sons of Merari, according to their work under the direction of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.
Num 8:1-2	God told Aaron to tell Aaron, "When you light the lamps, the seven lamps shall cast their light toward the face of the menorah."
Num 8:3	Aaron lit the lamps toward the face of the menorah, as God had commanded Moses.
Num 8:11	Aaron was to wave the Levites as a wave offering before God on behalf of the children of Israel, that they may serve in the Lord's service.
Num 8:13	Moses was to present the Levites before Aaron and his sons, and wave them as a wave offering before the Lord.
Num 8:19	God gave the Levites as a gift to Aaron and his sons from among the children of Israel. God gave the Levites to Aaron and his sons so that they would serve in the Tent of Meeting and atone on behalf of the people, so that the people would not be inflicted with plague when they approached the Sanctuary.
Num 8:20	Moses, Aaron, and all the people did to the Levites as God commanded.
Num 8:21	After the Levites cleansed themselves and washed their clothes, Aaron waved them as a wave offering before God.
Num 8:22	The Levites came to serve in the Tent of Meeting before Aaron and his sons.
Num 9:6	Ritually unclean men who could not observe Passover at the correct time approached Moses and Aaron.
Num 10:8	Aaron's sons, the priests, were to blow the trumpets as an eternal statute.
Num 12: 1	Miriam and Aaron spoke about Moses. Miriam and Aaron spoke regarding the Cushite woman Moses had married.
Num 12:2	Miriam and Aaron said, "Has the Lord spoken only to Moses? Hasn't He also spoken to us?"
Num 12:4	God suddenly said to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, "Go out, all three of you, to the Tent of Meeting!" Moses, Aaron and Miriam went out.
Num 12:5	God, standing in a pillar of cloud at the entrance of the tent, called to Aaron and Miriam. Aaron and Miriam went out.
Num 12:6-8	God said to Aaron and Miriam, "Do hear my words ..."
Num 12:9	The Lord's wrath flared against Miriam and Aaron.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Num 12:10	Aaron turned to Miriam.
Num 12:11-12	Aaron pleaded to Moses on Miriam's behalf.
Num 13:26	The spies came to Moses and Aaron and all the people. The spies showed Moses and Aaron and all the people the fruit of the land.
Num 14:2-3	All the people complained against Moses and Aaron.
Num 14:5	Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before the people.
Num 14:26-35	God told Moses and Aaron to tell the people, "Until when, for this evil assembly who are complaining against Me? ..."
Num 15: 33	The man gathering wood on the Sabbath was brought before Aaron and Moses and all the people.
Num 16:3	Korah, Datham and Abiram, and their companies assembled against Moses and Aaron. They said to Moses and Aaron, "...Why do you raise yourselves above the Lord's assembly?"
Num 16:11	Moses said to Korah, "Therefore, you and all your assembly, those gathered against the Lord; and Aaron, what is he that you should complain against him?"
Num 16:16-17	Moses said to Korah, "You and your entire assembly, be before the Lord. You, and they, and Aaron, tomorrow. And you will take each man his fire pan, and put incense on them, and you will present each man his fire pan before the Lord ... You and Aaron, each man his fire pan."
Num 16:18	Each man took his fire pan, put fire on it, put incense on it, and they stood at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting with Moses and Aaron.
Num 16:20-21	God told Moses and Aaron to move away from the rebels, for He would consume them in an instant.
Num 16:22	Moses and Aaron fell on their faces. Moses and Aaron said, "O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, if one man sins, will You be angry with the whole congregation?"
Num 17:1-3	God said to Moses, "Say to Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest that he pick up the fire-pans ..."
Num 17:5	The fire pans were beaten into a covering for the altar as a reminder for the people that no one who is not of Aaron's seed should approach to burn incense before the lord.
Num 17:6	The next day, all the people complained against Moses and Aaron saying, "You have killed the people of the Lord."
Num 17:7	When the people were assembled against Moses and Aaron, they turned to the Tent of Meeting - the cloud had covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared.
Num 17:8	Moses and Aaron came to the front of the Tent of Meeting.
Num 17:10	Moses and Aaron fell on their faces (before God).
Num 17:11	Moses told Aaron to take the fire pan with fire from the altar quickly to the assembly and atone for them because God was angry and the plague had begun.
Num 17:12	Aaron took the fire pan, just as Moses had said. Aaron ran into the midst of the assembly. Aaron put the incense on the fire pan. Aaron atoned for the people.
Num 17:13	Aaron stood between the dead and the living, and the plague ceased.
Num 17:15	Aaron returned to Moses at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting.
Num 17:18	God told Moses to write Aaron's name on the rod of Levi.
Num 17:21	There were a total of twelve rods, and Aaron's rod was among them.
Num 17:23	The next day, Moses found that Aaron's rod for the house of Levi had budded, bloomed, and produced ripe almonds.
Num 17:25	God told Moses to put Aaron's rod before the testimony as keepsake and sign for rebellious ones.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Num 18: 1	God told Aaron, "You, your sons and your father's house with you will bear the iniquity of the Sanctuary. You and your sons with you will bear the iniquity of your priesthood."
Num 18:2-4	God told Aaron, "Your brethren, the tribe of Levi, your father's tribe, shall draw close, join, and minister to you and your sons before the Tent of Testimony ... and no outsider shall come near you."
Num 18:5	God told Aaron, "And you will keep the charge of the holy things and the charge of the altar, and there will be no more wrath on the children of Israel."
Num 18:6	God told Aaron, "The Levites ... are given to you as a gift ..."
Num 18:7	God told Aaron, "You and your sons will keep your priesthood in everything of the altar and of within the curtain ..."
Num 18:8-10	God told Aaron, "And I, behold, I have given you the charge of My heave offerings ... and to your sons as an eternal statute ... In the holy of holies you will eat it ..."
Num 18:11	God told Aaron, "And this is yours, the heave offering of their gift ..."
Num 18:12	God told Aaron, "All the best of the oil and all the best of the wine, and of the grain I have given to you ..."
Num 18:13	God told Aaron, "The first fruit of all that is in their land, that they will bring to the Lord will be yours ..."
Num 18:14	God told Aaron, "Every devoted thing in Israel will be yours."
Num 18:15	God told Aaron, "Every thing that open womb of all flesh that they sacrifice to the lord will be yours." God told Aaron, "However, the firstborn of man you will redeem and the firstling of unclean animals."
Num 18:16	God told Aaron, "And his redeemed ones, from a month old you will redeem them."
Num 18:17-18	God told Aaron, "But the firstling of an ox, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, you will not redeem; they are holy ... And their flesh will be yours ..."
Num 18:19	God told Aaron, "All the heave-offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord, I have given you and your sons and your daughters with you, as an eternal statute. It is an everlasting covenant of salt before the Lord for you and for your seed with you."
Num 18:20	God told Aaron, "In their land you will not inherit and a portion you will not have among them ..."
Num 18:28	God told Moses to set aside a gift for God from all the tithes and to give it to Aaron.
Num 19	God told Moses and Aaron the statute concerning the red heifer.
Num 20:2	The people had no water, so they assembled against Moses and Aaron.
Num 20:6	Moses and Aaron moved away from the assembly to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting. Moses and Aaron fell on their faces. God's glory appeared to Moses and Aaron.
Num 20:7-8	God told Moses that he and Aaron should assemble the people. God told Moses that he and Aaron should speak to the rock. God told Moses that he and Aaron should speak to the rock before the people.
Num 20:10	Moses and Aaron assembled the people in front of the rock. Moses asked the people if he and Aaron would take water out of the rock.
Num 20:12	God told Moses and Aaron, "Because you did not believe in me to sanctify Me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore you will not bring this assembly into the land which I have given to them."
Num 20:23	God spoke to Moses and Aaron at Mt. Hor.
Num 20:24	God said Aaron would be gathered to his people since he would not be coming into the land because he and Moses had defied God's word.
Num 20:25	God said, "Take Aaron and Eleazar his son and bring them up to Mt. Hor."

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

Num 20:26	God said, Strip Aaron of his garments and dress Eleazar his son with them, and Aaron will be gathered and die there.”
Num 20:27	Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar went up to Mt. Hor in the eyes of the people.
Num 20:28	Moses stripped Aaron of his garments. Moses put Aaron’s garments on Eleazar his son. Aaron died on the top of the mountain.
Num 20:29	All the people saw that Aaron had expired. The entire house of Israel wept for Aaron. They wept for Aaron for 30 days.
Num 25:7-8	Phinehas, Aaron’s grandson, killed Zimri and the Midianite woman.
Num 25:11	God said that Phinehas, Aaron’s grandson, turned His anger away from the people.
Num 26:1-	God told Eleazar the priest, Aaron’s son, to take a census.
Num 26:64	Among those counted there was no man who had been in the census of Moses and Aaron when they counted the children of Israel in the Sinai desert.
Num 27:12	After going up to Mt. Abarim and looking at the land, Moses was to be gathered to his people, just as Aaron his brother was gathered.
Num 33:1	These are the journeys of the children of Israel who left the land of under the charge of Moses and Aaron.
Num 33:38	Aaron went up to Mt. Hor at the Lord’s command. Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month in the fortieth year of the exodus.
Deut 9:20	Moses said that God was very angry with Aaron regarding the golden calf. Moses said God had wanted to destroy Aaron. Moses said that he prayed for Aaron at that time.
Deut 10:6	Aaron died at Moserah. Aaron was buried at Moserah. Eleazar, Aaron’s son, served as priest in his stead.
Josh 21:4	Regarding Levite cities, the children of Aaron the priest had by lot, from the tribe of Judah, and from the tribe of Simeon, and from the tribe of Benjamin, thirteen cities.
Josh 21:10	The children of Aaron had the first lot.
Josh 21:13	The children of Aaron received the city of refuge, Hebron.
Josh 24:5	God sent Moses and Aaron and plagued the Egyptians.
Josh 24:33	Eleazar the son of Aaron died, and they buried him in the hill of Phinehas his son.
Jud 20:28	Phinehas Aaron’s grandson stood before the ark in Bethel.
1Sam 12:6	Samuel told the people, “[It is] the Lord Who made Moses and Aaron, and Who brought your forefathers up from the land of Egypt.”
1Sam 12:8	Samuel said, “When Jacob came to Egypt, and your forefathers cried out to the Lord, the Lord sent Moses and Aaron, and they brought your forefathers out of Egypt, and they made them dwell in this place.
Micah 6:4	Aaron was sent by the Lord. Aaron was sent before the Israelites.
1Chr 6:34	Aaron and his sons offered upon the altar of burnt-offering, and upon the altar of incense, for all the work of the holy of holies, and to atone for Israel, according to God’s command.
1Chr 6:35-38	Aaron’s descendants.
1Chr 6:40-41	Hebron and the land around it were given to Aaron’s sons, but not the fields.
1Chr 6:42	To Aaron’s sons were given the following cities of refuge: Hebron, and Libnah and the open land around it, and Jattir, and Eshtemoa and the open land around it.
1Chr 15:4	David gathered the sons of Aaron and the Levites.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

1Chr 23:13	Aaron was separated, to be sanctified as most holy. Aaron was separated to burn incense before the Lord. Aaron was separated to serve Him. Aaron was separated to bless with His name to eternity. Aaron and his sons were so separated forever.
1Chr 23:28	The station of the Levites was alongside the sons of Aaron.
1Chr 23:32	The Levites were to keep watch of the Tent of Meeting and the Sanctuary, and the watch of the sons of Aaron their brothers for the service of the House of the Lord.
1Chr 24:19	Aaron's sons' appointment to their service according to their ordinance by the hand of Aaron their father, as God had commanded him.
1Chr 24:31	All Levites cast lots as did the sons of Aaron, before King David. ...
1Chr 27:17	Zadoq was Aaron's descendant.
2Chr 13:9	Abijah asked Jeroboam, "Did you not banish the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and make for yourselves priests like the peoples of the lands?"
2Chr 13:10	Abijah said, "...the priests who minister to the Lord are the sons of Aaron ..."
2Chr 26:18	Azariah and the priests told Uzziah, "It is not for you, Uzziah, to burn incense to the Lord, but for the priests, sons of Aaron ..."
2Chr 29:21	Hezekiah commanded Aaron's sons, the priests, to offer up seven bulls and seven rams and seven lambs and seven kids for sin offerings for the kingdom.
2Chr 31:19	Hezekiah made sure that Aarons' sons, the priests, in the fields of the open land of their cities, in every city, were given portions.
2Chr 35:14	In the Josiah's Passover celebration, Aaron's sons, the priests, offered up the burnt-offerings and the fats until night.
Ps 77:21	God led His people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron.
Ps 99:6	Moses and Aaron are among God's priests. Aaron is among those who would out to God and He would answer them.
Ps 105:26	The Lord sent Aaron, whom He chose.
Ps 106:16	Dathan and Abiram angered Aaron. Aaron was the holy man of the Lord.
Ps 115:10	The House of Aaron should trust in the Lord.
Ps 115:12	The Lord who remembered us will bless the house of Aaron.
Ps 118:3	Let the House of Aaron say, "For His kindness is eternal."
Ps 133:2	Aaron's beard came down to the collar of his garments.
Ps 135:19	A call for the house of Aaron to bless the Lord.
Ezra 7:1-5	Ezra was a descendant of Aaron.
Neh 10:39	The priest, the son of Aaron, shall be with the Levites at the Levites' tithing.
Neh 12:47	The portions of the singers and the gate sentries were consecrated for the Levites, and the Levites consecrated them for the sons of Aaron.

APPENDIX D-2

GINZBERG NOVEL ASSERTIONS FOR ALL WOMEN, CALEB, AND AARON

(Numeral following name indicates number of Assertions for Character)

(Page number refers to Ginzberg's "Legends of the Jews")

Abigail (29)

P. 23: Abigail is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of Paradise.
P. 61: Abigail is mentioned as one of the persons serving as ideals of beauty, among Eve, Sarah, Rahab, Esther, Abishag, Michal, and Jael.
P. 940: Abigail was the most important among the wives of David. Abigail had the gift of beauty. Abigail had the gift of wisdom. Abigail had the gift of prophecy. In Abigail, beauty, wisdom, and prophetic gifts were joined. Abigail is one of the four most beautiful women in history, along with Sarah, Rahab, and Esther. Abigail was so bewitching that passion was aroused in men by the mere thought of her. Abigail was anxious about the life of her husband Nabal. Abigail put a ritual question to David in his rage. Abigail put her ritual question to David with the utmost tranquility. Abigail showed her cleverness during her first meeting with David when asking David the question David refused to answer Abigail's question. Abigail interposed that a death sentence likewise may be passed upon a man only during the day. Abigail was told by David that a rebel like Nabal had no claim upon due process of law. Abigail said: "Saul is still alive, and you are not yet acknowledged king by the world." Abigail had charm. Abigail had moral strength. Abigail's charm would have made David her captive when she pleaded for Nabal's life if her moral strength had not kept him in check. When Abigail said, "And <i>this</i> shall not be unto thee," she made him understand that the day had not yet arrived, but that it would come when a woman Bathsheba, would play a disastrous part in his life. Abigail was not free from the feminine weakness of coquetry. Abigail erred by uttering "remember thine handmaid." Abigail, as a married woman, should not have sought to direct the attention of a man to herself. Abigail supervised the fifth of the seven divisions of the women's Paradise. The domain of Paradise that Abigail supervises adjoins that of the wives of the Patriarchs.
P. 941: Abigail, Sarah, and Rachel are three of the four women of undisputed perfect beauty. Abigail had a son, Chileab, who was worthy of having her as his mother.
P. 942: Abigail is the highest ideal of the pious woman.

Asenath (94)

P. 348: Asenath mother was Dinah. Asenath's father was Shechem. Asenath became Joseph's wife. Asenath would have been killed by Dinah's brothers.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 348: Asenath was saved by Jacob who put a piece of tin inscribed with the Holy Name around her neck and left her under a thornbush. Asenath was carried to Egypt by an angel. Asenath was put her on the altar of an Egyptian Temple by an eagle (or the archangel Michael). Asenath was adopted by Potiphar. Asenath gave Joseph the amulet from her neck, so Joseph would find out her lineage and marry her.</p>
<p>P. 349: Asenath was the real daughter of Potiphar.</p>
<p>P. 352: Asenath bore children for Joseph and fulfilled the astrologic forecast that her mother, Potiphar's wife, was to have descendants through Joseph.</p>
<p>P. 368: Asenath's name pointed to her history: "Alef stands for On, where Potiphar was priest; Samek for Setirah, Hidden, for she was kept concealed on account of her extraordinary beauty; Nun for Nohemet, for she wept and entreated that she might be delivered from the house of the heathen Potiphar; Taw for Tammah, the perfect one, on account of her pious, perfect deeds." Asenath was abandoned at the borders of Egypt. Asenath's parentage was engraved by Jacob upon a gold plate. Asenath's voice was heard by Potiphar and his servants on the day they were walking near the city wall. Asenath was exposed. Asenath was brought to Potiphar by his servants. Asenath's history was read by Potiphar on the gold plate and he determined to adopt her. Asenath saved Joseph's life as an infant by telling Potiphar that the charge against Joseph was false. Asenath was told by God that she would bear the tribes that Joseph was appointed to beget.</p>
<p>P. 380: Asenath, Ephraim, and Manasseh followed Joseph's example and gave Benjamin their portions during the meal.</p>
<p>P. 402: Asenath was Jacob's constant nurse all the years of his sojourn in Egypt. Asenath told Joseph to bring his sons to Jacob so that he would bless them because she had heard that one who is blessed by a righteous man is as though he had been blessed by the Shekhinah.</p>
<p>P. 403: Asenath and Joseph were married as is proper, with a marriage contract and due ceremony. Asenath was called a pious woman by Joseph.</p>
<p>P. 405: Asenath was the cause of Joseph's prior claim to the city of Shechem since Shechem son of Hamor had given it to Dinah, and Asenath was Dinah's daughter.</p>
<p>P. 412: Asenath heard the tidings of Jacob death. Asenath and the women of Egypt came to weep and mourn over him.</p>
<p>P. 423: Asenath was worthy of being Joseph's wife. Asenath was slender like Sarah. Asenath was beautiful like Rebecca. Asenath was radiant in appearance like Rachel. Asenath's hand was sued for by noblemen and princes when she was 18. Asenath was demanded by Pharaoh's first-born son for marriage, but his father did not consider her a proper wife for one destined to sit upon the throne. Asenath rejected every proposal for marriage. Asenath avoided all intercourse with men. Asenath lived in retirement. Asenath lived in a magnificent palace adjoining that of her parents. Asenath lived with seven maidens born the same day as she. Asenath's father was enchanted with the chance of bringing about a marriage between her and Joseph. Asenath rejected her father's idea of a marriage to Joseph with indignation. Asenath said Joseph was a vagabond, a slave, not even Egyptian, a Canaanite herdsman's son, etc. Asenath was willing to marry Pharaoh's son and heir. Asenath was promised by Potiphar not to speak of the marriage to Joseph again. Asenath went to her own apartments when Joseph arrived. Asenath, standing by the window, saw Joseph.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 323: Asenath was transported by his beauty and carriage. Asenath started to cry and rethink her position about marrying Joseph.</p>
<p>P. 424: Asenath was seen by Joseph through the window. Asenath was allowed by Joseph to pay her respects thanks to her father's request. Asenath said to Joseph, "Peace be with thee, thou blessed of God Most High." Asenath was greeted by Joseph in return, "Be thou blessed of the Lord, from whom flow all blessings." Asenath wanted to kiss Joseph but he did not let her. Asenath was told by Joseph that it would not be proper for a God-fearing man to kiss an idolatrous woman of a strange people. Asenath was touched unto tears by Joseph's words. Asenath was blessed by Joseph, who asked God to pour out His spirit over her and make her become a member of His people and His inheritance, and grant her a portion in the life eternal. Asenath was deeply impressed with Joseph's speech. Asenath went to her apartment. Asenath put on sackcloth and ashes. Asenath supplicated God amid tears to grant her pardon for her sins for seven days and nights. Asenath's seven attendants were not permitted to enter her presence in that period. Asenath was told by an angel to put away her sackcloth and ashes and array herself in state, for this day she had been born anew ... and anoint herself with the oil of life eternal. Asenath was going to give food and drink to her guest when she saw a wondrous fragrant honeycomb. Asenath was told by the angel that the bees of Paradise made it as food for the angels and God's elect. Asenath was fed the honeycomb by the angel. Asenath was blessed by the angel. Asenath asked the angel to bless her seven attendants.</p>
<p>P. 425: Asenath saw the angel ascend heavenward in a chariot of fire. Asenath realized she had been entertaining an angel. Asenath adorned herself to receive Joseph after the angel left. Asenath noticed that her face was much mote beautiful because the angel had transformed her. Asenath was not recognized by Joseph, who asked her who she was. Asenath said she was Asenath, who had cast away idols and been blessed by an angel who told her she would marry Joseph and her new name would be City of Refuge. Asenath and Joseph kissed in betrothal after Joseph confirmed all she had said. Asenath and Joseph's betrothal was celebrated by a banquet with Potiphar and his wife. Asenath and Joseph's wedding took place later in the presence of Pharaoh, who crowned them and made a seven day feast for them, during which time no one was allowed to disturb them. Asenath visited Jacob when he came down to Egypt. Asenath marveled at Jacob's beauty and strength. Asenath was blessed by Jacob. Asenath returned home with Joseph and the sons of Leah. Asenath was particularly liked by Levi. Asenath was told by Levi that he had seen her future resting-place in heaven. Asenath and her companions met Pharaoh's son, who thought Asenath so beautiful that he wanted to murder Joseph in order to take his wife. Asenath was the object of a conspiracy between the sons of the handmaids and Pharaoh's son.</p>
<p>P. 426: Asenath and her 600 attendants were attacked by Pharaoh's son. Asenath was able to run away. Asenath encountered Pharaoh's son and his fifty mounted men. Asenath was defended by Benjamin and later others came to help. Asenath and Benjamin were attacked by the sons of the handmaids, who wanted to kill them both. Asenath supplicated to God for aid and the the swords dropped from the hands of her assailants, who saw that the Lord was on her side. They fell at her feet and entreated her grace. Asenath told them not to be afraid of their brothers, the sons of Leah.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 426: Asenath asked the sons of Leah to spare the sons of the handmaids.
P. 427: Asenath succeeded in her defense of the handmaids' sons. Asenath's ally was Levi.

Bathsheba (11)

P. 238: Bathsheba was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.
P. 922: Bathsheba was Ahithophel's granddaughter. Bathsheba's royal destiny was prophesied in astrologic signs that Ahithophel misinterpreted.
P. 928: Bathsheba had been given a bill of divorce by Uriah as soldiers did before they went into battle. Bathsheba had been destined by God for David from the first (from the creation of the world). Bathsheba was taken by David while she was not mature. Bathsheba was combing her hair when she was seen by David.
P. 948: Bathsheba was called to awaken King Solomon when he slept under a spell. Bathsheba aroused Solomon and rebuked him: "Thy father was known to all as a God-fearing man, and now people will say, 'Solomon is the son of Bathsheba, it is his mother's fault if he goes wrong' ... He to whom the secrets of the world are revealed, should not intoxicate himself with wine."
P. 957: Bathsheba decided to kill Solomon because, when he was three years old, he said that "a woman's soul is not as heavy as a handful of chips of wood."
P. 976: Bathsheba and Solomon's wives informed the Sanhedrin Solomon's behavior had changed.

Bilhah (51)

P. 284: Bilhah was a daughter of Laban. The mother of Bilhah was a concubine of Laban. After Rachel's death, Jacob made Bilhah a legitimate wife.
P. 286: Bilhah was the freed handmaid of Rachel. Bilhah (and Zilpah) were half sisters of Rachel and Leah. Bilhah was older than Zilpah.
P. 287: Bilhah (and Jacob's other wives) prayed with Jacob, together beseeching God to remove the curse of barrenness from Rachel.
P. 318: Bilhah's couch was ordered by Jacob to be brought to his tent after Rachel's death, but Reuben placed Leah's couch in Jacob's tent instead of Bilhah's couch.
P. 328: Joseph charged his brothers with treating Bilhah and Zilpah's sons contemptuously. According to Joseph, his brothers called Bilhah and Zilpah "slaves."
P. 330: In Joseph's dream about the sun, moon, and eleven stars, the "moon" referred to Bilhah. Bilhah raised Joseph.
P. 341: Bilhah passed away the very day that Jacob received the news of Joseph's death. Bilhah's death was caused by the tiding's of Joseph's death. Bilhah died on the tenth day of Tishri.
P. 343: According to the Rabbis, Bilhah survived Jacob.
P. 384: Reuben acknowledged his sin with Bilhah.
P. 405: Bilhah had nursed Joseph. Bilhah told Joseph about his father's illness.
P. 421: Bilhah was sent to Joseph by the brothers to say that their dying father wished that Joseph forgive their transgressions.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 426: The sons of Bilhah (and Zilpah) were approached by Pharaoh's son with a scheme to make trouble among the other brothers. The sons of Bilhah (and Zilpah) assented to the proposition of Pharaoh's son.</p>
<p>P. 428: On his deathbed, Joseph told his brothers to take Zilpah's bones of and bury them near the sepulcher of Bilhah and Rachel. Bilhah was buried where Rachel was buried.</p>
<p>P. 435: Bilhah bathed in a secluded spot. Bilhah was seen by Reuben while bathing. Bilhah was drunken with wine. Bilhah lay asleep. Bilhah was uncovered Bilhah was in her bedchamber. Bilhah's nakedness was seen by Reuben. Bilhah was asleep during Reuben's sexual union with her. Reuben's sexual union with Bilhah was revealed to Jacob by an angel. After Reuben's sexual union with Bilhah, Jacob never again approached her. Reuben's sexual union with Bilhah happened while Jacob went to Isaac. Reuben's sexual union with Bilhah happened in Eder, not far from Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.</p>
<p>P. 439: Reuben transgression with Bilhah was reviled by Judah.</p>
<p>P. 444: According to Naphtali, Bilhah bore him instead of Rachel only because Rachel acted with cunning and gave Bilhah to Jacob instead of giving herself. Bilhah was the daughter of Rotheus, a brother of Deborah. Bilhah was a descendant of Abraham on her father's side. Bilhah was born the same day as Rachel. Bilhah was the second daughter of Rotheus. Bilhah's mother was Aina. Rotheus called his daughter Bilhah, saying, "My daughter is impetuous," for hardly was she born when she hastened to suckle." Bilhah and Zilpah were sisters born of Rotheus.</p>
<p>P. 447: Joseph accused the sons of Bilhah (and Zilpah) of slaughtering the best of the herds and using the flesh without the knowledge of Reuben and Judah.</p>
<p>P. 449: On his deathbed, Benjamin said that he was suckled by Bilhah.</p>
<p>P. 497: Bilhah's pregnancy was hardly noticeable, because she was very young.</p>
<p>P. 665: Bilhah was one of the six Mothers (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel Leah, and Zilpah were the other five) whose number corresponded to the six covered wagons which the princes brought to Moses.</p>
<p>P. 667: God forgave Reuben's sin with Bilhah.</p>
<p>P. 820: Moses prayed that Reuben's sin with Bilhah be forgiven.</p>

Deborah (36)

