Markus Tiwald

EARLY JUDAISM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY

Common Roots and the Parting of the Ways

translated by Jason Valdez

Kohlhammer

Kohlhammer

Markus Tiwald

Early Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity

Common Roots and the Parting of the Ways

W. Kohlhammer

Translated by Jason Valdez, reviewed by Markus Tiwald

Published with the support of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF): 10.55776/PUB1159
This publication is licensed, unless otherwise indicated, under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0) license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/), which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution, and reproduction in any medium or format, provided you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate any modifications. Use for commercial purposes is not permitted.
The images or other third-party material in this publication are covered by the publication's Creative Commons license, unless otherwise indicated in a reference to the material.
If the material is not covered by the publication's Creative Commons license and the intended use is not permitted by law or exceeds the permitted use, permission for use must be obtained directly from the copyright holder.
Despite careful editing, all information in this publication is provided without guarantee; any liability on the part of the author, the editor, or the publisher is excluded.



1. Edition 2026

Production: W. Kohlhammer GmbH, Heßbrühlstr. 69, 70565 Stuttgart, GERMANY
produktsicherheit@kohlhammer.de

Print:
ISBN 978-3-17-044928-2

E-Book:
pdf: ISBN 978-3-17-044929-9

Any links in this book do not constitute an endorsement or an approval of any of the services or opinions of the corporation or organization or individual. W. Kohlhammer GmbH bears no responsibility for the accuracy, legality or content of the external site or for that of subsequent links.

Dedicated to
Günter Stemberger
with Gratitude

Table of Contents

Preface **13**

Introduction **14**
"... Many have already undertaken ...": The Intention of this Volume 14
"... to set down an orderly account": The Arrangement of this Volume 15

I **"Early Judaism" and "Early Christianity"** **18**
1 "Early Judaism" 18
1.1 The Term "Early Judaism" 18
1.2 The Time Frame of Early Judaism 19
1.3 Early Jewish Pluriformity 20
2 Early Christianity and the Beginnings of Christianity 26
2.1 Clarification of Terms 26
2.2 "The Parting of the Ways" 28
2.3 The Beginning and End of "Early Christianity" 48
2.4 Early Christianity or "Early Christianities"? 50

II **History of Early Judaism** **52**
1 The Babylonian Period 52
2 The Persian Period 53
3 The Hellenistic Period 54
3.1 The Period under Alexander the Great 54
3.2 The Wars of the Diadochi (322–301 BCE) 55
3.3 Ptolemaic Rule in Palestine (301–200 BCE) 56
3.4 Seleucid Rule in Palestine (200–135 BCE) 57
4 The Maccabean and Hasmonean Period 60
4.1 The Maccabees 60
4.2 The Hasmoneans 64
5 The Roman Period 69
5.1 Political Conditions 69
5.2 The Herodian Era 70
5.3 After Herod 77
5.4 Judea under Roman Rule (6–41 CE) 85
5.5 The Period from Agrippa I to Agrippa II 91
5.6 Roman Rule in Judea from 44–66 CE 94

6 From the Jewish War to the Bar Kochba Revolt ... 97
6.1 The First Jewish War (66–70 CE) ... 97
6.2 Between the Wars (70–132 CE) ... 102
7 The Time During and After the Bar Kochba Revolt ... 104
7.1 The Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 CE) ... 104
7.2 Ushah, Beit She'arim, Sepphoris ... 106
7.3 Rabbinic Judaism ... 107

III Groups within Early Judaism ... 109
1 The Emergence of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees ... 109
1.1 Were the Hasideans the Forerunners of the Pharisees and Essenes? ... 109
1.2 Dating the Beginnings of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees 111
2 Sadducees and Pharisees ... 114
2.1 Sources ... 114
2.2 Origins of the designations "Sadducees" and "Pharisees" ... 119
2.3 Social Position ... 120
2.4 Theology ... 122
3 The Herodians ... 123
4 The Essenes ... 123
4.1 Key Archaeological Data on Khirbet Qumran ... 123
4.2 Theories About Khirbet Qumran ... 125
4.3 The Essenes as Portrayed by Josephus ... 132
4.4 The Testimony of Philo About the Essenes ... 135
4.5 The Question of Celibacy at Qumran ... 136
4.6 The "Teacher of Righteousness" ... 139
4.7 Sacrifice at Qumran? ... 142
5 The Zealots ... 143
5.1 Origin ... 143
5.2 Zealots: Objectives and the Question of Uniformity ... 145
5.3 The Sicarii ... 149
6 The Four Groups within the Judaism of the Time ... 151
6.1 The Four Groups and "Popular Judaism" ... 151
6.2 "Popular Judaism" without Prosperity and Education ... 151
7 Early Judaism in the Diaspora ... 153
7.1 Key Data ... 153
7.2 The Septuagint and the Letter of Aristeas ... 158
7.3 Philo of Alexandria ... 163
7.4 Terminological Clarifications ... 165
7.5 Basic Political Conditions ... 167
7.6 Synagogues ... 171
8 Early Jewish Writers, Writings, and Sources ... 177
8.1 Flavius Josephus ... 177
8.2 Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature ... 181

8.3 Apocalyptic ... 182
8.4 Early Jewish Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Apocalypses ... 186
8.5 The Qumran Texts ... 190
8.6 1 and 2 Maccabees ... 192
8.7 Rabbinic Writings as Sources on Early Judaism? ... 193
8.8 Christian Sources on Early Judaism ... 194
8.9 Archaeological Sources on Early Judaism ... 195
9 The Samaritans ... 196
9.1 The (Pre)History of the Samaritans ... 196
9.2 Traditions of the Samaritans ... 199
10 John the Baptist, the Jesus Movement, and the Beginnings of Christianity ... 200
10.1 John the Baptist ... 200
10.2 Jesus of Nazareth ... 201
10.3 The Jesus Movement in Palestine and Syria ... 211
10.4 From Antioch to Rome ... 214
11 The Jesus Movement within Early Judaism as a Whole ... 228
11.1 The Sadducees and the Jesus Movement ... 228
11.2 The Pharisees and the Jesus Movement ... 228
11.3 The Essenes and the Jesus Movement ... 229
11.4 The Zealots and the Jesus Movement ... 232
11.5 Apocalyptic and the Jesus Movement ... 236
11.6 The Samaritans and the Jesus Movement ... 236

IV Sociopolitical and Socioreligious Interconnections in Early Palestinian Judaism ... 238
1 Social Deracination During Jesus's Time? ... 238
1.1 The Thesis of G. Theissen ... 238
1.2 Critiques of G. Theissen's Thesis ... 239
1.3 A Cultural Split Within Jewish Society ... 241
2 Social Bandits and Sign Prophets ... 247
2.1 Social bandits ... 247
2.2 Sign Prophets ... 248
3 Social Tensions in the History of Israel ... 251
3.1 Sociopolitical Backgrounds ... 251
3.2 Reflections of Social Tensions in Early Jewish Literature ... 253

V "Torah" and "Temple" as Identity Markers in Early Judaism and Early Christianity ... 255
1 Terminology "Torah" ... 256
2 The "Torah" in Early Judaism ... 257
2.1 Different Torah Theologies in Palestine ... 257
2.2 The Law in Greek-Speaking Early Judaism ... 262
2.3 Final Assessment ... 263

3 Questions about the Biblical Text . . . 264
3.1 Clarification of the Terms "Canon" and "Bible" . . . 264
3.2 Textual Variants . . . 268
4 The Temple in Early Judaism . . . 269
4.1 Protological-cum-Eschatological Reservation . . . 269
4.2 The Temple as a Factor in Power Struggles . . . 269
4.3 Theological Approaches to the Temple Cult . . . 271
5 Jesus and the "Torah" . . . 274
5.1 The State of the Question . . . 274
5.2 Jesus as an Interpreter of the "Torah" . . . 275
5.3 Jesus and the Sabbath . . . 282
5.4 Final Assessment: Jesus and the "Torah" . . . 285
6 Jesus and the Temple . . . 285
6.1 Jesus's Positive Attitude Toward the Temple . . . 285
6.2 Protology and Eschatology in Jesus's Understanding of the Temple . . . 286
6.3 Jesus's Action and Word Concerning the Temple . . . 287
7 From Jesus to Christ . . . 288
7.1 Messiah . . . 290
7.2 Son of God . . . 295
7.3 Son of Man . . . 299
7.4 Jesus as "Wisdom" and "Logos" . . . 305
8 The "Hellenists" . . . 309
8.1 Stephen's Circle and the "Hellenists" . . . 309
8.2 Liberal Early Jewish Positions and Early Christianity . . . 313
9 Paul . . . 319
9.1 Biography . . . 319
9.2 Theology . . . 321
10 The Sayings Source . . . 330
11 The Gospel of Mark . . . 332
11.1 The Second Gospel and Early Judaism . . . 332
11.2 Mark 7 as a Test Case . . . 333
11.3 The Gospel of Mark in Relation to Paul, Matthew, and Luke . . . 336
12 The Gospel of Matthew . . . 338
13 The Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles . . . 341
14 The Gospel of John . . . 342
15 A Final Word on Identity Markers . . . 346

Appendix . . . 349
Chronological Table . . . 349
The Political Situation in Palestine During the Time of Jesus . . . 351
Spectrum of Early Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity . . . 352
Early Judaism . . . 352
Beginnings of Christianity . . . 352

The House of the Hasmoneans ... 353
The House of Herod ... 354
Abbreviations and Citation Style ... 355
General Abbreviations ... 355
Further Notes on Abbreviations and Citation Style ... 355

Literature ... 357
Primary Sources ... 357
Early Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha ... 357
Qumran Texts ... 358
Philo and Josephus ... 358
Classical Greek and Latin Authors ... 359
Rabbinic Texts ... 359
Ancient Christian Writings ... 360
Modern Primary Sources ... 361
Secondary Literature ... 361

Indices (selected) ... 395
Subject Index ... 395
Index of Ancient Sources ... 396
Hebrew Bible and Septuagint ... 396
Early Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha ... 399
Dead Sea Scrolls ... 400
Philo of Alexandria ... 401
Flavius Josephus ... 402
Ancient Inscriptions ... 405
Classical Greek and Latin Sources ... 405
New Testament (including the Sayings Source) ... 406
Rabbinic Writings ... 415
Ancient Christian Writings ... 416

Preface

The present volume is the English translation of the German original, *Frühjudentum und beginnendes Christentum: Gemeinsame Wurzeln und das Parting of the Ways (KStTh 5), Kohlhammer 2022*. The publication of this work in English seeks to bring the relevant contributions of the Anglophone world into conversation with those of the German-speaking world. Its special appeal can, however, be stated even more clearly: the system of coordinates from which this publication derives its specific orientation is a group of works approximating something like a "Vienna School" of the Jewish-Christian Dialogue. Contributors to this "school" include K. Schubert, G. Stemberger, J. Maier, G. Langer, C. Cordoni, M. Öhler, M. Grohmann, A. Siquans, and M. Tiwald. Making this research orientation accessible to a broader readership in English will, it is hoped, be a boost to scholarship on the Jewish-Christian dialogue. This research focus is also reflected in an interdisciplinary research cluster that M. Tiwald established in 2020, entitled *Transformations of Jewish and Christian Identities in the Past and Present* (https://www.religionandtransformation.at/en/research/transformations-of-jewish-and-christians-identities-in-the-past-and-present/). The research cluster brings together scholars from three different faculties of the University of Vienna (the Institute for Jewish Studies, the Faculty of Catholic Theology, and the Faculty of Protestant Theology) under the roof of the interdisciplinary Research Centre, RaT (*Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society* https://www.religionandtransformation.at/en/). In the fall of 2022, this cluster convened an international, interdisciplinary conference (convened by M. Tiwald and M. Öhler) on "the parting of the ways," to bring Viennese approaches into conversation with global research (see the open access publication: https://brill.com/display/title/70084).

This volume is dedicated to G. Stemberger, who has supported me with valuable advice throughout my academic career, and who was kind enough to proofread the original German edition of this book. I would also like to thank Jason Valdez, who translated this volume and, as a doctoral candidate under M. Öhler, is no stranger to the "Vienna School." Finally, I would like to thank my team at the University of Vienna: H. Mehring, E. Puschautz, and K. Rötzer for their careful work on the registers and proof reading of this book.

Vienna, June 2025 Markus Tiwald

Introduction

"… Many have already undertaken …": The Intention of this Volume

"... many have already undertaken to set down an account of the events" (Luke 1:1) – if I give in to the temptation also to preface my work with the often-quoted words of the *auctor ad theophilum*, it is only because there are in fact already a number of publications devoted to the topic at hand. Methodological probity therefore requires me to raise the question of the *cui bono* of such a volume. The reader will then be able to place this book more easily among the ranks of relevant literature and learn, from the outset, where this volume aims to offer *aliquid novi*, new insights beyond those already well-known. In recent years, scholarly progress has made several redefinitions necessary. In particular, this need arises from the increasing recognition of the interconnectedness of early Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity as well as the enlistment of sociological and archaeological methods. It is with this particular need in mind that the present volume is devoted to the "parting of the ways" (► I.2.2 on this expression), the question of when the paths of Judaism and Christianity diverged, and to what extent the development of Christianity as a whole is indebted to early Judaism.

The name of the books already written on the subject is "Legion." In 2020, for example, the journal Evangelische Theologie published, *Themenheft: Parting of the Ways. Die Trennung der Wege von Juden und Christen in der neueren Forschung.* The anthology, *Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021* (edited by J. Schröter, B.A. Edsall and J. Verheyden), was the result of a 2019 conference held in Berlin on the "parting of the ways." L. Baron, J. Hicks-Keeton and M. Thiessen published a further anthology: *The Ways That Often Parted. Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus (ECIL SBLECL 24), Atlanta 2018.* Older literature includes, J. D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways. Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity, 1991;* E. K. Broadhead, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus. Redrawing the Religious Map of Antiquity, 2010;* D. C. Harlow, *Early Judaism and Early Christianity, 2010;* D. Boyarin, *Dying for God. Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism, 1999.* There has also been criticism of an overly optimistic view of a late "parting of the ways," such as S. J. D. Cohen's *The Ways That Parted: Jews, Christians, and Jewish-Christians, ca. 100–150 CE, 2018,* and U. Schnelle *Die getrennten Wege von Römern, Juden und Christen. Religionspolitik im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., 2019.* In the pres-

ent volume, I evaluate these sources as extensively as I can and attempt to show a path through the jungle of literature.

In addition to the above-mentioned works on the "parting of the ways", the abundance of histories of early Christianity should also be mentioned here. The most recent contributions in this area are, M. Öhler, *History of Early Christianity. Religion, Culture, Identity,* 2024; U. Schnelle, *The First One Hundred Years of Christianity. An Introduction to its History, Literature, and Development,* 2020; D.-A. Koch, *Geschichte des Urchristentums,*[2]2014. As is typical for a history of early Christianity, these works tend to focus on developments after Easter (Schnelle's starting point is *after* the historical Jesus). The present book of course begins much earlier. In doing so, it places a strong emphasis on the strong interconnectedness of early Jewish theology with later Christianity.

Also worth mentioning is the large number of introductions to the historical environment of the New Testament. Recent literature includes B. Kollmann, *Einführung in die Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2006/[2]2011 various publications on the history of Israel and early Judaism, such as P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World*, 2003; C. Frevel, *History of Ancient Israel*, 2023; B. Schmitz, *Geschichte Israels*, [2]2015; W. Oswald/M. Till, *Geschichte Israels*, 2016 and the monumental work of E. Schürer/G. Vermes/F. Millar, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 1973–1987.

As already noted in the preface, the goal of this book is not only to offer a comprehensive history of how Christianity emerged from early Judaism. Rather, its overarching aim is to introduce the approaches of the "Vienna School" (e.g., K. Schubert, G. Stemberger, J. Maier, G. Langer, C. Cordoni, M. Öhler, M. Grohmann, A. Siquans, and M. Tiwald) into the worldwide scholarly community's ongoing exchange of ideas on the present subject matter. The interdisciplinary research cluster *Transformations of Jewish and Christian Identities in the Past and Present* (https://www.religionandtransformation.at/en/research/transformations-of-jewish-and-christians-identities-in-the-past-and-present/) has already made a special contribution here by gathering scholars from the University of Vienna's Institute for Jewish Studies, Faculty of Catholic Theology, and Faculty of Protestant theology under one roof in the interdisciplinary Research Centre, RaT (*Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society* https://www.religionandtransformation.at/en/). Organized by M. Tiwald and M. Öhler, the research cluster convened an international and interdisciplinary congress on the "parting of the ways" in 2022 to bring Viennese approaches into conversation with global research. A volume containing the collected essays of this conference was published in 2024, entitled *Parting of the Ways: The Variegated Ways of Separation between Jews and Christians* (eds. M. Tiwald and M. Öhler, see the open access publication: https://brill.com/display/title/70084).

"… to set down an orderly account": The Arrangement of this Volume

It will be helpful at the start of this volume to give an overview of its structure and organization. The division of the book into five parts results in a certain amount of

redundancy. However, rather than something grudgingly to be accepted, this redundancy is deliberate and intentional. It allows individual events to be discussed and understood from five different angles of vision.

Part I: "Early Judaism" and "Early Christianity" is a basic overview chapter that gives a broad outline of the key issue of the "parting of the ways." It begins with the question of what is meant by "early Judaism" and "early Christianity". Both terms have rightly been found to be problematic – not only with reference to terminological vagueness, but also with regard to the historical parameters that have been assigned to them. Next, the "parting of the ways" is traced in broad strokes.

Part II: History of Early Judaism then supplies the historical preconditions for the "parting of the ways", which can only be understood on the basis of the history of early Judaism. The aim of this section is not to "re-narrate" the historical data but to foster awareness of the complex interactions of political, sociological, economic, and religious factors, and of what that complexity means for the "parting of the ways."

Part III: Groups within Early Judaism goes a step further. Now that Part II has provided a broad historical overview, the individual groups within early Judaism can be delineated within that framework: first in Palestine, then in the Diaspora, and finally the beginnings of Christianity are also understood as a phenomenon of early Judaism. A declared aim of this book is to apply the recent findings of Jewish Studies (for example, on the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots) and archaeology to modern theology (here, too, the "Vienna School" contributes valuable insights). The discussion of the writers, writings and non-literary sources on early Judaism serves to illuminate the breadth of early Jewish thought and, in doing so, elucidates the sources of later Christianity. A further point of discussion is the history of the Samaritans and their "parting of the ways" with Judaism.

Part IV: Socio-Political and Socio-Religious Linkages in Early Palestinian Judaism is an excursus on the interlocking social and religious facets of Palestinian Judaism. It attempts to comprehend, along theological as well as sociological lines, the dynamics at work in the emergence of early Christianity. In the construction of a comprehensive picture of "early Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity," it is imperative to situate Jesus of Nazareth and his followers within the socio-political habitat of the Judaism of their time. Theological positions need to be grasped as consequences of socio-economic realities. Only in this way will Jesus and the beginnings of Christianity be depicted in their full early Jewish contextual plausibility.

Part V: "Torah" and "Temple" as Identity Markers in Early Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity is the most "theologically" oriented section of the book. With the backdrop of historical milestones (Part II), religious groups (Part III), and sociological realities (Part IV) in place, we are in a position to examine the resulting theology. A particular focus of that examination is on the marked pluriformity in the Judaism of the time – especially regarding the interpretation of the Jewish law and in relation to temple piety. Although an emphasis on this pluriformity is now a commonplace among New Testament scholars, its exceptionally far-reaching consequences have still not been fully grasped in their significance for New Testament theology. I am firmly convinced that, in their entirety, the beginnings of Christianity were originally nothing other than a particular interpretation of early Judaism. To eliminate this

provenance is to bar the way to a deeper understanding. Even the fact that history later unfolded in a separation between Jews and Christians can only be understood in light of early Jewish theology. Thus, we come full circle to Part I, the "parting of the ways," and to the insight that we Christians are perpetually directed toward Judaism. In the end, Paul's words still obtain: "You do not bear the root, rather the root bears you" (Rom 11:18).

I "Early Judaism" and "Early Christianity"

1 "Early Judaism"

1.1 The Term "Early Judaism"

The term "early Judaism"[1] is used in markedly different ways in the scholarly literature. Initially, it merely replaced "the factually misleading and theologically derogatory designation, late Judaism."[2] Intentionally or not, the expression "late Judaism" has a derogatory tone informed by a Christian perspective. Its effect is to differentiate Old Testament Judaism (for which Christians still have a use) from a negatively viewed "later Judaism."[3] The formerly widespread view was that a casuistic understanding of the law increasingly gained the upper hand in the post-exilic period.[4] There is no historical basis for such a view, especially as the expression "late Judaism" implies that Judaism has reached its *end*. Indeed, in Christian "histories of Israel," the account traditionally concludes with the Bar Kochba Revolt. The term "early Judaism" is thus, in the first instance, only a makeshift solution to replace the biased term "late Judaism." Scholars were at pains to "renounce the outdated metaphor of '*late* Judaism' and instead speak more resolutely and with more conviction of *early* Judaism."[5] With this in mind, it is easy to understand Boccaccini's reservations about the term "early Judaism" and his proposal of the term "middle Judaism." "The nomenclature [i. e. 'early Judaism'] suggests that between 'early Judaism' and (rabbinic) Judaism there is the same ideological continuity as between 'early Christianity' and Christianity. However, not all the Jewish movements active between the third century B.C.E. and the second century C.E. can be ... placed in a direct line of continuity with rabbinic Judaism."[6] The expression "early Judaism" has, however, already become firmly established in academic literature. Moreover, the misunderstanding of a rectilinear development of early Judaism towards rabbinic Judaism need not necessarily

---

1 See the literature review in Collins, Judaism, 1–6, and Tiwald, Hebräer, 28–30.

2 Schmidt, Frühjudentum, TRE, 11/688 [JV].

3 See Mußner, Toraleben, 34, and Boccaccini, Judaism, 19.

4 See also the criticism of such views in: Lichtenberger, Ich, 124; Niebuhr, Rechtfertigungslehre, 116–118; and Stegemann, Jude, 128 [JV], who refers primarily to W. Bousset († 1920): "For Bousset, however, the Judaism contemporaneous with Jesus is characterized entirely by decadence and epigonism, which, as emblematic of its decay, is also called *late* Judaism."

5 Müller, Verhältnis, 257 [JV].

6 Boccaccini, Judaism, 22.

be associated with the term "*early* Judaism." We may therefore continue to use the latter expression. Furthermore, because "middle Judaism" could be confused with the Middle Ages, "early Judaism" seems to be "the least problematic label available."[7]

The term "intertestamental," on the other hand, should be avoided. Whether intentionally or not, the expression harbors the unpleasant insinuation that this chapter in the history of Judaism was only a "functionally intermediate phase"[8] in the transition to Christianity. This stands in stark contradiction to the historical facts. "Intertestamental is a misnomer. The texts are all Jewish but composed in the period between the two testaments of the Christian Bible."[9] The expression "postbiblical Judaism" should also be avoided, since the Jewish "canon" of holy scripture was only definitively closed in rabbinical times. In point of fact, the term "canon" is a Christian coinage and should not be applied to Jewish holy scripture in the first place (► V.3.1 below, where further terminological clarifications are given regarding the holy scriptures of Jews and Christians). The term "Second Temple Judaism"[10] is likewise unsatisfactory. On the one hand, the Second Temple was built during the Persian period (► II.2 below), spanning a time frame that begins well before the Hellenistic period. On the other, the designation comes up short, as a number of early Jewish authors (such as Flavius Josephus, 4 Ezra, etc.) were not active until after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE. However, we could also mark the end of the Second Temple period after the failure of the Bar Kochba revolt, since it was only then that it became clear that there would be no rebuilding the temple for a considerable period of time.

1.2 The Time Frame of Early Judaism

The terminological uncertainty of the designation "early Judaism" is also reflected in the quite diverse ways of delimiting the period. The specific sense of the designation typically depends on the observer's chosen research focus. For example, Müller defines early Judaism as "the history and religion of Israel from the Persian period to 100 CE."[11] Grabbe, on the other hand, places the exilic period at the beginning of early Judaism and that of Yavne at the end,[12] though he also mentions that some date the beginning of early Judaism to the dawn of the Hellenistic period in the Middle East. Other possibilities for a *terminus post quem* are the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah or the period of the Maccabean Wars.[13]

There is also a range of dates proposed for the end of early Judaism. Suggested dates include the years 70 CE (the destruction of the temple) or 135 CE (the Suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt), the completion of the Mishnah (around 200 CE), or

7 Collins, Judaism, 2.
8 Boccaccini, Judaism, 21.
9 Fitzmyer, Paul, 601.
10 For the following, see Collins, Judaism, 2.
11 Müller, Verhältnis, 257 [JV].
12 See Grabbe, Religion, 5.
13 Schmidt, Frühjudentum, TRE 11/688.

even the year 279 CE (the traditional year of Johanan bar Nappaha's death during the second generation of the Amoraim). There is such difficulty in finding a *terminus ante quem* because the "internal developments" mentioned by Schmidt, namely "the sole survival of the Pharisees and their teachings, the closing of the canon, the synagogue and the house of learning as the center of Jewish life,"[14] have all become points of controversy in current research. To limit our time frame to "Judaism during the Second Temple Period" would not resolve this difficulty and advance the discussion. Thus, following the criteria specified above, it becomes necessary to acknowledge that "The period of the Second Temple (from its reconstruction, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians in 515 BCE, to its repeated destruction by the Romans in 70 CE) is logically divided into a post exilic and an early Jewish period. The latter of these generally comprises the two centuries before and the first century after Christ."[15]

It therefore seems reasonable to locate the beginning of early Judaism at the start of the third century BCE with the increasing Hellenization of Palestine and Jerusalem. The beginning of the rabbinic period should be viewed as the end of early Judaism. However, the year 70 CE (the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple) will certainly not serve as a date for the latter. A longer transition period is to be expected, as rabbinic Judaism did not emerge in a straight line from Pharisaic Judaism (► I.1.3.1 below). It should also be borne in mind that "a sense of discontinuity was ... not yet in evidence" at the time of Yavne. Rather, "This only emerged at Usha, when it was clear that there would be no temple and no restoration of earlier conditions in the foreseeable future"[16] – that is, around 140 CE. Thus, Boccaccini's position seems the most reasonable one, estimating the period from the third century BCE to the second century CE (i. e., 300 BCE to 200 CE).[17]

1.3 Early Jewish Pluriformity

1.3.1 "Normative Judaism" / "Pharisaic-Rabbinic Continuity?"

The early Jewish period exhibits considerable pluriformity. Nevertheless, the presupposition of a monolithic "Pharisaic-rabbinic continuity"[18] was already present in the nineteenth century and still persists today. That construct is then often regarded as "normative Judaism." However, such talk is anachronistic. The idea of Pharisaic-rabbinic continuity is in part a product of rabbinic historiography itself.[19] The later rabbis traced the idealized conception of their history back to the time of Ezra (see Neh

14 Schmidt, Frühjudentum, TRE, 11/689 [JV].
15 Niebuhr, Rechtfertigungslehre, 118 [JV].
16 Stemberger, Introduction, 4–5.
17 See Boccaccini, Judaism, 20, ald id., Interpreters, 219, although, unlike id., I speak here of "early Judaism" and not "middle Judaism."
18 See Stemberger's critique, Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus, 140–147; id., Pharisees, 240–245.
19 Chilton, Targum, XXf.

8:1–8), just as later developments and processes of institutionalization in Christianity were often projected back to the time of Jesus. However, rabbinic Judaism only took shape long after the year 70 (likely not before the middle of the second century CE), and even then, the Rabbis were by no means the direct heirs of the Pharisees. There was never a continuity between the Pharisees and the rabbis.[20] Instead, the evidence shows that "the Palestinian Judaism of the centuries preceding our Common Era (CE) was anything but a more or less uniform entity," and "that there were considerable differences between religious parties at that time in Palestine."[21] These differences "relate primarily to the interpretation of the Mosaic Law. However, they are no less concerned with the extent and intensity of expectations concerning God's imminent and final intervention in the history of his people and the world."[22] The discoveries at Qumran in particular have led to a completely new assessment of Judaism, although they are certainly not the sole cause of that reassessment:[23] "The Qumran finds are not revolutionary for the New Testament, but for the previous image of ancient Judaism."[24] Along these lines Stemberger remarks:[25]

> Rabbinic Judaism probably never represented the only manifestation of Jewish life; and it was only through centuries of development that it became the "normative" Judaism which it was often assumed to have been for the entire period. ... The sources for a description of the rabbinic period are so biased that the historical picture gained from them remains largely insecure – the very notion of a "normative" Judaism, for example, derives from these sources.

1.3.2 "Mainstream Judaism" vs. "Sectarian Judaism"?

If, in the period in question, there was no "normative Judaism" to speak of, then the question becomes all the more pressing whether it is possible to find a "common denominator"[26] in early Judaism, from which a kind of "mainstream Judaism" might be deduced. Thus, for example, E.P. Sanders attempts a definition of "what the [Jewish] priests and the people agreed on" under the catchword "normal" or "common" Judaism.[27] L.V. Rutgers observes:[28]

> Arguing against the view that holds that Judaism in first century Palestine was divided into a variety of parties, ... according to Sanders' definition, the term "common Judaism" is a convenient concept to indicate that in first century Palestine (and probably in the

20 See Stemberger, Umformung, 85; id., Pharisees, 240–254.
21 Van der Woude, Fakten, 263 [JV].
22 Van der Woude, Fakten, 263 [JV].
23 For example, in his discussion of Philo, Sterling, Place, 25–28, questions the notion of an early Jewish "normative Judaism."
24 Stegemann, Essener, 361. [JV]
25 Stemberger, Introduction, 5. See also Neusner, Formation, 42.
26 Stemberger, Mainstream, 205.
27 Sanders, Judaism, 47.
28 Rutgers, Jews, 208.

Greek-speaking Diaspora during this period) most Jews agreed what were the most fundamental characteristics of their religion.

However, a closer look at early Judaism makes finding a norm that could be used to define what is "typically Jewish" particularly difficult. As Neusner notes, such definitions are, "either too general to mean much (monotheism) or too abstract to form an intelligible statement."[29] Of course, one might try to define early Judaism in terms of a grouping based on sacred texts (the "Bible," ► V.3.1.1 below). Here, too, however, the recognized body of sacred scriptures varied from group to group, for "Nothing separated the individual currents of Judaism more than the common Bible."[30] The same reservations apply to finding a common denominator, for example, in the temple cult (about which there were very different views in early Judaism; ► V.4 below) or the synagogue institution (which did not exist as a building in every Jewish village in the period of early Judaism, ► III.7.6 below). On the other hand, the assumption of a common foundation in the area of basic Jewish convictions, such as "monotheism, God's active presence in history, the election of Israel as people and country, elementary ethical principles, etc."[31] requires more precise definition if it is not to be rejected for being too vague. References of the term "sects" in the Judaism of the period should also be handled with caution. In *A.J.* 13.171–173, Josephus uses the term αἱρέσεις to describe the various groups in the Judaism of his time. The word is best rendered as "factions." Although it can also otherwise mean "sect" (from which αἱρετικός "heretical" is derived), in itself the term does not entail a pejorative value judgment. This is already evident in the simple fact that Josephus applies the term to *all* groups he mentions within the Judaism of his time. Furthermore, in *Vita* 191 he remarks that the "sect" of the Pharisees surpassed all other groups within Judaism where the meticulous observation of the law was concerned. The word thus has the most positive of connotations in this context.[32] Naturally, this has a bearing on our assessment of early Jewish groups. For example, there is no longer any justification for the disqualification entailed in labeling the Qumran texts as expressions of a "sectarian Judaism,"[33] so as to imply their non-conformity with "mainstream Judaism." Even the people behind the Qumran texts were one Jewish group among others rather than some exceptional fringe group.[34] Essene and Sadducean material in particular endured for a long time: "Only the appearance of the Karaites in the eighth century, whose ideas were partially related to Essene or Sadducean concepts, distorted the idyll of complete harmony under rabbinic leadership. Can we explain

29 Neusner, Literature, 119. See also, Stegemann, Essener, 361–364, and Hezser's criticism of Sanders's concept of "common Judaism" in, ead., Torah, 134f.

30 Stemberger, Mainstream, 203.

31 Stemberger, Mainstream, 203.

32 Similarly, in *Vita* 12 Josephus positions himself in the vicinity of the Pharisees by claiming: ἐννεακαιδέκατον δ' ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν ("Yet when I was 19 years old, I became politically active by following the sect of the Pharisees."; trans. MT). Here, too, the word is used in a positive sense.

33 See Lim, Qumran, 146.

34 See Lim, Qumran, 155.

these parallels without historic dependence, are they at least partially transmitted in the form of literary materials (early Qumran discoveries) – or do they refer to a resistance, intensifying over the centuries, to rabbinic interpretations, which could be articulated more clearly only in the context of an Islamic world?"[35] Stegemann, likewise, reaches the conclusion, "The traditions that are authoritative for present-day Judaism were certainly much more influenced by the Essenes than views still current today are able to perceive ... "[36] Conversely, the Pharisees were also characterized by "sectarian animosities" and a kind of "separate existence,"[37] reflected not least in the name "Pharisees" ("the separated", ► III.2.2.2 below). With this in mind, terms such as "mainstream Judaism," "sectarian Judaism," "orthodox" or "heterodox" Judaism should be set aside.

1.3.3 The Question of a Common Early Jewish Identity

Despite the aforementioned reservations, the question of a common identity of early Judaism remains legitimate. For the unifying factors between the groups were, in spite of everything, still stronger than those which caused divisions. G. Stemberger emphasizes this point in view of the Jewish War: "That, however, the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Essenes and the Zealots found themselves ready to form a single community of action – however brittle – with a common purpose in mind during the insurrection, demonstrates that they felt themselves ever more part of a single Israel that transcended party boundaries."[38] Even if it proves to be an impossible task to compile the unifying factors in a precisely defined catalogue, they should nonetheless be given more weight than those which divided. The recent heavy emphasis on early Jewish pluriformity has of late "resulted in a conventional use that prefers no longer to speak of 'Judaism' in the singular at all, but only of 'Judaisms' in the plural ... ",[39] as Niebuhr rightly notes with a sense of regret. For example, Frankemölle writes:[40]

> Inner-Jewish diversity has a counterpart in an inner-Christian diversity (insofar as one can really speak of "Christian" at the time of the New Testament) ... There is no monolithic unity in the term "Christianity" and the same is true of "Judaism". Both terms are probably anachronistic for the time of the New Testament.

While this emphasis on inner-Jewish and inner-Christian plurality is not without justification, the terminology is nevertheless misleading, "because it ignores (or at least underestimates the significance of) the unifying elements between the various Jew-

35 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus, 141. See also Stegemann, Essener, 362.
36 Stegemann, Essener, 362 [JV].
37 Neusner/Thoma, Pharisäer, 216.
38 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus, 139.
39 Niebuhr, Jesus, 329 [JV].
40 Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 28 [JV]; see also Nicklas, Jews, 12, and the survey of the literature in Boccaccini, Interpreters, 207–217.

ish groups – elements which precisely separated them from all non-Jewish groups"[41] (► I.2.4 below on early Christian plurality). In fact, all early Jewish groups refer to the Torah as their indispensable foundation. Even if the interpretation of the Torah could vary considerably from group to group, it remained the common center of a shared religion.

1.3.4 Ioudaioi: "Jews" or "Judeans"

In current research, the question has become virulent as to whether the term Ἰουδαῖοι, *Ioudaioi* should be translated as "Jews" or as "Judeans."[42] Rather than a religion, the term "Judeans" indicates a people and its distinct way of life. Accordingly, the term Ἰουδαϊσμός, *Ioudaismos* should not be translated as "Judaism," in the sense of a religious community, but as designating adherence to the Judean people's distinctive way of life. However, while the translation "Judeans" is a legitimate possibility in many cases, we do well to reject a one-sided rendering of *Ioudaioi* with "Judeans." It has rightly been pointed out that, since the Maccabean period, the term *Ioudaioi* has been used to describe both an ethnic community and a religion. For example, one may become a "Jew" by conversion (2 Macc 9:17). Furthermore, one can fall away from the practice of the Jewish faith (2 Macc 6:1–9). Josephus reports that Helena, the queen of Adiabene and her son and heir to the throne, Izates († 55 CE), wanted to convert to Judaism (*A.J.* 20.38–43).[43] Izates asks what he must do in order to εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, "to be truly a Jew" (► V.8.1.4 for text and discussion). The question concerns that which is obligatory to become connected with "the customs of the Jews," τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν. Here, the customs of an ethnic community already become the identity marker of a religious community. It would be a serious mistake to view circumcision in *A.J.* 20.38–43 and 2 Macc 6:1–9 as mere folkloric tradition, especially since in both passages commitment to Jewish values resulted in severe repression. Even though it is possible in some cases to translate *Ioudaioi* with "Judeans," to translate exclusively in that sense would be reductionistic.[44] Thus, J. Frey correctly notes:[45]

> It is of course possible to translate Ἰουδαῖοι with "Judeans" in many places where the term actually denotes persons in or from Judea. However, philologically speaking, it is difficult to justify using the term for Idumeans and Galileans, for members of the diaspora synagogue or proselytes. Conversely, non-Jewish persons from Judea are nowhere called

41 Niebuhr, Jesus, 329. See also Collins, Judaism, 6.

42 See Öhler, History, for a description and discussion of the problem. With regard to the Gospel of John, see Frey, Juden, 339–377; Reinhartz, Gospel, 467; Schröter/Edsall/Verheyden, Introduction, 2. Mason in particular advocated for translating with "Judaeans" in his 2007 article *Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History*. On the terms *Ioudaismos*/"Judaism" and *Christianismos*/"Christianity" see Bremmer, Ioudaismos, 57–87.

43 See Broer, Konversion, 133–162.

44 See Reinhartz: https://themarginaliareview.com/vanishing-jews-antiquity-adele-reinhartz/ (13.5.2024).

45 Frey, Juden, 345 [JV].

Ἰουδαῖοι, and the association of Ἰουδαῖος with a religious identity has been around since the Books of the Maccabees.

1.3.5 "Palestine" – "Israel" – "Judea"

The (non-biblical) designation "Palestine"[46] is derived from the Aramaic *pelištāʾīn*, in which the Hebrew פְּלִשְׁתִּים, *pelishtim* echoes as a designation for the "Philistines." Herodotus († 430 BCE) already referred to the settlement area of the Philistines, in the coastal plain from Jaffa to Gaza, as Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη, *Syria hē Palaistinē* (the Philistine Syria; Hist. I,105; III,5.91; VII,89). After the failure of the Bar Kochba Revolt in 135 CE, the emperor Hadrian named the Roman province west of the Jordan *syria palaestina*. The term "Palestine" has become problematic due to the international legal controversy surrounding the *State of Palestine's* declaration of independence in 1988. However, a distinction can be drawn between possible references of the word *Palestinian*: it may be used either in the sense of a broad historical region (the "Palestinian territory"), or of the modern political entity (the "Palestinian Authority").[47] The name "Israel" is also ambiguous since it was only applied to the Northern Kingdom after the kingdom was divided (1 Kings 11; 926 BCE). The Southern Kingdom was called "Judah." After the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722/720 BCE, however, the perduring Southern Kingdom (consisting of the 2½ tribes of Judah, Benjamin and the Levites residing there) was also called "Israel" in biblical texts. Under the Hasmoneans, there is finally once again a king of "Israel." However, starting in the Roman period (63 BCE), Galilee and Judea did not always constitute a single political unit, despite their mutual awareness of their identity as "Israel." During this period, Israel was primarily a national and religious entity, rather than a geographical one. Paul, the diaspora Jew, can also call himself an "Israelite" (Rom 11:1). In the Pentateuch, "Israel"[48] and "Israelite"[49] are also used for the people and members of the people outside the land (in Egypt and during the wilderness wanderings). The term "Judea" is even less suitable, since it excludes Galilee and other parts of the "Holy Land." The expression "Holy Land" harbors its own geographical vagueness and only occurs in the Bible in Zechariah 2:16, Wisdom of Solomon 12:3, and 2 Maccabees 1:7 (see also Ps 78:54). The more recent term "southern Levant" is likewise inadequate, as it blurs the differences between Jews living in "Palestine" (called "Hebrews" in 2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5; Acts 6:1) and those in the diaspora (called "Hellenists" in Acts 6:1). For lack of a better alternative, this book uses the term *Palestine*, without political connotations, as a broad historical and geographical designation.

---

46 For the following, see Frevel, Geschichte, 28–31; Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 85–87; Heyden, Orientierung, esp. 1–15 and 335–356; Eck, Aufstand, 263.

47 [Translator's note: The German original invokes two distinct terms here (*palästinisch* for the broad historical sense; *palästinensisch* for the modern political sense) which flag this distinction in a clear way. Regrettably, this is not possible in English usage.]

48 Gen 46:1; Ex 4:22; 5:22, passim.

49 Lev 24:10; Num 1:52; 25:14; 32; 18; 36:7, 9, passim.

2 Early Christianity and the Beginnings of Christianity

2.1 Clarification of Terms

2.1.1 "Primitive Christianity" – "Early Christianity" – "Beginnings of Christianity"

During the Enlightenment, the term *Urchristentum* (primitive Christianity) was used to refer to the supposed original teachings of Jesus and his disciples, which were thought to run counter to the orthodox teaching of the church. "With its prefix (*ur*), the term connotes an untarnished ... originality, the unconditional pretension to normativity."[50] The notion of a pure, unadulterated and pristine state – compared with which later development must represent a history of decline – is an anachronism. The same applies to the expression "apostolic age" as a designation for the first Christian generation.[51] The title of apostle was not used in a uniform way during the beginnings of Christianity, nor does it go back to the historical Jesus himself.[52] Thus, the term "apostolic age" falsely insinuates a monolinear and normative primordial apostolic period of the church. The lines along which things actually developed were much more complex. However, we should not deny all normativity to the beginning phase of Christianity. The period up to around 150 CE was indeed uniquely formative for later developments. It is a period which – due not least to the writing of the texts of the New Testament canon, which took place up to that time – must rightly be granted a certain normativity.[53] If we wish to avoid the term *Urchristentum* then

50 Alkier, Urchristentum, 261 [JV], likewise Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 8–9. For the history of the term see Alkier, Urchristentum, 161–254, and Koch, Geschichte, 23.

51 For a detailed discussion see Koch, Geschichte, 22.

52 For the following, see Tiwald, Entwicklungslinien, 101–128. The term "apostle" underwent a series of developments: from the function of *emissary* (John 13:16; Phil 2:25; 2 Cor 8:23), to the *pneumatic missionary apostolic title* (1 Cor 12:28; 2 Cor 12:12), to the *apostolate based on the appearances of the resurrected Christ*, which, by restricting the title to the witnesses of a Christophany of the risen Lord, made the apostolic period a historically unique epoch of the first generation (1 Cor 9:1; 1 Cor 15:8). Next, Luke-Acts documents the even later restriction of the title of apostle to the *Twelve* (Luke 6:13; Acts 1:21f.). Furthermore, the three-tier ministry (bishop, priest and deacon) also had a lengthy evolution, being first encountered in the pseudepigraphic letters of Ignatius – and even there its depiction only seems to reflect an intentional aim, and at any rate, not yet a general reality of the community (see Niederwimmer, Theologie, 400).

53 For example, Weidemann, Jesus, 43; Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 8: "A normative element still resonates since a special meaning for all time is attributed to the beginning." Koch, Geschichte 24 [JV]: "Insight into the not so 'ideal' process of the initial phase of Christianity in no way prohibits the use of the term '*Urchristentum*,' as long as it is used, not to idealize the past, but to express the point that, in this initial phase, a fundamental course-setting took place, which had a significant impact on all later epochs of Christianity."

"early Christianity" represents a further option.[54] That term, however, is also used to demarcate church history up to the Constantinian turn. But perhaps that is not a bad thing. For even if the period up to the middle of the second century has a certain normativity about it, neither the "parting of the ways" nor dogmatic development was so complete as to qualify the Constantinian turn as a genuine caesura. What is more, "early Christianity" has the appeal of a semantic parallel to "early Judaism." However, a pragmatic approach is preferable here. Instead of the "original Jerusalem congregation" [*Jerusalemer Urgemeinde*], the most correct terminology would be "*the Jews in Jerusalem who believed in the Christ*."[55] However, Bar Kochba's followers were also *Jews who believed in the Christ*, since they viewed their leader as the Messiah (► II.7.1 below). Moreover, it should be noted that, while the original congregation [*Urgemeinde*] *believed in Jesus* from the start, it was not *Christ-believing*. For the title of Messiah initially indicated a political redeemer (► V.7.1 below) and, applied to Jesus, the Greek *christos* suggests a *spiritualized* use in the sphere of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (the title "Christ" is missing in the Palestinian Sayings Source). Ultimately, we must acknowledge that all of the terms discussed thus far are reductive, especially since it is doubtful whether the first disciples of Jesus can already be called "Christians" (► I.2.3 below). In any case, they did *not* yet call themselves by that name (► I.2.1.2 below). In the following chapters of this book, the term "early Christianity" is used, except for when it is necessary to distinguish the first phase (up to 150 CE) from the rest of early Christianity– then "the beginnings of Christianity" is used. As we shall see below, the expression "the beginnings of Christianity" does not refer to an early phase of "Christianity," but rather to *the beginnings of what was later to become "Christianity*."

2.1.2 The First "Christians"

The term "Christian(s)" (Χριστιανός/Χριστιανοί) occurs only three times in the entire New Testament (Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16).[56] Acts 11:26 ties the emergence of the term to Antioch: "The disciples were first called Christians in Antioch." It is noteworthy that the term was initially applied by outsiders rather than being used as a self-designation. It is unlikely that this foreign designation was coined by Jews, since the title Χριστός, *christos* (i. e., the Greek form of the Jewish title "messiah") is already taken to be a proper name here.[57] For a Jew, on the other hand, the term Χριστιανοί *christianoi* would have simply indicated that the movement was a messianic one. However, there were many of these in Judaism at that time (► IV.2.2 below). In Jewish usage, the term would not have been very precise. That the designation Χριστιανοί *christianoi* was not a Jewish invention gains further plausibility in view of the fact that

54 Alkier, Urchristentum, 265, proposes the term "*Frühchristentum*" (early Christianity). In the German original of, *First One Hundred Years* (Jahre, 25), Schnelle proposes the alternative wording "*frühes Christentum*".

55 On this issue, see Weidemann, Jesus, 43.

56 See Wengst for the following, Ursprünge, 11.

57 See Koch, Geschichte, 26f.

the governor Pliny the Younger already knew the name "Christians" in 111/112 CE (► III.10.4.10 below).

If the name "Christians" was initially a foreign designation, then Jesus's first followers likely called themselves "disciples of Jesus" (μαθητής; e.g., Acts 9:10[58]) and their faith "the Way" (ὁδός; Acts 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22; see also John 14:6 and Heb 10:20). In themselves, these designations indicate that neither Jesus nor his first followers set out to establish a religion of their own, apart from Judaism. Rather, their self-understanding was that of a certain interpretation – a certain "way" – of Judaism. The question of the beginnings of Christianity is, therefore, also linked to the question of when the paths of Jews and Christians diverged.

2.2 "The Parting of the Ways"

When the paths of Judaism and Christianity diverged is currently one of the most discussed questions in New Testament scholarship, being dealt with under the rubric of "the parting of the ways."[59] This expression goes back to J. Dunn *The Partings of the Ways*, 1991. Dunn deliberately retained the plural, "partings," to emphasize that, rather than being traceable to a single event, the processes of separation between Jews and Christians were multiple, resulting from a variety of factors. Although the metaphor of two diverging paths is not really apt ("Judaism" and "Christianity" not yet being discrete entities with distinguishable profiles; ► I.2 above), the expression has nevertheless continued to be used in the singular as "the parting of the ways."[60] Dunn places the "partings" between 70–135 CE. However, as the following *tour d'horizon* will show, this demarcation no longer holds up today.

---

58 Acts 9:36 is the only place in the New Testament where the feminine form μαθήτρια ("female disciple") is used, in explicit reference to a woman. It is thus advisable to consider that the language intends to include "female disciples" when the male form is used in the plural.

59 For more recent developments in this area, see the *Introduction* of the present volume and the overview given in Schröter/Edsall/Verheyden, Introduction, 1–10. Here are some highlights from the literature: Dunn, Partings, 230–259; Boyarin, Dying for God, 1–21; Broadhead, Ways, 354–391 (with its humorous phrase, "Parting with The Parting of the Ways," *loc. cit.*, 389); Harlow, Judaism, 257–278 (275: "There can be no denying that the borderlines between Judaism and Christianity were not clear-cut everywhere in the early centuries of the Common Era, or that the separation between them was uneven and complex"); Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 437. Most recently also Nicklas, Jews.

60 Better metaphors would be "a criss-crossing of muddy tracks" (Lieu, Parting, 31–49), "a multi-lane highway" (Reinhartz, Fork, 280–295), or a kind of "dance" (Nicklas, Parting, 37f.). Schröter/Edsall/Verheyden, Introduction, 5, conclude: "While the metaphor of 'parting ways' can be questioned, then, it is also seen to be useful in helping to describe the historical processes of the formation of Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity." See also Markschies, Way, 11–32. In search of a better metaphor, Konradt, Matthew, 145, reaches the following conclusion: "Maybe, for the time being, we should work without a new metaphor because of its inherent tendency to reduce complexity and just try to describe the complex processes, developments and multi-faceted relations as differentiated and nuanced as possible."

2.2.1 Jesus

There is a consensus in modern biblical scholarship that Jesus himself *did not want to found an independent religion apart from Judaism*. The people of God whom Jesus addresses consists only of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 10:6). That his aim is the end-time ingathering of all Israel is also indicated in the symbolic appointment of the Twelve, which prefigures the restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel as expected at the end of days (see Isa 60:4).[61] It is only through Israel, restored in the last days, that, in a second step, the Gentiles will also receive a share in redemption, in accordance with the promises of the "pilgrimage of the nations to Zion" (Isa 2:2–5; 60:3; Mic 4:2f.). Romans 1:16 and Acts 3:26; 13:46 also document this two-step process. Where the historical Jesus himself is concerned, this notion is anchored in Q 13.28f., which speaks of those who come "from the east and the west" to share in the salvation feast with Israel's patriarchs (► III.10.2.5 below). If Jesus is later interpreted theologically as the founding figure of Christianity, it is in logical continuity with the interpretation of Jesus as the "author" (ἀρχηγός, Acts 3:15; 5:31; Hebr 2:10; 12:2) and "(originary) cause [*(Ur-)Grund*] of eternal salvation" (αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου, Hebr 5:9). Indeed, the historical Jesus, too, viewed his own proclamation as the eschatologically binding interpretation of God's will, and as such, alone relevant for salvation (► V.5.2 below). According to Jesus, gaining end-time salvation is tied to the absolute acceptance of his message about the imminent kingdom of God.[62] Alongside the event of Easter, this self-understanding undoubtedly laid the foundation for the possibility of later identifying Jesus with his message, turning the *proclaimer* into the *proclaimed*. Jesus's theological concerns fit perfectly into the context of the Judaism of the time. His aim was to prepare the way for the kingdom of God, which eschatologically motivated circles of early Judaism looked for on the imminent horizon. In terms of contextual plausibility, Jesus's Jewishness fits in perfectly with comparable currents of early Judaism. Even the individual accents he set in his interpretation of the Torah, and his special concern for the poor, the sick and the marginalized, did not go beyond the scope of what was possible in the Judaism of the time.[63]

2.2.2 The First Disciples of Jesus

The first disciples of Jesus thought of themselves as faithful disciples of their master. They did not intend to break with Judaism. Thus, it is still important later on for Acts to underscore the continuing integration of the first Easter witnesses within the

---

61 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 42; Gnilka, Christen, 182; Theobald, Kirche, 377–408. The fact that Jesus was and remained a Jew throughout his life remains significant for Jewish "life of Jesus research" from Abraham Geiger to the present day. On this, see Homolka, Jesus, 63–72.

62 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 102; Gnilka, Christen, 165.

63 On the criterium of Jewish contextual plausibility, see Theissen/Winter, Kriterienfrage, 209–212.216f.; and Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 119.

cultic life of Judaism. The disciples pray daily in the temple (Acts 2:46; 5:42), use it as their main place of preaching according to Acts 3:1; 5:20; 21:26, and observe ritual prescriptions (Acts 10:14). The Jewish calendar continues to be used in Acts and Jewish festivals are still observed:[64] the Jewish Pentecost ("Shavuot," 2:1), the Passover (12:3f.), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (20:6), the Yom Kippur fast (27:9[65]). This is probably not merely an effect of the third evangelist's textual pragmatics, but likely also reproduces the historical realities in outline. Paul, too, mentions the Jewish Pentecost in 1 Corinthians 16:8, and he reckons the covenants between God and Israel, the gift of the Torah, the temple cult, and the promises of salvation to Israel (Rom 9:4) among the chosen people's irrevocable benefits of salvation. Incidentally, there is evidence that Christians in the area of Syria Palaestina continued to celebrate the Jewish Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) until the fourth/fifth century (► I.2.2.5 below). Paul also states that God has not rejected his people (Rom 11:1), for "the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable" (Rom 11:29; ► V.9.2 below on Paul's understanding of the Torah). Thus, Paul does not hesitate to say, "for I too am an Israelite, a descendant of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin" (Rom 11:1), and that he is "of the nation of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews" (Phil 3:5; see also 2 Cor 11:22). The Sayings Source and the later Gospel of Matthew also uphold the unbroken continuity of the Torah, declaring that not a single iota or tittle of the law will be lost (Q 16:17; Matt 5:18; ► V.10 and 12 below).

2.2.3 "The Council of Yavne" – "Birkat haMinim" – Exclusion from the Synagogue

It is often claimed that there was a "Council of Yavne" (also Jamnia or Jabne) under Gamaliel (► II.6.2.4 below) between 80 and 90 CE. However, all that can be ascertained historically is that, after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE), Yohanan ben Zakkai gathered in Yavne (a city on the Mediterranean just 30 km south of Tel Aviv) experts in the holy scriptures and traditions, who had an interest in a religious renewal of Judaism. Yavne remained the center of the rabbinic movement until the Bar Kochba revolt. Due to his early role in Yavne, Yohanan ben Zakkai was considered by the later rabbinic tradition to be the founder of rabbinic Judaism. The Yavne endeavor has often been overestimated. As, for example, when there is talk of a "Council of Yavne," which is supposed to have closed the biblical canon of Judaism and effected the demarcation of the latter from Christianity via the *Birkat haMinim*. This supposed "council" is a nineteenth century construction, introduced by H. Graetz, and cannot be substantiated.[66] Moreover, no definitive closing of the Jewish "canon" took place in Yavne (► V.3.1 below).

---

64 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Impact, 108 and 214f.

65 The expression ἡ νηστεία ("the fast") is Philo's standard designation for the Yom Kippur holiday (see Stökl Ben Ezra, Impact, 108 and 214f.).

66 See Stemberger, Judentum, 19; id., Jabne, 163.

The assumption that the *Birkat haMinim* led to the separation of Jews and Christians is equally problematic.[67] The benediction against heretics is a curse on persons who deviate from the faith (*minim*). It was inserted into the Amidah (also called the "eighteen," Heb. שמנה עשרה, *shmone 'esre*). In the first place, we do not even know when this insertion occurred. The attribution to Gamaliel II. is a late tradition that remains extremely uncertain.[68] Nor do we know who the *minim* were against whom the text was directed. In addition to the *minim*, the *nozrim* ("Nazarenes", i. e., Christians) are also mentioned in the version contained in the Cairo Genizah. However, that version of the text is from a later date and is not relevant to our considerations.[69] It is highly unlikely that, at the time of the insertion, *minim* referred to Christians.[70] After all, how many Jewish Christians would there have had to have been in Palestine in those days for them to be perceived as a threat by Jews? Would Jewish Christians have felt the impact of such a curse and admitted to being *minim*? Would they not rather have understood themselves to be the "true Israel" and the "holy remnant" (See Rom 9:6; 11:7; John 1:47)? On top of that, the teachers at Yavne did not at that time have the kind of influence that could enforce such exclusions as binding and obligatory. It is clear that the influence these circles had on the ordinary Jewish population was minimal. The text was thus more an act of self-affirmation of the position of those responsible for it than an effective means of excluding deviants.

For this reason, the term ἀποσυνάγωγος (*aposynagōgos*, "excluded from the synagogue" in the phrases "to be/render excluded from the synagogue"; John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2) should not be interpreted as a formal procedure for excluding Jewish Christians. Firstly, the term "synagogue" was ambiguous at the time, not necessarily referring to the religious "synagogue community" (► III.7.6.1 below). Secondly, the term *aposynagōgos* is completely absent from the literature of the time.[71] It is therefore an *ad hoc* creation by the fourth evangelist, rather than a technical term for a formal "synagogue exclusion." Thirdly, this "exclusion" was only a local and limited measure.[72] The assumption of an all-encompassing excommunication of *all* Christians by *all* Jews is anachronistic, as there was no generally accepted central authority in the Judaism of the time.

---

67 See Stemberger, *birkat,* 75–88, in the following.

68 See Stemberger, *birkat*, 76–83. See also Harlow, Judaism, 275.

69 See Broadhead, Ways, 293.

70 Thus, Stemberger, *birkat*, 83–86. See further Harlow, Judaism, 275, and Broadhead, Ways, 295. The latter sees the *Birkat haMinim* rather as directed against groups such as the "Sadducees, Jews who collaborate with Rome, Jews who adapt Hellenistic culture, Jews drawn to Gnosticism, Jews who resist rabbinic authority."

71 See Thyen, Johannesevangelium, 467, 575f.

72 See Theobald, Johannes, 649.

2.2.4 "Jewish Persecution of Christians" because of "belief in the Messiah"?

It is also problematic to make "belief in the Messiah" responsible for the parting of Jews and Christians. Things become completely anachronistic, however, when there is talk of "Jewish persecution of Christians" on account of their confession of Christ. Here, for example, is an excerpt from "A History of the Church" by August Franzen:[73]

> Especially the belief in Christ led to open conflict and two brief periods of persecution. The first outbreak in 32/33 led to the stoning of Stephen, to the expulsion of the Hellenistic Jewish Christians from Jerusalem, and to their further persecution by Saul. Saul, who was converted on the way to Damascus in 33/36, then, as Paul, became the "chosen vessel" for the dissemination of the Christian message (Acts 9:15f.). The second wave of persecution, kindled by King Herod Agrippa I (37–44), led in the year 42/43 to the martyr's death of the apostle James the Elder and to the arrest of Peter who miraculously escaped from prison (Acts 12:1ff.).

Time and again, there were pretenders to the title of "Messiah," who were believed by a varying segment of the population. The best known of these is Simon Ben Koseba who, according to y. Taʿan. 4,8, 68d, was proclaimed Messiah by Rabbi Akiva.[74] For this, Akiva drew on the prophecy of Numbers 24:17 ("a star rises in Jacob") to change the name Ben Koseba to Bar Kochba, "son of the star." Taking up the same words from Numbers 24:17, the Qumran community (CD VII,18–21) expresses the expectation of the eschatological and authentic teacher of the law. According to Matthew 2:2, the words prefigure the "newborn king of the Jews." Flavius Josephus (► IV.2.2 below) mentions prophets who performed signs with more or less messianic overtones:[75] a *Samaritan prophet*, a certain *Theudas* who appeared during the time of Cuspius Fadus (after 44 CE), and during the time of the procurator Felix (52–60 CE), an unnamed "*Egyptian*" (Josephus *A.J.* 20.169–172/*B.J.* 2.262f.). In more recent times, *Menachem Mendel Schneerson* (the "Lubavitcher Rebbe," † 1994), the long-standing head of the Hasidic Chabad movement, was considered by many of his followers to be the Messiah. To this day, there are strong differences of opinion about his person in Judaism. All of this is evidence that, despite all the resulting tensions, the assumption that Jesus was the "Messiah," the "Christ," was not of itself sufficient to effect a division between Jews and Christians.

---

73 A. Franzen, A History of the Church, 2014. Franzen's work is chosen here *pars pro multis*, as the twenty-seventh edition of the German original was published in 2014 (revised by B. Steimer and expanded up to the present day by R. Fröhlich; 2006; supplemented edition of the new edition of 1965, first edition of the complete work 1965) and thus enjoys the widest possible distribution. [The text quoted here is from the 1969 English translation, which (apart from the translator's insertion of "in 32/33" and "in 33/36") remains unchanged from the German edition quoted in the present volume.]

74 For the following, see Schäfer, History, 149–155.

75 See Theissen/Merz, Historical Jesus, 144–145.

Talk of "Jewish persecution of Christians" proves to be even more problematic.[76] The above quote contains a conspicuous anachronism: the tensions with Hellenistic Jewish Christians ("Hellenists") consisted not of a dispute between "Jews" and "Christians" but, according to Acts 6:1, began in internecine controversies *among Jesus's Jewish followers themselves* ("Hebrews" against "Hellenists"). Furthermore, neither the stoning of Stephen nor the execution of James the Elder (James the Zebedee) should be described as organized "waves of persecution" (even if Acts 8:1 and 11:19 appear to suggest something of the sort). The stoning of Stephen (32 CE) is best understood as a spontaneous extrajudicial killing that resulted from disputes between Jewish groups, one more liberal, the other more conservative in its reading of the Jewish law (► III.7.4 and V.8 below). The fact that only the "Hellenists" were expelled from Jerusalem, while the "Hebrews" remained in the city,[77] clearly shows that the conflict was not one of "Jews" against "Christians." Rather, the rift opened along disparate readings of the Jewish law, which varied by degree in their stringency. This rift is also evident in the conflicts between Paul and the "men from James" (Gal 2:12), and in Acts 21:18–24 where conservative Jewish Christians in Jerusalem thwart acceptance of the liberal Paul's collection (► III.10.4.7 below). This fits well with the proximity that Acts posits between the Pharisees and the original Jerusalem church (5:34; 15:5; 21:20, "they are all zealots for the law"; 23:9). In particular, such proximity is indirectly confirmed by the execution of James the brother of Jesus. When the prefect Festus suddenly died (62 CE), and Albinus his successor was still on his way to Palestine, the Sadducean high priest Ananos II (the son of Ananos I/Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas and know from the New Testament) took advantage of the power vacuum to have the Lord's brother executed. However, according to *A.J.* 20.201, those περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς

76 The problem lies mainly in the anachronistic representation of the matter, e.g.: "The growing hatred [of Jews toward Christians] in ca. 100 caused the synagogue to place the Christians under official anathema." (Franzen, History of the Church, 15) – combined with the mention of "two brief periods of persecution" (as quoted above, see n. 70). Such a historical misconception could, by extension, give Christians cause to exculpate themselves of anti-Judaism by resorting to the accusation, "you started it!" A heavy burden of proof weighs on all such portrayals of the historical situation.

77 The account in Acts 8:1b lacks internal consistency. Luke already starts shaping the narrative of a "great persecution" (διωγμὸς μέγας) of the followers of Jesus, who are "all ... except the apostles" (πάντες ... πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων) driven from Jerusalem. In Gal 1:18f. and 2:9 (and in Acts 15), James the brother of Jesus is portrayed as a member of the Jerusalem community. According to Luke, whose narrow definition reserves the title of apostle solely for the Twelve (Acts 1:21–26), the Lord's brother, though not an apostle, nevertheless remains in Jerusalem. It is therefore more likely that only the liberal Hellenistic Jewish Christians were expelled from Jerusalem during the persecution mentioned in Acts 8:1, while the conservative Hebrew followers of Jesus remained in the city. Schnelle, Wege, 48–54, reaches the same conclusion. Nevertheless, on p. 55, he concludes that, "There is no evidence whatsoever for a positive reaction of Jewish authorities or Jewish groups to the new movement of Christ-believers." [JV] However, the considerable success of Stephen's mission in Hellenistic synagogues, which Schnelle himself mentions, and the Pharisees' efforts regarding James the brother of Jesus (see below), paint a different picture.

("those most scrupulous in accordance with the law"), that is the Pharisees, protested against Ananos's actions. This shows that there was as yet no clear separation between Jews and Christians in 62 CE. Even strict law-observant Jews were prepared to step into the breach for James.[78] The affronted sense (both of Jerusalem Jews and of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem) that injury had been done to the law was *jointly* directed against a reading of the Jewish law which both groups thought too liberal.

Herod Agrippa's execution of James the son of Zebedee (41–44 CE), on the other hand, seems to have been a populist measure, the product of political calculations designed to curry favor with the Sadducees. This faction of the temple aristocracy had been hostile to the followers of Jesus ever since his criticism of the temple, and now also because of their belief in the resurrection.[79] The Sadducees harbored similar hostilities against the Pharisees, who likewise believed in the resurrection and who "democratized" the temple priests' purity regulations (► III.2.4.2 and III.11.1 below; see also Acts 23:6–9). "Confession of Christ" was thus not the divisive point. Rather, the fault line of the conflict ran along different understandings of the Jewish faith.

But what about the persecutions in Palestine, mentioned in 1 Thessalonians 2:14f. and the Sayings Source?[80]

> 1 Thessalonians 2:14 "For, brothers and sisters, you have followed the example of the communities of God in Judea, which are in Christ Jesus. You have suffered the same from your fellow citizens as they have from the Jews. 15 The latter killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets; they persecuted us, too."
>
> Q 11:47 Woe to you [Pharisees and teachers of the law], for you build the tombs of the prophets, but your forefathers killed them. 48 Thus you witness against yourselves that you are the sons of your forefathers. 49 Therefore also Wisdom said: I will send them prophets and sages, and some of them they will kill and persecute, 50 so that a settling of accounts for the blood of all the prophets poured out from the founding of the world may be required of this generation, 51 from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, murdered between the sacrificial altar and the House. Yes, I tell you, an accounting will be required of this generation!

