

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments	VII
Notes to the Reader	XVI
Abbreviations	XVII
Introduction	1
A. <i>A Kingdom without Sources</i>	2
I. Recovering a Lost Kingdom	2
II. Satrap, Feudal Prince, Tyrant, Hakham Bashi: Former Models of Exilarchal Leadership	5
B. <i>The Central Concerns</i>	11
I. Defining the Question	11
II. Comparison and Contextualization	12
III. The Sources and their Interpretation	16
Chapter 1: The Sasanian Empire and the Exilarch	21
A. <i>Administration and Geography</i>	21
I. The Limits of the Empire	21
II. Administrative Geography	22
III. Babylonia and its Environs	24
B. <i>Political History</i>	28
I. Uprising	28
II. Wars and Conquest	29
III. The Fourth Century: Šabuhr II	30
IV. The Fifth Century	31
V. From Xusrō I to the Last Sasanian Kings	32

C. <i>Government and Rule</i>	34
I. Continuity and Innovation	34
II. Court Hierarchy	36
D. <i>Religion and State</i>	39
I. Heirs to the Parthians.....	39
II. Tolerance and Intolerance.....	42
III. Religious Hierarchies.....	49
 Chapter 2: The Origin of the Exilarchate I.....	 54
A. <i>The Myth of Davidic Descent</i>	54
I. Scholars on Davidic origins.....	54
II. Theories of Beginnings.....	56
B. <i>Sources for a Parthian Exilarchate</i>	59
I. An “Exilarch” in Nisibis.....	59
II. Ahiya will build an altar	63
III. Close to the Kingdom	66
1. <i>Yerushalmi and Bavli: a comparison</i>	70
2. <i>The Bavli’s Story – inner-Babylonian polemic</i>	72
3. <i>Intertextuality in the Bavli’s story</i>	73
4. <i>Historical Conclusions</i>	76
IV. Your Father’s Belt.....	76
 Chapter 3: The Origin of the Exilarchate II.....	 82
A. <i>R. Hiyya the Great and the Parthian Exilarchate</i>	82
I. Exilarch and Hargbed	82
1. <i>The hargbed in non-Jewish sources</i>	84
2. <i>The hargbed in rabbinic sources</i>	86
II. So May his Seed Never Cease	92
1. <i>The Sources</i>	92
2. <i>A Bavli Parallel</i>	96
3. <i>Two Yerushalmi Traditions</i>	97
4. <i>The Exilarch in Palestine as Anti-patriarchal Polemic</i>	101
III. The Sons of R. Hiyya.....	102
1. <i>Review of the Sugya</i>	105

2. <i>This Sugya and other Rabbinic Sources</i>	106
3. <i>R. Hiyya's Sons and Judah I</i>	109
4. <i>Dating the Story</i>	111
IV. <i>Behold! Your Rival is in Babylonia</i>	112
1. <i>Taxonomy of People and Places</i>	114
2. <i>Scripture in the Service of Polemics</i>	115
B. <i>The Sasanian / Amoraic Period</i>	117
I. <i>Talmudic Sources</i>	117
1. <i>The absence of the Exilarchs in Tannaitic Compositions</i>	117
2. <i>The Yerushalmi</i>	118
3. <i>The Bavli</i>	121
II. <i>Beginnings of the Persian Catholicate</i>	123
1. <i>Legends and Sources</i>	123
2. <i>The Fourth Century and Aphrahat's 14th Demonstration</i>	128
III. <i>Beginnings of the Exilarchate: Summary</i>	132
Chapter 4: Locating the Exilarchal Court	134
A. <i>Questionable Exilarchal Locations</i>	137
I. <i>Dasqarta de-Resh Galuta</i>	137
II. <i>Pumbedita</i>	139
III. <i>Hinei and Shilei</i>	139
IV. <i>Sura</i>	144
B. <i>Neharde'a and Mehoza</i>	144
I. <i>Neharde'a</i>	145
II. <i>Mehoza</i>	150
1. <i>Seleucia and Persian Christianity</i>	152
2. <i>The Later Sasanian Era</i>	153
III. <i>Between Neharde'a and Mehoza</i>	154
C. <i>Regional Authority and Reshuyot</i>	159
D. <i>Babylonia and Huzestan</i>	160

Chapter 5: Economic Power and the Exilarchate.....	162
A. <i>Trade supervision and the Appointment of agoranomoi</i>	162
I. The Bavli and its relationship to the Yerushalmi	165
II. Measures in Palestine versus measures and prices in Babylonia	167
III. Was there an agoranomos in Babylonia?	169
B. <i>The Exilarch and Seizure of the market for the Sages</i>	173
C. <i>Tax Collection</i>	176
 Chapter 6: The Exilarch and the Rabbis	 181
A. <i>Rabbis, Academies and the Exilarchate</i>	182
1. Rabbis, Exilarchs, and rabbis for Exilarchs.....	188
1. <i>Tannaim</i>	188
2. <i>Amoraim</i>	190
B. <i>The Judicial System and the Exilarchate</i>	194
I. Exilarchal Courts	194
II. “Thus said Samuel: the Law of the Kingdom is the Law”?	202
1. <i>‘Uqba b. Nehemiah the Exilarch or R. Nehemiah b. Mar</i> <i>‘Uqban?</i>	204
2. <i>The Period of Samuel or the Period of Rava?</i>	205
III. Persian Law	208
 Chapter 7: Pride and Criticism.....	 210
A. <i>Prince, Nasi, Davidic Dynasty</i>	210
B. <i>Persian Noble Practices and the Exilarchate</i>	215
I. Persian language	215
II. Gahwārag – A Golden Chair.....	216
C. <i>Tyranny and Rule</i>	217
I. A Tradition of Opposition to Authority	217
II. Fear and Intimidation.....	219

III. Rabbi Eleazar's Cow: An Anti-exilarchal Aggadic Sugya	223
<i>D. Rav Hisda and the Exilarchate</i>	231
I. Ruth Rabba and the Yerushalmi	234
II. The Bavli	234
III. Rav Huna and Rav Hisda on the Exilarchate	236
 Chapter 8: Dining with the Exilarch	 239
<i>A. Responding to a Dinner Invitation</i>	239
<i>B. Persian Table Etiquette</i>	245
I. Textual Variants	249
II. Parallels: 'Persian custom', the Baraita, and the Tosefta	252
III. Interpretation: Between Persia and Israel	256
 Conclusion	 258
Appendix I: Geonic Readings on the Talmudic Exilarchate I: <i>SOZ</i>	261
Appendix II: Geonic Readings on the Talmudic Exilarchate II: <i>IRSG</i>	300
Appendix III: Sherira Gaon on the Exilarchate	337
Appendix IV: Lists of Exilarchs	341
Appendix V: Sasanian Kings	342
Appendix VI: Bishops of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Catholicoi)	343
 Bibliography	 345
Index of Sources	385
Index of Toponyms	398
Middle-Persian Terms	401
Index of Names	402
Index of Subjects	409