<p>P. 408: Deborah was Naphtali's descendant. Deborah was like a hind let loose against Sisera. Deborah gave goodly words in her song of Israel's victory.</p>
<p>P. 562: Deborah and Barak sang the fifth of nine songs that in the course of history Israel sang.</p>
<p>P. 864: Deborah was a contemporary of Boaz.</p>
<p>P. 867: Deborah arose not long after Ruth. Deborah husband was Barak. Deborah's husband was an ignoramus. Deborah encouraged Barak to carry candles to the sanctuary. Deborah's husband was called Lapidoth, "flames."</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 867: Deborah made wicks for the candles. Deborah made the wicks very thick so that the candles would burn for a long time. Because of this concern with the sanctuary candles, God distinguished Deborah. God said, “Thou takest pains to shed light in My house, and I will let thy light, thy fame, shine abroad in the whole land.”</p>
<p>P. 868: God sent Deborah to help the Israelites for the sake of keeping His oath to their forefathers. Deborah and Barak’s allotted task, to lead the attack upon Sisera, was comparable with Joshua’s undertaking to conquer Canaan. Deborah and Barak faced no less than forty thousand armies, each with a hundred thousand warriors.</p>
<p>P. 869: Deborah and Barak’s song reviewed the history of the people since the time of Abraham. Deborah died after working for the good of the nation for forty years. The people were weeping at Deborah’s dying. Deborah’s last words were an exhortation not to depend upon the dead. The whole nation kept a seventy days’ period of mourning in honor of Deborah.</p>
<p>P. 870: Deborah’s husband had three names. Deborah belonged to the tribe of Ephraim. Barak was Deborah’s son. Deborah was wealthy. Deborah had possessions throughout the country. Deborah dispensed justice without remuneration. Deborah, like Huldah, was proud. Because Deborah and Huldah were proud, they had ugly names (“bee,” “weasel”).</p>
<p>P. 871: Deborah’s forty years rule included the twenty years of Israel’s subjection to Jabin and Sisera. Israel sang the song of Deborah, and as a reward for their pious sentiments, God pardoned the transgressions of the people. The seven righteous men told Yair, “Our mother Deborah said, ‘Take ye heed that your heart lead you not astray to the right or to the left ...’”</p>
<p>P. 873: Deborah celebrated a great sacrificial festival at Shiloh after the victory over Sisera. Deborah said, “This shall be for a testimony of the trumpets between the stars and their Lord.” Jotham’s parable referred to Othniel (olive), Deborah (fig), Gideon (vine), and Elimelech (bramble).</p>

Delilah (9)

<p>P. 880: Delilah’s name means “she who makes poor.” It was through her that Samson became poor: he lost his strength, his wisdom, and his piety. Delilah employed vile means. Delilah was Micah’s mother.</p>
<p>P. 882: Delilah was Heliu <i>i. e.</i>, Eli’s mother. Delilah and Samson’s descendants live among the Danites. Delilah and her son Micah’s undisturbed pursuit of their evil ways caused God to punish eleven tribes. Delilah rotted alive. Worms crawled from Delilah’s body.</p>

Dinah (37)

<p>P. 287: Dinah was meant to be a boy, but Leah prayed to God to change the male embryo in her womb into a female, and God hearkened unto her prayer.</p>
<p>P. 65: Dinah was a gadabout.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 307: Dinah went out to see the dancing and singing women, whom Shechem had hired to dance and play in the streets in order to entice her forth. Dinah would not have been attacked if she had stayed at home. Dinah liked to show herself in the street like all women. Dinah was seized by Shechem by main force. Dinah was young. Dinah was violated in beastly fashion. Dinah was hidden in a chest by Jacob as they returned to the land lest Esau desire to have her for wife.</p>
<p>P. 308: Dinah would have to marry Job. Dinah was to be fetched from Shechem's house by twelve servants sent by Jacob, but Shechem would not allow it. Dinah was kissed and embraced by Shechem before the servants. Dinah received two maidens from Jacob who would remain with her in Shechem's house. Dinah was requested as a wife by Shechem, who sent three of his friends to his father Hamor so he would get her for him. Hamor tried to persuade Shechem not to marry Dinah. Dinah, Shechem, and Hamor would have been killed by Shechem's grandfather and his six brothers because they were against the general circumcision on account of a Hebrew woman.</p>
<p>P. 309: Dinah went out with other females of the household. Dinah heard the words of a conspiracy against her family. Dinah sent one of her maidens to inform Jacob and his sons of a conspiracy plotted against them.</p>
<p>P. 319: Dinah had a twin sister.</p>
<p>P. 341: Dinah could not survive her grief at the tidings of Joseph's death. Dinah died soon after Joseph.</p>
<p>P. 347: Dinah was married to her brother Simon. Dinah refused to leave the city when Simon and Levi massacred the men of Shechem</p>
<p>P. 348: Dinah said, "Whither shall I carry my shame?" Dinah was told by Simon that he would marry her. Dinah died in Egypt. Dinah's body was carried by Simon to be buried in the Holy Land. Dinah bore her brother a son. Dinah's union with Shechem resulted in a daughter, Asenath. Dinah's daughter would have been killed by her brothers, but Jacob saved her.</p>
<p>P. 349: Dinah's grave is at Arbel.</p>
<p>P. 378: Dinah was the reason that Simon and Levi destroyed the eight Amorite cities.</p>
<p>P. 389: Dinah received presents from Joseph after he revealed himself to his brothers.</p>
<p>P. 405: Dinah had been given the city of Shechem by Shechem son of Hamor as a present.</p>
<p>P. 451: Dinah was Job's second wife.</p>
<p>P. 461: Dinah bore Job seven sons and three daughters</p>

Esther (149)

<p>P. 60: Esther is one of the women mentioned as ideals of beauty.</p>
<p>P. 238: Esther was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.</p>
<p>P. 409: Esther fulfilled Jacob's prophecy that Benjamin would provide Israel's first and last ruler.</p>
<p>P. 669: Esther and Mordecai were symbolized by the two oxen of the peace offering.</p>
<p>P. 865-6: Esther and Mordecai's time is seen as the time when the name of the Lord was forgotten.</p>
<p>P. 940: Esther was one of the four most beautiful women in history.</p>
<p>P. 1129: Esther's means Venus, the morning-star. Esther's deeds cast a ray of light forward into Israel's history at its darkest.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 1131: Esther's story took place after the work of the Temple had been stopped for three years. Esther and Ahasuerus' son was Darius.</p>
<p>P. 1137: Esther's marriage to Ahasuerus was the point after which he could put down the widespread rebellion against him.</p>
<p>P. 1138: Esther's ruling over 127 provinces was Sarah's reward for her pious deeds.</p>
<p>P. 1139: Esther was kept concealed by Mordecai. Esther was concealed in a chamber. Esther was concealed for four years. Esther was concealed so that the scouts could not discover her. Esther's beauty had long been famous. Esther was reported to the king as "the most superbly beautiful woman in the land," who had eluded the scouts' search. Esther had to be fetched from her hiding place after the king decreed the death penalty for any woman who hid from his scouts. Esther was immediately espied and carried off to the palace. Esther and Mordecai's descent went back all the way to Jacob.</p>
<p>P. 1140: Esther's education was overseen by Mordecai.</p>
<p>P. 1141: Esther's uncle Mordecai moved to Shushan after her marriage to the king. Esther and Mordecai were deported into exile with Jeconiah. Esther's birth caused her mother's death. Esther's father had died before she was born. Esther's nurse was Mordecai's wife, and Mordecai also helped. Esther's names are descriptive of her virtues. Esther= Hadassah (Myrtle) for her good deeds and piety. Esther= Hadassah for her pleasantness to Jews. Esther= Hadassah for her bitterness to Haman. Esther ("concealing") because she could keep a secret and had been concealed. Esther was the hidden light that suddenly shone upon Israel in his rayless darkness. Esther was of average height. Esther was not a beauty in the real sense of the word. Esther had grace and charm that bewitched the beholder. Esther had a somewhat sallow, myrtlelike complexion.</p>
<p>P. 1142: Esther was 75 when she came to court. Esther captivated the hearts of all who saw her. Esther fulfilled the prophecy which God made to Abraham. Esther was named redeemer of Israel by God during the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. Esther was put by Ahasuerus between two groups of beauties. Esther comeliness outshone them all. Esther had more grace than Joseph. Esther was loved by the terrestrials. Esther was pronounced the ideal beauty of the nation by whoever saw her. Esther was described as "worthy of being queen." Esther's picture replaced Vashti's in the king's chamber Esther combined maiden grace and womanly charm. Esther's worldly position changed. Esther continued to be continued modest and unassuming. Esther's unpretending ways did not please Hegai, chief of the eunuchs of the harem. Esther did nothing to preserve her beauty. Esther's not doing anything to preserve her beauty might bring Hegai to the gallows. Esther was loaded down with resplendent jewels. Esther was compared to her ancestor Benjamin, who had been singled out by Joseph by means of costly gifts lavished upon him.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 1142: Esther's food was cause of particular attention by Hegai. Esther was given dishes from the royal table. Esther refused obstinately to touch those dishes. Esther ate only permitted food, as Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah had done. Esther passed over forbidden foods to the non-Jewish servants. Esther's attendants were Jewish and as pious as she was. Esther was cut off from all intercourse with Jews [aside from the maids]. Esther gave her attendants peculiar names to mark the passage of time. Esther did not want to forget when the Sabbath came around.</p>
<p>P. 1143: Esther's uncle Mordecai instructed her on ritual matters. Esther and Mordecai married when Esther had grown to maidenhood. Esther would have been ready to defend her conjugal honor with her life. Esther's marriage with the king was a feigned union. Esther's place was taken by a female spirit God had sent down to take her place. Esther's friends and relatives would have been appointed to high office if she had told the king who they were, but due to Mordecai's modesty this did not happen. Esther's Jewishness might hurt her fellow Jews if Vashti's fate should overtake her. Esther was exposed to perils. Esther's secret was questioned in vain by the king. Esther said she knew neither her people nor her family.</p>
<p>P. 1144: Esther was miraculously nursed by Mordecai. Esther's real name may have been Hadassah or <i>viceversa</i>. Esther was offered service by all the women in the court because they knew that she would be queen. Esther was loved by the celestials. Esther was loved by Ahasuerus all her life as much as on the day he married her. Esther's uncle Mordecai wanted to prevent witchcraft from being used against her. Esther became ugly through witchcraft when she sought to see the king on behalf of the Jews. The king wanted to make Esther jealous by calling in virgins for a second time. Esther was threatened by the king with bringing out virgins once again to make her jealous. Esther's ancestors were Rachel and Saul.</p>
<p>P. 1145: Esther told the king she was a queen and a descendant of the royal family of Saul. Esther wanted to know why the king had had Vashti killed. Esther said the king should listen to prophetic counsel like his predecessors.</p>
<p>P. 1146: Esther's marriage to the king meant more work for the chamberlains because sexual intercourse causes thirst, and the king's demand for drinks disturbed their night's rest.</p>
<p>P. 1147: Esther's marriage to the king instead of a kinswoman of theirs made Bigthan and Teresh want revenge and try to kill the king. Esther's marriage to the king made Haman want to be her friend and claim kingship with her.</p>
<p>P. 1158: Esther and Mordecai became Israel's redeemers because Benjamin did not take part in selling Joseph.</p>
<p>P. 1161: Eshter was so overcome by fright that she was deprived of the joys of motherhood. Esther had been looking forward to the joys of motherhood with happy expectancy.</p>
<p>P. 1162: Esther was told by Mordecai that Haman was an Amalekite, and also about a dream he had once had and told her about (where her future history was revealed.) Esther reminded Mordecai that he had told her to keep her Jewishness a secret. Esther tried to not appear before the king at her own initiative, so as not to be instrumental in bringing down sin upon her soul because Mordecai had taught her that "a Jewish woman, captive among the heathen, who of her own accord goes to them, loses her portion in the Jewish nation." Esther rejoiced that her petitions were granted, and the king had not come nigh unto her this last month.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 1162: Esther told Mordecai that Haman had introduced the law that anyone who appeared before the king without having been summoned by Haman, would be killed, so she could not go to the king to advocate the cause of the Jews, and Mordecai should also refrain from incensing Haman. Esther and Mordecai's mediator, Hatach, was killed by Haman for not wanting to give Esther bad news. Esther and Mordecai's new messengers were the archangels Michael and Gabriel.</p>
<p>P. 1162-3: Esther was told by Mordecai that if she let the opportunity to help Israel slip by, she would have to give account for the omission before the heavenly court, and that, as the descendant of Saul, it was her duty to make reparation for her ancestor's sin in not having put Agag to death.</p>
<p>P. 1163: Esther took precautions to prevent pregnancy.</p>
<p>P. 1165: Esther's wore a silken garment embroidered with gold and spangled with diamonds and pearls; a golden crown was on her head, and on her feet shoes of gold.</p>
<p>P. 1166: Esther prayed for God's help on the merit of the Fathers and her three day fast. Esther went to the king with three attendants. Esther's chief adornment was the holy spirit that was poured out over her. Esther's cried out, "<i>Eli, Eli, lamah azabtani!</i>" when the holy spirit departed and compared herself to Sarah, stating that she had observed all commandments for women (Esther's prayer might be Ps 22).</p>
<p>P. 1167: Esther had to pass through seven apartments to reach the king. Esther was angrily seen by the king as she crossed the threshold of the fourth chamber. Esther was contrasted to Vashti by the king and compared to a prostitute. Esther was stranded between the guards of the different chambers. Esther fate and possessions were already being divided by Haman's sons. Esther prayed again with words which have found their place in the Psalter composed by King David. Esther's petition for God's help was granted and He sent her three angels to help her. Esther's charm conquered the king because the angels forced him to look at her. Esther was very weak from her fast, so the archangel Michael drew her hand to the scepter. Esther was told by the king that her request must be important if she was willing to risk her life. Esther was told by the king that he would not restore the Temple. Esther wanted to disarm Haman's suspicions regarding her Jewish descent. Esther wanted to arouse jealousy of Haman in both the king and the princes. Esther was ready to sacrifice her own life, if her stratagems would but involve the life of Haman, too. Esther favored Haman in such manner that Ahasuerus could not but be jealous.</p>
<p>P. 1167-8: Esther saw Moses as an example of taking a day's preparation before going out against Amalek, the ancestor of Haman.</p>
<p>P. 1169: Esther swooned and the king picked her up after God changed his spirit. Esther's presence cured the king's blindness. Esther miraculously caused the king's scepter to extend towards her whenever she visited. Esther promised that she would no longer withhold her conjugal duties.</p>
<p>P. 1170: Esther and Haman were suspected by the king of having conspired against him.</p>
<p>P. 1173: Esther commanded bathkeepers and barbers not to work on the day Haman was to honor Mordecai.</p>
<p>P. 1174: Esther sang part of the song of praise that Mordecai sang in the procession in his honor. Esther's request for her life was addressed to God. Esther was directly addressed by the king now that he knew she was a Jewess of royal descent. Esther was not thought worthy enough by the king, so he had always used an interpreter.</p>
<p>P. 1174-5: Esther mistakenly pointed at the king while trying to accuse Haman, but an angel guided her hand instantaneously in the direction of Haman.</p>
<p>P. 1175: Esther told the king that Haman wanted to murder him and be king, but God had prevented it.</p>
<p>P. 1176: Esther supplied the justification for letting the bodies of Haman and his ten sons hang for a long time. Esther and Mordecai received the first third of Haman vast fortune. Esther's figure was on the obverse of the coins that Mordecai struck.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 1177: Esther and Mordecai composed the Hallel at the time when Haman arose against them. Esther continued to withhold the secret of her descent from the king, and he was angry at her.
P. 1178: Esther appointed Mordecai as superintendent of Haman's house and all its treasures.
P. 1179: Esther and Mordecai called righteous in the king's revocation of the edict against the Jews. Esther asked the sages to make the deliverance a festival for all times, pointing out that the events were written in the kings' annals so the outside world could not misinterpret the joy of the Jews. Esther begged that the book containing her history should be incorporated in Scripture and made the sages realize that it was God's will to immortalize the war waged with the Amalekite Haman. Esther by her pious deeds acquired a good name in this world. Esther acquired a good name in the world to come.
P. 1180: Esther risked her life for her people, and as her reward a book of the Bible bears her name. Scripture speaks of Israel as the people of Esther.

Eve (223)

P. 20: Eve wove the coverings of the silver and gold beds of the fifth division of Paradise.
P. 34: Eve gave all the animals of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, but the phoenix refused to eat.
P. 39: Eve was seduced by a serpent.
P. 49: Eve was less beautiful than Adam.
P. 60: Eve was one of the persons considered as ideals of beauty.
P. 63: Eve was spoken told by Adam to come, worship, and bow down to God. Eve was there before Adam named the animals.
P. 65: Eve was created because Adam originally had two faces that were separated at the birth of Eve. Eve was formed from a chaste portion of the body, and to every limb and organ as He formed it, God said, "Be chaste! Be chaste!" Eve put out her hand to take the forbidden fruit. Eve brought sin into the world. Eve brought death into the world. Eve's history is the origin of the religious command addressed to women alone. Eve defiled the world. Eve would not have been loved by Adam if he had watched her creation. Eve was before Adam in all her surprising beauty and grace when Adam woke up from his sleep.
P. 65-66: Eve was called by Adam "she who caused my heart to throb many a night!" and "my never-silent bell!"
P. 66: Eve's creation would make Adam complain, so God waited to create her till Adam asked for her. Eve and Adam being created at the same time would have made people declare that they were two gods. Eve caused Adam to be conscious of the sexual instinct. Eve and Adam's wedding was celebrated with pomp never repeated in history. Eve was attired and adorned as a bride by God before being presented to Adam. Eve and Adam's wedding blessings were pronounced by God. Eve and Adam saw the angels dance and play before them. Eve and Adam had ten bridal chambers of gold, pearls, and precious stones that God had prepared. Eve was called Ishah by Adam.
P. 67: Eve was not created at the same time as Adam so that woman could not claim equality with man. Eve was formed out of Adam's third rib on the right side.
P. 68: Eve's name might mean "serpent" because she was the serpent or seducer of Adam. Eve's name might mean "speaker" because she was the only one besides the serpent who understood the language of the animals, and it was from her that Adam learned it.
P. 70: Eve alone took care of the animals.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 71: Eve was caught in a trap by the serpent's cunningly crafted conversation. Eve had been forbidden to touch the tree by Adam. Eve was persuaded by the serpent to taste the forbidden fruit because of Adam's exaggeration. Eve was pushed by the serpent against the tree. Eve was told by the serpent, "Thou seest that touching the tree has not caused thy death."</p>
<p>P. 72: Eve decided that all Adam had told her were lies since the serpent ate the fruit and did not die. Eve called Adam "my master." Eve could not disobey the command of God utterly. Eve made a compromise with her conscience. Eve ate the outside skin of the fruit first. Eve saw that she did not die. Eve saw the Angel of Death before her when she finished. Eve thought she would die immediately. Eve wanted to make Adam eat the fruit so he would not marry another wife after she died. Eve cried and lamented to make Adam eat the fruit. Eve and Adam heard a voice from heaven saying, "To you was the command given. Ye did not heed it; ye did transgress it, and ye did seek to persuade the bird malham. He was steadfast, and he feared Me, although I gave him no command. Therefore he shall never taste of death, neither he nor his descendants — they all shall live forever in Paradise." Eve was asked by Adam, "Didst thou give me of the tree of which I forbade thee to eat? Thou didst give me thereof, for my eyes are opened, and the teeth in my mouth are set on edge." Eve answered, "As my teeth were set on edge, so may the teeth of all living beings be set on edge." Eve and Adam had been covered with a horny skin and enveloped in the cloud of glory. Eve and Adam became naked after they violated the command. Eve and Adam were ashamed.</p>
<p>P. 73: Eve and Adam had worn garments of light.</p>
<p>P. 75: Eve was not seen by God as the primarily guilty person depicted by Adam. Eve did not confess her transgression and pray for pardon. Eve and Adam's doom was not pronounced until they showed themselves stiff-necked.</p>
<p>P. 76: Eve was cursed with ten curses. Eve's fate was told to her by an interpreter, not by God himself. When Eve and Adam wept, all created beings and things up to the throne of God wept with them.</p>
<p>P. 77: Eve and Adam were turned out of Paradise by the angels on God's command. Eve and Adam began to weep and supplicate bitterly. Eve and Adam were pitied by the angels, who left the Divine command unfulfilled, until they could petition God to mitigate His severe verdict. Eve and Adam left Paradise laden with saffron, nard, calamus, and cinnamon, and all sorts of seeds for their sustenance. Eve and Adam came upon earth.</p>
<p>P. 78: Eve was punished because she was still a part of Adam's body when God commanded him not to eat of the forbidden fruit and decreed death as a penalty. Eve and Adam's curse did not mention God's name because He did not allow His name to be associated with evil.</p>
<p>P. 79: Eve received menstruation as penalty for her sin. Eve received menstruation when she enjoyed the fruit. Eve and Adam were not really cursed, only the serpent and Adam and Eve's deeds. Eve was one of three cursed. Eve was seduced by Sammael.</p>
<p>P. 80: Eve and Adam's garments were made of the skin of Leviathan. Eve's and Adam's garments were made of wool or linen.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 81: Eve and Adam were created outside Paradise. Eve and Adam did not enter Paradise together. Eve arrived when she was eighty days old. Eve was seven days younger than Adam. Eve and Adam stayed seven days and forty years in Paradise. Eve and Adam were expelled on the first of Tammuz, seventy days after the fall. Eve and Adam stayed seven years in Paradise.</p>
<p>P. 82: Eve and Adam's garments were created on the boundary line between the primordial things and those developed out of them.</p>
<p>P. 86: Eve and Adam built a hut for themselves. Eve and Adam sat in great distress, mourning and lamenting for seven days. Eve and Adam were hungry at the end of the seven days. Eve and Adam went out to look for food. Eve said to Adam, "My lord, if it please thee, slay me. Mayhap God will then take thee back into Paradise, for the Lord God became wroth with thee only on account of me." Eve's request was refused by Adam. Eve and Adam only found food fit for cattle and beasts. Eve was not vigorous enough in Adam's view to undergo the mortification of the flesh which he purposed to inflict upon himself. Eve was told by Adam to stand in the river not speaking with water up to her neck for seven days.</p>
<p>P. 87: Eve and Adam's penance made Satan worry, so he tried to hinder Eve in her purpose. Eve saw Satan in the guise of an angel crying after eighteen days. Eve was told by Satan, "Step up out of the river, and weep no longer. The Lord God hath heard your mourning, and your penitence hath been accepted by Him. All the angels supplicated the Lord in your behalf, and He hath sent me to fetch you out of the water and give you the sustenance that you enjoyed in Paradise, and for which you have been mourning." Eve was enfeebled by her penances and mortifications. Eve yielded to Satan's solicitations. Eve was led by Satan to where Adam was. Eve was berated by Adam for having let Satan seduce her again. Eve began to weep. Eve wanted to know why Satan strove against them and pursued them. Eve and Adam were told by Satan that he had intrigue to have Adam driven from Paradise. Eve wept with Adam all night. Eve sat opposite Adam.</p>
<p>P. 88: Eve and Adam shared the same sepulcher with the three patriarchs.</p>
<p>P. 91: Eve sobbed when Adam was dying. Eve said, "Adam, my lord, give me the half of thy sickness, I will gladly bear it. Is it not on account of me that this hath come upon thee? On account of me thou undergoest pain and anguish." Eve was told by Adam to go with Seth to the gates of Paradise and try to get some of the oil of life. Eve called out to Seth's assailant, "How durst thou lay hand on the image of God?" Eve was told it was her own fault for opening her mouth and eating the forbidden fruit. Eve and Seth arrived at the gates of Paradise. Eve and Seth began to cry. Eve and Seth besought God with many lamentations to give them oil from the tree of His mercy. Eve and Seth prayed for hours. Eve and Seth were told by the archangel Michael that God would not grant their petition and Adam would die. Eve and Seth returned to Adam. Eve and Seth reported what had happened.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 91: Eve was told by Adam, “What misfortune didst thou bring upon us when thou didst arouse great wrath! See, death is the portion of all our race! Call hither our children and our children’s children, and tell them the manner of our sinning.” Eve told their children the story of their fall.</p>
<p>P. 92: Eve was mistress of the west and south sections of Paradise. Eve was mistress of all the female animals. Eve and Adam were resented by Satan.</p>
<p>P. 93: Eve would be spoken to by the Satan-possessed serpent from without the wall. Eve’s two guardian angels had gone to heaven to supplicate the Lord. Eve was alone. Eve thought Satan was an angel. Eve was asked by the Satan-possessed serpent what she was doing in Paradise. Eve said, “The Lord has put us here to cultivate it and eat of its fruits.” Eve remained steadfast despite all the serpent’s urging. Eve was convinced by the serpent that he would get the fruit for her. Eve opened the gate of Paradise. Eve was told by the serpent that he would not give her the fruit after all. Eve was tempted more. Eve swore to make Adam eat the fruit too. Eve knew that she was stripped of the righteousness in which she had been clothed. Eve began to weep. Eve sought leaves wherewith to cover her nakedness, but all the trees within her reach had cast off their leaves at the moment when she ate of the forbidden fruit. Eve said that only the fig tree had leaves and that it was the tree with the forbidden fruit. Eve called Adam. Eve prevailed upon Adam to eat of the fruit by means of blasphemous words. Eve was told by Adam that she had removed him from the glory of God. Eve and Adam heard the archangel Michael blow his trumpet and all the angels cry out that God was calling all to Paradise to hear the sentence He would pronounce upon Adam.</p>
<p>P. 94: Eve was told by God, “. . . in the hour of travail, when thou art near to lose thy life, thou wilt confess and cry, ‘Lord, Lord, save me this time, and I will never again indulge in carnal pleasure,’ and yet thy desire shall ever and ever be unto thy husband.” Eve and Adam were decreed to receive all sorts of diseases.</p>
<p>P. 96: Eve said to Adam on the last day of his life, “Why should I go on living, when thou art no more? How long shall I have to linger on after thy death?” Eve was told by Adam that it would not be long: they would die together and be buried together. She should not touch his corpse until an angel from God had made provision regarding it, and she was to begin at once to pray to God until his soul escaped from his body. Eve was on her knees in prayer, when an angel came. Eve was told to rise by the angel. Eve was told by the angel to see Adam’s spirit go up to his Creator. Eve saw a chariot of light, drawn by four shining eagles, preceded by angels, where Adam’s soul lay. Eve was in awe and fright. Eve summoned Seth and bade him look upon the visions and explain the celestial sights. Eve asked who the two Ethiopians adding their prayers to Adam’s were. Eve was told by Seth that they were the sun and the moon. Eve would die six days after Adam. Eve’s death would restore Adam his rib.</p>
<p>P. 98: Eve was buried in the cave of Machpelah. Eve is one of the four mothers for whom Kiryat Arba is named. Eve spent the time between Adam’s death and her own weeping. Eve did not know what had become of Adam’s body.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 98: Eve supplicated to be buried in the same spot as Adam when the hour of her death drew nigh.
P. 99: Eve raised her eyes heavenward. Eve said, "Lord of the world! Receive my spirit!" Eve gave up her soul to God. Eve's body was to be prepared for burial by Seth as taught by the archangel Michael. Eve was buried by three angels. Eve was buried in the same grave with Adam and Abel. Eve was not to be mourned more than six days, Michael commanded Seth.
P. 101: Eve was approached by Satan after her fall. Eve and Satan's offspring was Cain. Eve exclaimed, "I have gotten a man through an angel of the Lord," when Cain was born. Eve was not with Adam while she was pregnant with Cain. Eve left her husband. Eve journeyed westward. Eve feared her presence might continue to bring him misery. Eve prayed to God for help when she began to feel the pangs of travailing. Eve was not helped by God. Eve asked herself, "Who will carry the report to my lord Adam?" Eve asked the luminaries in the sky to tell Adam. Eve's lamentation pierced to Adam's ear. Eve was in grievous pain. Eve was prayed for by Adam. Eve was surrounded by twelve angels and two heavenly powers. Eve was blessed by Michael for the sake of Adam. Eve's son was a radiant figure. Eve's baby stood up, ran off, and returned with a stalk of straw.
P. 101-2: Eve was given the straw by her son.
P. 102: Eve was infected with filth by the serpent. Eve and the boy were taken by Adam to his home in the east. Eve named her second son Hebel because, she said, he was born to die.
P. 103: Eve and Adam lived in Paradise without sexual intercourse / with sexual intercourse. Eve saw Cain's countenance was heavenly. Eve dreamed that Cain was drinking Abel's blood. Eve told the dream to Adam.
P. 108: Eve and Adam did not know what to do with Abel's corpse. Eve and Adam sat beside the corpse. Eve and Adam wept. Eve and Adam saw a raven hide a dead bird in the ground.
P. 114: Eve did not have sexual intercourse with Adam because he was avoiding it.
P. 115: Eve became the mother of spirits through her union with male spirits. Eve was taken back by Adam after a separation of 130 years. Eve was loved by Adam more than before and was in his thoughts even when she was not with him. Eve and Adam had set because of their reunion.
P. 128: Eve and Adam are found in the lower world by Enoch. Eve and Adam were there as punishment for their sins.
P. 141: Eve was approached by Samael and a lad while still in Paradise. Eve was asked by Samael to watch her little son until his return. Eve promised to do so. Eve was found with the screaming child by Adam. Eve and Adam ate the remains of the boy. Eve and Adam pretended they had no knowledge of Samael's son when he asked for him.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 141: Eve and Adam were told by Samael, “What! You dare tell lies, and God in times to come will give Israel the Torah in which it is said, ‘Keep thee far from a false word?’”
P. 142: From Eve and Adam’s hearts came the slain boy’s voice addressing Samael, “. . . I have penetrated to the heart of Adam and the heart of Eve, and never again shall I quit their hearts, nor the hearts of their children, or their children’s children, unto the end of all generations.”
P. 161: Eve and Adam’s garments were given to Nimrod by his father Cush. Eve and Adam’s garments had descended to Enoch, then to Methuselah, and then to Noah, who took them with him into the ark.
P. 189: Eve’s beauty was surpassed by Sarah.
P. 234: Eve was buried by Adam.
P. 234-5: Eve and Adam, stretched out upon couches, candles burning at the head of their resting-places, were seen by Abraham in the Cave of Machpelah.
P. 235: Eve and Adam refused to stay in the cave when Abraham entered to place the body of Sarah. Eve and Adam said to Abraham, “We are ashamed in the presence of God on account of the sin we committed, and now we shall be even more ashamed on account of your good deeds.” Eve resisted. Eve was carried back to her place by Abraham.
P. 257: Eve and Adam had eaten lentils after Abel’s murder.
P. 476: Eve’s curse by God did not apply to Jochebed for pious women are not included in it.
P. 596: Eve, God said, was not given the commandment concerning the forbidden fruit, only Adam, so it resulted in her causing Adam to sin.