78 However, Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 54, thinks otherwise: "The execution of James the brother of Jesus around 62 CE ... by conservative Sadducean circles probably caused the Jerusalem church, with its connection with Christians from the Greco-Roman tradition, no longer to be regarded as a part of Judaism." The evidence in Josephus contradicts Schnelle's view. Why would the Jewish high priest prosecute a group no longer regarded as "Jews" with the accusation of transgressing the law (ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, *A.J.* 20.200)? Josephus' sympathies do not lie with the high priest at this point, whose accusation of law-breaking is contradicted by the protests of those who are the "most scrupulous according to the law." Thus, implicitly, the followers of Jesus are characterized as abiding by the law.

79 See also Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 115–116; id., Wege, 45–48 and 55–57.

80 Cf. on this, Schnelle, History and Theology of the New Testament, 186: "The Sayings Source presupposes persecution of the young congregations by Palestinian Jews (See Lk 6.22–23Q; 11.49–51Q; Luke 12:4–5Q; 12:11–12Q). About 50 CE Paul mentions in 1 Thess. 2.14–16 a persecution of Christians in Judea that had already taken place." Likewise, Schnelle, Wege, 57.

Both texts, 1 Thessalonians and the Sayings Source, independently allude to the theologoumenon of the *violent fate of the prophets*.[81] Time and again, Israel defied the admonitions of the prophets, whom they persecuted violently. This was a widespread motif in early Judaism. To name only a few examples (beyond the Tanakh): Sir 49:7; 1 En. 89.51–90.19; Jub. 1.7–26; 1QpHab I–V; Josephus, *A.J.* 9.265–267; 10.38–41.[82] This idea becomes a main interpretive pattern in the Sayings Source (Q 6:22f.; 11:47–51; 13:34f.), being subsequently taken over from there by Matthew and Luke. The idea also found expression in other New Testament texts: 1 Thessalonians 2:15; Mark 12:1–9; Matthew 21:33–46; 22:6; Acts 7:51f.; similarly in Romans 11:3; Hebrews 11:32–37. M. Konradt is probably right in thinking that, "in each instance, a tradition widespread in early Christianity is taken up in Q and 1 Thessalonians 2:15."[83] 1 Thessalonians draws on an early Jewish (and even already early Christian) cliché, which is all the more evident given the fact that it was the Romans and *not* "the Jews" who killed Jesus (► II.5.4.3; V9.2.6 below). Paul adapts a standard interpretive pattern to his own situation. The same applies to the Sayings Source. When Q speaks of the "blood of all the prophets," it knows not a single (!) martyr from within its own ranks. Instead, it must fall back on Abel and Zechariah, who are certainly no contemporaries of the Sayings Source. At this point, Q clearly makes use of literary topoi. It was more likely the mockery of children in the marketplace (see Q 7:32), the people's indifference (Q 10:10; 11:16–32), and insults "because of the Son of Man" (Q 6:22) that troubled the Q missionaries – but not yet bloody persecutions.[84] The trauma of the rejection of one's own message is sublimated in the violent fate of the prophets and turned into its opposite in Q 6:22. Such rejection now becomes the ultimate sign of prophetic legitimation, something about which one can even "rejoice."

However, the socio-political explosiveness that the Pauline mission held for Jewish diaspora communities needs to be considered separately. Overly aggressive missionary tactics were perceived as disruptions to the smooth functioning of the *status quo*. Such disruptions jeopardized the fragile balance between the Jewish politeuma

81 In the German-language literature, this topos has been known as the "*Deuteronomistic fate of prophets*" since O.H. Steck coined the expression (Steck, Geschick). As early as 2 Kings 17:7–20, we encounter, as a general pattern of interpretation, the essential correlation between deeds and consequences [*der Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*] in the relationship between Israel's disobedience to the words of the prophets and the punishment that ensues. There is a similar pattern in the Deuteronomistically informed layers of the Book of Jeremiah (Steck, Geschick, 72; Backhaus/Meyer, Jeremia, 420f.). However, there is in Deuteronomistic theology as yet no talk of a *violent fate of the prophets, up to and including their being killed*. The motif of a *violent persecution*, up to and including the *murder* of the prophets, only enters the picture with Nehemiah 9:26, a text that postdates Deuteronomistic theology. It is therefore not advisable to speak of the "*Deuteronomistic*" *fate of the prophets*.

82 See also Konradt, Gericht, 80 and Tiwald, Logienquelle, 104–110.

83 Konradt, Gericht, 81 [JV].

84 See Tiwald, Logienquelle, 109f. Where the Sayings Source is concerned, Rollens, Persecution, has convincingly mapped out the dynamic of group psychology that turns narratives of persecution and martyrdom into identity forming community traditions.

and the respective polis.[85] There is evidence of this dynamic in Rome, in the edict of Claudius (49 CE, ► III.10.4.6 below), the incident before Gallio in Corinth (51 CE), and the riot in the silversmith's workshop in Ephesus (55 CE, ► III.10.4.5 below). From the point of view presupposed in the Claudius edict, Christians are still clearly subsumed under Judaism ("*Iudaeos* impulsore Chresto ..."),[86] which is also the case with Gallio ("but if you dispute ... about *your own* law"). The same holds for the dispute with the silversmiths of Ephesus.[87] There, the Jews put forward Alexander, their own spokesman (Acts 19:33f.), because the tumult was directed against Ephesian Judaism, of which the Christians were viewed as a subgroup. A relationship of trust, built painstakingly over generations, is at risk of being destroyed in the blink of an eye. It is thus understandable that Jews in this narrative had little sympathy for Paul and, according to Acts 20:3, sought his life. The conflict in Thessalonica must be understood in precisely this light. According to Acts 17:5–10, the synagogue leadership cooperated with the city prefect and the pagan city administration to prevent a riot. Even if these incidents induced Paul to launch the ugly tirade of 1 Thessalonians 2:14–16, that the fears of the Thessalonian Jews were well-founded is evident from the later incidents in Ephesus.

Summa summarum: The confession of Christ was not, in the first instance, that which alienated "Jews" and "Christians" from one another. Rather, it was marked inner-Jewish tensions about the correct interpretation of the law, in combination with concrete political interests.[88] There is abundant evidence of tensions in the pluriform world of early Judaism (► I.1.3 above). One need only consult the polemics of the Qumran texts against the Pharisees (► III.4.2.6 below) and the Sadducees (► III.4.2.4 below). The political implications of an overly aggressive mission among the communities of the diaspora will be examined later (► III.7.5 below).

---

85 Along these lines, see also Schnelle, Wege, 64, according to which Paul's aggressive mission jeopardized "the sensitive relationship with the Roman state." [JV]

86 See Frey, Juden, 368, and Lampe, Christen, 169.

87 See Tiwald, Ephesus, 135f. The trustworthiness, or lack thereof, of Luke's historical account cannot be discussed here (see Witetschek, Artemis). However, the general situation he describes fits the mold. The passage describes in *paradigmatic* fashion how the interaction between Judaism and early Christianity may have occurred. In this regard, Luke, who perhaps wrote his double work in Asia Minor, surely had pertinent knowledge.

88 Schnelle, Wege, 69 (also 181, 189), is incorrect in stressing that there is "not a single piece of positive evidence for an acceptance of Christianity by a Jewish group or personage, and certainly not as part of a common Judaism." In the first century, we do in fact find such groups in: the intervention of the Pharisees on behalf of James the brother of Jesus (see above), in Jewish Christian circles in the Sayings Source (► V.10 below), the Gospel of Matthew (► V.12 below), and in the Gospel of John (V.14 below). To be sure, Schnelle, Wege, 46, is right that the worship of a *crucified person* (see Deut 21:23; 1 Cor 1:23) as Messiah seemed problematic, but that is a different matter from the confession of Christ *per se*. In fact, a number of Jewish resistance fighters were crucified and were nevertheless respected by the common people (see IV.2.1 below), even if not as "Messiahs."

2.2.5 Developments in the Patristic Era

Until the consolidation of rabbinic Judaism (starting in 200 CE, with full consolidation definitely not achieved until the advent of Islam), pluriform early Judaism and early Christianity, which was only slowly taking shape as an independent religion, were much closer to each other than has generally been assumed.[89] Some authors even argue that the "parting of the ways" was at first merely the ideological, identity-constructing work of "orthodox" Christian heresiologists and "orthodox" Jewish rabbis. On this view, the ordinary believers were much more relaxed regarding the relationship.[90] In this context, however, it is perhaps more appropriate to speak only of the "proto-orthodox," as T. Nicklas does, building on W. Bauer. Actual "orthodoxy" did not begin until the Constantinian period (fourth century CE).[91] Such tendencies are evident in the preserved sources of several church fathers on the Christian side.[92]

Justin Martyr († 165) is still quite moderate in his dialog with the Jew Trypho (Dial 47.1–3).[93]

> 1 "But," Trypho again objected, "if a man knows that what you say is true, and, professing Jesus to be the Christ, believes in and obeys Him, yet desires also to observe the commandments of the Mosaic Law, shall he be saved?" "In my opinion," I replied, "I say such a man will be saved, unless he exerts every effort to influence other men (I have in mind the Gentiles whom Christ circumcised from all error) to practice the same rites as himself ..." 2 ... But if some [Jewish converts], due to their instability of will, desire to observe as many of the Mosaic precepts as possible – precepts which we think were instituted because of your hardness of heart – while at the same time they place their hope in Christ, and if they desire to perform the eternal and natural acts of justice and piety, yet wish to live with us Christians and believers, as I already stated, not persuading them to be circumcised like themselves, or to keep the Sabbath, or to perform any other similar acts, then it is my opinion that we Christians should receive them and associate with them in every way as kinsmen and brethren. 3 But if any of your people, Trypho, profess their belief in Christ, and at the same time force the Christian Gentiles to follow the Law instituted through Moses, or refuse to share in communion with them this same common life, I certainly will also not approve of them.

In Justin's view, it is legitimate for Jewish Christians to continue to practice circumcision and observe the sabbath and Jewish purity regulations. They must simply abstain from compelling gentile Christians to live by those regulations. In this respect, Justin is still entirely within the framework of decisions reached at the "Apostolic Convention" (see Gal 2:2–10 and Acts 15:5–29; ► III.10.4.2 below). In the meantime, however, the majority has shifted. Whereas gentile Christians had previously been in

89 For an overview of more recent research, see Kampling/Leonhard, Ansätze, 268–286.

90 See Broadhead, Ways, 372; Boyarin, Dying for God, 17–19.

91 See Nicklas, Jews, 13; also Ebner, Stadt, 290.

92 See Broadhead, Ways, 191–203; Nicklas, Jews, 64–115; Tiwald, Archäologie, 79f.

93 On this, see Edsall, Justin, 249–272, esp. 269: "Rather than a 'parting of the ways,' Justin describes neither a 'parting' nor two 'ways.' Instead, the ambiguity and messiness of his account bears witness to the ambiguous and messy reality of Jewish and Christian relations in his period." See also Vogel, Jüdisch, 418–431.

the minority, being accommodated at the Apostolic Convention, Jewish Christians are now the exception to whom rights are conceded.

Irenaeus of Lyon († end of second century) already goes a step further in AdvHaer 1.26.1:

> The so-called Ebionites admit that the world was made by the true God, but in regard to the Lord they hold the same opinion as Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use only the Gospel according to Matthew and reject the Apostle Paul, saying that he is an apostate from the law. The Prophetical Writings, however, they strive to interpret in a rather curious manner. They circumcise themselves and continue in the practices which are prescribed by the law and by the Judaic standard of living, so that they worship Jerusalem as the house of God.

In AdvHaer 1.26.1, Irenaeus warned against the respective heresies of Cerinthus and the Ebionites.[94] What he is referring to is to the assumption, held by both the Cerinthians and the Ebionites, that Jesus was not born of a virgin but fathered by Joseph. The basis of this assumption is the Ebionites' customary reading of "young woman" in Isaiah 7:14; AdvHaer 3.21.1:

> So God became man, and the Lord Himself saved us, having Himself given the sign of the Virgin. Consequently, the interpretation of certain ones who dare to explain the Scripture thus: *Behold, a* young girl *will conceive and bear a son*, is not true. Among these are Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, both of them Jewish proselytes. These were followed by the Ebionites, who assert that He was born of Joseph, thus, as far as in them lies, destroying so great an economy of God and making void the prophets' testimony which is the work of God. This was indeed prophesied before the transmigration of the people into Babylon took place, that is, before the Medes and the Persians acquired dominion. It was, however, translated into Greek by the Jews themselves a long time before our Lord's coming, so that there is no room for suspicion that the Jews did so to accommodate themselves to us. For if they had known that we would ever exist and could use the testimonies of the Scriptures, they would never have hesitated to burn the Scriptures that make it clear that the rest of the nations all have a share in life, and that show that those who boast that they are the house of Jacob and the people of Israel are disinherited from the grace of God.

Irenaeus' argumentation already evinces a certain flattening. It conflates completely different theological positions (those of Cerinthus and the Ebionites) based solely on superficial criteria (rejection of the virgin birth). Here, the incipiency of the crude one-dimensionality of later "heretic lists" is already in evidence. While Justin still allows that Jewish Christians will be saved by their faith, Irenaeus is emphatic that "the house of Jacob and the people of Israel are disinherited from the grace of God." A knowledge of the Hebrew text of Isaiah 7:14 (to which the Greek translations of The-

94 Ἐβιωναῖοι, *Ebiōnaioi* (from the Hebrew אביונים, *ebyonim*, "poor") was an honorific self-designation (derived from Ps 69:34). The Qumran community also referred to itself in this way (1QpHab XII,3.6.10), as did Jesus's beatitude to the "poor" (Q 6:20). As a designation for Jewish Christian groups, the term first appears in Irenaeus and afterwards is often used by the Church Fathers. On the Ebionites see Broadhead, Ways, 193. On the "piety of the poor" [*Armenfrömmigkeit*] see Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 46–48.

odotion and Aquila come closer than the LXX use of "virgin"[95]) is also quite remote at this point. For the Church Fathers, the authority of the Old Testament was located in the LXX and not in the *hebraica veritas*.[96]

Tertullian († after 220) is the first to trace the Ebionites back to a supposed historical founding figure named Ebion, speaking of "the heresy of Ebion" (DePraescr 33.5; forgetting that the name was an honorific self-designation of Jewish Christians: *ebyonim*, "the poor"). Tertullian criticizes the Ebionites' law observance and practice of circumcision (DePraescr 33.5) as well as their lack of faith in the virgin birth: "who [i. e., the virgin Mary], it is certainly agreed, was a virgin, although Ebion opposes [this]" (DeVirgVel 6.1).

Origen († ca. 254) addresses Celsus's accusation that Christians lack a uniform stance towards Judaism (ContCel 5.61):

> After this he says: Let no one imagine I do not know that some of them will agree that they have the same God as the Jews, while some think there is another God to whom the former is opposed, and that the Son came from the latter.

Origen replies that there is also a lack of agreement between the various schools of philosophy and medicine. He thus admits that in his time also there was *no unanimously accepted Christian doctrine concerning Judaism*. In the absence of a universally recognized central authority in the Christianity of the time, we should of course expect no "magisterial" opinion on the topic. Origen merely proceeds by way of reference to Paul, who supposedly "came over from the Jews to Christianity" (ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων προσελθόντα χριστιανισμῷ). This anachronistic representation is evidence of the progressive historical distortion of Christianity's own roots. However, Origen then concedes (the quotations represent the accusations of Celsus):

> Let us admit that "some [τινες] also accept Jesus" and on that account boast that they are Christians "although they still want to live according to the law of the Jews like the multitude of the Jews." These are the two sects of Ebionites, the one confessing as we do that Jesus was born of a virgin, the other holding that he was not born in this way but like other men.

Origen must grant Celsus that there are indeed some (τινες) Christians who still observe Jewish purity and cultic regulations. We learn that in this group, too, different theological positions are possible, both the acceptance and rejection of the virgin birth.

---

95 See Segal, Christianity, 341; Broadhead, Ways, 192.

96 On the authority of the LXX among the Church Fathers, and questions about the *hebraica veritas*, see: Markschies, Hieronymus, 131–181. Incidentally, where the LXX was concerned, Jerome also took a peculiar "lurching path" [*Schlingerkurs*] (*loc. cit.*, 177). It is merely with the eyes of a philologist and not those of a theologian that the church father views the *hebraica veritas* that he advocates. Though he does not want to question the inspiration of the LXX (*loc. cit.*, 174f.), at the level of philology he cannot avoid the better translation from the Hebrew (*loc. cit.*, 177).

Eusebius of Caesarea († 340) likewise describes two different groups of Ebionites in HE 3.27:

> But others the wicked demon was unable to shake from their attitude toward God's Christ, but found he could catch them by another way, by fabricating his own [Christ]. Earlier men aptly named them Ebionites, because they held "poor" and low opinions concerning the Christ. 2 For they considered him to be plain and common and that he had been made a righteous human being based only on the progress of his moral character, and that he was born from the union of a man and Mary. And they consider the entirety of the worship prescribed in the law required, since they do not think they will be saved through faith in Christ alone and a life lived in accordance with it. 3 But there are others besides them who have the same name, who fled the absurd insanity of those just mentioned, and do not deny that the Lord was born of a virgin and the Holy Spirit, yet who similarly do not confess that he preexisted, being God the Word and Wisdom. And so they inclined to the impiety of those earlier ones, especially when, similarly to them, they earnestly respected the bodily cultic observances of the law. 4 They thought all the letters of the Apostle had to be rejected, calling him an apostate from the law, and used only the so-called Gospel According to the Hebrews; the rest they gave short shrift. 5 And similarly to those other ones they kept the Sabbath and the other Jewish habits, but on the Lord's days they celebrated rites much like ours in memory of the salvific resurrection.

Eusebius is aware that the name Ebionites derives from *ebyonim*, "the poor." However, he gives a polemical interpretation of that self-designation: "because they held 'poor' and low opinions concerning the Christ." Yet the doctrinal disputes about the virgin birth and whether Jesus was the incarnate pre-existent Logos seem less "heretical" considering that even the "Majority Church" [*Großkirche*] had to gradually address and clarify the questions about the nature of Jesus, and its consequences for the economy of salvation, in the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Gospel of the Hebrews to which Eusebius refers is also mentioned by Clement of Alexandria and Origen.[97] Interestingly, the group observed both the Sabbath and Sundays and adhered to the Jewish purity and cult regulations.

In his fourth Catechetical Lecture (4.37), *Cyril of Jerusalem* († 386) warns catechumens against the temptation to follow Jewish dietary and Sabbath regulations.

> Keep away from all the works of the devil. Don't believe the rebellious serpent … Pay no attention to horoscopes, auguries or omens, or to the oracles of the Greeks which are based on myths. As for potions, spells and the evil practices of mediums, do not allow them even to be talked about. Avoid every kind of indulgence; don't be a glutton or a hedonist; and don't descend to any kind of avarice or usury. Don't take part in pagan gatherings and shows … Refuse to frequent degrading taverns. Don't desert to the Samaritans or the Jews, for Jesus Christ has redeemed you for ever. Avoid all sabbath observance or describing harmless food as common or unclean. Above all hold all wicked heretical assemblies in abhorrence. Take every means to safeguard your soul by fasting, prayer, almsgiving and the reading of Scripture …

97 See Klauck, Evangelien, 53–62.

It is striking that Cyril includes the "temptation" to "desert to the Samaritans or the Jews" in the middle of a catalog of vices. Living according to Jewish customs is listed, among the other evils named (horoscopes, potions, gluttony, hedonism, greed, etc.), as a particularly grave sin, just preceding the "heretical assemblies" that form the negative climax of the passage. It is implied that observing the Sabbath and dietary regulations was a greater "temptation" for many Christians than "gluttony" and "hedonism."

John Chrysostom's († 407) eight homilies, *adversus Iudaeos*, held in his hometown of Antioch, mark a sad climax of the anti-Jewish polemics.[98]

> *Discourse I*,1.5: What is this disease? The festivals of the pitiful and miserable Jews are soon to march upon us one after the other and in quick succession: the feast of Trumpets, the feast of Tabernacles, the fasts. There are many in our ranks who say they think as we do. Yet some of these are going to watch the festivals, and others will join the Jews in keeping their feasts and observing their fasts. I wish to drive this perverse custom from the Church right now. ... (At issue now are) those who are sick with the Judaizing disease ... 8.1 If any of you ... shall go to the spectacle of the Trumpets, or rush off to the synagogue, or ... take part in the fasting, or share in the sabbath, or observe any other Jewish ritual great or small, I call heaven and earth as my witness that I am guiltless of the blood of all of you.
> *Discourse IV*,4.1: If you judge that Judaism is the true religion, why are you causing trouble to the Church? But if Christianity is the true faith, as it really is, stay in it and follow it.
> *Discourse VI*,7.9: Even if a man gives away more money than you can count, he does not do as great a thing as the man who saves a soul, leads it from its error, and takes it by the hand along the road to godliness. The man who gives to the poor takes away the poor man's hunger; the man who sets a Judaizing Christian straight, wins a victory over godlessness. The first man gave consolation to the poor; the second put a stop to reckless transgression. The first freed the body from pain, the other snatched the soul from the fires of hell.
> *Discourse VIII*,4.7: Somebody hears you say that there were many who observed the fast with the Jews and, without any further investigation, he spreads the story to somebody else. And the second man, without inquiring into the truth of the rumor, again tells it to still another ... 4.8: Even if those who did fall are few in number, we make them a multitude by the multitude of our rumors; we weaken those who resisted and we give a push to those on the point of falling. If one of our brothers hears the rumor that a large number joined in keeping the fast, he will be more inclined to be careless himself; again, if it is one of the weak ones who hears the story, he will rush to join the throng of those who have fallen. Even if many have sinned, let us not join with those who rejoice at this or any other evil. If we do, we make a parade of the sinners and say their name is legion. Rather, let us stop the rumormongers and keep them from spreading the story.

98 See Lewy, John Chrysostom, EJ 10, 161f.; Markschies, Way, 11–32. Cohen, Ways, 337, places the "parting of the ways" at the beginning of the second century. In his estimation: "The Christian community did not include Jews, and the Jewish community did not include Christians, even if some Christians wandered over to the synagogue from time to time. The accusation of 'Judaizing' is not evidence for the un-parting of the ways." However, it remains questionable whether there were indeed firmly defined "Christian" and "Jewish" communities – evidently, that was precisely not the case!

During John Chrysostom's time, it appears to have been commonplace in Antioch for many Christians ("a large number") to observe Jewish festivals, attend synagogue and keep Jewish fasts. Even as he tries to downplay the number in question in the eighth discourse, he cannot help but acknowledge the considerable word of mouth going around in favor of a Judaizing lifestyle. For him, however, the latter practice is a "disease", as he explains in his first discourse. For "the man who sets a Judaizing Christian straight, wins a victory over godlessness" and "snatched the soul from the fires of a hell."

Epiphanius of Salamis († 403) mentions the Nazoreans, who keep the Mosaic law, the Sabbath, and practice circumcision – all while also believing in Christ (Pan. 29.5.4; 29.7.5). This in itself is heresy for Epiphanius. Afterall, Jesus is supposed to have abolished the Sabbath and circumcision (Pan. 29.8.1–5; 30.33.4). His argument is similar where the Ebionites are concerned, to whom Pan. 30 is dedicated. According to Epiphanius, Ebion, whom he considers to have been a historical person, emerged from the Nazoreans (Pan. 30.2.1) and argued that Jesus was begotten bodily by Joseph (Pan. 30.2.2). The Ebionites also followed stricter ritual purity rules than the Nazoreans (Pan. 30.2.3–5). Epiphanius's tone is polemical. For example, he depicts Ebion as a πολύμορφον τεράστιον ("polymorphous monstrosity" Pan. 30.1.1; see also 30.14.6) who leads people astray with his "trickeries" (κυβεία, 30.14.6).

In *Jerome's* († 420) 112th letter, which is addressed to Augustine, we read the following:

> 13. The matter in debate, therefore, or I should say your opinion regarding it, is summed up in this: that since the preaching of the gospel of Christ, the believing Jews do well in observing the precepts of the law, i. e. in offering sacrifices as Paul did, in circumcising their children as Paul did in the case of Timothy, and keeping the Jewish Sabbath, as all the Jews have been accustomed to do. If this be true, we fall into the heresy of Cerinthus and Ebion, who, though believing in Christ, were anathematized by the fathers for this one error, that they mixed up the ceremonies of the law with the gospel of Christ, and professed their faith in that which was new, without letting go what was old. Why do I speak of the Ebionites, who make pretensions to the name of Christian? In our own day there exists a sect among the Jews throughout all the synagogues of the East, which is called the sect of Minei, and is even now condemned by the Pharisees. The adherents of this sect are commonly known as the Nazarenes; they believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; And they say that He who suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose again, is the same as the one in whom we believe. But while they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither the one nor the other. ... If, however, there is for us no alternative but to receive the Jews into the Church, along with the usages prescribed by their law; if, in short, it shall be declared lawful for them to continue in the Churches of Christ what they have been accustomed to practice in the synagogues of Satan, I will tell you my opinion on the matter: they will not become Christians, but they will make us Jews.

Here, Jerome ponders whether it is permissible for Christians to continue to observe Jewish customs. He distinguishes between Ebionites and Nazarenes, the latter having moved further away from Judaism than the former. Jerome condemns both groups, despite the Nazarenes' greater distance from Judaism. He demands a decision. As far

as he is concerned, a "Jewish Christian" path is no longer an option: "... while they desire to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither the one nor the other."

Concluding Remarks on the Patristic Era: Based on the warnings of the Church Fathers, we are justified in concluding that, into the fifth century, there were still Christians who made a connection between their faith and the observance of Jewish regulations such as circumcision, Sabbath observance and purity laws. There is a lingering question about the extent to which the Church Fathers describe actual, contemporary conditions, or whether they are simply quoting old traditional material ("lists of heretics"). Where Justin, Origen, John Chrysostom, and Jerome are concerned, we can safely assume that they had real knowledge of such groups.[99] In particular, "the Sermons held by John Chrysostom in Antioch illustrate the attraction that Jewish traditions must have had in the Christian community."[100] There was still an open border between Judaism and Christianity in some places. A not insignificant number of Christians (John Chrysostom AdvJud VIII,4.7f.) participated in Jewish life as a matter of course. They observed Jewish feasts and fast days, went to the synagogues, accepted circumcision and the dietary regulations.

2.2.6 Jewish Christians or Judaizers? – The End of a Jewish Christian Presence in Palestine

The knowledge that Christians practiced Jewish customs until the fifth century by no means resolves all our questions. It remains to be seen whether these Christians were of Jewish descent or were simply gentile Christians who kept Jewish customs and laws, without being of Jewish descent (so-called "Judaizers"). A highly significant question in this context is whether any Jewish Christians of Jewish descent have survived in a continuous line of tradition since the time of Jesus. Palestine is the likeliest place for such a phenomenon, although here, too, the source material is sparse. "Yet there is probably no room for doubt about the existence of an early Jewish Christian community in Capernaum."[101] However, despite the excavators' initial insinuations, the Aramaic and Syriac graffiti, found alongside Greek fragments in the plaster remnants of the "House of Peter," do not prove an unbroken Jewish Christian presence there into the fourth century.[102] Broadhead concludes that there is a certain probability in support of the authenticity of the House of Peter.[103] He rightly reckons with a Jewish Christian community there, which certainly persisted beyond the first generation. However, that in no way substantiates "an unbroken line of Jewish Christians

99 See Harlow, Judaism, 276.

100 Stemberger, Juden, 71 [JV].

101 Stemberger, Juden, 70 [JV]. On the question of "Judaizers" see Markschies, Way, 25–29.

102 A research overview regarding the disputed inscriptions can be found in Broadhead, Ways, 334–341, and Zangenberg, Silence, 104–107; Taylor, Christians, 268–294. For more on Capernaum ▸ III.10.2.3 below; see also Becker, Capernaum, 113–139.

103 See Broadhead, Ways, 340.

and influence in Capernaum up to the time of Constantine."[104] A similar point can be made about the question of Jewish Christian traces in Nazareth. The excavators' hopes of finding remains of ancient Jewish Christian traditions there remain unfulfilled.[105] The Jesus movement was probably unable to gain a lasting foothold in Galilee after the First Jewish War.[106] Where Jerusalem is concerned, however, we have evidence from Eusebius (HE 3.5.3), Josephus (*B.J.* 5.422), Epiphanius (Pan 29.7.7–8; 30.2.7; DeMens 15), and Luke 21:20f., that the Christians there fled to Pella in the course of the First Jewish War (► II.6.1.5 below).[107] More evidence of such departures is also found in the figure of John, the author of Revelation. A Jewish Christian from Palestine, he absconded to Ephesus amidst the turmoil of the war.[108] Similarly, some researchers hold that the Johannine churches moved from the East Bank to Ephesus.[109] Moreover, the disciples of John the Baptist in Acts 19:3 provide evidence of contacts between Palestine and Ephesus. However, it is questionable whether *all* Jewish Christians withdrew from Jerusalem, and further, whether they left the city permanently or returned after the war. After all, ancient church witnesses from the time after the First Jewish War once again confirm the existence of a Christian community in Jerusalem. However, it is safe to assume that the failed Bar Kochba Revolt, the founding of *Aelia Capitolina*, and the ban on Jews entering the city also marked the end of the Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem. The end of a significant presence of Jewish Christians in Palestine also meant the loss of their geographical anchor. In the long run, the loss of Jerusalem as the center of Jewish Christianity was likely one of the reasons why the Jewish Christian way of following Jesus eventually got lost in the ever-widening stream of gentile Christianity.

If a continuous line of Jewish Christian existence from the beginnings to the post-Constantinian period cannot be established for Palestine, finding evidence for it in the diaspora appears even more daunting. Antioch might be considered in this context, due to its large community of diaspora Jews (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.479) and the early Christian traditions with roots there (► III.10.4.1 below). The later polemics of John Chrysostom (► I.2.2.5 above) may be added to such considerations. However, we remain in the dark about whether and for how long Jewish Christians were able to maintain a presence there. However, even if those in Antioch and other places were merely Judaizers, the powerful attraction that Judaism exerted on gentile Christians underscores all the more how keenly non-Jews perceived the close kinship between Christianity and Judaism. The persistence with which circumcision, Sabbath obser-

104 See Broadhead, Ways, 341.

105 See Strange, Nazareth, 127–180.

106 For an overview of the in-depth debate see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 83–89. Most researchers think the Sayings Source was written down in Galilee before the Jewish War. Afterward, however, the traces of Jewish Christian existence there are lost. See Tiwald, Galilean Silence; Taylor, Christians, 43f.

107 On the historical value of Luke's note about Pella, see Frenschkowski, Galiläa, 551f.; Bourgel, Move, 107–138.

108 See Stowasser, Nikolaiten, 223. Likewise Backhaus, Vision, 17.

109 See Klauck, Gemeinde, 199–203.

vance, feast times and dietary regulations were maintained in Christianity is evidence of just how indispensable a large segment of Christians considered their Jewish roots to be. The fluid transitions between the two groups are also reflected in the literature of the period, as the following point will show.

2.2.7 Pseudepigrapha in the Jewish-Christian Borderland

T. Nicklas pointed out that, while many of the so-called "Old Testament pseudepigrapha" (more accurately: Jewish apocrypha from the Hellenistic-Roman period)[110] were indeed Jewish in origin, they were subsequently circulated in Christian circles in a revised form that reflected the Christian context. These include texts such as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Apocalypse of Elijah* or the *Vita Adae et Evae*. The extent to which a Jewish original text can be said to underly individual texts is currently a matter of great debate. At any rate, the intensive appropriation of Jewish traditions in Christianity demonstrates that Jewish roots continued to be perceived as a formative source of identity in early Christianity. Furthermore, a Jewish original can be identified for at least some of these texts (► III.8.2–4 below). It is therefore clear that at least some of these texts should be classed as lying "somewhere 'between' what we usually would call 'Judaism' and 'Christianity'."[111] Here, again, the overlap between "Jewish" and "Christian" traditions is greater than is usually assumed. We are still unable to distinguish precisely where the line between "Jewish" and "Christian" runs in some writings. There likely was no such clearly drawn dividing line in the first three centuries of our era.

2.2.8 The fiscus Iudaicus

A factor that has been frequently neglected so far in the discussion of the "parting of the ways" is the *fiscus Iudaicus*. After the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, all Jews living in the empire were required to pay a tax of two drachmas in favor of the pagan deity *Iupiter Capitolinus* (*B.J.* 7.218).[112] This tax turned the old tax for the Jerusalem Temple into a compulsory tax for a pagan temple in Rome. "The question of who was considered a Jew was no longer solely a matter of determining who belonged to the

110 See the edition of "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" by J. H. Charlesworth or the series "Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit" (JSHRZ, Gütersloher Verlagshaus), cited by Nicklas, Jews, 107. Furthermore, see the edition of Bauckham/Davila/Panayotov "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. More Noncanonical Scriptures," and the thorough discussion of the topic in Davila, Provenance. The designation "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" reflects the Christian perspective. However, these texts were originally written in the Jewish cultural space. On this, ► III.8.2 below.

111 Nicklas, Jews, 112.

112 See Heemstra's analysis in, id., Fiscus, specifically the overview of epigraphic and literary witnesses that speak about the tax (epigraphic sources from Egypt, Josephus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio). Likewise, Günther, Fiscus, 175–189.

Jewish community but had now become a question of fiscal administration and legal practice."[113] Under Domitian in particular the measure was drastically intensified. As Suetonius reports in DeVitCaes/Domitianus 12.2:

> Besides other taxes, that on the Jews was levied with utmost rigour (*Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est*). And those were prosecuted who without publicly acknowledging that faith yet lived as Jews (*improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam*), as well as those who concealed their origin and did not pay the tribute levied upon their people (*dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent*). I recall being present in my youth when the person of a man ninety years old was examined before the procurator and a very crowded court, to see whether he was circumcised.

The collection of the Jewish tax *acerbissime* ("with utmost rigour") can be interpreted in different ways. According to Heemstra, *improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam* may refer to God-fearers and gentile Christians who sympathized with the Jews, while *dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent* could specify Jewish tax evaders, apostate Jews, proselytes, circumcised non-Jews and Jewish Christians.[114] Domitian sought to bring clarity to the question of who was a Jew. Similar efforts to clearly define who should be designated a "Christian" are of course known to us from the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan several years later (► III.10.4.10 below). Two conclusions can be drawn from Suetonius's account: 1) Until Domitian, there was no clear classification of, or dividing line between, "Jewish" and "non-Jewish". 2) Domitian's efforts in this area also failed, since his decrees were immediately revoked under his successor, Nerva. Although the emperor Nerva did not completely abolish the *fiscus Iudaicus*, in 96 CE he nevertheless repealed the unpopular tightening of the measure (*acerbissime*) that took place under his predecessor, Domitian (recall the incident reported by Suetonius of a ninety-year-old being stripped bare in court to establish the fact of his circumcision). Contentions about who was a Jew and who was not seem to have impacted large sections of the population. Indeed, Nerva had the words FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SUBLATA ("the removal of false accusations due to the *fiscus Iudaicus*") inscribed[115] as a bit of self-promoting propaganda, which suggests that Nerva's action was generally felt to be praiseworthy at the time. The consequence of Nerva's relaxation of the law was likely that only those who publicly professed to be Jews, the *professi*, now had to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus*. The relaxation of the law was probably intended foremost for Jews who no longer practiced Judaism, such as Tiberius Alexander, Philo of Alexandria's nephew. Tiberius Alexander had renounced Judaism and made a career in the Roman service, passing through the *cursus honorum* and becoming prefect in the prefecture of Judea in 46–48 CE (► II.5.6 below). Although such persons were circumcised, to designate them as devout Jews would still have been considered *calumnia* ("slander"/"false accusation"). This meant that certain criteria

113 Frey, Paulus, 272 [JV]. Konradt, Matthew, 129, suspects that Matthew 17:24–27 already contains an appeal to members of the Jewish Christian community to pay the *fiscus*.

114 See Heemstra, Fiscus, 64. Likewise Frey, Juden, 369; Goodman, Nerva, 41.

115 See the images and Heemstra's analysis in, id., Fiscus, 68f. On the correct interpretation of the word *calumnia*, see the overview in *loc. cit.*, 71–74.

applied to the Jews, which were similar to those later put in place for Christians by Pliny the Younger in the province of Pontus and Bithynia (see below III.10.4.10). Only when someone *publicly* professed their religion was it deemed a religious affiliation.[116] The mere fact of a person's circumcision was thus no longer the decisive factor.

Now it is an interesting question whether and to what extent the collection of the *fiscus Iudaicus* hastened the "parting of the ways."[117] Did Jewish Christians, such as those in Palestine, or the Ebionites and Nazarenes, also continue to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus*? Did they therefore also stand by their Jewish lifestyle as *professi*? We do not know. Perhaps the externally applied tax was not ascribed such importance for the inner (i. e., "felt") affiliation to a community of faith. Frey probably puts too heavy a burden of proof on the *fiscus Iudaicus* when he concludes that, "The new legal situation thus greatly expedited the separation taking place between Jews and Christians."[118] For one can also interpret the situation from the other side. The fact that Domitian sought to establish clear lines of demarcation with his harsh measures is evidence that there was a broad gray area consisting of those who led an *improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam*, that is, those who lived a Jewish life without paying the *fiscus Iudaicus*. Nerva revoked the unpopular measures, not because all the ambiguities had now been eliminated, but rather because the aggressive mode of collection was felt to be oppressive. The old ambiguity returns once the decrees are repealed. Those who *improfessi Iudaicam viverent vitam*, or *dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent*, likely have not diminished in number. Interesting in this context, however, is Eusebius's note that, after the Bar Kochba Revolt, Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem, and that this also spelled the end of the original Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem (according to Eusebius, all Jerusalem bishops were Christian until the Bar Kochba Revolt, after which they were all gentile Christians; ▸ II.7.1 below). This means that, as far as the Romans were concerned, the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were Jews and were thus obligated to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus*.

2.2.9 So When Did the Ways Part?

By now, it should be clear that the "parting of the ways" was not something that happened at a specific moment in history. Rather, it was a very long and protracted process. The "parting of the ways" likely did not progress in all communities at the same time and in the same way. Broadhead is right to require that, " ... any reference

116 See Goodman, Nerva, 44. Additionally, Frey, Paulus, 274.

117 Heemstra, Fiscus, 105–158, is overly fanciful on this point, wanting to discern references to the collection of the fiscus Iudaicus *and the associated demarcation of Christians from Jews, in Revelation 2:9, 14; 3:9 and Hebrews 1:32–34.*

118 Frey, Paulus, 274 [JV]. For Günther, Fiscus, 189, the conclusions drawn from the *fiscus Iudaicus* about the relationship between Jews and Christians are "a kind of over-interpretation." Perhaps Matthew 17:24–27 is a summons to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus*. While the text refers to the "temple tax," it is worth noting that the Gospel of Matthew was written after the destruction of the temple and continued to uphold its Jewish roots (▸ V.12 below).

to a parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity must further specify who parted, when they parted, and where this separation occurred."[119] It was with this in mind that Dunn also spoke of "The Partings of the Ways," that Broadhead coined the humorous catchphrase, "Parting with 'the parting of the ways'," and Becker/Reed formulated the programmatic phrase, "The Ways that Never Parted."[120] The demarcations "Jewish" and "Christian" likely often lay merely in the eye of the beholder, and "the borderlines between 'Jewish', 'Christian' or 'not Jewish' ... could be drawn in very different ways."[121] We might conclude with Frankemölle: "If we presuppose a reasonably developed ecclesiastical organization and an equally developed doctrinal system in the third/fourth century, this would also be the time – within the long historical processes between Christianity and Judaism – in which the separation is to be located both politically and in terms of the history of theology."[122] Until then, there was no clearly drawn boundary line between the two religions. And where there was a parting, it was inexact and its circumstances complex.

Today, however, Jews and Christians belong to two separate world religions. Christians would be well advised to bear in mind that a Christian embrace of Judaism could all too easily be perceived by Jews as hegemonic and invasive. The reality is that Judaism, as an independent religion, does not necessarily need Christianity. The converse, however, does not hold. A Christianity severed from its Jewish roots would lack a core aspect of its own essence. Paul's statement in Rom 11:18 still holds true: "it is not you who supports the root, but the root supports you."

2.3 The Beginning and End of "Early Christianity"

In accordance with the foregoing considerations (► I.2.1.1 above), we can locate the end of the first phase of Christianity at around the middle of the second century. By this time, all the writings that were later viewed as canonical had been written and it is reasonable to assume that certain stable organizational structures were in place in Christian communities.[123] Of course, 150 CE is only an arbitrary demarcation, since the canon of Christian scripture was not established as a binding list of sacred writings until much later,[124] the separation from Judaism was not yet complete, and dog-

119 Broadhead, Ways, 389.

120 Dunn, Partings; Broadhead, Ways, 389; Becker/Reed, Ways.

121 Nicklas, Jews, 52.

122 Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 437 [JV].

123 See Koch, Geschichte, 26 and 156, who places "primitive Christianity" [*Urchristentum*] "between 30 and 150 CE." Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 11, places the conclusion of this phase a little earlier, around 130 CE. Schnelle invokes the appearance of the apologists and the end of the Bar Kochba Revolt (135 CE) as a further supporting argument.

124 See Broer/Weidemann, Einleitung, 700–711. "A certain decision was reached through the 39th Easter Letter of Athanasius (ca. 295–373), the bishop of Alexandria, written in the year 367. The letter contains a list of the canonical writings (the term 'canon' for the ecclesiastically recognized writings has its origin here) of the Old and New Testaments, and indicates that there are 27 New Testament writings." (706) [JV]

matic development was still in flux. However, determining when Christianity began is more complicated. Thus, K. Wengst writes:[125]

> Did Christianity begin at "Easter" or at least at "Pentecost"? It is a doubtful claim. Take Simon Peter, for instance. When he ... became convinced that God had raised Jesus from the dead, did he then think, "Well, from now on I am no longer a Jew, but a Christian"? To pose this question is to deny it. Peter and the others were Jewish persons who held Jesus to be the Messiah. Furthermore, as a Jew, Paul was no "persecutor of Christians," and as a preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ, he was no "Christian." ... His experience of calling did not lead him to think, "so from now on, I am no longer a Jew but a Christian"? He had indeed undergone a change. However, it was a change from being a Jew whose fundamental orientation derived from Pharisaism to a Jew who believed in the Messiah.

Wengst is quite right that the first disciples of Jesus did not refer to themselves as "Christians." The term "Christian(s)" was of course originally a designation applied to the group by outsiders, as we have seen in Acts 11:26 (► I.2.1.2 above). However, Χριστιανός *christianos* is already found in Acts 26:28 (spoken admittedly by Agrippa, but still from the perspective of Luke) and 1 Peter 4:16 as a self-designation. The term "Christianity" (Χριστιανισμός), on the other hand, first appears in the (pseudepigraphical) Ignatian Epistles in polemical opposition to "Judaism" (Ἰουδαϊσμός). The impression thus arises that the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles (Acts 11:12) and the separation from Judaism become foundational aspects of Christianity as a distinct religion. But caution is warranted here as well. K.-W. Niebuhr has rightly pointed out, that "'Judaism' in Paul [i. e., Gal 1:13f.] as well a 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' in Ignatius, do not denote religious communities or belief systems, but ways of life."[126] It is anachronistic to assume that we are dealing with two clearly delineated "religions" at this early point in time (► I.1.3.4 above). At issue, rather, are different identity markers that come into play under the rubrics of "Judaism" and "Christianity." Over the subsequent centuries, however, two different religions did indeed develop on the basis of these differing identity markers. We are therefore justified in sharing Wengst's regret that "the birth of Christianity" suffers from the "birth defect" of an anti-Jewish stance, or at least by the shedding of Jewish identity markers.[127] Boccaccini aptly summarizes this state of affairs: if Christianity is intent on defining itself by marking itself off from Judaism, then it follows that "where Christianity is, Judaism is not."[128] However, such a stance would sever the Jewish roots of Christianity, positioning it in a theologically fatal, and above all, historically false way. Historically speaking, it is beyond doubt that Christianity was originally part of Judaism. The

---

125 Wengst, Ursprünge, 11 [JV].

126 Niebuhr, Judentum, 232 [JV]. On the "parting of the ways" in the pseudepigraphic Epistles of Ignatius: Vogel, Jüdisch, 418–431. On the terms *Ioudaismos*/"Judaism" and *Christianismos*/"Christianity": Bremmer, Ioudaismos, 57–87, who thinks the Ignatian Epistles took up the opposition *Ioudaismos* vs. *Christianismos* from Marcion. The evidence in the Epistles of Ignatius: *Christianismos*: Ign.Magn. 10.1.3 (2x); Ign.Rom. 3.3; Ign.Phld. 5.6. *Ioudaismos*: Ign. Magn. 10.2 (2x), Ign.Rom. 5.6 (2x).

127 See Wengst, Ursprünge, 15.

128 Boccaccini, Interpreters, 221.

relevant question therefore becomes, "When and why did Christianity cease to be a Jewish phenomenon?"[129] We thus return to the prior question of when Christianity separated from Judaism. However, because the "parting of the ways" occurred in different places at different times (► I.2.2.9 above), it will not be possible to find a precise demarcation as we formulate an answer to this question. In fact, Wengst does not answer his own question. Rather, his contribution intends merely to flag the problem. Thus, it seems sensible at this point to take a further step and – even if only from the historian's *ex-post* perspective – attempt our own definition of the term "Christian," *without*, however, thinking of it as an early Christian self-designation. Here, it seems legitimate to speak of "Christians" from the moment Jesus is regarded as the Messiah ("christos") confirmed by God through the Easter event. However, this implies that many of the early Christians (e.g., Peter and Paul, whom Wengst mentions) could be "Christians" while at the same time continuing to be "Jews." It is of course anachronistic to view "Christian" as a self-designation of Peter or Paul. However, it is a definition that succeeds in avoiding the "birth defect" of anti-Judaism, which Wengst diagnosed.

The definition of "early Christianity" already established above (► I.2.1.1 above) thus also seems reasonable even in light of the "parting of the ways." The term "early Christianity" reflects the continuum extending from the first disciples of Jesus all the way to the fourth century – that is, to the time of the councils, when the Christological titles were brought from their state of metaphorical fluidity (► V.7 below) to a place of dogmatic stability, bringing the "parting of the ways" to completion (to view Jesus as a second divine person is of course unacceptable for Jewish persons). The expression "the beginnings of Christianity" highlights the first phase (up to 150 CE) as a time of special normativity in "early Christianity." However, the expression "the beginnings of Christianity" does not designate a first phase of "Christianity," but rather *the beginnings of what would later become "Christianity."*

2.4 Early Christianity or "Early Christianities"?

Like early Judaism, early Christianity is also often spoken of in the plural. For example, H. Frankemölle writes:[130]

> Inner-Jewish diversity has a counterpart in an inner-Christian diversity (insofar as one can really speak of "Christian" at the time of the New Testament) … There is no monolithic unity in the term "Christianity" and the same is true of "Judaism." Both terms are probably anachronistic for the time of the New Testament.

It is certainly necessary to emphasize the plurality of early Christianity. In his discussion of the community at Ephesus, P. Trebilco has shown how many strands of incipient Christian tradition were at home there and how aloof those groups held them-

129 Boccaccini, Interpreters, 221.

130 Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 28 (also 222f.) [JV]. See also Nicklas, Jews, 12: "… one is even inclined to speak about 'Judaisms' and 'Christianities'." [JV]

selves from each other.[131] However, this only reflects half of the truth. Where talk of "early Judaisms" is concerned, we have found (► I.1.3.3 above) that the language does not do justice to the matter spoken of, having concluded that the commonalities were stronger than the differences. The same is to be said of early Christianity. P. Trebilco reaches the following conclusion regarding Ephesus, which for him becomes a touchstone for the unity or diversity of early Christianity:

> Thus in Ephesus ... there was a drawing of lines by some Christians in order to exclude others who regarded themselves as Christians. This is a clear tendency of our documents – the Pastorals, the Johannine Letters, Rev and Ignatius. Thus, one continuing element in the life of Christians in Ephesus was conflict between Christians, and the presence of differing stands of Christian faith. ... However, we should not think solely in terms of the opposition of one group to another. ... We cannot call this "unity" – they clearly retained the distinct identity of their separate groups. We can perhaps speak of commonality – that, whilst preserving their distinctive identity, we can suggest that they would have been willing to acknowledge the validity of each other's claim to be part of the wider movement we call early Christianity.[132]

Despite its lack of "unity," early Christianity was nevertheless held together by a certain "commonality": the awareness of sharing a fundamental religious perspective. Here, too, the commonalities were stronger than the differences.

131 See Trebilco, Ephesus, 712–717; Tiwald, Pluralität, 128–145. Examples are Paul and the Pauline school, the communities gathered around the Gospel of John, the communities of the author of Revelation, and finally the addressees of the Epistles of Ignatius.

132 Trebilco, Ephesus, 716f. Likewise, Vouga, Problem, 514, speaks of "the de facto unity of the different Christianities" [JV].

II History of Early Judaism

Early Judaism began with the Hellenistic period (► I.1.2 above). However, the Hellenistic period is, for its part, a result of the previous epoch(s), so that a review of the Babylonian and Persian periods is in order here.

1 The Babylonian Period

The first Babylonian deportation: The balance of power in the Middle East was redefined in 605 BCE by the Battle of Carchemish (Syria), where the Babylonian crown prince and later ruler Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BCE) crushed the Egyptians. From then on, the Syrian-Palestinian land bridge was part of the Babylonians' unrestricted sphere of influence. The two military interventions in Judah and Jerusalem (598/597 and 587/586) were but military trifles for the Babylonians. Jerusalem was besieged in 598 BCE when, in a gross misjudgment of the situation, King Jehoiakim (608–598 BCE) rebelled against the Babylonians (2 Kgs 24:10–17). It was, however, his son Jeconiah who had to settle accounts, having taken over the regency during the siege (presumably after his father's demise). Although he ordered the surrender of the city after his accession to power in 597 BCE, (and thus prevented it from being pillaged), he and numerous members of the upper class (including the prophet Ezekiel; Ezek 1:1–3) were afterward deported to Babylon.

The destruction of the temple: The remaining lower class in the rump state around Jerusalem was now ruled by Zedekiah (597–587, see 2 Kgs 24:17). Despite the prophet Jeremiah's urgent warnings (Jer 37–38), Zedekiah – egged on by the Egyptians – succumbed to the mad idea of starting an uprising against the Babylonians. The ensuing judgment was terrible. In 587, Nebuchadnezzar's troops captured the city of Jerusalem and completely destroyed it. Solomon's Temple was burned to the ground. The Ark of the Covenant likely also perished in flames (Jer 39). When, after the exile, the Second Temple was built, the Holy of Holies stood empty within it. As evident in 2 Maccabees 2:4–8, a later tradition supposed that the prophet Jeremiah rescued the Ark of the Covenant and hid it in an undiscoverable location. There it would remain, "until God gathers his people together again" (2 Macc 2:7). As several texts show (► V.4.1 below), the hopes of an eschatological restoration of the people and the temple remained intact in early Judaism. Jesus is even referred to as ἱλαστήριον, *hilastērion* in Romans 3:25 (the atonement plate on the Ark of the Covenant; ► V.8.1.3 below; V.9.2 below).

The second deportation *and exile*: The remainder of the upper class was taken into exile by the second deportation. The population that remained behind was mostly incapable of taking action (2 Kgs 24:14; 25:12). Politically, Judah was annexed to the province of Samaria. This ended the existence of the southern state of Judah. The Jews enjoyed relative freedom of movement and a certain degree of self-government in exile. Their strong desire to preserve their cultural and religious identity, and not be absorbed into the foreign nation (as had happened to the 10 tribes of the northern kingdom), led to a special emphasis on circumcision and Sabbath rest as signs of the covenant (Ezek 20:12; 22:8, 26; 23:38). In addition to the collection of texts in the book of Ezekiel, the Deutero-Isaianic texts (Isa 40–55), written in the later exilic period, are also the fruits of the theological rethinking that took place during the exile. Also present in the later early Judaism are the expectation of the ingathering of all Israel from the diaspora (Isa 43:5–8), the hope of the conversion of the Gentiles to faith in Israel's God and the associated pilgrimage of the nations to Zion (Isa 49:23), and talk of the salvific atoning suffering of the servant of God (Isa 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12).[1]

2 The Persian Period

The "Edict of Cyrus": The Persian king Cyrus II's (559–530 BCE) entrance into the conquered city of Babylon in 539 BCE had far-reaching consequences for the Jews who had been deported to Babylon. Cyrus's announcement that the deported peoples and their deities would be allowed to return to their respective homelands heralded a new form of politics. "It was a matter of tolerance that was based on calculation rather than conviction, that is, on the realization that the world empire could be better and more lastingly ruled in this way."[2] In return, the new rulers demanded loyalty and assimilation into the new framework. For this purpose, Imperial Aramaic, of which Biblical Aramaic is a sub-branch, was elevated to the new national language. For Judaism, these developments meant the return home from the Babylonian exile. However, it remains questionable whether there really was a special "Edict of Cyrus," as reported in Ezra 6:3–5 (in Aramaic) and 1:1–4 (in Hebrew). No such decree is found in the Persian sources. It is possible that processes initiated by Cyrus only took effect later under Darius (522–486).[3]

The building of the Second Temple: Then, despite uncertainties about the Edict of Cyrus, the rebuilding of the temple could be dated in a consistent way (Ezra 5:1–2; 6:16; Hag 1–2) to the year 520 BCE, under the special Persian plenipotentiary Zerubbabel (a grandson of Jeconiah according to 1 Chr 3:19), who stood in the Davidic line. The two prophets Haggai and Zechariah called on the (still hesitant) Jews to support the construction of the temple, especially in the face of resistance from the rural population, the עַם הָאָרֶץ (*'am ha-'arez*, "people of the land" Ezra 4:4), that is, the lower class-

1 See Jüngling, Jesaja, 381–404.
2 Donner, Geschichte, 394 [JV].
3 See Schmitz, Geschichte, 52f.

es who had not been deported and remained in the land. These tensions are perfectly understandable. After all, those who had returned from Babylon had undergone a theological development that those who had remained in the country would not endorse. "For the exiles, monotheism had become the self-evident stance. Circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, and the food and purity commandments had become part of everyday practice. Those who had remained home, however, continued in their pre-exilic theological convictions."[4] In later rabbinic Judaism, the expression *'am ha-'arez* came to denote people who were uneducated and ignorant of the Torah (e.g., b. Pesaḥ. 49a–b; b. Ber. 47b, b. Sotah 22a). The Second Temple could not be consecrated until 515 BCE because of these tensions. For the Samaritans' resistance to the construction of the temple, and the resulting schism, ► III.9.1 below.

3 The Hellenistic Period

3.1 The Period under Alexander the Great

Alexander the Great's conquests opened a new chapter in the history of the Near East. The 23-year-old ruler defeated the Persian king Darius III Codomannus in the famous battle of Issus (333 BCE). Alexander then moved from the north along the Phoenician coast towards Egypt in 332 BCE. The seven-month siege of Tyre became a famous part of that venture. To capture the city, which was located on an island, Alexander had a causeway built. In 331 BCE, the Macedonian advanced into the heart of the Persian Empire. Alexander crushed the Persians in the Plains of Gaugamela (today's northern Iraq), near the city of Arbela. He took the throne of Persia after the fugitive Darius had been assassinated by one of his own satraps. After his campaign in India, Alexander made Babylon the new center of his empire. At the time of his death of marsh fever in 323 BCE, when he was not yet 33 years old, Alexander had created a completely new set of political and cultural realities.

Jerusalem under Alexander the Great: Politically, the effects of Alexander's campaigns were at first only marginally perceptible in Judah and Jerusalem. Alexander had adopted the Persians' division of the empire into satrapies. Thus, Judah continued to be an independent administrative unit in the satrapy of Transeuphratia. Both Josephus (*A.J.* 11.329f.) and Talmudic sources report that Alexander visited the temple in Jerusalem in order to offer a sacrifice there. This tale belongs to the realm of religious and political apologetics. At the time, Jerusalem and its temple were too insignificant for Alexander to have devoted time to them.

Alexander's cultural significance – Hellenism: Even if, at first, not much changed politically for Jerusalem under Alexander, the influence of Hellenistic culture in the wake of the Macedonian's conquests cannot be overestimated. Hellenistic culture already had a certain amount of influence in the eastern Mediterranean before Alexander

4 Schmitz, Geschichte, 57f. [JV].

(for example in the Phoenician coastal cities). Now, however, Hellenism prevailed as a mixed culture that determined the whole of socio-economic and socio-religious reality. The fusion of Greek and Middle Eastern cultures created a common cultural space that remained dominant for centuries to come and well into the Roman period. Despite all the attendant tensions of that culture, which also affected Judaism, all later Jewish (as well as Christian) developments can only be understood against the background of Hellenism. The latter's all-pervading influence soon resulted in noticeable tensions in Palestine, but also led to an increasing acceptance of the Hellenistic way of life. During this time, Greek became the *lingua franca* of the new cultural space. One fact in particular shows *pars pro toto* how strongly Hellenism influenced later Christianity, namely that its sacred writings (the Septuagint [the "Old Testament"] and the writings of the "New Testament"; ▸ V.3.1.1 below regarding this terminology), understood as the "word of God," are all composed in Greek. The form of Greek in which they are written is *Koine* (from κοινή, *koine*, "the common"), the standard administrative language of the day. In addition to a common language, Hellenism also engendered a common culture and fundamental outlook, a culturally, economically and (for the most part) politically homogeneous space. This enabled the spread of Jewish culture throughout the Diaspora and made the later spread of the Christian message throughout the eastern Mediterranean possible.

3.2 The Wars of the Diadochi (322–301 BCE)

Alexander's sudden death in 323 BCE caught the empire unprepared, plunging the region into two decades of power struggles between its generals, a time known as the wars of the Diadochi. Ptolemy, a dynamic figure and the later founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, prevailed in Egypt from the start (from the end of 322 BCE). The satrap Seleucus, who later founded the Seleucid dynasty, ruled in Babylon. Antigonus Monophthalmus ("the one-eyed") had entrenched himself in between in Asia Minor. The Syro-Palestinian land bridge became the particular bone of contention between these neighboring regions. Only with the defeat and death of Antigonus in 301 BCE did a degree of stability return, there being now only two power blocs fighting over Palestine. Ptolemy was the first to gain control of the area. However, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids fought six *Syrian Wars* (▸ II.3.3 below) between 274 and 168 BCE, at the end of which the Seleucids emerged victorious.

The situation in Palestine during the wars of the Diadoche: We have little information about the state of affairs in Jerusalem during the wars of the Diadoche. In fact, the city was too marginal to be a theater where matters of international politics might be decided. The bitter aftertaste of being a mere plaything in the hands of the powerful shaped Jewish sensibilities in socio-political and socio-religious respects. This negative sentiment was still prevalent during the time of Jesus and is also reflected in 1 Maccabees, written around 100 CE (1:7–9):

> 7 And Alexander ruled for twelve years and died. 8 And his servants took control, each in his own place. 9 And they all put on crowns after he died, as did their sons after them for many years, and they multiplied evils on the earth.

3.3 Ptolemaic Rule in Palestine (301–200 BCE)

The reign of the Ptolemies ushered in a period of relative peace in Palestine, which lasted nearly a hundred years. In political, economic, and social respects, Palestine was firmly integrated into the Ptolemaic Egyptian system. However, the apparent harmony was clouded after the death of the first generation of Diadochi (Ptolemy I died in 283, Seleucus I in 281 BCE). For the old dispute between Ptolemies and the Seleucids over the Syrian-Palestinian land bridge was reignited. This was the period of the six *Syrian Wars*. Furthermore, the meticulously managed Ptolemaic tax policy squeezed the maximum amount of revenue from the provinces. The Zenon Papyri provide an insight into economic conditions in Palestine under Ptolemy II. These documents were found in Fayum/Egypt in 1915. Zenon, for whom the Papyri are named, was an inspector who traversed Syria-Palestine on behalf of the Ptolemies. In the course of his travels, he met Tobias, a local Jewish prince and the founder of the Tobiad dynasty. This family, originally based in the East Bank, intervened to increasing effect in the politics of Jerusalem and became a strong partisan of the Ptolemies. In Jerusalem, this met with resistance from the high priest Onias II, Tobias's brother-in-law, who pursued a pro-Seleucid course and therefore refused to pay tribute to Ptolemy III (see *A.J.* 12.156–159). This brought Joseph, the son of Tobias and nephew of Onias, into the arena. Joseph made himself the representative of the Ptolemaic party and spokesman of the opposition to the high priest (*A.J.* 12.160). In return for his promise to squeeze twice the amount of taxes from the province, Joseph was promised an appointment as "general tax farmer" for the entire province of Syria/Phoenicia, along with the command of two thousand soldiers. Unlike Egypt (where the tax farmers likely belonged to the Greek middle class), a local upper class (consisting of aristocratic landowners and priestly nobility) interposed itself between the rural population and the state apparatus, collaborating with the Ptolemies in the exploitation of the people, in pursuit of common economic interests. While the upper classes benefited most from the new economic opportunities, the ordinary rural population was exploited even more than before. This was a pattern that would often be repeated in later times and one which was still in place at the time of Jesus (► IV.1.3 below). The rise of the Tobiads was in fact accompanied by an intensification of social tensions in Palestine. "It was doubtless in the Ptolemaic period that the fateful equation of 'poor' with 'pious' and 'rich' with 'Hellenized' originated, a mixture of social with religious categories which was subsequently to prove dangerous."[5] This socio-religious cocktail is reflected theologically in the crystallization of apocalyptic thought (► III.8.3 below). At the level of social ecology, it led to an ever-widening rift between the rich upper class in the cities and the poor population in the countryside.

The Egyptian diaspora: Under Ptolemy I, a considerable number of Jews had been forcibly settled in Egypt after the conquest of Palestine. Judaism quickly established itself there, becoming a socially respected and well-integrated presence. A second center of the Jewish diaspora thus emerged alongside Babylon. Alexandria, a flour-

5 Schäfer, History, 21.

ishing cosmopolitan city, was one of the Jewish centers in Egypt. In subsequent times, the Ptolemaic rulers often deliberately used Judaism to reinforce their own power, showing favor to Judaism in the economic, administrative, and military spheres. It therefore comes as no surprise that the Letter of Aristeas was written there, which describes the translation of the Torah from Hebrew to Greek (► III.7.2 below).

3.4 Seleucid Rule in Palestine (200–135 BCE)

3.4.1 Antiochus III the Great

When the five-year-old child Ptolemy V Epiphanes took the throne in Egypt in 205 BCE, the highly capable Seleucid Antiochus III ("the Great," 223–187 BCE) saw his chance to reach out and take Palestine in the fifth *Syrian War* (201–200 BCE). The endeavor was a lasting success (*A.J.* 12.132f.), culminating in Antiochus's victory at the Battle of Panium (200 BCE). The high priest at the time was Simon "the Just," the son of Onias II. After Simon's death, the enmity between the Tobiads and the Oniads erupted openly, with frequent and improper changes in the office of high priest. The "Heliodorus affair," recounted in legendary fashion in 2 Maccabees 3, also occurs during these power struggles. The narrative clearly depicts the increasing gulf between the hierocracy and the lay aristocracy, who were both engaged in the struggle for power.

3.4.2 Developments under Jason

The traditional Jewish view of history casts Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE) in the role of arch-villain. However, it is often forgotten that the events of the time only became so explosive because of the stark rivalries within the Jewish community.[6] When Antiochus assumed power, Onias was high priest in Jerusalem and was pursuing a particularly conservative course.

He was forced out of office by his brother Jason, who won favor with the ruler by promising to collect higher taxes and to promote the Hellenization of Jerusalem. In itself, the act of deposing an incumbent high priest was sacrilegious in the eyes of devout Jews, and even more so were Jason's subsequent efforts towards Hellenization (see 2 Macc 4:7–18). Jason had a gymnasium built right on the Temple Mount. According to 2 Maccabees 4:14, the priests were thereafter less interested in serving at the altar than in the combat sports of the gymnasium. Because the martial games were carried out in the nude, some ephebes underwent epispasmos, the surgical or mechanical restoration of the foreskin (1 Macc 1:15; Josephus, *A.J.* 12.241).[7] Epispasmos had become necessary because, although nudity was customary during athletics, to denude the *glans penis* was considered dishonorable and immoral in the con-

6 See Atkinson, Maccabees, EBR 17/301–305; Tiwald, Gymnasion, 9–27.

7 On the possibilities of restoring the foreskin: Schipper, Gymnasium, 116f.

text of Greek values.[8] Epispasmos, described in 1 Maccabees 1:15 (ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας "they made foreskins for themselves"), was viewed as clear apostasy from the Jewish law.[9] More serious, however, was the fact that Jason and his followers regulated admission to the gymnasium and the ephebeion by means of membership lists – excluding Jews loyal to the Torah from these institutions. The more Jerusalem became a Hellenistic polis, the more the poorer and non-Hellenized segments of the Jewish population (residing mainly in rural areas) were excluded from Greek education and the exercise of political influence.

3.4.3 The Crisis under Antiochus IV Epiphanes

Jason's tenure as high priest ended just as it began. He was forced out of office, three years after being appointed to it, by the same trick he had used on Onias. A certain Menelaus, backed by the formerly pro-Ptolemaic but now pro-Seleucid Tobiad clan (according to *A.J.* 12.239), promised even higher tribute payments and was made high priest. The consequences were disastrous. The office of high priest had been definitively commodified. Worse still was the fact that, in the person of Menelaus, a non-Zadokite had come to power (as Onias's brother, Jason had at least come from the Zadokite lineage).[10] On top of that, there was the mounting economic pressure on the powerless and exploited underclass. With time, the efforts toward Hellenization were viewed by the majority of Jews as a political plot of the Tobiads (and Menelaus, whom they supported) to enhance their own power and practice ruthless exploitation. When Menelaus eventually also plundered the temple treasury (probably to pay the horrendous tribute to the king), the pro-Ptolemaic Oniads called for a revolt. Then, in the fall of 169 BCE, Antiochus IV conquered Jerusalem and plundered the temple treasury (with Menelaus's active support, according to 2 Macc 5:15). When, on his second Egyptian campaign in 168 BCE, Antiochus's victorious advance reached Alexandria, the Romans, being averse to a one-sided shift in the balance of power (Dan 11:29f.; the "Kittim" are the Romans), gave him the humiliating ultimatum to stop the war at once.