Hagar (42)

P. 190: Hagar was Pharaoh’s daughter. Hagar was given to Sarah by Pharaoh.
P. 201: Hagar was made a freed woman by Sarah before she was given to Abraham. Hagar was taught and bred by Sarah. Hagar walked in the same path of righteousness as Sarah. Hagar was a suitable companion for Abraham. Hagar was treated particularly tenderly by Sarah, who would urge her visitors to visit Hagar. Hagar was called “poor Hagar” by Sarah. Hagar disparaged Sarah to the visitors. Hagar said Sarah’s childlessness was due to her unrighteousness. Hagar was favored by Abraham, according to Sarah, who also said they did not need Hagar’s child. Hagar should not be reduced to the state of a bondwoman, according to Abraham. Hagar became pregnant on the bridal night. Hagar was the target of Sarah’s evil eye. Hagar’s child dropped from her. Hagar was met by several angels. Hagar was told by the angels that her son would be one of six given a name by God before their birth.
P. 202: Hagar married Abraham ten years after they left Egypt.
P. 203: Hagar did not have conjugal relations with Abraham after she became pregnant. Hagar was forced to attend Sarah while bathing.
P. 219: Hagar was Isaac’s mother, according to the people. Hagar must be divorced from Abraham, Sarah insisted.
P. 220: Hagar was not named by God as Abraham’s wife. Hagar was given a bill of divorcement by Abraham. Hagar had a rope bound about her loins by Abraham that all might see she was a bondwoman. Hagar’s son was sick and feverish.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 220: Hagar had to carry her son. Hagar's son drank often of the water in the bottle given them by Abraham. Hagar cast Ishmael on the same spot where the angels had once told her that she would bear a son. Hagar was bitter of heart. Hagar said to God, "Yesterday Thou didst say to me, I will greatly multiply thy seed that it shall not be numbered for multitude, and today my son dies of thirst." Hagar addressed her supplications to the idols of her youth. Hagar's faith was no stronger than before. Hagar feared the water might again be spent, and no other would be near. Hagar went to Egypt with her son.</p>
<p>P. 237: Hagar bore Abraham a daughter.</p>
<p>P. 243: Hagar dwelt in Beer-lahai-roi. Hagar and Abraham's reunion was desired by Isaac. Hagar was also called Keturah. Hagar bore Abraham six sons.</p>
<p>P. 244: Hagar was a daughter of Ham.</p>
<p>P. 513-4: Hagar is used by Moses in an example of how God sent angels and not men to help people.</p>

Huldah (12)

<p>P. 23: Huldah is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of paradise.</p>
<p>P. 843: Huldah was a descendant of Joshua and Rahab.</p>
<p>P. 870: Huldah, like Deborah was proud. Because Huldah and Deborah were proud, they had ugly names ("weasel," "bee").</p>
<p>P. 1030: Shallum, Huldah's husband, revived at the touch of Elisha's bier.</p>
<p>P. 1059: Josiah asked Huldah to intercede with God, knowing that women are more easily moved to compassion. Jeremiah was Huldah's kinsman.</p>
<p>P. 1062: Huldah had an academy in Jerusalem. The Ark, removed from the Temple by Ahaz, remained in the house of Shallum, Huldah's husband, until the days of Josiah.</p>
<p>P. 1068: Huldah was a contemporary of Jeremiah and Zechariah. Huldah's province was among women.</p>
<p>P. 1121: Corpses were removed from all the burial places in Jerusalem, only the graves of the kings and the prophetess Huldah were left there.</p>

Jochebed (129)

<p>P. 23: Jochebed is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of paradise.</p>
<p>P. 238: Jochebed was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.</p>
<p>P. 395: Jochebed was born when the cavalcade was in the space between one and the other city wall. Jochebed was the 70th of the family members who came to Egypt.</p>
<p>P. 438: Jochebed was born when Levi was sixty three years old. Jochebed was named by Levi. Jochebed's name was indicative of Levi being known as honorable among his brethren. Jochebed married Amram when Levi was ninety-four years old. Jochebed and Amram were born on the same day.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 469: Jochebed was one of two Hebrew midwives, along with Miriam. Jochebed appeared with Miriam before Pharaoh. Jochebed allayed Pharaoh's wrath. Jochebed said to Pharaoh, "Why dost thou pay heed to her words? She is but a child, and knows not what she speaks." Jochebed was accompanied by Miriam. Jochebed was helped by Miriam. Jochebed washed and bathed the new born. Jochebed and Miriam said to Pharaoh, "How are we to know whether the child is male or female?" Pharaoh replied to Jochebed and Miriam, "If the child issues forth from the womb with its face foremost, it is a man child, for it looks to the earth, whence man was taken; but if its feet appear first, it is a female, for it looks up toward the rib of the mother, and from a rib woman was made." Pharaoh used many devices to render Jochebed and Miriam amenable to his wishes. Jochebed and Miriam were approached by the king with amorous proposals. Jochebed and Miriam repelled the king's amorous proposals. Pharaoh threatened Jochebed and Miriam with death by fire. Jochebed and Miriam said within themselves, "Our father Abraham opened an inn, that he might feed the wayfarers, though they were heathen, and we should neglect the children, nay, kill them? No, we shall have a care to keep them alive." Jochebed and Miriam did not execute what Pharaoh had commanded. Jochebed and Miriam did not murder the babes. Jochebed and Miriam supplied the needs of the babes. Jochebed and Miriam went to well-to-do women to collect supplies for mothers whose infants lacked food and drink. Jochebed and Miriam made supplications to God. Jochebed and Miriam prayed, "Thou knowest that we are not fulfilling the words of Pharaoh, but it is our aim to fulfill Thy words. O that it be Thy will, our Lord, to let the child come into the world safe and sound, lest we fall under the suspicion that we tried to slay it, and maimed it in the attempt." The Lord harkened to the prayer of Jochebed and Miriam. Jochebed was also called Shiphrah. No child was born under Jochebed and Miriam lame. No child was born under Jochebed and Miriam blind. No child was born under Jochebed or Miriam afflicted with any blemish. Jochebed and Miriam replied, "This nation is compared unto one animal and another, and, in sooth, the Hebrews are like the animals. As little as the animals do they need the offices of midwives." Jochebed and Miriam did good deeds. Jochebed and Miriam were rewarded in many ways. Pharaoh did no harm to Jochebed and Miriam. Jochebed and Miriam were made the ancestors of priests and Levites, kings, and princes.</p>
<p>P. 474: Israel was redeemed from Egypt on account of the merits of Amram and his wife Jochebed. Jochebed had less merit than Amram, because she exposed Moses to danger. Amram and Jochebed were the noblest couple of their time. Jochebed's name meant "Divine Splendor." Celestial lights radiated from Jochebed's countenance. Jochebed received her name due to the celestial lights radiating from her. Jochebed was worthy of being Amram's helpmeet. Jochebed imperiled her life to rescue Hebrew babes. Jochebed and Miriam were saved from being killed by Pharaoh. Jochebed and Miriam's being saved was due to a Divine Miracle. The king sent his hangmen for Jochebed and Miriam. God caused Jochebed and Miriam to become invisible. Jochebed was 126/ (130) years old when she married.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 474: Jochebed named her daughter Miriam. Jochebed chose the name Miriam because it meant “bitterness.” Jochebed’s mother was Otah.</p>
<p>P. 475: Jochebed was divorced by Amram because of the edict against male children. Amram stood publicly under the wedding canopy with his divorced wife. Jochebed regained her youth. Miriam and Aaron danced while Jochebed and Amram were under the canopy. At Jochebed and Amram’s remarriage, the angels proclaimed, “Let the mother of children be joyful!” Jochebed’s skin became soft. Jochebed’s wrinkles disappeared. Warm tints of maiden beauty returned to Jochebed. Jochebed became pregnant a short time after her remarriage. Jochebed’s husband was uneasy about her being with child.</p>
<p>P. 476: Jochebed was told by Amram what the Lord had said regarding their son. Miriam told Jochebed and Amram her prophetic dream. During her pregnancy, Jochebed observed that the child was destined for great things. Jochebed suffered no pain during her pregnancy. Jochebed suffered no pain during childbirth. The reason Jochebed suffered no pain is because pious women are not included in Eve’s curse. The house in which Jochebed gave birth was filled with radiance as the sun and moon. Moses spoke to Jochebed and Amram as an adult when he was but a day old. Moses refused to drink milk from Jochebed’s breast. Jochebed’s childbirth was six months after conception. The Egyptian bailiffs had not expected Jochebed to give birth for three more months. Jochebed and Amram determined to expose the child at the end of the three months. Gabriel brought Amram and Jochebed together after they had separated. Jochebed had been pregnant for three months at the time of her separation from Amram.</p>
<p>P. 478: Jochebed was brought back to where Moses was discovered by Miriam. Moses took to Jochebed’s breast unresisting and clutched it tightly. When the princess committed the child to Jochebed’s care, she said to her, “Here is what is thine. Nurse the boy henceforth, and I will give thee two silver pieces as thy wages.” Jochebed’s reward from God for her services as one of the midwives was the return of her son, safe and sound. As one of the midwives, Jochebed had defied Pharaoh’s command. As one of the midwives, Jochebed had saved the Hebrew children alive. Jochebed and Amram had together exposed their son to danger.</p>
<p>P. 478-9: The result of Jochebed and Amram’s exposure of their son was the withdrawal of Pharaoh’s extermination command.</p>
<p>P. 479: Jochebed placed Miriam near the water to see whether the ark would be carried away.</p>
<p>P. 479-80: Jochebed requested assurance by the princess that no unpleasant consequence would accrue.</p>
<p>P. 480: Jochebed pretended to fear to take charge of the child. Pharaoh made his extermination edict on the very night that Jochebed conceived.</p>
<p>P. 481: Jochebed named her son Melkiel. Moses remained with Jochebed for twenty-four months.</p>
<p>P. 487: His Israelite brethren knew that Jochebed was the mother of Moses.</p>
<p>P. 546: Jochebed came to Moses’ aid. Jochebed led Moses to the very spot where Joseph’s bones lay.</p>
<p>P. 668: Jochebed was 136 years old when she gave birth to Moses. The charger weighing 136 shekels alludes to Jochebed, who bore Moses at age 136.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 698: Jochebed was divorced by Amram because she was his aunt. After being divorced by Amram, Jochebed married Elizaphan. Eldad and Meldad were sons of Jochebed and Elizaphan.</p>
<p>P. 785: Among the women who entered the promised land was one as old as Jochebed. Jochebed survived her three children. Jochebed entered the promised land. Jochebed was 250 years old when she entered the promised land.</p>
<p>P. 810: Moses asked God, "Shall my mother Jochebed, to whom my life brought so much grief, suffer sorrow after my death also?"</p>
<p>P. 819: Moses implored Joshua to care for his mother Jochebed after his death because she had the terrible misfortune of losing all her children in her lifetime.</p>
<p>P. 834: Jochebed deeply mourned Moses' death. Jochebed was not certain that Moses had died. Jochebed and Joshua sought Moses everywhere. Jochebed went to Egypt. Jochebed asked Egypt, "Mizraim, Mizraim, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" Mizraim replied to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, Jochebed, I have not seen him since the day when he slew all the firstborn here." Jochebed went to the Nile. Jochebed said to the Nile, "Nile, Nile, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" The Nile said to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, Jochebed, I have not seen Moses since the day when he turned my water to blood." Jochebed went to the sea. Jochebed said to the sea, "Sea, sea, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" The sea replied to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, Jochebed, I have not seen him since the day when he led the twelve tribes through me." Jochebed went to the desert. Jochebed said to the desert, "Desert, desert, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" The desert replied to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, Jochebed, I have not seen him since the day whereon he caused manna to rain down upon me." Jochebed went to the Sinai. Jochebed said to the Sinai, "Sinai, Sinai, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" The Sinai said to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, Jochebed, I have not seen him since the day whereon he descended from me with the two tables of the law." Jochebed went to the rock. The rock was the final place to which Jochebed went. Jochebed said to the rock, "Rock, rock, hast thou perchance seen Moses?" The rock replied to Jochebed, "As truly as thou livest, I have not seen him since the day when with his staff he twice smote me."</p>

Leah (66)

<p>P. 23: Leah is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of paradise.</p>
<p>P. 65: Leah was envied by Rachel.</p>
<p>P. 98: Leah is one of the four mothers for whom Kiryat Arba is named.</p>
<p>P. 238: Leah was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.</p>
<p>P. 262: Leah and Rachel were twins.</p>
<p>P. 282: Leah would be palmed off on Jacob by Laban, according to Rachel. Leah was specifically named as the one not being worked for.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 283: Leah was pious and lovely. Leah was beautiful. Leah was meant to marry Esau as per Laban and Rebecca's agreement. Leah asked about her future husband when she was a maiden. Leah found out that Esau was evil. Leah cried over her fate until her eyelashes fell off. Leah's name was chanted by the guests at the wedding party in order to warn Jacob of Laban's deception.</p>
<p>P. 284: Leah responded to Jacob during the wedding night. Leah was scolded and called a deceiver by Jacob. Leah answered she had learned from Jacob. After Rachel and Leah's death, Jacob made Bilhah and Zilpah legitimate wives.</p>
<p>P. 285: Leah prayed not to be married to Esau and God listened. Leah was permitted to marry Jacob before her sister. Leah was gossiped about because of having deceived her sister. Leah was granted the distinction of bearing a son at the end of seven months of marriage. Leah had twins, a boy and a girl. Leah's childbirth was extraordinary because she really was barren. Leah was not formed to bear children. Leah was hated by Jacob because she deceived her sister. Leah indicated Reuben's future character by his name. Leah said Shimeon's name indicated his descendants' sin. Leah's third son was named by God. Leah thanked God for her fourth son because she knew that Jacob was to have 12 sons, so she would have a larger share. Leah was the first since the creation of the world to give thanks to God. Leah's descendants through her son Judah, David and Daniel, followed her example. Leah was envied by Rachel for her piety, who thought that she had many children due to her righteous conduct.</p>
<p>P. 286: Leah concluded that it was Jacob's destiny to have four wives. Leah was given the younger handmaid in order to deceive Jacob. Leah's reasons for calling Zilpah's son Gad revolved around his future descendants. Leah named Asher for the praise due her for subduing her passion and giving her maid to her husband.</p>
<p>P. 287: Leah was permitted to bear the next son as a reward for her desire to have the twelve tribes come into the world. Leah heard the braying of Jacob's ass. Leah did not give Jacob time to wash. Leah was helped by God, who compelled Jacob to go into her tent. Leah's disinterested motives were known by God. Leah's dudaim secured two sons for her, Issachar and Zebulun. Leah's prayer turned a man child into a woman. Leah asked God to change her boy to a girl so that Rachel would have a share of the twelve tribes equal to the handmaids. Leah, the other wives, and Jacob prayed to God to remove Rachel's barrenness.</p>
<p>P. 288: Leah put her garment on Zilpah to deceive Jacob.</p>
<p>P. 289: Leah was a "gad-about."</p>
<p>P. 293: Leah, Rachel, and the handmaids were all Laban's daughters.</p>
<p>P. 309: Leah liked to go out. Leah liked to be looked upon.</p>
<p>P. 318: Leah's bed was moved into Jacob's tent by Reuben.</p>
<p>P. 319: Leah died at forty four.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 320: Leah was mourned by Jacob and her sons.
P. 356: Leah's image appeared before Joseph when he was on the point of giving in to his mistress.
P. 414: Leah was married in the Cave of Makhpelah.
P. 434: Leah is part of a covenant of God with the "mothers."
P. 440-1: Leah came to Reuben when he cried because Rachel took his dudaim.
P. 556: Leah was part of the six Mothers.
P. 665: Leah corresponds to one of the six wagons offered for the Tabernacle.
P. 671: Leah is alluded to by one of the three kinds of small cattle for the sacrifices.
P. 871: Leah implied in Deborah the prophetess' blessing to Yael.
P. 878: Leah is one of seven sterile women for whom a miracle was wrought and she bore children.
P. 940: Leah is one of the women supervising the fifth of the seven divisions of the women's paradise.
P. 1080: Leah mentioned in Rachel's speech as a recipient of Rachel's kindness.
P. 1161-2: Leah and Rachel conferring with Jacob were models for Hathach and Mordecai. (1161-2)

Miriam (242)

P. 23: Miriam is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of Paradise
P. 65: Miriam was a talebearer. Miriam accused Moses.
P. 238: Miriam was one of twenty-two "women of valor" mentioned in Proverbs 31.
P. 241: The well at which Eliezer stopped was the well of Miriam.
P. 263: The fourth well which Isaac dug is identified with the well of Miriam.
P. 360: According to Joseph, the three branches of the butler's dream alluded to Jacob's descendants being redeemed by three leaders, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.
P. 411: Miriam, along with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Aaron, was one of only six who breathed their last through the kiss of the Shekinah.
P. 411-2: Miriam was one of seven, including Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Benjamin, whose corpses are not exposed to the ravages of the worms.
P. 412: Miriam is one of seven whose corpse did not corrupt. Miriam was one of seven whose corpse did not decay.
P. 469: Miriam was one of two Hebrew midwives, along with Jochebed. Miriam appeared before Pharaoh. Miriam exclaimed, "Woe be to this man when God visits retribution upon him for his evil deeds." The king would have had Miriam killed. Jochebed asked Pharaoh why he paid heed to Miriam's words since she was only a child and knew not of what she spoke. Miriam was five years old when she spoke back to Pharaoh. Miriam accompanied her mother. Miriam helped her mother with her offices to the Hebrew women. Miriam gave food to the new-born babes. Miriam and Jochebed asked Pharaoh, "How are we to know whether the child is male or female?" Pharaoh answered Miriam and Jochebed, "If the child issues forth from the womb with its face foremost, it is a man child, for it looks to the earth, whence man was taken; but if its feet appear first, it is a female, for it looks up toward the rib of the mother, and from a rib woman was made." Pharaoh used many devices to render Jochebed and Miriam amenable to his wishes. Miriam and Jochebed were approached with amorous proposals by the king. Miriam and Jochebed repelled Pharaoh's amorous proposals. Miriam and Jochebed were threatened by Pharaoh with death by fire.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 469: Miriam and Jochebed said within themselves, “Our father Abraham opened an inn, that he might feed the wayfarers, though they were heathen, and we should neglect the children, nay, kill them? No, we shall have a care to keep them alive.”

Miriam and Jochebed failed to execute Pharaoh’s command.

Miriam and Jochebed did not murder the babes.

Miriam and Jochebed supplied all the needs of the babes.

Miriam and Jochebed went to well-to-do women to take up a collection so that infants lacking food and drink would not suffer.

Miriam and Jochebed made supplications to God.

Miriam and Jochebed prayed, “Thou knowest that we are not fulfilling the words of Pharaoh, but it is our aim to fulfill Thy words. O that it be Thy will, our Lord, to let the child come into the world safe and sound, lest we fall under the suspicion that we tried to slay it, and maimed it in the attempt.”

The Lord hearkened to the prayer of Miriam and Jochebed.

No child born under the ministrations of Miriam and Jochebed was born lame.

No child born under the ministrations of Miriam and Jochebed was born blind.

No child born under the ministrations of Miriam and Jochebed was born afflicted with any blemish.

Miriam was also called “Puah.”

Miriam and Jochebed replied, “This nation is compared unto one animal and another, and, in sooth, the Hebrews are like the animals. As little as the animals do they need the offices of midwives.”

Miriam and Jochebed did good deeds.

Miriam and Jochebed were rewarded in many ways for their good deeds.

Pharaoh did no harm to Miriam and Jochebed.

Miriam and Jochebed were made the ancestors of priests and Levites and kings and princes.

From Miriam’s union with Caleb sprang the royal house of David.

The hand of God was visible in Miriam’s married life.

Miriam contracted a grievous sickness.

Miriam’s grievous sickness was seen by many.

All who saw Miriam’s grievous illness thought that that death would overtake her.

Miriam recovered.

God restored Miriam’s youth.

God bestowed unusual beauty upon Miriam.

Renewed happiness awaited Miriam’s husband due to her unusual beauty.

Miriam’s illness was long.

Miriam’s husband had been deprived of the pleasure of conjugal life during her long illness.

Miriam brought forth Bezalel.

Miriam’s being an ancestress of Bezalel was a reward given to her.

P. 470: Miriam is ancestress of the Messiah.

P. 474: Miriam and Jochebed were saved from being killed by Pharaoh

By a Divine miracle, Miriam and Jochebed were not killed by Pharaoh.

Pharaoh sent hangmen for Miriam and Jochebed.

God caused Miriam and Jochebed to become invisible to avoid detection by Pharaoh’s hangmen.

Miriam’s mother was 126 years old when she married her father.

Miriam was Jochebed’s first child.

Miriam was named by her mother.

Miriam’s name meant “bitterness.”

Miriam was born when the Egyptians began to envenom the life of the Hebrews.

P. 475: When Amram separated from his wife, Miriam said, “Father, thy decree is worse than Pharaoh’s decree. The Egyptians aim to destroy only the male children, but thou includest the girls as well. Pharaoh deprives his victims of life in this world, but thou preventest children from being born, and thus thou deprivest them of the future life, too. He resolves destruction, but who knows whether the intention of the wicked can persist? Thou art a righteous man, and the enactments of the righteous are executed by God, hence thy decree will be upheld.”

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 475: Miriam's plea was just. Amram recognized the justice of Miriam's plea. While Amram and Jochebed remarried, Aaron and Miriam danced about the canopy.</p>
<p>P. 476: Miriam had a prophetic dream. Miriam told her dream to her parents. Miriam said, "In this night I saw a man clothed in fine linen. 'Tell thy father and thy mother,' he said, 'that he who shall be born unto them, shall be cast into the waters, and through him the waters shall become dry, and wonders and miracles shall be performed through him, and he shall save My people Israel, and be their leader forever.'"</p>
<p>P. 477: Miriam stayed near to the ark. Miriam stayed near the ark to discover whether her prophecy would be fulfilled. Miriam's prophecy was that her mother would bring forth a son. Miriam's prophecy was that her mother's son would redeem Israel. Amram kissed Miriam on her head when the son was born. Amram beat Miriam on the head when it became necessary to expose the child. Amram told Miriam, "My daughter, what hath become of thy prophecy?" Miriam stayed because her father had challenged her as to what would become of her prophecy. Miriam strolled along the shore.</p>
<p>P. 478: Miriam stepped. Miriam stepped into the presence of Thermutis. Miriam stepped as if she had been standing there by chance. Miriam stepped as if she wished to look at the child. Miriam said to the princess, "It is vain for thee, O queen, to call for nurses that are in no wise of kin to the child, but if thou wilt order a woman of the Hebrews to be brought, he may accept her breast, seeing that she is of his own nation." Thermutis bade Miriam fetch a Hebrew woman. Miriam hastened. Miriam hastened with winged steps. Miriam sped like a vigorous youth. Miriam brought back her own mother. Miriam knew that that none present was acquainted with her mother. As one of the midwives, Miriam had defied Pharaoh's command. As one of the midwives, Miriam had saved the Hebrew children alive.</p>
<p>P. 479: It was Jochebed who placed Miriam near the water to see what would happen. Miriam addressed the woman who delivered Moses from death as "queen."</p>
<p>P. 480: Miriam knew the child by the name "Jered." Miriam's name for the child was related to her "descending" to the stream to ascertain his fate.</p>
<p>P. 564: The women sang under Miriam's guidance. Miriam addressed the women. Miriam said to the women, "Let us sing unto the Lord, for strength and sublimity are His; He lords it over the lordly, and He resents presumption. He hurled Pharaoh's horses and chariots into the sea, and drowned them, because wicked Pharaoh in his presumption pursued God's people, Israel."</p>
<p>P. 568: The well that followed them in the desert for forty years was the well of Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 573: The well was a gift to Israel for the merits of Miriam. When Miriam died, the well disappeared.</p>
<p>P. 574: The water of the well of Miriam will be restored by Elijah in one of three jugs.</p>
<p>P. 576: It was God who wrought the great miracle of the well for the merit of the prophetess Miriam. The well was called "Miriam's Well." Because it was given for her merits. The sieve-like rock which one sees upon Carmel looking over the sea is the well of Miriam. A leper bathing in the sea of Tiberias contacted the waters of Miriam's well and was instantly healed.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 592: The communications between God and Israel were carried on by three: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 621: Hur was the son of Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 641: Miriam married Caleb. Miriam was the great-grandmother of Bezalel. Miriam's grandson built the tabernacle. A later descendant of Miriam was King Solomon. A later descendant of Miriam built the Temple at Jerusalem.</p>
<p>P. 648: The height of the altar was three cubits, corresponding to Miriam, Moses, and Aaron. Miriam was one of three deliverers sent by God to deliver Israel from Egypt.</p>
<p>P. 675: Miriam turned leprous as snow because she slandered Moses.</p>
<p>P. 700: Zipporah asked Miriam to explain Moses' illumination. Miriam told Zipporah the reason for Moses' illumination. Miriam said to Zipporah, "Blessed are the women who behold with their eyes how their husbands are raised to dignity." Zipporah told Miriam, "It would be more proper to say, 'Woe to the wives of these men who must now abstain from all conjugal happiness!'" Miriam asked Zipporah, "How dost thou know this?" Zipporah answered Miriam: "I judge so from the conduct of thy brother, for ever since he was chosen to receive Divine revelations, he no longer knows his wife." Miriam went to Aaron. Miriam told Aaron, "I also received Divine revelations, but without being obliged to separate myself from my husband." Aaron agreed with Miriam. Aaron told Miriam, "I, too, received Divine revelations, with-out, however, being obliged to separate myself from my wife." Miriam and Aaron said, "Our fathers also received revelations, but without discontinuing their conjugal life. Moses abstains from conjugal joys only out of pride, to show how holy a man he is." Miriam and Aaron spoke evil of Moses. Miriam and Aaron spoke evil of Moses to each other. Miriam and Aaron hastened to Moses. Miriam and Aaron told Moses their opinion of his conduct to his face. Miriam and Aaron heaped undeserved reproaches upon Moses. Miriam was with her husband when God carried out His intentions. A Divine voice called Miriam and her siblings simultaneously. Moses was called by God along with Miriam and Aaron so that none should thank that they had been chosen to take Moses' place. Miriam and Aaron were not ready to hearken to God's words. Miriam and Aaron had been surprised. Miriam and Aaron were in a state of uncleanness. Upon hearing God's call, Miriam and Aaron cried, "Water, Water!" Miriam and Aaron intended to purify themselves before appearing before God. Miriam and Aaron left their tents. Miriam and Aaron followed the voice.</p>
<p>P. 701: God elected not to appear to Miriam and Aaron in the holy place. God did not want to create the impression of having removed Moses from His dignity and giving it to Aaron and Miriam. Moses did not follow Miriam and Aaron. God did not want Moses to be present during His conference with Aaron and Miriam. God wanted to praise Moses before Aaron and Miriam. Miriam and Aaron began to interrupt God. God told Miriam and Aaron, "Pray, contain yourselves until I have spoken."</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 701: God told Miriam and Aaron that their censure was directed to Him.</p>
<p>P. 702: Miriam and Aaron made a transgression. God rebuked Aaron and Miriam. God's rebuke to Aaron and Miriam was gentle. Miriam and Aaron had committed a sin. After God showed them their sin, God gave vent to His wrath. As Divine punishment, both Miriam and Aaron together became leprous. Miriam's becoming leprous was the punishment ordained for her as one who speaks ill of neighbors. Miriam's sin was worse than that of Aaron. It was Miriam who started the talk against Moses. Miriam's leprosy lasted longer than Aaron's. Aaron tried to heal Miriam by directing his eyes upon her leprosy. Miriam's leprosy would increase as soon as Aaron looked upon it. Moses was very ready to help cure Miriam. Aaron spoke to Moses of Miriam, saying, "Think not that the leprosy is on Miriam's body only, it is as if it were on the body of our father Amram, of whose flesh and blood she is." Aaron asked Moses, "Have we, Miriam and I, ever done harm to a human being?" Moses answered that Miriam and Aaron had never done harm to a human being. Aaron asked regarding Miriam and himself, "If we have done evil to no strange people, how then canst thou believe that we wished to harm thee? For a moment only did we forget ourselves and acted in an unnatural way toward our brother. Shall we therefore lose our sister? If Miriam's leprosy doth not now vanish, she must pass all her life as a leper, for only a priest who is not a relative by blood of the leper may under certain conditions declare her clean, but all the priests, my sons and I, are her relatives by blood. The life of a leper is as of one dead, for as a corpse makes unclean all that comes in contact with it, so too the leper. Alas!" Aaron asked Moses: "Shall our sister, who was with us in Egypt, who with us intoned the song at the Red Sea, who took upon herself the instruction of the women while we instructed the men, shall she now, while we are about to leave the desert and enter the promised land, sit shut out from the camp?" Moses had determined to intercede for Miriam as soon as she became diseased. Moses said: "It is not right that my sister should suffer and I dwell in contentment." Moses drew a circle and said of Miriam to God: "I will not go from this spot until Thou shalt have healed my sister. But if Thou do not heal her, I myself shall do so, for Thou hast already revealed to me how leprosy arises and how it disappears." Moses' prayer on Miriam's behalf was fervent and wholehearted. Moses did not speak at length, fearing others would say of his prayer for Miriam, "His sister is suffering terribly and he, without heeding her, spends his time in prayer." Moses did not speak at length fearing others would say of his prayer for Miriam, "He prayeth long for his sister, but for us he prayeth briefly." Moses answered God's concern about his shouting, staying, "I know what suffering my sister is enduring. I remember the chain to which my hand was chained, for I myself once suffered from this disease."</p>
<p>P. 702-3: God asked if Miriam should not be ashamed for at least seven days as follows: "If a king, or if her father had but spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days? I, the King of kings, have spit in her face, and she should be ashamed at least twice seven days. For thy sake shall seven days be pardoned her, but the other seven days let her be shut out from the camp."</p>
<p>P. 703: God himself assumed the part of priest in declaring Miriam unclean for a week. God himself assumed the part of priest in declaring Miriam clean after the passing of a week. The occasion of Miriam's punishment served to show how eminent a personage she was. The people returned to camp till Miriam was healed. The clouds waited till Miriam recovered. The well waited till Miriam had recovered. The sanctuary waited till Miriam had recovered.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>Sixty myriads of the people waited till Miriam recovered. When Miriam recovered, the pillar of cloud moved on once more. The people knew that they had not been allowed to go on only because of Miriam, the pious prophetess. That all waited for Miriam was a reward for the kindness she did when Moses was thrown into the Nile. Because the Miriam waited regarding the fate of Moses, the people waited for her. The people could not move on till Miriam recovered. God intended Miriam's punishment to serve as a lesson of the severity with which He punished slander. Miriam spoke no evil of Moses in the presence of anyone except Aaron. Miriam had no evil motive. Miriam had a kindly intention. Miriam wished only to induce Moses to resume his conjugal life.</p>
<p>P. 703-4: Miriam did not dare to rebuke Moses to his face. Miriam was not spared the heavy punishment despite her piety. Miriam's experience was not enough to dissuade the spies from their slander against the promised land. The spies and people had been warned of slander by Miriam's example.</p>
<p>P. 731: Miriam had occupied a place as high as that of her brothers. On her death, Miriam's place became evident and perceived by pious and godless alike. Miriam was the only woman who died during the march through the desert. Miriam was a leader of the people. Miriam's death was a necessity in that as a leader she had to share the fate of her brothers in not entering the promised land. The well which was a reward for the good deeds of the prophetess Miriam had been limited to the time of the march through the desert. This required Miriam's death before entering the promised land. A dearth of water set in when Miriam died. So that Israel might know that only owing to Miriam's merits had they been spared a lack of water during the forty year march, the well disappeared when Miriam died. Moses and Aaron were plunged into deep grief over Miriam's death.</p>
<p>P. 732: Aaron proposed that the multitude might want to express their sympathy over Miriam's death. The people asked Moses and Aaron, "...Why do not ye exhort God to have pity upon us since the well of Miriam has vanished with her death?"</p>
<p>P. 737: Aaron's death followed Miriam's death by four months. Moses died nearly a year after Miriam's death. Miriam died on the first day of Nisan. The death of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses did not take place in the same month. God spoke of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses saying, "And I cut off the three shepherds in one month." Miriam was one of three shepherds. God chose in one month the death dates of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses. Miriam was pious. The death of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses was determined separately from that of the rest of the sinful generation. The doom of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses was not sealed till the rest of the sinful generation had died. The death of Aaron was a consequence of Miriam's death. Miriam's death plunged all into deep mourning. Moses and Aaron wept for Miriam in their apartments. The people wept for Miriam in the streets. Moses was not aware of the disappearance of the well of Miriam for six hours after her death. Moses asked the people, "Shall I not weep for my sister, who has died?" The people replied that Moses was weeping for just one soul, that of Miriam, while the rest thirsted. The rock out of which the well of Miriam flowed vanished among the rest of the rocks.</p>
<p>P. 738: God said, "Neither thou, nor thy brother, nor thy sister, shall set foot upon the land of Israel."</p>
<p>P. 741: Moses explained that like Miriam and he himself, Aaron would not die by the Angel of Death. Moses explained that Miriam died though a kiss from God.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 744: Moses said, “When Miriam died, none came to show Her the last makers of honor, and only I, Aaron, and his sons stood about her bier, wept for her, mourned her, and buried her.” (744)
P. 814: Miriam was sinless. Miriam died on mount Nebo. Miriam died on the same mountain as Moses and Aaron.
P. 815: Moses was gathered to his people, including his sister Miriam.
P. 819: Moses told Joshua that he would have to carry a burden which had proved too heavy for himself, Aaron, and Miriam.
P. 911: David was a descendant of Miriam.

Naomi (24)

P. 238: Naomi was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.
P. 758: Naomi came from Ammon as a reward for the words of Lot’s older daughter. Naomi was one of two doves to spring from [Lot’s] nation, for whose sake their two nations were to be spared by Moses.
P. 862: Naomi loved her daughters-in-law because they had loved her sons so much that they refused to marry again. Naomi’s daughters-in-law renounced their claims to the estates of the deceased in her favor.
P. 863: Naomi did not want to take her daughters-in-law to Palestine, because she foresaw contemptuous treatment in store for them as Moabitish women. Naomi told Ruth of the difficulties of the Jewish Law and of the unity of Torah, law, and God. Naomi’s great piety influenced Ruth. Naomi and Ruth were shown kindness by Boaz, who buried Elimelech and his sons. Naomi thought Boaz wanted to marry Ruth. Naomi tried to coax Ruth to reveal the secret. Naomi could not elicit anything from Ruth.
P. 865: Naomi heard from the Jewish merchants [the holy spirit/an angel] that the famine was over. Naomi was barefoot and in rags. Naomi did not stop to rest even on the eve of the Sabbath [Holy Day]. Naomi and Ruth arrived at Bethlehem on the day on which Boaz’s wife was buried [on the day of the marriages of Ibzan’s sixty children) / on the day of the preparation of the Omer, the end of the first day of Passover [on the day before Passover]]. Naomi refused Ruth because according to the law, one wanting to become a proselyte must be refused. Naomi accepted Ruth as a proselyte after the laws were expounded to her. Naomi brought Ruth under the wings of the Shekhinah. Naomi made Ruth her partner in a plan to force Boaz into a decisive step. Naomi told Ruth, “My merits will accompany thee.”
P. 866: Naomi’s suspicion was aroused by Ruth’s bringing a daily supply; she feared her daughter-in-law was leading an immoral life, obtaining her daily needs from her lovers. Naomi had vowed to provide for Ruth and wanted her to marry.
P. 867: Naomi in her youth was “a nurse” to Boaz, as she was later a nurse to his son Obed.

Rachel (96)

P. 23: Rachel is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of Paradise.
P. 65: Rachel envied her sister Leah.
P. 98: Rachel is one of the four mothers for whom Kiryat Arba is named.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 238: Rachel was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.
P. 262: Rachel and Leah were twins.
P. 278: Rachel was pointed out by the other shepherds as the one who could tell Jacob about her family. Rachel tended her father's cattle because there were few sheep.
P. 281: Rachel would not lie next to Jacob in the grave, according to Jacob's foresight.
P. 282: Rachel accepted Jacob's proposal of marriage. Rachel warned Jacob about her father's cunning. Rachel asked Jacob if deception was becoming to the pious. Rachel told Jacob that she had an older sister whom Laban would try to palm off on Jacob. Rachel and Jacob agreed on a sign so he would recognize her on the wedding night. Rachel would touch Jacob's right toe, thumb, and lobe. Rachel ran to her father because her mother was dead. Rachel's excellent character was perceived by Jacob in a short time.
P. 283: Rachel was pious and lovely. Rachel grew more and more beautiful day by day.
P. 284: Rachel was called by Jacob during the wedding night, but Leah answered. After Rachel's death, Jacob made Bilhah and Zilpah legitimate wives.
P. 285: Rachel envied Leah's piety and righteous conduct, which had given her many children.
P. 285-6: Rachel asked Jacob to pray to God to give her children, and she compared herself to the dead, the blind, the leper, and a rich person who has lost his fortune.
P. 286: Rachel reminded Jacob that both Isaac and Abraham prayed to God for their wives to bear children. Rachel did not elicit Jacob's sympathy. Rachel was asked by Jacob if she would do what Sarah did for Abraham. Rachel agreed to give her maid to Jacob in order to have a child. Rachel named Dan saying that his descendant Samson would judge the people. Rachel named Naphtali after Torah, as sweet as Nofet.
P. 287: Rachel's trading Jacob for the dudaim was unbecoming. Rachel gained the dudaim but lost two tribes. Rachel would have had four sons. Rachel's punishment for this act was that she would not lie in the grave beside Jacob. Rachel not being equal in son-bearing even to the maids was a concern of Leah. Rachel, the other three wives, and Jacob, prayed to God to remove Rachel's barrenness.
P. 287-8: Rachel escaped having to stay behind when Jacob returned to his home, since – childless – her father might have made her stay and marry “one of the uncircumcised.”
P. 288: Rachel was married fourteen years before she bore a child. Rachel told Jacob that if he wanted she would certainly have children, just as he made the sheep have young. Rachel was anxious to have children because she had a presentiment of her own death. Rachel's first son was born on New Year's Day. Rachel said, “God hath taken away my reproach.” Rachel had been seen as impious since she did not have children, but now that was over. Rachel said that as her son removed her reproach, so Joshua would do it for Israel when he circumcised them. Rachel was a prophetess. Rachel foresaw she would have a second son. Rachel regarded Benjamin as a supplement, but his ten children and Joseph's two made up Rachel's twelve tribes. Rachel would have had twelve sons if she had not said “another son.”
P. 289: Rachel feared that her father would take her away from Jacob and give her to Esau. Rachel was sterile by nature. Rachel's childbearing was a miracle granted to her as a reward for her kindness to Leah.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 290: Rachel told Leah the sign agreed upon with Jacob.
P. 291: Rachel stole her father's idols so that he wouldn't find out from them about the departure of Jacob's family.
P. 292: Rachel's tent was the same as Jacob's. Rachel's "feeling about here and there" was noticed by Laban.
P. 292-3: Rachel stole the idols to remove idolatry from Laban.
P. 293: Rachel had to die because of Jacob's curse. Rachel would have died right there and then, but God wanted her to bear Benjamin. Rachel, Leah, and the handmaids were all Laban's daughters.
P. 294: Rachel stole the idols to pacify her father by returning them to him if he overtook them.
P. 303: Rachel was behind Joseph even though Jacob had ordered the reverse, because Joseph wanted to hide her from Esau. Rachel was pregnant with Benjamin when they met Esau.
P. 317: Rachel's death is attributed to Jacob's sin of not fulfilling his vow.
P. 318: Rachel died at 36. Rachel would entreat God's mercy for the exiles on their way to Babylon. Rachel curtailed the rights of Leah, according to Reuben.
P. 319: Rachel died at 45 Rachel was not buried in the family burial place as it was improper to transport female corpses, especially if they died during childbirth. Rachel's tomb was marked by twelve stones put there by Jacob's sons.
P. 327: Rachel is compared to Rebecca in the suffering undergone in giving birth and in both having two sons.
P. 329: Rachel's son Joseph was as beautiful as she.
P. 330: Rachel's resurrection was indicated by Joseph's dream.
P. 337-8: Rachel was invoked by Joseph as he was being carried into slavery.
P. 356: Rachel's image appeared before Joseph when he was on the point of giving in to his mistress.
P. 381: Rachel's son Benjamin looked like her and reminded Joseph of their mother.
P. 423: Rachel, Sarah, and Rebecca are three women to whose beauty Asenath is compared.
P. 428: Rachel's tomb is indicated by Joseph as a place to bury Zilpah's bones.
P. 430: Rachel's tomb is the place against which Dinah was buried.
P. 434: Rachel is part of a covenant of God with the "mothers."
P. 440-1: Issachar said, 'Rachel met Reuben, and she took the dudaim away from him ...'
P. 444: Naphtali said, "I was born of Bilhah, and because Rachel had acted with cunning, and had given Jacob Bilhah instead of herself, I was called Naphtali. Rachel loved me, for I was born upon her knees, and while I was still very young, she was in the habit of kissing me and saying, 'O that I had a brother unto thee from mine own body, one in thine image.' Therefore Joseph resembled me in all respects, in accordance with Rachel's prayer. My mother Bilhah was a daughter of Rotheus, a brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, and she was born the same day as Rachel."
P. 449: Benjamin said, "My mother Rachel died at my birth, and Bilhah her slave suckled me. Rachel had no children for twelve years after bearing Joseph. Therefore she prayed to God, and fasted twelve days, and she conceived and bore me. Our father loved Rachel fondly, and he had longed greatly to have two sons by her."
P. 494: Rachel and Jacob met at the same well where Moses met his wife, and which was created on the twilight of the first Sabbath.
P. 579: Rachel's descendant Joshua could conquer Esau's descendant, in Moses' view.
P. 580: Only when the descendants of Rachel participated in war were the Israelites victorious.
P. 665: Rachel corresponds to one of the six wagons offered for the Tabernacle.
P. 669: Rachel is symbolized by the charger.
P. 671: Rachel is alluded to by one of the three kinds of small cattle for the sacrifices.
P. 682: Rachel's first-born was sold for five shekels.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 871: Rachel implied in Deborah the prophetess' blessing to Yael.
P. 878: Rachel is one of seven sterile women for whom a miracle was wrought and she bore children.
P. 940: Rachel is one of the women supervising the fifth of the seven divisions of the women's Paradise.
P. 941: Rachel was one of the most beautiful women.
P. 1080: Rachel is called "our mother." Rachel stood before God. " Rachel said to God, "Thou knowest how overwhelming was Jacob's love for me, and when I observed that my father thought to put Leah in my place, I gave Jacob secret signs, that the plan of my father might be set at naught. But then I repented me of what I had done, and to spare my sister mortification, I disclosed the signs to her. More than this, I myself was in the bridal chamber, and when Jacob spake with Leah, I made reply, lest her voice betray her. I, a woman, a creature of flesh and blood, of dust and ashes, was not jealous of my rival. Thou, O God, everlasting King, Thou eternal and merciful Father, why wast Thou jealous of the idols, empty vanities? Why hast Thou driven out my children, slain them with the sword, left them at the mercy of their enemies?" " Rachel awakened God's compassion and was told that, for her sake, He would lead the Israel back to their land. "
P. 1144: Rachel seen by Esther as example of modesty. Rachel was rewarded by being given a descendant like Esther.
P. 1161-2: Rachel and Leah conferring with Jacob were models for Hathach and Mordecai. (1161-2)
P. 1177: The Rachel tribes are always chosen by God to gain victory for Israel.

Rebecca (145)

P. 23: Rebecca is one of nine women who supervise seven divisions of paradise.
P. 98: Rebecca was buried in the cave of Makhpelah. Rebecca is one of the four mothers for whom Kiryat Arba is named.
P. 238: Rebecca was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.
P. 239: God appointed an angel to watch over Rebecca. Rebecca did not usually go to the well. Rebecca's father was king of Haran. Rebecca was a young innocent child. Rebecca rebuked her maidens for being discourteous to a stranger.
P. 240: The water of the well rose up for her. Rebecca's nose ring foreshadowed the Temple tax and her bracelets foreshadowed the two tablets with the Ten Commandments. Rebecca's marriage was accomplished by the gifts. The reason that Rebecca's relatives did not want to let her go without consulting her was that her father had died. Rebecca should stay home for the week of mourning. Rebecca was barren for many years because her relatives' blessings had not been heartfelt. Rebecca saw Isaac's beauty and the angel accompanying him. Rebecca learned she would be Esau's mother. Rebecca was frightened. Rebecca hurt herself when she fell. Rebecca was Sarah's worthy successor The cloud appeared again to the tent because of Rebecca.
P. 240-241: The light returned to the tent because of Rebecca.
P. 241: The blessing over the dough returned because of Rebecca. The gates for the needy were opened again because of Rebecca.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 241: Rebecca was the counterpart of Sarah in person and in spirit. Rebecca kept entirely away from men. Rebecca surpassed Abishag in beauty. Rebecca was three years and one day old. Rebecca would have been deflowered by her father, so he died.</p>
<p>P. 242: Her relatives wanted Rebecca to refuse to go. Rebecca's journey to Isaac was fast so that she would not have to spend the night with a slave. Birds watched over Rebecca's blood.</p>
<p>P. 251: Rebecca was fourteen when she married Isaac. Rebecca was not like her relatives. Rebecca's piety was equal to Isaac's. Rebecca's marriage was not entirely happy. Rebecca did not have children for twenty (or 22) years after she married. Even though Isaac at first refused to pray for children, Rebecca convinced him. Rebecca and Isaac went to Mt. Moriah to pray.</p>
<p>P. 252: Rebecca prayed that all children destined for her would come from Isaac. Rebecca descended from a godless father. Rebecca's pregnancy was a miracle. Rebecca had not been intended to have children. Rebecca's prayer was as efficacious as Isaac's. Rebecca wished she were barren again in her seventh month of pregnancy. Rebecca suffered torturous pain. Rebecca asked other women if they had also suffered during their pregnancy. Rebecca went to Mt. Moriah to Shem and Eber's academy. Rebecca asked Shem, Eber, and Abraham to ask God why she was suffering. Rebecca was told by Shem about the future of her sons. The circumstances of Rebecca's delivery were remarkable.</p>
<p>P. 253: Rebecca died at 133, 144, or 143. Rebecca's people were deceivers. Rebecca was a deceiver. Rebecca's sons were deceivers Rebecca's childlessness was due to both herself and Isaac. Rebecca was more clear sighted than Isaac. Rebecca saw her sons as they really were. Rebecca loved Jacob more the more she heard his voice. Rebecca was asked by Abraham to watch over Jacob. Rebecca witnessed Abraham blessing Jacob.</p>
<p>P. 254: Rebecca was a prophetess. Rebecca foresaw that Esau's descendants would kill Jewish scholars. Rebecca prayed to God not to destroy all the scholars. Rebecca's womb was torn by Esau. Rebecca was destined to be the "mother of the twelve tribes." Rebecca did not go to Abraham because she did not want to sadden him.</p>
<p>P. 255: Rebecca and Isaac knew of Abraham's love for Jacob. Rebecca and Isaac sent Abraham a meal for Pentecost.</p>
<p>P. 260: Rebecca's beauty was reported to the king of Gerar. Rebecca's being Isaac's wife was noticed by the king after they had been there for three months. Rebecca's husband was suspected of having illicit intercourse with her. Rebecca's marital status was not believed by the people at first.</p>
<p>P. 262: Rebecca found out that Laban and his wife had twin daughters. Rebecca exhorted Jacob to marry a maiden of the family of Abraham.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 262: Rebecca was moved by Jacob's resolve to marry a cousin. Rebecca thanked Jacob. Rebecca praised God for having given her Jacob. Rebecca asked God to bless Jacob. Rebecca asked God to put the blessing of righteousness in her mouth so that she could bless Jacob. God's spirit came over Rebecca. Rebecca laid her hands upon Jacob's head Rebecca gave Jacob a maternal blessing.</p>
<p>P. 264: Rebecca had been used to incense burnt before idols in her childhood. Rebecca could bear it when Esau's wives burnt incense, too.</p>
<p>P. 265: Rebecca did not hear what Isaac said to Esau. Rebecca received the words through the holy spirit. Rebecca resolved to keep Isaac from taking a false step. Rebecca did not do it for love of Jacob. Rebecca wanted to keep Isaac from doing a detestable act. Rebecca told Jacob, "This night the storehouses of dew are unlocked; ... during which the celestial beings chant the Hallel unto God, the night set apart for the deliverance of thy children from Egypt, on which they, too, will sing the Hallel." Rebecca told Jacob to prepare savory meat for his father. Rebecca told Jacob, "Thou art my son whose children, every one, will be good and God-fearing— not one shall be graceless." Rebecca compared Jacob to Adam and herself to the earth. Rebecca said that, at worse, she would tell Isaac, "Esau is a villain, and Jacob is a righteous man." Rebecca asked Jacob to get one kid for the Passover service and one for the festival sacrifice. Rebecca said her marriage contract entitled her to two kids daily. Rebecca said the two kids would bring good to Jacob. Rebecca said the two kids would bring good to Jacob's children. Rebecca said two kids would be offered on the Day of Atonement. Rebecca tore the kids' skins into strips. Rebecca sewed the strips together. Rebecca thought Esau's wonderful garments were legally Jacob's.</p>
<p>P. 266: Rebecca led Jacob Isaac's door. Rebecca parted from Jacob. Rebecca told Jacob, "Henceforward may thy Creator assist thee."</p>
<p>P. 267: Rebecca was the daughter of an idolatrous priest. Rebecca also blessed Jacob. Rebecca praised God.</p>
<p>P. 268: Rebecca eavesdropped.</p>
<p>P. 269: Rebecca was suspected by Esau of having instigated Jacob's act.</p>
<p>P. 272: Rebecca told Jacob to stay with Laban for seven years. Rebecca believed that Esau's anger would pass. Rebecca was mistaken. Rebecca prophesied about her sons' deaths—Esau was killed at the time that of Jacob's burial. Rebecca was told by Jacob that he would only leave if Isaac sent him away. Rebecca prayed to God that Esau would not succeed against Jacob.</p>
<p>P. 273: Rebecca cried when Jacob left. Rebecca was distressed about Jacob. Rebecca was comforted by Isaac. Rebecca found out about Esau's evil designs in a dream. Rebecca is seen as "wiping her nose" due to her incessant weeping. Rebecca saw in her prophetic vision that Titus would destroy the Temple.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 283: Rebecca and Laban had agreed by letter to marry their children to each other.
P. 290: Rebecca sent her nurse Deborah to urge Jacob to come back.
P. 295: Rebecca was told that Esau and his men were about to make war with Jacob. Rebecca sent seventy-two of Isaac's retainers to help Jacob. Rebecca sent a message to Jacob counseling him to placate Esau.
P. 311: Rebecca would have been raped by the Shekhemites, but God prevented it. Rebecca was allowed by Isaac to go to Beth-El with Jacob. Rebecca and her nurse went to Beth-El with Jacob.
P. 317: Rebecca died a short time after Deborah. Rebecca was not publicly mourned because it was feared that Esau would curse her. Rebecca was buried at night. Rebecca died before Deborah. Rebecca died before Jacob returned home.
P. 318: Rebecca was 155 or 133 when she died.
P. 318-9: Rebecca employed the nurse for her children.
P. 423: Rebecca, Sarah, and Rachel are three women to whose beauty Asenath is compared.
P. 434: Rebecca is part of a covenant of God with the "mothers."
P. 556: Rebecca was part of the six Mothers.
P. 665: Rebecca corresponds to one of the six wagons offered for the Tabernacle.
P. 671: Rebecca is represented by one of the oxen for the peace offering.
P. 871: Rebecca implied in Deborah the prophetess' blessing to Yael.
P. 878: Rebecca is one of seven sterile women for whom a miracle was wrought and she bore children.