Unfortunately, the deposed Jason, now regarded as the lesser evil by both liberal and conservative forces, had in the meantime instigated another revolt against Antiochus. On his return journey now, having just been humiliated by the Romans, Antiochus could not tolerate this affront and made an example of Jerusalem in 167 BCE.

---

8 See Schipper, Gymnasium, 116, 119–121. Greek athletes wore a kynodesme, a band tied around the foreskin, which prevented the embarrassment of a denuded *glans penis* (118f.; with an abundance of pictorial material from Greek vases: 123–126).

9 According to Schipper, Gymnasium, 121, what is mentioned in 1 Maccabees 1:15 is not a matter of surgical restoration, but of stretching the foreskin by applying a kynodesme.

10 Menelaus is referred to as Jason's brother in Josephus *A.J.* 12.238f. The tradition contained in 2 Maccabees 4:23 is more likely, according to which Menelaus was a son of the pro-Seleucid temple overseer Simeon – and therefore not a Zadokite. See Atkinson, Maccabees, EBR 17/301–305; Frevel, Geschichte, 387f. and 383–385.

Free observance of the Jewish religion was suppressed. 1 Maccabees 1:41–50 summarizes the situation:

> 41 And the king wrote to all his kingdom for all to be as one people 42 and for each to abandon his own precepts; all the nations complied with the dictum of the king. 43 And many also from Israel approved of his service and sacrificed to idols and profaned the sabbath. 44 And the king sent documents carried by the hand of messengers to Ierousalem and the cities of Iouda for them to follow precepts foreign to the land 45 and to withhold whole burnt offerings and sacrifice and libation from the holy precinct and to profane sabbaths and feasts 46 and to defile holy precinct and holy ones, 47 to build altars and sacred precincts and houses to idols and to sacrifice swine and common animals 48 and to leave their sons uncircumcised, to make their souls abominable in every unclean and profane thing, 49 so as to forget the law and to change all the statutes. 50 And whoever would not abide by the command of the king would die.

The aim of these measures was to break the Jews' cultural and religious independence. The reason for these measures had more to do with the power struggles within Judaism than with religious intolerance (2 Macc 13:4 describes Menelaus as "the originator of all the trouble").[11] Samaria had, after all, fared very differently. There, people were allowed to continue with observance of the Torah and the associated rites and traditions, which were forbidden in Jerusalem. In any case, the Seleucid measures reached their high point on December 6, 167 BCE, as 1 Maccabees 1:54–64 reports (cf. 2 Macc 6:1–5):

> 54 And on the fifteenth day of Chaseleu in the one hundred and forty–fifth year, he constructed an abomination of desolation on the altar, and in the cities around Iouda they built altars 55 and burned incense at the doors of the houses and in the city squares. 56 And the books of the law which they found they tore up and burned with fire. 57 And wherever there was found in someone's possession a book of the covenant, or if someone was conforming to the law, the judgment of the king put them to death. 58 And they were using their power on those who were found in Israel month by month in the cities. 59 On the twenty–fifth of the month they were sacrificing on the altar that was on top of the sacrificial altar. 60 And the women who had circumcised their children they put to death according to the ordinance, 61 and they hung the babies from their necks and put to death their families and those who circumcised them. 62 But many in Israel remained strong and fortified themselves not to eat common things. 63 And they preferred to die so as not to be contaminated by food and not to defile the holy covenant, and they died. 64 And there was a very great wrath upon Israel.

Antiochus's religious measures had a lasting impact on Jewish self-confidence. The "abomination" is also mentioned in the Book of Daniel (Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; cf. 1 Macc 1:54; 1 Macc 6:7). The term refers to an altar to Zeus Olympius set up in the Jerusalem temple. The trauma of this incident left a lasting impression on Judaism and served as a catalyst for the Maccabean revolt. The Book of Daniel was written as a book of consolation during Antiochus IV's lifetime. Fictitiously set at the court of the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar, it lets Daniel foresee events as a *vaticanum ex eventu* and has him announce the end of tribulation.

---

11 For a discussion of Antiochus IV's religious laws, see Schäfer, History, 41–45.

4 The Maccabean and Hasmonean Period

4.1 The Maccabees

4.1.1 Social Preconditions of the Revolt

The heavy economic burden the Seleucids imposed in the form of taxes on the ordinary population is reason enough for assuming that the bulk of the Jewish people held itself aloof from the Seleucid rulers. This holds even if the accounts of the heroic martyrdoms of Eleazar (2 Macc 6:18–20) and the mother with her seven children (2 Macc 7:20–41) are products of propaganda. The social injustice that awarded collaborators and excluded the ordinary rural population should not be underestimated as a latent force of revolution. It took only a spark to ignite the revolt.

4.1.2 The Beginning of the Uprising under Mattathias

The priest Mattathias from the family of Hasmon (*A.J.* 12.265); *B.J.* 1.36; hence "Hasmoneans") lived in the small village of Modein with his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. He refused to offer the pagan sacrifices ordered by the Seleucid authorities and killed a Jew who sought to do so, as well as the king's emissary (1 Macc 2:1–28). Afterward, he absconded to the desert of Judah with his sons. From there he started a guerrilla war against the Seleucid troops (1 Macc 2:27–48).

4.1.3 Judas Maccabeus's Struggle for Liberation

Mattathias's son Judas appears especially to have distinguished himself in these battles and was soon given the epithet "Maccabaios" (from the Aramaic *maqqaba*, "hammer", 1 Macc 2:4). When Mattathias died, in the year 166 BCE, Judas Maccabeus became the leader of the revolt, which was termed the "Maccabean Revolt" after him. Judas won three battles against the Seleucid military power in 166/165 BCE. He then marched on Jerusalem in 164 BCE, which he captured with the exception of the Seleucid citadel, Acra. Judas's fortunes of war were not due only to his military ingenuity. The Seleucids had concentrated their main military strength in the east of the empire on account of Parthian attacks. They also grossly underestimated the Maccabean revolt. After entering Jerusalem, Judas restored the traditional temple cult on the twenty-fifth of Kislev in the year 148 (December 14, 164 BCE). The celebration of the rededication of the temple after its profanation by the Seleucids lives on in today's Judaism as Hanukkah (חנוכה, chanukka, "dedication"). According to legend, only a single barrel of ritually pure oil was found in the profaned temple. The one barrel of oil provided light for eight days (hence the eight-day festival and the eight lights on the Hanukkah menorah). When Antiochus IV died at the end of 164 BCE, he was succeeded by Antiochus V Eupator (164–162 BCE). The latter was still a minor, however, and his regent Lysias conducted his governmental affairs. The resultant political precari-

ty played into the Maccabees' hands. In 163 BCE, Judas led successful campaigns into Galilee, Transjordania, Idumea and the coastal plain. However, when Judas attacked the Acra (the Seleucid citadel in Jerusalem) Lysias was forced to act. He sent a strong military force, including war elephants, which won a victory over Judas at Beth Zechariah (1 Macc 6:17–54). Nevertheless, internal Seleucid throne disputes forced Lysias to withdraw and offer Judas peace terms and the promise of freedom of worship (1 Macc 6:55–63). A letter on the matter, from Antiochus V to Lysias (quoted in 2 Macc 11:22–26), states:[12]

> 22 The king's letter ran thus: "King Antiochus to his brother Lysias, greetings. 23 Now that our father has gone on to the gods, we, desiring that the subjects of the kingdom be undisturbed in caring for their own affairs, 24 hearing that the Judeans do not consent to our father's change to Greek customs but prefer their own way of living and implore that their own precepts be allowed them, 25 thus choosing that this nation also should be free from disturbance, judge that their temple be restored to them and that they shall live according to the customs of their ancestors. 26 You will do well, therefore, to send word to them and give them pledges of friendship so that they may know our policy and be of good cheer and turn happily to the conduct of their own affairs."

The Hellenistic polis had once again become a temple-state. The Seleucids removed and executed the high priest Menelaus, appointing instead Joachim (Alcimus) as high priest. While the latter also represented Seleucid interests, he was nevertheless at least of Aaronite descent (1 Macc 7:14). However, when Alcimus had sixty Hasideans (Heb. חסידים, ḥasidim, "the pious"), who had supported the resistance to the Seleucid religious laws, killed (1 Macc 7:16), Judas drove him from Jerusalem. When the Seleucids responded by sending an army to Judea under Nicanor, a decisive battle took place at Adasa in 161 BCE, in which Nicanor fell. To this day, Jews celebrate Nicanor Day annually (2 Macc 15:36).

4.1.4 The Death of Judas

In the interest of securing his own position, Judas had sent an envoy to Rome, the newly emerging major power. For their part, the Romans only stood to benefit from increased influence in Syria-Palestine. Thus, a friendship alliance was in fact formed. However, the Seleucids answered this provocation with a further military campaign against the Jews, this time sending the general Bacchides. In 160 BCE, Judas Maccabeus lost his life in a battle near Jerusalem and was buried in Modein. However, the Romans did not intervene on his behalf. In Jerusalem, Alcimus was again appointed high priest. The change of power also saw the return of the Hellenistic party to Jerusalem, which had adverse economic consequences for the common people, according to 1 Maccabees 9:23–27:

---

12 The letter is incorrectly dated in 2 Maccabees. It was not written by Antiochus IV, whose death it presupposes, ("now that our father has gone on to the gods"), but by Antiochus V, just after the death of his father Antiochus IV.

> 23 And it happened after the death of Ioudas, the lawless came forth in all the regions of Israel, and all those who worked injustice arose. 24 In those days there was a very great famine, and the country deserted with them. 25 And Bacchides selected the impious men and established them as masters of the country. 26 And they sought out and investigated the friends of Ioudas and led them to Bacchides, and he retaliated against them and taunted them. 27 And there was a great affliction in Israel such as had not been since the day that a prophet was not seen among them.

Part of the resistance to the efforts at Hellenization was therefore due to economic factors (► IV.3 below).

4.1.5 Jonathan

Following the death of Judas, Jonathan (160–142 BCE) took over leadership of the revolutionary movement. Renewed turmoil over the throne in Antioch played into his hands, since Alexander Balas had set himself up as a counter-king. Jonathan was adroit in maneuvering between the two rivals and using their power struggle for his own purposes. According to Josephus (*A.J.* 20.237), cf. 1 Macc 10:18–21), Jonathan was appointed high priest in Jerusalem during the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 BCE. Alcimus had died in 160 BCE (1 Macc 9:56) and, according to *A.J.* 20.237, a seven-year *sede vacante* ensued, which ended with Jonathan's appointment. However, this information is historically questionable. A high priest was necessary for cultic practice carried out in accordance with the Torah (especially for the Day of Atonement). Yet the alternative account in *A.J.* 12.414 (according to which Judas Maccabeus had already become high priest after the death of Alcimus) is also inaccurate.[13] After all, according to the chronology of 1 Maccabees, Judas died before Alcimus.

The non-Zadokite Jonathan's assumption of the high priestly office (the Maccabees were only descended from the lower priesthood) was frowned on by traditionalist groups in Jerusalem, especially since Menelaus had already been a non-Zadokite high priest (► II.3.4.3 above). There is a certain probability that during this time an apocalyptically minded Zadokite group gathered around the "Teacher of Righteousness" and founded the community known as the "Essenes" (► III.4.6 below),[14] whose writings were found in the present-day Khirbet Qumran (► III. 4.2.3 below). They considered the temple in Jerusalem to be ritually defiled and spoke of Jonathan as

---

13 For a discussion of this, see Babota, Institution, 117f. and 121–139; likewise, Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 67f.; Bernhard, Judas, 237f.

14 Examples of this view include Maier, Geschichte, 40f.; Schäfer, History, 53; Kollmann, Einführung, 38, 41f. Frevel, History, 529, points out that the settlement of Qumran only came into being much later (the view taken in this volume also; ► III.4.1.2 below), making the identification of Jonathan with the Wicked Priest improbable, "even if it remains plausible that the predominantly priestly withdrawal of the Zadokites in the second century BCE may party be associated with the later Qumran community ..." However, since manuscripts from the time before the establishment of the settlement were also preserved in Qumran, it is not implausible that Jonathan and his successors are meant where reference is made to the Wicked Priest; ► III.1.2.2 below.

the "Wicked Priest." Scholars sometimes wonder whether the Zadokite "Teacher of Righteousness" was the legitimate high priest before Jonathan, during the time that *A.J.* 20.38–43 depicts as a seven-year *sede vacante* after Alcimus's death (alternatively, however, *A.J.* 12.414). In that case, Jonathan would have forced the "Teacher of Righteousness" from office, just as Jason had done with Onias III (► II.3.4.2 above). This is an unlikely theory, however, since the "Teacher of Righteousness" is never referred to as high priest in the Qumran writings.[15] Presumably, Jonathan's usurpation of the high priestly office led to the splitting off of the Essenes. The Qumran texts mention this in 1QpHab XII,6–10 (an interpretation of Hab 2:17):

> And as for what he says: *Owing to the blood 7 of the city and the violence (done to) the country*. Its interpretation: the city is Jerusalem 8 in which the /Wicked/ Priest performed repulsive acts and defiled 9 the Sanctuary of God. The violence (done to) the country are the cities of Judah which 10 he plundered of the possessions of the poor ...

Evidently, the situation during Jonathan's time was such that new rulers in Jerusalem not only had to do battle with the Seleucids and their Hellenized Jewish supporters but also faced growing opposition from pious Jews. Jonathan's tactical navigation of foreign policy was exceptionally clever, enabling him to weather all the region's political power shifts. When Alexander Balas defeated Demtrios (153–145 BCE) and won the hand of Ptolemy VI's daughter, Jonathan found himself on the winning side. And by the time Alexander Balas's fortunes began to wane, Jonathan had already gained so much political clout that even Demetrios II (145–138 BCE), having defeated Balas, could no longer do him any harm. Demetrios even had to make far-reaching concessions to Jonathan in order to win his favor (1 Maccabees 11:30–37):

> 30 King Demetrius to Ionathan his brother and the nation of the Judeans, greeting. 31 This copy of the letter that we wrote to Lasthenes our relative concerning you we have also written to you so that you may know its contents. 32 "King Demetrius to Lasthenes his Father, greeting. 33 To the nation of the Judeans, who are our friends and continue to do what is right toward us, we have decided to do good because of their good will toward us. 34 We have guaranteed for them the boundaries of Judea as well as the three districts of Aphairema and Lydda and Ramathaim; these were added to Judea from Samaritis, with all the areas belonging to them, for all those who sacrifice in Ierousalem in exchange for the royal taxes that the king received from them formerly every year from the produce of the earth and from the tree fruits. 35 And the other revenues belonging to us from the present time, from the tithes and the taxes that belong to us, and the lakes of salt and the crown taxes that belong to us, all these we will excuse for them. 36 And not one of these shall be set aside from the present time on forever. 37 Now then take care to make a copy of this, and let it be given to Ionathan, and let it be put on the holy mountain in a prominent place."

Of particular significance is the expansion of the Jewish territory to include the three southern districts of Samaria (Ephraim, Lod, and Ramathaim), which Jonathan had apparently already conquered and were now officially recognized as part of his realm. For his part, Jonathan evidently had to pledge fealty to Demetrios. However, the Seleucid general Trypho (who sided with Alexander Balas's son Antiochus VI against

15 See the discussion in Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 273f.

Demetrios) offered Jonathan even better conditions. This was where Jonathan's hunger for power became his undoing. For Jonathan was gradually becoming too powerful for Trypho's liking. By laying an ambush for Jonathan in Akko, Trypho took him captive and had him executed in 142 BCE. Afterward, Simon Maccabeus seized power in Jerusalem.

4.1.6 Simon

Simon (142–135 BCE) succeeded his brother politically and also followed him in the office of high priest in 142 BCE. He successfully extended the power Jonathan had established. Seleucid throne disputes proved very favorable for Simon. In 141 BCE, he was even able to storm the previously impregnable Acra, the last stronghold of the Seleucids in Jerusalem. He reached the high point of his power when, in 140 BCE, the popular assembly in Jerusalem granted him the honors and offices of ruler (*ethnarchēs*), high priest (*archiereus*) and military commander (*stratēgos*) for life (the title "king"/*basileus* was strictly avoided). According to 1 Maccabees 14:41, however, Simon was only granted the office of high priest as an interim solution "until a faithful prophet would arise."[16] However, Simon was murdered by his son-in-law at a banquet in Dok near Jericho in 135 BCE. The latter was unable to take power, because Simon's son John had been warned and now established himself as his father's successor. This marked the end of the Maccabean period and the beginning of the Hasmonean era.[17]

4.2 The Hasmoneans

4.2.1 John Hyrcanus

John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) assumed all of his father's titles, but it was no easy inheritance. When Antiochus VII Sidetes (138–129 BCE) besieged Jerusalem, John was forced to capitulate and pledge fealty to him. Yet, once again, the confused political climate benefited the Jewish people. Antiochus suffered a military disaster and was killed on his campaign against the Parthians in 129 BCE. His successor, Demetrios II, who had been released from prison and began his second term of office (129–125 BCE), was murdered in 125. The Syrian throne was like a carousel that revolved ever faster, with rulers changing in rapid succession. This allowed Jerusalem a certain autonomy. John used the latitude afforded by the political situation for extensive conquests, against the Idumeans, for example, whom he had forcibly circumcised (*A.J.* 13.257). However, it is not true that John immediately set out to conquer Samaria

16 On this, see Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 226. On the question of the office of a "true prophet", or a prophet like Moses, see Maier, Torah, 48–52. The associated function was an official office that had not been occupied since Antiochus Epiphanes IV (► III.4.6.2 below).

17 See Donner, Geschichte, 451. However, Josephus uses the designation "Hasmoneans" synonymously with "Maccabees" (see Schäfer, History, 79 n. 1).

after the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes around 129 BCE, as Josephus claims in *A.J.* 13.254–257 and *B.J.* 1.62. It is clear from the archaeological record that the temple on Mount Gerizim was not destroyed until 110 BCE.[18] Unmistakable, in any case, are John Hyrcanus's attempts to implement "a religious and political program for the restoration of ancient Israel (i. e., the gathering of all Jews living in Palestine into a politically independent state)."[19] Flavius Josephus draws a connection between the rise of the Pharisees and the reign of John Hyrcanus I (*A.J.* 13.288–296). However, the scene Josephus describes is a better fit for the time of Alexander Jannaeus (► III.1.2.1 below).[20] John Hyrcanus was the first Hasmonean to have his own coins minted. The inscription on the coin indicates that he placed particular emphasis on the high priestly title.[21] A project to redesign Jerusalem's fortifications, which had begun during Simon's reign, was completed under John.[22] The Western Hill – already encircled by a city wall during Hezekiah's reign but left unfortified since the exile – was now enclosed by the city wall. The "First Wall" or "Old Wall" was built, which encompassed the City of David and the Western Hill (*B.J.* 5.142–146). It thus followed the ancient line of the wall from Hezekiah's time.[23] Situated higher than the city of David, The Western Hill subsequently developed into the "Upper City," Jerusalem's new "upscale neighborhood" (*B.J.* 2.422.428f.). Impressive archaeological finds show that later on, around the time of Jesus, aristocrats and high priestly families settled there.[24] On his deathbed in 104 BCE, John appointed his wife as regent and designated his eldest son, Aristobulus, as high priest.

4.2.2 Aristobulus I

After the death of his father, Aristobulus (whose Jewish name was Judah) seized power and had his mother (appointed regent by John) put in prison and starved to death. His reign (104–103 BCE) was ended after only one year by a fatal illness. Nevertheless, his rule was decisive for the further course of history. For Aristobulus was the first Hasmonean to adopt the title "king" (*basileus*; Josephus *A.J.* 13.301); *B.J.* 1.70). *A.J.* 13.318 reports that he succeeded in conquering Iturea, an unclear note in Josephus

18 See Magen, Gerizim, NEAEHL V/1742. Likewise, Pummer, Samaritanism, EDEJ, 1188. Knoppers, Samaritans, 212, specifies the years "112–111 BCE."

19 Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227 [JV].

20 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus, 104–110. See also the alternative views in Kollmann, Einführung, 47f.; Schäfer, History, 70–71; Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227.

21 See Maier, Geschichte, 49.

22 See Avigad, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/719.

23 See Geva, Jerusalem I, II/729, and Viehweger, Ausgrabungen, 90–99. The "Second Wall" was not built until near the end of the Hasmonean period (the exact date is uncertain; Josephus *B.J.* 5.146). Construction of the "Third Wall" (*B.J.* 5.147–152) started during Agrippa I's reign and was completed shortly before rebels sparked the outbreak of the First Jewish War.

24 See Avigad, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/729–736; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem I, 116f. The houses were mostly two stories tall, adorned with colorful mosaics and murals (albeit without pictorial representations), stucco decorations, and Miqwa'ot.

likely referring to the northern region of Galilee. The inhabitants of Ituraea were predominantly non-Jewish, since the area had been settled by the Assyrians after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom (Isa 8:23; Matt 4:15). Judas Maccabeus had already relocated the Jewish minority of Galilee to Judea. The non-Jewish population was forcibly Judaized.

4.2.3 Alexander Jannaeus

When Aristobulus died in 103 BCE, his wife Salome arranged for the release of Aristobulus's three imprisoned brothers. She then installed the eldest brother, Alexander Jannaeus, as king and married him. The latter ruled for almost thirty years (103–76 BCE). He was the first Hasmonean to mint coins bearing the title of king. Where foreign policy was concerned, Alexander Jannaeus's aptitude in war varied considerably. Despite many setbacks, he was eventually able to bring all of Palestine under his control, including large parts of Transjordania and the coastal plain. His successes brought him into conflict with the Jews' eastern neighbors, the Nabateans, whose capital city was Petra. In consequence of the Seleucids' weakness, the Nabateans had initiated their own policy of expansion, making them competitors with the Jews. In some places on the domestic front in Palestine, there were conditions resembling civil war. The conflict with the Hasideans (the "pious"), who opposed the rulers' power-politics and program of Hellenization (► III.1.1 below), had already erupted during the Maccabean period. It is disputed whether the Pharisees developed from the Hasideans and whether they already assumed a historically discernable oppositional stance during John Hyrcanus's rule, or whether they only did so during the time of Alexander Jannaeus (► III.1.2.1 below). Whatever the case may be, the conflict escalated at the Feast of Tabernacles. Presumably at the incitement of the Pharisees, the crowd threw the lemons from the feast bouquet at the king during the sacrifice (*etrog* and *lulav*, lemons and palm branches are part of the bouquet made for the Feast of Tabernacles, Lev 32:40). Ever since Jonathan's time in office, his successors had followed him in the office of high priest, which did not rightfully fall to them as non-Zadokites. The people were likely disparaging Alexander Jannaeus for this presumption.[25] In response, Alexander had his mercenaries massacre six thousand Jews, at least that is what Josephus reports in *A.J.* 13.373. Open rebellion broke out when Alexander was forced to flee before the Nabatean King Obodas. Six years of civil war followed. It was likely the Pharisees who then called on the Seleucid king Demetrios III for aid against Alexander. While Josephus does not mention the Pharisees in *A.J.* 13.376, a passage from 4Q169 I,7, the Pesher Nahum, is helpful at this point. Josephus reports that, after suppressing the civil war, Alexander had eight hundred of his opponents crucified (*A.J.* 13.380). 4Q169 I.7 appears to allude to the exact same event. The latter

25 The pelting of a high priest at the altar with lemons during the Feast of Tabernacles is also mentioned in m. Sukkah 4.9 (there, however, the bone of contention is not the high priest's descent, but the incorrect performance of a ritual); see Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus, 109.

reports that "the Angry Lion" [... carrying out rev]enge against those looking for easy interpretations ... hanged living men." "Those looking for easy interpretations" (דורשי החלקות, *dorshe ha-ḥalaqot*) likely refers to the Pharisees,[26] who are given this derisive name in other Qumran texts as well (4Q169 I,2 and II,2 as well as CD I,18; ► III.4.2.6 below for more on the "those looking for easy interpretations").[27] The "Angry Lion" probably refers to Alexander Jannaeus, who took revenge for the Pharisees' calling on Demetrios III for aid.[28] Alexander's cruelty went so far as to have the wives and children of the eight hundred insurgents slaughtered before their eyes as they hung on their crosses. While this was going on, Alexander dined in the company of his concubines (*A.J.* 13.380). This bloody spectacle is the only known case of Jews inflicting punishment by crucifixion. Between 83 and 80 BCE, Alexander was able to wrest the cities Pella, Dium, Gerasa, Gaulana, Seleucia and Gamala from the Nabatean King Aretas. Alexander died in 76 BCE due to his drunkenness and an illness that lasted three years (as Josephus explains in *A.J.* 13.398).

4.2.4 Salome Alexandra

After Alexander Jannaeus's death, his widow was able to prevail against her two sons as heir to the throne, ruling from 76–67 BCE. Apart from Athaliah (2 Kgs 11), she is the only other queen to exercise sole rule in the history of Israel. Josephus reports that, on his deathbed, Alexander Jannaeus advised his wife to come to an arrangement with the Pharisees, whom he himself had of course persecuted (*A.J.* 13.399–404). Salome Alexandra made reconciling with the Pharisees a strategic focus and was able to win their support (*A.J.* 13.408f./*B.J.* 1.110–113). Here, at the latest, the Pharisees appear on the scene as an influential group that garnered the sympathies especially of the common people. Salome could not assume the office of high priest as a woman. She therefore appointed her elder son Hyrcanus II to the position. She held her younger son, the much more decisive Aristobulus II, in check during her lifetime. As the Pharisees became increasingly powerful, resistance to the movement took shape among the old elites, with Aristobulus at their head (*A.J.* 13.411). Whether the Sadducees are already discernible behind this anti-Pharisaic party is not subject to proof.

---

26 The Talmud also mentions that Alexander Jannaeus had almost all the "rabbis" killed (thus bQidd. 66a; bBer. 48a); see Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 110.

27 See VanderKam/Flint, Meaning, 276–280; likewise, VanderKam, Pharisees, 225–236. See also Tiwald, Hebräer, 375–377, and Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 267f.

28 On this, see Maier, Nachumpescher 244f.; as well as Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 110–114; Schäfer, History, 75; Kollmann, Einführung, 56. Müller, Wissenschaft, 56f. also reads along these lines and rightly points out that, in the Pesher Nahum, sympathies lie with Alexander Jannaeus rather than the Pharisees, who are decried as "interpreters of easy things." Likewise, Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 266f.

4.2.5 Aristobulus II – A Fraternal Feud among the Hasmoneans

A fraternal feud between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus erupted in public after the death of Salome Alexandra in 67 BCE. This was to be expected. The frequent assertion that Aristobulus represented the Sadducee party and Hyrcanus that of the Pharisees cannot be substantiated.[29] Aristobulus II (67–63) prevailed in this war of brothers, eventually crushing Hyrcanus at Jericho. The latter was subsequently forced to renounce the office of high priest, which Aristobulus now assumed. At this point, however, Antipater the Idumean (father of the future king Herod) intervened in the feud and persuaded Hyrcanus to appeal to the Nabatean King Aretas III for support. The latter marched against Aristobulus, whom he besieged and penned up in Jerusalem. During these clashes Ḥoni the Circle Drawer, who had become famous by performing a rain miracle (*A.J.* 14.22–24; see m. Taʿan. 3:8 and b. Taʿan. 32a), was killed by followers of Hyrcanus. The fraternal feud finally drew the Romans into the arena, who had already established a presence in the region through their victory over the Armenian king Tigranes (69 BCE). Pompey skillfully exploited the situation by playing the two brothers off against each other. In the year 64 BCE, he cleared away the remnants of the Seleucid Empire. Three Jewish delegations now sought his favor. Apart from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, there were emissaries from the people: *A.J.* 14.41:

> Here he heard the case of the Jews and their leaders. Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling with one another, while the nation was against them both and asked not to be ruled by a king, saying that it was the custom of their country to obey the priests of the God who was venerated by them, but that these two, who were descended from the priests, were seeking to change their form of government in order that they might become a nation of slaves.

The accusation of enslaving the people corroborates much of the tension that existed at the time in Palestine. The main focus of criticism is the rule by kings introduced during Aristobulus I's time and expanded under Alexander Jannaeus. Against the backdrop of older, anti-monarchical and egalitarian patterns of interpretation (see "Jotham's fable", Judg 9:8–15), the introduction of the title of king was an affront to Judaism. The Hasmoneans had completed their development from a liberation movement to a ruling dynasty intent on preserving its own power. The expansionist policy of the Hasmoneans undoubtedly exacted a high economic price, paid by the common people. Many theological developments in early Judaism – not to mention the emergence of the Jesus movement – cannot be explained apart from this confluence of socio-political, socio-religious, and socio-economic factors (► IV below). Pompey initially sympathized with Aristobulus in these disputes. However, when Aristobulus acted too much on his own authority, Pompey changed his plans and occupied Judea in 63 BCE. Aristobulus misjudged the situation. Rather than surrendering, he entrenched himself on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Aristobulus continued his re-

29 See Stemberger, Geschichte, 107: "Here, too, the reduction of Jewish history to a polarity of Pharisees and Sadducees proves to be a gross oversimplification" [JV]. See further Noam, Images, 157–185.

sistance in the temple stronghold even when Hyrcanus's followers opened the gates of the holy city. According to Josephus, this so enraged the Romans that they stormed the temple on – of all days – Yom Kippur in 63 BCE, resulting in a bloodbath among the priests who were serving in the temple (*A.J.* 14.66). Pompey himself entered the sanctuary. This sacrilege is reflected in Psalms of Solomon 2.

5 The Roman Period

5.1 Political Conditions

5.1.1 The Beginning of Roman Rule in Judea

After taking Jerusalem, Pompey conferred the office of high priest on Hyrcanus II. However, the latter was denied the title of king. Nor did Pompey restore the old theocracy, but pursued his own objectives, fundamentally altering Judea's political status. The previous conquests of the Hasmoneans were taken away from Jewish administration and placed directly under Scaurus (63–57 BCE), the first governor of the newly established Roman province of Syria. What remained of the state of Judea was led by the weak Hyrcanus, who functioned as a puppet of the Romans.[30] This did not yet signify Judea's incorporation into the Roman provincial system. Yet, in the realm of political power dynamics, Judea was now on a Roman tether. Hyrcanus was not officially subordinate to the governor of Syria. However, his jurisdiction was restricted to internal affairs. These developments meant that Judea became subject to Roman taxation. As with the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, these taxes were collected by tax farming associations (*societates publicanorum*) to whom the Romans had leased the right to collect taxes. The brief historical moment had passed in which Judea had enjoyed its own sovereignty under the Hasmoneans. The opportunities afforded by sovereignty had been squandered by the political maneuvering of competing Jewish groups. In contrast to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid tax farmers, however, now only Roman citizens could become tax farmers (*publicani*). Unlike the earlier situation, the autochthonous aristocracy was now excluded from the new system's control centers. However, this did not mean that they could not be involved in tax collection as collaborators and lackeys of the Roman system. From a Jewish perspective, the system had become even more dissatisfactory than before.

5.1.2 The Roman Civil War

In 60 BCE, Pompey, Caesar and Crassus, the three most powerful men in Rome, founded a triumvirate later known to history as the "First Triumvirate." After Crassus received the province of Syria in 55 BCE, he looted the temple treasury in Jerusalem

30 For the following, see Eck, Rom, 9f., and Eck, Herodes, 16–30.

and began a military campaign against the Parthians, in the course of which he lost his life in 53 BCE. Pompey and Caesar stood opposite each other as rivals. In 49 BCE Caesar crossed the Rubicon without disbanding his troops at the river, which represented the border between the Roman province *Gallia cisalpina* and the Roman heartland. This act amounted to a declaration of war against the Roman senate. Surprised by Caesar's initiative, Pompey fled to Greece. There Caesar dealt him a devastating defeat on August 9, 48 BCE in the Battle of Pharsalus. Pompey fled further to Egypt, where the thirteen-year-old Ptolemy XIII ruled, whom Pompey had helped to the throne against his sister Cleopatra VII. Despite this, Ptolemy's advisors had Pompey assassinated. Julius Caesar was now the strong man in Rome.

5.2 The Herodian Era

5.2.1 Hyrcanus II (63–40 BCE)

After Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, Hyrcanus was invested with the office of high priest instead of his brother and was permitted, by Roman favor, to call himself "ethnarch." However, as a rather weak figure, he was unable to secure a measure of peace for his land. Aristobulus and his two sons, who had managed to escape from captivity, repeatedly rebelled against him. These internal Jewish disputes were compounded by Roman power struggles between the supporters of Pompey and Caesar.

5.2.2 Antipater

The weak Hyrcanus leaned increasingly on Antipater the Idumaean during this time. The latter was married to a Nabatean woman and had a good relationship with the Nabatean king Aretas III. Antipater (according to *A.J.* 14.10 also called Antipas) was the *stratēgos* (military commander) of Idumea, the area south of Jerusalem that John Hyrcanus had conquered and forcibly Judaized. After Pompey's death (48 BCE), Hyrcanus and his ally Antipater also began to court the favor of Caesar. Contrary to expectations, the latter did not have an easy time in Egypt after the assassination of Pompey. Caesar had behaved somewhat arrogantly. Moreover, he had intervened in the Egyptian throne disputes on behalf of the deposed Cleopatra and against Ptolemy XIII (the often-invoked *liaison amoureuse* between Caesar and Cleopatra may have played a not insignificant role in this). Caesar was surrounded by Ptolemy's troops in Alexandria and found himself in serious trouble. Antipater rescued him from this situation, intervening in the war with three thousand Jewish soldiers and turning the course of the battle in Caesar's favor. Ptolemy XIII fell in the fray. Power of government was transferred to Cleopatra as a queen subject to Rome. For his part, Caesar made a show of gratitude to the Jews, granting them a number of privileges, including the right to the free practice of their religion and an exemption from military service. Contrary to the frequent assertion, however, these privileges, which are mentioned by Philo and Josephus, did not mean that Caesar had granted Judaism the status of

a *religio licita*. Rather, they were privileges given *ad hoc* and could be revoked at any time (► III.7.5 below). Caesar appointed Antipater as procurator of Judea. Hyrcanus remained high priest and ethnarch – the latter title being a *titulus sine re* in this case, since Antipater held military authority.

5.2.3 Antipater's Sons: Phasael and Herod

Antipater elevated his two sons, Phasael and Herod, to important positions. Phasael became the *stratēgos* of Jerusalem, Herod the *stratēgos* of Galilee. Herod, however, continued to rise in the favor of the Romans and was soon entrusted with military authority over Coele-Syria and Samaria. When Caesar made himself dictator for life in 44 BCE – a move incompatible with the old idea of the state – it represented an attack on the Roman Republic. The resistance that formed in response (which was not limited to old followers of Pompey) led to a conspiracy resulting in Caesar's assassination. However, the masses disapproved of the assassination. For Caesar had been more generous toward the common people than the oligarchs of the old establishment. In opposition to the assassins, Mark Antony, Gaius Octavius (also known as Octavianus, who would become Caesar Augustus), and Lepidus formed the "Second Triumvirate" in 43 BCE. C. Cassius, one of Caesar's murderers, had flown to Syria and tried to establish a power base there. In the meantime, Antipater had fallen victim to a conspiracy and been murdered in 43 BCE – evidence of just how strong inner-Jewish resistance to the Idumean parvenu was. Herod and Phasael now became willing accomplices of Cassius, who directed them to squeeze enormous sums of money from the land under their administration. These measures proved futile, however. Mark Antony dealt a decisive blow to Caesar's assassins, Cassius and Brutus, in 42 BCE. The quick-witted Herod and Phasael changed course in mid-stride and aligned themselves with the new powers. Remarkably, the maneuver was a success. Both were installed as tetrarchs, while Hyrcanus II retained his nominal status of ethnarch and high priest.

5.2.4 Mattathias Antigonus, the Last Hasmonean King (40–37 BCE)

When the Parthians (Rome's constant enemies on the empire's eastern border) invaded the Near East and overran the whole region in 40 BCE, the old Hasmonean resistance movement was given an opportunity to return to power. In return for an enormous tribute, the Parthians raised Aristobulus II's second son Antigonus to the throne and gave him the title of king. Hyrcanus and Phasael were taken prisoner, while Herod was able to escape to Rome. Antigonus had Hyrcanus's ears cut off to render him unfit for high-priestly office. According to Leviticus 21:18, mutilated persons are physically impaired and are not permitted to serve as priests. Phasael avoided execution by taking his own life. Before fleeing to Rome, Herod had hoped in vain that the Nabatean king would rush to his aid. Cleopatra offered him a high position in the Ptolemaic army, but he turned it down, choosing instead to stake everything on a single gamble. Despite being shipwrecked off the coast of Asia Minor, he eventually arrived in Rome, where he was able to convince both Antony and Octavianus that he

was the right man to do battle with the Parthians. He was solemnly proclaimed king of Judea in a session of the Senate in 40 BCE.

5.2.5 Herod's Accession to Power

Although Herod[31] had been appointed king of Judea, it was still necessary for him to *take* his kingdom. The Jewish population was on the side of Antigonus, while Herod's supporters consisted primarily of the foreign populations of Samaria and Idumea. Flavius Josephus places the following summary of the reasons for Herod's rejection in the mouth of Antigonus (*A.J.* 14.403f.):

> 403 But Antigonus in answer to Herod's proclamation told Silo and the Roman army that it would be contrary to their own notion of right if they gave the kingship to Herod who was a commoner and an Idumaean, that is, a half-Jew, when they ought to offer it to Those who were of the (royal) family, as was their custom. 404 And, he argued, if they were now ill-disposed toward him and were determined to deprive him of the kingship on the ground that he had received it from the Parthians, there were at least many of his family who might lawfully receive the kingship, for they had committed no offence against the Romans, and were priests ...

Herod is presented here as a mere ἰδιώτης (*idiōtēs*), a private person, a parvenu who does not come from a royal family. In addition to his lack of dynastic kingly credentials – Herod only became king through the favor of the Romans – there is the criticism that he does not come from a priestly family (the Hasmoneans had usually ruled the land simultaneously in the dual function of worldly ruler and high priest). While the Hasmoneans were in fact also not originally entitled to the office of high priest, not being descendants of Zadoq, their dynasty had nevertheless held the office of high priest since Jonathan Maccabeus (i. e., since around 120 BCE). What is more, Antigonus points out that, as an Idumean, Herod is actually only a "half-Jew" (ἡμιιουδαῖος, *hēmiioudaios*).[32] The Idumeans, a people in southern Judea, had of course only in relatively recent memory been forcibly Judaized by John Hyrcanus (*A.J.* 13.257f.). Deuteronomy 17:15 stipulates that, "One from among your countrymen you shall appoint as king over yourselves; you may not put a foreigner over yourselves, anyone who is not your countryman." Herod was thus not an acceptable King for pious Jews. This conviction could not be altered by Nicolaus of Damascus's universal history, in which he claimed that Herod's father, Antipater, was descended from the first Jews to return to Judea from exile in Babylon. After all, Nicolaus was on Herod's payroll. Herod's painful awareness of this inadequacy is evident in the fact that – after conquering Galilee but before taking Jerusalem – he married John Hyrcanus's granddaughter Mariamne, in this way at least marrying his way into the Hasmonean dynasty. Herod began the conquest of his future territory in the north, in Galilee. A number of brigand bands had formed a resistance there, in which a certain Hezekiah played a leading role (*A.J.*

---

31 On Herod the Great, see also Zangenberg, König, 8–15.

32 This is the first historical occurrence of this term, which would later prove so disastrous under Nazi rule (see Schäfer, History, 88).

17.271). The term used here (λῃστής, *lēstēs*) probably refers to a mixture of robber and resistance fighter, a "social bandit" (► III.5.3 below). After the subjugation of Galilee, the decisive battle between Herod and Antigonus took place at Bethel, from which Herod emerged victorious. Afterward, Antigonus was forced to entrench himself in Jerusalem. Herod was able to take the city in 37 BCE. Antigonus was executed by the Romans at Herod's request. This being accomplished, Herod had finally consolidated his power. He ruled until his death in 4 BCE.

5.2.6 Herod's External Stabilization of Power

When Herod came to power, Mark Antony was the undisputed ruler in the east of the Roman Empire. The latter had settled all disputes and divided the rulership with Octavian in the treaty of Brundisium. The East had fallen to Antony, the West to Octavian. Cleopatra then cleverly managed to draw Mark Antony into a love affair, as she had done with Julius Caesar before him, thereby expanding her own power. Cleopatra aspired to restore the Ptolemaic Empire, into which Judea was also to be incorporated. However, tensions between Octavian and Antony soon flared up again, not least because Antony's liaison with Cleopatra had led him to divorce Octavia, his wife and Octavian's sister. All of this culminated in the Battle of Actium where Antony was defeated in 31 BCE. When Octavian captured Alexandria in the following year, Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide. Octavian was now the sole ruler of the empire. Herod changed sides immediately after the Battle of Actium, going over to the camp of Octavian in Greece. Before doing so, however, Herod had the octogenarian Hyrcanus II executed to forestall potential uprisings. It was in any case Octavian's policy to leave most client kings in office if they would only pledge fealty to him, which Herod did. Herod returned to Jerusalem strengthened in his own rule and free of the external political pressure that Cleopatra had exerted on Palestine.

5.2.7 Herod's Internal Stabilization of Power

For Herod, marrying Mariamne meant that the remaining members of the Hasmonean house would join his wife when she moved to the royal court. This led to a tense situation full of conflicting interests, only fueling Herod's general mistrust, who ultimately had several members of his own family executed. The situation was exacerbated by Herod's inability to take the office of high priest for himself (for the reasons mentioned above). The danger for Herod was that he would be forced to share power. He therefore initially designated a certain Chanael, from an unknown priestly family, as high priest, deliberately overriding the rights of the Hasmonean Aristobulus, his wife Mariamne's younger brother. Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus and Mariamne, refused to accept this appointment and pressured Herod into appointing Aristobulus III as high priest after all. However, when the people made their affinity for Aristobulus too obvious at the Feast of Tabernacles (likely in 36 or 35 BCE), Herod had the latter drowned in a swimming pool. Herod then took the high priestly vestments into his own custody and annulled the lifelong tenure and hereditary succession of

the office. Later, the Romans adopted Herod's practice of withholding control of the high priestly vestments from the high priest himself. The sad climax of Herod's brutality is undoubtedly his ordering of the murder of his wife Mariamne. It is here that flashes of madness are discernible in the ruler's personality structure. Herod had repeatedly ordered that, in the event of his death, his wife should also be murdered (*A.J.* 15.65 and 204), a macabre demonstration of love by a morbidly possessive and suspicious ruler. When rumor (fomented by Herod's mother and sister) spread that Mariamne was having an affair with a certain Soaimos and was plotting to overthrow Herod, Herod had them both summarily executed. Herod fell into depression after his wife's execution. In that state, he had her body preserved and buried on Masada. He plunged himself into excess. Alexandra, the mother of his murdered wife Mariamne, became another victim of Herod's raging in 28 BCE. When his own two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus (born to him by Mariamne), returned from Rome (where they had been raised), they too attracted the king's suspicion, being the last of the Hasmonean princes. Starting in 13 BCE, the resultant conflict smoldered continuously. It even occupied the attention of Augustus in Rome in 12 BCE and eventually led to the execution of the princes in 7 BCE. Antipater, the son of the Idumean woman Doris, enjoyed Herod's trust for a time, until he too was executed (with Augustus's approval) in 4 BCE, shortly before Herod's own death. In view of this excessive bloodshed, Macrobius, writing in 400 CE, passed on Augustus's wry remark that it is better to be Herod's pig (ὗς, *hys*) than his son (υἱός, *hyios*).[33] Herod was ready to undertake any bloody deed to preserve his kingship. The non-historical narrative of the infanticide in Bethlehem (Matt 2:16–18)[34] would hardly have been thought too fanciful by the readers of the time. Before his death, Herod had after all ordered that the most respected men be locked inside the Hippodrome and massacred the moment he passed, to ensure that his death would be mourned in an appropriate manner (*A.J.* 17.178). Herod's sister Salome ultimately thwarted this order (*A.J.* 17.193).

5.2.8 Herod's Architectural Undertakings

As cruel as the domestic political cabals of Herod's time were, from an economic perspective, his reign was a period of peace and prosperity. Herod's brisk construction activity provided bread and wages for many of his subjects. He had the old Hasmonean castles, Hyrcania, Alexandreion, Machaerus, and Masada expanded and renovated into magnificent palaces.[35] He thus possessed not only some remarkable palaces, but also an array of refuge fortresses, vividly illustrating his paranoid tendencies.

---

33 Saturn II 4.11. See Kollmann, Einführung, 80. Of course, we may wonder about the reliability of Macrobius's source here. After all, *se non vero, ben trovato*!

34 The story is only found in Matthew. The other evangelists, not to mention Josephus, make no mention of it. In a manner typical of Matthew, Jesus is portrayed as a new Moses who, like Moses, survives an infanticide by God's providence.

35 On the Hasmonean castles which Herod renovated: Vörös, Machärus, 83f. [JV]: "... part of a tightly woven network for the defense of Jerusalem, intended to protect it from attacks

South of Jerusalem he built the Herodium, a magnificent palace and mausoleum.[36] In Jericho he built palace and garden complexes. He developed the old Phoenician settlement of Straton's Tower into the port city of Caesarea Maritima,[37] which became the gateway and emblem of his realm for seafarers, and which connected Palestine to long-distance trade. The impressive aqueduct that provided the city with water can still be admired today. Samaria, destroyed earlier by John Hyrcanus, was rebuilt as a Hellenistic city and renamed Sebaste (the Greek form of Augusta) in honor of Augustus. Herod built a theater, amphitheater, and hippodrome in Jerusalem. He had the Western Gate of Jerusalem (today the Jaffa Gate) specially fortified with three massive defense towers (called Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne). Today, the remains of these towers can be admired in the "Citadel" and are part of the Tower of David.[38] Herod built his own palace immediately to the south of this fortification. However, the new temple overshadowed all of these buildings. The Solomonic Temple had been destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE. The Second Temple was rededicated under Zerubbabel after the exile in 515 BCE. The latter was, however, rather modestly built and was only gradually embellished with more splendor by the Hasmoneans. When Herod began construction work on a complete renovation of the temple in 20 BCE, he was positioning himself in the tradition of Solomon. During the construction work, Herod also obliterated visible traces of the Hasmonean presence from the temple. He expanded the temple complex to nearly twice the size of the previous structure, creating a temple precinct that rivaled the largest comparable cult sites of antiquity. The Court of the Gentiles was created in the course of the expansion, surrounding the entire complex in the form of an outer district that could also serve as a market for sacrificial animals and a location for the money changers (see Mark 11:15–17). Only Tyrian shekels were accepted for payment of the temple tax. Although Melqart, the pagan city god of Tyre, was depicted on its obverse, the coin became the official temple currency due to its high silver content (around 95 percent) and its resultant value stability.[39] Since there was no appointed agora in Jerusalem, the Court of the Gentiles became the center of public life for the whole city. As a rule, Herod adhered to aniconism in his renovation of the temple, as he did with his other buildings and the coins he had minted. Toward the end of his life, however, he had a golden eagle installed above the gate of the temple complex. In response, two pharisees named Judas and Matthias called on their disciples to tear down and destroy the eagle (Josephus *A.J.*

---

from the east, especially those of the Nabateans, who were in competition with the Hasmoneans."

36 On this, see Netzer, Herodium, NEAEHL V/1778–1780, and id., Architecture. However, Patrich/Arubas, Revisiting, 299–315, question Netzer's identification of the tomb-site. For a discussion of this, see Magness, Herod, 258–287.

37 On Caesarea Maritima, see Patrich, Caesarea, 70–79.

38 See Geva, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/727.

39 See Kollmann, Einführung, 76; Ebner, Stadt, 115 [JV]: "These pagan symbols were clearly only tolerated because the Tyrian shekel was something like the 'dollar of antiquity', due to its astonishing stability of value." On the coins mentioned in the New Testament, see Reiser, Numismatik, 457–488.

17.149–155), which provoked a violent response from Herod. During Mark Antony's time, Herod had a fortress built in the north-west corner of the temple precinct, from which the entire Temple Mount could be monitored. Herod named it Antonia in Antony's honor. In later times, there was always a cohort of Roman soldiers stationed there under the command of Roman prefects.

5.2.9 Social Conditions During Herod's Time

On the one hand, Herod's energetic building activities created a modest prosperity for many craftsmen. On the other hand, building funds had to be collected from the population through taxes. While some profited from it, poor distribution of the tax burden and rural depopulation, caused partly by the founding of cities and was partly the result of the founding of large estates (not least in royal hands), led to the further impoverishment of certain segments of the population.[40] It was probably less from a social sensibility than from political calculation that Herod gave assistance to the poor from of the royal treasury in times of need (during a famine around 25 BCE), or had taxes reduced in 20 and 14 BCE. According to *A.J.* 15.382f., Herod even says:

> 382 "So far as the other things achieved during my reign are concerned, my countrymen, I consider it unnecessary to speak of them, although they were of such a kind that the prestige which comes from them to me is less than the security which they have brought to you. 383 For in the most difficult situations I have not been unmindful of the things that might benefit you in your need, nor have I in my building been more intent upon my own invulnerability than upon that of all of you, and I think I have, by the will of God, brought the Jewish nation to such a state of prosperity as it has never known before."

However, these blessings probably only benefited a part of the population. The rural population in particular became increasingly poorer. When Herod died, revolts broke out in rural areas of Galilee, fueled by "radical social-messianic groups with strong support amongst the rural populace"[41] (► IV.1–2 below). This complex tangle of circumstances was the soil in which the Jesus movement had its origins.

5.2.10 Herod's Wives, Sons, and Heirs

Altogether, Herod had ten wives who bore him many sons (see appendix). His first wife, Doris, was an Idumean. Her son Antipater was executed by Herod in 4 BCE. Mariamne, Herod's second wife, was John Hyrcanus's granddaughter. Herod had her executed in 29 BCE. Herod executed her two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, in 7 BCE. Herod's third wife, Mariamne (who shared a name with his second wife), was a daughter of a Priest from Alexandria whom Herod appointed as high priest. Her son was Herod Boethus. His fourth wife, Malthace, was a Samaritan. Her sons were Archelaus

---

40 See Maier, Geschichte, 70.

41 Thus Schäfer, History, 103. By contrast, Kollmann, Einführung, 82 [JV] concludes: "Herod brought peace and prosperity to the land such as it had not seen since the days of Salomon."

and Herod Antipas, both of whom succeeded Herod as heirs to the throne. Herod's fifth wife, Cleopatra, was from Jerusalem. Her son Philip also succeeded Herod as an heir to the throne. Originally, Herod wanted to groom his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus, born to him by the Hasmonean Mariamne, as heirs to the throne. In 18 or 17 BCE, he had them brought back from their place of education in Rome in order to prepare them for the succession. However, Herod's sister Salome stoked the fires of the Hasmonean-Idumean rivalry, leading Herod to believe that his sons would avenge their mother's death. After a period of turmoil and a failed attempt at mediation by Augustus, Herod had both sons executed in 7 BCE. Afterward, Herod positioned Antipater, the son of his first wife Dore, as heir to the throne. However, Antipater conspired against his father. For this, Herod had him put in prison. Five days before Herod died, he ordered Antipater's execution from his deathbed (4 BCE). In his last will and testament, Herod decreed that his son Archelaus should inherit the title of king and that his younger brother Herod Antipas should become tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. Philip, on the other hand, was designated tetrarch of Gaulantis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas. Herod died during the Passover feast in 4 BCE. After his burial in the Herodium a dispute about the inheritance erupted among the brothers. Meanwhile the whole nation was shaken by uprisings. This period of unrest continued until the First Jewish War.

5.3 After Herod

5.3.1 The Succession

Herod had appointed Archelaus to succeed him as king. After his father's death, Archelaus travelled to Rome to have his title confirmed by Augustus. However, a Jewish delegation voted in favor of being incorporated into the province of Syria instead, to be able to live under Roman rule according to Jewish laws.[42] The sending of the Jewish delegation is understandable against the backdrop of Archelaus's brutal suppression of a Pharisee-led uprising during the Passover. The uprising was triggered by Archelaus's refusal to hold accountable those responsible for the execution of Judas and Matthias after the destruction of the golden eagle at the temple gate (► II.5.2.8 above). Archelaus's half-brother Philip soon also arrived in Rome. Shortly after that, Herod Antipas also presented himself to the emperor, laying claim to the entire inheritance for himself only. This situation was exacerbated by the violent uprisings that erupted in Palestine. A certain Judas fomented the uprisings in Galilee. He was the son of the rebel Ezekias, whom Herod the Great had had executed (► II.5.2.5 above; *A.J.* 17.271f.). In the end, Augustus chose to implement Herod's will more or less as the latter had stipulated. The title of king, however, was no longer bestowed on any of Herod's sons. *Archelaus* was permitted the title of "ethnarch" and was given

42 See Kollmann, Einführung, 83. The parable of the minas in Luke 19:12–15 probably alludes to this in passing.

Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. *Herod Antipas* was given the title of "tetrarch"[43] and the territories of Galilee and Perea, making him the territorial sovereign over Jesus. *Philip* was granted the territories of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Gaulanitis. He too was given the title of "tetrarch."

5.3.2 Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE)

Augustus had promised Archelaus that he could earn the title of king through prudent governance. This appears to have fallen on deaf ears. Archelaus was the most brutal and incompetent of all Herod's sons (a reputation reflected in Matt 2:22). In 6 CE, a delegation of Jewish and Samaritan aristocrats already made the journey to Rome to push for his removal from office (see Luke 19:14). The delegation succeeded and Archelaus was exiled to Vienna in Gaul (today's Vienne, located south of Lyon). The specific reasons for Archelaus's removal from office are unknown. But the accusations must have been serious. Otherwise, Augustus would not have responded as he did. Archelaus's territory came under direct Roman rule.

5.3.3 Philip (4 BCE–33/34 CE)

Located outside of the Jewish heartland, Philip's territory was predominantly inhabited by Syrians and Greeks. Philip was therefore likely spared many socio-religious tensions and his reign was for the most part harmonious. Under his rule, the cities Paneas and Bethsaida were extensively developed and were renamed Caesarea Philippi and Julias (the latter in honor of Augustus's daughter). According to Mark 8:27–30, Peter's confession took place in the vicinity of the villages around Philippi (εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου). According to John 1:44, Bethsaida was the hometown of Jesus's disciples Peter, Andrew, and Philip (however, Mark 1:29 places their home in Capernaum). Mark 8:22–26 reports that Jesus healed a blind man there. Shards of stone vessels have been found in Bethsaida. According to Jewish Halacha, such vessels cannot become ritually unclean and are therefore regarded as "Jewish index fossils" for the Second Temple period.[44] After the tetrarch's death, the territory was incorporated into the Roman province of Syria. In 37 CE, however, it was again placed under the rule of a Herodian, namely Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, who had been executed in 7 BCE.

---

43 The title "tetrarch" means "minor prince" (literally, "ruler of a quarter," i. e., the ruler of part of a territory). The title "ethnarch" ("ruler of a people," i. e., great prince) was a much higher rank. However, an ethnarch still ranked below a king.

44 On Bethsaida see, Arav, Bethsaida, NEAEHL V/1615. Zangenberg, Jesus, 27, lists the following articles as "Jewish index fossils": ossuaries, miqwa'ot, and stone vessels. Thus, Arav also sees "evidence of a Jewish presence" in Bethsaida in the Hellenistic Roman period (*loc. cit.* 1615).

5.3.4 Herod Antipas (4 BCE–33/39 CE)

Of Herod's sons, Herod Antipas seems to have been the most distinctive figure. This was due not only to his long reign, but also because he had inherited his father's character traits (shrewdness, ambition, ostentation). Luke 13:32 refers to him as "that fox." Like his father, he is known for his architectural undertakings. He first rebuilt the city Sepphoris (Heb. צִפּוֹרִי *Zippori*; Gr. Σέπφορις; in the Roman period, Diocaesarea) and made it the center of his tetrarchy. Sepphoris is located only five kilometers away from Jesus's hometown of Nazareth.[45] If, like his father Joseph, Jesus (according to Mark 6:3; see also Matt 13:55) hired out as a τέκτων (*tektōn*, carpenter), then we may assume that he participated in the expansion of that city (likely as an unskilled laborer).[46] In *A.J.* 18.27, Josephus calls Sepphoris the πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντός (the "ornament of all of Galilee"). However, in 19 CE Herod Antipas renamed it Tiberias and made it the capital city in honor of emperor Tiberius. In terms of city planning, Tiberias (טְבֶרְיָה, *Tverya*) was well thought out, being situated picturesquely on the shore of the sea of Galilee and near the hot springs of Hammat Tiberias. However, it was also built on an old burial ground.[47] This was a slap in the face to Torah-observant Jews, since (according to Num 19:16) any contact with graves causes ritual impurity. As a result, Herod Antipas had to use force to populate the city, since no one wanted to live there. Josephus reports (*A.J.* 18.36–38):

> Since Herod the Tetrarch was very friendly with Tiberius, he built a city on the Sea of Gennesaret in the most beautiful part of Galilee, calling it Tiberias ... Incidentally, Tiberias was inhabited by a mixed populace (σύγκλυδες δὲ ᾤκισαν), among whom were also many Galileans and newcomers who had been forcibly settled there, even though some were from better estates. Even the beggars (gathered up from across the country), and many about whom it was not yet clear whether they were free persons, were assigned dwellings there and received various privileges. Being well aware that Jewish regulations did not permit them to reside there, Herod had houses built for them and lands allocated in order to anchor them to the city. For many tombs had been removed from the area for the construction of Tiberias, and our law declares that those who reside in such places are unclean for a period of seven days. (trans. MT)

Herod Antipas's wife Herodias proved to be his downfall where foreign policy was concerned. As a political expedient, he had previously married the daughter of the Nabatean King Aretas IV to secure the empire against the east.[48] However, he then

---

45 See, Weiss, Sepphoris I, NEAEHL IV/1324; Chancey, Milieu, 127–145.

46 See Kollmann, Einführung, 94. It remains unclear when the theater of Sepphoris was built. In earlier publications, Weiss dated the construction to the early first century CE (Weiss, Sepphoris I, NEAEHL IV/1325, Herod Antipas). However, in more recent studies he opts for the early second century CE (Weiss, Sepphoris II, NEAEHL V/2031). See the survey of research in Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 90f. and Chancey, Milieu, 135f. Josephus does not mention the theater in Sepphoris. On the question of what is meant by the word τέκτων (*tektōn*), see Frenschkowski, Artisans, 191–222.

47 See Hirschfeld, Tiberias, NEAEHL IV/1464.

48 This is the same Aretas who later set his people on watch for the apostle Paul (2 Cor 11:32).

fell in love with and promised to marry Herodias, the determined and ambitious wife of his half-brother Boethus (*A.J.* 18.109–114). The Nabatean princess anticipated her banishment and fled to her father. The resulting war in 36 CE ended in Herod Antipas's defeat. To make matters worse for Antipas, when Caligula came to power in 37 CE, he transferred Philip's tetrarchy to Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus (executed in 7 BCE) and brother of Herodias. Caligula even bestowed the title of king on Agrippa. In response, the ambitious Herodias goaded her husband into also requesting the title of king from Caligula (*A.J.* 18.242–247; *B.J.* 2.181–183). However, this act provoked the rivalry of Agrippa, who intervened with Caligula against Herod Antipas. Caligula responded by deposing Herod and banishing him to Lugdunum in Gaul (today's Lyon; *A.J.* 18.250–255; *B.J.* 2.181–183 speaks of an exile to Spain). Herod Antipas's tetrarchy (Galilee and Perea) fell to Agrippa.

5.3.5 John the Baptist

The New Testament connects the execution of John the Baptist with Herodias. According to Luke 3:1, the Baptist appeared on the scene "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar." Unfortunately, this seemingly precise detail remains opaque.[49] For Tiberius acted as co-regent with Augustus, starting in 12 CE (Suetonius, DeVitCaes/Tiberius 21.1), and assumed sole rule only after Augustus's death in September of 14 CE. Most scholars therefore suggest 28 CE for the beginning of the Baptist's public career, although the year 26 CE is also possible. If one presupposes that Jesus's public activity lasted longer than one year (► III.10.2.3 below), and if one also assumes that Jesus spent some time as a disciple of John the Baptist (► III.10.2.1 below), then 26 CE is more likely (for more on John the Baptist, ► III.10.1 below.).[50] There are differing accounts of the conflict between Herod Antipas and John the Baptist. In *A.J.* 18.116–119, Josephus remarks:

> 116 ... to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. 117 For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practice justice towards their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing to join in baptism. ... 118 When others too joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused to the highest degree by his sermons, Herod became alarmed. Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition, for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything they did. Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising ... 119 John, because of Herod's suspicions, was brought in chains to Machaerus, ... and there put to death, yet the verdict of the Jews was that the destruction visited upon Herod's army was a vindication of John, since God saw fit to inflict such a blow on Herod.

49 On this, see Finegan, Chronology, 259–273, Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 151, and Bovon, Luke 1, 118.

50 See Finegan, Chronology, 301.

The people viewed Herod Antipas's crushing defeat at the hands of the Nabatean King Aretas IV as a punishment for the execution of John the Baptist. Herod had had John executed for fear of John's influence with the people. This is more evidence that religious renewal movements in early Judaism also fostered social criticism and were charged with power-shifting potentiality. Thus, "The emergence of John the Baptist and Jesus must certainly have been seen in the context of the social and political upheavals at the beginning of the first century CE."[51] The New Testament's account of John the Baptist's execution is more sordid than that of Josephus. Consistent with the principle of *cherchez la femme*, the Synoptics tell a story of sex and crime (Mark 6:17–29; Matt 14:3–12; Luke 3:19f.; 9:9). They suspect the machinations of a demonic woman at work behind the scenes of John the Baptist's execution. The account undoubtedly has some historical traction in Herodias's intrigues and her desire for power. If Herod Antipas is represented in a more sympathetic light, as having been hesitant in the matter (Mark 6:20, 26; Matt 14:9), it is probably not only for dramatic effect. Rather, it is likely a deliberate appropriation of the Elijah typology, according to which Ahab's scheming wife Jezebel sought to kill the prophet (1 Kgs 19:1f.). The dance of Salome therefore belongs entirely to the realm of legend. It is, however, possible that John indeed criticized Herod Antipas for deserting his wife and marrying Herodias. The remark about the reed shaken by the wind (Matt 11:7) may be a mocking reference to Herod Antipas's political spinelessness.[52] Josephus's report that John was imprisoned and executed in the fortress of Machaerus,[53] located in Transjordania, is likely correct since John had been active there (► III.10.1 below).

5.3.6 Jesus of Nazareth

Jesus of Nazareth is mentioned by Josephus in the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum* (*A.J.* 18.63f.; modified trans.):

> 63 About this time there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him that. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a teacher of such people as accept the truth gladly. He was the Christ. 64 When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing amongst us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvellous things about him. And the tribe of the Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared.

This is clearly a Christian interpolation. However, the entire text is probably not interpolated, but only "revised" from a Christian point of view. For *A.J.* 20.200 mentions the stoning of James, referring to him as the "brother of Jesus the so-called Christ." It

51 Schäfer, History, 106.

52 See, Theissen, Gospels, 26–39. Herod Antipas had the reed flower minted on the obverse of the coins issued on the occasion of the founding of the city of Tiberius (ca. 19 CE).

53 On Machaerus, see Vörös, Machärus, 80–89. See also, Josephus *B.J.* 7.165–170 and *A.J.* 18.109–119.

is thus clear that Josephus must already have mentioned Jesus, since he presupposes knowledge of "Jesus, the so-called Christ." Moreover, Origen reports that Josephus *did not* recognize Jesus as the Messiah (Matth 1:17 and Cont. Cel 1.47). This means that Origen likely had a version of the *Testimonium Flavianum* that did not yet contain the Christian interpolation.[54] In 1971, Shlomo Pines published a previously unknown Arabic version of this text from Josephus, which Bishop Agapius of Hierapolis quotes in his tenth century Christian universal history.[55] The quoted text says:[56]

> At this time there was a wise man who was called Jesus. And his conduct was good, and [he] was known to be virtuous. And many people from among the Jews and the other nations became his disciples. Pilate condemned him to be crucified and to die. And those who had become his disciples did not abandon his discipleship. They reported that he had appeared to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive; accordingly, he was perhaps the Messiah concerning whom the prophets have recounted wonders.

This variant could be close to the original text of Josephus.[57] The claim that "this man was the Christ" is missing. Furthermore, the disciples' belief that Jesus "was perhaps the Messiah" is only cited as their view on the matter.

If it is true that Jesus was born under Herod the Great († 4 BCE; Matt 2:1; Luke 1:5), then his birth has to be dated (with a note of irony) as having occurred "before the birth of Christ." The Infancy Gospels of Matthew and Luke primarily feature narrative theology, setting forth the most important leitmotifs at the beginning of the work, much like the overture of a Wagner opera. The motif of Jesus's Davidic sonship and Messiahship leads Matthew and Luke to have Jesus come into the world in Bethlehem. Whereas Luke uses the census to accomplish the transfer from Nazareth to Bethlehem, Matthew assumes that the holy family had a house (οἰκία) in there. Matthew, for his part, is unaware of the tradition of the birth in the stable. In his account, it is only the infanticide that causes the holy family to flee to Egypt and afterward settle in Nazareth. The two birth narratives cannot be reconciled as historical accounts and are therefore best read as theological interpretations. Moreover, Nathanael's question as to whether anything good could come from Nazareth (John 1:46) shows no knowledge of a birth in Bethlehem. The fourth evangelist is nevertheless aware of the tradition that the Messiah comes from Bethlehem and not from Galilee (John 7:41f.; Mic 5:1). Historically speaking, it is more likely that Jesus was born in Nazareth.[58] The

---

54 See Pines, Version, 65f. Origen twice and quite explicitly points out that Josephus did not recognize Jesus as the Messiah. Thus, it is probably safe to assume that this was more than an *argumentum e silentio*.