Ruth (60)

P. 214: Ruth is an ancestress of the Messiah.
P. 238: Ruth was one of twenty-two women of valor alluded to in Proverbs 31.
P. 356: Ruth's modest words are contrasted with Potiphar's wife's indecent language.
P. 758: Ruth came from Moab as a reward for the words of Lot's older daughter. Ruth was one of two doves to spring from [Lot's] nation, for whose sake their two nations were to be spared by Moses.
P. 793: Ruth was the cause for God's delay in punishing Moab. Ruth was destined to become the mother of the dynasty of David. Ruth was the reason that the prohibition of intermarriage with Moab applied only to men.
P. 862: Ruth's story took place 100 years after Othniel's reign. Ruth was the daughter of Moabite king Eglon. Ruth and Orpah were sisters as well as sisters-in-law. Ruth's husband was sinful, so first he became poor and then God took his life. Ruth was dear to Naomi since out of love for him she refused to marry again.
P. 863: Ruth was determined to become a Jewess. Ruth's decision could not be shaken by what Naomi told her of the difficulties of the Jewish law. Ruth was told Jews have only one Torah, one law, one command, one God. Ruth and Naomi arrived at Bethlehem on the day on which Boaz's wife was buried [on the day of the marriages of Ibzan's sixty children / arrived on the day of the preparation of the Omer, the end of the first day of Passover [on the day before Passover]. Ruth only picked up only two ears in spite of her need, for that is the quantity assigned by the law. Ruth was greatly influenced by Naomi's piety. Ruth was admired by Boaz for her grace, decorous conduct, and modest demeanor. Ruth was commended by Boaz for her attachment to Judaism.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 863: Ruth said she was a member of a low people, abominated by thy God, and excluded from the assembly of Israel.</p> <p>Ruth was told by Boaz that only the males were affected by the command of exclusion, and he also told her of a vision he had had concerning her descendants. For the sake of the good she had done to her mother-in-law, kings and prophets would spring from her womb.</p> <p>Ruth and Naomi were shown kindness by Boaz, who buried Elimelech and his two sons.</p> <p>Ruth was suspected by Naomi of having kept secret that Boaz wanted to marry her.</p> <p>Ruth was coaxed by Naomi to reveal her secret.</p> <p>Ruth did not say anything to Naomi.</p> <p>Ruth did not wash and anoint herself and put on fine raiment, until after reaching her destination.</p> <p>Ruth feared to attract the attention of the lustful, if she walked along the road decked out in unusual finery.</p> <p>Ruth calmed Boaz's disquietude saying, "Thou art the head of the court, thy ancestors were princes, thou art thyself an honorable man, and a kinsman of my dead husband. As for me, who am in the flower of my years, since I left the home of my parents where homage is rendered unto idols, I have been constantly menaced by the dissolute young men around.</p>
<p>P. 864: Ruth did not have to wait long to be redeemed because an angel led Boaz's kinsman to appear before the Sanhedrin.</p> <p>Ruth married an octogenarian.</p> <p>Ruth was 40 when she married.</p> <p>Ruth's childbearing was against all expectations.</p> <p>Ruth lived to see Solomon's glory.</p> <p>Ruth's husband died on the day after the wedding (in the bridal chamber).</p>
<p>P. 865: Ruth made sure that her husband's last honors were in keeping with his station in life.</p> <p>Ruth renounced her claims to her husband's estate in favor of Naomi.</p> <p>Ruth was accepted the second times after the laws were expounded to her.</p> <p>Ruth's first request was refused by Naomi because according to the law, one wanting to become a proselyte must be refused.</p> <p>Ruth was brought under the wings of the Shekhinah by Naomi.</p> <p>Ruth was led to Boaz's field by an angel.</p> <p>Ruth was told by Boaz that she would be one of "the mothers of Israel."</p> <p>Ruth did not know the Halakhah until Boaz told her.</p>
<p>P. 866: Ruth's corn was blessed by God so it would suffice for her meal.</p> <p>Ruth's grain was threshed for her by Boaz's workers.</p> <p>Ruth's bringing a daily supply aroused the suspicion of Naomi, who feared her daughter-in-law was leading an immoral life, obtaining her daily needs from her lovers.</p> <p>Ruth being married was important to Naomi because she had taken an oath to provide for Ruth.</p> <p>Ruth's apprehensions were allayed by Naomi.</p> <p>Ruth was afraid to walk at night by herself because she was so beautiful that no man could look at her without becoming passionately enamored of her.</p> <p>Ruth was given six measures of barley by Boaz to signify that she was destined to become the ancestress of six pious men endowed with six spiritual gifts.</p>
<p>P. 867: Ruth performed the <i>chalitsah</i>.</p> <p>Ruth's physical condition was not fit for bearing children, had not a miracle been wrought for her.</p> <p>Ruth's son was born circumcised.</p> <p>Ruth's son was born within a year of her marriage.</p> <p>Ruth lived not long before the prophetess Deborah.</p>
<p>P. 911: Ruth's kin, a Moabite king, murdered David's father Jesse.</p>
<p>P. 915: Ruth's sister Orpah was Goliath's grandmother.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 916-7: Ruth's Moabite origin was seen by Doeg, David's enemy, as a reason for considering David to be a non-Jew and therefore not eligible to be king.
P. 917: Ruth is called "mother" by David.

Sarah (274)

P. 23: Sarah is one of nine women supervise seven divisions of Paradise.
P. 59: Compared with Sarah, the fairest women are as apes compared with a human being. Sarah's beauty was less than Eve's.
P. 65: Sarah was an eavesdropper.
P. 76: Sarah was the only woman with whom God spoke.
P. 98: Sarah is one of the four mothers for whom Kiryat Arba is named.
P. 178: Sarah was the daughter of Haran. Sarah aided Abraham in his pious undertaking of turning the hearts of men to God. Sarah addressed herself to the women while Abraham exhorted the men to convert. Sarah was a helpmeet worthy of Abraham. Sarah ranked higher than Abraham in prophetic powers.
P. 179-80: On the miracle of Isaac's birth, the whole world went to Sarah (and Abraham) asking through what merit they had deserved this.
P. 180: A coin Abraham made commemorating Isaac's miraculous birth featured an aged couple on one side and a young couple on the other, representing Sarah and Abraham. On the coin, the lines of Sarah's face were smoothed out. Sarah was sometimes called Iscah. Sarah's name "Iscah" [the seer] was related to her prophetic powers. Sarah foresaw Israel's history. Sarah prayed to God to help Israel in its tribulations.
P. 187: At each place where Abraham dwelled a while, first he stretched out a tent for Sarah, and next for himself.
P. 189: Sarah's beauty was first observed by Abraham on their journey for Canaan to Egypt. Sarah had never before been looked upon by Abraham till wading through a stream. Sarah's beauty was observed by Abraham in her reflection in the water. Sarah's beauty was like the brilliance of the sun. Abraham said to Sarah, "The Egyptians are very sensual, and I will put thee in a casket that no harm befall me on account of you." Sarah was hidden in a casket. When the casket in which Sarah was hidden was opened by Egyptian officers, the whole of Egypt was resplendent with Sarah's beauty. Sarah was more beautiful than Eve. Pharaoh's servants outbid one another in seeking to obtain possession of Sarah. Pharaoh's servants opined that such a beauty as Sarah ought not remain the property of a private individual. The matter of Sarah's beauty was reported to Pharaoh. Pharaoh sent a powerful armed force to bring Sarah to the palace. Sarah was charming. Pharaoh was bewitched by Sarah's charms. Those who had brought the news of Sarah's coming to Egypt were rewarded.
P. 190: Sarah implored God, saying, "O God, You did bid my lord Abraham leave his home ... and You promised to do good to him if he fulfilled Your commands ... We came hither to save our people from starvation, and now has this terrible misfortune befallen. O Lord, help me and save me from the hand of this enemy, and for the sake of Your grace, show me good."

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 190: An angel appeared to Sarah while she was in the presence of the king. An angel told Sarah, "Fear naught, Sarah, for God has heard your prayer." Sarah was questioned by Pharaoh as to the man with whom she had come. Sarah called Abraham her brother. Pharaoh told Sarah that he would make Abraham great and powerful and do whatever she wished. Pharaoh bore love for Sarah. Pharaoh wrote a marriage contract deeding to Sarah all he owned of gold, silver, and slaves. Pharaoh gave Sara his own daughter Hagar as a slave. Sarah was approached by Pharaoh at night. Pharaoh attempted to remove Sarah's shoe. An angel struck Pharaoh's hand to protect Sarah. Sarah's dress was grasped by Pharaoh. An angel again struck Pharaoh to protect Sarah. The angel asked Sarah if Pharaoh should be given a moment to reflect before delivering further blows. The night on which the plague descended on Pharaoh was the 15th of Nisan, the very night on which God later visited the Egyptians to redeem Sarah's descendants. (The cause of Pharaoh's affliction was corroborated by Sarah. Sarah was pure and untouched. Sarah (and Abraham) had sojourned three months in Egypt. Sarah (and Abraham) returned to Canaan staying at the same shelters in order to pay their accounts. Sarah (and Abraham) sought to teach by their example that it is not proper to seek new quarters unless one is forced to it.</p>
<p>P. 191: On her arrival in Egypt, Sarah was impressed into service to work as "a donkey in a mill."</p>
<p>P. 201: Sarah (and Abraham) viewed their childlessness as punishment for not living in the Holy Land. After 10 years in the Holy Land without conceiving, Sarah perceived that the fault lay within her. Sarah had not even a trace of jealousy when she gave Hagar to Abraham as wife. Sarah made Hagar a freed woman prior to giving her to Abraham as a wife. Sarah had taught Hagar. Sarah had bred Hagar. Hagar walked in the same path of righteousness as her mistress. Abraham acceded to Sarah's proposal on instruction of the holy spirit. Sarah was very tender towards Hagar due to her state of pregnancy. Noble matrons came to see Sarah. When noble matrons came to see Sarah, she would urge them to pay a visit to "poor Hagar," too. Hagar disparaged Sarah saying, "My lady Sarah is not inwardly what she appears to be outwardly. She makes the impression of a righteous, pious woman, but she is not, for if she were, how could her childlessness be explained after so many years of marriage, while I became pregnant at once?" Sarah scorned to bicker with her slave. Sarah felt rage at Hagar's words. Sarah told Abraham that he should defend her when Hagar disparaged her and "O that God might look upon the injustice which hath been done unto me, to judge between thee and me, and have mercy upon us, restore peace to our home, and grant us offspring, that we have no need of children from Hagar, the Egyptian bondwoman of the generation of the heathen that cast thee in the fiery furnace!" Abraham said to Sarah that once they had made Hagar a mistress they could not again make her a slave. Sarah was not mindful of Abraham's instruction and worked Hagar as a slave. Sarah cast an evil eye upon Hagar. The evil eye Sarah cast upon Hagar caused her to drop her unborn child.</p>
<p>P. 202: Sarah caused the bread to become defiled.</p>
<p>P. 204: The angel Michael was assigned to bring Sarah the glad tidings that she would bear a son.</p>
<p>P. 205: Abraham suspected the Sarah would behave niggardly. The angels knew that Sarah had retired to her tent. The angels felt it proper to pay their respects to Sarah.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 205: The angels felt it proper to send Sarah the cup of wine over which the blessing had been said. The angel Michael drew a line upon the wall, saying, “When the sun crosses this point, Sarah will be with child, and when he [sic.] crosses the next point, she will give birth to a child.” Michael’s communication was intended for Sarah. Ishmael stood between the angel and Sarah at the time of the announcement. Sarah’s beauty was radiant. A beam of Sarah’s radiant beauty struck the angel. In the process of being struck by the beam of Sarah’s radiant beauty, the angel’s head deviated, resulting in his being able to hear Sarah laugh within herself. Sarah said, “Is it possible that these bowels can yet bring forth a child, these shriveled breasts give suck? And though I should be able to bear, yet is not my lord Abraham old?” When God asked Abraham why Sarah laughed, His reproach was directed against both Sarah and Abraham.</p>
<p>P. 207: As punishment for her lack of faith on receiving the message of Isaac’s birth from the angel, Sarah’s death was caused by the message that Isaac was sacrificed by his father. Women are disqualified as witnesses because they are of a mendacious nature, for even one of the best of them, Sarah, told an untruth.</p>
<p>P. 208: Sarah instructed Eliezer to go to Sodom to inquire as to Lot’s welfare.</p>
<p>P. 214: Abraham and Sarah’s pretense of being siblings was not betrayed by Lot.</p>
<p>P. 216: Sarah agreed with Abraham that she was to call herself his sister in the land of the Philistines. A report of Sarah’s beauty reached Abimelech. Abimelech ordered that Sarah be brought before him. Abimelech asked Sarah who her companion was. Sarah told Abimelech that Abraham was her brother. Abimelech was entranced by Sarah’s beauty. Abimelech took Sarah to wife. Abraham was honored in accord with Sarah being his queen. An angel appeared to Abimelech in a dream telling he would die for taking Sarah, lest he return her to her husband Abraham. Abimelech’s advisor told him to restore Sarah to her husband Abraham. All of Abraham’s household confirmed the sibling relationship of Abraham and Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 217: Abimelech’s intent in wanting to marry the pious Sarah was to beget pious children. Abimelech gave Sarah a costly robe. The robe Abimelech gave Sarah covered her whole person. The robe Abimelech gave to Sarah hid her seductive charms. Abimelech intended to admonish Abraham for not fitting Sarah with the splendor due his wife.</p>
<p>P. 218: The angels compared Sarah’s being barren to that of the wife of Abimelech. The angels argued that Abraham’s prayer for Sarah to conceive should be no less effective than it was in the case of his prayer for Abimelech’s wife. The words of the angels were effective helping Sarah to conceive. Sarah conceived on the first day of Passover. God remembered all barren women at the same time as he remembered Sarah. Sarah’s conception was delayed till after Abraham bore the sign of the covenant. People said that elderly Sarah and Abraham had just picked up a foundling and pretended it was their own son. Sarah had enough milk in her breasts to suckle all the babes of those who came to the celebration. The babes who drew from Sarah’s breasts had much to thank her for. All proselytes and pious heathens are descendants of the infants who nursed from Sarah’s breasts.</p>
<p>P. 219: Sarah insisted that Abraham make over to Isaac all he owned to avoid future disputes between Ishmael and Isaac.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 219: Sarah said, “Ishmael is nor worthy of being heir with my son, nor with a man like Isaac, and certainly not with my son Isaac.” Sarah insisted that Abraham divorce himself from Hagar. Sarah insisted that Abraham send away the Hagar and her son.</p>
<p>P. 219-20: Sarah wanted nothing in common between Isaac and Ishmael, either in this world or the future world.</p>
<p>P. 220: Gold told Abraham that Sarah had been appointed to be his wife from her mother’s womb. God told Abraham that Sarah was his companion and the wife of his youth. God told Abraham that Sarah had spoken the truth. Sarah’s evil glance upon Ishmael made him sick and feverish. Sarah noticed that Ishmael caught locusts and sacrificed them to idols.</p>
<p>P. 221: Sarah was told by Abraham that he would go and see his son Ishmael because he missed him. Abraham had sworn to Sarah that he woud not dismount the camel on his trip to visit Ishmael.</p>
<p>P. 224: When Abraham had guests, Sarah tried to convince their wives that Isaac was really her child.</p>
<p>P. 225: Abraham asked himself how he would be able to separate Isaac from Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 226: Abraham said to Sarah, “My son Isaac is grown up, and he has not yet studied the service of God. Now, tomorrow I will go and bring him to Shem and Eber his son, and there he will learn the ways of the Lord ...” Sarah said to Abraham, “... do unto him as thou hast said, but remove him not far from me, neither let him remain there too long, for my soul is bound within his soul.” Abraham said to Sarah: “My daughter, let us pray to the Lord our God that He may do good with us.” Sarah took her son Isaac. Isaac abode with Sarah all night. Sarah kissed Isaac. Sarah embraced Isaac. Sarah laid injunctions upon Isaac till morning. Sarah said to Abraham: “O my lord, I pray thee, take heed of thy son ... for I have no other son nor daughter but him ...” Sarah spent the whole night in weeping on account of Isaac. Sarah got up in the morning. Sarah selected a fine and beautiful garment of those given her by Abimelech. Sarah dressed Isaac. Sarah put a turban upon Isaac’s head. Sarah gave them provisions for the road. Sarah went out with them. Sarah accompanied them upon the road to see them off. Isaac and Abraham told Sarah, “Return to the tent.” Sarah wept bitterly when Isaac spoke to her. Abraham wept with Sarah. Isaac wept with Sarah. Sarah caught hold of Isaac. Sarah held Isaac in her arms. Sarah embraced Isaac again. Sarah continued to weep with Isaac. Sarah said, “Who knoweth if I shall ever see thee again after this day?” Sarah returned to the tent.</p>
<p>P. 227: Satan appeared to Sarah. Satan sold Sarah, “Where did your husband go?” Sarah told Satan, “To his work.” Satan said to Sarah, “Where did your son Isaac go?” Sarah told Satan, “He went with his father to a place of study of the Torah.”</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 227: Satan told Sarah, “O thou poor old woman, thy teeth will be set on edge on account of thy son, as thou knowest not that Abraham took his son with him on the road to sacrifice him.” Sarah’s loins trembled. Sarah’s limbs shook. Sarah was no more of this world. Sarah aroused herself. Sarah said, “All that God has told Abraham, may he do it unto life and unto peace.”</p>
<p>P. 229: Isaac told Abraham to put his burnt ashes in a casket in Sarah’s chamber. Isaac anticipated that whenever Sarah entered her chamber, she would remember and weep for him. Isaac asked Abraham how he would answer Sarah’s inquiries as to “Where is my son Isaac?”</p>
<p>P. 231: When Sarah saw that Abraham returned alone, Sarah said, “Satan spoke truth when he said that Isaac was sacrificed.” So grieved was Sarah’s soul that it fled from her body.</p>
<p>P. 233: Satan said to Sarah: “Dost thou not know all that Abraham has done unto thine only son this day? He took Isaac, and built an altar, slaughtered him, and brought him up as a sacrifice. Isaac cried and wept before his father, but he looked not at him, neither did he have compassion upon him When Satan departed, Sarah thought him to be a man from amongst those who had been with Isaac. Sarah lifted up her voice. Sarah cried bitterly. Sarah said, “O my son, Isaac, my son, O that I had this day died instead of thee! ...” Sarah laid her head upon the bosom of her handmaid. Sarah became as still as stone.</p>
<p>P. 234: Sarah rose up. Sarah went about making inquiries concerning Isaac. Sarah came to Hebron. No one could tell Sarah what had happened to Isaac. Satan told Sarah, “I spoke falsely unto thee, for Abraham did not kill his son, and he is not dead.” The words of joy were so exceedingly violent that Sarah’s soul went out through joy. Sarah was sought by Abraham with Isaac. Abraham and Isaac could not find Sarah. Abraham and Isaac made inquiries concerning Sarah. Abraham and Isaac were told that Sarah had gone as far as Hebron seeking them. When Abraham and Isaac went to Hebron, they found the Sarah was dead. Abraham and Isaac cried bitterly over Sarah. Isaac said, “O my mother, my mother, how hast thou left me, and whither hast thou gone? O whither hast thou gone, and how hast thou left me?” Abraham and his servants wept and mourned heavily over Sarah. Abraham spent his time mourning and weeping over Sarah. Sarah had retained the beauty of her youth and innocence of her childhood even in her old age. Sarah’s loss was for the whole country. While Sarah was alive, all went well in the land. When Sarah died, confusion ensued in the land. Weeping and wailing over Sara were universal. Abraham consoled the people saying, “My children, take not the going hence of Sarah too much to heart. There is one event unto all, to the pious and the impious alike. I pray you now, give me a burying-place with you, not as a gift, but for money.”</p>
<p>P. 235: Sarah’s burial took place amid great magnificence and sympathy. Among the mourners were Shem, Eber, Abimelech, Aner, Eshcol, Mamre, and all the great of the land. Seven days of mourning were kept for Sarah. Abimelech died one year after Sarah’s death.</p>
<p>P. 237: Those inhabitants of Hebron who closed their business to show last honor to Sarah were allowed to live to witness Abraham’s funeral ceremonies.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 237: Sarah died by a kiss from God. Abraham did not recover from the blow of Sarah's death. While Sarah was alive, Abraham felt himself young and vigorous. Old age suddenly overtook Abraham after Sarah died. God continued to bless Abraham after Sarah's death, lest it be said that his blessing was only for her sake. The woman of valor of Proverbs refers to Sarah. Sarah is the most prominent woman of valor- she is the only women whose age at her death is given.</p>
<p>P. 240: During Sarah's life, a cloud had been visible over her tent. After Sarah's death, the cloud over her tent had vanished. Sarah had kindled light at the coming of the Sabbath.</p>
<p>P. 240-1: The light that Sarah kindled for the Sabbath burnt miraculously through the week.</p>
<p>P. 241: Over the dough kneaded by Sarah, a blessing would hover. During her lifetime, Sarah's tent gate was open for the needy. In Rebecca, there was a counterpart of Sarah in person and in spirit. Sarah appeared to Isaac after her death in her tent.</p>
<p>P. 245: Hearing Abraham and Isaac weep, Sarah said, "My lord Abraham, why this weeping? Has the stranger told thee of thy brother's son Lot, that he is dead? or has aught befallen Michael told Sarah that Isaac had a dream, and wept and that made everyone weep. Sarah knew that Michael was an angel of the Lord. Sarah knew that Michael was one of the three angels whom they had entertained before. Sarah signaled Abraham to provide information. Abraham told Sarah that she had "perceived well" and that he was also aware of Michael's identity.</p>
<p>P. 247: Sarah was found dead when Michael returned Abraham to his house. Sarah was consumed with grief when she knew not what had become of Abraham. Sarah gave up her soul.</p>
<p>P. 254: With the exception of Sarah, no woman was ever found worthy to receive a divine communication directly.</p>
<p>P. 267: Isaac's blindness was caused by the curse Abimelech made on Sarah's children.</p>
<p>P. 286: Jacob asked Rachel if she would do for him what Sarah had done for Abraham. Rachel asked Jacob what Sarah had done for Abraham. Jacob told Rachel that Sarah had brought a rival into her house. Leah said that Sarah brought Abraham her handmaid was only because Sarah had no children.</p>
<p>P. 293: Sarah married at the age of three. Sara died at the age of 133, 143, or 144.</p>
<p>P. 311: The inhabitants of Shekhem had sought to do to Sarah and Rebecca as they had to Dinah.</p>
<p>P. 357: The same house from which Joseph had fled was that from which Sarah had been held captive by Pharaoh.</p>
<p>P. 377-8: Jacob asked Pharaoh if he was aware what God did unto Pharaoh when he took Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 395: When pharaoh took Sarah from Abraham, his gift of pastureland to her was irrevocable.</p>
<p>P. 409: Joseph proved his royal lineage by having Pharaoh compare his likeness to that in a portrait that Pharaoh had of Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 423: Potiphar's daughter was slender, as was Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 456: Abraham did not begrudge God for the long-term promise to inherit the land, not even giving him so much as a burial place for Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 482: Abraham claimed that Sarah was his sister in order to make Egypt and its king stumble.</p>
<p>P. 514: Moses noted that God had sent angels to redeem six myriads of the children of Sarah.</p>
<p>P. 665: The six wagons supplied by the princes corresponded to the six Mothers, Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah.</p>
<p>P. 670: Naphtali recalled Sarah in the weight of one silver charger of 130 shekels, symbolized Sarah among women due to her piety, since she had almost attained the age of 130.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 671: The charger and bowl had flour which mingled with oil, recalling Abraham and Sarah's love for good and pious deeds intermingled.
P. 706: The letter Yod was sad when it was taken out of Sarah's name.
P. 753: It was assumed that Og would be victorious in gaining possession of the beautiful Sarah. Og did not succeed in getting possession of the beautiful Sarah.
P. 878: Sarah is among seven sterile women for whom a miracle was wrought allowing them to bare children.
P. 940: Sarah was one of four of the most beautiful women in history, with Rahab, Esther, and Abigail. The part of women's Paradise supervised by Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah adjoins that of Abigail.
P. 941: Sarah along with Rachel and Abigail were three of the undisputed beauties.
P. 1138: Sarah's pious deeds were rewarded in that her descendent Esther ruled over 127 provinces, the number of years of Sarah's life.
P. 1152: Sarah died in Heshvan.
P. 1166: Esther noted that plagues befell Pharaoh when he merely attempted to approach Sarah. 7)

Tamar (46)

<p>P. 344: Tamar was a daughter of Aram, the son of Shem. Tamar was not Canaanitish. Tamar's mother-in-law used artifices against her. Tamar did not have sexual intercourse with Er. Tamar was given to Onan before the wedding festivities for Er had elapsed. Tamar lived with Onan for a whole year without having sexual intercourse. Tamar and Onan had intercourse because Judah had threatened Onan. Tamar did not get pregnant because Onan listened to his mother's injunctions. Tamar would have been given to Shelah, but his mother prevented it. Tamar was hated by her mother-in-law. Tamar was a prophetess. Tamar knew that she was appointed to be the ancestress of David and of the Messiah. Tamar determined to venture upon an extreme measure in order to make sure of fulfilling her destiny. Tamar learned from the holy spirit that Judah was going up to Timnah. Tamar sat in the gate of Abraham's tent. Tamar's face had never been seen by Judah. Tamar, in her virtue and chastity, had always kept her face covered. Tamar would become the mother of the royal line of David. Tamar would become the ancestress of Isaiah, and his father Amoz, both prophets and of royal blood. Tamar was passed by Judah without his paying attention to her. Tamar raised her eyes heavenward. Tamar said, "O Lord of the world, shall I go forth empty from the house of this pious man?" Tamar proceeded with prophetic caution. Tamar's descendants from her union with Judah would be royalty, judgeship, and Messiahship.</p>
<p>P. 345: Tamar felt very happy and proud of being pregnant. Tamar knew that she would be the mother of kings and redeemers. Tamar was forcibly dragged before the court, in which Isaac, Jacob, and Judah sat as judges. Tamar was the daughter of the high priest Shem. Tamar searched for the three pledges Judah had given her. Tamar could not find the pledges. Tamar had almost lost hope that she would be able to wring a confession from Judah. Tamar raised her eyes to God, and prayed that she might be spared to bring forth the three holy children, ready to suffer death by fire, for the sake of the glory of His Name.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 345: Tamar's petition was granted by God. The angel Michael (Gabriel) put the pledges in a place where Tamar could not fail to see them. Tamar threw the pledges before the feet of the judges. Tamar and Judah were both declared innocent by a heavenly voice. Tamar's sons both resembled their father in bravery and piety. Tamar called the first Perez, "mighty," because she said, "Thou didst show thyself of great power, and it is meet and proper that thou shouldst be strong, for thou art destined to possess the kingdom."</p>
<p>P. 346: Tamar was reared in the house of idolaters, but became converted to the belief in one God. Tamar, by the purity of her life, acquired nobility for her descendants. Tamar was Palestinian-Syrian. Tamar was a free woman, daughter of free, distinguished people.</p>
<p>P. 347: Tamar deceived Judah by means of a young goat just as Jacob deceived his father by means of a young goat. Tamar's pledges were hidden by Sammael.</p>
<p>P. 404: Jacob said he knew what Judah did to Tamar.</p>
<p>P. 961: Tamar was the subject of one of the Queen of Sheba's riddles for King Solomon.</p>

Vashti (47)