55 See Pines, Version, 5f.

56 Pines, Version, 16.

57 For an assessment of this text, see Horn, Testimonium, 117–136; Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 72f. The quoted text probably does not reproduce the original *Testimonium Flavianum*, but, for lack of a better alternative, is cited here as a possible reconstruction.

58 On the excavations under the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, see Bagatti, Nazareth, NEAEHL III/1103–1105; Broadhead, Ways, 334; Zangenberg, Silence, 101–104; Tzaferis, Nazareth NEAEHL III/1103; Christians, 221–267. The oldest detectable Christian shrine there dates back to at least the third century CE. Christian graffiti, such as XE MAPIA ("Hail,

depiction of Jesus's birth in Bethlehem is theologically motivated. Matthew 2:6 has characteristics of Midrashic biblical interpretation in its application of Micah 5:1, 3 to the birth of Jesus.[59] The genealogies of Jesus contained in Matthew 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38 also have theological rather than historical value. There is already a discrepancy regarding the name of Joseph's father, given as "Jacob" in Matthew and "Eli" in Luke. However, the "Lukan synchronism" of Luke 3:1–3 provides some valuable clues:

> 1 In the fifteenth year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea, and Herod was ruler of Galilee, and his brother Philip ruler of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias ruler of Abilene, 2 during the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came to John son of Zechariah in the wilderness. 3 He went into all the region around the Jordan, proclaiming a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins ...

The "fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" probably indicates the year 26 CE (► II.5.3.5 above). Pilate held office from 26–36/37 CE, Annas was high priest from 6–15 CE, Caiaphas from 18–36. John 18:13 hints that Annas, the predecessor and father-in-law of Caiaphas, evidently still held the greater influence and thus took the lead in Jesus's interrogation. This explains why, in contrast to John 11:49 and 18:13, Acts 4:6 erroneously refers to Annas as high priest.[60]

The Johannine chronology is preferable where the date of Jesus's death is concerned. Unlike the Synoptics, John places Jesus's death on the day before the Passover festival (the fourteenth day of Nisan, the day on which the Passover lamb was eaten in the evening; John 18:28; 19:31).[61] The Passover amnesty, attested by all four Gospels, only makes sense if the person was released in time to celebrate the Passover. A

Mary"), crosses, or the letters IH (an abbreviation of the name Jesus), were found in plaster remnants beneath the floor of the Byzantine basilica or of the Byzantine monastery respectively. It remains uncertain, however, to what extent the site has preserved even older traditions, perhaps from the time of Jesus or early Christianity. Excavators supposed that they had found remnants of Jewish-Christian traditions there. Thus, Bagatti, Nazareth, NEAEHL III/1104, concludes that "The structure was probably an early church dating before the time of Constantine and was built on the plan of a synagogue." This idea is viewed more critically today. In any case, there are also other caves around the "Grotto of the Annunciation" (traditionally the "House of the Blessed Mother"), which were used as living quarters and storerooms and can be viewed from the Franciscan museum adjacent to the church. The poor standard of living to which these cave dwellings bear witness is interesting. Even if these finds do not date back to the time of Jesus, it is clear that Nazareth was never a city of particular renown (see John 1:46).

59 Today, contemporizing applications of biblical traditions is viewed as "historical misrepresentation." At the time, however, they were a common component of biblical interpretation. Recall the Pesher method from Qumran, or early Jewish "rewritten Scripture." On the birthplace of Jesus, see the survey of the research in, Heil, Jesus, 241–263.

60 See Bovon, Lukas 1, 120. In 1990 a family tomb from the first century CE was discovered in the suburb Talpiot, south of Jerusalem. Based on the inscriptions found at the site, it is thought with some probability to be the family tomb of the high priest Caiaphas (see Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem I, 129).

61 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 157–159.

remnant of the older chronology seems to have been preserved in Mark 14:1, where it is said that the chief priests wanted to seize Jesus before the festival to avoid an uproar among pilgrims come for the feast. An execution taking place on the day of the Passover itself is unlikely. Thus, Jesus died before sundown on the fourteenth day of Nisan. According to all the Gospels it was a Friday. The fourteenth day of Nisan fell on a Friday in the years 30 and 33 CE. Since the year 33 would be too late for the Pauline chronology, we can assume that Jesus died on the fourteenth day of Nisan (April 7) in the year 30.

The sentencing of Jesus took place in the Praetorium (πραιτώριον, Mark 15:16; John 18:28). The λιθόστρωτον (*lithostrōton*, "stone pavement") mentioned in John 19:13 does not refer to the location shown at the start of today's *Via Dolorosa* under the "*Ecce Homo* arch." The stone pavement of the latter was laid under Hadrian as part of a forum and marketplace for the newly founded city *Aelia Capitolina*, built over the ruins of the destroyed Jerusalem in 135 CE.[62] Furthermore, the prefect did not reside in the Antonia Fortress during his visits to Jerusalem. He stayed in the palace built by Herod in the area of today's "Citadel" on the Jaffa Gate. The prefects were usually based in Caesarea Maritima and only came to Jerusalem on high holidays to be able to intervene immediately in the event of any unrest. The *lithostrōton* does not refer to an ordinary stone floor (such were common throughout Jerusalem). Rather, it might refer to a special mosaic floor in one of the courtyards of Herod's palace, where the procurator held court.[63] The execution of Jesus took place on Golgotha, a rocky outcropping about five meters high located just outside the "Second Wall," near Herod's palace,[64] on one of the main roads out of Jerusalem (according to Mark 15:29).

---

62 See Geva, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/764.

63 According *to B.J.* 2.301, the prefect Florus lodged in Jerusalem ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζεται, *in the royal palace*, in front of which (πρὸ αὐτῶν) he set up his βῆμα, the *elevated judgment seat*. John 19:13 uses the word Γαββαθα, *Gabbata,* the Aramaic גבתא, *gabbeta,* "elevation," referring to βῆμα. According to John 19:13, too, the judgment seat is located outside in front of the Praetorium.

64 See Geva, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/781. It is highly likely that the rocky outcropping displayed under the present-day Church of the Holy Sepulcher is the authentic site of Jesus's execution. Since Roman executions and burials were carried out *extra muros*, there is a heavy burden of proof on the reconstruction of the "Second Wall's" course. Although it cannot be shown with certainty that Golgotha lay outside this wall, the "area of the Māristān was still undeveloped in Herodian times ..., which suggests an easterly reconstruction of the Second Wall ... roughly on the axis of the Sūq al-Laḥḥāmīn" (Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem I, 104) [JV]. Thus, Golgotha was located directly to the west, *beyond* the city wall. The traditional "Tomb of Jesus" in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is also "to be dated to the Herodian period" [JV] (Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem II, 183). The "tomb complex with rolling stone graves" located next to the "tomb of Jesus" "shows that the site lay outside the city wall in Hasmonean and perhaps also the Herodian times, having been incorporated into the wall circuit at a relatively late date." [JV] (ibid.). On excavations concerning the location of Golgotha, see Viehweger, Ausgrabungen, 90–99.

5.4 Judea under Roman Rule (6–41 CE)

5.4.1 The Status of Judea from 6–41 CE

The territory of Archelaus was placed under direct Roman rule in 6 CE. One usually reads that the Romans had thereby established a separate "province of Judea," but that is not the case.[65] Rather, Judea and Samaria were incorporated as *a distinct administrative district named "Iudaea" into the Roman province of Syria* (capital city: Antioch). The terminology used by Josephus and Tacitus is, however, often misleading or contradictory. This may be because both authors wrote *after* the Jewish War, when the status of Judea had already changed. Josephus mentions (*B.J.* 2.117) that the territory of Archelaus was turned εἰς ἐπαρχίαν, into a province ruled by the ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*) Coponius, who belonged to the Equestrian order. However, the account in *A.J.* 18.2 is quite different. There, Josephus says that following the removal of Archelaus, Judea was turned into a προσθήκην τῆς Συρίας, an annex of Syria. Coponius is depicted merely as an assistant to Quirinius, who held senatorial rank. The title borne by Coponius and his successors until 41 CE (the beginning of Agrippa I's rule) was *praefectus Iudaeae*, as we can glean from the Pilate stone. The designation ἐπίτροπος/procurator, as we have it in Josephus and Tacitus, is therefore likely incorrect. There were probably several such prefects, in the larger province of Syria, who were subordinate to the governor of Syria. For instance, inscriptions attest a separate prefect for the Decapolis, who was also of the Equestrian order and subordinate to the governor of Syria, who held consular rank. In 4 CE, the Decapolis was taken from the territory of Archelaus and annexed to Syria (*A.J.* 17.320: προσθήκη). The *praefectus Iudaeae* had capital jurisdiction, as was typically the case when territories were brought under direct Roman control. The prefects of this period were:[66]

1. Coponius (6–9 CE)
2. Marcus Ambivulus (9–12 CE)
3. Annius Rufus (12–15 CE)
4. Valerius Gratus (15–26 CE)
5. Pontius Pilate (26–36/37 CE)
6. Marcellus (36/37–37 CE)
7. Marullus (37–41 CE)

We know relatively little about these men. Only Pontius Pilate is known in more detail – and not only because Jesus was executed during his administration and under his authority.

65 For the following, see Eck, Rom, 24–51, and Schröter/Zangenberg, Texte, 66.
66 See Schäfer, History, 110.

5.4.2 The Census of Quirinius

The governor of Syria was responsible for the collection of taxes and duties. This is consistent with our knowledge that the tax estimate (*census*) – which had become necessary due to the incorporation of Judea into the Province of Syria's tax system – was carried out by P. Sulpicius Quirinius (*A.J.* 18.1–3, see Luke 2:1). This *census* was likely instituted in 6 CE, and probably not only in Judea but throughout the entire province of Syria.[67] This is the *census* which Luke inaccurately connects with the birth of Jesus. Luke was off by more than ten years, or he deliberately used the *census* to demonstrate the polarity between the prince of peace and the tyrant Augustus. After all, the census in Palestine had in fact triggered the revolt of Judas of Galilee. Taxes were of course already collected in Palestine under the Hasmoneans, Herod the Great, and his sons. However, the implementation of a comprehensive Syrian tax estimate underscored the loss of Judean independence in a humiliating way. On top of that, the issue was sensitive from a religious standpoint. According to 2 Samuel 24:9–17 (cf. 1 Chr 21:1–30), King David had dared to take a census and God had punished him for it. The census was thus a source of unrest among the people. In addition to the humiliation of having to pay a head tax (*tributum capitis*), there was of course also the economic burden of the tax. Tacitus reports in the Annals (2.42.5) that "... the provinces of Syria and Judaea, exhausted by their burdens, begged a dimunition of taxation" (*et provinciae Syria atque Iudaea fessae oneribus deminutionem tributi orabant*). However, the central criticism remained the *ipso facto* recognition of imperial power implicit in paying the imperial tax. The mere fact of the emperor's image stamped on the coins shows that devout Jews would consider paying the imperial tax to be idolatrous. The question put to Jesus in Mark 12:14about the imperial tax, along with his response in v. 17, corroborate this state of affairs. Jesus's answer ("So give to Caesar that which belongs to Caesar, and to God that which belongs to God") makes it possible to pay the tax, but without acknowledging the emperor's demand for divine worship (► III.11.4.1 below).[68] In Flavius Josephus's account, the census conducted in 6 CE is connected with the first mention of the initially nameless religious party of the Zealots. The group's founder, Judas of Galilee, was probably the son of the bandit leader Hezekiah, who had previously caused severe disturbances under Herod the Great (► II.5.2.5 above). The "bands of robbers" frequently mentioned by Josephus probably represent the type of the "social bandit" (► III.5.3 below). The term used here, λῃστής (lēstēs), refers to a blend of robber and resistance fighter.

67 Eck, Rom, 38, cites a single piece of evidence for the census under Quirinius from the Syrian city of Apamea. However, an ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, that is, an empire-wide tax estimate, as insinuated in Luke 2:1, cannot be substantiated.

68 On this problem, see Förster, Jesus, 144–225.

5.4.3 Pontius Pilate (26–36/37 CE)

There is a broad consensus that Pilate[69] took office in 26 CE.[70] The date of his removal from the post of prefect remains unclear.[71] According to Josephus (*A.J.* 18.89), Pilate left Judea (after the intervention of the Syrian legate Vitellius) to give an account of himself before Tiberius in Rome for a massacre of Samaritans. Tiberius († March 15, 37 CE) was already dead when Pilate arrived in Rome. Depending on the weather, the sea voyage from Caesarea to Rome could take between one and three months (Josephus *B.J.* 2.203),[72] and even longer between November and March.[73] Pilate probably left Caesarea by the end of 36[74] and was then replaced by Marcellus. However, that did not signify the end of Pilate's term of office: "Vitellius did not ... deprive Pilate of his office ... He merely sent Pilate home to report to Tiberius and put Marcellus temporarily in charge of Juda as acting governor. The actual deposition of Pilate and

69 There are two pieces of epigraphic evidence where Pilate is concerned. The *Pilate Stone* was probably an inscription for the lighthouse at the entrance to the port of Caesarea (as convincingly reconstructed by: Alföldy, Pilato, 140–142; Eck, Rom, 16; Herzer, Pilatus, 32). There is also a *signet ring made of cheap copper alloy* bearing the inscription ΠΙΛΑΤΟ[Υ], "of Pilate." The ring was likely used by an official of the prefect to seal documents (see Amorai-Stark et. al., Ring, 212).

70 By contrast, see Herzer, Pilatus, 56–61, who thinks Pilate held office from 19–36 CE (with a shorter term of office for Gratus). Herzer's conclusion is based on a conjecture already put forward by Eisler, Messiah, 13–20 and Schwartz, Josephus, 26–45, drawing on various statements in Josephus (for a critique of this position, see Bond, Pilate, 1). The hypothesis of an eighteen-year term of office for Pilate contradicts Josephus *A.J.* 18.89, which explicitly mentions a ten-year term.

71 On this, see Smallwood, Pilate, 12–21; Schürer/Vermes/Millar, History, 383, 387f.; Krieger, Amtszeit, 27–32.

72 See the calculations of Rapske, Travel, 35f.; Fellmeth, Mobilität, 135f.; Schuol, Paulus, 150. Due to the prevailing north-westerly winds in the eastern Mediterranean, a journey from Caesarea Maritima to Rome took twice as long as in the opposite direction.

73 Due to winter storms, people spoke of the *mare clausum*, the "closed sea," although sea voyages were not prohibited (Rapske, Travel, 22–29).

74 Josephus is problematic here: After Pilate's departure, Vitellius went to Jerusalem for the Passover feast (*A.J.* 18.90). *A.J.* 18.121–124 reports that Vitellius visits Jerusalem a second time, during which he learns of the death of Tiberius (also attested in Philo Legat. 231). The first visit must have been during the Passover in 36, the second in the year 37. This would mean that Pilate already left for Rome before the Passover in 36 and only arrived there after March 15 in the year 37. That would be too long a journey even by land (especially since, according to *A.J.* 18.89, Pilate "hastened" [ἠπείγετο] to Rome). Smallwood, Pilate, 19 (followed by Schürer/Vermes/Millar, History, 383, 387f.) argues that Vitellius's first visit to Jerusalem was not during a Passover feast. Krieger, Problematik, 63–83, resolves the contradiction by interpreting the two visits to Jerusalem as a single one, reported in two different ways by Josephus. On this view, the single visit to Jerusalem would have been during the Passover of 37 CE. Smallwood's view is more likely to be correct, since Vitellius replaced the high priest Caiaphas with Jonathan on his first visit (*A.J.* 18.95) and then Jonathan with his brother Theophilus on his second visit (*A.J.* 18.123).

the appointment of his successor lay with the emperor."[75] *A.J.* 18.237 reports that Caligula appointed Marullus as Pilate's successor shortly after becoming emperor. He thus did not confirm Vitellius's interim appointment of Marcellus (a favorite of Vitellius according to *A.J.* 18.89). However, the appointment of Marullus meant that Pilate was ultimately deposed.[76]

Independently of each other, Philo and Josephus agree in their reports that Pilate had a negative attitude toward the Jewish people:

> Philo, Legat. 301 ... he [Pilate, was] naturally inflexible, a blend of self-will and relentlessness ... 302 ... he feared that if they actually sent an embassy they would also expose the rest of his conduct as governor by stating in full the briberies, the insults, the robberies, the outrages and wanton injuries, the executions without trial constantly repeated, the ceaseless and supremely grievous cruelty. 303 So with all his vindictiveness and furious temper, he was in a difficult position.

> Josephus, *A.J.* 18.55: Pilate acted ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νομίμων τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν, "in subversion of the Jewish practices."

Following E. Stauffer, Pilate is often said to have pursued an anti-Jewish "policy of provocation," carried out on behalf of L. Aeilus Sejanus.[77] However, it is only Philo who paints Sejanus as an anti-Jewish actor (in Legat. 159f. and Flacc. 1). Like the anti-Jewish portrayal of Pilate, this depiction of Sejanus is attributable to the political intention behind the *Legatio ad Gaium* (► II.5.5.2 below). In that work, Philo presents Sejanus to Caligula as a negative foil to the "good" Tiberius. Sejanus, toppled as prefect of the Praetorian Guard in 31 CE, was as equally suitable a negative foil as Pilate, who had also been deposed.[78] The same is true in Josephus, where Pilate serves as the dark counterpart to Vitellius. Josephus's literary tendencies are well known.[79] He shelters senatorial legates (who, as senators, had lasting influence in Rome) like Vitellius from blame, laying the blame for the outbreak of the Jewish War instead at the feet of the prefects of Judea (who were only of the Equestrian order and had no influence in Rome). Having thus discounted the exaggerations of Philo and Josephus, Pilate can no longer be accused of having acted in a deliberately anti-Jewish manner. However, he was neither as diplomatic as his predecessor Gratus, nor as those who held office after him, Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, whom Josephus describes in a positive light. At many points, Pilate was insensitive to the delicate and complex

---

75 Smallwood, Pilate, 12.

76 Smallwood, Pilate, 12. In the same vein, Bond, Pilate, 1.5. The Roman Period.

77 Stauffer, Jerusalem, 16–18. Likewise, Stauffer, Christus, 129: "Pilate is an antisemite just like his employer and Patron Sejanus, only in a cruder manner" [JV].

78 For more recent interpretation of Sejanus, see Hennig, Seianus, 160–179; Schwartz, Josephus, 35f.; Krieger, Pilatusbiographie, 63–83; Bond, Pilate, 22. Dio cassius's negative judgment of Sejanus (HE 2.5.5) is traceable to Philo's negative remarks. Suetonius (Tib. 36.1), Tacitus (Ann. 2.85.5), and Dio Cassius (157.18.5a) do not report that Sejanus was pulling the strings behind the expulsion of Jews from Rome in 19 CE. Moreover, there is not a single indication in Philo's account that Sejanus supported Pilate in any way (see Schwartz, Josephus, 36).

79 On this, see Eck, Judäa, 171–175; Bond, Pilate, 49–93.

tangle of socio-religious circumstances in Judea, provoking the Jewish people in ways his predecessors had avoided.[80] For instance, *B.J.* 2.169–174/*A.J.* 18.55–59 report that Pilate had his soldiers enter the city of Jerusalem bearing their standards (*signa*).[81] Previous prefects had refrained from this, since the image of the emperor is visible on the standards, causing the act to be seen as a violation of the prohibition of images. Pilate was persuaded to relent by the non-violent resistance of the Jews who bared their necks, showing their willingness to be beheaded rather than to give up their protest. An evaluation of Pilate's appropriation of funds from the temple treasury for the construction of an aqueduct to Jerusalem (*B.J.* 2.175–177/*A.J.* 18.60–62) requires more nuance. It was permissible to use the temple treasury for the needs of the city of Jerusalem and the temple. The aqueduct served such a need, so the use of the temple funds should not be regarded as a sacrilege. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine such a measure going forward without the prior approval of the High Council. Pilate was likely even on very good terms with the high priest Caiaphas.[82] The latter held office from 18–36 CE. He was therefore in office before Pilate, who did not depose him although he would have been able to do so (according to *A.J.* 18.34, Valerius Gratus deposed the three predecessors of Caiaphas – including his father-in-law Annas – in quick succession). It is noteworthy that, after Pilate's removal from office, Vitellius also removed Caiaphas from the high priestly office (*A.J.* 18.95). Pilate and Caiaphas appear to have had close cooperation, as also evident in the trial of Jesus. However, Luke 13:1 also mentions *en passant* Pilate's undiplomatic and harsh crackdown. Pilate purportedly had some Galileans killed while they were sacrificing, so that "their blood ... mixed with that of their sacrificial animals." Ever since the revolt of Judas of Galilee, Galileans were considered intractable and prone to rebellion. Pilate likely felt he needed to nip any unrest in the bud. There is a possible analogy here with the Galilean Jesus of Nazareth, who was accused of stirring up trouble on the Temple Mount.

The end of Pilate's career is also attributable to a lack of sensitivity. A sign-performing Samaritan prophet had mobilized a large crowd by announcing his intention to find the sacred vessels on Mount Gerizim (hidden there by Moses according to tradition). In response, Pilate dispatched his cavalry and instigated a massacre (*A.J.* 18.87–89). In answer, a Samaritan delegation lodged a complaint against Pilate with the Syrian legate Vitellius. However, J. Herzer rightly suspects that behind Pilate's removal lay "an overt political intrigue [i. e., on Vitellius's part], to quickly install

80 See Taylor, Pilate, 582: "Pontius Pilate does not in fact need to have been purposely vindictive to Jews in this regard or even necessarily concerned to flatter Tiberius, but he does seem to have been purposively determined to maintain, if not advance, the Roman imperial cult in Judaea." Similarly, see Bond, Pilate, 25: "Therefore, whilst Philo's account of Pilate doubtlessly contains a core of historical fact, his description of Pilate's character and intentions has very likely been influenced by his rhetorical objectives."

81 See also, Eck, Rom, 55f.

82 In 1990, an ossuary was discovered near Talpiot bearing the inscription, "Joseph, son of Caiaphas." This probably refers to a son of the same Caiaphas who is mentioned in the New Testament. See Geva, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/756.

his friend and favorite Marcellus in Judea."[83] Vitellius had only been legate in Syria since 35 CE and was concerned to shape conditions to his own liking. The well-coordinated duo of Pilate (whose rule began in 26 CE) and Caiaphas (in office since 18 CE) was clearly not to his liking. He therefore used the Samaritans' accusations as an opportunity to install "his friend Marcellus" (Josephus *A.J.* 18.89) in place of Pilate, while simultaneously dismissing Caiaphas. Incidentally, nowhere do we learn that Pilate was punished in Rome. Eusebius's account of Pilate's suicide in HE 2.7 is legendary.[84] The trial of Jesus before Pilate, as narrated in the canonical Gospels, must also be read with historical reservation. For the Gospels display a growing tendency to exculpate Pilate and shift the blame for Jesus's death onto the Jews. This is evident in the unhistorical narratives of Pilate's handwashing (Matt 27:24), the dream of Pilate's wife (Matt 27:19), and the equally historically improbable inclusion of Herod Antipas in the trial of Jesus (Luke 23:7–12). Regardless of these tendencies, the fact remains that Pilate alone could exercise the right of capital jurisdiction, as John 18:31 correctly reflects ("We are not permitted to put anyone to death"). Josephus, too, notes that the *praefectus Iudaeae* had "an authority that went as far as putting [people] to death" μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν … ἐξουσίαν (*B.J.* 2.117). This means that Pilate alone bears the ultimate responsibility for Jesus's death. We should not overestimate the influence of the High Council, in Hebrew the *Sanhedrin* (סנהדרין, from the Greek συνέδριον synedrion "gathering", "council", thus also *Synhedrion*). In the Roman period, this group was completely under the power of the prefect,[85] who could freely appoint and depose the high priest. The council consisted of seventy members, not including the high priest. In Jesus's trial, the council made itself an instrument of the Romans as well. In anticipatory obedience, Jesus is taken off the streets following his actions in the temple, before there was a chance for a riot to break out. John 11:47–50 captures this situation well and accurately sums up the political considerations involved in it:

> 47 So the chief priests and the Pharisees called a meeting of the council, and said, "What are we to do? This man is performing many signs. 48 If we let him go on like this, everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation." 49 But one of them, Caiaphas, who was high priest that year, said to them, "You know nothing at all! 50 You do not understand that it is better for you to have one man die for the people than to have the whole nation destroyed."

Even if we may assume close cooperation between the High Council and Pilate, it was nevertheless a Roman – and not "the Jews" (see 1 Thess 2:14f., ▸ I.2.2.4 above and V.9.2.6 below) – who sentenced Jesus to death. Jesus was subjected to a Roman execution – crucifixion – by Roman soldiers.

---

83 Herzer, Pilatus, 41f. and 85 [JV]. Similarly, see Krieger, Pilatusbiographie, 82: "… the complaint of Samaritan *Nobiles* was used as a pretext to recall Pilate. … Vitellius replaced Pilate with one of his confidants …" [JV].

84 See Krieger, Pilatusbiographie, 79 and 82.

85 The notion that the Sanhedrin represented the highest religious, jurisdictional, and political authority throughout early Judaism does not stand up to scrutiny: Goodblatt, Principle, 77–130.

5.5 The Period from Agrippa I to Agrippa II

5.5.1 Agrippa I (37–44 CE)

Agrippa was the grandson of Herod the Great and the son of Aristobulus, whom Herod had executed in 7 BCE. Agrippa grew up in Rome and was a childhood friend of the future emperor Claudius. While Tiberius was still emperor, Agrippa was able to win the favor of Caligula, whom he wished to see become emperor. This led to tensions with Tiberius, who had Agrippa imprisoned. When Caligula indeed became emperor in 37 CE, it marked the beginning of Agrippa's rise (*A.J.* 18.236f.). After Philip's death in 34 CE, his tetrarchy had initially been administered by the Syrian proconsul. In 37 CE, Agrippa was entrusted with the territory and was even allowed the title of king. After the banishment of Herod Antipas in 39 CE, his tetrarchy (Galilee and Perea) also fell to Agrippa (*A.J.* 18.250–255*; B.J.* 2.181– 183), finally followed by the prefecture of *Iudaea*, which had been administered by the prefect Marullus from 37–41 CE.

5.5.2 The Caligula Crisis

Caligula was aggressive in promoting a strong imperial cult. This sparked a crisis, particularly where Judaism was concerned. Tensions initially erupted in Alexandria, which was both a center of the imperial cult and home to a large Jewish diaspora community. One of the people pulling the strings on the anti-Jewish side of the conflict was the rhetorician Apion, whom Josephus confronts in his work *Contra Apionem*. At issue in this conflict was not only the imperial cult but also the struggle for political equality of the Jewish community there. On his way from Rome to Caesarea Maritima in 38 CE, Agrippa visited Alexandria, probably with the aim of strengthening the Jewish community there. Years earlier, Alexander – brother of the Jewish religious philosopher Philo of Alexandria († around 50 CE) and head of the Jewish community in Alexandria – had helped Agrippa out of a difficult situation with a loan. Agrippa's support provoked violent reactions from the Alexandrian Greek elites, who incited the mass of ordinary people against the Jews. Jewish districts were looted and synagogues desecrated. This prompted the sending of a Jewish delegation to Caligula in 40 CE under Philo's leadership. The delegation is described in Philo's work *Legatio ad Gaium* (referring to Gaius Caligula) and is also mentioned in *A.J.* 18.259. The Jewish delegation was unsuccessful, particularly because an opposing delegation led by Apion discredited the Jews. The crisis then spread to Jerusalem in 39/40 CE, when Caligula ordered a statue of himself to be erected in the Jerusalem Temple. Only the clever delaying tactics of the Syrian governor Petronius and the intervention of Agrippa I prevented the outrageous deed. Caligula subsequently ordered Petronius to commit suicide but was preempted in carrying out the order by the Praetorian Guard's assassination of Caligula in 41 CE.

5.5.3 The Further Rise of Agrippa under Claudius

When Claudius, a childhood friend of Agrippa, ascended the imperial throne, it paved the way for the further rise of Agrippa. Since 37 CE, Agrippa had already possessed Philip's tetrarchy (and the title of king) as well as that of Herod Antipas, which came under Agrippa's control in 39 CE. Finally, in 41 CE, Claudius also entrusted him with the administrative district of Judea. This being done, the Romans withdrew from Judea as an operational peacekeeping force.[86] The change was not motivated by far-reaching diplomatic calculations, but by personal gratitude towards Agrippa, who had provided valuable services to Claudius when he took power after Caligula's assassination. Thus, Agrippa I's rule once again united the realm of his grandfather, Herod the Great, under a single scepter. Later rabbinic sources evaluate Agrippa I's reign in a very positive way. For example, m. Sot 7.8 a–b:

> a) After the close of the first Festival day of the Feast [of Tabernacles], in the eighth year, after the close of the Seventh, they prepare for him [the king] a wooden platform in the Temple Court on which he sits. The minister of the assembly takes the Torah scroll and gives it to the head of the assembly, and the head of the assembly gives it to the deputy and the deputy gives it to the high priest, and the high priest gives it to the king ... b) King Agrippa stood and received it and read it standing, and the Sages praised him. And when he reached *You may not put a foreigner over you* [Deut 17:15], his eyes flowed with tears [because he was an Edomite]; they said to him: Fear not, Agrippa! You are our brother! You are our bother! You are our brother!

To the outside world, Agrippa presented himself as an urbane, liberal Hellenist. In his own realm, however, he knew how to pass himself off as an advocate of Jewish interests, as the text of m. Sot shows. He energetically promoted the temple cult and displayed a special zeal in observing the Jewish laws (*A.J.* 19.331).[87]

5.5.4 Agrippa's Further Deeds and Eventual Demise

Among other things, Agrippa sought to expand the city walls of Jerusalem. He initiated the building of the fortification known today as the "Third Wall," but was forced to abandon work on it under pressure for the Syrian legate, who frowned on such emancipatory tendencies. Agrippa died suddenly in 44 CE in Caesarea. Acts 12:19–23 and *A.J.* 19.343–352 agree that Agrippa had allowed the people of Caesarea to worship him as a god:

> Acts 12:19 ... Then he went down from Judea to Caesarea and was spending time there. ... 21 On an appointed day, after putting on his royal apparel, Herod took his seat on the rostrum and began delivering an address to them. 22 The people repeatedly cried out, "The voice of a god and not of a man!" 23 And immediately an angel of the Lord struck him because he did not give God the glory, and he was eaten by worms and died. (NASB)

---

86 On this, see Eck, Rom, 43.

87 This shows that Agrippa I supported both the Pharisees and the Sadducees, as Kollmann, Einführung, 102, correctly observes.

> *A.J.* 19.343 After the completion of the third year of his reign over the whole of Judaea, Agrippa came to the city of Caesarea ... Here he celebrated spectacles in honour of Caesar ... 344 On the second day of the spectacles, clad in a garment woven completely of silver so that its texture was indeed wondrous, he entered the theatre at daybreak. There the silver, illuminated by the touch of the first rays of the sun, was wondrously radiant and by its glitter inspired fear and awe in those who gazed intently upon it. 345 Straightway his flatterers raised their voices from various directions – though hardly for his good – addressing him as a god. "May you be propitious to us," they added, "and if we have hitherto feared you as a man, yet henceforth we agree that you are more than mortal in your being." 346 The king did not rebuke them nor did he reject heir flattery as impious. But shortly thereafter he looked up and saw an owl perched on a rope over his head. At once, recognizing this as a harbinger of woes just as it had once been of good tidings, he felt a stab of pain in his heart. He was also crippled in his stomach by an ache that he felt everywhere at once and that was intense from the start. 347 Leaping up he said to his friends "I, a god in your eyes, am now bidden to lay down my life, for fate brings immediate refutation of the lying words lately addressed to me. I, who was called immortal by you, am now under sentence of death. ... 350 Exhausted after five straight days by the pain in his abdomen, he departed this life in the fifty-fourth year of his life and the seventh of his reign.

It clear that Agrippa's "piety" was rooted in political calculation, since he readily used pagan forms of homage in Hellenistic contexts.[88] There can be no definitive answer to whether Josephus's and Luke's reports that Agrippa's intestines were consumed indicate that he was poisoned – for instance, by the Romans, for whom Agrippa's national political ambitions were a thorn in the side.[89] The Romans would probably have had other ways pressuring and reining in an overly ambitious king.

5.5.5 Agrippa II (50–93 CE)

When Agrippa I died in 44 CE, Emperor Claudius did not leave the territory to Agrippa's seventeen-year-old son, Agrippa II (a great-grandson of Herod the Great). Instead, he restored the administrative district of Judea, now expanded to include the territories that Agrippa I had acquired. As compensation, Agrippa II received the small kingdom of Chalcis in southern Lebanon in 49 CE and the right to oversee the Jerusalem Temple and to appoint high priests.[90] Beginning in 53 CE, Claudius reorganized the political affairs of the Levant (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.247/*A.J.* 20.137f.), entrusting Arca, Abila, and Philip's former tetrarchy to Agrippa II. Finally, Nero expanded Agrippa's realm to include the city Julias in Perea (Bethsaida), Tarichaea (Magdala), and Tiberias, including their surrounding areas (Josephus, *A.J.* 20.159; *B.J.* 2.252; *Vita* 37f.). Agrippa II's reign ended with the first Jewish War (66–70 CE), after which he lived in Rome until his death (93 CE). Agrippa II is mentioned in the New Testament in Acts 25:13–26:32, where the prefect Festus has Paul brought before Agrippa ("Paul,

88 See Kollmann, Einführung, 102. Schäfer, History, 115, however, does not wish to make a judgment on the personal integrity of Agrippa's "piety." On the worship of living rulers as divine in the east of the empire, see Ebner, Stadt, 145.

89 This is the view of Schäfer, History, 115–116.

90 On Agrippa II, see Bernett, Zeitrechnung, 25–37.

you are out of your mind! Your great learning is driving you insane"; 26:24). On Luke's highly sympathetic reading, Paul nearly succeeded in convincing Agrippa of his cause ("Agrippa replied to Paul, 'In a short time you are going to persuade me to make a Christian of myself.'"). Luke's aim here – in the figure of Paul and with Agrippa's words – is to demonstrate to the entire Roman world the political harmlessness of Christianity. Agrippa's concluding remark is thus, "This man is not doing anything deserving death or imprisonment. ... This man could have been set free if he had not appealed to Caesar" (Acts 26:31f.). Berenice, mentioned in Acts 25–26, was Agrippa's biological sister, with whom he was also romantically involved.

5.6 Roman Rule in Judea from 44–66 CE

Judea's status between 44–66 is a matter of debate. It is often asserted that Judea operated as an independent province during this period. The terminology of Josephus and Tacitus is just as unclear at this point as for the period 6–41 CE (► II.5.4.1 above).[91] However, in Annals 12.23.1 Tacitus writes, *Ituraeique et Iudaei defunctis regibus Sohaemo atque Agrippa provinciae Syriae additi* ("The Ituraeans and the Judaeans, on the demise of their kings Sohaemus and Agrippa, were added to the province of Syria"). Thus, there is a certain likelihood that after 44 CE the status of Judea was restored to that of 6–41 CE (► II.5.4.1 above). Judea thus continued under the oversight of the Syrian legate, who had senatorial rank (*legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Syriae*), from 44–66 CE, being locally administered by a *praefectus Iudeae* of Equestrian rank. The extent of the administrative district of Judea after 44 CE remains unclear. It was probably expanded to include the territories that Agrippa I had acquired. Thus, the notoriously rebellious Galilee, where the roots of the resistance movement lay, came under direct Roman rule and tax authority for the first time, a development that became the mainspring for the growing hatred toward the Romans. Here is a list of the prefects:[92]

1. Cuspius Fadus (44–46 CE)
2. Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE)
3. Ventidius Cumanus (48–52 CE)
4. Antonius Felix (52–60 CE)[93]
5. Porcius Festus (60–62 CE)
6. Albinus (62–64 CE)
7. Gessius Florus (64–66 CE)

This list shows that prefects only ever ruled for two to four years. This rapid change was not particularly beneficial to Judea's politically volatile situation. In Josephus's account, these prefects bear the main share of the blame for the outbreak of war in

91 For the following, see Eck, Rom, 45–51, and Schröter/Zangenberg, Texte, 66.

92 See Schäfer, History, 117–120.

93 On the disputed question of the tenures of Felix and Festus, see Schürer/Vermes/Millar, History, 460 and 467. Likewise: Légasse, Paulus, 134–141.

66 CE. Josephus portrays them all as incompetent and self-serving, qualities that gave the zealot movement a reason to flourish again. Their resurgence, in turn, produced internal dynamics that were bound to end in revolt against the Romans. However, Josephus was concerned to exculpate both the Jewish elites and the Roman emperor. As he saw it, the revolt in 66 CE was attributable to mismanagement by the prefects and triggered by some reckless criminal elements within Judaism. Josephus was in no position to indict Syrian legates of senatorial rank, the real authorities in Judea. At the time of Josephus's writing, the latter still sat in the Roman Senate and would not be suitable scapegoats. This danger did not exist where the prefects from the Equestrian nobility were concerned. They were too insignificant.[94] For want of a better alternative, the following "portraits" of the prefects follow the portrayal of Josephus. Keeping this in mind, they should generally be read *cum grano salis*.

Cuspius Fadus (44–46 CE): A certain Theudas appeared on the scene during Cuspius Fadus's reign. Theudas is mentioned in *A.J.* 20.97–99 and Acts 5:36 (appearing in the wrong chronological order in Acts, before Judas of Galilee). Josephus reports that Theudas called himself a "prophet" (*A.J.* 20.97). Theudas's example shows that the boundary between political revolutionaries and religious charismatics was fluid (► IV.2.2.1 below). Cuspius Fadus dealt swiftly with Theudas and his followers, sending his cavalry against them and causing a bloodbath. He had Theudas beheaded.

During this period the queen of Adiabene, Helene, and her son and heir to the throne, Izates, wanted to convert to Judaism. Josephus devotes considerable space to the event in *A.J.* 20.17–96.[95] When Izates and his mother died a short time later in 55 CE, they were both buried in Jerusalem. Queen Helen's tomb still exists there today (incorrectly called "Tomb of the Kings").[96]

Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE) was the nephew of the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria. He had renounced the Jewish faith and made a career in the Roman service. The Jews likely saw his appointment as prefect as a provocation. During his rule, a severe famine (mentioned in Acts 11:28) exacerbated the already tense political situation. Tiberius Alexander succeeded in capturing and crucifying the two Zealot leaders Simon and James, the sons of Judas of Galilee (*A.J.* 20.102).

Conditions worsened under *Ventidius Cumanus (48–52 CE)*. A Roman soldier standing guard at the temple during the Passover celebrations bared his buttocks to the pilgrims gathered in the temple (*B.J.* 2.223–227/*A.J.* 20.108). According to Josephus, thirty thousand people were killed in the Romans' suppression of the subsequent uprising. A further escalation occurred when a Roman soldier tore up and burned a Torah scroll during the pursuit of the rebels (*B.J.* 2.228–231/*A.J.* 20.113–117). When Samaritans attacked Jewish pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, Cumanus – having been bribed by the Samaritans – refused to punish the murderers. According to *B.J.*

94 See Eck, Rom, 49.

95 On this, see Broer, Konversion, 133–162.

96 See Avigad, Jerusalem, NEAEHL II/751; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem I, 129; id., Jerusalem II, 153f. The tomb's well-preserved rolling stone, which seals its entrance, is a remarkable illustration of how the tomb of Jesus might have looked (Mark 15:46; 16:3f.).

2.238, this led to further uprisings and brought in immense support for the Zealots. Cumanus was ultimately deposed and exiled by Claudius (*B.J.* 2.232–246/*A.J.* 20.118–136).

In contrast to the previous prefects, *Antonius Felix (52–60 CE)* did not belong to the Equestrian order but was a freed slave who acted with brutal cruelty in Judea. He was able to capture the rebel leader Eleazar, the son of Dinaios (*A.J.* 20.161), but the Zealots then developed a new strategy. Concealing short, curved daggers under their garments, they mingled with the crowd and stabbed their enemies (*B.J.* 2.254–257/*A.J.* 20.164). These men were called *Sicarii*, after their curved daggers (Latin: *sica*). Their first victim was the high priest Jonathan, whom the Zealots murdered at Felix's request. The Jewish resistance fighters thus saw their own high priest as a traitor who had long collaborated with the Romans – until Felix dropped him.

Several sign-performing prophets and persons claiming to be the Messiah also appeared during Felix's reign (► IV.2.2.2 below). Felix thought of such movements as insurgencies. He had them brutally persecuted. In most cases, such charismatic and enthusiastic movements ended in a bloodbath inflicted by the Romans. The close relationship between the political resistance of social bandits and the religious resistance of sign-performing prophets is visible here (► IV.2 below). Towards the end of Felix's term of office, the situation was so chaotic that the leading Jewish families formed their own gangs for protection. These then fought among themselves and exploited the common people. In the end, Felix was deposed by Nero.

Porcius Festus (60–62 CE): during Festus's tenure, a notable dispute broke out between the temple priests and King Agrippa II (*A.J.* 20.189–195). From his newly built dining hall, Agrippa enjoyed observing the priests as they sacrificed in the temple. Understandably, the priests were not amused by this pastime and had the temple wall raised.

Festus died in 62 CE. While his successor Albinus had not yet arrived in Judea, the incumbent high priest Ananos II (of the Sadducee party; the son of Ananos I/Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas and known from the New Testament) took advantage of the power vacuum in Jerusalem. In the Sanhedrin, he secured a death sentence by stoning against James, the brother of Jesus (*A.J.* 20.197–200). After Peter's departure, James had become the dominant figure in the original Jerusalem congregation. However, the Pharisees (whom Josephus describes as "the most strict in observance of the law") protested James's execution. They went so far as to send an envoy bearing their protest of Ananos's actions to Albinus, who was coming by way of Alexandria. This shows that the conservative, Torah observant James was still fully regarded as being within Judaism and was close to the Pharisees in his basic outlook (► I.2.2.4 above).

Albinus (62–64 CE): Albinus immediately had Ananos removed from office upon his arrival in Palestine. Albinus's reaction demonstrates that the high priest had unlawfully appropriated the right of capital jurisdiction. At that time, the right belonged exclusively to the Roman procurators. Other than his removal of Ananos from the office of high priest, Albinus's tenure was marked by the complete failure of the Roman administration in its dealings with the Zealots.

Gessius Florus (64–66 CE): If the former prefects had already been incompetent, conditions deteriorated completely under Florus. In *B.J.* 2.277, Josephus portrays him as

being especially avaricious. When Florus seized the temple treasury, the situation escalated and the First Jewish War broke out.

6 From the Jewish War to the Bar Kochba Revolt

6.1 The First Jewish War (66–70 CE)

6.1.1 Prior History

In the spring of 66 CE (*B.J.* 2.293; 2.315), the prefect Gessius Florus took seventeen talents from the temple treasury. Josephus's succinct explanation is that this happened because the emperor demanded it. It may well be that the constantly declining tax revenues, due to the dire political situation, made such an action appear necessary to Florus. It is also possible that Zealots had persuaded the people to boycott taxes and that Florus tried to obtain the money in the described manner. In any case, it was the final straw. Agrippa and his sister Berenice tried to mediate, but they too were overrun by events. The captain of the temple, Eleazar,son of Ananos II, decreed that the sacrifices for the emperor – offered twice daily in the temple since the inception of the Roman administrative district of Judea – would be discontinued (*B.J.* 2.409f.). This marked the beginning of Jerusalem's revolt against Rome.

6.1.2 Interfactional Struggles and the Beginning of the War

The tensions that subsequently erupted reveal the complexity of political interests in the Judaism of the time. The *peace party*, opposed to the war and eager to maintain peace, was composed mainly of the aristocracy loyal to Rome and the Jerusalem middle class. A key collaborator with the Romans was Ananos II, the former high priest, who – although eventually deposed because of the execution of James – currently aligned himself with the Romans. By contrast, the *revolutionaries,* led by the temple captain Eleazar and drawn from the priestly aristocracy, supported an uprising against Rome. It is unclear what exactly motivated Eleazar to take this step, which contrasted so starkly with the position of his father Ananos II. The *Zealots* – particularly the radical Zealot faction of the *Sicarii* – were also concerned with restructuring the social conditions of the land. Their motives were not only religious but also socio-economic in nature. This is evident from the fact that this group immediately plundered the house of Ananos II and the palace of Agrippa II, then proceeded to destroy the archives containing the tax lists (*B.J.* 2.427f.).

In the meantime, Menahem, a son of Judas of Galilee, had plundered the stronghold Masada and made a solemn entrance into Jerusalem. The fact that the people of the city paid homage to him as to a king (*B.J.* 2.434) shows that insurrection resonated with messianic aspirations and "demonstrates the way in which religious,

social and military factors were all intermingled in the rebellion."[97] Menahem next captured Herod's palace. Only the fortified towers Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne remained in Roman hands. Yet, when Menahem had Ananos II (father of the temple captain Eleazar) murdered, Eleazar struck back and had Menahem killed. Now under the leadership of Eleazar ben Jairus (Menahem's nephew and the grandson of Judas of Galilee), Menahem's followers withdrew to Masada, not to figure in events again until near war's end.

The legate of Syria, Cestus Gallus, did not intervene until the fall of 66 CE. He and his twelfth legion were ambushed near Beth-Horon and suffered a devastating defeat. It was only after this defeat that moderate Jewish groups climbed on the bandwagon and joined the rebels. In Jerusalem, Ananos II joined the revolutionaries and took command until his assassination in the year 68. During this time, he oversaw the completion of Agrippa I's unfinished "Third Wall" in the north of Jerusalem.

6.1.3 Flavius Josephus and the Situation in Galilee

Joseph, son of Matthias (*B.J.* 1.3/*Vita* 7), better known as Flavius Josephus (► III.8.1 below), was appointed leader of the uprising in Galilee (*B.J.* 2.568). The complex motivations behind the uprising and the internal Jewish conflicts of the period are reflected in the person of Josephus. Josephus was a member of Jerusalem's priestly nobility and, upon arriving in Galilee, came into conflict with the fraction leader John of Gischala (*B.J.* 2.585). John was no aristocrat and was not pleased that the Jerusalemites wanted to pull the strings in Galilee now, too. The common people – like John – had hardly any political alternatives. Josephus, on the other hand, would later be able to defect to the Romans without much misgiving. The skepticism of someone like John of Gischala about the Hellenistically educated priest's son Josephus is therefore understandable. Josephus only narrowly escaped John's assassination attempts. The three factions that Josephus encountered in the city of Tiberias, which he recounts in *Vita* 32–38, are also indicative of the situation in Galilee:[98]

> Three factions were in the city: one of refined men, and it was headed by Iulius Capellus. 33 This man certainly, and all those with him – Herod son of Miarus, Herod son of Gamulus, and Compsus son of Compsus (note: his brother Crispus, who had formerly been prefect of the Great King), happened to be in his own estates beyond the Jordan – 34 at that time all of those mentioned counseled [the people] to stand firm in loyalty to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus did not concur with this opinion, being influenced by his son Iustus; besides, he was by nature somewhat crazed. 35 So the second faction, comprising the most insignificant, was determined to make war. 36 Iustus son of Pistis, the principal man of the third bloc, although he kept pretending to be in doubt about the war, was actually longing for revolutionary activities, intending to manufacture power for himself out of the upheaval. 37 So he came along into the [city center] and tried to teach the mob that the city had always been the capital of Galilee since the times of Herod the Tetrarch, who was its builder and who had wanted the city of the Sepphorites to submit to that of the Tiberians. They

97 Schäfer, History, 124.

98 On this, see Tiwald, Freedom, 117.

> had not relinquished this primacy under King Agrippa the father, but it remained until Felix was put in charge of Judea. 38 Now, he was saying: "You yourselves just happen to have been given to the younger Agrippa as a gift from Nero! And because it submitted to Rome, Sepphoris immediately became the capital of Galilee, and both royal the royal bank and the archives, having been dismantled, are with them."

There were thus three parties in Tiberias: 1) the peace party, supported by the wealthy who were afraid of losing their position, 2) the war party, consisting of the poor who had nothing left to lose, 3) people who had a certain amount of wealth and education, but hoped to profit from the resulting turmoil (such as Justus, the son of Pistus). As long as the capital city of Tiberias had money and power, people like Justus were content with Roman rule. It was not until 61 CE, when Agrippa moved the capital city to Caesarea Philippi (today's בניאס, Banyas),[99] that resistance began to stir. At that point, religion, politics, and social tensions combined in an explosive mixture, showing how fragile the peace was and how many factors were involved in decisions about cooperation or war with the Romans. There were similar political oscillations in the city of Sepphoris. After Herod's death, the city had been a center of the uprisings and was completely destroyed by the Romans. The city now chose to collaborate with the Romans and not join the war on the side of the rebels. Its efforts at ingratiation with the Romans went so far as to mint coins in Vespasian's honor, inscribed with the words εἰρηνοποίος, meaning "peacemaker."[100] The rivalry between the cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias, and their mutual vying for Roman favor (evident in the speech of Justus of Tiberias), was likely also a factor in this course of action. A third example in this context is the city of Gamala. At first, this clearly Jewish city (see the synagogue and Mikveh found there)[101] declined to enter the war against the Romans (*Vita* 46). However, it eventually reversed that decision (*Vita* 177). This is further evidence of the complexity of the situation.

6.1.4 Vespasian in Galilee (67 CE)

After the defeat of Cestius, Nero commissioned Vespasian, who was experienced in military matters, to suppress the revolt. In early 67 CE, Vespasian advanced against Galilee with the legions stationed in Syria and auxiliary troops from the vassal kings (including those of Agrippa II). He was reinforced by the fifteenth legion, which was under the command of his son Titus. In total, Vespasian commanded a fighting force of sixty thousand men. Once Vespasian had conquered Gamala[102] and Gischala (Sepphoris having sided with the Romans), the remainder of Galilee fell into his hands

---

99 See Hirschfeld, Tiberias, NEAEHL IV/1464.

100 See Hirschfeld, Tiberias, NEAEHL IV/1324.

101 See Gutman, Gamala, NEAEHL II/460f.

102 The storming of Gamala can be easily reconstructed. Under a hail of ballista shots, torsion engine projectiles, and arrows (remains of all these weapons were found in Gamala), the Romans broke through the wall and captured the city. See Stemberger, Umformung, 85; id. Pharisees, 240–254. Gutman, Gamala, NEAEHL II/459–463.

almost without a fight. Only the fortress of Yodfat offered prolonged resistance under Josephus's leadership. When the Romans launched their final assault, the majority of the Jewish resistance fighters chose suicide. Josephus alone eschewed suicide and was captured by the Romans.

6.1.5 Civil War in Jerusalem (68–69 CE)

John of Gischala had managed to escape from Galilee to Jerusalem, where he ignited a civil war and seized power. Then he set about eliminating the pro-Roman upper class and the high priestly families. The office of high priest was now exclusively assigned by lot (*B.J.* 4.138– 157). He also demolished the moderate party headed by the Pharisee Simeon ben Gamaliel (► II.6.2.4 below). In the meantime, Vespasian had captured Perea. When Nero died on June 9, 68 CE, Vespasian suspended all major military operations due to the uncertain situation in Rome. In 69 CE, Simon bar Giora invaded Jerusalem and sparked a new civil war, this time against John of Gischala. Simon's following consisted of smallholders and freed slaves. As his epithet indicates, Simon was himself the son of a proselyte (Aram. *giora*, "proselyte"). This is particularly clear evidence that powerful social factors also always played a decisive role in the revolts and civil wars of the period. The unrest in Jerusalem gave Vespasian the chance to take control of the rest of the Jewish heartland, with the exceptions of Jerusalem and the fortresses of Herodium, Masada, and Machaerus. Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the Egyptian legions on July 1, 69 CE. Until the early summer of 70 CE, he bided his time in Alexandria, observing the uncertain situation before going to Rome. From that time forward, his son Titus carried on the war against the Jews. In Jerusalem, however, the factions of John of Gischala (entrenched on the Temple Mount), Simon bar Giora (occupying the upper city), and a group led by the temple captain Eleazar (confined within the inner temple court) were locked in conflict with each other (*B.J.* 5.22–26). It is no wonder that, in this disjointed situation, the Christians left the city and fled to Pella in the Decapolis, as Eusebius recounts (HE 3.5.3; ► I.2.2.6 above).

6.1.6 The Capture of Jerusalem (70 CE)

The siege of Jerusalem began a few days before the Passover in 70 CE. Titus had the fifth, tenth, twelfth, and fifteenth legions on hand. During the Passover festival, John of Gischala had the temple captain Eleazar murdered, after which he reached an agreement with Simon bar Giora on a joint defense of the city. Titus set up his primary camp on *Mount Scopus* (הַר הַצּוֹפִים, *Har ha-Zofim*) northeast of Jerusalem and a secondary camp on the Mount of Olives. The Romans employed siege towers (*B.J.* 5.292) and heavy military equipment in their attack. They first breached the newly built "Third Wall," and soon thereafter the "Second Wall" fell as well (► II.4.2.1 above). After that, only the separately fortified upper city, the lower city, and the temple district, including the Antonia Fortress, were left. The Roman legions surrounded the whole city in a siege ring (see Luke 21:20). An appalling famine gripped Jerusalem. The besieged forces invariably rejected terms of surrender. As a result, they were met with the full

fury of the Romans during the siege. The temple was stormed and burned down on the 9th of Av (= late August) in 70 CE.[103] Shortly thereafter, the upper city, separated from the temple by the Tyropoeon Valley, also fell. The two rebel leaders were sent to Rome for the triumphal procession.

6.1.7 The Storming of Masada (74 CE)

After capturing Jerusalem, Titus returned to Rome, where he held his triumphal procession in 71 CE. To this day, the Arch of Titus, depicting looted cult objects from the temple (menorah, silver trumpets, and table of the showbread), can still be viewed in the Roman Forum. The war was officially over. Titus left the capture of the remaining fortresses to the governor of Judea, Lucius Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (usually referred to as Flavius Silva). The Herodium and Machaerus soon capitulated. The rebels on Masada held out longer, being led by the Zealot Eleazar ben Jairus, a grandson of Judas of Galilee. The Roman siege structures used in the war (eight siege camps, a siege wall around the rock massif of Masada, a ramp for storming the fortress) are among the very best-preserved Roman siege structures.[104] The siege ring (*B.J.* 7.304) was 1.5 meters wide and 4.6 kilometers long, giving us a good idea of what Luke 21:20 says about the siege of Jerusalem ("But when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies ..."). Since the rebels had abundant supplies of water and food (*B.J.* 7.296–298), Flavius Silva decided to launch an assault using a massive ramp which he had raised on the western side of the fortress (*B.J.* 7.305f.). The ramp can still be seen today. According to *B.J.* 7.308–310, the Romans brought a siege tower and a battering ram up this ramp, by which they succeeded in breaching the fortress wall. A dramatic battle followed, during which the ever-shifting wind drove fires set by incendiary projectiles against the siege tower in one moment and the next against the wood used to secure the breach in the defensive wall (*B.J.* 7.315–318). Josephus sees divine providence (ἐκ δαιμονίου προνοίας) at work in the failure of the rebels, who ultimately committed suicide. Whether Josephus's dramatic account can be believed is a matter of archaeological dispute. However, recent discussion has leaned in favor of his credibility.[105]

---

103 According to *B.J.* 6.220–270, the storming of the temple began on the 8th of Av and ended on the 10th. Rabbinic tradition established the 9th of Av as the date of the destruction of both the *First* and the *Second Temple*. The First Temple was destroyed on the 7th (2 Kgs 25:8f.) or 10th of Av (Jer 52:12f. and *A.J.* 10.135/*B.J.* 5.250) in 586 BCE. See Galor/Bloedhorn, Jerusalem, 68 and 269.

104 See Arubas/Goldfus, Masada, NEAEHL V/1937.

105 Arubas/Goldfus, Masada, NEAEHL V/1939, doubt that the siege ramp could have borne such siege engines. However, Davies and Magness, Recovering, 55–65, reach a different conclusion: "Josephus' description of the Roman assault on Masada is supported by the archaeological evidence, and offers the simplest and most economical explanation of events" (*loc. cit.*, 63).

6.2 Between the Wars (70–132 CE)

6.2.1 Political and Economic Consequences of the War

Before the war, Judea had been an independent administrative district of the province of Syria. Jerusalem had thus been under the authority of its own prefect, who was under the supervision of the Syrian legate. Judea now became an independent province administered by a senator, who served as a governor with the rank of praetor, that is, a *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Iudaeae*.[106] The capital city of the province was now Caesarea Maritima. This new development meant that a dedicated legion was stationed in Judea, the *legio X Fretensis*, which had also taken part in the war and whose legion stamp can still be seen everywhere in Israel today. Most Jewish farmers were now *coloni* (tenants), farming the land for rent and occupying an intermediate position between freemen and slaves. The *sikarikon* law, mentioned in m. Git 5.6, illustrates how difficult the resulting circumstances were.[107] *B.J.* 7.218 tells of the introduction of the *fiscus Iudaicus*. The temple tax, previously paid to the Jerusalem temple, now had to be delivered, in the form of two drachmas, to the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus* in Rome. This was especially humiliating for devout Jews (► I.2.2.8 above).

6.2.2 Consequences of the War for Different Jewish Groups

The destruction of the temple marked the end of an era. However, there was as yet no awareness of this in 70 CE. The temple had been rebuilt after the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE. In the year 70 CE, it was hardly conceivable that the recently destroyed temple would never be rebuilt.[108] One often reads that, of the groups of the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots, only the Pharisees remained after 70 CE. The rabbis, it is supposed, then developed from the latter.[109] As we have already seen, however, this notion takes insufficient account of the historical developments (► I.1.3.1 above). The emergence of rabbinic Judaism did not follow a monolinear path running in a direct line from the Pharisees to the rabbis. The body of rabbinic thought absorbed a great deal from Sadducean and Essene ideologies, too.

6.2.3 Regrouping in Yavne Through the Efforts of Yohanan ben Zakkai

By rabbinic accounts, Yohanan ben Zakkai, a supporter of the peace party, escaped from Jerusalem during the chaos of war in 70 CE. He is said to have played dead and had himself carried out of Jerusalem by two disciples during the siege. What can be

106 See Eck, Rom 82f. and 109; Schröter/Zangenberg, Texte, 66.

107 See Schäfer, History, 136; Stemberger, Judentum, 16; Shahar, Quarter, 191–203; Hengel, Zealots, 51–53.

108 See Schäfer, History, 136. Likewise, Stemberger, Introduction, 4–5.

109 Thus, e.g., Schäfer, History, 137. By contrast, see Kollmann, Einführung, 119.

historically ascertained is that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, Yohanan ben Zakkai gathered to himself in Yavne experts in the holy scriptures and traditions, who showed interest in the religious renewal of Judaism. Yavne remained the center of the early rabbinic movement until the Bar Kochba Revolt.[110] In later rabbinic tradition, Yohanan ben Zakkai thus became the founder of Rabbinic Judaism. However, the developmental processes were considerably more complex. In the Yavne period, "a sense of discontinuity was then [i. e., in 70 CE] not yet in evidence. This only emerged at Usha [i. e., after the Second Jewish War], when it was clear that there would be no temple and no restoration of earlier conditions in the foreseeable future ..."[111] As discussed above (► I.2.2.3), there was neither a "Council of Yavne" during this period, nor was the biblical "canon" of Judaism (► V.3.1 below) closed. Nor did the *Birkat haMinim* (the "benediction against heretics") effect a demarcation of Judaism from Christianity.[112]

6.2.4 Gamaliel II

It is not entirely clear how long Yohanan ben Zakkai remained the most important teacher in Yavne. Gamaliel II (more correctly: *Gamliel*, גמליאל) probably assumed leadership between 80 and 90 CE. Gamaliel II was the son of Simeon ben Gamaliel I. According to Josephus, the latter was a leading Pharisee in Jerusalem. According to Acts 5:34, Gamaliel II's grandfather had also already been a Pharisee and, in Luke's account, showed sympathies for the followers of Jesus. In Acts 22:3, (likely not entirely historically accurate) he is portrayed as Paul's teacher.[113] After Gamaliel II's death (between 100 and 120 CE), leadership did not fall directly to his son Simeon. Rather, it was teachers such as Akiva (in Bnei Brak near Tel Aviv) and Ishmael (in the south of Judea) who took the lead.

6.2.5 The Diaspora Revolt under Trajan and the Situation in Judea

While Trajan was away campaigning against the Parthians in Mesopotamia, the Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica revolted in 115 CE, followed by those in Cyprus and Mesopotamia.[114] This revolt (115–117) was largely confined to the diaspora, although there was likely also some unrest in Judea. Worry that the revolts could also spill over into Judea prompted Trajan to station a second legion there. The *legio X Fretensis* was reinforced by the *legio II Traiana*, which was replaced by the *legio VI Ferrata* in 127 CE.[115]

---

110 See Stemberger, Judentum, 17f.; id., Pharisees, 243.

111 Stemberger, Introduction, 4–5.

112 Against Kollman, see Introduction, 121.

113 On this, ► V.9.1.1 below and Tiwald, Hebräer, 170–173. On Gamaliel I and II, see Neusner/Thoma, Pharisäer, 198–203; Stemberger, Pharisees, 243.

114 On the diaspora revolts, see Eck, Rom, 112–115; Pucci Ben Zeev, Diaspora, esp. 123–257; Hasselhoff, Euseb, 191–202; Maier, Geschichte, 98–106; Schröter/Zangenberg, Texte, 66.

115 See Schäfer, History, 161; Eck, Rom, 145.

For Judea, this would have meant that the province was now under the control of a consular rather than a praetorian governor. A former consul, not a former praetor, was always in command where two legions were present.[116] Trajan's precautionary measure meant that there were now around 20,000 men (two legions with their auxiliary troops) stationed in Judea.

7 The Time During and After the Bar Kochba Revolt

7.1 The Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 CE)

7.1.1 Developments Prior to the Revolt

Hadrian's rule (117–138 CE) initially brought a certain stability to the political situation in the wake of the upheavals under Trajan. Hadrian was intent on a firm policy of peace. However, this policy also included the expansion or re-establishment of cities and the concomitant Hellenization of such projects. Hadrian probably already wanted to re-establish Jerusalem as *Aelia Capitolina* before the war, which is likely what triggered the revolt.[117] However, it is also evident that the driving force behind the Bar Kochba Revolt was not only political deliberation. It was also messianic expectation that lured the Jews into such a hopeless revolt.

7.1.2 Bar Kochba and the Claim to Messiahship

The sources provide different information regarding the name of the revolt's leader. Only the first name Shim'on (שמעון) appears on the coins he minted himself. In the preserved Hebrew/Aramaic letters that he penned,[118] his epithet is Ben (or Bar) Kosiba (שמעון בן כוסבא), in a Greek papyrus it is *Chōsiba*. Bar Kochba (בר כוכבא) is the reinterpretation of the latter name as "son of the star," an obvious messianic allusion to Numbers 24:17, as in y. Taʿan. 4.8, fol. 68d:

> Rebbi Simeon ben Yohai stated: Aqiba my teacher used to preach, *there appeared a star out of Jacob* [Num 24:17] there appeared Koziba out of Jacob. When Rebbi Aqiba saw Bar Koziba he said, this is the King Messias. Rebbi Johanan ben Torta said to him, Aqiba! Grass will grow from your jaws and still David's son (still has to) [will not have] come.

In this passage, Numbers 24:17 is interpreted in Messianic terms and read into Shim'on's epithet by reversing the letters. Similarly, Numbers 24:17 is given a messianic interpretation in the Damascus Document of the Qumran community. The "Teacher of Righteousness" is equated with the "star" that "moves out of Jacob" and

116 See Schäfer, History, 146; Eck, Rom, 113f.; Pucci Ben Zeev, Diaspora, 254–256.

117 See, for instance, Hasselhoff, Euseb, 191–202; Eck, Aufstand, 261.

118 Documents from Bar Kochba's circle were found in Wadi Murabba'at on the Dead Sea. Letters containing his signature were found in Nachal Chever (Stemberger, Judentum, 21).

the "scepter" is identified with the "prince of the whole congregation," understood along messianic lines. Bar Kochba also had himself titled "prince" (נָשִׂיא, *nasi'*) on his coins.[119] Eusebius later also notes the messianic meaning of Bar Kochba's epithet. After Bar Kochba's defeat, rabbinic writings interpreted his epithet as "Bar Koṣiba" (בר כוזיבא, above cited text: "Koziva"), meaning "son of the lie." This perhaps suggests that not all quarters in Israel were in agreement with Shim'on's messianic claims before the revolt began. In Apol 1.31.6, Justin reports that Bar Kochba had also acted against Christians. This is the only information we have on the matter. Bar Kochba's reason for acting against Christians may have had to do with diverging messianic claims. For Christians clearly associated messiahship with Jesus. If Justin's remark is indeed accurate, then Bar Kochba's actions are rooted in inner Jewish conflict between incommensurable messianic and political outlooks, rather than in the religious separation of "Jews" from "Christians." Eleazar the Priest is also named on the Bar Kochba coins. It is quite possible that, alongside the *political anointed one*, Bar Kochba, Eleazar took on the function of the *priestly anointed one*. This division of functions is also known to us from Qumran (► III.4.6.3 below).

7.1.3 The Course of the Revolt

The uprising was geographically confined to the south of the province of Judea. Galilee was only affected peripherally. In all likelihood, Bar Kochba did not succeed in recapturing Jerusalem. Although Bar Kochba's coins contain motifs drawn from the temple cult, only two of them have been found at excavation sites in Jerusalem (out of a total of 15,000 excavated coins).[120] This suggests that Jerusalem was not part of the territory that Bar Kochba captured, a clear indication of how small and ultimately futile the revolt was from the outset. Nevertheless, Bar Kochba initially succeeded in taking the governor Tineius Rufus by surprise. Bar Kochba availed himself of guerrilla tactics, hiding in a system of underground caves after raids. When the Syrian legions were unable to suppress the revolt, the experienced general Julius Severus was summoned from Britain to Judea, where he advanced on the rebels with several legions. The fortress of Betar (in the southwest of Jerusalem), to which Bar Kochba had retreated, fell in 134/135 CE. Bar Kochba was killed in the battle.

7.1.4 The Aftermath of the Revolt

After the revolt, many Jews who were on the run sought refuge in the caves near the Dead Sea. Among them were the Jewish women Babatha and Johanna, who had taken their family archives (purchase contracts, tax declarations, personal documents) with them. These documents were discovered in a cave near En Gedi in 1961. There

119 On the title *nasi'*, see Schäfer, History, 152, 155–158.

120 See also Eck, Rom, 116f. This notwithstanding, the revolt had astonishing success at the start, likely thanks to the element of surprise (Eck, Aufstand, 249–265).

were similar finds, consisting of everyday objects that had belonged to refugees (but no papyri), in Wadi Daliyeh (near Jericho). Jerusalem now became a Roman city called *Aelia Capitolina* (*Aelia* after Hadrian's *gens*: *Aelius Hadrianus*; *Capitolina* after Jupiter Capitolinus). Circumcised persons were forbidden to enter the city on pain of death. Jerusalem had thus become a non-Jewish city (Eusebius HE 4.5f. and 5.12; see Justin Dial 16.2). According to Eusebius, the ban on entering Jerusalem also applied to Jewish Christians and marked the end of the Jewish Christian congregation in Jerusalem (Eusebius notes that the bishops in Jerusalem had been Jewish Christians until the Bar Kochba Revolt, after which they were gentile Christians). If Eusebius's report is accurate, then the Romans still considered Jewish Christians to be Jews at that time, who thus also had to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus* (► I.2.2.8 above). There is debate about the extent to which earlier privileges granted to Judaism (the right to circumcision, freedom of assembly, and freedom from work on the Sabbath) were restricted under Hadrian. In any case, R. Akiva, the follower of Bar Kochba, was executed.[121] While Jews were forbidden to enter Jerusalem, the ban was not fully enforced.

7.2 Ushah, Beit She'arim, Sepphoris

Much as Judaism had regrouped in Yavne after the First Jewish war, it now made a new beginning in Ushah, in upper Galilee, after the Second Jewish War. The center of Jewish life shifted over to Galilee, since it (unlike the Judean Yavne) was not affected by the revolt.[122] The beginnings in Ushah are shrouded in legend. It is said that *Jehuda ben Bava* ordained five disciples of Akiva as rabbis and was subsequently executed by the Romans. However, the idea of ordination is anachronistic for the Judaism of the time.[123] The purpose of the story is to bridge the gap between Yavne and Ushah. *Gamaliel II's son Simeon* was at first not present in Ushah, but joined the group later, eventually becoming its leading representative. His son, in turn, (Gamaliel II's grandson) was *Judah ha-Nasi, also called "Rabbi" (175–217 CE)*.[124] The latter moved from Ushah to Beit She'arim and then on to Sepphoris, where he is thought to have redacted the Mishnah towards the end of his life. The epithet *ha-Nasi*, meaning the prince, highlights his special leading status – tradition asserts his descent from the house of Hillel and thus from the lineage of David. He is usually simply referred to as "Rabbi," the rabbi *par excellence*. The Mishnah comprises six large, thematically structured *sedarim* (orders).

---

121 On the measures taken under Hadrian, see Stemberger, Verfolgung, 255–268. On R. Akiva, *loc. cit.*, 258f.: "One cannot even say for sure of the most famous martyr of the time, R. Akiva, when he was executed, whether during the revolt or afterwards, and what the offense was for which he was condemned." [JV] The only pre-Talmudic text, t. San 2.8, mentions only his imprisonment.

122 See Stemberger, Judentum, 23.

123 See Stemberger, Judentum, 24.

124 See Oppenheimer, Rabbi, passim.

Zera'im (Seeds): tithing, the sabbatical year
Mo'ed (Festivals): the festival calendar
Nashim (Women): the roles of women
Neziqin (Damages): civil and criminal law
Qodashim (Sacred Things): sacrificial laws
Tohorot (Purifications): purity regulations

7.3 Rabbinic Judaism

The emergence of Rabbinic Judaism was not an unilinear transition from the Pharisees to the Rabbis (▸ I.1.3.1 above). Sadducee and Essene material also made its way into Rabbinic Judaism.[125] The processes involved in its emergence took longer than was generally thought in earlier research. Rabbinic Judaism had not become firmly established before 200 CE. The rabbis only assumed leadership in the Islamic period. M. Avot 1.1 is frequently cited as supposed evidence of a line of succession from the Pharisees to the Rabbis:

> Moses received Torah from Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua. And Joshua to the elders. And the elders to the prophets. And the prophets transmitted it to the members of the Great Assembly.

However, "Even individual texts, such as the Avot tractate, should not be uncritically regarded as (at least at their core) Pharisaic texts. In its final form, the tractate is very late, but even its best-known parts should be dated long after the Mishnah. A potential Pharisaic heritage in the document is hardly verifiable."[126] The wording of m. Avot 1.1 ("received" and "handed down/passed on," Heb. קבל and מסר), is frequently invoked in the scholarly literature "as special terminology connoting tradition,"[127] usually in connection with 1 Corinthians 11:23 ("For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you"). Nevertheless, "... the terminology of מסר/קיבל is hardly ever used (apart from m. Avot) for the reception and transmission of the Torah or of tradition as such."[128] Thus, contrary to the frequent assumption, traditional Pharisaic terminology is not behind 1 Corinthians 11:23 either. The same applies to such important persons as Hillel and Shammai, concerning whom, historically speaking, only legends with questionable historical value have survived. No figure as foundational as Hillel is even mentioned before the rabbinic literature, and the same goes for Yohanan ben Zakkai.[129] Although in rabbinic times Yohanan ben Zakkai, who gathered Jewish teachers in Yavne after 70 CE, is considered the founder of Rabbinic Judaism, the reality is more complex. The break with the past was not yet considered final at

125 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 143: "The priestly element in the Mishnah is certainly much stronger than what we would expect from the Pharisees."
126 Stemberger, Qumran, 210 [JV].
127 Thus, Jacobi, Jesusüberlieferung, 275 [JV], who offers a concise summary of the majority opinion here.
128 Stemberger, Moses, 299; id., Pharisees, 242.
129 On this, see Stemberger, Pharisäer, 40; id., Pharisees, 243.

Yavne. There was still an expectation that the temple would be rebuilt. The time at Yavne was also overestimated in earlier research. Even the form of address, "Rabbi" ("my teacher"/"my master"), is only documented after 70 CE, which is of course also when the Gospels were written. When Jesus is called Rabbi in the latter, it is simply a reverential form of address and does not imply that Jesus was a "rabbi" in the later sense of Rabbinic Judaism.

Rabbinic Judaism has its own periodization of history:[130] The time beginning with Hillel and Shammai and stretching to Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) and his sons, that is, to the early third century, is known as the Tannaitic period (Aram. *tanna*; Heb. *shana*, meaning "to repeat, teach, learn"). The *Amoraim* (*amar*, "to say, to comment") follow from there until around 500 CE. They were commentators on tannaitic teachings. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the *Savoraim* (*sabar*, "to reason") redacted the Babylonian Talmud. They are followed by the *Geonim* (*gaon*, "exalted," the title of the head of a school) from the eighth to the eleventh centuries.

130 See Stemberger, Judentum, 17.

III Groups within Early Judaism

1 The Emergence of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees

When and under what circumstances the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes emerged remains largely uncertain according to the latest research.

1.1 Were the Hasideans the Forerunners of the Pharisees and Essenes?

Scholars have often maintained that "the *ḥasidim* or *(H)asideans*, ... were ... the predecessors of the Pharisees (and also of the Essenes, according to most authors)."[1] The Hasideans (Heb. חסידים, *ḥasidim*, "the pious," Gr. Ασιδαῖοι, *Asidaioi*) were a group who, alongside the Maccabees, took part in the resistance against Seleucid religious regulations under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (► II.4.1 above). It is noteworthy that 1 Maccabees 2:42 refers to the συναγωγὴ Ασιδαίων (*synagogē Asidaiōn*), the "assembly of the Hasideans." Also worth noting is that the Aramaic *Asidaioi* corresponds to the Hebrew *ḥasidim*. Why, then, is the term not translated *qehal ḥasidim* as in Psalm 149:1, which the LXX renders *ekklesia hosion*? 1 Maccabees probably uses a previously established designation here.[2] This is consistent with 2 Maccabees 14:6. There, too, the term Hasideans is used as an established designation for certain circles in Israel: οἱ

1 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 97. This thesis, of which Stemberger is rightly critical, is found in the *older version* of the German bible translation known as the *Einheitsübersetzung* from 1980. The latter contains the following note on 1 Maccabees 2:42 [JV]: "'Hasideans' (*ḥasidim*) means 'the pious,' a Jewish community which later (150 CE) split into the groups of the Pharisees and the Essenes." Fortunately, the *new* version has corrected this. Schäfer, History, 70, is not wholly certain about the matter: "It is likely that they [i. e., the Pharisees] emerged from the group of the 'pious' (*chasidim*)." On the other hand, Kollmann, Einführung, 49 [JV], is more confident: "Like the Essenes, the Pharisees grew out of the 'collective movement of the Hasideans,' who had organized against Antiochus IV's efforts towards Hellenization." Lohse, Umwelt, 54 [JV], shares this assessment. However, Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 77 summarizes the current state of research: "The majority of recent research ... rejects as overly speculative connections drawn between the Hasideans of the Maccabean period and the owners of the library found at Qumran."

2 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 97–98.

λεγόμενοι τῶν Ιουδαίων Ασιδαῖοι, "Those of the Judeans who are called Hasideans." The Hasideans were thus a well-defined group at the time of the Maccabees, who supported their resistance against the Seleucids. As the Maccabees increasingly realized their own dynastic goals, showing less and less interest in religious reforms, the Hasideans and the Maccabees (later on: Hasmoneans) drifted ever further apart. Judas Maccabeus's continuation of hostilities, despite the Hasideans' desire for peace (1 Macc 7:13) and the non-Zadokite Jonathan's usurpation of the office of high priest, were milestones in this process of alienation (► II.4.1.5 above). We can be confident that the Hasideans were a conservative religious movement within Judaism during the Maccabean period, that they belonged to the upper class, and, according to 1 Maccabees 7:13f., were linked to the scribes.[3] For a time, this group fought alongside the Maccabees and the subsequent Hasmoneans. However, the Hasideans became increasingly alienated as the ruling house placed its own strategic political interests above religious concerns. Unfortunately, the aforementioned passages (1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6) are the only instances in which the Hasideans are mentioned in the Books of the Maccabees. Interestingly, Josephus does not use the same designation in his retelling of the passages from the Books of the Maccabees (*A.J.* 12.278, 284, 396). It can be assumed that the designation had already gone out of fashion at the time of Josephus's writing.[4] Does this provide grounds to conclude that the Hasideans had developed into Pharisees and possibly Essenes as well? Is that why the term became obsolete? Or should we assume with Stemberger that the "Hasidean thesis has proven unusable" as a means "to reconstruct an early history of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes?"[5] Presumably, the Hasideans did not vanish into thin air, but had an influence also on later developments. However, it is questionable indeed whether the notion of a linear progression to the Pharisees and the Essenes can be supported. Such a development would be most likely in the case of the Essenes. The latter were from the upper class (while the Pharisees were more of a middle-class phenomenon), ran afoul of the Maccabees when Jonathan usurped the high priestly office, and their designation *essaioi* suggests a certain affinity with the *asidaioi*.[6] But this, too, is ultimately only conjecture. Still more hypothetical is the assumption that the Hasidic resistance movement split into two groups, that of the Teacher of Righteousness and that of the Pharisees.[7] In fact, it is highly likely that mention of the "Wicked Priest" in the Qumran texts is a polemic against Jonathan Maccabee (► III.4.2.4 below), whereas mention of the "Man of the Lie" (1QpHab V,11), or the "Community of Deceit" (10.10), and the "builders of the (faulty) wall" are polemics against the Pharisees (► III.4.2.6 below).[8] But can this be directly linked to the Hasideans?[9] In any case, we would do

3 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 100–101.
4 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 97–98.
5 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 102.
6 See Waubke, Pharisäer, 118.
7 See Waubke, Pharisäer, 121.
8 See Waubke, Pharisäer, 119 and 121. Similarly, Kollmann, Einführung, 50.
9 Waubke, Pharisäer, is completely one-dimensional in his attempt to draw a direct line from the Hasideans to the Pharisees, and on to the Chaverim of the rabbinic period.

well to expect pluriform developments and to be skeptical of attempts to derive one group from another in a monolinear fashion.[10] "It is as difficult to reconstruct a more precise prehistory of the three religious schools as it is to demonstrate their provenance from the Hasidean movement."[11]

1.2 Dating the Beginnings of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees

Unfortunately, the usual way of drawing up the chronological framework, as commonly applied to the three groups, proves to be less than reliable. In *A.J.* 13.171, Josephus would have us believe that the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes had already emerged during the time of Judas Maccabeus. However, this claim conflicts with other statements by Josephus.[12]

1.2.1 Dating the Beginnings of the Pharisees

The Pharisees do not appear before Salome Alexandra in *B.J.* In *A.J.*, however, the Pharisees are mentioned for the first time (apart from the aforementioned note in *A.J.* 13.171) in connection with John Hyrcanus (13.288–296). A dispute at a banquet escalated because a Pharisee accused John Hyrcanus of being unfit for the office of high priest, as his mother had once been a prisoner, making him the son of a prisoner. According to Josephus, the outcome of the dispute was that John Hyrcanus turned his back on the Pharisees and aligned himself with the Sadducees from that point onward. The accusation leveled at John Hyrcanus has an interesting parallel in *A.J.* 13.372, this time in connection with Alexander Jannaeus. People had thrown lemons at him during the Feast of the Tabernacles (*etrog* and *lulav*, lemons and palm branches according to Lev 23:40) because he was descended from a prisoner. However, the accusation of being descended from a prisoner does not come from the Pharisees here, who are not mentioned in this passage. There is also no mention of Pharisees in the subsequent reference to the suppression of the civil war, when Alexander Jannaeus had eight hundred of his opponents crucified (*A.J.* 13.380). However, these crucified people were indeed probably Pharisees. At least that is what 4Q169 I,7 (Nahum Pesher) suggests, where the "Angry Lion" is said to have "hanged living men" in "revenge against those looking for easy interpretations." Most scholars agree that the Pharisees are referred to as "those looking for easy interpretations" (דורשי החלקות, *dorshe ha-ḥalaqot*) in the Qumran texts (see also 4Q169 I,2 and II,2 as well as CD I,18;

10 See Nickelsburg/Stone, Judaism, 22, who consider a direct derivation of the Pharisees and Essenes from the Hasideans to be "implausible," but who nevertheless reach the convincing conclusion: "Nonetheless, it is not unlikely that both of these groups or trends arose variously from a kind of pietistic Judaism whose multiform existence is attested …"

11 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 104.

12 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 96–97.

for more on "those looking for easy interpretations," ► III.4.2.6 below).[13] The "Angry Lion" probably refers to Alexander Jannaeus seeking revenge after the Pharisees had called on Demetrius III for help against him (► II.4.2.3 above).[14] There is a rabbinic parallel in m. Suk 4.9 to the incident of a high priest being pelted with lemons at the altar during the Feast of Tabernacles (there, however, the bone of contention is not descent but an incorrectly performed rite). Several times, the Talmud also mentions that Alexander Jannaeus had almost all the "rabbis" killed (b. Qidd. 66a; b. Ber. 48a et passim).[15] The story of the break between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees is thus historically questionable. The time of Alexander Jannaeus is more likely.[16] This agrees with *A.J.* 13.399–404, where, from his deathbed, Alexander Jannaeus transfers power to his wife Salome Alexandra and advises her to come to terms with the Pharisees, as they have influence with the people.

> 401 ... she should yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees [literally: τοῖς φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν, to grant the Pharisees a certain amount of authority], for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her. These men, he assured her, had so much influence with their fellow-Jews that they could injure those whom they hated and help those to whom they were friendly, for they had the complete confidence of the masses when they spoke harshly of any person ...

According to *A.J.* 13.408f., Salome Alexandra in fact followed this advice. This information coincides with *B.J.* 1.110–112, which speaks of the Pharisees' considerable influence on Salome Alexandra:

> 110 Besides Alexandra, and growing as she grew, arose the Pharisees, a body of Jews with the reputation of excelling the rest of their nation in piety, and as exact exponents of the laws. 111 To them, being herself intensely pious, she listened with too great deference;

---

13 See VanderKam/Flint, Meaning, 276–280; likewise, VanderKam, Pharisees, 225–236. See also Tiwald, Hebräer, 375–377.

14 On this, see Maier, Nachumpescher, 244f.; likewise, Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 110.

15 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 109.

16 This is the view of Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 106 and Noam, Images, 76–116 (esp. 95, with a detailed comparison of A.J. 13.288–296 and b. Qidd. 66a as well as an overview of the literature). For a different view, see Kollmann, Einführung, 47f.; Schäfer, History 70–71; Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227, who prefer to place the event as having occurred under John Hyrcanus. Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227, is unconvincing when he argues that John Hyrcanus had usurped the office of "true prophet" (*A.J.* 13.299/*B.J.* 1.68) in addition to that of high priest (which had been in Hasmonean hands since Jonathan), and that it was this affront that triggered mass protest. The protest is directed against the usurpation of the high priestly office, but not against the assumption of the office of prophet. On the "true prophet" (1 Macc 14:41 and 4:46), ► III.4.6.2 below. On Alexander Jannaeus's deathbed instructions to his wife, see Noam, Images, 137–156, and for the pelting with lemons, *loc. cit.* 117–136. In the three stories (the break with the Pharisees, the pelting with lemons, the deathbed instructions), Noam discerns an *apologia* of the Pharisees regarding their relationship with Alexander Jannaeus and the resulting schism within Judaism (*loc. cit.* 154f.; 191–193: "fragments of apologetic Pharisaic literature, which sought to respond to widespread accusation that the Pharisees were subverting the Hasmonean regime").

> while they, gradually taking advantage of an ingenuous woman, became at length the real administrators of the state, at liberty to banish and to recall, to loosen and to bind, whom they would. ... (modified trans.)

It is thus only with Alexander Jannaeus and Salome Alexandra that we find solid historical ground for a chronological placement of the Pharisees.

1.2.2 Dating the Beginnings of the Essenes

According to *A.J.* 20.238, Jonathan Maccabeus (reigned 160–142 BCE) had himself installed as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 BCE (► II. 4.1.5 above). Since the Maccabees belonged only to the lower priesthood, to say nothing of the fact that they were not of the lineage of Zadok, Jonathan's taking of the office inevitably outraged pious Jews. There is a certain probability that the "Teacher of Righteousness" (the authority figure behind the Qumran texts) opposed Jonathan and was followed therein by other temple priests (in this book, I take up and extend the "Groningen hypothesis," which discerns a special group of Essenes in the settlement at Qumran; ► III.4.2 below). Jonathan can thus be identified as the "Wicked Priest"[17] mentioned frequently in the Qumran texts. Under that name, he is accused in 1QpHab XII,6–10 of having committed abominable deeds in Jerusalem and defiling the sanctuary of God. Furthermore, Essene groups probably continued to use the designation "Wicked Priest" as a nickname for Jonathan's Hasmonean successors as well: Simon (142–135 BCE), Jonathan Hyrcanus I (135–104 BCE), and Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).[18] The expression הכהן הרשע (*ha-cohen ha-rasha'*, "Wicked Priest") is a wordplay on הכהן הראש (*ha-cohen ha-ro'sh*, "high priest," for instance in Ezra 7:5).

Excavations at Qumran suggest that the settlement there was founded around 100 BCE at the earliest.[19] Does this weaken the identification of the "Teacher of Righteousness" as Jonathan's rival, since the former had probably already died around 139 BCE?[20] It could well be that the "Teacher of Righteousness" long held out hope of convincing the incumbent priest of his views. The break between the "Teacher of Righteousness" and the "Wicked Priest" likely only became definitive during the long reign of John Hyrcanus.[21] The text 4QMMTcan probably be placed in this context, being a letter addressed by the "Teacher of Righteousness" to the high priest in Jeru-

---

17 See Maier, Geschichte, 40f., as well as id., Testamenten, 278. See also Schäfer, History, 53; Kollmann, Einführung, 38, 41f. See the foregoing argument in II.4.1.5 above.

18 See Maier, Testamenten, 278. Proponents of the Groningen hypothesis (► III.4.2.1 below) likewise assume that the "Wicked Priest" refers to a series of high priests, running from Jonathan, through Simon, to John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus (see García Martínez/van der Woude, Hypothesis, 538f.). On the interpretation of "Wicked Priest," see the overview in Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 277–279.

19 See Magness, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/714. This is also the view of Maier, Bausymbolik, 101.

20 Based on CD XX,13 (cf. CD XIX,35), Maier, Torah, 49 [JV], assumes that the "Teacher of Righteousness" died "sometime around 138 BCE." Likewise, Maier, Testamenten, 278.

21 See García Martínez/van der Woude, Hypothesis, 539.

salem in the hope of convincing him of the Teacher's interpretation of the law.[22] It is quite possible that when the high priestly office was transferred from Jonathan to Simon, or from Simon to John Hyrcanus, the "Teacher of Righteousness" tried to reach an agreement with the new high priest on a specific interpretation of the law.[23] This letter makes it clear that it was not only the usurpation of the office of high priest that was determinative, but also a divergent calendar observance and differences in the interpretation of the law.[24] The founding of the settlement at Qumran around 100 BCE was likely a response to the accession of Alexander Jannaeus (103 BCE). The followers of the "Teacher of Righteousness" must have realized that the break with the Hasmoneans could no longer be mended. Yet perhaps Alexander Jannaeus even supported the creation of the settlement, seeing therein, as it were, the offer of a compromise (► III.4.2.5 below). Thus, a special group of Essenes came to reside at Qumran. Even apart from these speculations, a firm *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the Qumran community is discernible in the Qumran texts themselves. Regarding the beginnings of Qumran, the likely dating also falls under the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), whom 4Q169 I,7 (the Nahum Pesher) calls the "Angry Lion" (see. II.4.2.3 above).[25]

2 Sadducees and Pharisees

2.1 Sources

2.1.1 Lack of Surviving Primary Texts

Not a single text has come down to us that we can say with certainty was written by a Sadducee or a Pharisee. All attempts to attribute certain texts to Sadducees (such as 1 Maccabees, Ben Sira, Judith, etc.) have failed.[26] The same holds for attributing early Jewish texts to Pharisees. This also applies to the authentic letters of Paul, since they were written after Paul had turned away from Pharisaic Torah observance, although not from Judaism.[27] Nor is Flavius Josephus a primary witness, as he too was not a Pharisee (► III.8.1 below). Similarly, the Psalms of Solomon cannot be classified as Pharisaic texts (► III.8.4 below). Again, the same applies to m. Avot, a treatise

22 García Martínez, Temple, 444, dates the original text of 4QMMT "towards the mid-second century BCE" by virtue of its proximity to the Temple Scroll. On this, see also Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 166–168; Dunn, Works, 160–169.

23 Müller, Wissenschaft, 57, takes a slightly different view, assuming that the recipient of the letter could be Alexander Jannaeus, with whom the Qumran community harbored hopes of an amicable agreement. It is however possible that the "Teacher of Righteousness" was no longer alive at this time.

24 See Müller, Wissenschaft, 57, and Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 273f.

25 See Maier, Testamenten, 278. Likewise, Müller, Wissenschaft, 56.

26 See Stemberger, Sadducees, EDEJ 1179.

27 See Wilk, Evangelien, 86.

that cannot be categorized as Pharisaic writing (► II.7.3 above).[28] Also questionable is the widespread method of assigning literature of the Second Temple Period to either Pharisees or Sadducees based on the presence of the idea of resurrection.[29]

2.1.2 Flavius Josephus

Our main source of information on the Sadducees and the Pharisees is Flavius Josephus, specifically his remarks in *B.J.* 2.119–166; *A.J.* 13.171–173; 18.11–24:

> *B.J.* 2.119: Τρία γὰρ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις εἴδη φιλοσοφεῖται καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἱρετισταὶ Φαρισαῖοι τοῦ δὲ Σαδδουκαῖοι τρίτον δέ ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν Ἐσσηνοὶ καλοῦνται.
> Philosophy is practiced in three ways among the Jews. Some are followers of those called Pharisees, others of those who are called Sadducees, and thirdly of those who are called Essenes, who practice special conscientiousness. (trans. MT)

> *A.J.* 13.171: Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἱρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν αἳ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων ἡ τρίτη δὲ Ἐσσηνῶν.
> At that time there were three "sects" among the Jews who thought differently about human affairs: the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. (trans. MT)

> *A.J.* 18.11: Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων ἥ τε τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων τρίτην δὲ ἐφιλοσόφουν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λεγόμενοι.
> Among the Jews, there have long been three different "philosophies" concerning the ancestral laws: that of the Essenes, then that of the Sadducees, and thirdly, the "philosophy" practiced by those known as the Pharisees. (trans. MT).

Josephus tries to present the different factions of Judaism as philosophical schools to accommodate the understanding of his Hellenistic readers.[30] The groups are represented as τρεῖς αἱρέσεις, literally "three sects" (*A.J.* 13.171, see also *B.J.* 2.119: αἱρετισταί), but without the negative connotations attached to "sectarianism." After all, the term is used with reference to *all three* groups. The words τρεῖς αἱρέσεις should be translated in the broadest sense as "three factions." As noted earlier (► I.1.3.1 and I.1.3.2 above), the idea of a "normative Judaism," or the distinguishing a "mainstream Judaism" from a "sectarian Judaism," is inadequate for the period under discussion. We should therefore refrain from appraising any one of these groups as the "authentic" or "dominant" Judaism of the time.

Josephus's assessment of the Pharisees is not uniform. At times he presents them in a very positive light, as in *A.J.* 18.12–15:

> 12 The Pharisees simplify their standard of living, making no concession to luxury. They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments which it has seen fit to dictate to them. ... 15 Because of these views they are, as a matter of fact, extremely influential among the townsfolk; and all prayers and sacred rites of divine worship are

28 See Stemberger, Umformung, 90.
29 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 72–73.
30 See Weißenberger, Philosophenschulen, passim.

performed according to their exposition This is the great tribute that the inhabitants of the cities, by practicing the highest ideals both in their way of living and in their discourse, have paid the excellence of the Pharisees.

Then again, Josephus also portrays the Pharisees in a very negative light.[31] In *A.J.* 17.41, he accuses them of thinking themselves especially conscientiousness in their interpretation of the ancestral traditions and laws (ἐπ᾽ ἐξακριβώσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου καὶ νόμων), while only "feigning" (προσποιουμένων) benevolence toward God in these laws in order to bring the "womenfolk" (ἡ γυναικωνῖτις) under their influence, and displaying combativeness and readiness cause harm (εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι). The portrayal of the Pharisees in in *A.J.* 13.401–423 is especially negative: "They are dangerous and provoke unrest; they have great influence among the people – hypocrites without opinions of their own when they are able to achieve power. They misuse this power for the persecution of their opponents ..."[32] Josephus probably drew from different sources. Particularly in B.J., he seems to have borrowed extensively from Nicolaus of Damascus.[33] Curiously, however, "Josephus does not seem particularly interested in reconciling his sources."[34] At times, he even repeats well-worn tropes. The charge that the Pharisees are greedy for power and given to inordinate ambition is also found in the Gospels (Matt 23:6/Luke 11:43: Pharisees want the places of honor at meals and in synagogues and love deferential greetings in the marketplaces). Similarly, Josephus echoes the Gospels' allegation that they persecute political opponents (Matt 23:29–32/Luke 11:47f.). What can be considered authentic, however, is that many Pharisees sympathized with the Zealots and played a significant role in the revolt (see *Vita* 191–197; *A.J.* 18.23; ► III.5.1.2 below).[35]

Josephus's portrayal of the Sadducees is even more schematic. He has little sympathy for them in B.J., only describes them in contrast to the Pharisees in *A.J.* (*A.J.* 13.293), and depicts them merely in background-contrast to the Pharisees in the *Vita*.[36] Even if much should be read *cum grano salis* in Josephus's presentation, he nevertheless does not engage in "pro-Pharisee propaganda," as is sometimes claimed.[37] Rather, despite all his tendentiousness, he remains balanced overall and thus continues to be our main source.[38]

---

31 For the following, see Tiwald, Valeur, 121f.

32 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 12.

33 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 2, 8, and 10.

34 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 15.

35 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 16, 19f. See also, Weißenberger, Philosophenschulen, 525.

36 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 11f., and 15.

37 See the critique of Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 15.

38 See Nickelsburg/Stone, Judaism, 21. See further, Weißenberger, Philosophenschulen, 524f. [JV]: The tendency to present the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes as "philosophical schools" results (especially in *B.J.*'s portrayal of the Essenes) in an emphasis on "peacefulness bordering on pacifism" – a clearly apologetic strategy in the wake of the Jewish War. However, the picture is more balanced in the later *A.J.*

2.1.3 Sadducees and Pharisees in the New Testament

The Sadducees are not mentioned at all in the fourth Gospel or the Sayings Source. This is understandable from the rural Galilean point of view. In the Gospel of John, the Pharisees are portrayed (anachronistically for the time of Jesus) as the leading power in Jerusalem.[39] This is clear evidence that after the destruction of the temple, the Pharisees gradually rose to become the dominant power, a role held by the Sadducees during Jesus's time. The Gospel of Mark only mentions the Sadducees once, as those who deny of the resurrection of the dead (Mark 12:18–27). The image of the Sadducees remains simplistic in Matthew and Luke as well. From the outset, the Pharisees are rather crudely portrayed in Mark as "antipodes" and "mortal enemies" of Jesus.[40] The picture Matthew paints is more differentiated. Similar to the Sayings Source, Matthew's criticism is not aimed at an abrogation of the purity regulations or other injunctions of the Pharisees, as one might hastily conclude from Q 11.39b/Matthew 23:25. Rather, Q 11.39b/Matthew 23:23 expressly denies this misunderstanding by adding, ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφιέναι ("these are things you ought to have practiced without neglecting the others"). The criticism therefore focuses not on Pharisaic customs *per se*, but on the fact that "justice and mercy and faithfulness" have been neglected on their account.[41] The same can be said for Matthew 23:2 (► V.10 and 12 below):[42]

> 2 "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; 3 therefore, do whatever they teach you and follow it; but do not do as they do, for they do not practice what they teach.

Here there is no blanket condemnation like that found in Mark. Rather, there is an acknowledgment of Pharisaic teaching along with a sustained criticism of their practice. What shows through in this text is that early Christianity and the Pharisees were originally much closer to each other than is usually assumed. The picture is even more differentiated in Luke. The third evangelist is alone in reporting that Jesus was invited to dine with the Pharisees (7:36–50; 11:37–53; 14:1, 12–14).[43] In Luke 13:31, the Pharisees even warn Jesus about Herod Antipas.[44] "In Acts Luke also speaks more frequently of the Pharisees – always positively – while the Sadducees are opponents of the Christian community."[45] In Acts 5:34–39, "a Pharisee in the council named Gamaliel [i. e., Gamaliel I, grandfather of Gamaliel II, ► II.6.2.4 above], a teacher of the Law, respected by all the people" advises a measured response to the first Christians. According to Acts 23:6–9, Paul invokes parallels that exist between Christians and Pharisees and describes himself as a Pharisee. According to Acts 15:5, several pharisees even joined the Christian community. Historically accurate in this account is

39 See. Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 23 and 34.
40 See Wilk, Evangelien, 88, and Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 22.
41 See Tiwald, Gott, 81f.; id., Commentary, 120–124.
42 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries. 26.
43 See Wilk, Evangelien, 92.
44 See Wilk, Evangelien, 97.
45 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 31.

that "The early community in Jerusalem could hope for prospects of goodwill from the leaders of the Pharisees."[46] In the Gospel of John, the Pharisees are portrayed as the leading group with the people. The Sadducees are not mentioned at all. But there, too, the picture is nuanced. Nicodemus (John 3:1–21; 7:50; 19:39) is depicted as a Pharisee who sympathizes with Jesus.

In summary, the New Testament's historical value with reference to the Sadducees and Pharisees is in many ways simplistic and reflective of the later perspective of the evangelists. The grossest distortion is found in the consistently negative light in which Mark portrays the interactions of the Pharisees and Jesus. Historically speaking, it is much more accurate to say that Jesus had a "rather significantly close relationship ... with the Pharisees." "The Pharisees were the Jewish movement that was closest to Christianity and with whom they were generally associated."[47] The next distortion arising from this historical situation, is that the Sadducees – having suffered a drastic loss of influence after the destruction of the temple – are given short shrift in the Gospels as mere stereotypical deniers of the resurrection. This does not do justice to their historical importance.

2.1.4 Rabbinic Sources

The widespread view that the Pharisees alone remained after the catastrophe of 70 CE, transitioning seamlessly into the rabbinate and constituting a perfect continuity between the Pharisees and the Rabbis (► I.1.3.1 above), is now obsolete. In part, however, that view is traceable to rabbinic historiography itself. The later rabbis dated their idealized history to the time of Ezra (see Neh 8:1–8). Thus, the historical value of these texts is revealed to be null. It is then often noted, by way of a "minor solution," that at least the *haverim* of the rabbinic texts might have been the earlier Pharisees' successors[48] – a notion that should be met with a healthy dose of skepticism.[49] Furthermore, the *Peruschim* mentioned in the rabbinic texts cannot be linked to the Pharisees. The word *parusch* simply means "separate" and can encompass various ascetic movements that have nothing in common with the Pharisees.[50] The Pharisees are only mentioned in m. Yad. 4.6–8, together with the Sadducees. Only there can the term *Peruschim* be interpreted with certainty as "pharisees."[51] The fact that such a fundamental figure as Hillel is not mentioned in pre-rabbinic literature, and that

46 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 32–33.

47 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 38.

48 Recently, for instance, Waubke, Pharisäer, 108–132, esp. 130 and 124 [JV] ("... a high probability that *Ḥaverim*-halacha go back to the Pharisees").

49 See Schwartz, Pharisees, 135: "however, the Pharisee-*ḥaber* equation is problematic, if only due to the fact that two separate words are used. ... Without the term *ḥaberim*, which implies special 'brotherhoods', there is little reason to think that insistence upon such food-regulations was characteristic of the Pharisees."

50 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 40; Waubke, Pharisäer, 128f.; Niebuhr, Jesus, 324.

51 For the following, see Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 39, 45f., and 144f.

Yohanan ben Zakkai (► II.6.2.3 above) is mentioned only in rabbinic literature, shows just how incomplete the knowledge of the Pharisees in rabbinic texts is. However, Yohanan ben Zakkai – after all, the founder of the School of Yavne – is never referred to as a Pharisee. In m. Yad. 4.6–8, he even appears to distance himself from the Pharisees. The expectation that the temple would be rebuilt was probably still prevalent in the Yavne period. It is quite possible that priestly circles played a greater role than the Pharisees at that time. That would explain why priestly interests are so strongly represented at the beginnings of the Mishnaic tradition. The fact remains: "Rabbinic sources, as independent evidence of the early days of the Pharisees and Sadducees, are ... unusable."[52]

2.2 Origins of the designations "Sadducees" and "Pharisees"

2.2.1 "Sadducees"

According to 2 Samuel 8:17, after the conquest of Jerusalem David entrusted a certain Zadok (צָדוֹק), who was probably already active there as a pagan priest, with priestly duties.[53] This Zadok was later styled as Aaron's descendant and the progenitor of the Zadokites, that is, the Sadducees. A less common explanation derives the name from צַדִּיק (*zaddiq*, righteous).[54]

2.2.2 "Pharisees"

"The designation 'the Pharisees' is an adaptation of the Greek *hoi Pharisaioi*, which, for its part, is an adaptation of the Aramaic *perisha'ya* or the Hebrew *happerûshîm/perîshin*. *Parash* means to separate oneself, to keep away, to be abstinent."[55] However, it is no longer possible to determine whether the name was originally an honorific or a pejorative nickname, nor whether the Pharisees adopted it themselves. If the name is a self-designation, then it would indicate the separation of the Pharisees from other currents of belief and practice in early Judaism. If it was applied to them by others, then the Pharisees were apparently regarded as dangerous separatists.

52 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 96.

53 See Kollmann, Einführung, 32.

54 See Stemberger, Sadducees, EDEJ 1179.

55 Neusner/Thoma, Pharisäer, 191 [JV]; Deines, Pharisees, EDEJ 1061. Baumgarten, Name, 411–428, considered the possibility of *prš*, in the sense of "to interpret," indicating the Pharisees as extremely precise interpreters of scripture.

2.3 Social Position

2.3.1 Social Stratum

The Sadducees were the priestly nobility, members of the upper class, as *A.J.* 13.298 emphasizes:[56]

> And concerning these matters the two parties came to have controversies and serious differences, the Sadducees having the confidence of the wealthy alone but no following among the populace, while the Pharisees have the support of the masses.

The Sadducees probably had few followers among the poorer sections of the population. This contrasts with the Pharisees, whom Josephus repeatedly highlights for their significant influence with the wider population. The Pharisees were probably generally members of the middle class. *Vita* 196f. tells of a delegation of three Pharisees, who "differed with respect to ancestry, [but] were similar with respect to education (ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας τῇ παιδείᾳ δ' ὁμοίους), two of whom were δημοτικοί ("from the ordinary citizens"), the third a priest. There were thus also Pharisees among the priests.[57] As to the rest, we might think of the Pharisees as a kind of "educated middle class" in competition with the temple aristocracy, the Sadducees. Paul's social profile was typical of this group, since he could read and write, and since his business as a tent maker certainly placed him above the lower class. Josephus and the New Testament consistently give prominence to the Pharisees' high level of education. *B.J.* 2.162 (see also *B.J.* 1.110; *Vita* 191) emphasizes the ἀκρίβεια ("meticulousness") of the Pharisees in the interpretation of the law. This agrees with Paul's description of his time as a Pharisee in Philippians 3:6, according to which he was "blameless" (ἄμεμπτος) in the observance of the law. Acts 26:5 refers to the Pharisees as τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν, the "most meticulous faction of Judaism".[58] Such "meticulousness" and "blamelessness" in the interpretation and observance of the law of course presupposes a certain level of education. For this reason, the Pharisees are often mentioned together with the scribes in the synoptic gospels. However, the scribes represent a profession, whereas the Pharisees are an interest group.[59] Nevertheless, such double mentions are evidence that Pharisees were often also trained scribes.

2.3.2 Habitat

For the most part, the Sadducees resided in Judea, particularly in Jerusalem of course (according to Luke 1:5, 8f., 39f., John the Baptist's parents lived in Judea, although it is not specified whether Zechariah is a Sadducee). The Pharisees were also largely based

56 See Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 233.
57 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 80f.
58 See Berger, Pharisäer, 235.
59 See Wilk, Evangelien, 100. On the scribes in early Judaism: Hezser, Scribes, 149–172.

in Judea and Jerusalem. According to *Vita* 196f., they sent a delegation from Jerusalem to Galilee to monitor the conduct of Flavius Josephus.[60] This is strongly reminiscent of reports from the three synoptics gospels:

> Mark 7:1f. Now when the Pharisees and some of the scribes who had come from Jerusalem gathered around him, 2 they noticed that some of his disciples were eating with defiled hands, that is, without washing them.
> Matthew 15:1 Then Pharisees and scribes came to Jesus from Jerusalem and said, 2 "Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders? For they do not wash their hands before they eat."
> Luke 5:17 One day, while he was teaching, Pharisees and teachers of the law were sitting near by (they had come from every village of Galilee and Judea and from Jerusalem) ...

Clearly, the Pharisees were not primarily based in Galilee, but expanded their sphere of influence there, too. This is even more evident in the Gospel of John, where "the Pharisees do not appear outside of Judea."[61] If the Pharisees were primarily found in Judea and Jerusalem, then we should not suppose that they were present in the diaspora. "The presumed 'diaspora Pharisees,' with their own Hellenistic houses of learning outside of the Land of Israel, did not exist. The strict adherence to the Torah, and the precise ... study thereof, was only an immediate possibility in the Holy Land ..."[62] But what about the "diaspora Pharisee,"[63] Paul? Paul most likely first encountered the Pharisee movement in Jerusalem.[64] He was therefore not – as Luke would have us believe – "a son of Pharisees" (Acts 23:6). Rather, he probably joined the group of the Pharisees during a stay in Jerusalem long before the Damascus event.[65] This is all the more plausible given the excellent relationship between Tarsus and Jerusalem.[66] Membership in the Pharisees and scholarly study of the scriptures were probably only possible during something of an extended stay in the land of Israel.[67] The supposed "diaspora Pharisee," Paul, fits well into such a scenario. He underscores his close connection to Jerusalem and Palestine by referring to himself as a "Hebrew" (2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5).

---

60 See Neusner/Thoma, Pharisäer, 205, and Wilk, Evangelien, 96f.
61 Jewish Contemporaries, 34.
62 Hengel, Stellung, 28 [JV].
63 Schnelle, Paul, 64.
64 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 121, also Stemberger, Paul, 66f.
65 See Tiwald, Hebräer, 180–182. Contact with Gamaliel I is perhaps possible here, although he is a Pharisee who is never portrayed as a teacher of pupils. If Paul was indeed a "pupil of Gamaliel," then "we probably have to think of Saul being witness to some of Gamaliel's public appearances and decisions rather than of a formal discipleship" (Stemberger, Paul, 69).
66 See Hengel, Paul, 135 [JV]: "There are many indications of special political, economic, and personal ties between Cilicia – especially Tarsus – and Jewish Palestine." Consult *A.J.* 13.374 (Alexander Jannaeus recruits Cilician mercenaries), *B.J.* 1.428 (Herod as a benefactor and builder in Cilicia), *A.J.* 1.127 and 8.181 (the biblical Tarsus is identified with Tarsus in Cilicia).
67 See Lohse, Paulus, 21.

2.4 Theology

2.4.1 The Theology of the Sadducees

Acts 23:8 (see also Mark 12:18–27 par.) and *B.J.* 2.162–165 largely agree in their assessment of the Sadducees:[68]

Acts 23:8 The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, or angel, or spirit; but the Pharisees acknowledge all three.

> *B.J.* 2.162 Now of the former two [schools], Pharisees … are reputed to interpret the legal matters with precision … 163 although doing and not [doing] what is right rests mainly with the human beings, Fate also assists in each case. Although every soul is imperishable, only that of the good passes over to a different body, whereas the vile are punished by eternal retribution. Sadducees, the second order, do away with Fate altogether and place God beyond both the committing and the contemplating of evil: 165 they claim that both the honorable and the despicable reside in the choice of human beings, and that it is according to the judgment of each person to embrace either of these. The survival of the soul, the punishments and rewards in Hades – they do away with them.

The fact that the Sadducees did not believe in a life after death, and did not expect God to intervene in this-worldly affairs, earned them the reputation of holding "Epicurean views" and advocating a kind of "practical atheism."[69] However, such an assessment is unwarranted, as it applies modern standards and overemphasizes the parallel that Josephus deliberately draws to the Epicurean school. The rejection of the resurrection was probably merely a product of the traditional and ancient biblical notion of Sheol, which is opposed to the modern idea of the continued life of the soul after death.[70] The widespread depiction of the Sadducees as an assimilated, Hellenized party primarily concerned with *Realpolitik* is a cliché.[71]

2.4.2 The Theology of the Pharisees

As the texts quoted above already make clear (Acts 23:8; *B.J.* 2.162f.), the Pharisees believed both that God intervenes in this-worldly affairs and that there is a life after death. In some respects, the Pharisees can be described as a religious renewal movement in contrast to the "conservative" Sadducees. They were inclined to apply the ritual purity laws of the temple cult – which normally applied only the temple priests – to everyday life outside of the temple. This tendency to "expand the ambit of Torah regulations to encompass everyday life outside the immediate cultic space"[72] is also known to us from the Qumran community as well as from wider circles of early Juda-

68 See Stemberger, Sadducees, EDEJ 1180.
69 See the critical discussion of these accusations in, Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 69–70.
70 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 71.
71 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 95.
72 Niebuhr, Jesus, 343 [JV].

ism (► V.8.2.4 below).[73] In a manner of speaking, the Pharisees "democratized" the purity regulations, which had originally applied only to the priests and the temple cult. "The Pharisees laid claim to the status and obligations of the temple priests for themselves and, thereby, for all Jews equally. The table in every Jew's house is like the table of the Lord in the Jerusalem temple."[74]

3 The Herodians

The New Testament repeatedly mentions the "Herodians" (Ἡρῳδιανοί; Matt 22:16; Mark 3:6; 8:15; 12:13). The designation refers to the followers (or members) of the Herodian ruling house. In contrast to the Sadducees, who often cooperated with the Romans, the Herodians were wholly assimilated to the Roman machinery of power.[75] They were likely particularly involved in the collection of taxes, which lends a certain historical significance to Mark 12:13–17 (the question about paying imperial taxes; par Matt 22:16–22).[76] According to *A.J.* 20.189–195, a conflict arose between the temple priests and Agrippa II. The latter liked to pass the time by watching the priests making sacrifices in the temple from the window of his newly built dining hall. The priests responded by having the temple wall raised. "This episode demonstrates that bitter enmity existed not only between the priestly nobility and the Zealots, but also between the priestly nobility and the Herodians."[77]

4 The Essenes

This book takes up and extends the "Groningen hypothesis" (explained below; ► III.4.2.1), which detects a special group of Essenes in the Qumran settlement. With this in mind, we look first at the excavations of Qumran and the associated theories.

4.1 Key Archaeological Data on Khirbet Qumran

Khirbet Qumran is situated on a marlstone terrace on the west coast of the Dead Sea.[78] In 1947, ancient manuscripts were discovered in a cave in the wall of the marlstone terrace near the ruins (about one kilometer away). Until the 1950s, eleven caves were

73 See Niebuhr, Jesus, 325 [JV].
74 Neusner, Judentum, 24f. [JV]. See also Mußner, Toraleben, 38.
75 See Schäfer, History, 119.
76 See Förster, Jesus, 145–152.
77 Schäfer, History, 119.
78 For the following, see de Vaux, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1235–1241; Magness, Qumran, EDEJ 1126– 1131; Frey, Qumran, 3–49.

subsequently discovered, which the first excavators assumed were connected to the ruins of Qumran (more on this below; ► III.4.2.3).

4.1.1 R. de Vaux's Dating of Qumran

R. de Vaux,[79] who dug at Khirbet Qumran from 1951 to 1956, identified a settlement there going back to the late Iron Age (eighth to early sixth century BCE). The site was then abandoned, not to be resettled until the time of John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE; phase Ia) and then massively expanded under Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE; phase Ib). This settlement phase lasted until the earthquake of 31 BCE, which Josephus mentions (*B.J.* 1.370–380). There is archaeological evidence of the destruction caused by the earthquake. According to de Vaux's thesis, Qumran remained unpopulated after the earthquake, only to be resettled under Archelaus in 4 BCE ("phase II"). This settlement phase ended in the year 68 CE, when, in the course of the First Jewish War, the approaching *legio X fretensis* destroyed Jericho and then Qumran (see Josephus's account of the destruction of Jerusalem and Vespasian's visit to the Dead Sea; *B.J.* 4.440–489). In phase III, the Roman army encamped at Qumran. Later, the site was used by the rebels under Bar Kochba. The biggest problem with de Vaux's dating is that there were only preliminary reports and no final excavation report.[80] This was surely due in part to the political situation. After the Six-Day War in 1967, the Qumran area and East Jerusalem were transferred from Jordanian to Israeli sovereignty. Work on the findings and the edition of the texts faltered under the uncertain political conditions. R. de Vaux died in 1971.[81] The "conspiracy theories" about a "classified Qumran" that arose due to the delay are completely unfounded.[82]

4.1.2 Revised Dating According to J. Magness and D. Mizzi

J. Magness has undertaken valuable improvements of de Vaux's dating:[83] 1) de Vaux's envisioned Ia phase did not exist. Resettlement did not occur under John Hyrcanus, but under Alexander Jannaeus, at the earliest in 100 BCE.[84] At least that is what excavated pottery shards suggest. 2) De Vaux assumed that Qumran was unpopulated between the earthquake in 31 BCE and the time of Archelaus in 4 CE. Magness disputes this conclusion, drawing attention to a hoard of tetradrachms (the coin used to pay the temple tax), which should likely be dated to "phase II" and not according to de Vaux's suggestion to the end of phase Ib.[85] Magness originally thought that repairs

79 See de Vaux, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1235–1241.
80 See Broshi, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1241; Frey, Qumran, 12.
81 See Frey, Qumran, 12f.
82 See Frey, Qumran, 13. I mention only in passing the novelistic and sensationalist bestseller by M. Baigent/R. Leigh, The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception, New York 1991.
83 See Magness, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1126–1131; Magness, Reassessment, 713f.
84 This is also the view of Maier, Bausymbolik, 101.
85 See Magness, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1129.

began soon after the earthquake and that settlement continued following "a brief period of abandonment."[86] In a more recent publication, D. Mizzi and J. Magness go a step further, saying "... it seems unlikely to us that Qumran was abandoned at the end of the first century BCE. As far as the sectarian occupation is concerned, the only clear evidence for the site's abandonment relates to the period of the First Revolt."[87] This means "that the sectarian settlement at Qumran probably experienced one long, continuous occupation, beginning in the early first century BCE and ending in 68 CE."[88] This revised dating gives indirect support to the "Groningen hypothesis," which is also advocated in the present volume (► III.4.2.1 below). The new approach to dating Qumran has been well received in the scholarly world, and I consider it the most likely solution as well.[89]

4.2 Theories About Khirbet Qumran

4.2.1 The "Groningen Hypothesis"

The most prominent of the theories on Qumran is known as the "Groningen hypothesis."[90] It posits that all the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves are related to the Qumranites. This does not mean that all the manuscripts were written at Qumran. The Qumranites brought many existing manuscripts to the settlement. Nevertheless, those writings became part of the Qumranite library. Therefore, the texts found in the caves are not a disparate collection of diverse elements but represent a unity – they are the texts of the Qumran group. This conclusion is supported by the fact that only religious texts were found there, no profane ones. Behind these texts was a tightly organized community with uniform theological views, its own calendar, and a distinctive way of interpreting the law. There are no divergent theological positions among the abundance of books. Several of the texts were written by the same scribe, even if they come from different caves. It is possible to make a further distinction between the Qumranites and the Essenes. The group based at Qumran was a sub-group of the Essenes. In this sub-group, those loyal to the "Teacher of Righteousness," came together to form a separate community. The "Wicked Priest" mentioned in several documents refers to a succession of Hasmonean high priests (Jonathan, Simon, John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and Alexander Jannaeus) who were all in conflict with the Qumran community.

86 Mizzi/Magness, Abandoned, 302.
87 Mizzi/Magness, Abandoned, 319.
88 Mizzi/Magness, Abandoned, 320.
89 On this, see the discussion and overview in Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 101–104.
90 For the following, see García Martínez, Qumran, 113–136; García Martínez/van der Woude, Hypothesis, 521–539; García Martínez, Origins, 113–136.

4.2.2 Qumran: Fortress, Villa Rustica, Farmstead, Scroll Workshop?

K. H. Rengstorf, R. Donceel, and P. Donceel-Voûte[91] interpreted the ruins of Qumran as an agricultural farmstead that was involved in local production. Y. Hirschfeld thought to find a *villa rustica* at Qumran, while N. Golb saw it as an ordinary fortress, and H. Stegemann viewed it as a scroll workshop.[92] Archaeologically, classifications such as these stand on shaky ground.[93] A parchment workshop must be ruled out, since no traces of the tanning agent tannin have been found at Qumran.[94] The absence of mosaic floors and interior decorations speaks against viewing Qumran as a *villa rustica*.[95] The weak walls contradict claims that Qumran was a fortress,[96] and Golb's interpretation of its cemeteries as military cemeteries does not correspond to the skeletons found there.[97] The thesis that Qumran was an agricultural farmstead is not completely unfounded, since the area was much more fertile 200 years ago than it is today. However, the idea of an agricultural farmstead does not explain the cemeteries at Qumran.[98]

4.2.3 The Connection Between the Scrolls and Khirbet Qumran

The question of who lived at Qumran is not merely of academic interest. Alternative theses argue that the manuscripts had nothing to do with the Khirbet Qumran site, but (according to Golb) originated from libraries in Jerusalem (Rengstorf thinks they were a part of the temple library). This view can now be disproven by means of chemical analyses of the ink used in the Qumran manuscripts and the neutron activation analyses of the clay vessels. In their intensive investigation of 1QHodayot^{a}, I. Rabin, O. Hahn, T. Wolff, A. Masic, and G. Weinberg have proven that the manuscript was written in the immediate vicinity of Qumran.[99] They examined the ratio of the chemical elements chlorine and bromine. A particularly strong concentration of bromine is unmistakable for the water (even the well water) from the area around the Dead

91 Rengstorf, Qumran; Donceel/Donceel-Voûte, Archaeology, 1–38. See the overview in Frey, Qumran, 3–49.

92 Hirschfeld, Houses, 161–189; Golb, Problem, 1–24; id., Scrolls, 68–82; Stegemann, Essener, 77.

93 See Magness, Reassessment, 712; id., Qumran, EDEJ 1130. See the overview in Faßbeck, Archäologie, 111–127. Also, Frey, Qumran, 49, and Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 133–148.

94 See Frey, Qumran, 19.

95 See Frey, Qumran, 20, and Magness, Reassessment, 712.

96 See Broshi, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1241.

97 See Frey, Qumran, 22f., and Zias, Cemeteries, 241, who notes the absence among the skeletons of the "traumatic injuries" to be expected in a military cemetery.

98 See Frey, Qumran, 27.

99 See Rabin et al., Origin, 102. Another interesting finding was that the carbon ink used at Qumran was already mixed with some gallus extract – a formula not documented until much later.

Sea.[100] Interestingly, the ink contains an even higher concentration of bromine than the parchment, although the parchment also contains an unusually high amount. It is therefore likely that the ink – which was stored as a dry powder – was only mixed with water from the Qumran region shortly before being used for writing. By contrast, water from outside the region was probably used in the parchment production process.[101] The different values in the ink and parchment prove that the bromine concentration is not only due to later storage conditions, since parchment and ink were of course exposed to the same atmospheric conditions after the time of the manuscript's writing.[102] The manuscript 1QHodayot[a] is dated to the early to mid-Herodian period (30 BCE – 30 CE) and demonstrates that the text was written near the Dead Sea – likely in Qumran itself – during this period. Inkwells which support these findings were also found in the Qumran complex.[103]

A "neutron activation analysis"[104] of the pottery at Khirbet Qumran and that of the caves containing the scrolls can provide further proof of the connection between the scrolls and Khirbet Qumran. The black clay of the Dead Sea differs significantly in its composition from clay found elsewhere. There are no differences in chemical composition between the clay vessels from Khirbet Qumran and those from caves 1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 28, 29, and 39.[105] Further, 33 percent of the pottery examined has a direct chemical relationship with the Qumran site, while other pieces came from Jericho. Not all of the pottery found in the caves and at Khirbet Qumran was produced at Qumran. However, the production of a significant quantity of the clay jars found in the caves can be directly traced to that location. In the above-described manner, it has even been possible to prove that ostraca (inscribed pottery shards, such as those often used as "notepads" in ancient libraries, or for the purpose of cataloging[106]) found in the caves of Khirbet Qumran were produced at the Qumran site.[107] Some of the caves (5 and 7–10) also served as dwellings for the Qumranites. A tent stake found near the caves is evidence of this.[108]

Summary: The connection between the scrolls found in the caves and the settlement of Khirbet Qumran is now beyond dispute. The people who lived in Qumran were the same group whose way of life and beliefs are reflected in the Qumran texts. The studies discussed here support the "Groningen hypothesis." In conclusion, an expanded "Groningen hypothesis" remains the most plausible solution.[109] For the Qumran texts, and further arguments for their unity as a body of texts, ► III.8.5 below.

---

100 See Rabin et al., Origin, 97.
101 See Rabin et al., Origin, 100.
102 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Bibliotheken, 328f.
103 See Frey, Qumran, 31.
104 See Gunneweg/Balla, Analysis, 3 and 5–7.
105 See Gunneweg/Balla, Analysis, 24.
106 See Gunneweg/Balla, Connection, 389.
107 See Gunneweg/Balla, Connection, 394.
108 See Frey, Qumran, 30, and de Vaux, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1240.
109 Regarding modifications of the classical interpretive model, see Frey, Qumran, 37–42. Dimant, Vocabulary, 347–395 offers a non-archaeological, text-based argument that a special

4.2.4 Qumran and the Sadducees

Following Jonathan Maccabeus's usurpation of the high priesthood at the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 BCE, the predecessors of those who later settled at Qumran (at the earliest, from 100 BCE to 68 CE) took up opposition to the high priest under the leadership of the "Teacher of Righteousness" (► II.1.2.2 and II.4.1.5 above). Perhaps the "Teacher of Righteousness" was even a high priest whom Jonathan had supplanted. More likely, however, he was simply a pretender to the office who felt he had been snubbed.[110] The group around the "Teacher of Righteousness" gave the incumbent high priest, whom they thought illegitimate, the epithet "Wicked Priest." However, the break does not seem in the least to have been final, as 4QMMT shows. The letter was probably written on the occasion of a change in the high priestly office (from Jonathan to Simon or from Simon to John Hyrcanus) in the hope of winning over the new high priest to a particular interpretation of the Torah.[111]

4.2.5 Qumran and the Essenes

It is no longer possible to reconstruct why the followers of the "Teacher of Righteousness" (who had already died by then, ► III.1.2.2 above) eventually founded their own settlement at Qumran, around 100 BCE at the earliest. It is possible that it occurred in connection with the accession of Alexander Jannaeus in 103 BCE. Perhaps the followers of the "Teacher of Righteousness" realized that the break with the Hasmonean high priests could not be repaired in the immediate future. The aim was likely to have a group designated as a "temple made up of living people" (subject to particularly strict purity regulations) take over the atoning function otherwise assigned to the Jerusalem Temple. 1QS IX,3–6 makes this clear:

> 3 When these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth 4 eternal, in order to atone (לכפר) for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice – the offering of 5 the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering – at that moment the men of 6 the Community (יחד) shall set apart a holy house for Aaron (בית קודש לאהרון), in order to form a most holy community (לְהוחד קודש קודשים), and a house of the Community for Israel, those who walk in perfection (ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים).

---

group lived in Qumran, on the basis of linguistic features of the Qumran texts ("a whole series of new lexical combinations on the basis of well-known biblical expressions and how they built up a unique terminological system"). These linguistic features "constitute indubitable signs of a sectarian character" (*loc. cit*. 395).

110 For discussion of this, see Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 68 [JV]: The document 4QMMT "seems to presuppose positive relations between Yahad and the Jerusalem authorities, mentioning halachic disputes rather than dynastic disputes as the main points of contention …"

111 García Martínez, Temple, 444, dates the original text of 4QMMT, by virtue of its proximity to the Temple Scroll, "towards the mid-second century BCE."

The *Yahad* (יחד), i. e., the "community" as the Qumran community's self-designation,[112] see it as their obligation to take over the atoning function ("to atone," לכפר) of the Jerusalem Temple. As Maier has shown, the core contents of the "Community Rule" (i. e., 1QS and the parallel traditions) have their origin "certainly in the time before 100 BCE, that is, before the founding of the site at Khirbet Qumran ..."[113] We therefore agree with J. Frey's conclusion: "With the shorter settlement chronology in place [i. e., starting in 100 BCE at the earliest], the direct association of the Community Rule (1QS V,1–IX,26) with the Qumran site, often assumed in the early days of research, falls away. The rules in 1QS do not simply reflect the order of the community 'residing' at Qumran. Rather, they were probably compiled, long before things commenced at the Qumran site, for groups of the *Yahad* at various places in the country. This does not exclude the possibility that a segment of the group later followed the regulations at Qumran as well ..."[114] Josephus reports something similar about the Essenes in *B.J.* 2.124: "No one city is theirs, but they settle amply in each," which agrees with the statement in Philo Prob. 76: "they live in villages and avoid the cities" Thus, the statement about a community "setting apart a holy house for Aaron" need not refer to building structures. Rather, it refers to a "temple made up of living people," as 4Q174 III,5–7 (= Frg. 1) makes clear:

> 5 ... foreigners shall not lay it waste as they laid waste, in the past, 6 the temple of Israel on account of their sins. And he commanded to build for himself a temple of man (מקדש אדם), to offer (מקטירים) him in it, 7 before him, the works of thanksgiving (מעשי תודה, actually "works of praise") ...

Through "works of praise,"[115] the temple made up of living people will offer God incense offerings (מקטירים). This is not thought of as a substitution of the temple in Jerusalem, but it is very much a substitution of certain atonement functions that the defiled temple was no longer thought capable of fulfilling.[116] Due to the centralization of the cult that had been in force since the time of Josiah, "it was impossible for them to build an independent shrine. Therefore, they developed a substitute for the cult system, in which praise of God took the place of the sacrifice."[117] It is clear from *A.J.* 18.19 that the Qumranites did not reject the temple *per se*. The Essenes are said to have sent votive offerings to the temple, even though they refused to take part in the sacrificial cult in the temple.[118]

---

112 See Maier, Bausymbolik, 101f.

113 Maier, Bausymbolik, 101 [JV].

114 Frey, Qumran, 38 [JV].

115 From the perspective of textual criticism, the likelier reading is מעשי תודה, "works of praise," and not מעשי תורה, "works of the Torah" (see the meticulously presented findings in Kuhn, Bedeutung, 205f.).

116 See Maier, Bausymbolik, 104 [JV].: "It is not the temple itself that is substituted, but some of its functions." Similarly, Paganini, Ezechiel, 415, notes: "They [i. e. the Qumranites] did not reject the temple in itself ..., but only in its connection with the persons responsible for the cult at the time."

117 Paganini, Ezechiel, 415 [JV].

118 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 134f.

However, it is still unclear how the group of the Qumranites interacted with that of the Essenes. It is in any case clear that Qumran was "not the 'Essene' center."[119] So, it ultimately remains unclear how the inner circle indicated by the Qumran texts (especially the "Community Rule") was defined.

> However, there is much to suggest that in the movement reflected in the Qumran texts (which cannot be simply separated from the "Essenes"), an inner circle desired, perhaps through lay participation, to fulfill the function of the currently serving priesthood.[120]

It thus becomes clear that the settlement was thought of "as a place of the highest level of purity, like a utopia already lived and realized."[121] The settlement at Qumran was thus likely only one of many Essene settlements, but probably the largest and most important. The Qumran settlement probably expresses the desideratum that "within the group, a number of 'holy men' should further separate themselves specifically for this purpose, corresponding to the currently serving priesthood at the Jerusalem shrine."[122] This could well have taken place under Alexander Jannaeus, who is mentioned in a positive light as the "Angry Lion" in the Nahum Pesher (► II.4.2.3 above), and who perhaps even encouraged this building project. Such a settlement could not have been erected without the knowledge and completely against the will of the ruler.[123] Perhaps the founding of Qumran was even a kind of agreement between Alexander and the Essenes: if the break with the temple could not be mended, then at least a "fallback option" was created for the people of Qumran.

4.2.6 Qumran and the Pharisees

The Nahum Pesher's positive note about Alexander Jannaeus occurs in the context of the remark that he had eight hundred of his enemies crucified "out of revenge against those looking for easy interpretations." Alexander Jannaeus is called an "Angry Lion" in this connection. Most scholars are convinced that the phrases, "those who give easy interpretations" or the "interpreters of easy things" (דורשי החלקות *dorshe ha-ḥalaqot*; literally: "seekers after smooth things"), probably refer to the Pharisees, who are given this derisive nickname in other Qumran texts as well (4Q169 I,2, II,2, and CD I,18).[124] The wordplay דורשי החלקות ("interpreters of easy things") distorts Pharisees' *halachot* (הלכות), meaning their interpretation of the law, into *ḥalaqot* (חלקות), "smooth/easy things." The Qumranites accuse the Pharisees of having con-

---

119 Maier, Bausymbolik, 102.

120 Maier, Bausymbolik, 105f. [JV].

121 Paganini, Ezechiel, 419 [JV].

122 Maier, Bausymbolik, 104 [JV].

123 See Maier, Bausymbolik, 101 [JV]: "The whole area [around Qumran] was for the most part either state (royal) or priestly property. It is hard to imagine that a group could have simply settled on Khirbet Qumran. To do so would have required the consent of the ruler, who in this case was also the high priest and thus likely had full control over the region."

124 See VanderKam/Flint, Meaning, 276–280; likewise, VanderKam, Pharisees, 225–236. See also Tiwald, Hebräer, 375–377.

veniently smoothed out their interpretations of the law. In CD VIII,12f., the Pharisees are reviled as "whitewashers," "weighers of wind," and "preachers of lies."[125] This is somewhat reminiscent of the accusation in Matthew 23:27 (cf. Luke 11:44), where the Pharisees are called "whitewashed tombs." CD VII,12f. also mocks the Pharisees as "the builders of the wall" (בוני החיץ). This is an allusion to Ezechiel 13:10, where the false prophets poorly whitewash a wall, which then collapses – also an image of false teachers who mislead the people.[126] It is clear that the Essenes' sympathies were still more with the Sadducees – who, although accused of defiling the sanctuary, were nevertheless part of the aristocratic priestly class – than with the mostly non-aristocratic Pharisees. A person who thought as starkly as the Essenes in the categories of holiness, purity, and election, must have felt all efforts of the Pharisees to be "whitewashing" and "weighing the wind."