<p>P. 941: Vashti was one of the most beautiful women.</p>
<p>P. 990: Vashti was considered one of the two reigning queens among the heathen.</p>
<p>P. 1131: Vashti and Ahasuerus marriage was celebrated by Ahasuerus with a feast.</p>
<p>P. 1134: Vashti's banquet for the women differed but slightly from Ahasuerus'. Vashti wanted to emulate her husband's example even in the point of exhibiting treasures. Vashti displayed six store-chambers daily to her guests. Vashti arrayed herself in the high-priestly garments. Vashti's meats and dishes were Palestinian, also liqueurs were served, and sweets. Vashti showed her guests all around the palace. Vashti was motivated by a political motive when she determined to give her banquet. Vashti could hold her guests as hostages in case the men rose in insurrection against the king. Vashti knew the ways of statecraft. Vashti was the daughter of king Belshazzar. Vashti fled to the apartments in which her father was in the habit of sitting on the night of his murder. Vashti met Darius there. Vashti was given to Darius' son Ahasuerus for wife.</p>
<p>P. 1135: Vashti was neither a Persian nor a Median, but a Chaldean, according to Ahasuerus. Vashti was to come unadorned, without any apparel whatsoever. Vashti's summons were the result of Mordecai's supplication to God to punish Ahasuerus for desecrating the Temple utensils. Vashti forced Jewish maidens to spin and weave on the Sabbath. Vashti deprived the Jewish maidens of all their clothes. Vashti's moral sense was not offended by the king's order. Vashti revelled in the opportunity his command gave her to indulge in carnal pleasures once again. Vashti had been delivered of a child exactly a week before. Vashti's countenance was disfigured with leprosy by the angel Gabriel. Vashti could not show herself to the king in this state.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 1136: Vashti sent this message to the king, ‘O thou fool and madman! Hast thou lost thy reason by too much drinking? I am Vashti, the daughter of Belshazzar, who was a son of Nebuchadnezzar, the Nebuchadnezzar who scoffed at kings and unto whom princes were a derision, and even thou wouldst not have been deemed worthy to run before my father’s chariot as a courier. Had he lived, I should never have been given unto thee for wife. Not even those who suffered the death penalty during the reign of my forefather Nebuchadnezzar were stripped bare of their clothing, and thou demandest that I appear naked in public! Why, it is for thine own sake that I refuse to heed thy order. Either the people will decide that I do not come up to thy description of me, and will proclaim thee a liar, or, bewitched by my beauty, they will kill thee in order to gain possession of me, saying, Shall this fool be the master of so much beauty?’”</p> <p>Vashti was summoned by the king again together with his threat to kill her unless she obeyed. Vashti was encouraged in her refusal by the first lady of the Persian aristocracy. Vashti’s sentence was consulted by Ahasuerus with the Jewish sages. Vashti’s death would be brought about by Memucan (Daniel), whom God had so appointed.</p>
<p>P. 1137: Vashti and Daniel had personal antipathy for each other. Vashti hated Daniel because he had prophesied his death to her father, and the extinction of his dynasty. Vashti could not endure seeing Daniel, so she would not show herself to the court in his presence. Vashti’s face being marred was due to Daniel pronouncing the Name of God. Vashti’s death was advised by Daniel. Vashti’s execution brought most disastrous consequences in its train. His whole empire, which is tantamount to saying the whole world, rose against Ahasuerus. Vashti’s death was not undeserved punishment. Vashti had prevented the king from giving his consent to the rebuilding of the Temple. Vashti was the daughter of king Evil-merodach. Vashti refused to obey the king because Persian law prohibited married women showing their faces to any man but their husband.</p>
<p>P. 1142: Vashti’s portrait had hung in his chamber. Vashti had not been forgotten by the king. Vashti’s picture was replaced by Esther’s.</p>
<p>P. 1147: Vasti was hated by Haman because she had not invited his wife to her banquet. Vashti had insulted Haman by striking him a blow in the face. Vashti’s repudiation was desired by Haman so he could have his daughter marry the king.</p>

Zilpah (23)

<p>P. 284: Zilpah was a daughter of Laban. Zilpah’s mother was a concubine to Laban. Zilpah and Bilhah were sisters. Zilpah and Bilhah were made legitimate wives by Jacob after the death of Rachel (and Leah?)</p>
<p>P. 286: Zilpah and Bilhah were half sisters of Leah and Rachel. Zilpah was younger than Leah, Rachel, and Bilhah. Zilpah was given by Laban to Leah (instead of Rachel) to trick Jacob into believing that Leah was the younger daughter he had served for. Zilpah was so young that her body betrayed no outward signs of pregnancy. Nothing was known of Zilpah’s condition till her son was born.</p>
<p>P. 287: Zilpah (along with Jacobs other wives) united her prayers with the prayer of Jacob, together beseeching God to remove the curse of barrenness from Rachel.</p>
<p>P. 328: Joseph charged his brothers with giving contemptuous treatment to Zilpah and Bilhah’s sons. According to Joseph, his brothers called Bilhah and Zilpah “slaves.”</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 426: The sons of Zilpah (and Bilhah) were approached by Pharaoh's son with a scheme to make trouble among the brothers. The sons of Zilpah (and Bilhah) assented to the proposition of the son of Pharaoh.</p>
<p>P. 428: Joseph told his brothers to take with them the bones of Zilpah. Joseph told his brothers to bury Zilpah's bones near the sepulcher of Bilhah and Rachel.</p>
<p>P. 444: Zilpah's mother was Aina. Zilpah's father was Rotheus. Zilpah was a descendant of Abraham on her father's side. Zilpah was named by Rotheus. Zilpah was named after the village in which he was taken captive.</p>
<p>P. 447: Joseph accused the sons of Zilpah (and Bilhah) of slaughtering the best of the herds and using the flesh without the knowledge of Reuben and Judah.</p>
<p>P. 665: Zilpah was one of the six Mothers (with Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, Rachel, and Bilhah) whose number corresponded to the six covered wagons which the princes brought to Moses.</p>

Zipporah (76)

<p>P. 493: Zipporah and her sisters went to the watering troughs before the other shepherds. Zipporah and her sisters went earlier due to Jethro's hostile relations with the city's inhabitants. Other shepherds used the water brought to the troughs by Zipporah and her sisters. The shepherds attempted to do violence to Zipporah and her sisters. The shepherds threw Zipporah and her sisters into the water. The shepherds intended to kill Zipporah and her sisters. Moses dragged Zipporah and her sisters out of the water.</p>
<p>P. 494: Zipporah and her sisters thanked Moses. Moses warded off the gratitude of Zipporah and her sisters. Moses told Zipporah and her sisters, "Your thanks are due to the Egyptian I killed, on account of whom I had to flee from Egypt. Had it not been for him, I should not be here now." Zipporah attracted Moses' attention more than the other six maidens. Zipporah had a modest demeanor. Moses was attracted to the modest demeanor of Zipporah. Moses proposed marriage to Zipporah. Zipporah repulsed Moses. Zipporah told Moses, "My father has a tree in his garden with which he tests every man that expresses a desire to marry one of his daughters, and as soon as the suitor touches the tree, he is devoured by it." Moses asked Zipporah, "Whence has he the tree?"</p>
<p>P. 494-5: Zipporah told Moses, "It is the rod that the Holy One, blessed be He, created in the twilight of the first Sabbath eve, and gave to Adam. He transmitted it to Enoch, from him it descended to Noah, then to Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and finally to Jacob, who brought it with him to Egypt, and gave it to his son Joseph. When Joseph died, the Egyptians pillaged his house, and the rod, which was in their booty, they brought to Pharaoh's palace. At that time my father was one of the most prominent of the king's sacred scribes, and as such he had the opportunity of seeing the rod. He felt a great desire to possess it, and he stole it and took it to his house. On this rod the Ineffable Name is graven, and also the ten plagues that God will cause to visit the Egyptians in a future day. For many years it lay in my father's house. One day he was walking in his garden carrying it, and he stuck it in the ground. When he attempted to draw it out again, he found that it had sprouted, and was putting forth blossoms. That is the rod with which he tries any that desire to marry his daughters. He insists that our suitors shall attempt to pull it out of the ground, but as soon as they touch it, it devours them."</p>
<p>P. 495: Zipporah went home. Zipporah went home after giving Moses the account.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 495: Moses followed Zipporah and her sisters. The chicanery that Zipporah and her sisters usually had to suffer detained them till late. The stranger had done a valuable service for Zipporah and her sisters.</p>
<p>P. 495: Jethro hoped that the stranger would marry Zipporah or one of her sisters. Zipporah hastened forth. Zipporah executed her father's wish. Zipporah ushered Moses in. Moses requested Zipporah's hand in marriage. Jethro said he would give Zipporah to Moses if he could bring him the rod in his garden. Zipporah devised a stratagem to save Moses. Moses would have perished if it were not for Zipporah's stratagem. Zipporah said to her father that her sisters should go out with the sheep while she tended the house. Jethro told Zipporah that he approved of her plan. Zipporah provided Moses with dainties while he was imprisoned in a pit. Zipporah provided Moses with dainties for seven years. Zipporah spoke to her father seven years later. Zipporah told her father to check the pit and either get rid of the body or – if alive – be convinced that the man was pious. Jethro said to Zipporah: "Thou hast spoken wisely. Dost thou remember his name?" Zipporah said to Jethro: "I remember he called himself Moses the son of Amram."</p>
<p>P. 496: Jethro bestowed Zipporah on Moses. Jethro stipulated that Zipporah and Moses' children would be divided half Israelite and half Egyptian. Moses circumcised the son of Zipporah. Zipporah nursed Gershom for two years. Zipporah's second son was born in the third year. Zipporah knew that Moses was swallowed by a serpent because the second son had not been circumcised. Zipporah hastened. Zipporah hastened to correct the issue of her second son not being circumcised. Zipporah sprinkled blood on Moses' feet. The serpent spewed Moses out as soon as Zipporah sprinkled the blood on Moses' feet. Zipporah saved Moses life twice. Zipporah saved Moses life from the serpent. Zipporah was praiseworthy on account of her piety. Zipporah was praiseworthy on account of her virtue. Zipporah was the most beautiful of Jethro's seven daughters.</p>
<p>P. 500: When Jethro gave Zipporah to Moses, Jethro said, "I know that thy father Jacob took his wives, the daughters of Laban, and went away with them against their father's will. Now take an oath that thou wilt not do the same unto me."</p>
<p>P. 515: Zipporah was nimble as a bird. Zipporah's name alluding to her nimbleness refers to her speed in bringing Moses from the well to her father's house. Zipporah's name related to how she purified her father's house of idolatrous pollution even as a bird purifies a leper of his uncleanness.</p>
<p>P. 517: The angel attacked Moses only to urge Zipporah to circumcise her son. Zipporah touched the feet not of Moses, but of the babe. Zipporah touched the feet not of Moses, but of the angel. Zipporah applied the term "Bridegroom of Blood" to her son.</p>
<p>P. 583-4: Jethro wrote Moses regarding Zipporah, "I adjure thee, by thy two sons and by thy God, O come to meet me and receive me kindly. If thou wilt not do it for my sake, do it for thy wife's sake; and if thou wilt not do it for her sake, do it for thy sons' sake."</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 584: Moses had been divorced from Zipporah. Zipporah had wed no other man after her separation from Moses.</p>
<p>P. 700: Zipporah saw the illumination when the seventy elders were appointed. Zipporah asked Miriam to explain the illumination. Miriam told Ziporah, “Blessed are the women who behold with their eyes how their husbands are raised to dignity.” Zipporah told Miriam, “It would be more proper to say, ‘Woe to the wives of these men who must now abstain from all conjugal happiness!’” Miriam asked Zipporah, “How dost thou know this?” Zipporah answered Miriam, “I judge so from the conduct of thy brother, for ever since he was chosen to receive Divine revelations, he no longer knows his wife.”</p>
<p>P. 701: The cushite woman was Zipporah. Zipporah’s beauty was like that of the Cushite (Ethiopian).</p>
<p>P. 780: Phinehas felt Moses would not act against Zimri since Moses too had married a Midianite woman, namely Zipporah.</p>
<p>P. 819: Moses charged Joshua with being kind to Zipporah as she was a poor proselyte. Moses charged Joshua with making sure no evil would be done to Zipporah.</p>

Caleb (79)

<p>P. 452: Caleb is one of 18 characters designated by God as “His servants”</p>
<p>P. 469: Caleb married Miriam. From Caleb's union with Miriam sprang the royal house of David. Caleb had been deprived of the pleasures of conjugal life by Miriam’s long illness. After Miriam’s long illness, renewed happiness awaited Caleb. Caleb was pious. Caleb’s unexpected joys in marriage were the reward of his piety and trust in God.</p>
<p>P. 480: Caleb married Bithiah, Pharaoh’s daughter.</p>
<p>P. 480-1: Caleb was a suitable husband for Bithiah.</p>
<p>P. 481: Caleb stood up against the counsel of his fellow spies.</p>
<p>P. 624: Moses names Caleb among the righteous who did observe the Torah.</p>
<p>P. 628: Moses counts Caleb among 10 righteous men when bargaining with God.</p>
<p>P. 629: Caleb was one of seventy-seven pious men of that time.</p>
<p>P. 641: Betsalel was Caleb’s grandson. Hur was a son of Caleb from his union with Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 642: Caleb had married early. Caleb begat his son at the age of ten.</p>
<p>P. 706: Caleb was called “the son of Jephuneh” because “he spoke what he felt in his heart and turned aside from the advice of the rest of the spies.”</p>
<p>P. 708: Caleb feared that he would yield to the influence of the ten spies. Caleb went to Hebron to pray for God’s help. Caleb prayed at the Patriarchs’ graves. There was a clash between Caleb and the ten spies as they scouted the land. Caleb wanted to take along the fruits of the land to show their excellence to the people. The ten spies yielded to Caleb. Caleb threatened to fight the ten spies. Caleb and Joshua did not carry the fruit because it was not consistent with their dignity to carry a burden.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 709: None of the spies, with the exception of Caleb and Joshua, was able to carry the vine Caleb alone had gone to Hebron to pray at the graves of the Patriarchs. Caleb was in Hebron at the time the Shekinah went there to announce to the Patriarchs that their children were now on the way to take possession of the land.</p>
<p>P. 710: Caleb considered how he could manage to get a hearing without being shouted down as he tried to contradict the spies. Caleb had pretended to be in cahoots with the ten spies to speak against the land. Caleb even then had resolved to intercede for Palestine. Caleb arose to speak. When Caleb arose to speak, the spies were silent, supposing he would corroborate their statements. Caleb's introductory words tended to strengthen the spies' supposition. Caleb praised Moses. Caleb urged the people to obey Moses. Caleb's words were heard by all the people. Caleb's words could be heard twelve miles off. Caleb's voice saved the lives of the spies when they were scouting the land. Caleb's shout caused the giants who pursued the spies to swoon. Caleb's mighty voice did not in the least impress the people. Caleb's mighty voice did not in the least impress the spies.</p>
<p>P. 716: Caleb and Joshua did not follow the wicked counsel of their colleagues. Caleb and Joshua were rewarded with property that had been allotted to the 10 spies. Caleb was forty years old when he was sent out as a spy. Caleb was sturdy enough at 85 to enjoy his possession in the land.</p>
<p>P. 752: Caleb and Pinchas were the spies Moses sent to Ya'zer. Caleb and Pinchas were capable warriors. Caleb and Pinchas did not want to be like the previous spies. Caleb and Pinchas wanted to attack the city trusting in God. Caleb and Pinchas knew they would not perish due to Moses prayers on their behalf. Caleb and Pinchas attacked Ya'zer. Caleb and Pinchas conquered Ya'zer. Caleb and Pinchas killed all of Ya'zer's inhabitants. Caleb and Pinchas returned to Moses the day after he had sent them. Caleb and Pinchas informed Moses of what they had done.</p>
<p>P. 805: Joshua, Job, Caleb, Eliakim, Zerubabel, Daniel and his three companions, and the early prophets were described by God as His servants, but they never identified themselves as such.</p>
<p>P. 809: Moses wanted Caleb to intercede for him. Samael prevented Caleb from praying.</p>
<p>P. 812: Caleb repeated Joshua's speech in a loud voice.</p>
<p>P. 813: The part of the Meturgeman is ascribed to Caleb on account of his strong voice.</p>
<p>P. 833: Caleb and Joshua were present at "the disappearance of Moses." Caleb believed that he saw Moses' grave in the valley. Caleb saw Moses' body, Joshua beheld his spirit.</p>
<p>P. 843: Joshua sent Caleb and Pinchas to spy on Jericho. Caleb and Pinchas were dependable. Caleb and Pinchas were accompanied on their mission by two demons. Caleb and Pinchas were possessed by the demons. The demons transformed Caleb and Pinchas' appearance. Caleb and Pinchas looked so frightful that they scared the residents of Jericho.</p>
<p>P. 844: According to Pseudo-Philo, the spies were two of Caleb's sons. According to Pseudo-Philo, Joshua told them to be like their father Caleb.</p>
<p>P. 855: As the people asked God for a leader, an angel said, "Cast lots in the tribe of Caleb."</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 856: The lot designated Kenaz, who, according to PseudoPhilo, was Caleb's son.
P. 860: Caleb's half-brother was Othniel. Caleb's daughter was married to Othniel. Caleb's daughter complained to her father that she and Othniel had no earthly goods.
P. 861: The identity of Caleb the son of Jephuneh, one of the spies, with Caleb the son of Kenaz, whose daughter was the wife of Othniel, is presupposed in many places of the Talmudim and Midrashim. Caleb's father was Hezron, his stepfather was Kenaz, but he was called "the son of Jephuneh," because he deviated from the evil counsel of the spies and did not slander the Holy Land.

Aaron (471)