4.2.7 The Qumran Community's Size, Livelihood, Rites of Purity

An estimated 150 people could have lived at Qumran simultaneously.[127] The inhabitants also slept in nearby caves and tents, living from farming, flocks of sheep, and date palms.[128] It was probably not for want of something better that so many of the inhabitants slept in tents for such a long time. Rather, the practice held theological significance: according to the Temple Scroll, the Qumranites saw themselves as the tent-dwelling covenant people and wilderness tabernacle, as described in the book of Numbers.[129] There are indications of independent pottery production[130] at Qumran (a direct chemical relationship to Qumran can be demonstrated for 33 percent of pottery examined[131]). There is also evidence that several of the scrolls were written there.[132] The high number of inkwells found at Qumran (five or six) corroborate this further.[133] The discovery of ten ritual baths[134] is evidence that the community took ritual purity particularly seriously. The partition in the middle of the steps makes it clear that these are not ordinary water basins, but *miqwa'ot*. This partition separated the ritually impure going down into the basin to wash from the ritually pure coming up out of the water.[135] Baths like these were also found in Jerusalem near the temple

125 Maier, Nachumpescher, 239, has shown that these insults are indeed addressed to the Pharisees. See Tiwald, Valeur, 119f.

126 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 126.

127 See de Vaux, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1240 ("some two hundred"); Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 112 ("150 people at the same time" [JV]); Frey, Qumran, 41 ("120–150 persons" [JV]).

128 See de Vaux, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1240. A tent pole was found near the caves (see ibid.).

129 See Magness, Sacrifices, 33.

130 See Frey, Qumran, 41.

131 See Gunneweg/Balla, Analysis, 24.

132 See Rabin et al., Origin, 102.

133 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 111.

134 See Frey, Qumran, 40.

135 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 111, and id., Qumran, 111. On this, see also the study of Galor, Pools, 317, which refers to the "concentration of stepped pools," which is a clear indication

complex, confirming the practices of purification in priestly circles.[136] Josephus describes the meticulous purity rites of the Essenes (*B.J.* 2.147–149):

> 147 [On the sabbath they do not] even dare ... go to relieve themselves. 148 On other days they dig a hole of a foot's depth with a trowel – this is what that small hatchet given by them to neophytes is for – and wrapping their cloak around them completely, so as not to outrage the rays of God, they relieve themselves into it [the hole]. 149 After that, they haul back the excavated earth into the hole. When they do this, they pick out for themselves the more deserted spots. Even though the secretion of excrement is certainly a natural function, it is customary to wash themselves off after it as if they have become polluted.

This description agrees with the instructions in Deuteronomy 23:9–14 to bury excrement.[137] However, it is clear from the instructions of the Temple Scroll (11Q19 XLVI,13–16) and the War Scroll (1QM VII,6f.) that the prescription of Deuteronomy 23 could also be fulfilled with stationary toilettes[138]

> 11Q19 XLVI,13 And you shall make latrines for them outside the city (cf. Deut 23:13), where they shall go, 14 outside, to the Northwest of the city: houses with beams and pits in their midst 15 into which excrement shall drop and shall /not/ be visible for anyone, at a distance 16 from the city of three thousand cubits.

This description matches archaeological findings in Qumran.[139] However, the stipulated distance is so great that it exceeds a Sabbath day's journey. This may indicate that the Qumranites actually avoided defecating on the Sabbath. This is Magness's interpretation,[140] which aligns with the account in *B.J.* 2.147 (see the above-cited text). In a community of 150 persons, the rather "rustic" instruction to bury one's own excrement was no longer practicable, making stationary latrines a necessity.

4.3 The Essenes as Portrayed by Josephus

4.3.1 Belief in Predestination and the Resurrection of the Dead

The Essene belief in divine predestination is multiply attested in the Qumran texts[141] and aligns with their portrayal by Josephus (*A.J.* 13.172f.):

> As for the Pharisees, they say that certain events are the work of Fate [εἱμαρμένη, *heimarmenē*], but not all; as to other events, it depends upon ourselves whether they shall take place or not. The sect of the Essenes, however, declares that Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree. 173 But the Sadducees do away with Fate, holding that there is no such thing and that human actions are not

---

of the "predominantly Jewish identity of the inhabitants," and supports an interpretation of the basins as *miqwa'ot*.

136 See Frey, Qumran, 40f., and Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 76.

137 See Magness, Toilet, 57.

138 See Magness, Toilet, 57.

139 See Magness, Reassessment, 716f.

140 See Magness, Reassessment, 717.

141 See Lichtenberger, Studien, esp. 184–189.

> achieved in accordance with her decree, but that all things lie within our power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness.

A strong belief in divine predestination is more characteristic of the Essenes[142] than the Pharisees, while the Sadducees distance themselves from the idea. As *A.J.* 18.18 and *B.J.* 2.154–158 make clear, the Essenes align more closely with the Pharisees than with the Sadducees regarding hope in the resurrection, which they also uphold.

4.3.2 Sabbath Observance

Where the strictness in the interpretation of the law is concerned, Josephus repeatedly emphasizes the Pharisees' ἀκρίβεια ("exactness," *B.J.* 2.162; cf. *B.J.* 1.110). When it comes to Sabbath observance, however, he concedes that the Essenes are stricter than all other Jewish groups (*B.J.* 2.147). This is consistent with perspectives found in the Book of Jubilees (written around 150 BCE), which was also found at Qumran. For example, Jubilees 2 presents a "creation-based theological rationale for the Sabbath"[143] The entire creation of the world culminates in the Sabbath. Jubilees 50:12f. forbids doing battle on the Sabbath, a regulation also initially advocated in 1 Maccabees 2:34–38 and 2 Maccabees 6:11; 8:26–28. Nevertheless, 1 Maccabees 2:41 ultimately permits doing battle also on the Sabbath, and Josephus relents on the question of military self-defense on the Sabbath (*A.J.* 12.277; 14.63; *B.J.* 1.146), while rejecting any war of aggression on that day (*Vita* 159 and 161).[144] CD XI,4 likely also prohibits establishing an *eruv*, that is, the possibility to allow for the relaxations on the Sabbath within designated boundaries.[145] In general, the regulations for Sabbath observance contained in CD X,14–XI,18 are extremely strict (for the different Sabbath halakhot in the Judaism of the time, ► V.5.3.1 below).

4.3.3 Essenes in Jerusalem

According to *B.J.* 5.145, there was an "Essene Gate" (τὴν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην) located west of the Tower of Hippikos (today's Jaffa Gate) near the place called Βηθσω (*bēthsō*). If the term "Bethso" can be understood as a transliteration of the Hebrew *bet tso'ah*, "latrine," it can be connected to regulations in the Temple Scroll which stipulate that Jerusalem may not be polluted by excrement. For this reason, the Temple Scroll required the construction of a latrine 3,000 cubits northwest of the city (11QT XLVI,13–

142 "In Hebrew there is no word that corresponds to the Greek *heimarmenē*; apparently Josephus (perhaps even his model, Nicolas of Damascus) simply translated the concept of divine foreknowledge and predestination into Greek philosophical terminology." (Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 69).

143 Doering, Sabbat, 419 [JV].

144 On this, see Doering, Schabbat, 498–502.

145 Thus Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 75, although the interpretation of the passage is disputed.

16).[146] It is therefore possible that the Essene Gate "refers to an Essene community that lived in the vicinity of the gate and perhaps used it for access to the latrine."[147]

4.3.4 Josephus – the Qumran Texts – Archaeological Findings

In *B.J.* 2, Josephus reports that there is a one-year probationary period for those who join the community of the Essenes (*B.J.* 2.137), followed by another two-year period before final admission (*B.J.* 2.138). The "novitiate year" corresponds to 1QS VI,17, however a second probationary year is mentioned in 1QS VI,21. Josephus and the Qumran texts also agree that the novice is not yet admitted to full community life, as *B.J.* 2.138 and 1QS VI,20 make clear. In 4Q258 (= 4QS^{d}) frg. 1 Col. II,1–7 (cf. 1QS V,21–VI,7), it is said of those who enter the community:

> 2 ... And they shall be recorded in order, one before the other, according to one's insight 3 and one's deeds in the law, in such a way that each one obeys another, the junior the senior. And their spirit and their deeds in the law must be tested, 4 year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of [his] in[sight,] or to demote him according to his failings. One should reproach one another [in ...] and compassionate love. 5 And no-one should speak to his fellow in anger or muttering, or with spiteful intent. And in addition, no-one should raise a matter against his fellow in front of the Many 6 unless it is with reproof in the presence of wit[nesses.] In this way shall they behave in all their places of residence. Whenever one fellow meets another, [the junior shall obey] 7 the senior in work and in mo[ney. They shall] ea[t together,] to[ge]ther they shall bless and together they shall take counsel.

Josephus also tells of a strict hierarchy in the community (*B.J.* 2.150) as well as communal meals and times of prayer (*B.J.* 2.128–133). He also highlights the special emphasis on obedience (*B.J.* 2.134). The community of goods is emphasized in *B.J.* 2.122–127 and 1QS VI,18– 20 alike, which speaks of the newly admitted after their first probationary year:

> 18 When he has completed a year within the Community, the Many will be questioned about his affairs, concerning his insight and his deeds in connection with the law. And if the lot results in him 19 entering the inner council of the Community according to the priests and the majority of the men of their covenant, his possessions and his earnings will also be joined at the hand of the 20 Inspector of the earnings of the Many.

In the event of disobedience, 4Q258 (= 4QS^{d}) frg. 2 Col. II,1–3 (cf. 1QS VII,18–20) threatens a two-year expulsion as punishment. *B.J.* 2.143 also mentions the possibility of expulsion, albeit permanently rather than for a limited time. Josephus also mentions ritual washings before meals and ceremonial banquets (*B.J.* 2.129–133), "now pure themselves, they approach the dining room as if it were some [kind of] sanctuary" (αὐτοί τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον). The ten baths found at Qumran suggest their use as *miqwa'ot*, as already noted above.

---

146 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 133–134. Along the same lines, Riesner, Quarter, 210f.

147 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 134. However, caution is in order with regard to the Essene Gate, as the excavations and conclusions drawn by B. Pixner are not as clear-cut as the excavator would have preferred (see Riesner, Quarter, 212f.).

And *locus 77*, the large room which de Vaux "interpreted as a dining hall, is still best interpreted as a meeting and dining room, given the enormous quantities of crockery found in the adjoining room."[148] *B.J.* 2.142 and 159 speak of the deep respect the Essenes have for their group's books, the holy books in which they are zealously schooled. This, too, aligns with the scrolls found at Qumran.

4.4 The Testimony of Philo About the Essenes

In Prob. 75–91, Philo writes that there are also wise and virtuous people within Judaism, citing the Essenes as an example:

> 75 ... certain persons, more than four thousand in number, [are] called Essenes. Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of ὁσιότης (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. 76 The first thing about these people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, ... 77 For while they stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, and abundance of wealth. 80 ... the ethical part [of philosophy] they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possible have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration. 81 In these they are instructed at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. ... 85 First of all then no one's house is his own in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. 86 Again they all have a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals.

There are striking parallels here to the evidence found in Josephus and the Qumran texts. For example, the Essenes offer no sacrifices. Only "offers of praise" are brought before God in the "temple made up of living people" (cf. 4Q174 III,5–7; ▸ III.4.2.5 above). Furthermore, Philo emphasizes the Essene focus on purity. Philo also reports that the Essenes live in various localities, rather than being confined to a single place, a detail also noted by Josephus in *B.J.* 2.124 ("no won city is theirs, but they settle amply in each"). Like Josephus and the Qumran texts, Philo also speaks of the community of goods. Although the reference to the community of goods draws on literary *topoi* in both Josephus and Philo (strongly reminiscent of Acts 4:32–37),[149] there is nevertheless a kernel of truth in the depiction, as we can surmise from the Qumran texts themselves (▸ III.4.3.4 above). Josephus also notes that Essenes arriving from

148 Frey, Qumran, 41.

149 On this, see Klauck, Gütergemeinschaft, 69–100, who reads this text against the background of the ancient ethics of friendship and Hellenistic social utopias.

abroad are received hospitably (*B.J.* 2.125). The study of the law is highly valued, as is Sabbath observance, both of which are known to us from the Qumran texts and from Josephus. Reference is also made here to the strict Essene hierarchy.

4.5 The Question of Celibacy at Qumran

4.5.1 Pliny the Elder on the Essenes

Pliny the Elder describes the settlement by the Dead Sea in Nat. 5.15.73:

> On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of range of the noxious exhalations of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women (*sine ulla femina*) and has renounced all sexual desire (*omni venere abdicata*), has no money (*sine pecunia*) and has only palm-trees for company. Day by day the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number by numerous accessions of persons tired of life and driven thither by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners. Thus through thousands of ages (incredible to relate) a race in which no one is born lives on for ever: so prolific for their advantage is other men's weariness of life! Lying below the Essenes (*infra hos*) was formerly the town of Engedi, second only to Jerusalem in the fertility of its land and in its groves of palm-trees, but now like Jerusalem a heap of ashes. Next comes Masada, a fortress on a rock, itself also not far from the Dead Sea. This is the limit of Judaea.

Although the meaning of the phrase *infra hos* ("below them") is disputed, it is usually interpreted to mean "to the south,"[150] which would align with Qumran. The reference to the community existing "without money" is consistent with statements about a community of goods in the Qumran texts, Josephus, and Philo.

4.5.2 Essene Celibacy in Pliny, Josephus, and Philo

The matter of celibacy in Pliny's remarks (see above) is disputed ("it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire"). Josephus at least reports (*B.J.* 2.120):

> ... although there is disdain among them for marriage, adopting the children of outsiders while they are still malleable enough for the lessons they regard them as family and instill in them their principles of character.

However, in *B.J.* 2.160 he distinguishes another Essene group:

> There is also a different order of Essenes. Though agreeing with the others about regimen and customs and legal matters, it has separated in its opinion about marriage. For they hold that those who do not marry cut off the greatest part of life ...

This in turn corresponds to Philo's Hypothetica 11.14 (= Eusebius PraepEv 8.11.14):[151]

---

150 On this, see Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 113.

151 The Hypothetica has not survived independently, but is quoted in Eusebius's Praeparatio Evangelica 8.5.11–8.7.20, on which the present text (my own translation from the Greek) is based. While Philo's authorship is not undisputed, nevertheless "the majority of scholars

> Moreover, recognizing with particular clarity what is alone or most capable of destroying the life of the community, they reject marriage. They therefore practice special abstinence with regard to the latter. For none of the Essenes (Ἐσσαίων γὰρ οὐδείς) has a wife, since a women is, after all, self-absorbed and excessively jealous, and dreadful in luring the man away from moral integrity and constantly seducing him through deceit. (trans. MT)

The question of whether the inhabitants of Qumran led celibate lives has generated considerable debate. The Dominican priest R. de Vaux was accused of having projected ideas from his life in a religious order onto the Qumran community: refectory, scriptorium, *ora et labora*, and not least, the celibate lifestyle. "Even if this simplistic criticism certainly falls short,"[152] the question of the proper interpretation of the text still remains.

4.5.3 Celibacy and the Cemeteries at Khirbet Qumran

In the discussion about whether the Qumranites were celibate, reference has often been made to the cemeteries at Khirbet Qumran – the findings, however, are unsatisfactory. Around 1,200 graves were found at Khirbet Qumran.[153] These are distributed across three cemeteries, one very large with 1,100 graves, and two smaller ones with a total of 100 graves.[154] Only male remains were found in the large cemetery, while the two smaller ones also contained the remains of women and children.[155] However, only fifty (!) of the 1,100 graves from the large cemetery were opened. At the moment, it is impossible to open any more graves due to resistance from Orthodox Jewish groups.[156] It is therefore difficult to argue that only males were interred in the large cemetery, and thus conclude that the Qumranites were celibate. Conversely, to conclude, on the basis of the women's graves, that the Qumranites married is not unproblematic. J. Zias from the Hebrew University has tried to prove that the graves of women and children are not "datable to the second temple period," but are instead all of Bedouin origin,[157] or that the classification of one set of remains as female is wrong.[158] In view of these results, Zias regards the thesis of Essene celibacy as proven.[159] However, some

---

consider it authentic" (Sterling, Treatises, EDEJ 1073). Philo's mention of the "Therapeutae" in Contempl. 13 and 18 will not be discussed here, since the latter were probably not Essenes (see Lichtenberger, Schöpfung, 285f.).

152 Frey, Qumran, 11 [JV]. See id. for an overview of this "simplistic criticism."

153 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 112, and id., Qumran, 117–120.

154 See Broshi, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1241.

155 See Broshi, Qumran, NEAEHL IV/1241.

156 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Mystère, 112.

157 Zias, Cemeteries, 228. Zias's conclusions are based on "burial practices and funerary traditions" (228), such as grave goods, the orientation of the graves along the east-west axis, gravestones, etc. (229f.). His investigation of the abrasion of tooth enamel is interesting. Such abrasion was significantly higher in Bedouins than in "non-desert-dwellers" (237).

158 See Zias, Cemeteries, 231f.

159 See Zias, Cemeteries, 253: "a monastic community of adult males, preferring the company of palm trees to women."

of Zias's results have come under criticism. Zias has found agreement in his assertion that only the tombs aligned along the north-south axis can be dated to the time of the Second Temple, while those positioned along the east-west axis are of a later date.[160] However, there are still too many open questions for the archaeological findings to serve as proof of Qumranite celibacy.

4.5.4 Prohibition of Sexual Intercourse Rather Than of "Celibacy"

It is notable that there are no provisions concerning women in 1QS. However, the Damascus Document and 1QSa contain references to married members.[161] This agrees with the evidence in Josephus, who also distinguished between married and unmarried Essenes. However, the information in Josephus and Philo is strongly influenced by the philosophical ideals of abstinence, sobriety, and self-restraint – which probably does not reflect the original state of affairs, being rather indebted to Hellenistic topoi. What is required, therefore, is an examination of the Essenes' motivations for abstaining from sexual intercourse that does not rely on the explanations provided by Josephus and Philo. The requirement of complete purity, as demanded in CD VII,4f. and 1QS VIII–IX, could have led to the Qumranite commitment to give up sexual intercourse, at least for a given period of time.[162] According to CD XII,1f., it is said of Jerusalem:

> 1 ... No-one should sleep with a woman in the city of the temple, defiling 2 the city of the temple with their [sexual] impurity. ...

Here, sexual intercourse is forbidden in Jerusalem, the city of the shrine. The prohibition is rooted in the fear of contamination by sexual fluids, which is also apparent in Pss. Sol. 8:12.[163] The aim of these regulations was the observance of "purity norms, which included avoiding sexual intercourse, but not celibacy."[164] The Temple Scroll 11Q19 XLV,7–12 also stipulates:[165]

> 7 ... And the m[an] who has had a nocturnal emission shall not enter [cf. Lev 15:15; Deut 23:11f.] 8 the whole temple ... 11 And a man who lies with his wife and has an ejaculation [cf. Lev 15:18] ... shall not enter the whole city of 12 the temple ...

"There is evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls for restraint on marital intercourse in Jerusalem and in the *yaḥad*. The restraint in Jerusalem is one of many laws (of purity) which are special for Jerusalem ..."[166] This shows that sexual intercourse was forbidden for Essenes both in Jerusalem and in the Qumran community (since it served as

160 Cf. Norton, Reassessment, 122 and 124.
161 See Frey, Qumran, 10; Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 132; Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 262f.
162 See Doering, Marriage, 162.
163 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 82.
164 Maier, Bausymbolik, 106 [JV].
165 On this, see Qimron, Celibacy, 291.
166 Qimron, Celibacy, 194.

a substitute for the atoning functions of the temple). By contrast, sexual intercourse was permitted for Essenes outside of Jerusalem and outside of the Qumran community. We do not know whether this means that some Essenes renounced marriage for life. Perhaps some Qumranites only lived separately from their wives for a time before returning to normal married life. Josephus, too, reports that he withdrew to the desert and spent three years with the hermit, Banus (*Vita* 11f.). Like the Qumranites, the latter is said to have practiced frequent ritual washings to maintain purity (ἁγνείαν). We do not know how many Essenes there were in Jerusalem (► III.4.3.3 above). However, according to Josephus *B.J.* 2.124 and Philo Prob. 76, the Essenes probably also frequently lived throughout the country outside Jerusalem. Thus, according to *B.J.* 2.160, we should also reckon with married Essenes.

4.6 The "Teacher of Righteousness"

4.6.1 Historical Background

The Qumranites' central teaching authority was the "Teacher of Righteousness" (מורה הצדק, *moreh ha-zedeq*), also called "Interpreter of the Torah" (דורש התורה, *doresh ha-torah*; the two titles most likely designate the same person).[167] The central founding figure to whom the Qumranite community appealed, this "messianically qualified Zadokite (CD VII,18)"[168] was the rival of the "Wicked Priest" (► III.4.2.4 above). "Teacher of Righteousness"/"Interpreter of the Torah" underscore that this figure guarantees the only correct interpretation of the Torah.

4.6.2 The "Prophet Like Moses"

The background of this idea is that there was originally a designated Torah prophet, a "prophet like Moses" (see Deut 18:15, 18; Acts 3:22), in Israel. This person "had authority to issue new Torah in individual cases, or to update existing ('revealed') Torah. Deuteronomy 29:28 already presupposes that there is a revealed (*niglôt*) and a hidden (*nist^{e}rôt*) Torah. That is, a present and therefore applicable Torah, and a Torah that has not yet been revealed. Underlying both is the idea of a 'whole Torah' as the epitome of God's will. This distinction plays an important role in the Qumran texts. Normally, *nist^{e}rôt* means group-specific laws. Upon closer examination, however, what is at issue is a hidden Torah – brought forth from its obscurity by the

167 See Ulrich, Interpreter, EDSS 1/383: "... it further seems clear that the Interpreter of CD vi. 7 is to be identified with the Teacher of Righteousness of CD i. 11. The use of the title Interpreter of the Law for the Teacher derives naturally from the context of CD v. 20 – vi. 11, in which the emphasis is on the role of the Teacher as the one whose legal decisions alone are authoritative." In other Qumran texts, however, the "Interpreter of the Torah" could also refer to a future messianic figure. See *loc. cit*. 384.

168 Fabry, Umgang, 321 [JV].

competent authority and added to the revealed Torah…"[169] At Qumran, the function of "Torah Prophet" was ascribed to the "Teacher of Righteousness."[170] The "Teacher of Righteousness" is thus "the authorized imparter of the Torah, who issues binding instructions, indeed authoritatively establishes the Torah, based on his knowledge of the Torah … From 'the hidden background of the whole Torah' he 'searches out that which each respective circumstance requires,' in order to proclaim it as 'revealed' Torah …"[171]

The role of a *"true prophet"/"a prophet like Moses"* (see Deut 18:15, 18; 1 Macc 4:46; 14:41; Acts 3:22; *A.J.* 4.218) was a permanent office. However, it had remained vacant since the inter-Jewish power struggle that preceded the rule of King Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The possibility of an incontestable Torah interpretation "did not suit the Hasmoneans' claim to power, which instead aimed to consolidate all three Mosaic functions (priestly and political leadership roles as well as Torah prophecy) under their control."[172] Once the Maccabees/Hasmoneans had successfully initiated the revolts against Seleucid religious policy, they had no intention of returning to the old state of affairs. Instead, they acted in the interests of their own power politics, which, according to 1 Maccabees 7:13f., resulted in a break with the Hasideans (Heb. חסידים, *ḥasidim*, "the pious").[173] At the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 BCE, Jonathan had himself installed as high priest, in this way commandeering religious rule after having consolidated his political rule. This assumption of high priestly office by the non-Zadokite Jonathan sent shock waves through the internal political landscape and resulted in the controversy between the "Teacher of Righteousness" and the "Wicked Priest" (Jonathan and his successors). When Jonathan's brother Simon succeeded him in office, the latter had the Jerusalem popular assembly grant him the positions of prince (*ethnarchēs*) and high priest (*archiereus*) for life (► II.4.1.6 above) – albeit with a condition: "until a faithful prophet would arise" (1 Macc 14:41).[174] Hope for this "Torah prophet" is also expressed in 1 Maccabees 4:46, and reappointment of the office was held onto in principle (see also *A.J.* 4.218!).[175] John Hyrcanus went one step further. Not only did he have coins struck that emphasized his high priestly dignity,[176] but, according to *B.J.* 1.68/*A.J.* 13.299, in addition to the offices of ethnarch and high priest he now also arrogated to himself that of Torah prophet (εἶχεν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν; *B.J.* 1.68).[177]

169 Maier, Torah, 47f. [JV]. See also Müller, Wissenschaft, 54.
170 See Maier, Torah, 48. See also Müller, Wissenschaft, 55.
171 Fabry, Umgang, 321 [JV], with a quotation from Maier.
172 Maier, Torah, 48 [JV].
173 See Maier, Geschichte, 37.
174 On this, see Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 226.
175 See Maier, Torah, 49.
176 See Maier, Geschichte, 49.
177 See Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 226.

4.6.3 The "Teacher of Righteousness" as a "Prophet Like Moses"

It is very likely that the "Teacher of Righteousness" assumed the role of Torah prophet for his followers, just as the Qumran community as a whole was able to take over certain atonement functions from the Jerusalem Temple. In view of CD XX,13f. (see also CD XIX,35), Maier suspects that the "Teacher of Righteousness" had already died "around 138 BCE,"[178] since the text speaks of "the day of passing of the unique teacher." The Qumran Community apparently did not reappoint the Teacher's role, but, as 1QS IX,10f. shows, awaited the appearance of such a Torah prophet at the end time – which the Qumranites thought to be imminent:

> 10 ... [They] shall be ruled by the first directives which the men of the Community began to be taught 11 until the prophet comes, and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.

It is clear from this that the Qumran community still lived in accordance with the "first directives." For, at the time, there was no longer a Torah prophet who could issue "new" Torot, or rather, through whom the "Torah could be revealed from obscurity and put into effect."[179] However, the threefold character of the office is retained where the coming of "the prophet ... and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel" is awaited. In addition to the Torah prophet, this phrase refers to the two "anointed," an anointed ruler (a "Davidic anointed one") from the house of David, and an anointed high priest (a "priestly anointed one") from the house of Aaron.[180] In view of this, it is better not to speak of a "Davidic *messiah*" and a "priestly *messiah*" with reference to Qumran (as often happens). For, here, the term *mashiach* merely refers to the "anointed," in this case without any "messianic" expectations being associated with the title. The term is merely the designation for the anointed lay leader and the anointed priestly leader.[181] John Hyrcanus had usurped all three offices and united them in his person. Since that time, the Qumranites had been waiting for the three offices to be separated again and filled by worthy persons.

4.6.4 The "Prophet Like Moses" and the Three Groups

The emergence of the three intra-Jewish groups (the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes) is not least due to the fact that there had not been such a unifying and norm-establishing Torah prophet since Antiochus IV Epiphanes (although the "Teacher of Righteousness" claimed the office for himself), and the Maccabees' success in preventing the appointment of such a prophet (John Hyrcanus having claimed the office for himself). In any case, since Antiochus IV, there was no longer a widely recognized Torah prophet in Israel, a situation out of which different Jewish groups took shape.

---

178 Maier, Torah, 49.

179 Maier, Torah, 49 [JV].

180 See Maier, Torah, 49.

181 See Maier, Messias, 605–612. In 4Q254 frg. 2 the two anointed are called "the two sons of oil" (Zech 4:14).

Even if no direct causal relationship can be drawn between the emergence of the Pharisees and the Essenes and the Hasideans mentioned in 1 Maccabees 7:13 (► III.1.1 above), the three groups clearly emerged from the same complex situation.

4.7 Sacrifice at Qumran?

As the Qumranites saw it, the temple in Jerusalem had been profaned. Until the dawning of the eschaton, the community as a whole would assume certain atoning functions of the temple by being a "temple of living men" (מקדש אדם), offering "works of praise" (מעשי תודה) in place of animal sacrifices (4Q174 III,6f.).[182] However, in 2016, J. Magness suggested that animal sacrifices were offered at Qumran.[183] In support of this claim, she points to the large number of burnt and calcined bones, products typical of sacrificial fires rather than the preparation of meat for culinary purposes. Following R. de Vaux, these finds have been interpreted as the remains of Qumranite ritual meals. In fact, no altar was found at Qumran. Magness's conjecture that one stood in the north of the settlement, at *locus 130*, is vague at best. Furthermore, would such a hyper-orthodox group as the Qumran community really have ignored the commandment that the cult must be centered in Jerusalem? In *A.J.* 18.19, Josephus does indeed mention that the Essenes offer their own sacrifices (ἐφ' αὑτῶν τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν). However, this phrase can also denote spiritual sacrifices ("offerings of praise"). In Prob. 75, Philo writes that the Essenes "have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds." (► III.4.4 above). 1QS IX,4–6 also points in this direction:

> 4 ... to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice – the offering of 5 the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering – at that moment the men of 6 the Community shall set apart a holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the Community for Israel, those who walk in perfection.

According to this text, the Qumran community thought of itself as a temple ("a holy house for Aaron," "most holy"), because it effected atonement through the "offering of the lips" (the aforementioned "works of praise"), perfect conduct, and a lifestyle separated from all impurity. In this way, the "flesh of burnt offerings" became superfluous. On the other hand, the passages that Magness cites from CD XVI,13 and 1QM II,5–6 are too general to be useful in a reconstruction of supposed sacrificial practices of the Qumranites. On the contrary, 4QMMT and the Temple Scroll emphasize that Jerusalem alone is the legitimate location of the temple. Despite their harsh criticism of the temple, according to *A.J.* 18.19 the Qumranites continued to send votive offerings there, even though they no longer offered sacrifices in the Jerusalem Temple. In the absence of an altar, and in view of the literary evidence, the thesis that animal

182 See Ådna, Tempel, 105; Maier, Bausymbolik, 103–106; Schiffman, Importance, 75–93.
183 See Magness, Sacrifices, 5–34.

sacrifices were offered at Qumran should be viewed with skepticism.[184] Perhaps the burnt bones can be explained with reference to Leviticus 8:31f., which the Qumranites might have applied not only to the remains of sacrificial meals (which they of course no longer had), but, through an expanded reading, also to the remains of their satiation meals (which indeed had a quasi-sacral character at Qumran), by ritually burning and formally burying them. The sacral, symbolic character of meals is in fact an element that also became a fundamental part of Christianity.[185]

5 The Zealots

5.1 Origin

5.1.1 The "Fourth Philosophical School"

In addition to the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees, Josephus also mentions a fourth "school of philosophers" (τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφιῶν) within the Judaism of his time (*A.J.* 18.23–25):

> 23 As for the fourth of the philosophies, Judas the Galilaean set himself up as leader of it. This school agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable, since they are convinced that God alone is their leader and master. They think little of submitting to death in unusual forms and permitting vengeance to fall on kinsmen and friends if only they may avoid calling any man master. ... 25 The folly that ensued began to afflict the nation after Gessius Florus, who was governor, had by his overbearing and lawless action provoked a desperate rebellion against the Romans ..."

Josephus connects the origin of this movement with Judas of Galilee. In *B.J.* 2.117f., we learn that this Judas incited uprisings in 6 CE in conjunction with the transfer of Archelaus's territory to the Roman administrative district of *Iudaea* and the subsequent census of Quirinius (► II.5.4.2 above). Judas's father appears to have been none other

184 See Zangenberg, Zufall, 131–138.

185 The analogies between the meal practices of Qumran and Jesus, or early Christianity, should not be taken too far, as Frey Gemeinschaftsmähler, 101–130, rightly points out: for example, 101 [JV]: "The closest analogy is that the Yahad and the Jesus movement both claimed to live in the end-time (albeit, for different reasons), and that they held their meals according to rules connected with the appearance of the respective Messiah." Frey also rightly stresses (*loc. cit.* 110) that the meals at Qumran are not to be equated with "sacrificial acts." However, in questioning the sacral nature of the Qumran meals, Frey fails to recognize that all the purity rituals of the Qumranites were viewed as expressive of an all-encompassing cosmic and God-ordained order. The entire Qumranite way of life (and thus, also the meals) was therefore quasi-sacral. Josephus's assessment in *B.J.* 2.129–133 ("now pure themselves, they approach the dining room as if it were some [kind of] sanctuary," αὐτοί τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον), is thus of greater historical significance than Frey supposes.

than the bandit leader Hezekiah, who had previously caused major disturbances under Herod the Great.[186] Judas's two older sons, Simon and James, were later crucified as insurrectionists (*A.J.* 20.102) by the Roman procurator Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE). Menahem, another son of Judas, came to play an important role in the Jewish War (*B.J.* 2.433f.). At the start of the revolt, he plundered the armory of the Masada fortress and made a ceremonial entry into Jerusalem, where he had himself hailed as a king (the revolt doubtless carried messianic overtones). For his part, Eleazar, the son of Jairus, grandson of Judas, and nephew of Menahem (*B.J.* 2.447), withdrew with the "Sicarii" to the fortress of Masada after the fall of Jerusalem (*B.J.* 7.253). From there, he continued to put up fierce resistance to the Romans for a long time.[187] Acts 5:37 contains a terse note about the fate of Judas of Galilee:

> After him Judas the Galilean rose up at the time of the census and got people to follow him; he also perished, and all who followed him were scattered.

This confirms Judas's place in history "at the time of the census," and we also learn of his violent end.

5.1.2 The Rebels and the Pharisees

When Josephus explains that this school of thought "agrees in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees" (*A.J.* 18.23), he is referring to the fact that, along with Judas of Galilee, a Pharisee named Sadduk (*A.J.* 18.4, 9) was significantly involved in the resistance against the census. The Pharisees' belief in God's this-worldly intervention (*A.J.* 18.12–14), their rejection of Sadducee collaboration with the Romans, and their "zeal for God" (► III.5.2.1 below) probably took on both religious and political characteristics. The Zealots could thus be regarded as the radical wing of the Pharisees.[188] In any case, it is interesting that the Zealots saw themselves both as a political and a religious resistance movement. The archaeological discoveries on Masada (synagogue, mikveh) make it clear that the rebels also attached great importance to the religious aspects of their actions.[189] Nevertheless, we should avoid blurring the differences between the Pharisees and Zealots over much. Josephus is quite capable of distinguishing between the two groups.

5.1.3 The Name "Zealots"

The rebels' religious interests are also reflected in their designation as "Zealots," an English transliteration of the Greek ζηλωταί (*zēlōtai*). Although Josephus does not use this designation for the "fourth school of philosophy," he nevertheless speaks

186 See Kollmann, Einführung, 86f.
187 For the family tree of Judas of Galilee, see Schäfer, History, 115.
188 See Hengel, Zealots, 88, and Schäfer, History, 113.
189 See Hengel, Zealots, 88.

of ἐρασταί (*erastai*) in *A.J.* 18.5, 9. "This is a term that is fairly near to the concept of ζηλωταί, but belongs much more closely to classical Greek. This transformation may possibly be attributed to the Greek stylist."[190] Yet perhaps Josephus does not wish to bestow the honorific title of "Zealot" on the group. The designation ζηλωταί was likely "the name that the members of the new movement gave themselves ... a name that was honourable,"[191] based on Old Testament role models such as Phineas (25:6–13) or the prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 19:10, 14).[192] As a defector to the Romans, Josephus is no friend of the Zealots and refrains from applying this honorable name to a group he seeks to discredit.[193] When Josephus refers to the rebels, he typically uses the word λῃσταί (lēstai), a term used to denote violent criminals (► III.5.3 below). In *B.J.* 2.444, however, he uses the designation "Zealots" for the followers of Menahem, the son of Judas of Galilee. The term also appears in the New Testament, in Luke 6:15 and Acts 1:13, with reference to "Simon the Zealot," a member of Jesus's circle of twelve disciples.

5.2 Zealots: Objectives and the Question of Uniformity

5.2.1 "Zeal for God"

"Zeal for God" was a long-standing theological concept in early Judaism,[194] being a distinctive element of Jewish piety since the Maccabean period,[195] and still present in the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, an originally Hebrew text from the late first century CE.[196] A central focus of this zeal is the prohibition of images and the rejection of idolatry and foreign cults.[197] In Galatians 1:14, Paul also applies the designation ζηλωτής to his pre-Christian life, describing himself as having been "a zealot for the traditions of my ancestors" (modified NRSV). According to Philippians 3:6, he "zealously" (ζῆλος) persecuted the first Christians. The connection between Pharisaic religious commitment to preserving the purity of tradition and its implementation through power politics (the Zealots' revolutionary political inclinations) is evident even in the pre-Christian Paul (i. e., his involvement in the stoning of Stephen). Thus, the Pharisees' religious concerns could readily be advanced through political actions, confirming the connection that Josephus posits between the Pharisees and the Zealots (*A.J.* 18.23).

190 Hengel, Zealots, 89.
191 Hengel, Zealots, 89, and Schäfer, History, 111f.
192 On this, see Schwemer, Eiferer, 21–80.
193 See Hengel, Zealots, 88f.
194 On the "theologoumenon of 'zeal' for God," see Schaper, Theologumenon, 1–19.
195 See Schwemer, Eiferer, 39–43.
196 See Schwemer, Eiferer, 50–55.
197 See Schaper, Theologumenon, 10–14; Schwemer, Eiferer, 56–61.

5.2.2 The Question of the Zealots' Uniformity

In their respective comprehensive studies, M. Hengel and R. Deines have underscored the fundamental unity of the Zealots as a group:[198]

- that emerged in 6 CE with the uprising of Judas of Galilee as Judea was being incorporated into the Roman imperial system, and which persisted until the Jewish war (which began in 66 CE).
- that was driven not only by socioeconomic motives but also by a powerful eschatological, religious impulse.
- to which Flavius Josephus makes veiled reference as the "fourth school of philosophy."
- that directed the traditional "zeal for God" – exemplified by Phineas, Elijah, and the Maccabees – against the Roman overlords.
- that included the Sicarii (a sub-group of the Zealots).

Scholarship has repeatedly called this view into question, as the following discussion shows.

5.2.3 Zealots, the Imperial Cult, and the Question of Taxes

As the name suggests, the central concern of the Zealots was "zeal for God," which, since Judas of Galilee, found expression in the struggle against the Roman overlords. Their driving force, however, was not purely political in nature but first and foremost religious – much as it had been for the Maccabees. The original Maccabean impetus later found expression in the groups of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees. All three groups carried on the Maccabean legacy, albeit in accordance with differing principles. The Zealots now also become part of this same trajectory. The census of Quirinius heralds their emergence. The tipping point was not so much the financial and social humiliation associated with the census (though both certainly played a role), but the sacrilege of the census (see 2 Sam 24:9–17; 1 Chr 21:1–30)[199] and the resulting tax problem. Paying the coin designated for the tax not only settled a financial debt but also affirmed the emperor's claim to divine worship. After all, the coin bore the emperor's likeness, clearly violating the prohibition against images for devout Jews.[200] This same issue is evident in the question posed to Jesus and his response regarding the denarius in Mark 12:14–17.[201] The Galilean's curt reply ("Give to the emperor the things that are the emperor's, and to God the things that are God's") permits the payment of the imperial tax, yet without condoning the emperor's claim to worship. The injunction to give "to God the things that are God's" alludes to Old Testament precedents. According to 1 Chronicles 29:11–14, everything – particularly

198 See Deines, Freiheitsbewegung, esp. 409–417.
199 See Förster, Jesus, 136f.
200 On this, see Förster, Jesus, 83–143.
201 See Förster, Jesus, 144–158.

kingship (!) – belongs to God. The parallel with Jesus's announcement of God's kingly rule is immediately apparent.[202] The sole rule of God, both political and religious in nature, was thus the foremost concern of the Zealots.[203]

5.2.4 Did the Zealots Focus on Realpolitik or Eschatology?

The Zealots' central objective – the sole rule of God – is bolstered by the belief that "the kingdom and the rule of God had already been initiated."[204] Yet Josephus says nothing about the rebels' eschatological motivations. However, this is due to the fact that "Josephus, who was receiving a pension from the victorious Flavian imperial house," while unable to "remain completely silent about these religious motives," nevertheless "does everything in his power to displace them by a moral (or amoral) political motivation."[205] Recently, however, this interpretation of Josephus's motivations has been questioned. Particularly with a view to the lack of evidence in Josephus, T. Rajak has denied that the rebels acted on the basis of eschatological and millenarian motives. Instead, she suggests that their fight was against "political and economic oppression."[206] Rajak is certainly right to point out that political and economic motives undeniably played a significant role for the rebels. Judas's father Hezekiah was already active as a "bandit chief" under Herod the Great, and Judas carried on his work in the revolts against the census. Judas's two oldest sons, Simon and James, were crucified as rebels, while another son, Menahem, captured Jerusalem at the start of the Jewish War. Judas's grandson Eleazar defended the fortress at Masada against the Romans for a lengthy period of time. All of this demonstrates that the "fourth philosophy" was no mere fleeting phenomenon tied to a single event (such as the census) but rather reflected a long-smoldering conflict.[207] The roots of this conflict can undoubtedly be traced to powerful sociocultural, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic tensions that had been building for a long time (► IV.3 below). However, sociopolitical and socioeconomic conflicts inevitably also impact socioreligious factors.[208] The socioreligious component often provides the meaningful framework that

202 On this, see Förster, Jesus, 178–187. Förster also mentions Hag 2:6–9; Joel 4:4–8; Isa 60, and Ps 50:12 as passages which refer to "God's property." The connection between eschatological judgment and "God's property" is especially clear in Hag 2:6–9 and Joel 4:4–8.

203 See Hengel, Zealots, 144.

204 Hengel, Zealots, 144. See also, Kollmann, Einführung, 87.

205 Hengel, Zealots, 384.

206 Rajak, Expectations, 176–183, here 182.

207 See also the earlier history of the Zealots as described by Hengel, Zealots, 313–376.

208 On this, see Hengel, Zealots, 142: "As in the case of other late Jewish groups [The text of the 2011 third German edition of Hengel's work uses the designation *frühjüdischen* ("early Jewish") here, while the 1989 English translation has "late Jewish."] ..., there was for Judas and his followers no independent sphere of life which was removed from faith. For them, politics and nation, for example, did not exist independently of religion. On the contrary, all spheres of life ... were regulated by God's will – that is, the law – and the political sphere could not be excluded from this."

sanctifies the "baser" material and political objectives. It is precisely the intertwining of religious, political, and economic motivations that transforms the "bandit" into a resistance fighter, the arsonist into a defender of "ancestral laws," the executed hooligan into a martyr. This complex configuration can be aptly encapsulated by the term "social bandit"[209] (more on this in IV.2.1 below).

5.2.5 Zealots and "Bandits"

Josephus usually classifies the rebels as λῃσταί (*lēstai*). The term λῃστής (*lēstēs*, sg. of *lēstai*) refers to "a criminal, often armed and violent,"[210] and corresponds to the Latin *latro*. The term could be used in the Hellenistic world for pirates or for marauding irregular military units. From a Roman perspective, then, there was justification for referring to the rebels as λῃσταί. However, the English word, "bandit" only reflects the historical state of affairs in a very limited way (► IV.2.1 below for more on this). In the ancient world, gangs of "bandits" were primarily made up of people from the weaker social strata: runaway slaves, military deserters, impoverished peasants.[211] Josephus conspicuously avoids using "Zealots" as an umbrella term for these λῃσταί. The Stegemann brothers view this as evidence against "a *religionsgeschichtliche* unity of the Jewish revolutionary and freedom movement."[212] What the Stegemann brothers overlook, however, is Josephus's aforementioned tendency to distance himself from the rebels due his current allegiance to the Flavian imperial house. As M. Hengel rightly observes:[213]

> Josephus had no interest at all in explaining to his readers the real background facts of the Jewish War and its prehistory. It was sufficient for him to brand certain individuals as criminals and to present the majority of his people as innocent and unfortunate, in an attempt to arouse sympathy for those who had been struck down by fate or punished by God for the sins committed by a minority.

With R. Deines, we can assume that Josephus applies the term "λῃστής [bandit] pejoratively to those who called themselves ζηλωτής [Zealot]. In doing so, he denies the 'bandits' any theological motivation and portrays them instead as a mere thieving rabble ..."[214] However, Josephus uses the terms "Zealots" and "bandits" interchangeably in *B.J.* 4.199 and 201f., demonstrating that these groups are identical for him. It is thus reasonable not to want to pit the notion of "bandits" against the unity of the "Zealots" (as the Stegemann brothers do), but rather to integrate it into the picture of the Zealots outlined by Hengel. Economic motives were of course also a factor for the Zealots in Palestine (► IV.2 below). However, their difference to other "bandit gangs" in antiquity must be kept in mind, as their principal driving force was religious zeal

209 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 157 [JV].
210 Hengel, Zealots, 24.
211 See Hengel, Zealots, 33.
212 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 35 [JV].
213 Hengel, Zealots, 385.
214 Deines, Freiheitsbewegung, 25 [JV].

for God. One should, nevertheless, not lose sight of the economic component. The tensions between John of Gischala, a Galilean revolutionary, and Josephus, the well-born son of a priest, were likely also social in nature. Despite his involvement in the revolt, Josephus did not want to be seen as one of the "bandits." The latter were a phenomenon of the underclass: "The λῃσταί [in Palestine] consisted to a very great extent of members of socially disadvantaged groups fighting, among other things, for a new system of ownership."[215] However, it was difficult to discern who among the Zealots became a "rebel" for religious reasons and who did so on account of unfavorable economic circumstances – these motives often also intertwined. Josephus, for his part, describes the followers of the rebels as δοῦλοι καὶ σύγκλυδες καὶ νόθα τοῦ ἔθνους φθάρματα ("slaves, the dregs of society and the bastard scum of the nation"; *B.J.* 5.443). The Romans imposed draconian punishments on the Palestinian "bandits," as their uprising was considered an act of sedition (*seditio*) and a threat to the state (*crimen maiestatis*). Non-Romans faced the death penalty, usually crucifixion. However, the "bandits" were also often tolerated by the prefects. According to *B.J.* 2.273, 278 and *A.J.* 20.215, 255, Albinus and Gessius Florus accepted bribes. The "bandits" employed guerrilla tactics in battle: "a rapid movement forward in small groups to surprise the opponent and an equally rapid withdrawal."[216] We may therefore readily adopt M. Hengel's final assessment,[217]

> that the Jewish freedom movement between 6 and 70 A.D. had a certain unified ideological foundation. It was close to the direction followed by Pharisaical piety and bore a strongly eschatological imprint. Its special model was the zealous action performed by Phinehas, who was, for the members of the freedom movement, the first true "Zealot", and it was deeply influenced by the revolutionary theses of Judas the Galilaean. This does not mean, however, that it was not organized, especially after 66 A.D., in different groups, which were to some extent in competition with each other and which, after the outbreak of the war, even tore each other to pieces in their struggle for power.

5.3 The Sicarii

The designation σικάριος (*sikarios*), Latin *sicarius*, first occurs in Josephus in *B.J.* 2.254f.[218] After the prefect Antonius Felix (52–60 CE; ▸ II.5.6 above) had suppressed Eleazar's rebellion, the resistance resorted to small terror squads:

> 254 After the countryside had been purged, however, a different species of bandits was creeping up in Hierosolyma, those called *sicarii*: murdering people by day and in the middle of the city, 255 and during festivals, especially, mingling with the mob and concealing small daggers under their cloths, with these they would stab their foes. Then, when the latter had fallen, those who had committed the murders would take the part of those who

215 Hengel, Zealots, 45.

216 Hengel, Zealots, 43. See also Josephus's own fighting style in the defence of Yodfat, which he describes in *B.J.* 3.169.

217 Hengel, Zealots, 404.

218 For the following, see Hengel, Zealots, 46–53, and Schäfer, History, 118.

> were indignant at [the murder], so that they would go completely undiscovered by virtue of their credibility.

The "Sicarii" were named after the short, curved dagger (Lat. *sica*) with which they carried out their assassinations. Their method of killing is reminiscent of modern terror squads and suicide bombers. The Latin origin of the word Sicarii suggests that the designation originated with the Roman authorities in Palestine. The "different species of bandits" (ἕτερον εἶδος λῃστῶν) mentioned by Josephus does not refer to a new independent faction, but rather to a new approach taken by the rebels. The rebels were probably forced to alter their strategy toward such acts of terror due to the success of the prefect Felix, who had "purged" the land by crucifying countless insurgents and sending the bandit leader Eleazar to Rome for execution (*B.J.* 2.253). Josephus uses the terms "Sicarii" and "Zealots" interchangeably (e.g., in *A.J.* 20.164f., 210; *B.J.* 2.254f., 408, 425), indicating that they designate one and the same group, which had merely changed its tactics. However, after a division occurs within in the Jewish freedom movement at the beginning of the war, Josephus regularly refers to a specific group of the rebels as "Sicarii." These are the followers of Menahem, the son of Judas of Galilee. After Menahem's murder (*B.J.* 4.400), they retreated to Masada.[219] Josephus also calls the rebels who fled to Egypt after the war "Sicarii" (*B.J.* 7.410). The designation "Sicarii" is thus not clearly defined in Josephus,[220] however it seems likely that he uses the term for particularly fanatical rebels.[221] This coincides with Acts 21:38, where the followers of an Egyptian rebel, who was also active during the time of the prefect Felix (*B.J.* 2.261), are called "Sicarii" (ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων). We may assume that the Romans referred to particularly active groups of rebels as *sicarii*,[222] and that Luke also adopted this term in its most generic form. A similar conclusion suggests itself in the rabbinic use of the word *siqarim* (m. Mak 1.6; b. Git. 56a).[223] Regarding the much-discussed question of whether Zealots and Sicarii were not distinct groups after all,[224] Martin Hengel has correctly observed that even later revolutions often splintered into warring subgroups.[225] Nevertheless, we may assume "that the Jewish freedom movement between 6 and 70 A.D. had a certain unified ideological foundation. … This does not mean, however, that it was not organized, especially after 66 A.D., in different groups, which were to some extent in competition with each other and which, after the outbreak of the war, even tore each other to pieces in their struggle for power."[226]

---

219 See Schäfer, History, 112.
220 Hengel, Zealots, 48–49.
221 Hengel, Zealots, 46–49 and 403.
222 See Kollmann, Einführung, 86.
223 See Hengel, Zealots, 394, 397 and 401.
224 On the state of research, see Hengel, Zealots, 380–404.
225 Hengel, Zealots, 404, lists as examples differentiations into "Leninists, Stalinists, Titoists, Maoists, Trotskyists, Neo-Marxists, Austromarxists and revisionists."
226 Hengel, Zealots, 404.

6 The Four Groups within the Judaism of the Time

6.1 The Four Groups and "Popular Judaism"

"Josephus's three or four divisions of Jewish Groups [i. e., Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots] are not sufficient to comprehend and order the diversity of movements and developments [i. e., in early Judaism]."[227] Josephus numbers the Essenes at about four thousand members (*A.J.* 18.20; the same number reported by Philo in Prob. 75), the Pharisees under Herod at six thousand (*A.J.* 17.42), and notes that the Sadducees consisted of only a few aristocrats (εἰς ὀλίγους δὲ ἄνδρας). It is therefore clear that these three groups comprised only a small part of the Jewish people, elitist and set apart from the rest, differing from "popular Judaism."[228] It is only with the Zealots that the underclass (which, after all, made up the majority of the population) steps into the historical spotlight as a distinct group. However, here as well we must ask to what extent ordinary people were often simply following along without ever actually becoming active decision-makers themselves. Nevertheless, the Jesus movement is evidence that descendants of the underclass could also distance themselves from the Zealots. Poverty did not automatically generate a revolutionary attitude.

6.2 "Popular Judaism" without Prosperity and Education

We may ask, with regard to "popular Judaism," whether simple Galilean peasants were truly capable of grasping profound calendar speculations (as at Qumran) or precise purity regulations (as among the Pharisees).[229] New Testament texts, such as the sheep that falls into a pit (Matt 12:11) or the ox that falls into a well (Luke 14:1–6), take on new meaning against the backdrop of the realities of Galilean peasant life. For economic reasons, a poor farmer living at the edge of minimum subsistence was probably not in a position to leave his sheep or oxen in a pit over the sabbath (► V.5.3.1 below on different Sabbath halakhot). The loss of a sheep or an ox could threaten the livelihood of a poor Galilean farmer, and he did not know whether the animal that had fallen into a pit would survive until the next day. L. Doering comments: "This is likely a pragmatic, peasant – perhaps Galilean – halakhah that mitigates Sabbath

227 Lichtenberger, Beitrag, 203 [JV].

228 See Stegemann, Qumran, 162: "All three bodies were elite groups, who had separated from *rob ha-'am*, the mass of simple people, more or less common sinners without any religious qualification of their own." Likewise, Hezser, Movement, 82: "We do not know much about the 'popular' Judaism of the first centuries CE. It is possible that it mainly consisted of the observance of the Sabbath, festivals, circumcision, food laws, and certain purity rituals, all of which would have been performed in accordance with family habits and local customs, that is, in rather diverse ways."

229 Hezser, Movement, 77: "Only those parents who were ... reasonably well off and did not require their sons' participation in agriculture or other types of work, ... would have sent their sons to elementary teachers to learn Torah reading." See Tiwald, Sabbat, passim.

observance to ward off economic losses."[230] The remark in Luke 13:10–16, that even on the Sabbath people lead their donkeys or oxen to water, suggests that – likely in poorer and less theologically reflective classes – Sabbath observance was not always followed so strictly. The same applies to plucking heads of grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23).[231] The itinerant prophet Jesus and his disciples were traveling on empty stomachs. The carefree nature of the "birds of the air," fed by their heavenly father (Matt 6:26), likely did not always prove viable in practice. In their situation, poor Galilean fisherman and farmers (such as Jesus's disciples) were probably too pragmatic to fast all day for the sake of keeping the Sabbath holy. It is easier to fast when you have eaten a good meal the day before – which was probably less often the case with itinerant prophets. Did famished day laborers, of whom there were plenty in Palestine at the time, always adhere to all the dietary regulations, or were they simply glad to have something to eat, even if it was not kosher? After all, according to Mark 7:2, Jesus's disciples also ate with "unclean hands." To keep laws, one needs to have learned what regulations there are in the first place. In C. Ap. 2.204, Josephus speaks of the "instruction to teach [children] reading, in relation to the laws," familiarity with which will ensure that they "neither transgress nor have an excuse for ignorance" (see also 1QSa I,6–8; T. Levi 13.2). This, however, is clearly an idealization with regard to the time of Jesus, when the literacy rate in Palestine was under 10–15 percent.[232] The frequently cited "synagogue schools" are also often overestimated (on the question of how many synagogues existed in Palestine at the time and the functions they served, ► III.7.6 below).[233] Even in later rabbinic times, the simple, theologically uneducated rural population was still pejoratively called *'am ha-'arez* (for example, in b. Pesaḥ. 49a–b; b. Ber. 47b, b. Soṭah 22a), a label for ordinary people ignorant of the Torah (cf. John 7:49). Rural Galilee, in particular, was often ridiculed in circles devoted to the Torah (see Matt 4:15; John 7:52). Even if simple farmers, tradesmen, and fishers wanted to keep the Torah, education requires time and money, neither of which was available to the poor. On the other hand, this is precisely where the Jesus movement seems to have struck a nerve among the ordinary population:[234]

---

230 Doering, Schabbat, 569 [JV].

231 On the question of reconstructing the original situation, see the overview in Doering, Schabbat, 408–440. Doering does not think the incident can be traced back to the historical Jesus. Rather, he considers it "a topic that occupied the disciples, which is then associated with Jesus" (*loc. cit.* 413; see also 477 [JV]). However, it seems unlikely that the story about plucking heads of grain is a construction of the early church, since the formation of a believing community would have placed Jesus at the center, or it would have attached the saying in Mark 2:27 – which Doering also recognizes as an authentic saying of Jesus (*loc. cit.* 414–416) – to another conflict situation involving the Sabbath.

232 Hezser, Literacy, 496: "... the Jewish literacy rate was well below the 10–15 percent." See also, id., Movement, 73–97; Grabbe, Religion, 151: "Thus, a few people in most Jewish communities could read and write, some could read with various levels of proficiency, most could do neither ..." See also Stemberger, Paul, 72f. See the survey of research regarding literacy in Galilee at the time of Jesus in: Heil, Analphabet, 278f.

233 On synagogue schools, see Tiwald, Hebräer, 132–144.

234 Hezser, Movement, 83.

In this context the early Jesus movement can be seen as a form of "popular" Judaism geared towards the unlearned, illiterate masses, especially the rural population of the Galilee. It offered them a way to gain personal salvation without Torah learning. It emphasised healing and explained basic moral ideas in an illustrative and easily understandable way. Whereas the Pharisees maintained that the Torah could be properly followed only after it had been carefully studied, interpreted, and applied to everyday life situations, Jesus and his followers claimed that the gist of the Jewish religious tradition was evident and understandable by everyone.

7 Early Judaism in the Diaspora

7.1 Key Data

7.1.1 Numbers and Geographical Framework

Towards the end of the second century BCE, the author of 1 Maccabees 15:22f. reports that there were Jews living in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Greece, the Aegean islands, Crete, Cyprus, and Cyrene. Philo extends the boundary even further in Legat. 281. In Legat. 214 and 282 he even reports (as does Josephus in *B.J.* 2.398; 7.43; *A.J.* 14.115) that there was no place on the whole inhabited earth (οἰκουμένη) where Jews had not settled. The number of Jews living outside Palestine far exceeded that of Jews in Palestine. While it is difficult to estimate (and the numbers in Philo and Josephus are greatly exaggerated), we may assume there were one million Jews in Palestine and three to three and a half million in the diaspora during the first century CE.[235] One million probably lived in Asia Minor alone. Roughly speaking, then, a good two thirds of the Judaism of the time resided in the diaspora. Thus, during the time of the Second Temple, diaspora Judaism was not a marginal factor in early Jewish life as a whole, but an essential component of Jewish identity.

7.1.2 Reasons for Living in the Diaspora

There were many reasons for Jews to emigrate from Palestine. The Near East had been politically and economically unstable since the death of Alexander the Great. The power struggles between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies were mostly waged on Palestinian soil, prompting many to consider emigration to more peaceful, politically and economically stable regions. Moreover, since Alexander's conquests, the entire Levant from Greece to Egypt had become a common cultural space open to fortune-seekers of all kinds. Jews hired themselves out as traders and craftsmen, but also as mercenaries. For example, the Elephantine Papyri confirm the existence of a

235 On the estimates, see: Broshi, Population, 1–10; Van der Horst, Jews, 106f.; Ameling, Gemeinden, 30; Trebilco, Communities, 213; Gruen, Judaism, passim.

Jewish military colony in Elephantine, Egypt, as early as the sixth century BCE.[236] The Jewish diaspora thus predates Alexander but gained significant momentum during the Hellenistic period. Many Jews had settled in Asia Minor and Alexandria or had been deported as prisoners and slaves in the aftermath of wars (for example, by Pompey, ► II.4.2.5 above).

7.1.3 Social Assimilation and Segregation

The greatest tension in early Judaism lay in the question of how much to embrace the all-pervading force of the dominant Hellenistic culture and how much to safeguard Jewish identity. It is of course exceedingly difficult to draw conclusions about the diaspora as a whole on the basis of the few notes that have come down to us. We at least know, from papyri found in Alexandria, that Jews served in the Army and police force (even as officers), could rise to high honors in bureaucratic life, prospered economically, and took part in social life (for example, in the gymnasia). Strabo reports that Jews in Alexandria had their own administration under the leadership of an "ethnarch" and managed their own internal affairs.[237] A separate Jewish *politeuma* (a partially autonomous organizational structure of ethnic minorities within a city) is also attested for Heracleopolis in Egypt as well as for the Cyrenaica.[238]

On the other hand, the Book of Tobit, which offers a sketch of Jewish identity in the diaspora at the beginning of the second century BCE, warns against intermarriage and advocates for endogamy. This is also the theme of *Joseph and Aseneth*. Written in the Egyptian diaspora during the first century CE, the novella explains that the patriarch Joseph could marry his bride Aseneth, a pagan and daughter of an idolatrous priest, only after her conversion to the God of Israel.[239] In the Babylonian exile (► II.1 above), Judaism's fear of losing its own identity and (like the ten tribes of the Northern Kingdom) being dissolved through assimilation led to an emphasis on Sabbath observance, circumcision, and dietary laws as *identity markers.* These distinctive features in particular were found to be incomprehensible by the Jews' pagan neighbors, often becoming a source of offense.

7.1.4 Early Jewish Segregation in the Assessment of Pagan Authors

The otherness of early Judaism resulted in perplexity among non-Jews, but at times also to admiration. Both aspects are present in Tacitus, Hist 5.4–9:

> To ensure his future hold over the people, Moses introduced a new cult, which was the opposite of all other religions. ... they abstain from pork ... They are said to have devoted the seventh day to rest (*septimo die otium placuisse ferent*) because that day brought an end to

236 See Gruen, Diaspora, 77; Schmitz, Geschichte, 44f.
237 See Gruen, Diaspora, 82; Pucci Ben Zeev, Jews, 239.
238 On this, see Ebner, Stadt, 88f.
239 See Gruen, Diaspora, 86; Berthelot, Literature, 192f.

> their toils. Later, finding idleness alluring, they gave up the seventh year as well to sloth. ... Whatever their origin, these rites are sanctioned by antiquity (*antiquitate defenduntur*). Their other customs are perverted and abominable, and owe their prevalence to their depravity (*sinistra foeda, pravitate valuere*). All the most worthless rascals, renouncing their national cults, started showering them with offerings and tribute. This is one cause of Jewish prosperity. Another is that they are obstinately loyal to each other and always ready to show compassion (*apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu*), whereas they feel nothing but hatred and enmity for the rest of the world (*sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium*). They separate themselves from others both in meals and in bed: though immoderate in sexual indulgence, they refrain from intercourse with foreign women (*alienarum concubitu abstinent*) ... They have introduced circumcision to distinguish themselves from other people (*circumcidere genitalia instituerunt, ut diversitate noscantur*). ... The Egyptians worship most of their gods as animals, or in shapes half animal and half human (*Aegyptii pleraque aminmalia effigiesque compositas venerantur*). The Jews acknowledge one god only, of whom they have a purely spiritual conception (*Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt*). They think it impious to make images of gods in human shape out of perishable materials. Their god is almighty and eternal, inimitable and without end (*summum illud et aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum*). ... Gnaeus Pompey was the first Roman to subdue the Jews and set foot in the Temple by right of conquest. That is the source of the information that the Temple contained no image of any god: their shrine was empty, the innermost sanctuary void (*inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana*).

While Tacitus's remarks are generally negative in tone, he nevertheless emphasizes the antiquity of Jewish customs, which, to a certain extent, justifies them (*antiquitate defenduntur*). He also underscores, in a positive light, the inner-Jewish solidarity and readiness to help (*apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu*). The Jewish social system was considered exemplary in antiquity (see, for example, the care for widows and the poor in Deut 14:29; 16:11; 24:19–22; Isa 1:17; Zech 7:10; 2 Macc 8:28, 30; Sir 4:10; Acts 6:1; James 1:27). The Jews' pure and aniconic monotheism was also admired: "The Jews acknowledge one god only, of whom they have a purely spiritual conception." Pompey, in fact, entered the Second Temple's empty Holy of Holies (► II.1 and II.4.2.5 above) and probably afterward spread "the information that the temple contained no image of any god." Even though Tacitus speaks somewhat dismissively of *inania arcana*, (roughly: "empty mysteries"), the aniconic cult of the Jews was still a subject of admiration. For example, Strabo writes in Geographica 16.2.35–39:

> 35 Moses was one of the Egyptian priests and held a part of the so-called territory of ... but he went away from there, as he was disgusted with the situation, and many went with him who honored the Divinity. He said and taught that the Egyptians were not correct in presuming that the Divinity was in the form of animals and cattle, nor were the Libyans, and that Hellenes were also wrong with their anthropomorphizing. God is the only one who surrounds us all, as well as the earth and sea, what we call the heavens, cosmos, or the nature of existence (εἷῃ γὰρ ἓν τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν). Who then would dare to consider fashioning an image similar to anything among us? One should be finished with all forms of images, and set apart a precinct and a notable enclosure, and give honor and worship without a statue. ... 37 For some time his followers continued in the same way, acting justly and religiously (διέμενον δικαιοπραγοῦντες καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντες). Yet later, superstitious men were first appointed to the priesthood (ἔπειτ' ἐφισταμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεισιδαιμόνων, ἔπειτα τυραννικῶν ἀνθρώπων), and then

> tyrannical people, and from superstition came the abstention from meat (and today it is common to abstain from it), circumcision, excision, and other such practices (ἐκ μὲν τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας αἱ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποσχέσεις, ὥνπερ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ αἱ περιτομαὶ καὶ αἱ ἐκτομαὶ καὶ εἴ τινα τοιαῦτα ἐνομίσθη). … 39 … Moses was such a person, as well as his successors, who did not have a bad beginning but turned out for the worse.

At the turn of the century, Strabo speaks highly of the fact that, for Moses, "God is the only one who surrounds us all, as well as the earth and sea, what we call the heavens, cosmos, or the nature of existence" (εἷς γὰρ ἓν τοῦτο μόνον θεὸς τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν). There is a striking similarity here to Paul's speech at the Areopagus (Acts 17:22–33), where God is spoken of as the "Lord of heaven and earth" (v. 24), who envelops humanity: "For 'in him we live and move and have our being'; as some of your own poets have said, 'For we too are His offspring'" (v. 28). Strabo and Acts draw similar conclusions from this notion. Strabo: "Who then would dare to consider fashioning an image similar to anything among us?" Compare this statement with Acts 17:29: "Therefore, since we are the descendants of God, we ought not to think that the Divine Nature is like gold or silver or stone, and image formed by human skill and thought." Luke is probably drawing on established argumentative frameworks from pagan philosophy, adapting them to serve his theological purposes. According to Strabo, dietary regulations (αἱ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποσχέσεις), circumcision (αἱ περιτομαί), and "other such practices" (εἴ τινα τοιαῦτα ἐνομίσθη), were only introduced later. This argument follows the motif of decadence found in much ancient literature (as seen, for example, in Ovid's Metamorphoses): "Moses was such a person, as well as his successors, who did not have a bad beginning but turned out for the worse." *Conduct in accordance with nature* is introduced here as a criterion for distinguishing true from false cultic practices, "what we call the heavens, cosmos, or the nature of existence" (ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν). In Romans 1:20–23, the perception of "invisible realty, understood through what has been made by the use of reason"[240] (v. 20) serves as a criterion against idolatry (v. 23). The assertion that the Torah should be interpreted πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον, with regard to the natural order, is also found in the Letter of Aristeas(§ 143, ► III.7.2.3 below) and in Philo: for Philo, φύσις (*physis*), the "natural order of the world," becomes the epitome of the Jewish law itself (► V.2.2 below).

To this way of thinking (cf. Tacitus and Strabo), the segregation of Judaism, via circumcision, endogamy, and dietary laws, seemed problematic. This led to the accusation of harboring "hatred and enmity for the rest of the world" (see the text from Tacitus: *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*). Here, Tacitus employs a standard trope of ancient anti-Jewish polemics, the supposed "misanthropy" of the Jews:

> *Philostratus, Apollonius, 5.33*: The Jews cut themselves off long ago, not only from the Romans, but from all mankind, since people who have devised an unsociable way of life, with no

240 [Translator's note: The translation of Romans 1:20 has been modified here to conform to the idea expressed in the author's use of the verse.]

meals, libations, prayers, or sacrifices in common with other men, have moved further away from us than Susa, Bactria, and the Indians beyond that.

Quintilian, InstOrat 3.7.21: We also hate the parents of evil men, and it is a disgrace to founders of cities to gather together a race pernicious to everybody else (*perniciosam ceteris gentem*), as did the originator of the Jewish superstition.

Est LXX 3:13e: Therefore, we have come to the conclusion that this nation stands constantly all alone in opposition to all humanity (τόδε τὸ ἔθνος μονώτατον ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ παντὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον), perversely following an estranging manner of life due to their laws and since it is ill-disposed to our interests, doing the worst harm such that our kingdom may not attain stability.

Josephus, A.J. 11.212: He went to the king and began to lay an accusation, saying that scattered throughout the world ruled by him was an evil nation, unsociable, exclusive, having neither the same worship as others nor using the same laws, but hostile in both its customs and its practices to [his] people and humanity (ἐχθρὸν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν τῷ σῷ λαῷ καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις).

Josephus, C. Ap. 2.121, 125, 148, 258: 121 There is a further lie [by Apion] concerning an oath, that we swear by the God who made heaven and earth and sea to show good will to no foreigner, and especially not to Greeks. … 148 … he [i. e., Apollonius Molon] first insults us as atheists and misanthropes (ὡς ἀθέους καὶ μισανθρώπους), and then reproaches us for cowardice, and elsewhere, by contrast, accuses us of rashness and recklessness. …

1 Thess 2:15: … who [i. e., the Jews] killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out; they displease God and oppose everyone (καὶ θεῷ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίων).

Juvenal, Satires 14.96–106: … with their habit of despising the laws of Rome, they study, observe, and revere the Judaic code, as handed down by Moses in his mystic scroll, which tells them not to show the way to anyone except a fellow worshipper and if asked, to take only the circumcised to the fountain. But it's their fathers who are to blame, taking every seventh day as a day of laziness (*septima quaeque fuit lux ignava*) and separate from ordinary life.

Besides dietary regulations, Sabbath observance was a particular focus of pagan criticism. The latter was often denounced as idleness and laziness,[241] for example, by Tacitus (see text quoted above: Hist 5.4.3: *septimo die otium placuisse ferunt*) and Juvenal (text above: Satires 14.96–106: *septima quaeque fuit lux ignava*). Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jewish Philosopher († ca. 160 v. BCE; frg. 5.1–8 = Eusebius: Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.9–16),[242] already exhibits a tendency to justify Sabbath observance in terms of the natural human need to rest, and he elevates the Sabbath to a day for the philosophical "recognition of truth."[243] Here, we already encounter a pattern of argumentation that presents difficult aspects of Jewish law as consistent with the order of nature. This tendency is also discernible in the Letter to Aristeas (► III.7.2.3 below) and is later taken up and developed along allegorical lines by Philo (► III.7.3

241 See Doering, Schabbat, 285f.; Niehoff, Philo, 162f.

242 On the reliability of the Aristobulus fragments, see Doering, Schabbat, 306f.; Niehoff, Philo, 152 ("he [i. e., Aristobulos] associates the Torah with universal standards of virtue").

243 See Doering, Schabbat, 309–315.

below). Philo counters the accusation of idleness by emphasizing the importance of the Sabbath for the contemplative, philosophical life (Spec. 2.64; Decal. 100f.) Similar to Aristobulus, Philo offers a universalistic interpretation of the Sabbath as a law inherent in nature, which both Jews and Gentiles should observe.[244] Dietary regulations were eventually also interpreted as being "in accordance with nature," for example in the Letter of Aristeas § 128 and 143–150 (► III.7.2.3 below for text and interpretation).

7.2 The Septuagint and the Letter of Aristeas

7.2.1 Reason for the Translation

Judaism was always a minority within its pagan surroundings in the diaspora, which resulted in strong pressure to assimilate. At the same time, however, there was also a felt need to make the distinctive religious features of Judaism intelligible to the non-Jewish environment. A milestone in this development was the Greek translation of the Torah, known as the *Septuagint* (abbr. LXX). Apart from the effort to make Judaism intelligible to its pagan neighbors, the main reason for the translation was likely "that a large part of the Jews living in the Egyptian diaspora in the third century BCE no longer knew enough Hebrew to understand the reading of the Torah ..."[245]

7.2.2 The Septuagint as Interpreted in the Letter of Aristeas

The Letter of Aristeas is a pseudepigraphical text from the Egyptian diaspora, dating to the late second century BCE.[246] The letter's theme is a fictional account of how the Hebrew Torah came to be translated into Greek. It is essentially a kind of founding legend for the Septuagint. The fictitious author, Aristeas, is introduced as a pagan court official of the Egyptian king Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BCE). In the letter, he recounts the circumstances of the Septuagint's creation to his supposed friend Philocrates. The king is said to have ordered the creation of a Greek version of the Jewish laws (*Let.Aris.* 10: Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα) for the royal library of Alexandria.[247] Seventy-two translators (*Let.Aris.* 50) are said to have completed the translation in just seventy-two days (*Let.Aris.* 307). Philo of Alexandria (*Mos.* 2.29–41) later augmented the legendary nature of the account, asserting that the translators worked "in seclusion" on the translation of the Torah and yet, as if "under inspiration," each produced the exact same Greek text, like "prophets." Thus, Philo suggests that the LXX is not

244 See Niebuhr, Gesetzespraxis, 25.

245 Tilly, Septuaginta, 46 [JV]. On this, see also the discussion in, Kreuzer, Bible, 53.

246 On the following, see Tilly, Septuaginta, 29; Kreuzer, Bible, 74 ("written around 120 BCE"); Kollmann, Einführung, 28f.; Gruen, Diaspora, 84f.

247 The basic truth of this statement is affirmed today: "Apparently, not only were new decrees published in multiple languages under the Ptolemies, but existing legal texts were also translated," Kreuzer, Bible, 51 [JV]. For further discussion, ► III.7.5.1 below.

merely a translation but should be esteemed as an independently inspired text. The "Septuagint … is described as the work not of translators, but of hierophants, bearers of revelation. It is thus a new revelation of the Torah in another language."[248] This explains why Philo and Paul could view the Greek text as inspired, even though they knew that the original was written in Hebrew.[249]

7.2.3 The Theological Concern of the Letter of Aristeas

Beyond the problem of translation, the Letter of Aristeas also reveals a desire to convey the regulations of Jewish law into the Hellenistic context in both theological and practical respects. Particularly challenging content, such as dietary regulations, is explained along ethical and symbolic lines.[250] The author of the letter (128, 143–150) feels compelled to defend Jewish dietary regulations in the following way:

> 128 … It is my opinion that mankind as a whole shows a certain amount of concern for (νομίζω γὰρ τοὺς πολλοὺς περιεργίαν ἔχων; *actually*: It is my opinion that many consider as an overly fastidious work) the parts of their legislation concerning meats and drink and beasts considered to be unclean. … 143 In general everything is similarly constituted in regard to natural reasoning (τὸ γὰρ καθόλου πάντα πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον ὅμοια καθέστηκεν; *actually:* Viewed as whole, He [i. e., God] has established everything as equally pure with respect to its natural sense), being governed by one supreme power, and in each particular everything has a profound reason for it … 144 Do not take the contemptible view that Moses enacted this legislation because of an excessive preoccupation with mice and weasels or suchlike creatures. The fact is that everything has been solemnly set in order for unblemished investigation and amendment of life for the sake of righteousness. 145 The birds which we use are all domesticated and of exceptional cleanliness, their food consisting of wheat and pulse … 146 As to the birds which are forbidden, you will find wild and carnivorous kinds, and the rest which dominate by their own strength … 147 By calling them impure, he has thereby indicated that it is the solemn binding duty of those for whom the legislation has been established to practice righteousness and not lord it over anyone …, but to govern their lives righteously, in the manner of the gentle creatures among the aforementioned birds which feed on these plants which grow on the ground and do not exercise a domination leading to the destruction of their fellow creatures. … 150 Everything pertaining to conduct permitted us toward these creatures and toward beasts has been set out symbolically (τροπολῶγον).

The Letter of Aristeas emphasizes that, by nature (πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον), all foods are equally pure.[251] It is therefore at pains to defend the dietary regulations against the accusation of περιεργία, *an overly fastidious work*. It justifies regulations in terms of their "symbolic content" (τροπολογῶν): since the animals forbidden as food live immoral lives, they are considered unsuitable for consumption. While the non-Jewish world viewed food taboos as senseless and excessive, ethical norms were highly val-

248 Stemberger, Text, 63 [JV]; See also, Stemberger, Hermeneutik, 52.
249 On this, see Amir, Authority, 442–444.
250 See Berthelot, Literature, 193.
251 See Siegert, Interpretation, 151: "Nothing is impure by nature, sect. 143 concedes."

ued. The transition from ritual to moral purity is not merely an interpretive maneuver intended to make Jewish peculiarities more intelligible to pagans. It also represents a profound internal challenge for Judaism (see the excurses in III.7.4 below).

7.2.4 Origins, Versions, and Revisions of the Septuagint

Even if the Letter of Aristeas's claim – that Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BCE) commissioned a translation of the Jewish laws for the royal library – is generally affirmed as historical (► III.7.2.2 above and III.7.5.1 below), that translation should by no means be identified as *the "Septuagint"* as we know it today. In *Let.Aris.* 10, Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα, the "collection of Jewish laws" which was to be translated for the royal library in Alexandria, *only refers to the Pentateuch* and not the entirety of today's LXX-Canon.[252] However, here too, we must ask "whether the translation and publication of the individual books of the Septuagint was a more differentiated process."[253] It is evident that "the books of Genesis and Exodus ... were translated more freely than the subsequent books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, and that the syntax, style, lexicography, and phraseology of Genesis had a recognizable influence on the later translations."[254] While we can presumably place the origin of the LXX Pentateuch in the middle of the third century BCE, "the remaining Hebrew scriptures of Judaism were translated into Greek – at different times and in different places – during the second and first pre-Christian centuries. The authors of these translations differed greatly in linguistic proficiency, translation techniques, and style."[255] It was only in the second century CE that Christian authors expanded the legend of the Septuagint's origins to include prophetic texts and hagiographies. The process of translating the prophetic books probably began with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets.[256] The existing translation of the Torah served as a linguistic model for these later translations, though the translators' stylistic and lexicographical preferences are also discernible in the individual translations. As a result of this process, *different partial collections* of the sacred writings were likely produced in various locations. The process was only completed in Christian times with the books contained in the Christian LXX codices. "*The Septuagint*," as it is known today in Christian circles (for example, in the Rahlfs edition), did not exist in early Judaism.[257] Since the individual books circulated on individual scrolls, we cannot assume any fixed order in the sequence of the prophets and hagiographers in early Judaism.[258] Such a fixed order only came

252 See Kreuzer, Bible, 60f. On the question of the "canon" of biblical books in Judaism, ► V.3.1 below. On the question of the LXX canon, see below in this chapter.
253 Kreuzer, Bible, 61 [JV].
254 Tilly, Septuaginta, 49 [JV].
255 Tilly, Septuaginta, 51 [JV].
256 Here and in the following, see Tilly, Septuaginta, 52f.
257 On this, see Kreuzer, Bible, 113.
258 See Tilly, Septuaginta, 54.

about through the emergence of the codex in the Christian period, a text-form in which individual pages were bound together as books rather than as separate scrolls.

The Hebrew text of Judaism's sacred books was still in flux in the early Jewish period. It was only in the "late Second Temple period that the proto-Masoretic form of the text gradually began to become established in Palestine (approx. 40% of the Hebrew text finds from Qumran correspond to the Masoretic Text [MT] ..."[259] However, that form of the text did not gain stability until the second century CE. Kreuzer suggests[260] that the proto-Masoretic text was the version meant to be implemented as the official text of the new rulers in the wake of the Maccabean revolt (167 BCE) and the Maccabean/Hasmonean assumption of the high priesthood (153 BCE). The question of the "correct" text was thus an instrument in the power struggle between rival groups in Jerusalem – similar to the struggle for the office of high priest. The form of the text that was promoted in Jerusalem after the Maccabean revolt was clearly not yet the textual basis for the translation of the LXX Pentateuch in the middle of the third century BCE. In view of this, Kreuzer suggests that the Letter of Aristeas (written around 120 BCE) attempts to refute polemics about use of the "wrong" reference-text. It does so by claiming both that Bible translators were appointed by *the high priest in Jerusalem* (*Let.Aris.* 32) and that *the reference-text of the translation was sent to Alexandria by the high priest* (*Let.Aris.* 46). In this case, the Letter of Aristeas's claim of divine inspiration for the LXX not only underscores the text's God-ordained authority vis-à-vis pagans but also counters internal Jewish critiques that it was based on the "wrong" reference-text. "Yet this defense, at least in the long run and especially in Palestine itself, could not avert the change of the reference-text and the subsequent revisions of the Old Greek toward the (proto-)Masoretic text."[261] This would explain why the text of the LXX was revised so soon. The issue of the "correct" text had become an instrument in the struggle for power between rival Jewish groups.

At any rate, the exact reference-text for the different translations of the books of the LXX is no longer known to us due to the Hebrew text's fluidity. For example, the LXX Book of Jeremiah exhibits a text that is about one eighth shorter than today's MT. With the progressive standardization of the proto-Masoretic text, "there is a discernible, methodical effort among Greek witnesses in pre-Christian times to align the Greek version available to the ancient copyist as closely as possible with the authoritative textual tradition of the Hebrew holy scriptures. ... At the beginning of its transmission, then, the Greek text was already 'corrected' through the methodical, linguistic, and subject-specific interventions of bilingual copyists, or by deliberate, retroactive revisions of the tradents, undertaken from specific points of view."[262] Thus, "there were no two identical, or nearly identical, scrolls of any LXX books dur-

259 Tilly, Septuaginta, 57 [JV]; likewise, Kreuzer, Bible, 65.
260 See Kreuzer, Bible, 69–75.
261 Kreuzer, Bible, 75 [JV].
262 Tilly, Septuaginta, 61 [JV].

ing this period."[263] It was only "in the second and third centuries CE" that the LXX attained "relative consistency."[264] Quotations of the LXX "in the New Testament, Philo of Alexandria, Josephus, and many of the Church Fathers" therefore reflect "the most diverse array of recensions …"[265] Even supposing that the first translation of the Pentateuch took place in Alexandria around 250 BCE, it was nevertheless not an "original translation" [*Urübersetzung*] with normative validity. For, "no 'original translation' [*Urübersetzung*] can be expected in the absence of a normative Hebrew 'original text' [*Urtext*] of Jewish holy scripture, that could serve as a reference-text … Moreover, there was no central regulatory body in the Judaism of the time that would have been in a position to establish an authoritative and normative Greek standard text over alternative translations."[266] This argument applies even more strongly to the later translations of the prophetic books and hagiographies. The pluriformity of early Judaism, with all of its different rival groups, is also reflected in the various textual traditions in the Hebrew and Greek texts of the holy scriptures.

Recensions of the LXX therefore began very early. In addition to the power struggle over the "correct" reference-text, we also know of "re-Hebraizing" recension work from the pre-Christian period. The Greek text was increasingly aligned – often even word-for-word – with the Hebrew reference-text. Such recensions are documented for the Book of Judges (Codex Vaticanus) and the Twelve Minor Prophets (Naḥal Ḥever, 8HevXIIgr).[267] By adhering closely to the reference-text, the translation occasionally produced Greek phrasing that sounds rather unconventional. This is evident, for instance, in the edition of the Twelve Minor Prophets found at Naḥal Ḥever, known as the Kaige revision, as well as in parts of other books (1/2 Sam, 1/2 Kgs, and others). Among its many unconventional translational characteristics, this first-century BCE revision consistently substitutes the Hebrew particle *gam* ("also"), not simply with και (*kai*, "and"), but with και γε (*kai ge*, "and also"; more precisely, "at least"), which distorts the meaning in Greek. In later times, such efforts were carried on in the Jewish revisions of Aquila (around 128 CE), Symmachus, and Theodotion (both at the end of the second century CE) and, on the Christian side, in Origen's († around 254 CE) Hexapla and Lucian's revision († 312 CE).[268]

---

263 Tov, Bibelübersetzungen, 133 [JV]. Similarly, Maier, Testamenten, 63 [JV]: "Although the tradition speaks of *one* 'Septuagint,' we should presuppose a varied and lengthy process, since the Christian communities adopted different versions."

264 Tov, Bibelübersetzungen, 133 [JV].

265 Tov, Bibelübersetzungen, 165 [JV]. In 1993, Koch, Septuaginta, 229, could still maintain "that, for the period preceding the New Testament … a relatively stabilized Septuagint text is to be expected. More recent Septuagint research has reached a different conclusion: "At the time of the composition of the New Testament, the Greek manuscripts of the Jewish Bible circulated in varying textual forms … It is therefore not astonishing to find diverging quotations of the Old Testament in the New Testament books (Harl, Septante, 276 [JV]).

266 Tilly, Septuaginta, 63 [JV].

267 See Tilly, Septuaginta, 82f.; Kreuzer, Bible, 67; id., Septuaginta, 17–55.

268 On this, see Kreuzer, Bible, 115–128.

7.3 Philo of Alexandria

Philo of Alexandria must be regarded as the most important author of the Jewish diaspora. His *philosophical theology* and his active participation in the *political and social* life of the city of Alexandria demonstrate both the high degree to which Jews were assimilated in the diaspora and the extent to which they continued to uphold their traditions. Philo lived between 20 BCE and 50 CE in Alexandria.[269] He came from one of the wealthiest and most prominent families of the Jewish community there. His brother, Gaius Julius Alexander, is mentioned in *A.J.* 20.100 as the alabarch (chief tax collector) of Alexandria and is praised for his wealth and noble lineage. Philo's nephew, Tiberius Alexander, renounced his Jewish faith and pursued a successful career in the service of Rome.[270] He followed the *cursus honorum* and served as prefect of Judea from 46–48 CE (► II.5.6 above). The only solid historical footing we have regarding Philo pertains to the embassy to the Emperor Caligula. Following the pogrom that broke out during Agrippa I's visit to Alexandria in 38 CE, the Jewish community in Alexandria sent an embassy to Caligula in 40 CE, with Philo as its leader (► II.5.5.2 above). Philo describes the embassy in his work *Legatio ad Gaium* (referring to Gaius Caligula), which is also mentioned in *A.J.* 18.259.[271] Philo's leadership of this delegation attests to the high regard in which he was held among Alexandrian Jews. It is certain that Philo had a good knowledge of Greek and Roman authors.[272] He expressly recommends the intellectual and physical education available in the pagan world (Spec. 2.230) and frequented the theater[273] (Prob. 141; Ebr. 177). His writings contain numerous comparisons drawn from the realm of theater (Opif. 78; Gig. 31; Abr. 103; Legat. 79), and he even critiques certain performances (Agr. 35.113). Philo speaks of the Gymnasium[274] in a figurative and positive sense (Mut. 172; Somn. 1.69, 129), and cites pagan authors (Homer, Pindar, Plato, Euripides, and others) with great familiarity.[275] In Prob. 13 he even introduces a quotation from Plato with the words κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Πλάτωνα ("according to the most holy Plato"), thereby confirming his literary influences. Philo seeks to build a bridge between Hellenistic philosophy and Jewish faith. It was his conviction that the value of Jewish faith and the significance of Jewish legal interpretation should be made accessible to Hellenistic readers. For this undertaking, Philo makes use of the allegorical method and draws on key principles of Stoicism.[276] While Philo actively participates in Hellenistic life and likes to interpret Jewish laws allegorically, he is nonetheless committed to a principled observance of the law. For example, in Migr. 89–93 he criticizes the "radical allegorizers"

269 For the following, see Sterling, Philo, EDEJ 1063–1070, and Mach, Philo, TRE 26/523–531.
270 See Schäfer, History, 117.
271 See Schäfer, History, 111.
272 See Siegert, Interpretation, 164: "He knows Plato as thoroughly as the Mosaic laws."
273 On the Greco-Roman Theater, see Ebner, Stadt, 71–79.
274 On the Gymnasium, see Ebner, Stadt, 79–81.
275 On Philo's good Greek education, see Delling, Begegnung, 14f.
276 See Niehoff, Philo, 149–170; Sterling, Philo, EDEJ 1063.

who neglect the ritual requirements of the Torah (Sabbath, circumcision, worship in the temple) in favor of a purely ethical interpretation:

> 89 There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect (εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἳ τοὺς ῥητοὺς νόμους σύμβολα νοητῶν πραγμάτων ὑπολαμβάνοντες), are overpunctilious about the latter [the intellect], while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand (τῆς εὐχερείας) a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen (τῶν ἀφανῶν) and in what is seen (τῶν φανερῶν) to be stewards without reproach. ... 91 It is quite true that the Seventh Day (ἡ ἑβδόμη) is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate [= God] and the non-action of created beings. But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance, and light fires or till the ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are permitted to do as well on days that are not festival seasons. It is true also that the Feast is a symbol of gladness of the soul and of thankfulness to God (ὅτι ἡ ἑορτὴ σύμβολον ψυχικῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχαριστίας), but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year's seasons (ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας πανηγύρεσι). It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, ... but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple (τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἁγιστείας) and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things (εἰ μόνοις προσέξομεν τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλουμένοις; *actually*: if we were to direct our attention only to [laws] revealed according to their figurative meaning). 93 Nay, we should look on all these outward observances as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul (ἀλλὰ χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι ἐοικέναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ ἐκεῖνα). It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body, because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws (τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων). If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are the symbols (ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι σύμβολα); and besides that we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us.

"Philo employs the widespread distinction, particularly favored by the Stoics, between the unwritten divine moral laws and the law of the state, which is based on human statutes. He classifies the Torah laws in their literal sense as human statutes, the observance of which he endorses in our case, but whose value is far inferior to the moral law."[277] In § 92f., the laws of nature are identified with τοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν δηλουμένοις, "things revealed according to their figurative meaning," that is, the meaning obtained through allegorical interpretation (ὧν εἰσιν οὗτοι σύμβολα). Human ordinances, for their part, reflect the literal sense (τῶν ῥητῶν νόμων). Thus, the comparison in § 93 – likening human ordinances derived from the literal sense to the body and the laws of nature obtained by means of allegorical interpretation to the soul (ἀλλὰ χρὴ ταῦτα μὲν σώματι ἐοικέναι νομίζειν, ψυχῇ δὲ ἐκεῖνα) – immediately suggests itself. According to § 89f., the true sense is the invisible one (τῶν ἀφανῶν), which must be disclosed by means of allegory and is likened to the soul of the law. The visible (τῶν φανερῶν), by contrast, must be grasped "physically," like the literal

277 Posner, Wanderung, 177 [JV].

sense. Philo's argument makes it clear that the literal sense encompasses Sabbath observance ("the Seventh Day"; ἡ ἑβδόμη), "seasonal feast gatherings" (ταῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας πανηγύρεσι), "circumcision" (τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι), and "service in the temple" (τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἁγιστείας). The "literal sense" thus refers to the ritual prescriptions of the Torah. This literal meaning of the laws (their "body" or "apparent sense") must, however, be filled out by the "soul" (the "symbols of matters belonging to the intellect"), the laws' true meaning, which is the work of symbolic interpretation. Thus, Philo interprets circumcision as "the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit," and the Sabbath as a day to "teach the power of the Unoriginate [= God] and the non-action of created beings," while feast days are "a symbol of gladness of the soul and of thankfulness to God." Symbolic interpretation thus aims to educate people in ethics and morality. Along these lines, Philo further develops the tendencies present in the Letter of Aristeas (► III.7.2.3 above), which had already explained Jewish ritual and purity regulations in terms of their pedagogical value in the area of ethics. Like the Letter of Aristeas, Philo retains both the allegorical and the ritual observance of these regulations, criticizing radical allegorizers, who desire only to retain the figurative sense (§ 89f.). He argues that allegorical moral interpretation and ritual observance belong together as "soul" and "body" (§ 93), and the Stoics are clear that the *allegorical ethical* interpretation constitutes the deeper meaning (corresponding to the "soul"). The tension between integration and segregation that permeated early Judaism is particularly evident in the person of Philo. This same tension would later also suffuse early Christianity, both as a part of and as an extension of early Judaism (► V.8.2 below).

7.4 Terminological Clarifications

7.4.1 Excursus 1: "Ritual and Purity Torah" versus "Moral Law"?

In the Hellenized circles of early Judaism (especially evident in the Letter of Aristeas and Philo), there is a discernible shift in law observance away from the ritual and purity Torah toward ethical and moral ideas. As we have seen, both the Letter of Aristeas and Philo strive to justify dietary regulations, circumcision, and the Sabbath with reference to their supposed connection to moral virtues. However, M. Wolter has rightly pointed out that a *terminological* distinction between "ceremonial law" and "moral law" is anachronistic with reference to early Judaism, since such terms are not found in the source texts.[278] Heil also rightly notes: "In early Judaism, it was not customary to distinguish between that which pertains to 'cult/ritual' and that which pertains to 'ethics.'"[279] However, that is not to say that the foundations for such a distinction were not, *in substance*, already present in early Judaism. The above-cited evidence from the Letter of Aristeas and Philo demonstrates that, in certain circles of

278 See Wolter, Zeremonialgesetz, 341.
279 Heil, Speisegebote, 299 [JV].

early Judaism, the explanation of the Torah's *ritual and purity regulations* took a new *ethical* turn. Even if a *distinction* is not yet made *terminologically* between cultic and ethical norms, the difference is nevertheless present *at the level of intentionality and textual pragmatics*.[280] Heil is also of this opinion: "Starting from the 'metaphorization' of purity as a moral state in the prophetic and wisdom literature, early (especially Hellenistic) Judaism differentiated between the ritual and moral aspects of Torah commandments, without conflating them."[281] However, this distinction was primarily *argumentative and text-pragmatic* in nature and not *definitional and terminological*. A further issue concerns the precise contents of the "ritual and purity Torah" (often even more imprecisely called "cult Torah" or "ceremonial law"). The points of contention between Philo and the "radical allegorizers" concern dietary regulations, circumcision, and Sabbath observance, none of which falls under "cult Torah." Furthermore, it remains unclear what the term "ceremonial law" is meant to encompass. The expression "ritual and purity regulations" is more precise, as it includes circumcision and dietary regulations, though it only partially encompasses Sabbath observance. It would therefore be better, following Philo, to speak of a spiritualizing observance of the law as distinct from a literal one (see the interpretation of Migr. 89–93 in III.7.3 above). However, as the terms in question have already become established in the literature, I will continue to use them, albeit with the aforementioned caveats.

7.4.2 Excursus 2: Concerning the Terms "Liberal" and "Conservative"

In the preceding passages, there was often talk of the "liberal" and "conservative" tendencies of various groups. These classifications warrant scrutiny, both because they run the risk of overgeneralization and are invariably rooted in a highly subjective frame of reference. Moreover, the terms "liberal" and "conservative" carry a strong temptation to project modern value categories onto antiquity. A spiritualizing interpretation of the law might be viewed as "liberal" merely because such patterns of interpretation were later adopted by Christianity. Such interpretation might appear "modern"/"liberal" in perspective, in contrast to a supposed Jewish "conservative ritualism." However, this inclination carries (intentionally or unintentionally) audible echoes of long discredited anti-Jewish prejudices.[282] Nevertheless, it seems premature to capitulate – out of a kind of excessive caution – before the tensions of early Jewish group dynamics by dispensing with the terms "liberal" and "conservative." Sociologically speaking, people at the turn of the first century "functioned" just as we do today. It is thus legitimate to assume that, *mutatis mutandis*, there was similar infighting as occurs today. However, we should be careful not to project contemporary value judgments onto the past. A strictly heuristic approach could be helpful here: "liberal" groups sought to "liberate" (Lat.: *liberare*) themselves from a Torah

280 See also, Tiwald, Hebräer, 359f.
281 Heil, Absonderung, 156. Also Niehoff, Philo, 149–170.
282 On this, see the research overview in Tiwald, Hebräer, 3–9.

focused on issues of ritual and purity. At least this is how Paul sees it, who speaks of the "yoke" of the ritual Torah (► V.9.2 below) and extols the freedom to which Christ has "liberated" us (Gal 5:1). Similarly, Zimri criticizes the "orders" which Moses gave "tyrannically" in *A.J.* 4.145–149 (► the text under V.8.2.2 below), where regulations pertaining to marriage (part of the purity Torah) are concerned, claiming to be able to disregard the latter as a "free man." And *Let.Aris.* 128 (text cited above III.7.2.3; see also V.8.2.1 below) states that "many" (probably also Jews) criticize the "fastidious" way the dietary regulations are to be observed. The "radical allegorizers" in any case "liberated" themselves from such regulations, being "liberal" in the truest sense of the word. For its part, "conservative" can then (in a strictly heuristic way) indicate the preservation (Lat. *conservare*) of "Judaism's ancestral laws" (a positive term for Josephus, referring to Judaism's traditional legal regulations; ► III.8.1.4 below) even under the Hellenistic pressure to assimilate. Both terms, "liberal" and "conservative," should be employed in a value-neutral manner, as they merely denote different approaches and positions within the spectrum of early Jewish life (see below: *Appendix: The Spectrum of Early Judaism and Early Christianity*).

7.5 Basic Political Conditions

7.5.1 The Status of Torah under Foreign Rule

It is by no means merely a quaint legend in the Letter of Aristeas that a translation of the Jewish laws (*Let.Aris.* 10: Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα) was requested for the royal library of Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BCE). Already in the Persian period, the Jewish Torah had been recognized by the Persian overlords as a *quasi-governmental legal document* ("civic law for the Jews"[283]), according to which civil law was adjudicated, as noted in Ezra 7:25f. The Persian overlords accepted the juridical customs of the Jews, both in Palestine and throughout their empire, provided they remained loyal subjects. This status remained unchanged during the Hellenistic period. Alexander permitted the Jews to follow their own laws (*A.J.* 11.338; Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιτρέψῃ νόμοις χρῆσθαι). The desire for Ptolemy II to have a Greek version of the Jewish laws in his royal library is understandable in this context. It was not out of religious interest, but because these texts had become an official component of the legal norms actionable in the Ptolemaic kingdom.[284] This seems not to have changed under the Seleucids either. Josephus reports that Antiochus III allowed all nations to live according to their "ancestral laws" (*A.J.* 12.142), which, for Judaism, meant the Torah. The Romans likewise upheld this practice. It was a declared aim of Roman policy to preserve the existing legal and cultural framework in the conquered territories as far as possible.

283 Pucci Ben Zeev, Jews, 238.

284 See Pucci Ben Zeev, Jews, 238: "... the Torah was officially recognized by its integration in the judicial system created by Ptolemy II." See also the discussion in Kreuzer, Bible, 51f.

7.5.2 Was Judaism a *religio licita*?

Although these special provisions allowed the Jews to observe their religious laws (Sabbath observance, dietary regulations, the temple tax, etc.), the status of Judaism should not be misconstrued in terms of fundamental legal validation. It is often claimed that Judaism had the status of a *religio licita* under the Romans, meaning it had a quasi-official standing as a state-sanctioned religion. This is incorrect. The term *religio licita* is not a technical term of Roman jurisprudence.[285] We first encounter the term in Tertullian's Apologeticum 21,[286] where it is said that one might mistakenly suppose that, during its early days, Christianity sought to hide *quasi sub umbraculo insignissimae religionis, certe licitae* "under cover of a very famous religion (and one certainly permitted by law)" (referring to Judaism). The preceding "*certe*" and the following "*licitae*" make it clear that the expression "*religio licita*" was not a technical term in Tertullian's work, but merely a supplementary clarification of "*religio insignissima.*" "Tertullian's designation of Judaism as a 'permitted' religion is an ad-hoc formulation rather than an established legal term to which he could have appealed."[287]

7.5.3 Privileges for Jews as ad hoc Regulations

Regarding the free practice of religion, any special privileges conceded to the Jews in antiquity did not stem from some comprehensive statute or universally applicable charter, but rather from *ad hoc* concessions to specific Jewish communities by a particular ruler, emperor, or city administration, in a specific situation.[288] Furthermore, such special privileges were not bestowed on a permanent basis but could be revoked at any time. A careful reading of the relevant details in Philo and Josephus makes this particularly clear. Both authors agree in their accounts of a decree which they both associate with Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, who was proconsul in Asia from 37–41 BCE:

> Legat 315 Here is a transcript of this letter. "Gaius Norbanus Flaccus proconsul to the magistrates of the Ephesians, greeting. Caesar has written to me that the Jews, wherever they may be, regularly according to their old peculiar custom, make a rule of meeting together and subscribing money which they send to Jerusalem. He does not wish them to be hin-

285 See Applebaum, Status, 460; Rajak, Charter, 301; Pucci Ben Zeev, Jews, 238. Further on this topic: Hasselhoff/Strothmann, Religio, 1–12.

286 See Rajak, Charter, 301; Applebaum, Status, 460. On the term *collegia licita*: Ebner, Stadt, 223 and 226. *Illicitum* was everything that "disturbed public order and thus thwarted the political interests of Rome." [JV]

287 Koch, Geschichte, 539 [JV].

288 See Rajak, Charter, 317, 326f. Applebaum Status, 460: "... proceeded not from a treaty relationship or a comprehensive statute, but from *ad hoc* confirmations, individual or *en bloc*, of a series of city-laws ..." Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 427: "... enjoyed certain privileges, which differed according to time and place ..." Ebner, Stadt, 88: "These rights had to be separately negotiated in each city and renegotiated after every change of ruler. This process involved locally restricted privileges, which were defined differently in each case." [JV]

> dered from doing this. I therefore write you to let you know that this is what he orders to be done."
>
> *A.J.* 16.166 "Caesar Norbanus Flaccus, greeting. The Jews, however numerous they may be, who have been wont, according to their ancient custom, to bring sacred monies to send up to Jerusalem, may to this without interference." 167 But Agrippa himself also wrote on behalf of the Jews in the following manner. "Agrippa to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. It is my will that the care and custody of the sacred monies belonging to the account of the temple in Jerusalem shall be given to the Jews in Asia in accordance with their ancestral customs. 168 And if any men steal the sacred monies of the Jews and take refuge in places of asylum, it is my will that they be dragged away from them and turned over to the Jews under the same law by which temple-robbers are dragged away from asylum. I have also written to the praetor Silanus that no one shall compel the Jews to give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath."

The fact that Philo and Josephus independently reference the same decree indicates that there really was such a decree (even though they only recount it in paraphrased form). Both authors agree that the Jews were granted the privilege of paying the temple tax across provincial borders. The export of considerable financial resources (such as the temple tax) was frowned on by local authorities. The permission to send the temple tax across provincial borders to Jerusalem was therefore indeed a "privilege."[289] When Philo speaks of the Jews' right to meet "according to their old peculiar custom," he is referring to the right to worship on the Sabbath. This corresponds to Josephus's mention of the privilege that Jews were exempted from appearing in court on the Sabbath (however, this privilege only appears in Agrippa's proclamation). Philo reports on this decree in connection with the embassy to Emperor Gaius Caligula (40 CE). When the latter desired to drastically curtail the rights of the Jews (► II.5.5.2 above), Philo reminded him of the privileges that had previously been granted to them. However, the embassy was unsuccessful and the emperor refused to renew the privileges. It was only through the assassination of Caligula that a catastrophe was averted. Philo's account shows that such privileges as the Jews enjoyed were indeed only bestowed *ad hoc* and did not have to be affirmed by later rulers. In Josephus's account, the privileges associated with the Flaccus correspondence, written between 31 and 27 BCE, were subsequently confirmed by a certain Agrippa. This is a reference to Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, who was on an inspection tour in the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean as a special plenipotentiary in 14 BCE. This, too, is an indication that such privileges were not bestowed in perpetuity but had to be reaffirmed individually.

7.5.4 Privileges and Local Municipal Law

In *A.J.* 14.223–230, Josephus speaks of privileges that Publius Cornelius Dolabella († 43 BCE) is supposed to have granted the Jews of Asia. These primarily had to do with exemption from military service (due to Jewish dietary regulations and Sabbath obser-

289 See Trebilco, Ephesus, 41, and Rajak, Charter, 330f.

vance), the right to gather on the Sabbath, and the export of the temple tax. However, Josephus goes on to report that the privileges guaranteed by the Romans first had to be brought into agreement with the respective municipal law, for which a separate letter had to be sent to the relevant archons (*A.J.* 14.230: Ephesus; 14.256–259: Halicarnassus; 14.259–261.262–264: Ephesus again; likewise in *A.J.* 16.167: Ephesus; 16.169: Cyrene; 16.171: Sardis; 16.172: once again, Ephesus). The privileges afforded to the Jews usually included: exemption from military service (since it was not permitted to do battle on the Sabbath), exemption from pagan cult practices, exemption from having to appear in court on the Sabbath, the right to hold their own cult assemblies, the right to pay the temple tax, and the right to their own kosher markets.[290] Such far-reaching concessions were not well received by the cities. Thus, Josephus also notes that there were persistent difficulties in the various cities (*A.J.* 16.27f., 57–60, 167f., 172f.). Even though the special rights of the Jews were often reaffirmed in the end (at least in the favorable portrayal of Josephus), it was certainly not by way of automatic processes. Rather, it was the result of a continually renewed struggle. The granting of such concessions required a delicate "balance of loyalties" between the Jews and the municipal administrations, a dynamic that took generations to develop.[291]

7.5.5 The Status of the Jews and the "Parting of the Ways"

This delicate "balance of loyalties" could, of course, easily be overturned. As we have just seen in the example of Ephesus, Jewish privileges could not be taken for granted. When Paul causes a *commotion with the silversmiths of Ephesus* (Acts 19:23–40; ▸ I.2.2.4 above), the Jews feel compelled to put forward their own spokesman, Alexander (v. 33). It is evident that the commotion is directed not at "Christians" as a distinct group, but at Ephesian Judaism, within which Christians were regarded as a subgroup: the silversmiths identify Paul as a Jew.[292] Because of Paul, a trust built painstakingly over generations risks being destroyed in the blink of an eye. We find a similar pattern *in the city of Rome*, where Christians coming in from outside upset the fragile balance between Jews and the Roman state, ultimately leading to the expulsion of "the Jews" from Rome under Emperor Claudius (▸ III.10.4.6 below).[293] The tensions in Ephesus reappear under different circumstances in the person of the author of the *Book of Revelation*. Following the atrocities of the Jewish War, the latter, an itinerant missionary from Palestine, "bore a wholly different image of the Roman state ... than the

290 See Rajak, Charter, 317.

291 Thus Rajak, Charter, 358.

292 See Horsley, Inscriptions, 122: "... the riot in ch. 19 was not so much a reaction against the Christians as against the Jews of the city ... Christians in the Greek cities at this period can scarcely have been visible to non-Jewish outsiders as anything other than a schismatic Jewish group ..."

293 It is likely that only Christian Jews were expelled from Rome by the Claudius Edict; see Theissen, Paulus, 239–241.

one prevalent in the peaceful and prosperous world of congregations in Asia Minor."[294] John's negative assessment of the Roman state has parallels in early Jewish apocalyptic theology from Palestine after the destruction of the temple, as seen in works like 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra (▸ III.8.4 below). John's polemics target not only the "Synagogue of Satan" (Rev 2:9; 3:9), but also other Christian groups, which, in his view, are far too liberal.[295] His unyielding stance brought him into conflict with the Romans, leading to his banishment to Patmos (Rev 1:9). Neither the Jews nor the other Christian groups in Ephesus shared his fundamental intransigence. Perhaps the question of the "parting of the ways" was often shaped by regional political sensitivities and not at all by lofty theological reflection (▸ I.2.2.4 above). The example of John shows that the divide between liberal (Rome-friendly) and conservative (anti-Roman) positions lay not between "Jews" and "Christians," but was a dividing line within Judaism and Christianity themselves. Here, too, Christianity inherited early Jewish plurality.

7.6 Synagogues

No other "invention" of diaspora Judaism has shaped the further course of Jewish history more than the development of the synagogue. While early Jewish synagogues are also attested in Palestine, their origin likely stems from the imitation of Hellenistic *bouleuteria*, the assembly halls of the *Boule* (the city council).[296]

7.6.1 The Term

Translated literally, the Greek word συναγωγή (*synagōgē*) simply means "assembly." In the LXX, the term usually translates the Hebrew words עדה (*'edah*) or קהל (*qahal*), which denote a gathered community rather than a specific building.[297] A shift in the meaning of the word already begins to emerge in the writings of Josephus and the New Testament. In these writings, συναγωγή usually refers to a "synagogue building," though the meaning "assembly" is still present as well.[298] Thus, we cannot be certain whether members of the "synagogue of the Freedmen (as it was called)," which included Cyrenians and Alexandrians (Acts 6:9), were merely members of a (regional) association, or of a proper synagogue congregation.[299] Where a synagogue

294 Stowasser, Nikolaiten, 223 [JV].

295 Perhaps the "Nicolaitans" (Rev 2:6, 15) were Christians who approximated Paul's position in 1 Corinthians 8, where Paul takes a fairly liberal stance on the issue of eating meat offered to idols. See Tiwald, Ephesus, 138f.

296 See Levine, Palestine, 28 and 40. For the following, see also Doering/Krause, Synagogues, 9–22.

297 See Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 359.

298 See Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 359. For references to the *building*, see Mark 1:21–39; 3:1; 6:2; 12:39; 13:9, among many others. For references to the *assembly*, see Acts 13:43; Rev 2:9; 3:9.

299 See Stemberger, Judaistik, 24: "We must therefore reconsider the statement in Acts 6:9, where 'synagogue' refers to territorial association rather than a building, and certainly not

building is mentioned, the Hebrew term for it is בית כנסת (*bet knesset*), house of the assembly. In rabbinic times, the term בית תפילה (*bet tefillah*), house of prayer, also appears occasionally.[300] In Greek, the term προσευχή (*proseuchē*) can be used analogously. Its primary meaning is "prayer" and, by extension, can refer to the "*house* of prayer." According to Hüttenmeister, προσευχή is "preferred and used almost exclusively in Hellenistic Egypt..., while συναγωγή is used in the rest of the ancient world."[301] However, Acts 16:13, 16 uses προσευχή for a synagogue building in Thyatira and Josephus uses it for a synagogue building in Tiberias (*Vita* 277). The terminology thus seems to have been much more fluid in these texts after all.

7.6.2 The Function of the Synagogue

The designation of the oldest synagogues as "assembly houses" already indicates their purpose: "... an assembly house for the most diverse purposes: for adjudication, but also for worship; for discussing everyday matters, but also for interpreting the holy scriptures; for profane administrative tasks, but also for religious instruction; for obtaining medical advice, but also for preaching. At first, the profane tasks predominated. Only after the destruction of the Second Temple did the religious tasks slowly take precedence, though without displacing the profane ones."[302] Synagogues from the turn of the century should be seen as "multi-functional facilities,"[303] though over time – especially after the destruction of temple – their religious functions became increasingly prominent. The New Testament evidence can also be understood along these lines. The Sabbath assembly is evident in Mark 6:2 and Luke 4:16, while the synagogue's function as a place for adjudication still shines through in Mark 13:9, Matthew 10:17, and Luke 12:11. With the term προσευχή, Acts 16:13 is already decidedly focused on the Sabbath gathering for *prayer*. However, Josephus uses the same term to refer to a gathering place for *political* deliberations (*Vita* 277; according to 275 and 279, however, this takes place on the Sabbath, likely after the Sabbath prayer service).

7.6.3 The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Diaspora

"Today, we can confidently set aside the thesis that the synagogue emerged in Old Testament times."[304] Both the Christian and the rabbinic sides of the discussion have sometimes pushed for such an early dating so as to establish the synagogue insti-

---

to a religious center."

300 See Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 360.

301 Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 360 [JV].

302 Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 360 [JV]. See also Levine, Synagogue, EDEJ 1270, who speaks of "exuberant diversity."

303 Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 357 [JV].

304 Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 358 [JV].

tution as early as the Babylonian exile. However, this has no basis in reality.[305] Synagogues probably emerged in the diaspora starting in the third century BCE. The oldest surviving synagogue inscriptions are from this period.[306] Up to the present, however, there are no archaeological findings of synagogue buildings from the Second Temple period in Egypt.[307] But this is not surprising. The difficulty in identifying synagogues is due to the fact that they operated as "multi-functional facilities"[308] during the period in question. As a result, there is no consistent use of specific architectural markers. Even in the first century CE, "There was no designated seating for leaders, no inscriptions, no statement of synagogue sanctity, and, with the exception of Magdala, no depictions of artistic remains or religious symbols."[309] Thus, there was no designated place for the Torah shrine in the synagogues of the time.[310] Even as late as the third or fourth century CE, some synagogues brought a portable Torah shrine into the assembly hall for the worship service.[311] Some researchers identify such a mobile Torah shrine in a limestone frieze from the synagogue in Capernaum, which depicts a wheeled chariot.[312] Identifying features of synagogues from the period may include: inscriptions designating the place as a synagogue (though these were rare, cf. the Theodotos inscription), scrolls found on the premises, Jewish symbols (such as reliefs, which were also rare, cf. Magdala), an adjacent ritual bath (*mikveh*), surrounding benches and pillars. A synagogue of the time likely resembled the Hellenistic *bouleuteria*, which were the meeting halls of the city council.[313]

7.6.4 Synagogues in Palestine during the Second Temple Period

There is now solid archaeological evidence for the existence of synagogues in Palestine during the time before 70 CE.[314] Synagogues in *Judea*: Masada, the Herodium, the Theodotos inscription from Jerusalem, Qiryat Sefer, and Modi'in, perhaps also Horvat

305 See Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 358. The older view, according to which the synagogue emerged "either during the Babylonian exile or soon after," is still referenced in Levine, Synagogues, 3; but with more reservation in, id., Synagogue, 20–26. See the discussion in Hachlili, Synagogues, 13–16. Likewise, Kreuzer, Synagoge, 1–31.

306 See Villeneuve, Juden, 45; Levine, Synagogues, 1; id., Synagogue, 19.

307 See Levine, Synagogue, 75.

308 Hüttenmeister, Synagoge, 357 [JV].

309 Levine, Palestine, 27.

310 However, Netzer, Jericho, NEAEHL V/1799, suspects there was already a Torah niche in Jericho. On the other hand, Aviam, Stone, 147–150, suggests that the synagogue stone found in Magdala was a fixed podium for the reading of the Torah.

311 See Levine, Synagogue, 328f. Cf. also b. ʿErub. 86b and b. Soṭah 39b.

312 See Levine, Synagogue, 337. However, according to De Luca, Caparnaum, OEBA 1/175, it could also be the portable Ark of the Covenant during the wilderness wanderings.

313 See Levine, Palestine, 28 and 40.

314 On this, see Levine, Palestine, passim.

'Ethri (to the south of Beit Shemesh), and Jericho.[315] On the *Golan Heights*: in Gamala;[316] in the *Galilee:* Migdal (= Magdala)[317] and Tel Rekhesh. Less certain are Khirbet Qana, Capernaum, Chorazin, and a second synagogue in Migdal. The synagogue stone found in Migdal is particularly interesting, as it possibly served as a place for storing scrolls. The motifs depicted on it evoke associations with the Jerusalem Temple cult. Even if synagogues were still multi-functional buildings at the time, this stone already points toward their later development into religious spaces for the study of the Torah. As L. Doering notes:[318]

> ... the Magdala stone, in my view, links particularly the localized communal practice of reading and studying the Torah with the Jerusalem Temple. This does not confer the sanctity of the Temple to synagogues, nor does it allow Jews at a distance to participate in the central (sacrificial) cult. However, there is a connection between the distinct activities of assemblies in synagogues and the work of the Jerusalem Temple, and this link was likely provided by the Torah that was present in both.

Regarding the construction date of the Capernaum synagogue, more than 25,000 coins were found embedded in the synagogue's stone floor, dating the building to the early sixth century CE. Stratigraphy and pottery remnants support the numismatic findings.[319] This renders the previous widely accepted dating to the third century obsolete.[320] Excavators have dated the basalt floor underneath the limestone synagogue to the first century CE.[321] It was common practice to build synagogues and churches on the same site as their predecessors. Some have therefore speculated whether this basalt floor, which is too large for a typical residential building, may have belonged to the synagogue in which Jesus taught, as mentioned in Mark 1:21 and John 6:59.[322]

---

315 See Netzer, Jericho, NEAEHL V/1798f. See also Levine's critical remarks on the matter in Synagogue, 68f. For the state of research, see Hachlili, Synagogues, 29f. and Doering/Krause, Synagogues, 9–22.

316 On this, see Gutman, Gamala, NEAEHL II/460f.

317 On the Synagogue of Migdal/Magdala, see Aviam, Synagogue, 127–133. On the synagogue stone found there, see Aviam/Bauckham, Stone, 135–159. See Doering, Synagogue, 127–153, on both matters. See also: Levine, Palestine, 26f., 39; Hachlili, Synagogues, 33f.; Aviam, Reverence, 132–142. The Preliminary Report of the Excavations was published in 2018: Zapata-Meza/Garza/Barriga/Sanz-Rincón, Magdala, 83–125; and Bauckham, Magdala, an anthology of the most important results of the excavations.

318 Doering, Magdala, 146.

319 See Magness, Question, 18 and 21. See also Loffreda, Capernaum, NEAEHL I/294, and Loffreda, Chronology, 55, though the latter dates the synagogue to the early fifth century.

320 On this question, see the history of research in Magness, Question, 1–18.

321 See Loffreda, Capernaum, NEAEHL I/294; id., Chronology, 55. Likewise Arubas/Talgam, Jews, 268; De Luca, Capernaum, OEBA/1 174. Magness, Question, 19f., decides against this, while Hachlili, Synagogues, 26 and 62f., leaves the question open.

322 For example, Arubas/Telgam, Jews, 268. Whether this synagogue was built by the captain of Capernaum (Luke 7:5) remains an open question. During the time of Jesus, Capernaum belonged to the dominion of Herod Antipas, who had no Roman soldiers at his command, relying on non-Jewish mercenaries instead (Josephus *A.J.* 18.113f.). It is probably Luke's

7.6.5 The Theodotos Inscription

According to the latest research, the Theodotos inscription indeed dates back to the time before the destruction of the temple,[323] confirming the existence of Greek-speaking synagogues in Jerusalem. The text reads as follows:

> Theodotos, son of Vettenus, priest and archisynagogos, son of an archisynagogos, grandson of an archisynagogos, built the synagogue for the reading of the law and for teaching the commandments, along with the guest room, the chambers, and the water facilities, as a lodging for the needy from abroad, the [synagogue that] his father and the eldest and Simonides founded.[324]

Here, συναγωγή clearly refers to the building itself, which can be dated to the period before 70 CE in Jerusalem, as confirmed by the dating of the inscription. The fact that Theodotos's grandfather is already called archisynagogos (leader of the synagogue, see Mark 5:22; Luke 8:49; 13:14; Acts 13:15; 18:8, 17) is evidence that this role existed in Jerusalem as early as the first century BCE.[325] The multi-functionality of the synagogue is still clearly discernible in the time of Theodotos. While "the reading of the law" and "teaching the commandments" already hold pride of place in the inscription, the building nevertheless also serves as a lodging for the needy. There, pilgrims to Jerusalem from the Greek-speaking world could take part in synagogue worship services in their own language.[326] We might speculate whether Paul, originally from Tarsus, also lodged in such a "synagogue" on a visit to Jerusalem during his pre-Christian period.[327]

7.6.6 The Synagogue Service

Unfortunately, neither a "reconstruction of the former temple liturgy, nor a reconstruction of the particular liturgies of specific groups [is possible]. The source material is no better where worship services outside the temple are concerned. Not a single 'synagogue service' can be reconstructed on the basis of surviving evidence."[328] According to Philo (Spec. 2.62f.; Prob. 81–83; Contempl. 29–33; Mos. 2.216; Hypoth. 7.11f.; Somn. 2.127; Legat. 156f.312f.) and Josephus (*A.J.* 16.43 and C. Ap. 2.175), there

---

fondness for "God fearers" (e.g., the centurion Cornelius in Acts 10:1f.; Bovon, Luke I, 348) that directs the narrative at this point.

323 See Kloppenborg Verbin, Theodotos, 243–277 (esp. 276), for discussion and evidence.

324 This translation is based on the Greek text from Kloppenborg Verbin, Theodotos, 244.

325 See Kloppenborg Verbin, Theodotos, 277.

326 See Ebner, Stadt, 20.

327 The pre-Christian Paul probably spent some time in Jerusalem, since one could only become a Pharisee in Palestine (► V.9.1.1 below). See Tiwald, Hebräer, 48f.

328 Maier, Testamenten, 102 [JV]. See also Kloppenborg Verbin, Theodotos, 243: "It is no longer possible to say with the certainty that marked the discussions of a generation ago that we know where Jews of the first century CE met, or what they did in their assemblies, or the nature of synagogue leadership." For what follows, see also Tiwald, Hebräer, 132–138.

was a weekly synagogue service on the Sabbath, during which the law, at least, was recited and interpreted.[329] "In the early period, the reading of the Torah did not follow an established order of texts to be read ... It is unclear whether the preacher, the synagogue leader, or the person tasked with the reading chose the text ..."[330] Stemberger goes a step further: "Copies of the biblical texts were probably not very widespread in the first century – except among learned groups such as Qumran or the scribes. We should therefore expect that instruction in the contents of the scriptures was more common than the 'reading of scripture' in the strict sense."[331] It is equally uncertain whether prophetic texts were read in the synagogue during the first century BCE. Apart from later evidence in the Mishnah (which cannot be straightforwardly superimposed on the first century), the only other references are found in the New Testament (Luke 4:14–30 and Acts 13:27). Even if we do not wish to question the accuracy of the two relevant places in Luke-Acts, it is still unlikely that the arrangement they reflect was a generally accepted practice. Such a generally accepted practice likely did not exist in the first place, if only due to the lack of a central institution capable of enforcing universal regulations. It is also doubtful whether there was at that time already a determinate reading order for the prophetic texts (for instance, a type of lectionary). Except for certain days, such a thing did not exist even into the Middle Ages.

7.6.7 Synagogue Sermons

Unfortunately, we are also completely in the dark when it comes to the oft-invoked genre of the "synagogue sermon,"[332] despite the fact that attempts to define typical characteristics of the "Hellenistic Jewish homily" were a regular feature of earlier exegetical investigations.[333] The same is true for all newer attempts made in this direction, for example, when F. Siegert and M. Hengel claim to discern what were "originally Greek synagogue sermons" in the texts of De Jona and De Sampsone.[334] Acts

329 See Lichtenberger, Ich, 257–263.

330 Salzmann, Lehren, 457 [JV]. See also Wick, Gottesdienste, 93: "There was probably not yet a fixed Torah reading cycle." Should Luke 4:17 therefore be taken to mean that Jesus chose the text from 61:1f himself? Does Luke's narrative composition contain a veiled description of a genuine historical practice (at least in the synagogues known to him)? Or is the portrayal of synagogue practice solely the product of Luke's narrative craft? On this, see Stemberger, Judaistik, 25.

331 Stemberger, Judaistik, 25 [JV]. By contrast, Levine, Synagogue, 142.

332 For a more detailed treatment, see: Tiwald, Hebräer, 133–137.

333 Cf., for example, H. Thyen's 1955 monograph: Der Stil der Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Homilie, and the references to research history provided therein.

334 Siegert, Argumentation, 159 [JV]; Hengel, Paulus, 262. As Siegert himself is forced to admit, *De Jona* lacks "an introductory address (like the one in Acts 13:16) and a liturgical conclusion (doxology, amen) ... Moreover, *De Sampsone* begins so abruptly and ends so suddenly that there are likely significant losses at the beginning and the end..." (Siegert, Predigten, 6f. [JV]). Cf. also Siegert, Predigten, 6 [JV]: "*De Jona* and *De Sampsone* are not homilies in the strict sense of continuous interpretation of their text. Rather, they are free discourses on

13:15 confirms that preaching took place in the synagogues known to Luke. There, the homily that follows the reading of scripture is referred to as λόγος παρακλήσεως. It is of course possible, as C.-P. März supposes, that this term was "already a technical term for the synagogue sermon."[335] However, the content of this "sermon" delivered by Paul is entirely shaped by Lukan theology. Traces of the style of the synagogue sermon can likely be found in several passages from Paul's letters, the Epistle of James,[336] and the Epistle to the Hebrews.[337] However, these texts are clearly not written sermons in the strict sense of the word. Indeed, there probably was no uniform genre of the "synagogue sermon," just as the oft-invoked "diatribe style" did not exist as a distinct genre.[338] Like "diatribe style," the "synagogue sermon" likely comprised an abundance of popular rhetorical patterns, which – depending on the orator's skill – could be employed in a variety of ways.

8 Early Jewish Writers, Writings, and Sources

This section focuses on early Jewish writers and their works, including the extensive corpus of anonymous and pseudepigraphic texts. Alongside Philo and Josephus – the two authors known to us by name (► III.7.3 on Philo above) – these texts are our main sources of information about the politics, history, and theology of early Judaism.

8.1 Flavius Josephus

8.1.1 Background and Youth

Josephus, son of Matthias (*B.J.* 1.3/*Vita* 7), was born in the first year of Claudius (*Vita* 5), that is, in 37/38 CE, and died in Rome sometime after 100 CE.[339] He came from the distinguished priestly class of Jehoiarib (1 Chr 24:7), which had established itself in Jerusalem and owned extensive properties (*B.J.* 5.419; *Vita* 422). In *Vita* 2–6, Josephus presents his family tree, which is chronologically problematic. Josephus claims that,

---

a biblical story (and not so much on the text itself) by a theologically educated rhetorician who employs all manner of rhetorical devices."

335 März, Hebräerbrief, 196 [JV], referring to Heb 13:22 here.

336 There have been occasional attempts to classify the literary genre of the Epistle of James as a "midrash-like homily" or a "baptismal catechesis" (see the research overview on the genre of James in Frankemölle, Jakobus, 64–66). Today, however, there is a growing tendency to recognize James as a genuine letter (see Frankemölle, Jakobus, 67).

337 See the mention of λόγος παρακλήσεως in Heb 13:22 (on which, März, Hebräerbrief, 196).

338 See Tiwald, Hebräer, 79 [JV]: "In antiquity, the term διατριβή simply meant verbal instruction, delivered mostly in a general, colloquial form. There was, however, no distinct "diatribe" genre until the nineteenth century." See the meticulous investigation of Schmeller, Paulus, esp. 1–8.

339 For the following, see Mayer, Josephus, TRE 17/258–264; Lohse, Umwelt, 101–105; Kollmann, Einführung, 50, 144; Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 74f.

as early as the age of fourteen, he was consulted by the high priests and leading men of the city due to his precision in interpreting the law (περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν; *Vita* 9). This anecdote, reminiscent of Luke 2:42–47, reflects the recurrent motif of the *puer sapiens*, the child prodigy who surpasses the wisdom of his elders. There is further hyperbole in the claim that, as a youth, he gained experience among *all* the factions of Judaism, and that he even withdrew to dwell with a hermit in the desert for three years (*Vita* 10f.). His claims in *Vita* 12 have received various interpretations:

> ἐννεακαιδέκατον δ' ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν ἣ παραπλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ' Ἕλλησιν Στωϊκῇ λεγομένῃ
> ... yet, when I was nineteen years old, I began to involve myself in politics by following the sect of the Pharisees, which is similar to what the Greeks call Stoa (trans. MT)

This passage has led some scholars to number Josephus among the Pharisees.[340] However, that is not what Josephus says. His affinity with the Pharisees refers only to their *political* views,[341] namely their resistance to the Romans. A "spiritual proximity ... between the Pharisees and the zealots"[342] is insinuated in *A.J.* 18.23. In the Vita, it is said that the leading Pharisees joined the revolt against Rome. The phrasing of *Vita* 12 thus subtly reveals that Josephus himself was a rebel. However, the Pharisees and the Zealots took no pleasure in Josephus. As the son of a priestly aristocrat, Josephus did not have much proximity to the Pharisees. According to *Vita* 191–197, John of Gischala, the Galilean leader of the Zealots, and the Pharisee Simeon ben Gamaliel plotted against Josephus, the commander of the Galilean rebels (see below). In this instance, the Pharisees (*Vita* 196f. mentions several Pharisees besides Simeon ben Gamliel) are staunch opponents of Josephus.[343] This is also evident in Josephus's writings. A considerable antipathy toward the Pharisees becomes apparent in several passages (*B.J.* 1.110–114; *A.J.* 13.288–298.400–432; 17.41–45; 18.15.17; *Vita* 191–307).[344] If Josephus had a preferred faction, it was the Essenes (*B.J.* 2.119–161; *A.J.* 15.371–379; 18.17). After the war and the destruction of the temple, however, the Pharisees became more and more powerful, which is why he names them first in the list of the three Jewish factions in *Vita* 10. The misunderstanding of Josephus's proximity to the Pharisees is likely by design in *Vita* 12, serving the purpose of self-promotion.

8.1.2 Josephus in the Jewish War

When war broke out, Josephus was appointed by the Jerusalem authorities as leader of the revolt in Galilee (*B.J.* 2.568; ► II.6.1.3 above). In Galilee, however, he met with resistance from the rebel leader John of Gischala (*B.J.* 2.585). Unlike Josephus, John was

340 For example, Kollmann, Einführung, 50; Mayer, Josephus, TRE 17/259; Lohse, Umwelt, 102. Most scholars share this view; see the overview in Mason, Flavius, 325–371, who is nevertheless critical of this notion.

341 Thus, Neusner/Thoma, Pharisäer, 193. Likewise, Mason, Flavius, 325–371.

342 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 16.

343 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 17, and Mason, Flavius, 357–371.

344 See Mason, Flavius, 373, and the detailed argumentation of Noam, Images, 216–219.

not an aristocrat, and he did not like the idea of the Jerusalemites pulling the strings in Galilee. Josephus only narrowly escaped John's attempts to have him assassinated. When Vespasian overwhelmed the Galilean defenses, Josephus retreated to Yodfat north of Sepphoris. The majority of Jewish resistance fighters opted for suicide as the Romans were mounting their final assault. Josephus alone avoided suicide, allowing himself to be captured by the Romans. From then on, the Jews regarded him as a traitor. He shrewdly offered his services to Vespasian, whom he prophesied would rise to rule the world. When in 69 CE Vespasian became emperor as Josephus had predicted, he freed Josephus and made him his advisor on Jewish affairs.[345] Vespasian granted him Roman citizenship. To show his gratitude, Josephus adopted the *gentilicium* "Flavius" (after the Flavian dynasty). After the end of the war, Josephus accompanied Vespasian's son Titus to Rome, where he lived on the emperor's generosity.

8.1.3 The Works of Josephus

The first of Josephus's Greek works, written in the seventies, is entitled περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου (cf. *A.J.* 20.258; *Vita* 412), in Latin *De bello Iudaico*, and in English *The Jewish War*.[346] Its subject matter, divided by Josephus into four books, spans the period from Antiochus IV Epiphanes to Titus's return to Italy. As a contemporary witness to the events he describes, Josephus was directly involved in the fighting and obtained information from Vespasian, Titus, and Agrippa II (*Vita* 364–366). Josephus describes his second work, *Jewish Antiquities*, in Latin *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, as an ἀρχαιολογία (*A.J.* 20.259.267; *Vita* 430), meaning "ancient history." In twenty volumes, he recounts the entire history of Israel, from the creation of the world to the beginning of the Jewish war. Josephus provides particularly valuable information on the Maccabean period and the reign of Herod. He completed the Jewish Antiquities between 93 and 94 CE.[347] Josephus's Vita was originally an appendix to the Antiquities and was only later handed down as a separate book. The Vita should be dated to 94 CE (or shortly thereafter).[348] In the apologetic work *Contra Apionem*, Against Apion, Josephus refutes the anti-Jewish views of the Egyptian Manetho and the writer Apion.