P. 19: Aaron (with Moses) presides over the third division of Paradise.
P. 20: Aaron and others come every Monday, Thursday, Sabbaths and holidays to visit the Messiah. Aaron and others weep with the Messiah. Aaron and others comfort the Messiah.
P. 23: Aaron and those who visit the Messiah dwell in the gold hall of Paradise.
P. 48: On the sixth day God resolved to set aside a man of the sons of Aaron to officiate as High Priest.
P. 78: The rod of Aaron that blossomed to ripe almonds was one of the ten creations brought forth in the twilight between the sixth day and the Sabbath.
P. 342: Jacob bemoaned the fact that now that Joseph was gone, of what significance would be the 12 stones which would one day be set in Aaron's breastplate?
P. 360: In the butler's dream the three branches symbolically represented that the Israelites would be redeemed by three leaders, Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.
P. 411: Aaron, along with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Miriam, was one of only six who breathed their last through the kiss of the Shekinah.
P. 411-12: Aaron was one of seven, including Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Miriam, and Benjamin, whose corpses are not exposed to the ravages of the worms.
P. 412: Aaron is one of seven whose corpse did not corrupt. Aaron was one of seven whose corpse did not decay.
P. 430: Aaron is one of two redeemers corresponding to the words פקד' פקד.
P. 433: In Egypt, Aaron appeared as a prophet and monitor.
P. 433-4: Aaron told the people to cast away their idols. The people listened to Aaron.
P. 451: God told Job that He had shown Aaron more honor than any other created being. God told Job that He sent angels out of the Holy of Holies when Aaron entered.
P. 469: Jochebed's reward for her piety was to become the mother of the priest Aaron.
P. 474: Aaron was the second child of the union between Amram and Jochebed. Aaron's name means "Woe unto this pregnancy!" Pharaoh's commanded the midwives to kill male children during the months before Aaron's birth.
P. 475: When Amram and Jochebed remarried, Aaron and Miriam danced about the wedding canopy.
P. 478: Aaron lay besides Moses in the ark. Aaron was weeping. Aaron's weeping and Moses' crying aroused Pharaoh's daughter's compassion.
P. 480: Aaron, called Moses Ahi Zanoah, because his father who had "cast off" his mother had then taken her back for the sake of the child to be born.
P. 489: The children of Israel refused to give ear to Aaron while in Egypt. When Aaron worked as a prophet in Egypt, he admonished the children of Israel in Egypt to fear God. Aaron advised Moses to cross the Nile and take refuge in Arabia.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 502: The five leaflets of the thorn bush leaf taught Moses that God had resolved to redeem Israel only for the sake of the merits of five pious men; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, and Moses.</p>
<p>P. 509: God's order from the bush that Moses "Draw not nigh hither" was a lesson not to arrogate honors for others, such as the priesthood, which was to belong to Aaron and his descendants.</p>
<p>P. 513: God read Moses' mind that he wished Aaron to be his companion in his redemptive mission. The holy spirit came upon Aaron. Aaron's eyes would rejoice at seeing Moses.</p>
<p>P. 514: Originally, God had intended that Moses would be priest and Aaron the Levite. Only because Moses had hesitated in accepting God's bidding did Aaron get the priesthood.</p>
<p>P. 515: God's voice simultaneously addressed and was heard by Moses in Midian and Aaron in Egypt. Envy and jealousy had no place between Moses and Aaron.</p>
<p>P. 515-16: Aaron rejoiced that God had chosen his younger brother to be the redeemer of Israel.</p>
<p>P. 516: Moses rejoiced that his older brother had been divinely appointed as the high priest. While living in Midian, Moses recognized that for many years, Aaron had been active as a prophet. Moses was concerned not to encroach upon Aaron's prophetic role. God reassured Moses that Aaron would not be vexed. Aaron showed his joy freely at seeing Moses once more. Aaron's joy in the distinction accorded to Moses was too great to be expressed in its depth and extent. For his kind, generous spirit, Aaron received as a divine reward the honor of bearing the Urim and Thummim upon his heart. Aaron ran to meet Moses. Aaron embraced Moses. Aaron asked about where Moses had spent his time. Moses told Aaron he had been in Midian. Aaron asked Moses who were his traveling companions. Moses explained to Aaron that his companions were his wife and sons. Aaron asked Moses where he was going with his family. Moses told Aaron that he was going to Egypt. Aaron told Moses of the sorrow that was present in Egypt. Aaron told Moses that it was most unwise for him to take his family to Egypt. Moses recognized Aaron to be correct. Moses did not withhold from Aaron the teachings and revelations he had received. Moses shared with Aaron the awful secret of the Ineffable Name. When Moses and Aaron stood in Pharaoh's presence, they were alone and deserted even though Moses had invited the elders to accompany them to Pharaoh,</p>
<p>P. 517: The day Moses and Aaron made their appearance before Pharaoh was his birthday.</p>
<p>P. 518: Pharaoh inquired as to whether Moses and Aaron had brought him crowns. Moses and Aaron were overawed by the spectacle of soldiers guarding the 400 entrances to the palace. Moses and Aaron were afraid. The angel Gabirel led Moses and Aaron into the palace. The next day, Moses and Aaron entered the palace again in a way which remained a mystery. Balaam advised that the keepers let loose the lions on the next approach of Moses and Aaron. Moses and Aaron resembled angels. In stature, Moses and Aaron were as the cedars of Lebanon. The countenances of Moses and Aaron radiated splendor like the sun. The pupils of Moses and Aaron's eyes were like the sphere of the morning star. The beards of Moses and Aaron were like palm branches. The mouths of Moses and Aaron emitted flames when opened for speech. Moses and Aaron found seventy secretaries busy with Pharaoh's correspondence. Pharaoh's secretaries prostrated themselves before Moses and Aaron. Moses and Aaron stepped before Pharaoh and spoke.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 518: Pharaoh asked Moses and Aaron, “What is the name of your God? Wherein doth His strength consist, and His power ...”
P. 518-19: Moses and Aaron gave a lengthy reply in explaining who was God.
P. 519: Moses and Aaron called Pharaoh a fool when he did not find their God inscribed in his archives. Balaam felt that Moses and Aaron were magicians. Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, that they convince him of their credentials by performing wonders. To show the Egyptians that Aaron could do something with his rod that the magicians could no, God caused his serpent to swallow all the magicians’ rods.
P. 520: Aaron’s performance with the rod did not impress Pharaoh, except when the serpent regained the form of a rod which ate the other rods. Moses and Aaron, like the rest of the tribe of Levi were not compelled to labor.
P. 521: Moses went to Midian, leaving Aaron alone in Egypt for six months. Upon Moses’ return, Moses and Aaron were accosted by two Israelitish officers who heaped abuse on them for increasing the people’s woes and accused them of selfish motives.
P. 522: Before Moses and Aaron could start on the work of deliverance, God reminded them about the troublesome nature of the people, Moses and Aaron’s need to treat Pharaoh with respect, about the need to take the elders into counsel, and the first priority of turning the people from idol worship. When Moses protested about the difficulty of the task, God changed His original plan to reveal Himself only to Moses, and resolved to address Aaron as well, who was to have a share in doing the wonders
P. 523: Of the ten punishments, three were committed to Aaron. Aaron’s three plagues proceeded from earth and water. Of the ten punishments one was committed to Moses and Aaron together.
P. 526: A whole year elapsed before the plagues yielded all that Moses and Aaron demanded. Aaron alone performed the miracles requiring holding the rod over the water (blood, frogs).
P. 528: Aaron alone officiated over the plague of lice.
P. 530: Moses and Aaron joined in producing the plague of boils by each taking a handful of ashes, though Moses alone sprinkled them heavenwards.
P. 532: Pharaoh ordered Moses and Aaron forcibly expelled from the palace after the plague of boils. Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron to ask their forgiveness after the plague of locusts.
P. 535: When God explained how to determine the new moon, God appeared in a fringed garment and told Moses to stand at His right, and Aaron at His left. The Lord addressed Moses and Aaron saying, “Thus shall My children proclaim the new moon ...”
P. 538: After the tenth plague, Pharaoh arose and went forth to seek Moses and Aaron.
P. 539: While Pharaoh was searching for Moses and Aaron, they and all Israel were at the paschal meal, drinking wine, leaning to one side, and singing the Hallel.
P. 543: Despite being busy with other things, Aaron and Moses also had treasures that the Egyptians had deposited with them.
P. 556: God sent Moses and Aaron, His faithful messengers, to Pharaoh.
P. 572: Aaron lay the earthen vessel full of manna before the Ark in the second year.
P. 573: Israel received three gifts during their desert wanderings. The second, for the merits of Aaron. When Miriam died, the well disappeared, but reappeared owing to the merits of Aaron and Moses. When Aaron died, the clouds of glory disappeared, but reappeared owing to the merits of Moses. The people demanded that Aaron and Moses give them flesh to eat.
P. 584: Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, together with the seventy elders of Israel, carrying with them the sacred Ark, hastened to welcome Jethro kindly.
P. 585: Aaron participated in singing and praising God.
P. 586: Aaron is included among those benefiting from improved judicial flow proposed by Jethro.
P. 589: Jethro compares Moses to the sun and Aaron to the moon as two formidable luminaries.
P. 592: Communications between God and Israel were carried on by Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.
P. 601: Aaron was to ascend behind Moses at the Sinai revelation.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 611: To Aaron, like Moses and Samuel, God revealed Himself in a pillar of cloud.
P. 620: Jannes and Jamres and all the people appealed to Aaron to make a god. Aaron was threatened with Hur's fate if he did not cooperate.
P. 620: Aaron did not fear for his life. Aaron was more concerned that the people would be judged harshly if they were to harm him. Aaron was cleverly coy in asking the women for their gold and silver to buy time.
P. 620-1: Aaron was incorrect that his clever strategy would avoid provision of gold and silver.
P. 621: Aaron did not realize that among the ornaments he threw into the fire was a magical one with the image of a bull which could become animated. Aaron was cleverly coy in attempting to buy time by his building an altar by himself. Aaron was disappointed when his strategy did not lead to sufficient delay.
P. 622: Aaron was intimidated when he saw Hur killed. Aaron found a golden plate on which the name of God was engraved.
P. 624: Moses vouches that Aaron and others observe the Torah when seeking God's leniency after the calf.
P. 628: Moses includes Aaron among 10 just men on whose merit the people should be allowed to survive.
P. 634: Moses teaching method started with imparting God's word to Aaron. Aaron next listened while Moses instructed Eleazar and Ithamar. Later Aaron again went over what he had learned.
P. 648: The height of the altar was three cubits, corresponding to Aaron, Moses, and Miriam. Aaron was one of three deliverers sent by God to deliver Israel from Egypt.
P. 649: Aaron's robes were fashioned simultaneously with the Tabernacle construction. God revealed Aaron's appointment at the same time as the Tabernacle construction. Aaron was to be "High Priest."
P. 649-50: Moses was disappointed by Aaron's appointment.
P. 650: Aaron's appointment was a reward for his piety related to the calf. Moses thought Aaron had worshiped the calf along with Israel. God knew of Aaron's pious motives related to his role with the calf. Aaron was made warden over future sacrifices due to his purity of motive. God had intended to install Aaron directly, but allowed Moses this opportunity to show his humility. Aaron's garments had expiatory virtues.
P. 654: The tribe princes were almost too late with their contribution of stones for Aaron's garment.
P. 657: A miracle allowed twelve lugs of oil to last to anoint the sanctuary, its vessels, Aaron and his two sons for seven days, and all successors of Aaron and several kings till the days of Josiah. Aaron's beard was pointed. Upon Aaron's anointment, as a miracle two drops of oil hung pendant like two pearls on his beard. Aaron feared this might be sacrilegious, but God quieted his concern. The anointing of Aaron and his two sons was not the only consecrating ceremony. For a whole week Aaron and his sons had to live near the Tabernacle, secluded from the outer world. During the week of seclusion, Moses performed all priestly duties, even bringing sacrifices for Aaron and his sons and sprinkling them with the blood of the sacrifices. God bade Moses consecrate Aaron and his sons as priest on the 23 rd day of Adar. God instructed Moses to persuade Aaron to accept his priestly office. Aaron had to be persuaded because he was a man who shunned distinctions. God wanted to effect Aaron's appointment before all Israel, to honor him. God wanted the people to be warned that after the choice of Aaron, none could assume priestly rights. The election of Aaron and his sons as priests took place in the presence of all the people. During their week of seclusion, Moses showed Aaron and his sons how to perform the different priestly functions in the sanctuary.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 657-8: The seven days of consecration also served, for a mourning period foreshadowing the heavy loss of Nadab and Abihu which would occur on the joyous day of their dedication.</p>
<p>P. 658: Moses was told to announce the dignity of Aaron's appointment to high priest before all the elders that none might say that Aaron himself assumed this dignity.</p>
<p>P. 659: Moses went first to Aaron, then to Aaron's sons, and only then to the elders to discuss Aaron's installation into office. Aaron protested that it was not right that though Moses endured all the labor of erecting the Tabernacle, he [Aaron] should be the high priest. Moses insisted that Aaron's being high priest made him as happy as if himself he had been appointed. Moses noted that only through Aaron's offering must the mouth of Satan be closed. Moses told Aaron to take a young calf as a sin offering to compensate for the calf through which he nearly lost his claim to dignity. In his humility, Aaron still did not dare enter on his priestly activities. The horned altar filled Aaron with fear, reminding him of Israel's worship of the bull. Aaron felt that he was not altogether without blame in Israel's worship of the calf. Moses had to encourage Aaron to step up to the altar and offer the sacrifices. After offering the sacrifices, Aaron lifted his hands and blessed the people with the threefold blessing. Aaron saw the absence of the Shekhinah as a sign of God's anger with him. Moses joined Aaron and with their united prayers a fire from the Lord consumed the burnt offering.</p>
<p>P. 661: Michael was appointed high priest of the heavenly tabernacle at the same time as Aaron. Aaron's becoming high priest contributed to his wife Elisheba's happiness.</p>
<p>P. 662: Nadab and Abihu wished for the time of Moses and Aaron's death so they could replace them. Nadab and Abihu did not ask permission of Moses or Aaron to take part in the sacrificial services. Had they done so, Aaron or Moses would likely have succeeded in dissuading them. God was more grieved than Aaron about the death of Nadab and Abihu. When Aaron heard of the death of his sons, he said: "All Israel saw Thee at the Red Sea as well as at Sinai without suffering injury thereafter; but my sons, whom Thou didst order to dwell in the Tabernacle, a place that a layman may not enter without being punished by death-my sons entered the Tabernacle to behold Thy strength and Thy might, and they died!" .</p>
<p>P. 662-3: God told Aaron through Moses the honor he intended Aaron though his sons' being burnt, because otherwise they would have been punished with leprosy.</p>
<p>P. 663: Aaron retrospectively thanks and praises God for his kindness. Moses endeavored to comfort Aaron over his sons. Aaron's silence over his heavy blow was that of a true wise man. Aaron expressed neither murmur nor lament. Aaron pursued peace. God rewarded Aaron's silence by directly imparting to him the law prohibiting a high priest to take part in a funeral procession, even for a near kinsman. Aaron had burnt to ashes one of the three sin offerings. Moses directed his criticism to Aaron's sons in consideration of Aaron's age and office. Moses' reproof of Aaron was unjustified, since Aaron and his sons had done what the statutes required.</p>
<p>P. 664: Aaron pointed out to Moses his error. Moses complimented Aaron for correcting him.</p>
<p>P. 671: The two oxen offered corresponded to Moses and Aaron.</p>
<p>P. 673: With three exceptions, Aaron never received His commands except through Moses. Aaron and his descendants to all eternity received the laws of sanctity as a reward for his piety. On the same day as the sanctuary was anointed, the law was revealed to Aaron and his sons, and they received the gifts of the priests.</p>
<p>P. 674: Aaron lifted every single Levite as a token that he was now dedicated to the sanctuary. Aaron was extraordinarily strong. Aaron's strength was proved by his being able to lift up 22,000 men in one day.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 675: There was a house in which Moses and Aaron instructed people to which those responsible for the burial of Nadab and Abihu went for instruction regarding the second Passover.</p>
<p>P. 676: God advised Moses that a heavy blow of fate had fallen upon Aaron. God told Moses that instead of murmuring, Aaron thanked him for the death that robbed him of his two sons, proving his trust in His God's justice. God told Moses to comfort Aaron. God told Moses to tell Aaron that though he could enter the sanctuary at any time, he must observe certain ceremonies. The ceremonies Aaron performed on the Day of Atonement were symbolical of the three Patriarchs, their four wives, and the twelve tribes. Because the Lord provided a direct revelation of the law prohibiting him and his sons from alcohol use when they went into the Tabernacle, Aaron's grief was turned to joy. Aaron's son, Eleazar, slaughtered and burned the red heifer.</p>
<p>P. 677: Aaron was worried that because of his sin his tribe had been excluded from the dedication of the Sanctuary. God told Moses to tell Aaron that the greater glory of lighting the lamps awaited him.</p>
<p>P. 678: God ordered Moses to distinguish Aaron by communicating to him the revelation of a future lighting done by his Hasmonian descendents. God advised Aaron that there was greater glory destined for him than the other princes, since the Hasmonian lights of Hanukkah would continue well beyond the manifestations of the offerings of the other princes. God advised Aaron that his glory was greater than the other princes since his descendants would bestow the priestly blessing upon Israel even after the destruction of the Temple. The candlestick that Aaron lit had been wrought by a miracle.</p>
<p>P. 679: God ordered that Aaron assist in the census so that Aaron could remind Moses of any oversight. Moses and Aaron were to take Eleazar and Ithamar as subordinate assistants for the census. Moses and Aaron counseled the princes not to tyrannize over the people during the census taking.</p>
<p>P. 683: God ordered Aaron and his sons to enter the sanctuary and disassemble items before the Kohathites to avoid their temptation of gazing at the Ark which would result in instantaneous death.</p>
<p>P. 684: Moses thought that the reason God told him to undertake the census of the sons of Kohath together with the Aaron was because the Kohathites were under Aaron's direct supervision but not the Gershonites, so out of respect for his brother, he must be present at the numbering of the Levites.</p>
<p>P. 687: Moses, Aaron, and Aaron's sons lived in the East of the sanctuary.</p>
<p>P. 690: There was a school in which Moses, Aaron, and other leaders of the people studied the Torah.</p>
<p>P. 692: A divine fire kept in reserve by God to restrain Israel from sin was the same fire that destroyed Aaron's sons.</p>
<p>P. 698: Eldad and Medad were of noble birth, being half brothers of Moses and Aaron.</p>
<p>P. 699: Only in Moses and Aaron's honor did God order the potentially devastating wind that brought the quails to leave the world.</p>
<p>P. 700: Miriam told Aaron that she had received divine revelations without being obliged to separate from her husband. Aaron responded that he too received such revelations without being obliged to separate from his wife. Aaron and Miriam said that their fathers received revelations without discontinuing their conjugal life. Aaron and Miriam said that Moses abstained from conjugal joys only out of pride. Miriam and Aaron spoke evil of Moses to each other, and then hastened to do so to Moses' face. The reproaches that Miriam and Aaron heaped upon Moses were undeserved. Aaron and Miriam were with their spouses, unclean, when God called them to uphold Moses' honor, and therefore cried "Water, Water," that they might purify themselves. Miriam and Aaron left their tents and followed the voice.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 700-01: God appeared to Aaron and Miriam in a cloud, a distinction conferred also upon Samuel. The pillar of cloud did not appear in the Tabernacle for Aaron and Miriam as it had for Moses so that none might assume that this special dignity had been removed from Moses and given to Aaron and Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 700-01: Aaron was spared the disgrace of being reproached by God in his brother's presence. God did not want Moses present during his conference with Aaron and Miriam, preferring to praise Moses, but not to his face. Aaron and Miriam interrupted God when he addressed them. God instructed Aaron and Miriam not to interrupt him. God told Aaron and Miriam that their censure of Moses should rather be directed to Him.</p>
<p>P. 702: God gently rebuked Aaron and Miriam. God showed Aaron and Miriam their sin. Both Aaron and Miriam became leprous. Aaron's leprosy lasted for only a moment. Aaron's leprosy resolved sooner than Miriam's since his sin was not as great. Aaron's disease vanished as soon as he looked upon his leprosy. Aaron tried in vain to direct his eyes on Miriam's leprosy in order to heal her. Aaron's look caused Miriam's leprosy to increase. Aaron made a lengthy speech to Moses on Miriam's behalf, that she be healed. Aaron asserted that Miriam's leprosy reflected on their father Amram. Aaron asserted that he and Miriam had never harmed a human being. Aaron asserted that they never wished to harm Moses. Aaron asserted that his and Miriam's sin was a momentary lapse. Aaron rhetorically asked if their sister must then be a lost cause. Aaron noted that there was no priest who could declare her clean, since all priests were her relatives, and this was forbidden. Aaron argued that Miriam, who intoned the song at the Sea, and instructed the women could not be left behind as they entered the promised land. The words of Aaron were superfluous to Moses.</p>
<p>P. 703: Moses and Aaron were missing from the line of procession ready to break camp due to Miriam's leprosy. Aaron was not punished. Aaron was not punished because that would have made him unfit for the high priesthood. Aaron was the only one with whom Miriam spoke evil of Moses.</p>
<p>P. 712: The people resolved to replace Moses and Aaron with Dathan and Abiram. Both the wicked mixed multitude and many hitherto pious voiced objections against Moses and Aaron. The people wanted to lay hands upon Moses and Aaron. God sent his cloud of glory to protect Moses and Aaron. The wicked cast stones hoping to kill Moses and Aaron. When the spies came back, Moses and Aaron were teaching the laws of Challah and Orlah.</p>
<p>P. 718: Korah acknowledged that Aaron had legitimate rights by virtue of Amram being firstborn .son Korah compared Samuel in terms of greatness to both Aaron and Moses.</p>
<p>P. 719: Korah compared Moses' shaving of his hair to Moses' having adorned Aaron like a bride. Korah argued that Moses was no prophet and Aaron no high priest.</p>
<p>P. 721: Korah invented a tale in which Aaron impoverished a widow by taking her firstborn sheep, the first of the fleece, one of every ten sheep, portions of the slaughtered sheep, and consecrated animals, noting that Moses and Aaron passed their cruel measures as Divine laws. Korah's horde accused Moses and Aaron of laying burdens heavier than the Egyptians had dealt and lifting themselves above the congregation. Moses did not care about insults against him or Aaron, but insults against the Torah were unthinkable.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 722: Moses argued that God's choice of Aaron from the rest of Israel was alike to other bounds of nature, such as between day and night. Moses emphasized that Aaron did not arbitrarily assume the priestly dignity- but that God had clothed Aaron with dignity, and that therefore they were in fact against God.</p>
<p>P. 723: All the people appeared and began to pick quarrels with Moses and Aaron.</p>
<p>P. 725: In their plunge to death, Korah's company cried out, "Aaron is legitimate high priest."</p>
<p>P. 728: Eleazar, and not Aaron, was ordered to pick up the censers so that a brother would expiate the sin of his two perished brothers.</p>
<p>P. 729: The people said Moses caused the death of Korah's company to ensure Aaron's priestly office. Aaron expressed concern to Moses that the charge to use incense and holy fire might lead to his death. Moses told Aaron quickly to obey to avoid the people's death. Aaron said that even at the cost of his own death, he would obey in order to serve Israel. Aaron held the Angel of Death at bay. The Angel of Death told Aaron to let him do his deed as ordered by God. Aaron refused to yield.</p>
<p>P. 729-30: Aaron told the Angel of Death that he was obeying God's instructions, so the Angel of Death could go and talk to God and Moses in the Tabernacle.</p>
<p>P. 730: Aaron seized the Angel of Death. Aaron thrust the censer under the Angel of Death's face. Aaron dragged the Angel of Death to the Tabernacle. Aaron locked in the Angel of Death so that death ceased. Aaron's other two sons would also have died due to the Golden Calf incident, but Moses interceded. By stopping the Angel of Death Aaron repaid Moses his intercession against the death of Aaron's sons. God wanted to convince the people that Aaron was the elect and head of the house of priesthood. Aaron was the prince of the tribe of Levi. God arranged for Aaron's rod to bear the Ineffable Name and blossom to yield almonds. The people were convinced when they saw the fructified rod of Aaron. Moses would urge Aaron to protect Israel whenever there was punishment coming. Aaron's rod is identical with the rod of Judah. Aaron's rod was placed in the middle so that people would not say that is proximity with the Shekhinah caused it to blossom.</p>
<p>P. 731: Aaron's rod was hidden by Josiah. Aaron's rod is Jacob's rod. Aaron, and Miriam occupied an equally high place. Moses and Aaron were in deep grief over Miriam's death.</p>
<p>P. 732: On seeing a multitude of people approaching, Moses asked Aaron what he made of this. Aaron thought that they had come in kindness to express sympathy. Moses noted that Aaron was unable to perceive the true intent of the multitude. Aaron had a reputation of loving peace. Aaron had a reputation of extraordinary kindheartedness. Owing to Aaron's reputation, the people first reproached Moses alone, but then lashed out at them both. God did not find the word of the multitude against Moses and Aaron to be entirely without merit. Because their concern had merit, Moses and Aaron, rather than making immediate reply, hastened to the sanctuary to implore God's mercy for the people. Moses and Aaron felt they would be safer in the sanctuary if the people meant to harm them. God appeared to Moses and Aaron and criticized them for paying more heed to mourning than to the people's need.</p>
<p>P. 735: Aaron's punishment (death) was harsher than Moses', since he had only followed Moses in his transgression.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 735: Though Aaron could have protested, he exercised his usual restraint and absolute devotion and faith in God's justice. Moses praised Aaron for his demeanor.</p>
<p>P. 736: Aaron was pious.</p>
<p>P. 737: Aaron died 4 months after his sister Miriam. The death of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam did not take place in the same month. God determined Aaron, Moses, and Miriam's death in one month.</p>
<p>P. 737: Aaron was one of three shepherds. God classified Aaron, Moses, and Miriam for their piety to distinguish from the sinful generation. The death of Moses and Aaron was related to the decree of Miriam's death. Aaron and Moses wept in their apartments over Miriam's death.</p>
<p>P. 738: God had decreed that Moses, Aaron, and Miriam would not set foot upon the land of Israel. Even in Egypt, God had warned Moses and Aaron to refrain from calling the Israelites fools. When Moses called the Israelites fools, Aaron did not protest. Because Aaron did not protest, death was decreed for him too.</p>
<p>P. 739: God said that because Moses and Aaron had never done anything without consulting Him, He considered it particularly fitting to prepare Moses and Aaron for impending death. Aaron's time approached. God advised Moses that because he and Aaron had rebelled at Meribah, Aaron would be gathered unto his people so as not to enter the land. Moses said that since Aaron was his older brother, it was not appropriate for him to instruct Aaron to go up Mount Hor and die there. Moses was to speak sweet and gentle words with Aaron to prepare him of his death. Moses was to prepare Aaron for death because God was ashamed to do this Himself. Moses wept so passionately over Aaron's impending death that he himself was at the brink of death. Moses went to the Tabernacle to begin the process of informing Aaron of his death. During the forty years, it was a daily custom for the people to appear before the elders, then Eleazar and Aaron, and then all together would go present their morning greeting to Moses. Because on this day Moses went directly to Aaron, Aaron asked him the motive of this change in custom.</p>
<p>P. 739-40: Moses told Aaron that God had instructed him to deliver a special communication.</p>
<p>P. 740: Aaron asked Moses to tell him God's message. Moses told Aaron to wait till they were outside. Aaron donned his eight priestly garments. Aaron went out with Moses. Though usually Aaron walked to Moses' right and in the Tabernacle sat himself at Moses' right, on this day Aaron walked in the center. Seeing Aaron at the center made the people rejoice greatly, because they reckoned that Moses had yielded the place of honor because Aaron now had a higher degree of the Holy Spirit. The people loved Aaron more than Moses. Ever since the Golden Calf, Aaron recognized his role in contributing to Israel's transgression. During his course of life, Aaron endeavored to atone for his sin through being a help to the people. Aaron atonement included going from house to house. Aaron taught the recitation of the Shema to one who did not know. Aaron taught how to pray to one who did not know. Aaron taught how to study Torah to one who did not know. Aaron sought not only to establish peace between God and man, but between the learned and ignorant, among the learned, among the ignorant, and between man and wife. It was because Aaron tried in these ways to help the people that they love him very dearly. Since Aaron tried to help the people they thought he had attained a rank higher than Moses. Aaron wanted to enter the Tabernacle but Moses held him back.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 740: Moses told Aaron that they were going beyond the camp. When beyond the camp, Aaron inquired of Moses concerning God's message. Moses told Aaron to await their reaching the mountain. Moses told the people that he, Aaron, and Eleazar were going to the top of the mount. Moses did not know how to go about informing Aaron of his impending death. Moses asked Aaron if God had given anything to his keeping.</p>
<p>P. 740-1: Aaron noted that God had given the altar and table.</p>
<p>P. 741: Moses told Aaron that God might demand back something given to his keeping. Aaron did not to what Moses was referring. Moses asked if God had entrusted a light to him. Aaron replied that he had been given the menorah. Though Moses had intended an allusion to the soul, Aaron, in his simplicity, did not note the allusion. Moses advised Aaron that God had called him an innocent simple-hearted man. Moses requested that Aaron enter the cave. Aaron immediately entered the cave. Moses did not know how to broach the subject of stripping Aaron of his garments. Moses explained to Aaron that the garments might become unclean in the environs of the cave. Aaron agreed with Moses about the need to remove the garments. It would have been improper for Aaron to be buried naked. God performed a miracle vesting Aaron with celestial garments for each one Moses removed. God miraculously enabled Moses to strip off Aaron's undergarments before the outer garments. Moses and Aaron instructed Eleazar to wait for them till their return from the cave. Aaron again inquired about God's message. Aaron recalled to Moses God's assurance to Moses [in Midian] that he [Aaron] would be glad in his heart to see Moses. Aaron told Moses that even if God's message should refer to his death, he would take it with cheerful countenance. Moses acknowledged to Aaron that the message related to his death and he had been afraid to bring the matter up directly and pointed out how remarkable was his impending death. Moses wished to tell Aaron that he, like Miriam and later himself, would die not through the Angel of Death, but by a kiss of God. Aaron asked Moses why notice of his death was not given before his mother, wife, and children. Instead of answering Aaron's question, Moses spoke words of comfort and encouragement to Aaron.</p>
<p>P. 742: Moses told Aaron how his death was deserved after fashioning the Golden Calf, but that his [Moses.] prayer had saved him. Moses noted that Aaron was more fortunate than he in that Aaron would have a brother to bury him and son's to inherit his position. Moses encouraged his brother till Aaron looked forward to his end with equanimity. Aaron lay down on the adorned couch. God received Aaron's soul. Eleazar asked Moses where his father Aaron was. Moses told Eleazar that Aaron had entered Paradise. The people saw that Moses and Aaron returned without Aaron. Since Aaron had before overcome the Angel of Death, the people were skeptical regarding the communication of Aaron's death. Some people felt Moses had killed Aaron out of jealousy over Aaron's popularity. Some thought Eleazar had killed Aaron to become his successor. Some thought Aaron had been removed from earth to be translated to heaven. The people had boundless admiration for Aaron. Moses asked God to show the people Aaron's bier, lest their admiration lead them to make him a God. God referred to Aaron as "my friend." God commanded the angels to lift Aaron's bier on high so that Israel would know he was dead.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

<p>P. 742: Israel saw Aaron's bier floating in the air with God before it, and the angels behind it. The angels were intoning a funeral song for Aaron. God lamented Aaron, saying, "He entered into peace, and each one who walks in his uprightness rests in their beds." The angels lamented Aaron, saying, "The law of truth was in his mouth, and unrighteousness was not found in his lips: he walked with Me in peace and uprightness, and did turn many away from iniquity."</p>
<p>P. 743: Aaron's body was hidden by the clouds of glory/the mount while being undressed. Aaron's undressing and Eleazar's dressing was simultaneous. Moses did not tell the people about Aaron's impending death because, if they prayed for his life, they would disturb God's wise plan. When Israel beheld the funeral rites prepared by God and the Angels in Aaron's honor, they prepared a thirty-day funeral ceremony in which all men, women, adults and children participated. The people's mourning was motivated by their deep love for Aaron and how deeply they felt his death. The people mourned more for Aaron than they later did for Moses. Aaron loved men and brought them near to the Torah. Aaron's humility was revealed in how he greeted even the lowliest without considering that this affected his dignity. Aaron would offer greetings even to the wicked or godless. The angels lamented Aaron as one who "turned many away from iniquity."</p>
<p>P. 744: Many a one about to sin was led to reform when he thought that thereafter he would not be able to look Aaron in the eye. Aaron was aware of his special task as a peacemaker. Aaron would work with those who had fallen out, make up stories which reunited them in friendship. Aaron would work with husbands and wives who lived in discord, encouraging their reconciliation. Aaron saved many thousands of marital unions. The subsequent sons of these saved unions usually received Aaron's name. Not less than 80,000 youths thus bearing Aaron's name took part in his mourning. Moses beheld the deep-felt sorrow of the heavenly beings and Israel for Aaron, and feared that his own end would be lonelier and less noted. God reassured Moses that just as Aaron's burial site remained unknown, so too would his.</p>
<p>P. 745: Seeing that Moses and Eleazar had returned from the mountain without Aaron, Israel refused to leave till Moses showed them that Aaron was dead or alive. God responded to Moses' prayer by opening the cave so all Israel saw Aaron lying dead upon a bier. Noting that the clouds of glory vanished, the people saw that God had sent the clouds for Aaron's sake. Amalek learned that Aaron was dead and the clouds of glory gone, so they set about harassing Israel. After Aaron's death, Amalek no longer considered Israel dangerous.</p>
<p>P. 746: The Amalekites deceptively appeared in Israel's camp as if coming with condolences over Aaron's death. The people realized that their endangerment had been due to not having arranged a mourning ceremony adequate to honor a man of Aaron's piety. The people arranged a great mourning rite for Aaron at Moserah. It is because of the great mourning for Aaron at Moserah that it was later known as the place where Aaron died.</p>
<p>P. 748: As long as Aaron lived, the people were protected by a cloud.</p>
<p>P. 750: The text of the song of the well included Aaron: "...the lawgivers of Israel, Moses and Aaron, have made its water to run with their staves ..."</p>
<p>P. 751: It was hardly a month after Aaron's death that the Amorites rushed upon Israel and were completely destroyed. (or Sihon, Arad -p. 752)</p>
<p>P. 783: After the death of Aaron, the tribes battled against the Levites for fear of the Canaanites.</p>
<p>P. 785: Jochebed survived her sons Moses and Aaron.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for All Women, Caleb, and Aaron (*cont*)

P. 789: Moses had entreated God to send Aaron instead of himself to deliver Israel out of Egypt.
P. 790: Moses did not want Aaron's sons to be offended by his naming Joshua as his successor.
P. 797-8: Aaron's son Eleazar announced the laws of purification to the soldiers because Moses was undeserving of doing this.
P. 800: It was with wrath that God vowed against Moses and Aaron that they would not bring the assembly into the land.
P. 814: Aaron died upon mount Nebo, as did Moses and Miriam. Aaron was a sinless prophet, as were Moses and Miriam.
P. 815: Aaron's son Eleazar accompanied Moses to his tomb. Moses was gathered to his people, including his brother Aaron and sister Miriam. When Aaron died, Moses clothed him in his death robe. Moses said to Aaron, "Get upon the couch." Aaron then got upon the couch. Moses said to Aaron: "Close thine eyes." Aaron closed his eyes. Moses said to Aaron, "Stretch out thy feet." Aaron stretched out his feet and expired. Aaron died a peaceful death without pain. Moses said of Aaron, "Blessed is the man that dies such a death." God told Moses his death would be like Aaron's.
P. 816: When Moses ascended to the lofty places of heaven, he beheld in its Temple the Messiah, David's son, and his own brother Aaron, standing erect, and dressed in the robe of the high priest. Aaron said to Moses, "Do not draw near, for this is the place where the Shekhinah dwells, and ... no one may enter here before he has tasted death and his soul has been delivered to the Angel of Death." When the Messiah and Aaron beheld Moses approaching them, they knew that God had taught Moses the great name. The Messiah and Aaron went to meet Moses. The Messiah and Aaron saluted Moses, "Blessed be he that comes in the name of the Lord."
P. 821: Moses, praying for the tribes, began by referring to Aaron, prince of the tribe of Levi. Moses noted that the Urim and Tummim belong to "Aaron who ministered services of love to God's children, who stood every test, and who at the waters of rebellion became the victim of a wrong accusation."
P. 827: While giving his discourse, Joshua sat with Moses at his right and Aaron's sons at his left.
P. 899: The prophet Samuel prayed for the life of Saul, noting in his prayer to God, "Thou regardest me equal to Moses and Aaron. As Moses and Aaron did not have their handiwork destroyed before their eyes during their life, so may my handiwork not cease during my life."
P. 916: In his contest with Goliath, five pebbles came to David of their own accord, and when he touched them all turned into one pebble. The five stood for God, the three Patriarchs, and Aaron.
P. 968: Over the seat [of King Solomon's throne] hung a golden candlestick with seven branches. On the arms to the right were the images of the seven patriarchs of the world: Adam, Noah, Shem, Job, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and on the arms to the left, the images of the seven pious men of the world: Kohath, Amram, Moses, Aaron, Eldad, Medad, and the prophet Hur.
P. 1020: Elijah will continue to be expounder of the law even after the reign of peace has been established, and his relation to Moses will be the same Aaron once held.
P. 1068: When Jeremiah received the call to be a prophet, he refused noting that there was never a prophet whom Israel did not desire to kill: "Moses and Aaron they sought to stone with stones ..."
P. 1174: "As Jacob was victorious over the angel with whom he wrestled, and Moses and Aaron caused the drowning of Pharaoh and his host, so Mordecai will overcome thee [Haman] in the end."

APPENDIX D-3

TANAKH NOVEL ASSERTIONS FOR WELL, MANNA, AND CLOUD

(Numeral following name indicates number of Assertions for Character)

Well (10)

Gen 21:19	The well that Hagar saw, from which she gave Ishmael to drink, is The Well.
Gen 21:25, 30	The well that Abraham dug is The Well.
Gen 24:16, 20	The well from which Rebecca drew is The Well.
Gen 26:18-21, 25, 32-33	The wells that came up during Isaac's diggings are The Well.
Gen 29:2, 8, 10	The well by which Jacob met his mate is The Well.
Ex 2:15	The well by which Moses sat in Midian is The Well.
Ex 17:6; Deut 8:15; Is 48:21; Ps 78:20; Neh 9:15	The rock that gave water to Israel is The Well.
Num 21:16-18	The well that the princes dug and over which Israel sang is The Well.
Ps 105:41; 114:8	The wilderness springs and rivers from the rock were from The Well.
Song 4:15	The "living waters" are waters of The Well

Manna (54)

Ex 16:4-5	God told Moses He would cause bread to rain from heaven. The people would gather a day's portion of bread each day. The gathering of the bread was a test. On they sixth day the people would prepare what they would bring. On the sixth day there would be a double portion.
Ex 16:8	Moses said God would give the people bread in the morning to be full.
Ex 16:12	God said the people would know He was the Lord their God when they were full of meat and bread.
Ex 16:14:27	The bread was thin and scaly as frost on the ground. When the people saw the bread they asked, "What is it?" The people did not know what the bread was. Moses said, "It is the bread that the Lord gave you for food." Moses said God commanded to gather each man according to his eating, an omer of manna per person for all in his tent. The people gathered manna. Some people gathered more manna. Some people gathered less manna. They measured the manna with the omer. The more had no leftover manna. The less had no lack of manna. They gathered manna each man according to his eating. Moses said not to leave any manna till morning. Some people left some manna till morning. Leftover manna raised worms. Leftover manna stank.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

Ex 16:14:27 (<i>cont</i>)	The people gathered manna every morning. The manna melted when the sun was hot. On the sixth day the people gathered double manna. Moses said God said to bake what would be baked, boil what would be boiled, and the Leftover be saved until the morning.” The people laid the manna until morning. The manna did not stink. The manna had no worms. Moses said there would be no manna on the Sabbath. Some people tried to gather manna on the Sabbath. They did not find manna on the Sabbath.
Ex 16:31-35	The people called the bread manna. Manna was like coriander seed, white, and tasted like wafers with honey. Moses said God commanded that an omerful of manna be kept to show future generations what God had fed the people. Moses told Aaron to take a jar and put an omerful before the Lord as a keeping. Aaron put the manna before the Ark. The people ate the manna forty years. The people ate manna until they came to an inhabited land. The people ate manna until they came to the edge of the land of Canaan.
Num 11:6-9	The people complained that they only had manna to look at. Manna looked like bdellium. The people ground the manna in millstones. The people beat the manna in a mortar. The people boiled the manna in a pot and made cakes. The manna tasted like a cake baked with oil. The manna would fall upon the dew.
Deut 8:3	Moses said God fed the people the manna after causing them to be hungry, a food no one knew, so that they would know that not on bread alone will a man live, but on God’s word.
Deut 8:16	Moses said that God fed people manna in the wilderness in order to try them and benefit them in the end.
Josh 5:12	The manna stopped the morning after the people ate the crop of the land.
Ps 78:24	Manna was the grain from heaven.
Neh 9:20	Nehemiah said God did not withhold manna from the people’s mouth.

Cloud (62)

Ex 13:21-22	God was in a pillar of cloud. The pillar of cloud led them by day. God did not remove the pillar of cloud by day. [Cf. Num 14:14]
Ex 14:19-20	The pillar of cloud moved from before them. The pillar of cloud stood behind them. The pillar of cloud was between Israel and Egypt’s camps. The pillar of cloud illuminated the night [?]
Ex 14:24	God looked down on Egypt in the pillar of fire and cloud. God looked down on Egypt in the pillar of fire and cloud at the morning watch.
Ex 16:10	The glory of God appeared in a cloud when Aaron was speaking to the congregation of the children of Israel.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

Ex 19:9	God said to Moses, "Behold, I come to you in a thick cloud, so that the people will hear my speaking with you and will also believe in you forever."
Ex 19:16	There was a heavy cloud upon the mountain.
Ex 20:21	Moses approached the thick fog where God was.
Ex 24:15-16	The cloud covered the mountain. The cloud covered the mountain six days. God called to Moses from within the cloud on the seventh day.
Ex 24:18	Moses entered the cloud.
Ex 33:9-10	The pillar of cloud came down. The pillar of cloud stood at the tent door. The pillar of cloud spoke with Moses. The people saw the pillar of cloud and prostrated themselves.
Ex 34:5	God came down in the cloud. [Cf. Num 11:25]
Ex 40:34-38	The cloud covered the tent of meeting. [Cf. Num 17:7] Moses could not enter into the tent when the cloud was there. When the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, the people could travel. If the cloud was not taken up, they would not travel. The cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day. The cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle in the eyes of all Israel. The cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle in all of Israel's journeys.
Lev 16:2	God told Moses to tell Aaron not to just come into the holy, within the veil, before the Ark, because God would appear in the cloud upon the Ark cover.
Num 9:15:22	The cloud covered the tabernacle on the day of its being set up. The cloud covered the tabernacle, up to the tent of the testimony. The cloud had the appearance of fire at night. The people journeyed according to the cloud being taken up. Where the cloud dwelt, the people would encamp. All the days that the cloud would dwell upon the tabernacle they would encamp. Sometimes the cloud was upon the tabernacle a number of days. Sometimes the cloud was on all night and was taken up in the morning. The people traveled day or night when the cloud was taken up. No matter how long the cloud tarried, the people would not travel.
Num 10:11-12	The cloud was taken up in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth of the month. The cloud dwelt in the wilderness of Paran.
Num 10:34	The cloud was upon the people by day while they traveled. [Cf. Num 14:14]
Num 12:5	God came down in a pillar of cloud.
Num 12:10	When the cloud turned aside from the tent, Miriam was leprous
Deut 1:33	God went before the people in the cloud by day. [Cf. Ps 78:14]
Deut 4:11	The mountain was burning with fire unto the heart of heaven, darkness, cloud, and thick fog.
Deut 5:18	God spoke out of the fire, the cloud, and the thick fog.
Deut 31:15	God appeared in the tent in a pillar of cloud. The pillar of cloud stood upon the tent door.
1Kings 8:10-12	The cloud filled the Temple when the priests went out. The priests could not stand to serve because of the cloud. The cloud was the glory of the Lord. Solomon said, "The Lord said to dwell in the thick fog." [Cf. 2Chr 6:1]
Is 4:5	God will create over all the foundation of Mt. Zion and over her assemblies a cloud by day.

Tanakh Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

Ez 10:3-4	The cloud filled the inner courtyard of the Temple. The cloud filled the Temple when the glory of the Lord rose from upon the cherub.
2Chr 5:13	The Temple was filled with a cloud during the singing of praises to God.
Ps 99:7	God spoke to Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel in a pillar of cloud.
Ps 105:39	God spread a cloud for a screen.
Neh 9:12	Nehemiah said that God led the people in a pillar of cloud.
Neh 9:19	Nehemiah said that the pillar of cloud did not turn aside from the people.

APPENDIX D-4

GINZBERG NOVEL ASSERTIONS FOR WELL, MANNA, AND CLOUD

(Numeral following name indicates number of Assertions for Character)

(Page number refers to Ginzberg's "Legends of the Jews")

Well (77)

<p>P. 86: The wilderness generation lost six heavenly blessings: the manna, the well, the pillars of cloud and fire, the knowledge of the Ineffable Name, and the presence of the Shekinah.</p>
<p>P. 220: The angels told God, "Why should He bring up the well for one who would do evil?" On God hearing Ishmael's voice, God opened for them the well that was created at twilight. The well that sprang for Ishmael was Miriam's well. Miriam's well was created in the twilight of the sixth day of creation.</p>
<p>P. 223: Over the well, Abimelech's and Abraham's shepherds argued. "Everyone for whom the waters see his flock and come up, the well is his." For Abraham's shepherds, the waters saw and came up. Abimelech's shepherds disregarded the agreement and wrested the well for their own use. As a witness and a perpetual sign that the well belonged to him, Abraham set aside seven sheep. Abraham called the well Beer-sheba, because of the covenant of friendship.</p>
<p>P. 239-40: The waters of the well came up for Rebecca.</p>
<p>P. 241: The well at which Eliezer stopped was the well of Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 260: Isaac found the well that followed the Patriarchs after four attempts. Abraham had dug three times and found it before him. Because they found it many times, they called it "Shiv'a." The well will supply Jerusalem and its environs in the Messianic time.</p>
<p>P. 263: The fourth well Isaac dug is identified with the well of Miriam.</p>
<p>P. 278: The well in Haran had little water. The well could not be used free of charge. Because of Jacob the water springs were blessed and the city had enough water.</p>
<p>P. 279: When Jacob removed the stone, the well went up and overflowed water outwards. The well remained up all 20 years that Jacob lived in Haran.</p>
<p>P. 292: The shepherds of Haran observed that the well ran dry.</p>
<p>P. 493: The shepherds threw Zipporah and her sisters into the well. Moses dragged the maidens out of the well.</p>
<p>P. 493-94: The water of the well flowed copiously for Moses.</p>
<p>P. 494: The water of the well did not cease to flow until Moses turned away. The well where Moses drew was the same well where Jacob met Rachel. The well was created at the beginning of the world. The mouth of the well was one of ten things created on the eve of the Sabbath at twilight.</p>
<p>P. 562: There were ten songs which was really one - the third was sung at the well.</p>
<p>P. 572: Despite the miracles and mighty deeds, including the well, Israel did not obey God.</p>
<p>P. 573: The well was one of three gifts. The well was given on Miriam's merit. The well went away/ ceased to exist when Miriam died. The well returned on Aaron and Moses' merit when Miriam died. When Moses died, the well and the other two gifts all ceased to exist and did not return.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

<p>P. 574: A jug full of water from Miriam's well is one of three hidden objects that Elijah will restore. The well of water of Marah is the well given for Miriam's sake.</p>
<p>P. 575: God told Moses to have some elders accompany him to make sure he got water out of a rock. God told Moses to ask the people to choose the rock from which they wanted water to flow. Moses barely touched the rock and plenteous water flowed from it.</p>
<p>P. 576: A well of water was revealed to Israel. A well came up for them for 40 years. The well came with them on journeys. The well coming up was a miracle. God created the well on the second day of creation. Abraham said, "From that same well shall the seventh generation after me, the wanderers in the desert, draw their supply." The well was similar to a trickling sieve/ a sort of rock. Water gushed out of the well as from a spout. The well went up with them to the mountains and down with them to the valleys. The well stops where Israel stops. The well stops opposite the Tabernacle. The princes of Israel surrounded the well with sticks. The princes sang, "Come up well." The water would gush forth from the depths of the well. The water would shoot up high as pillars. The water of the well makes big streams. The streams were navigable. The Israelites went in boats in the waterways created by the well's waters. The waters of the well go to the Great Sea. The Jews hauled all the treasures of the world from the ocean. Rivers were made between each tribe for borders. Woman visited friends in other standards by navigating the rivers made by the well's waters. The well's waters went forth out of the camp. The well's waters surrounded a large area. Israel grew [all] species of trees from the well's water. The figs, vines, and pomegranates grown with the well's waters bore fruit within a day The well brought fragrant herbs with it. It was from the well that the daughters of Israel adorned themselves... The well threw down soft fragrant grass that served as couches for the poor. The well disappeared upon the entrance to the Holy Land. The well was hidden in the Sea of Tiberias. Miriam's well can be seen in the sea from the top of Carmel as a sort of sieve. A leper bathed at this place in the sea and came into contact with Miriam's well. A leper was instantly healed when he came into contact with Miriam's well.</p>

Manna (127)

<p>P. 5: Manna is made in the third heaven. Manna is made for the pious in the hereafter.</p>
<p>P. 34: Manna is the food for the phoenix.</p>
<p>P. 48: During creation God said He would bring forth manna for Israel in the wilderness.</p>
<p>P. 78: The manna was one of the things created at twilight between the sixth day and the Sabbath.</p>
<p>P. 86: The wilderness generation lost six heavenly blessings: the manna, the well, the pillars of cloud and fire, the knowledge of the Ineffable Name, and the presence of the Shekinah.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

P. 433: The name of the tribe of Gad recalls the manna because it was like “coriander” seed.
P. 545: The sanctification of the Sabbath became quite a living thing through the miracle of the manna.
P. 569: God told Moses that the next morning manna would descend from heaven. Manna was a reward for Abraham’s readiness, in answer to the summons to sacrifice Isaac. God promised manna to Abraham’s descendants with the same words, “Here am I. With Manna God repaid Abraham’s descendants for his having fetched bread for the visiting angels. God Himself caused manna to rain from heaven because Abraham himself had fetched the bread for the angels.
P. 569-70: There were good reasons for not exceeding a day’s ration in the daily downpour of manna. Manna was given daily to spare people the need of carrying it on their wanderings. Manna was given daily so that the people might receive it hot. Manna was given daily so that people learn to have faith on God’s aid.
P. 570: God rained manna to fulfill the people’s desire. God rained manna while the people were still abed. Manna was created on the second day of creation. Manna was ground by the angels. Manna mills are in the third heaven. Manna manna is constantly being ground for the future use of the pious. Manna deserves its name, “bread of the angels.” Those who eat manna become equal to the angels in strength. Those who eat manna do not have to relieve themselves unless they sin. Manna is entirely dissolved in the body. Manna had a miraculous flavor. Manna did not need to be cooked or prepared. Manna contained the flavor of every dish. Manna had a different taste to every one who partook of it. Manna tasted like milk to the little children. Manna tasted like bread to the strong youths. Manna tasted like honey to the old men. Manna tasted like barley steeped in oil and honey to the sick. Manna’s descent from heaven was miraculous. A wind swept the floor, a rain washed it, and the dew froze on it and became a table for the manna. More dew acted as a cover for the manna. Manna lay enclosed as if in a casket. Manna was protected from soiling or pollution above and below.
P. 571: Manna was gathered at the entrance of each tent. Every person gathered manna for himself and his family. Gathering manna caused little trouble. Manna fell into straight into the hands of the lazy. Manna lasted until the fourth hour of the day. Manna melted at the fourth hour of the day. Melted manna was not wasted. Melted manna formed the rivers from which the pious will drink in the hereafter. Heathens tried to drink from the manna streams. Manna from the streams had a quite bitter taste in the mouth of the heathen. The heathen enjoyed manna by eating manna-drinking animals. Animals drank melted manna. Manna-drinking animals were delicious. Because of the delicious manna-drinking animals, the heathen said, “Happy is the people that is in such a case.” The descent of manna was not a secret to the heathen. Manna settled at enormous heights.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

<p>P. 571: The kings of the East and of the West could see how Israel received manna. The mass of the manna was in proportion to its height. As much manna descended day by day, as might have satisfied the wants of sixty myriads of people, through two thousand years. The amount of manna that fell over the body of Joshua alone, as might have sufficed for the maintenance of the whole congregation. Many lawsuits were amicably decided through the fall of manna. When married couples accused each other of inconstancy, the manna would settle the case. If manna descended for the wife before the house of her husband, it was known that he was right. If the wife's share descended before the house of her own parents, she was right. Manna did not fall on holy days. The color of manna sparkled more than usual on Sabbaths and holidays. Manna tasted better than usual on Sabbaths and holidays. The people tried to go out to gather manna twice on the first Sabbath. The people were afraid they would not receive manna anymore after the first Sabbath. Moses said, "Today ye shall not find any of it, but assuredly tomorrow; in this world ye shall not receive manna on the Sabbath, but assuredly in the future world."</p>
<p>P. 572: The unbelieving went out on the Sabbath to find manna. When the unbelieving went out on the Sabbath to find manna, God told Moses to tell Israel, "I have led you out of Egypt, have cleft the sea for you, have sent you manna, have caused the well of water to spring up for you, have sent the quails to come up for you, have battled for you against Amalek, and wrought other miracles for you, and still you do not obey My statutes and commandments." Dathan and Abiram broke the commandment not to save the manna for the following day. Great swarms of worms bred from the stored manna and moved from their tents to the other tents. Everyone found out that Dathan and Abiram had broken the commandment not to save the manna for the following day. God told Moses to put an earthen vessel full of manna before the Holy Ark. Aaron put an earthen vessel full of manna before the Holy Ark in the second year of the wanderings. Jeremiah brought out the vessel of manna many centuries later when his contemporaries asked how they would maintain themselves if they studied Torah as Jeremiah urged them to do. Jeremiah told the people that God would also provide them with manna if they devoted themselves to Torah study.</p>
<p>P. 573: King Josiah concealed the vessel with manna together with the Ark and other objects when the imminent destruction of the Temple was announced to him. In the Messianic time Elijah will restore the vessel of manna and the other concealed objects. Manna was one of three gifts Israel received during their wanderings through the dessert. Manna was given for the merits of Moses. Manna disappeared forever when Moses died. Manna served as provender for the cattle, for the dew that preceded the fall of manna during the night brought grain for the cattle. Manna also replaced perfume because it shed an excellent fragrance upon those who ate of it. When giving the manna God had a radiant countenance. Moses taught the people the prayer in which they were to offer thanks after eating manna.</p>
<p>P. 575: Manna relieved the people of all the cares of subsistence so they could devote themselves exclusively to the study of the Torah.</p>
<p>P. 584: Moses told Jethro about the rain of manna. Moses told Jethro, "In the manna that God gives us we perceive the taste of bread, of meat, of fish ..."</p>
<p>P. 586: If Moses went out early, the people would say: "Behold the son of Amram, who betakes himself early to the gathering of manna, that he may get the largest grains."</p>
<p>P. 588: Manna descended in Jethro's honor at the noon hour, the hour of his arrival.</p>
<p>P. 591: Manna was like one of the bridal gifts God gave to Israel, His bride.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

P. 617: When Moses was in heaven he knew it was daytime when the angels prepared manna for Israel.
P. 621: The people used manna in their worship of the Golden Calf. God did not deny manna to Israel on the day they were worshipping the Golden Calf.
P. 644: Moses had only one table set up in the Tabernacle because the one table sufficed to bring sustenance to Israel so long as they were maintained by manna in the desert.
P. 650: Precious stones had rained down with the manna.
P. 693: Manna never tasted like cucumbers. Manna never tasted like melons. Manna never tasted like leeks. Manna never tasted like onions. Manna never tasted like garlic.
P. 693-94: Manna displeased the people because it did not contain the flavor injurious to health.
P. 694: The people complained that manna remained in their bodies. The people said, "The manna will swell in our stomachs, for can there be a human being that takes food without excreting it!" Manna was given to Israel as a special distinction. Manna could always be eaten without injury to health. When the last manna fell on the day of Moses' death, the people ate of it for forty days, and would not make use of other food until the manna had been exhausted to the last grain The last manna lasted for forty days. The people complained about seeing before them, morning and evening, no other food than manna. The people were apprehensive of dying of starvation in case the supply of manna should cease.
P. 710: Caleb said, "Moses—it is he who drew us up out of Egypt, who clove the sea for us, who gave us manna as food."
P. 713: God told Moses to tell the people, "I gave you manna as food, which made you strong and fat, but you, perceiving that you felt no need of easing yourselves after partaking of it, said: 'How comes it to pass that twenty days have gone by and we have not eased ourselves? Ordinarily a human being dies if after four or five days he does not excrete the food he has taken ...'"
P. 736: Moses told Edom, "Although we draw drink out of the well that accompanies us on our travels, and are provided with food through the manna, we shall, nevertheless, buy water and food from thy people, that ye may profit by our passage."
P. 747: At the outskirts of the land, the people who would not enter it complained that they could only eat manna since they would die if they even saw the products that merchants brought to the camp. God sent serpents to bite those who murmured against the manna.
P. 750: Israel did not sing a song to manna. Israel did not sing a song to manna because they had on several occasions railed against it. God said, "I do not wish ye to find fault with manna, nor yet to have ye praise it now." God would not permit them to sing a song of praise to manna.
P. 804: Moses told God, "Thou didst cause manna to rain from heaven for Israel, and water to rise from the well."
P. 814: The people said that Moses caused manna to rain down.
P. 834: The desert said, "I have not seen [Moses] since the day whereon he caused manna to rain down upon me."
P. 1021: The Messiah will show the flask of manna. The flask of manna was one of three holy vessels that disappeared mysteriously.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

Cloud (108)

P. 18: When just men die and go to Paradise, angels wrap them in seven garments of clouds of glory.
P. 19: Seven clouds of glory hang over the tree of life. A curtain of clouds of glory separates the canopies of luminaries that cover the scholars under the tree of life. The cloud of glory carries those who go to the fourth compartment of Paradise.
P. 48: God said, “as I shall create luminaries to divide day from night, so I will do for Israel—I will go before him by day in a pillar of cloud and by night in a pillar of fire.”
P. 72: Adam and Eve had a horny skin and were enveloped with the cloud of glory. Adam and Eve lost their horny skin and cloud of glory after they ate the fruit.
P. 171: God commanded Gabriel to put thick, dark clouds between Abraham and his assailants. The heavy clouds made the assailants flee.
P. 227: Abraham and Isaac saw the cloud of glory on the mountain. Eliezer and Ishmael did not see the cloud of glory on the mountain.
P. 240: The cloud had been over Sarah’s tent. The cloud vanished at Sarah’s death. The cloud appeared over Rebecca’s tent.
P. 429: Moses said that the clouds of glory were waiting for Joseph.
P. 542: God enveloped Israel in seven clouds of glory in Succoth. There were four clouds in front, behind, and on the two sides, one above, one below, and the seven preceded the people. The clouds kept off rain, hail, and sun. The clouds protected the people against thorns and snake. The cloud in front prepared the way for them. The cloud exalted valleys. The cloud made low every mountain and hill. A beam from the celestial cloud followed them into the darkest of chambers. A fold of the cloud accompanied and protected people who had to go outside the camp. The cloud was replaced by a pillar of fire in the evening. The cloud returned in the morning before the fire vanished. The clouds of glory and the pillar of fire were sent for the protection of Israel alone. The clouds of glory did not protect the heathen or the mixed multitude. The heathen or the mixed multitude had to walk outside of the cloud enclosure.
P. 555: The cloud caught the arrows and darts that the Egyptians shot at Israel. The cloud hovered between the two camps.
P. 559: The pillar of cloud was used by God to fight against the Egyptians. The pillar of cloud made the soil miry.
P. 565: The people told Moses, “God has led us from Egypt only to grant us five tokens: To give us the wealth of Egypt, to let us walk in clouds of glory ...”
P. 569: God had a cloud spread over Israel.
P. 573: The clouds of glory were received by Israel during their wanderings in the desert. The clouds of glory were one of three gifts. The clouds were given on Aaron’s merit. The clouds disappeared for a time when Aaron died. The clouds reappeared on Moses’ merit. The clouds disappeared forever when Moses died.
P. 578: God enveloped Israel in seven clouds of glory when they came out of Egypt.
P. 579: The clouds kept the encampment as well fortified as a city that is surrounded by a solid wall, safe from Amalek. The cloud protected only the pure.

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

<p>P. 579: The unclean had to stay beyond the cloud. The cloud did not protect sinners, particularly the tribe of Dan, who were idol worshippers.</p>
<p>P. 581: Joshua did not want to leave the protection of the cloud. Moses told Joshua to abandon the cloud and set forth against Amalek.</p>
<p>P. 583: Jethro could not enter the camp of Israel for it was enveloped by a cloud that none could pierce.</p>
<p>P. 596: Moses was carried to God in a cloud that was always ready to bear him to God and then restore him to men.</p>
<p>P. 597: God told Moses that He would come to him in a thick cloud.</p>
<p>P. 599: A heavy cloud rested on Israel from the day that they arrived at Siani.</p>
<p>P. 601: God wanted to speak, but first Moses had to leave so that people might not say it was Moses who had spoken out of the cloud. A thick cloud covered the sides of Mt. Sinai.</p>
<p>P. 611: God revealed Himself to Moses, Aaron, and Samuel in a pillar of cloud.</p>
<p>P. 613: A cloud appeared and lay down before Moses. The mouth of the cloud flew open. Moses entered into the mouth of the cloud.</p>
<p>P. 613-14: Moses almost fell out of the cloud.</p>
<p>P. 631: God appeared in the cloud.</p>
<p>P. 640: In the future world God will create a cloud and smoke by day upon every place of Mt. Zion.</p>
<p>P. 686: The motto “And the cloud of the Lord was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp” was on the standard of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. God allowed strip of the seventh cloud of glory to rest on the hooks of gold on Judah’s standard. On this strip of the cloud of glory were visible the initials of the names of the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the letters being radiations from the Shekinah. On Reuben’s standard, the second letters of the Patriarchs’ names were seen above them in the cloud. God let a pillar of cloud rest over the Ark, and in this were visible the letters Yod and He, spelling the name Yah, by means of which God had created the world. The pillar of cloud shed sunlight by day, so that Israel might distinguish between night and day. The pillar of cloud shed moonlight by night, so that Israel might distinguish between night and day. God sent on from its place over the Ark the cloud with the sacred letters Yod and He in the direction in which Israel was to march. The four strips of cloud over the standards would follow. When the priests saw these clouds move they blew the trumpets as a signal for starting.</p>
<p>P. 687: The clouds gave the signal for taking down and pitching tents. The clouds always waited for Moses’ permission to start. The pillar of cloud would contract and stand still before Moses, waiting for his order to move. The pillar of cloud would then move. When they pitched, the pillar of cloud would contract and stand still before Moses, waiting for his order to return. The cloud would expand first over the tribes that belonged to the standard of Judah, and then over the sanctuary, within and without. The cloud of glory separated the dwelling places of the human beings from those of the animals. The purple color of the cloud of glory was reflected in the waters of the rivers. The cloud of glory spread afar a radiance like that of the sun and the stars. The cloud of glory’s radiance on the waters scared the heathens, who praised God for the miracles He wrought for Israel.</p>
<p>P. 700-701: God appeared to Miriam and Aaron in a pillar of cloud. The pillar of cloud did not appear in the Tabernacle, where it always rested whenever God revealed Himself to Moses.</p>
<p>P. 703: The people did not see the pillar of cloud moving before them when Miriam became leprous. The clouds had to wait a week until Miriam recovered.</p>

Ginzberg Novel Assertions for Well, Manna, and Cloud (*cont*)

P. 703: The pillar moved and the people knew that they had not been permitted to proceed on their march only because of this pious prophetess.
P. 704: The clouds acted as scouts for the people as long as they were in the wilderness.
P. 712: God sent His cloud of glory to protect Moses and Aaron when the people wanted to kill them. The people threw stones at the cloud hoping to kill Moses and Aaron.
P. 736: The cloud would leave little elevations on the place where Israel pitched camp for the sanctuary to be set up.
P. 745: The clouds of glory had covered the site of the camp for forty years. The clouds of glory were perceived to have been for Aaron's sake when he died. The clouds of glory had prevented those who were born in the desert from seeing the sun and the moon. The disappearance of the clouds of glory inspired Israel with terror. The clouds had protected Israel's camp. Amalek decided to harass Israel when they heard of the disappearance of the clouds of glory
P. 746: The people were afraid to continue the march without the clouds of glory.
P. 772: God did not withdraw the clouds of glory when Israel adored the Calf.
P. 779: God made the cloud of glory that lay spread over the camp of Israel disappear from the sinners.
P. 807: God told Moses, "I covered thee with the cloud."
P. 827: A cloud descended and interposed itself between the people and Joshua when the people wanted to kill him.
P. 836: The clouds of glory were questioned by Samael as to Moses' whereabouts. The clouds of glory replied, "He is hid from the eyes of all living."
P. 1088: A cloud descended and enveloped the Sons of Moses and all who belonged to them at nightfall. The cloud hid them from their enemies. The cloud vanished at daybreak. A column of cloud guards against trespassers by day.

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