8.1.4 Evaluating Josephus's Œuvre

There is debate about the degree to which Josephus's pragmatic intentions in writing diminish the historical value of his works. For example, Mason has analyzed the intentions underlying Josephus's textual pragmatics by examining his account of the Pharisees.[349] Mason's concluding remark applies to Josephus's whole historical œu-

345 See Kollmann, Einführung, 114.
346 See Mayer, Josephus, TRE 17/260–263; Maier, Testamenten, 80–82; Lohse, Umwelt, 101–105.
347 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 10.
348 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 5. Likewise, Mason, Flavius, 311–316.
349 See Mason, Flavius, 372.

vre: "... since Josephus is probably our most valuable witness to the history of the Pharisees, an interpretation of his evidence and his biases is already a major preliminary step toward the recovery of that history."[350] Thus, a naive reading of Josephus's texts clearly falls short of the standards of historical inquiry, however, we need not be excessively skeptical. D.R. Schwartz has recently examined several exemplary texts from Josephus in an attempt to clarify the conditions under which a reconstruction of first-century Jewish history remains feasible, arguing that such an undertaking is possible in principle.[351] V. Noam convincingly charts a middle course between Schwartz and Mason.[352] Above all, Josephus's work remains invaluable as an eye-witness account of the Jewish War. This is already clear in the prooemium to the *Bellum Judaicum*:

> 1.1 The war of the Jews against the Romans ... has not lacked its historians. Of these, however, some, having taken no part in the action, have collected from hearsay casual and contradictory stories which they have then edited in a rhetorical style; 2 while others, who witnessed the events, have, either from flattery of the Romans or from hatred of the Jews, misrepresented the facts... 3 In these circumstances, I – Josephus, son of Matthias, a Hebrew by race, a native of Jerusalem and a priest, who at the opening of the war myself fought against the Romans and in the sequel was perforce an onlooker – propose to provide the subjects of the Roman Empire with a narrative of the facts, by translating into Greek the account which I previously composed in my vernacular tongue and sent to the barbarians in the interior.

This prooemium clearly reflects literary *genus dicendi*.[353] Similar to Luke 1:1–4, Josephus also refers to earlier works on the subject, addresses the question of eyewitness accounts and reliability, and reasons that his own treatise will recommend itself to the reader by virtue of its special precision.[354] Similar to Luke, Josephus's polished language allows for the possibility that he follows literary conventions that are then clearly reflected in his political and historical assessments. Thus, in *B.J.*, the Romans effectively become God's instrument, executing judgment on the disobedient people of the Jews.[355] Josephus generally proves to be a loyal adherent of his Roman patrons, while at the same time seeking to extol to them the merits of the Jewish way of life and the accomplishments of Jewish culture.[356] Conversely, he tries to demonstrate to the Romans "that it was not the leaders of the people but only a few irresponsible elements who drew the Palestinian Jews into the revolt against Rome."[357] This dual function of Josephus's narrative pragmatics may well be the reason that he strives

350 Mason, Flavius, 375.
351 See Schwartz, Reading, VII.
352 See Noam, Images, 13–17 and 19–23.
353 For a detailed analysis, see Mason, Flavius, 62–75. See also Mason, Josephus, 11.
354 See Bovon, Luke 1, 15–25.
355 See Mayer, Josephus, TRE 17/261. Note especially how Josephus dramatically portrays the demise of the rebels at Masada as an act of divine providence (► II.6.1.7 above).
356 See Lohse, Umwelt, 103. Likewise, Hengel, Zealots, 6f.: the work *Bellum* was dedicated to Vespasian and Titus. Titus himself signed it in his own hand.
357 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 18.

for symmetry between pro-Roman and pro-Jewish perspectives, maintaining a certain balance between the two.[358] This precarious balancing act makes it especially clear that Josephus wished to avoid the criticism that an overly tendentious depiction would provoke. Nevertheless, historical inquiry requires us to corroborate Josephus's statements with other writings (the New Testament, Qumran texts, early Jewish apocrypha, etc.), archaeological evidence (excavation findings, numismatics, epigraphy, papyrology, etc.), and comparative sociological studies.

8.2 Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature

8.2.1 Nomenclature

The term ἀπόκρυφος, *apokryphos*, "apocryphal," means "hidden" and refers to "hidden books," that is, books not included in the biblical "canon."[359] Of course, this "canon"[360] – both the compendium of books regarded as binding within Judaism and that of Christianity – emerged much later. Thus, the designation "apocryphal" only emerged *ex post* as a designation for texts that were originally regarded as authentic and authoritative by their early Jewish authors. The designation "pseudepigraphy" is similarly problematic when used to distinguish "canonical" texts from apocryphal ones. The word ψευδεπιγραφία, *pseudepigraphia*, literally means "false attribution" and refers to books deliberately written in the name of a well-known person or mistakenly attributed to such persons. The difficulty with using this term in reference to "canonical" or "extra-canonical" works is that pseudepigraphical texts are also part of both bodies of texts recognized respectively by Jews and Christians as authoritative – for example, Deuteronomy, the Psalms of David, the Deutero- and Trito-Pauline letters, 1 and 2 Peter, the epistles of James and Jude. Even though neither term is entirely satisfactory, both are used today to designate texts that originated in the early Jewish period and – from an *ex post facto* perspective – were not included in the compendium of authoritative scriptures.

358 See Hengel, Zealots, 10f.; Mason, Josephus, 11; Root, Galilee, 11–13. For Josephus's tendencies regarding the Hasmoneans, see Noam, Images, esp. 197–199.

359 For the following, see Stuckenbruck, Apocrypha, EDEJ passim.

360 The term "canon" is of Christian origin. When referring to authoritative Jewish texts, it should therefore only appear with quotation marks.

8.2.2 The Relevance of the Pseudepigrapha for our Period

Many of the early Jewish apocrypha,[361] retained their relevance for a very long time. This is particularly evident with regard to 1 Enoch[362] (► III.8.4 below). 1 Enoch is composed of various passages that were written over a period of approximately three hundred years. The oldest parts were written as early as the middle of the third century BCE. Further material accumulated over time and the process of reinterpretation continued until the first century CE, when the Book of Parables (1 Enoch 37–71, with its theologically significant references to the "Son of Man") was added. The Enoch materials retained their importance throughout the entire period under consideration. Around 150 BCE, the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–105) influenced the composition of the Book of Jubilees, which in turn became quite influential.[363] In the Qumran texts, 4Q212 (= 4QEn^{g}ar) contains Aramaic portions of the Epistle of Enoch, a translation that can be dated to the middle of the first century BCE.[364] The period of early Judaism (300 BCE to 200 CE, ► I.1.2 above) can be regarded as a theologically and sociologically cohesive epoch, precisely because early Jewish texts evolved over a lengthy period of time. The focal point of this evolution was the confrontation with Hellenistic culture, which led to various forms of appropriation, rejection, or further development within early Jewish theology. Without exception, the emergence of the Jesus movement also fits entirely within this period. One cannot do justice to Jesus and his first disciples, whether in sociological (see Part IV) or theological (see Part V) terms, if this context is overlooked.

8.3 Apocalyptic

Early Jewish literature, particularly the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, exhibits a strong inclination toward apocalyptic patterns of thought. As with other terms we have discussed, definition and precise categorization of "apocalyptic" presents some difficulties.

---

361 See the editions of the individual books in "The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" (2 vols.), ed. James H. Charlesworth; and "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. More Noncanonical Scriptures", eds. R. Bauckham, J.R. Davila, A. Panayotov. See also "Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit" (JSHRZ), eds. H. Lichtenberger/G.S. Oegema, Gütersloh.

362 The older title, "Ethiopian Book of Enoch," is best replaced by "1 Enoch," since the original language was likely Hebrew. While it is true that a large part of the surviving 1 Enoch is only available in Ethiopian translation, this alone does not justify the corresponding title.

363 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 215.

364 See Maier, Texte II, 164; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 114f.

8.3.1 Defining "Apocalyptic"

Talk of "apocalyptic" is the product of modern classifications.[365] Of course, Revelation 1:1 already uses the word ἀποκάλυψις, *apokalypsis*, but not in the modern sense of a distinct theological or literary genre. The definition of "apocalyptic" has been repeatedly called into question in recent times. Nevertheless, writings such as the Book of Daniel, 1 and 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, the Sibylline Oracles, 2 and 3 Baruch, the Apocalypse of Abraham, and the Testament of Abraham exhibit enough common features to justify grouping them under a literary genre of "apocalypses" and the theological world view of "apocalypticism."[366] We can thus adopt J.J. Collins's definition of apocalyptic:[367]

> A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.

In addition to this definition, J. Kloppenborg notes certain recurrent, more or less consistent, patterns in apocalyptic literature:[368]

1. "spatial and temporal dualism" (the separation of earthly and divine worlds and the separation of the earthly and eternal aeons; of these, the divine sphere has the greater significance and the earthly is considered inferior),
2. belief that "the cosmos is in a state of disorder" and that the divine order of creation is in disarray,
3. the collapse of all previous structures, and human helplessness in the face of this situation,
4. "historical determinism,"
5. exhortation and consolation as the "social function served by apocalypticism."

Pseudepigraphy can sometimes be added to this list: the authority of the texts is attributed pseudepigraphically to certain historical figures (Daniel, Enoch, Moses, the patriarchs, Melchizedek) in the form of a *vaticinium ex eventu*, as if they had already prophesied in their time (the *fictional time of the narrative*) what is now coming to pass in the present (the *actual time of composition*).[369]

---

365 See Tuckett, Apocalyptic, 107–121; Tilly, Apokalyptik, 9–115; Schröter, Apokalyptik, 53–56.

366 See Tuckett, Apocalyptic, 108f.: "Such texts seem sufficiently close to each other, and different from other texts, to make it worthwhile to consider them together, giving them a common name ('apocalypses') and attempting to identify what is common to such texts."

367 Collins, Imagination, 5. Here, Collins presents the results of the *Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project*: see Semeia 14 (1979).

368 See Kloppenborg, Eschatology, 294f.

369 See Nickelsburg, Judaism, 44. On Melchizedek, see Stuckenbruck, Melchizedek, 124–138.

8.3.2 "Apocalyptic" and "Eschatology"

It makes sense to distinguish between "apocalyptic" and "eschatology." "Eschatology is always present when a new age, characterized by conditions radically different to those of the present, is in view."[370] By contrast, "apocalyptic" is a special form of eschatological expectation, in which a certain revelatory knowledge is transmitted to humans by supernatural beings, usually by means of the aforementioned patterns. It is characteristic of apocalyptic literature, "that, in a radical break, the present cosmic epoch and its kingdoms are brought to a definitive end by catastrophic events ..."[371] In apocalyptic literature, salvation does not occur within history. This clearly distinguishes apocalyptic expectations from many of the prophets' eschatological hopes for inner-worldly improvements in the present world.[372] "Apocalyptic literature always implies eschatological ideas, but not every eschatological text is necessarily also apocalyptic."[373]

8.3.3 Historical Conditions for the Emergence of Apocalyptic

Apocalyptic is a *crisis phenomenon*.[374] In the face of economic, political, or religious pressure, people no longer place their hope in a salvific future within history, but expect "the in-breaking of the other, divine world" through "the catastrophic de-

370 Hieke, Ende, 10 [JV]. See Xeravits/Porzig, Einführung, 265–271.

371 Hieke, Ende, 18 [JV].

372 From the perspective of the psychology of religion, the question of the positive, world-shaping potential of religious future hopes represents a good point at which to distinguish between general eschatological hopes and that which is specifically apocalyptic. Apocalyptic is characterized by a certain propensity for intolerance and withdrawal from the world. Early modern criticism of religion decried such tendencies as infantile and antisocial fantasies of wish-fulfillment (Karl Marx: Critique, 131: "[Religion] is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is a demand for their true happiness"; likewise, Sigmund Freud: Future, esp. ch. VI). In contemporary psychotherapy, however, increasing emphasis is placed on the supportive potential of religious hopes, which release activating, world-shaping forces and establish values for socially fair coexistence (Frankl, Search for Meaning, passim; regarding Jesus of Nazareth, ► III.11.5 below).

373 Hieke, Ende, 18 [JV].

374 See Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 133–137; Tilly, Apokalyptik, 39 [JV]: "Apocalyptic is a crisis phenomenon, because it is a reaction to social and political upheavals." Apocalyptic is "the interpretation of the present, of one's own individual existence, and of the entire surrounding world as hopeless, godless, and lost" (12). However, the definition of apocalyptic as a *crisis phenomenon* risks being too one-sided. Early Jewish apocalyptic was neither a phenomenon of the lower classes (1 Enoch and the Qumran texts were written penned in scribal circles), nor can external crises be pinned down as its sole "triggers" (what constitutes a "crisis" can be perceived subjectively in very different ways). In any case, apocalyptic is a coping mechanism for the various tensions of the period.

struction of this world."[375] Thus, for apocalyptic, salvation comes "not in history and not by human action (see Dan 2:34, 45; 8:25), but only through God's sovereign incursion into this age, which fundamentally overturns all present historical conditions (e.g., Dan 7:7–12, 23–27)."[376] The aim of apocalyptic literature is thus to comfort and reassure the oppressed, and to exhort them to remain steadfast in belief and in doing good. As Tilly remarks:[377]

> In apocalyptic thought, the experience of hopelessness and the threat of a lost future are mitigated by the awareness that, despite all appearances, God is able to solve all the unresolved problems that befall one's personal life, human society, and the entire cosmos. The future and the next world become a canvas for all manner of hopes and fears.

The emergence of apocalyptic is "inextricably linked to Greek colonization and the advance of Hellenism starting in the late fourth century BCE."[378] The all-pervasive power of Hellenistic culture gave rise to a completely new value-system in the areas of *culture, religion, politics, and economics*, driving a deep wedge into Jewish society and placing traditional patterns of Jewish identity under considerable pressure. First, there was the experience of powerlessness, of Israel's being an insignificant pawn in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid struggle for power (see the six *Syrian Wars*, II.3.3 above). Besides political powerlessness and the cultural pressure to conform to the ascendant Hellenism, the social injustices of the Tobiad era (► II.3.3.3 above) likely further amplified Israel's feeling of powerlessness and sense of subjection. In the wake of the Seleucids' accession to power in 200 BCE, it was abundantly clear that foreign rule had opened an irreparable rift in Judaism. Undignified power disputes over the high-priestly office, the Heliodorus affair, and ultimately Jason's Gymnasium caused profound division in the Jewish population. The sense of powerlessness reached its apogee when Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 BCE) took drastic measures to break the Jews' religious independence, culminating in the desecration of the temple (167 BCE). The subsequent Maccabean revolts (► II.4 above) did nothing to change this, since the Maccabees and Hasmoneans soon came to put the political interests of their own dynasties above the welfare of the people. Jonathan's usurpation of the high-priestly office (153 BCE; ► II.4.1.5 above) was the point of departure for the development of the factions of the Sadducees, Essenes, and Pharisees, perpetuating the inner turmoil of Jewish society. Starting in 63 BCE, Roman rule further intensified the feeling of powerlessness (cf. Pompey's desecration of the temple). All these tensions culminated politically in both Jewish Wars, and theologically, in eschatological and

375 Hieke, Ende, 10 [JV]. See Tilly, Apokalyptik, 13 [JV]: The problematic present is inferior to "that transcendent (or metahistorical) reality, which fundamentally exceeds the human capacity for understanding." That reality "was, is, and remains for the apocalypticist the genuine locus of the good and perfect, divinely willed order and the true starting point of a comprehensive salvation."

376 Hieke, Ende, 18 [JV].

377 Tilly, Apokalyptik, 14 [JV].

378 Tilly, Apokalyptik, 38 [JV].

apocalyptic future hopes.[379] From a sociology of religion perspective, however, the rift in the Jewish population eventuated in different, competing interpretations of the Jewish law. The old identity marker of belonging to an elect people no longer seemed to apply, as the rift now ran down the middle of Judaism itself, giving rise to the expectation of an eschatological separation between the righteous and the unrighteous within Israel (► V. Introduction below).[380] In early Jewish apocalyptic, this state of affairs led to the expectation that, in the end-time, the original divine will – as established at creation – would be revealed as the true interpretation of the Torah[381], but only as a revelation in favor of one's own group, to the exclusion and condemnation of rival movements.[382]

8.4 Early Jewish Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Apocalypses

1 Enoch (1 En) is also called *"Ethiopic" Enoch* because the only complete manuscript to survive is in Ethiopic. However, the discovery of Aramaic fragments of Enoch at Qumran suggests that the text was originally written in Judea in Aramaic (making the designation "Ethiopic" Enoch somewhat misleading). 1 Enoch is a compilation of various textual units written at different times. These units are held together by the figure of Enoch, who is initiated into the mysteries of God during a heavenly journey. Enoch was particularly well-suited for such projections, as Genesis 5:24 does not explicitly say that he died, but that God "took him up" (לקח/μετατίθημι; see Sir 44:16; Heb 11:5). The parts of 1 Enoch and the times of their origins can be demarcated in the following way:[383]

The Book of the Watchers (1 En 1–36): mid-third century BCE[384]
The Book of Parables (1 En 37–71): first century BCE at the earliest[385]
The Astronomical Book (1 En 72–82): mid-third century BCE.

379 See also Tilly, Apokalyptik, 39–44.
380 See Tiwald, Weisheit, 85–106.
381 On the correspondence between protology and eschatology, ► V.2.1.3 below.
382 Nickelsburg, Transformation 659: "... revelation sets the chosen and elect apart from the rest of Israel as the community of the saved." MacAskill, Wisdom, 47: "Thus, the inaugurated eschatology of 1 Enoch, which includes the formation of a group designated 'the chosen,' functions to delineate that group from the rest of Judaism. The crucial marker of that group is their possession of, and allegiance to, the revealed wisdom that has come through Enoch."
383 On this, see Ego, Henoch/Henochliteratur, passim.
384 Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 214, dates the Book of the Watchers to the "late 3rd BCE."
385 According to Ego's dating; See also: Nickelsburg, Son of Man, EDEJ 1250: "Composed between late first century B.C.E. and the first half of the first century C.E. ..." Id., Parables, 47 "no later than the early decades of the first century C.E."; Charlesworth, Composition, 465 ("20–4 B.C.E."); Boccaccini, Place, 288 ("parallels the earliest origins of the Jesus movement"); Similarly: Vögtle, Gretchenfrage, 125; Schreiber, Menschensohn, 2; Isaac, 1 Enoch, 11.

The Book of Dream Visions (1 En 83–91):
The *Animal Apocalypse* around 164 BCE
Exhortations, younger, ca. first century BCE
The *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En 92–105):
The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93.1–10; 91.11–17), the latest part of 1 Enoch, was later incorporated into *The Epistle of Enoch* (1 En 92.1–5; 93.11 – 105.2), which was written shortly before the Maccabean revolt.[386] The rest is of a later date.

The final redaction of the different sections took place in the first century CE, illustrating how existing traditions were continuously updated and expanded over a lengthy period of time.

One of the most influential early Jewish apocalypses is the *Book of Daniel*, which was finalized in its main sections around 165 BCE in Judea (at the time of the Maccabean revolt).[387] The fictional storyline, which takes place during the Babylonian exile, has a youth named Daniel foresee and offer an apocalyptic interpretation of the future in which the author finds himself at the time of writing. The crisis of the exile is thus made comparable to the present crisis involving Antiochus IV and the Maccabean revolt (► II.3.4.3 above). Strength for the present is drawn from past conflicts, highlighting the transience of the current threat and the steadfastness of God's salvific plan. The book's periodization of history serves this end. The four beasts in Daniel 7 symbolize four empires: Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek, all of which are ultimately overcome by God. This insight is imparted as special apocalyptic knowledge granted only to certain chosen people.

The *Book of Jubilees* (Jub) is a retelling of Genesis 1 to Exodus 24 and claims to be an authoritative reinterpretation of those texts. Provisions and customs contested during the author's own time are projected back into, and thus legitimized by, the time of the patriarchs of Israel. Whether the text as a whole conforms to the apocalyptic genre is a matter of debate. However, it certainly incorporates a number of apocalyptic patterns of interpretation. Texts discovered at Qumran indicate that Jubilees was composed in Hebrew and predates the Qumran community (the oldest evidence of Jub found at Qumran dates to the end of the second century BCE). The Epistle of Enoch (written just before the Maccabean revolt; see 1 Enoch above) likely influenced the writing of the Book of Jubilees, which was written around 150 BCE (just after the Maccabean revolt).[388]

While the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T.12.Patr.) is classified as pseudepigraphical testamentary literature, it also incorporates apocalyptic elements. In it, the dying twelve sons of Jacob pass on instructions to their descendants. Jacob's sons function

386 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 215. See, ibid., the discussion of alternative datings.
387 For the following, see Tilly, Apokalyptik, 57–87.
388 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 215; VanderKam, Jubilees, 405–431; Doering, Torah, 137–155; Doering, Neuschreibung, 69–103.

as idealized leading figures of a glorified early epoch. For example, the course of history is said to be dominated by the dualism between God and his adversary Belial, though God's ultimate triumph is assured. Although the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs was later heavily reworked along Christian lines, its core is Jewish, dating to various stages of development beginning in the second century BCE. For example, an Aramaic Testament of Levi was found at Qumran as well as in the Cairo Geniza.[389] To start with, then, there were individual testaments attributed to different patriarchs. The later collection stems from a unifying final redaction in Greek rather than Aramaic. It remains unclear whether this final redaction belongs to early Hellenistic Judaism or the beginnings of Christianity.

The *Psalms of Solomon* (Pss. Sol.) is a collection of eighteen songs, which, however, bears no direct connection to Solomon in content.[390] It is believed that the work was composed in Hebrew (based on the semitisms contained in the surviving Greek translation) around the mid-first century BCE (if Pss. Sol. 2.1–14.19ff. is taken to refer to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE) in Jerusalem (cf. Pss. Sol. 1; 11; 4.1). Pharisaic authorship has frequently been proposed, but the idea is untenable.[391] A group of pious Jews, whose precise character remains unknown to us, is responsible for the Psalms of Solomon. They were unsettled by Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem and their desecration of the temple, as well as by the corruption within their own political and religious leadership. Thus unsettled, they expected God, the just judge, to differentiate between the righteous and sinners in the end, and recompense people according to their good or evil works (Pss. Sol. 2.16; 17.8). The text can be understood as edifying literature intended to offer comfort and exhortation in troubling times.

The Assumption of Moses (As. Mos.) belongs to testamentary literature and dates to the beginning of the first century CE. The text survives in an incomplete Latin translation. It recounts how the dying Moses – in the style of *vaticinia ex eventu* – predicts the coming history of Israel for Joshua, up to the time of Herod's sons. The Latin text is

389 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Impact, 83, and Tilly, Testamente, passim; id., Apokalyptik, 79f. DeSilva, Testaments, 21–68, demonstrated: "that the Testaments are best explained as a Jewish text that was later adapted to Christian interests than an original Christian composition" (*loc. cit.* 67). It is disputed whether the T.12 Patr. originated in the Jewish diaspora or in Palestine. If the original was written in Greek, a diaspora origin seems likely; see Collins, Athens, 176f.

390 For the following, see Dafni, Psalmen Salomos, WiBiLex.

391 Thus Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 114. Likewise, Schröter, Gottesbild, 562f., who criticizes the circular reasoning involved: one approaches Pss. Sol with a fixed notion of the imagined "pharisee" in mind, finds one's own prejudices confirmed there, and then declares the text to be "typically Pharisaic." Cf. Winninge, Sinners, 180: "... it is reasonable to conclude that the socio-political and religious provenance of the Psalms of Solomon is Pharisaic." Winninge analyses the Pss. Sol on the basis of a catalogue of thirteen worldview criteria. However, the points he mentions do not necessarily indicate the Pharisees but were widespread in the Judaism of the time. Kollmann, Einführung, 52 [JV], is more cautious, seeing this text as "presumably originating in Pharisaic circles."

likely based on a Greek version, which may in turn be based on a Hebrew or Aramaic original.

2 Baruch (2 Bar.) is also called the "Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch" because the text has only survived in Syrian translation. The Syriac version is based on an (all but lost) Greek translation of the original Hebrew or Aramaic text (the term "Syraic" is therefore infelicitous). 2 Baruch was written in Palestine after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE (but before the Bar Kochba revolt) and seeks to reconcile the catastrophe of the temple's destruction with the previously held apocalyptic understanding of history. As a pseudepigraphic informant, the prophet Jeremiah's scribe Baruch (Jer 36) is given a series of visions and auditory revelations concerning the destruction of the temple – an event that had already occurred at the time of the real author's writing. The figure of Baruch serves as a bridge between the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar II in 587 BCE and its destruction by the Romans in 70 CE (► II.6.1.6 above). The text was later furnished with Christian interpolations.[392]

4 Ezra has certain similarities to 2 Baruch, though these do not arise from direct literary dependence, but rather from their rootedness in similar traditions.[393] The text survives in a Latin translation that is based on a lost Hebrew or Aramaic original. A pseudepigraphical author operating under the name of the biblical Ezra (Ezra 7; Neh 8) purports to be writing "In the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city" (4 Ezra 3.1f.). The fictitious narrative unfolds in a destroyed Jerusalem after the fall of the Solomonic Temple, while the author's actual context is the period following the destruction of the Second Temple. If we add the aforementioned thirty years to the year 70 (destruction of the Second Temple), we arrive at 100 CE as the probable time of writing. We could then understand the Eagle Vision (4 Ezra 10.60–12.50, esp. 12.22–27) as a retrospective on the rule of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian († 96 CE). The central question of 4 Ezra is how a just God could allow the destruction of the temple and whether God has abandoned his chosen people (4 Ezra 5.20–6.34). The response points out the fundamental irrelevance of general history for the eschatological salvation of the individual and emphasizes that the outcome of history has been ordained from the beginning. As with 2 Baruch, later Christian interpolations in 4 Ezra do not indicate a purely Christian origin.

Theological evaluation: comparatively few apocalyptic writings were incorporated into the later "canon" of the Jewish bible (► V.3.1 below), perhaps because the lat-

392 On 2 Baruch, see Doering, Torah, 137–155; Henze, 4 Ezra, 181–200. Nir, Destruction, esp. 199–201, argues for a Christian origin of 2 Baruch, but this view is exaggerated.

393 See Henze, 4 Ezra, 181–200, esp. 197: "... parallels between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* are not the result of one author responding to the other text in its redacted form, but the parallels originated during the preredactional phase. In their current form, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* are redacted documents, compilations that have absorbed a significant amount of pre-existing materials."

er rabbis were critical of eschatological speculations after the failed revolts against the Romans. Daniel alone is noteworthy in the Jewish bible. The so-called "Isaiah apocalypse" (Isa 14–27) only has eschatological characteristics.[394] ► III.11.5 below for apocalyptic texts in the New Testament. Pseudepigraphical works, by contrast, seek connection with the salvific past in the face of political and religious challenges, portraying figures from the past (the *fictitious* time or writing) as having already foretold (*vaticinium ex eventu*) the current crises of the author's present (*the real time of writing*). As previously noted (► I.2.2.7 above), many early Jewish pseudepigrapha were later revised by Christians, such as the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. These writings show how fuzzy the dividing line between early Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity was. It is noteworthy that most of these writings attained no binding authority later on, *whether in Judaism or in Christianity*, as both movements ultimately distanced themselves from apocalyptic extremes. Later Christianity is clearly rooted in early Jewish eschatological thought, adopting only select linguistic and conceptual patterns from apocalyptic literature, without embracing the apocalyptic worldview as a whole.

8.5 The Qumran Texts

While the "Qumran Texts" are usually discussed as a closed corpus, they in fact encompass a diverse range of texts found in eleven different caves.[395] The connection between these writings and the group based at Khirbet Qumran now seems to be clearly established (► III.4.2.3 above). Scholars were previously in the habit of dividing the texts into three categories: 1) biblical "canonical" texts, 2) apocryphal and pseudepigraphical texts, 3) and authentic Essene "sectarian" texts. However, this categorization breaks down, as distinctions between binding "canonical" and "apocryphal sectarian" are anachronistic for the period in question (► V.3.1 below). The tripartite division nevertheless retains some validity as a heuristic classification.

"Biblical" texts: Taken by themselves, the "biblical" texts from Qumran reflect a considerable diversity of textual variants and recensions. Some manuscripts are close to the (later) Masoretic text. Others show a proximity to LXX readings or the Samaritan Pentateuch. There are also readings that cannot be assigned to any of these corpora. Ultimately, we must conclude that the biblical text follows no specific patterns but instead reflects multiple forms of the text. In addition to this multiplicity, there is the problem of "rewritten scripture,"[396] that is, the freely paraphrased rendering of "biblical" books, ranging from harmonizations and rewordings to the addition of new

394 See Hieke, Ende, 21.

395 For the following, see Tigchelaar, Scrolls, EDEJ passim; Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 151–155 and 200–211; Penner, Scrolls, OEBB 1/173–192.

396 More recent research replaces the earlier term "rewritten bible" (as still used by Dimant, Use, 401) with "rewritten scripture," since the term "bible" is of later origin (see 3.1.1 below). On this, see VanderKam, Jubilees, 409.

material. It is difficult to decide whether these texts should be seen as reproductions of a biblical book or new, independent works based on biblical motifs. Recent English-language research has coined the term "parabiblical"[397] for this literature, which merely illustrates how ultimately arbitrary the tripartite division of the texts found at Qumran is.

Apocryphal and pseudepigraphical texts: Besides "biblical texts," many "apocrypha" were also found at Qumran. These texts – for example, the Book of Jubilees or the Enochic literature – while not originating in the Qumran community, were nevertheless accepted there as authoritative scriptures. It was entirely possible that texts considered "apocryphal" today were held in higher esteem by the Qumranites than "biblical" ones. Criteria for the authority of a text are evident in: 1) how many copies of the work in question were found at Qumran, 2) how many commentaries were written on the work, 3) how often the work is cited in other texts, 4) into how many languages (Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic) the text was translated, and 5) whether a text was pseudepigraphically attributed to pre-exilic authors.[398]

Genuine texts of the Qumranites are manuscripts that were written by the Qumran group itself. These include the *Pesharim* (singular *pesher*; e.g., Pesher Habakkuk, Pesher Nahum, etc.), which are commentaries on "biblical books."[399] In these works, the citation of a biblical passage is followed by an interpretation introduced by the formula *pesher al* ("the interpretation concerning") or *pishro* ("its interpretation is").[400] Pesher exegesis reinterprets the text with a view to the immediate present, which is regarded as the end-time. Besides these commentaries, there are also texts that set out the rules of the community, such as the "Damascus Document" (*Cairo Damascus Document*, CD: fragments were also found in the Cairo Geniza. The Document itself alludes to the exile in Damascus; Amos 5:27); the "Community Rule" (*Serek ha-Yaḥad*; 1QS), or the "Rule of the Congregation" (*Serek ha-Edah*; 1QSa).[401] There is a wealth of other material as well, such as the "War Scroll" (*Milḥamah*; 1QM), which describes the end-time war between the "Sons of Light" and the "Sons of Darkness," the "Thanksgiving Hymns" (*Hodayot*; 1QH), a collection of hymns attributed to the "Teacher of Righteousness," and 4QMMT (*Miqsat Maase ha-Torah*), in which the "Teacher of Righteousness" explains his interpretation of the law to the incumbent high priest.

The unity of the Qumran corpus: Fundamentally, the entire corpus of Qumran writings should be seen as a unified whole, despite the disparate compilation of manuscripts. Each text contained therein aligns with the convictions of the group based at Qum-

397 Tigchelaar, Scrolls, EDEJ 169.
398 See Tigchelaar, Scrolls, EDEJ 168.
399 On this, see Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 228–233.
400 See Maier, Interpretation, 126.
401 For the following, see Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 239–254.

ran, even if the group itself did not compose all of them.[402] Moreover, the texts written at Qumran evince typical *scribal peculiarities*, such as paragraph markers, correction marks, writing the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew letters, and orthographic peculiarities, which indicate a uniform scribal school.[403] The unity of the corpus nevertheless does not mean that all texts found in Qumran were also part of a unified library. There are indications that the caves did not merely serve as a final hiding place (a last refuge for the scrolls from the advancing *legio X fretensis*, which came from the north during the Jewish war and destroyed Jericho first, then Qumran). The caves were likely already in use as a type of Genizah (a storage place for old, no longer used scrolls) or as an archive of sorts for the Qumran community.[404]

8.6 1 and 2 Maccabees

1 and 2 Maccabees were written by different authors with different goals in mind.[405] Both works focus on Antiochus IV Epiphanes's oppression of the Jews, the Maccabean revolt, and the rule of the Hasmoneans. The reign of John Hyrcanus's (134–104 BCE) can be considered the *terminus post quem* for both works: Hyrcanus's rule is mentioned in 1 Maccabees 16:23f., whereas 2 Maccabees 1:9 references the year 188 of Seleucid rule, corresponding to the year 124 BCE. The *terminus ante quem* is much more controversial, but Pompey's entry into Jerusalem in 63 BCE seems a reasonable marker for both works. 2 Maccabees was likely written during the reign of John Hyrcanus, while 1 Maccabees 16:23f. already looks back on his rule. 2 Maccabees was probably originally written in Greek (apart from the two letters cited in 2 Macc 1:1–10a/1:10b–2:18), possibly as an epitome of a larger, lost historical work by the otherwise unknown Jason of Cyrene (see 2 Maccabees 2:19–32). By contrast, 1 Maccabees was originally

402 See Tigchelaar, Scrolls, EDEJ 178: "... that many works in the corpus were interlinked and should be related to a current in early Judaism that comprised the movements described in the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community*, and probably also to the circles responsible for *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*." And *loc. cit.* 179: "... it makes most sense to study the corpus primarily as the product of a specific early Jewish current consisting of different interlinked groups and movement with common interpretative approach to Scripture and a shared legal tradition." Crawford, Qumran, 130: "The Qumran scrolls are demonstrably not only a particular Jewish sectarian collection, but a Jewish sectarian collection shaped by the particular interests of an elite group of scholar scribes attached to that community."

403 Tov, Characteristics, 87–95: "In my view the scribal peculiarities of the Qumran corpus derive from the special nature of the Qumran community." (94)

404 See Gunneweg/Balla, Analysis, 25; Stökl Ben Ezra, Bibliotheken, 337. Id., Caves, 332, is of the opinion that some caves contain older texts (caves 1 and 4) and others younger ones (caves 2,3,5,6, and 11). Texts already appear to have been deposited in the Qumran caves before 68 CE.

405 On this, see: Tilly, 1Makk, 50f.; Seeman, Maccabees, EBR 17/324–327; Borchert, Maccabees, EBR 17/332–337; Bernhardt, Judas, 221–243; Nicklas, Metaphern, 173f.; Schipper, Gymnasium, 114; Dobbler, Makkabäerbücher, WiBiLex; Tiwald, Gymnasion, 9–27; Schmitz, Judas, 243–278.

written in Hebrew, but has only survived in Greek translation. 1 Maccabees is intended as a "legitimation of the Hasmonean dynasty,"[406] while 2 Maccabees takes a critical stance towards the latter. Central to 2 Maccabees is the idea that "God will fight for his house, the Jerusalem Temple, and for his People as long they, in keeping with the Torah, set themselves apart from the nations' way of life."[407] Although 2 Maccabees is close to Hellenistic historiography in style (and is therefore compared with the works of Polybius), in content, the work is "against every form of opening Judaism up to its Hellenistic surroundings."[408]

8.7 Rabbinic Writings as Sources on Early Judaism?

8.7.1 The Dating Problematic

As we have already seen, talk of direct continuity between Pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism is anachronistic (► I.1.3.1 above). Although the later Rabbis were inclined to date their idealized origins back to the time of Ezra (see Neh 8:1–8), rabbinic Judaism did not emerge before the middle of the second century CE. When they emerged, the rabbis were by no means the direct heirs of the Pharisees and there was never any direct continuity between the two groups.[409] For this reason, we should exercise caution when using rabbinic material to reconstruct Second Temple Judaism. With its comprehensive listing of rabbinic parallels for the entire New Testament, P. Billerbeck's four-volume work, *Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Midrash*, is a monumental achievement. However, while it is still well suited today to function as a collection of source material, the work pays little attention to the chronological gap between the New Testament and rabbinic literature. The *Mishnah* dates to around 200 CE, the *Tosfeta* is somewhat later, the *Palestinian Talmud* dates to the beginning of the fifth century CE, and the *Babylonian Talmud* originated between the fifth and eighth centuries.[410] Earlier, uncritical use of rabbinic material blurred these chronological boundaries. The term "parallelomania" has become a catchphrase for the fact that in rabbinic literature, "not everything that sounds the same, or even just similar, is a useful parallel for the New Testament."[411] Furthermore, the oft-invoked "appeal to 'oral tradition' must not serve as a *deus ex machina* for uncritically bridging

406 Tilly, 1Makk, 48 [JV]; Bernhard, Judas, 223 [JV]: "semi-official chronicle from the Hasmonean milieu."

407 Nicklas, Metaphern, 173 [JV].

408 Nicklas, Metaphern, 174 [JV].

409 See Stemberger, Umformung, 85; and more recently: id., Pharisees, 240–254.

410 For these dates, see Stemberger, Dating, 82, and Stemberger, Introduction, 124–126.

411 Stemberger, Judaistik, 28 [JV]. The term "parallelomania" goes back to S. Sandmel, Parallelomania, JBL 81 (1962) 1–13. Neusner, Literature, 11, characterizes such work in the following way: "From the time of Billerbeck's counterpart to a telephone book – look up the right number, you make your connection – everybody in New Testament scholarship enjoyed free run of the rabbinic literature of late antiquity and medieval times."

lengthy periods of time."[412] By now, such reservations about Billerbeck's work have fortunately become the *opinio communis* among New Testament scholars. However, this serves only to identify the problem, not to solve it. Rabbinic texts doubtless also preserve old traditions, which, if properly extracted, are informative for the Second Temple period. However, dating rabbinic materials is extremely difficult, and the specific methodology for the task is still in its infancy, as G. Stemberger has shown:[413]

> Dating rabbinic texts remains a complicated task. It is perhaps too early to combine it with a New Testament agenda. But I should certainly not discourage researchers in the field of the New Testament ... from using rabbinic texts. The question is and remains how to find the adequate methods.

8.7.2 Targums

The purported antiquity of the Targums is also much invoked. The view was widespread among earlier exegetes that "the Targum, in its foundations, goes back to the time of the Second Temple, reflecting the biblical understanding of Palestinian Judaism at the time of Jesus."[414] However, "the privileging of the Targums in comparisons to New Testament texts (often suggested by citing Targum texts before rabbinic ones) is based on anachronistic ideas about the first-century Palestinian synagogue service and overlooks the fact that all Targums (including Onkelos) are clearly influenced by the Midrashic tradition."[415] Despite the discovery of Aramaic translations of biblical texts at Qumran, we have no evidence for the use of Targums in first-century synagogues.

8.8 Christian Sources on Early Judaism

While it is true that the *authentic Letters of Paul* are of great historical value, they nevertheless owe their existence to specific occasions (even the most "foundational" letter, Romans, was written in anticipation of Paul's upcoming visit to Rome) and are thus only historical snapshots. Paul's focus is, for the most part, directed toward the specific conflict situations that provided the occasion for his writing in the first place. It is necessary to raise the question of Paul's representation of the situation he describes – and look into the possibility of his subjective, polemical exaggeration of the conflict. Moreover, it is difficult to assess the extent to which the situation in individual communities can be considered representative of the overall situation. Determining the historical value of *The Acts of the Apostles* is even more complicated. Since the *auctor ad Theophilum* clearly had no local knowledge of Palestine,[416] by his

412 Stemberger, Judaistik, 29 [JV].
413 Stemberger, Dating, esp. 79–92, here 96.
414 Stemberger, Judaistik, 29 [JV].
415 Stemberger, Judaistik, 30 [JV]. Along these same lines, see also McNamara, Targum, 395.
416 See Bovon, Luke, 8–10.

own account was not an eyewitness of Jesus (Luke 1:1–4), and (contrary to what the "we sections" would have us believe) was not a traveling companion of Paul, it is necessary to check his portrayal of events against other sources (e.g., the Pauline homologoumena or statements of Josephus). Caution is also warranted when attempting to apply Lukan statements directly to conditions in Palestine, for example, concerning the existence and function of synagogues. As an author writing in the diaspora, Luke likely had a different Jewish "infrastructure" in mind than that of Palestine.

8.9 Archaeological Sources on Early Judaism

J. Zangenberg has identified various ways in which archaeology and the study of early Judaism/early Christianity can interact. He rightly criticized the fact that archaeology is all too often instrumentalized to supply "supplementary material to textual statements"[417] in order either to verify or falsify them. In this way, "the text, and not archaeology, always dictates the topics and issues to be investigated."[418] It makes sense for archaeology to deal not only with certain individual topics (perhaps as a stopgap for that which goes unsaid in texts), but also to engage in a fruitful dialog between material remains and source texts, so as to elucidate broader "connections from which historical, topographical, and social phenomena can be explained."[419] This proposal is exemplified by the most recent findings from excavations in Galilee. For "the way of Jesus" described in the New Testament "does *not* correspond to the whole cultural spectrum of Galilee as ascertainable from archaeological findings."[420] The Jesus tradition is oriented toward rural structures with a resulting "omission of the urban milieu."[421] Jesus does not appear to have preached in Sepphoris, Tiberias, or Magdala. Yet, contrary to earlier widespread opinion, these cities were *not* pagan settlements, being rather distinctly Jewish in character. Theology (including the present volume, ► IV.1.3 below) must give an account of how Jesus's selective geographical radius came to be. It is precisely when archaeology operates independently, rather than being harnessed to the cart of theology as "*biblical* archaeology," that new – genuinely critical – approaches can enable completely different perspectives on the old, familiar texts. A dialog between two independent disciplines is indispensable for this. Archaeology is not the *handmaid of theology.*

417 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 132 [JV]. See also, Zangenberg, Zufall, 121–146, and the fundamental considerations of Hüttig, Archäologie, 101–118; Frevel, Palästinaarchäologie, 35–89; Schröter, Diskussion, 73f.

418 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 131 [JV].

419 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 132 [JV]. For example, the contribution of Berlin, Sources, 2–51, who traces the history of early Judaism through archaeological evidence: "Archaeological data take us beneath and beyond such recitation [of pure historical data] to gain a glimpse of what life was actually like in Hellenistic Palestine."

420 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 155 [JV].

421 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 155 [JV].

9 The Samaritans

9.1 The (Pre)History of the Samaritans

9.1.1 The Fall of the Northern Kingdom

When the Northern Kingdom fell into the hands of the Assyrians in 722 BCE (2 Kgs 17:6), the upper class of the ten tribes who had settled there were deported to Mesopotamia and Media. The rump state of Ephraim (the heartland of the Northern Kingdom) became the Assyrian province of *Samerīna*, from which the later regional designation "Samaria" is derived.[422] The Assyrians settled a new, foreign upper class there (2 Kgs 17:24), which soon mingled with the indigenous rural population.[423] However, the liberal religious policy of the Assyrians continued to tolerate the worship of Yahweh (2 Kgs 17:25–28), which resulted in a certain syncretism between worship of Yahweh and the cults of foreign deities (2 Kgs 17:29–34). Religious syncretism, ethnic intermingling, and estrangement between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms – which had already begun with the division of the kingdoms – laid the foundation for the later Samaritan schism.

9.1.2 Post-Exilic Construction of the Temple, Cultic Unity, and Cultic Purity

Shortly after the return from the Babylonian exile in 538 BCE (▸ II.2 above), Cyrus issued an edict to rebuild the temple. The start of the reconstruction was delayed until 520 BCE, finally beginning under the special Persian plenipotentiary and Davidic descendant Zerubbabel (according to 1 Chr 3:19, a grandson of Jehoiakim), and with the active support of the two prophets Haggai and Zechariah (Josephus *A.J.* 11.96). However, the construction of the temple provoked massive resistance from the Samarians (Josephus *A.J.* 11.19–30.84–103). The local governor Sanballat I rightly feared that it would weaken his position.[424] Under Babylonian and Persian rule since 586 BCE, Judah had merely been part of the province of Samaria. It was now to be feared, however, that the construction of its own temple might sooner or later lead to

422 See Donner, Geschichte, 315. The term "Samarians" is used to describe the inhabitants of the district of Samaria, while the designation "Samaritan" refers to religious affiliation with believers in Yahweh from the province of Samaria (see Kollmann, Einführung, 19). The designation "Cuthite," which appears in Jewish sources, is a polemical reference to the fact that some of the people settled by the Assyrians in Samaria were from the Babylonian city of Cuthah (2 Kgs 17:24). See Pummer, Samaritans, 28.

423 The interpretations suggested by 1 Kgs 17:23f., that only non-Yahweh-worshipping foreigners lived in Samaria after the deportation of the northern tribes, is rightly regarded as unhistorical today. It is more likely that only the upper class was deported, and that the believers in Yahweh who remained behind intermingled with the newly settled population. 2 Chr confirms this (e.g. 11:13–17; 15:9–15; 30:11; 31:1; 34:6, 33). Thus, Pummer, Samaritans, 30–32.

424 See Kollmann, Einführung, 19f.; Donner, Geschichte, 414; Maier, Geschichte, 13.

Judah's separation from the province of Samaria. This was, in fact, likely Nehemiah's intention from the outset in pursuing political and military goals, such as securing Jerusalem with a wall. When the construction of the temple was completed in 515 BCE, the Persian King Artaxerxes (465/4–425 BCE) elevated Judah back to the status of a separate province, despite the objections of the Samarian governor Sanballat I.[425] The separation of the provinces of Judah and Samaria now necessitated the construction of a separate temple for Samaria. Although Josephus reports that the temple on Mount Gerizim was first built under Alexander the Great (*A.J.* 13.74–79), archaeological findings document the earliest traces of a cult site as early as the mid-fifth century BCE.[426] Josephus also speaks of plans to build a temple on Mount Gerizim as early as the reign of Sanballat III († 332 BCE), who served as governor of Samaria under the Persian king Darius (*A.J.* 11.310f.).

Tensions were heightened by the strict laws that Ezra and Nehemiah issued against mixed marriages. These laws impacted not only a considerable portion of the ordinary population but also many priests and Levites. Those unwilling to conform left Judah and went to Samaria, and numerous priests and Levites found new roles at the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim, which was established around the mid-fifth century BCE. The construction of the temple on Mount Gerizim of course ran counter to Jerusalem's efforts toward cult centralization and further strained the already tense relations between Jerusalem and Samaria. However, evidence from this period shows that a Yahweh temple also existed in the Jewish military colony located on the Egyptian island of Elephantine.[427] The Samaritans were therefore not alone in their resistance to the idea of cult centralization.

9.1.3 Heightening Tensions under Alexander the Great

Josephus reports that the temple on Mount Gerizim was built under Alexander the Great (*A.J.* 11.310, 322f. and 13.74).[428] However, archaeological findings attest the first traces of a cult site as early as the mid-fifth century BCE. During the Macedonian's conquests, however, the tensions between Judah and Samaria reached a new apex. The Samarian governor Sanballat allied himself with the approaching Alexander and supported him in the conquest of Tyre (*A.J.* 11.321). In return, Alexander likely acknowledged the temple at Gerizim, though he was not its founder.

---

425 See Kollmann, Einführung, 20.

426 See, for example, Magen, Gerizim, NEAEHL V/1742. Zangenberg, Jerusalem, 423 dates it somewhat later, placing it in the "late Persian period (fourth century B.C.E.)"; Kartveit, Temple, 80 takes a middle course, suggesting "around 400 B.C.E." Likewise, Pummer, Samaritans, 22: "... first erected probably in mid- or late fifth-century B.C.E. and enlarged in the Hellenistic period."

427 See Donner, Geschichte, 434f.; Maier, Geschichte, 14f.

428 Josephus's attitude toward the Samaritans is clearly negative. He describes them as opportunists in their alliance with Alexander. The temple they built is therefore not God's work but that of the Macedonian ruler (Pummer, Alexander, 159f.).

9.1.4 Destruction of the Temple by John Hyrcanus

The tense situation came to a head under John Hyrcanus I (135–104 BCE). As an ambitious ruler, John Hyrcanus I exploited the political power vacuum for extensive conquests and a policy of religious restoration (► II.4.2.1 above). His aim was "a religio-political program aimed at the restoration of ancient Israel (i. e., the gathering of all Jews living in Palestine into a politically independent state)."[429] Following the conquest of Samaria (112–111 BCE), he had the temple on Mount Gerizim destroyed around 110 BCE[430] (Josephus, *A.J.* 13.255f.). In this way, he reasserted the ancient command of cult centralization, much as Hezekiah had previously done.[431] The destruction of the temple was a milestone in the "parting of the ways" between Jews and Samaritans, though even afterward it remained a lengthy process.[432] Afterward, the Samaritans made repeated unsuccessful attempts to rebuild the temple (*A.J.* 18.85–89; *B.J.* 3.307–315).[433] As John 4:20 attests, however, there was a place of worship on Mount Gerizim despite these failed attempts.[434] Later, under Antonius Pius (160 CE), an altar to Zeus was erected on Gerizim. In the Christian Byzantine period, the Samaritans were permitted (by the crusaders who controlled the site) to make pilgrimages to the remains of their temple and even to offer sacrifices there.[435]

9.1.5 The Further Course of History and the "Parting of the Ways"

Josephus reports that in 8 CE Samaritans threw human bones into the Jerusalem Temple at the beginning of the Passover festival, defiling the sacred precinct on the holy day (*A.J.* 18.29f.). According to *B.J.* 2.232–246/*A.J.* 20.118–136, Samaritans killed Galilean pilgrims who were passing through Samaritan territory on their way to the temple (cf. the hostility described in Luke 9:52–56). According to Josephus (*B.J.* 3.307–315), however, Samaritans participated in the First Jewish War on the side of the Jews. "The fact that Samaritans were involved in the Jewish resistance movement against the

429 Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227 [JV].

430 According to more recent dating: Pummer, Samaritanism, EDEJ 1188; Pummer, Samaritans, 24 and 88. Magen, Gerizim, 1742, NEAEHL V/1742, dates the destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim to "around 110 BCE," as do Kartveit, Temple, 80 ("last decennium of the second century B.C.E."), and Knoppers, Samaritans, 212 ("111–112 BCE"). This dating is based on coin finds and contradicts Josephus's account (*A.J.* 13.254–257); *B.J.* 1.62, which places the destruction of the temple around 129 CE, after the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes.

431 See Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 227.

432 See Kollmann, Einführung, 21; Pummer, Samaritanism, EDEJ 1188. Likewise, Pummer, Samaritans, 89: "... it was not the erection of the temple that caused the division between Judeans and Samaritans, but most likely its destruction by a Judean ruler."

433 See Zangenberg, Jerusalem, 424, and Magen, Gerizim, NEAEHL V/1742.

434 The city called Sychar in John 4:5 was located at the foot of Mount Gerizim 1.5 km to the north. On Sychar, see Zangenberg, Jerusalem, 416–418.

435 Magen, Gerizim, NEAEHL V/1742, 1746.

Romans shows a continuing proximity of the two groups to each other."[436] In 67 CE, Vespasian's officer Cerealius inflicted a bloody defeat on the Samaritan rebels.

The image of the Samaritans remains ambivalent in the New Testament as well. According to Luke 9:52, Jesus and his disciples were not welcomed by Samaritans on their way to Jerusalem. In John 4:9, it is said that "Jews do not share things in common with Samaritans." Or John 8:48: "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?" Nevertheless, the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–37) uses the Samaritan as a positive figure, as does Luke 17:16. Both texts likely reflect an early Samaritan mission during the beginnings of Christianity (▸ III.10.3.2; III.11.6 below).

The status of the Samaritans remains unclear for a long time among the rabbis. The saying attributed to Simeon ben Gamaliel, כּוּתִי כְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְכָל־דָּבָר ("The Cuthite/Samaritan is like a Jew in every respect"), occurs repeatedly (e.g., y. Sheq 1.4,, 3; y. Ket. 3.1, 4; y. Ber. 7.1, 8; y. Dem 3.4, 3; 6.8,3) and is a topic of ongoing debate.[437] On the one hand, the positive Torah observance of the Samaritans is praised. On the other hand, their distance from Judaism is highlighted (frequently serving as a negative foil in rabbinic argumentation). Thus, the relationship between the rabbis and the Samaritans remained ambiguous for a considerable time. Not until Diocletian's time did a definitive break occur. In today's Orthodox Judaism, the Samaritans are classified as non-Jews, yet those residing in Kiryat Luza (on Mount Gerizim) hold Israeli citizenship.[438] From a historical standpoint, one must acknowledge "that the Samaritans are not a sect that broke off from Judaism, but rather a branch of Yahwistic Israel in the same sense as the Jews."[439] The "parting of the ways" between Jews and Samaritans has certain similarities with that between Jews and Christians. Notable aspects include,

- the extended duration of the process of separation,
- the loosely defined pre-existing boundaries characterized by an interplay of proximity and distance, and
- an abiding awareness on both sides of their common roots.

9.2 Traditions of the Samaritans

In their own eyes, the Samaritans are the original and true Israelites, while the Jews have deviated from the true teaching.[440] The most important differences are:[441] 1) For the Samaritans, Mount Gerizim rather than Zion is considered to be the holy moun-

436 Böhm, Samaritaner, WiBiLex [JV].

437 On this, see Schiffman, Samaritans, 323–350; Briata, Samaritani, 229–247.

438 On Diocletian, see Stemberger, Juden, 175–183. On the status of Samaritans today, see Pummer, Samaritanism, EDEJ 1188; id., Samaritans, 13f.; Böhm, Samaritaner, WiBiLex.

439 Pummer, Samaritans, 25. See also, Schiffman, Samaritans, 323–350.

440 See Pummer, Samaritans, 9: "The Samaritans are convinced that they are the original and true Israelites, whereas the Jews have gone astray."

441 See Pummer, Samaritanism, EDEJ 1188.

tain. 2) The Samaritans recognize only the Pentateuch (*torah*) and not the prophetic books (*nevi'im*) and other writings (*ketuvim*). It should be noted, however, that the Sadducees also regarded only the five books of Moses as authoritative. 3) The community is led by its own high priest (there are no rabbis among the Samaritans, that being an institution that only emerged within Judaism after the destruction of the temple). 4) The Samaritans developed their own exegetical, liturgical, and historiographical traditions. 5) To this day, the Samaritans slaughter their Passover lambs on Mount Gerizim in accordance with the instructions in Exodus 12.

The Samaritan Pentateuch reflects the pre-Samaritan text group, which is also known to us from the texts found at Qumran.[442] The origin of this text group can be dated to the period from the 2nd to the 1st century BCE, thus prior to John Hyrcanus's destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim in 110 BCE. The Samaritan Pentateuch basically corresponds to the later Masoretic text, with most differences involving cases of *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* (the question of whether vowels are represented by consonant letters, i. e., *matres lectionis*). Other differences in the texts emphasize Mount Gerizim's significance as the holy mountain. The Samaritan Pentateuch is written in Samaritan script, which, although similar to Paleo-Hebrew, emerged from the script of the late Second Temple period.[443]

10 John the Baptist, the Jesus Movement, and the Beginnings of Christianity

John the Baptist, Jesus, and the beginnings of Christianity must all be interpreted as part of early Judaism. Only with the Pliny-Trajan correspondence does a certain break become apparent, as it marks the first time that Christians are perceived by the Roman state as an independent group.

10.1 John the Baptist

For the basic details of John the Baptist's biography, ▸ II.5.3.5 above. As reported in John 1:28 and 10:40, the most likely location of John's baptizing activity was "across the Jordan," meaning Transjordania, probably close to Jericho. Less likely is the information found in Matthew 3:1, which sets the Baptist's preaching "in the wilderness of Judea," that is, west of the Jordan.[444] After all, Perea – part of Transjordania – was under Herod Antipas's rule, and John later came into conflict with him. It is likely that 2 Kings 2:1–11 played a role in the Baptist's choice of location. According to that pas-

442 See Pummer, Samaritan Pentateuch, EDEJ 1190; Schattner-Rieser, Qumrantexten, 67–109. On the textual peculiarities of the Samaritan Pentateuch, see Schorch, Pentateuch.

443 See Pummer, Samaritan Pentateuch, EDEJ 1190.

444 Mark 1:3–5, which situates John's preaching ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, "in the wilderness," remains neutral on this point, since the wilderness terrain also extends beyond the Jordan.

sage, Elijah was taken up into heaven at exactly that spot. According to Malachi 3:23, Elijah, who had not died but only been taken up into heaven, was awaited in the end-time as an eschatological intermediary. John likely already saw himself as preparing the end-time "with the spirit and power of Elijah" (Luke 1:17). The New Testament later interpreted him in this role as a forerunner to Jesus (Mark 9:12f.; Matt 11:14; Luke 1:17). The words of Q 3:7–9, 16b–17, express the Baptist's expectation that, after him, an end-time judge (God or a mediator?[445]) would come, who would baptize Israel with the Holy Spirit and fire:

> Q 3:7 He said to the [crowds coming to be] bapti[zed]: Snakes' litter! Who warned you to run from the impending rage? 8 So bear fruit worthy of repentance, and do not presume to tell yourselves: We have as «fore»father Abraham! For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks! 9 And the ax already lies at the root of the trees. So every tree not bearing healthy fruit is to be chopped down and thrown on the fire. 16b I baptize you [in] water, but the one to come after me is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not fit to [take off]. He will baptize you in [holy] Spirit and fire. 17 His pitchfork «is» in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor and gather the wheat into his granary, but the chaff he will burn on a fire that can never be put out.

These words refer to the eschatological judgment that, through the Spirit of God, will purge all impurity and sin from Israel like a purifying fire. The only way to escape the coming judgment of wrath and fire is to submit to the "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4). Eschatological declaration and ethical imperative are closely intertwined in the Baptist's preaching. John was driven by an imminent eschatological expectation, anticipating God's impending intervention in history. In adopting this eschatological framework, John stands squarely within the theological expectations shared by many early Jewish contemporaries (► IV.2.2 below). Baptism thus becomes "an eschatological sacrament, i. e. a symbolic action,"[446] that signifies a willingness to repent and prepare for the coming of the one who is stronger.

According to Luke 1:4, John's father, Zechariah, came from a priestly lineage, specifically the priestly division of Abijah. Luke's information may indeed be accurate here, since, according to 1 Chronicles 24:19, that division was relatively insignificant. What is striking about this historical detail is that, as the son of a temple priest, John established a practice of the forgiveness of sins that operated independently of the atonement rites on offer at the temple. This aligns with other currents critical of the temple within early Judaism, of course without the fundamental abrogation of the Jerusalem Temple (► V.4 below).[447]

10.2 Jesus of Nazareth

For the basics of Jesus's biography, ► II.5.3.6 above.

---

445 For the following, see Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 195–211; Tiwald, Commentary, 49–55, 181.

446 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 210.

447 See Avemarie, Johannestaufe, 395–410.

10.2.1 Jesus and John the Baptist

The early nature of the relationship between Jesus and John is a matter of debate among scholars. The most likely scenario is that Jesus began his public career as a disciple of John the Baptist.[448] The unease with which Matthew and Luke try to gloss over Jesus's baptism by John, along with John's complete omission of the event,[449] lends plausibility to such an interpretation. Moreover, in Acts 18:25 and 19:3, we encounter disciples of John who know only John's baptism and must be won over to faith in Jesus long after the resurrection. Perhaps such groups saw John as "Jesus's teacher" and thus regarded him as the more significant personage. The ties between Jesus and John were in fact far closer than the Gospels would have us believe. If Jesus was indeed John's disciple, then perhaps he also baptized on behalf of his teacher, as John 4:1 (and 3:22)[450] still indirectly hints (although here, too, it is framed in terms of rivalry with the Baptist, only to be immediately repudiated in 4:2). The tight-lipped account of Mark 1:14, according to which Jesus did not begin with his own proclamation until after John had been imprisoned, may be accurate insofar as both Q 4:1–13 and Mark 1:12f. independently report that, before beginning his own proclamation, Jesus spent some time in the wilderness. Perhaps Jesus took leave of the Baptist after a special calling experience, intending to begin his own proclamation after a "period of reprieve" in the wilderness.

10.2.2 Jesus's Theological Aims

Many scholars identify Jesus's experience of calling – which led him to separate from John the Baptist and begin his own proclamation – in the words of Luke 10:18: "I watched Satan fall from heaven like a flash of lightning."[451] Whatever the case, the statement of Luke 10:18 clearly shows that, for Jesus, the power of Satan was now broken. According to the Assumption of Moses 10.1 (cf. Rev 12:9; Rom 16:20), the fall of Satan was expected in the end-time and marked the turning point on the path to salvation. As Jesus sees it, this pivotal event has already occurred in heaven and will soon be realized on earth as well, just as he prays in the Lord's Prayer for God's rule to

448 See Ebner, Jesus, 83–85; Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 179. Alternatively, Backhaus, Jüngerkreise.

449 In Matthew 3:13–17, John the Baptist declines to baptize Jesus, seeing Jesus as his superior. By contrast, Luke 3:21–22 tells of "a baptism without John the Baptist," since John had already been imprisoned in Luke 3:20 (Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 207). Furthermore, Luke 1:41–44 already clarifies that Jesus surpasses John, since for Elizabeth Mary is "the mother of my Lord," to whom John already pays homage in the womb. According to John 1:29, it is Jesus, rather than John's baptism (still "a baptism for the forgiveness of sins" in Mark 1:4), who, as the lamb of God, takes away the sin of the world. Furthermore, Jesus, not John, is the one who truly baptizes with the Spirit (John 1:33).

450 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 33.

451 See the overview in Becker, Jesus, 131–133; Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 211f.; Ebner, Zeit, 100–108; Theobald, Satan, 174–190; Tiwald, Kommentar, 180f.

commence not only in heaven but also on earth. As the herald and agent of this shift in power, which is now gradually becoming a reality on earth, Jesus is able to drive out demons and to disarm and cast out Satan, the former "strong man" (Luke 11:22) and "ruler of this world" (John 12:31). Borne up by this conviction, Jesus's preaching is marked by "certainty of salvation" rather than the "fear of judgment" associated with John's preaching.[452] Yet he still speaks highly of John the Baptist (Q 7:28):

> Among those born of women, no one greater has arisen than John the Baptist. But the lesser/younger (μικρότερος) in the kingdom of God is greater than he (trans. MT).

The *comparative* μικρότερος is usually mistranslated as a *superlative*, to the effect that "the *least* in the kingdom of God" is greater than John the Baptist. The correct translation, however, is "*the lesser*," although μικρότερος can also be "*the younger*." In keeping with the context of the passage, this designation probably refers to the relative status of John and Jesus. Although Jesus, as the former disciple of the Baptist, is the "lesser" and "younger" in terms of age and the timing of his emergence, his proclamation of the kingdom of God nevertheless affords him greater significance.[453] The new age already begins with John. For, baptizing with water, he announces the coming of the one who is stronger, who will baptize with the Holy Spirit and fire (Q 3:16). The new age is already drawing near in John, the messenger of the one who is to come ("Look, I am sending my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your path in front of you"; Q 7:27). In Jesus and his proclamation, the new age is already present (Luke 11:20). The statement of Q 7:28 thus reflects Jesus's lasting esteem for his former teacher. However, it also makes it clear that Jesus's announcement of the kingdom of God extends and surpasses the message of John the Baptist.

The entirety of Jesus's message is concentrated like the sun's rays in a burning glass by the expression βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (*basileia tou theou*, "the rule of God/God's sovereign rule"). In his expectation of a theocratic reign of God that would open a new space of salvation and wholeness – spiritually, religiously, ethically, and interpersonally – Jesus not only carried on the Baptist's message independently but also remained entirely within the end-time expectation of the Judaism of the time,[454] albeit in concrete ways specific to him. At the same time, he adopts the "anthropological premise"[455] of his teacher: the looming end-time puts all of Israel under threat of judgment. This is "an apocalyptically radicalized Deuteronomistic view of history."[456] All have sinned and stand in need of repentance and the mercy of God. However, Jesus injects the idea of "repentance" with new content, making it a kind of "new creation" that becomes effective in believing "acceptance of God's eschatological act of election."[457] For, according to a widespread theologoumenon in the Judaism of the

452 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 211.

453 Thus, Schröter, Erwägungen, 447; Tuckett, Q, 137: "Within the context of Q ... it would seem that John must definitely be included in the new era." See also, Tiwald, Logienquelle, 156f.

454 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 37–51; Tiwald, Commentary, 179–185.

455 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 27–36 [JV].

456 Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 29 [JV].

457 Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 36 [JV].

time (► V.5.2.2 below), the original integrity of the paradisical, primordial age (the "protological component") will be restored in the end-time (the "eschatological component"). The ("prelapsarian") integrity of the age before the Fall is now given back to humans, in the end-time, by a free and undeserved act of God's grace. This is why Jesus probably no longer baptized after his separation from John the Baptist.[458] Later, however, in the early church (perhaps through the influence of disciples of John who became Christians), baptism became the sacrament of the redemption that the Lord had achieved. The theological expectation of a God-given restitution led Jesus to exclude no one from the salvation he brought. He therefore turned in particular to sinners, the sick, the marginalized, and the outcasts, in order to "infect" them with eschatological salvation. In particular, Jesus's feasts,[459] miracles, forgiving of sins, and parables (as word-events) become performative, symbolic actions – indeed, "sacraments" – of the dawning *basileia*: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out the demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you" (Luke 11:20). Since the breaking of Satan's power (Luke 10:18), full bodily, spiritual, and psychological integrity is restored to the human person in the kingdom of God – an integrity that had already been theirs in the prelapsarian state. Jesus transforms the purifying judgment by fire, preached by John the Baptist (Q 3:16f.), into the purifying mercy of God, granted to everyone who willingly embraces it in the dawning eschaton.

10.2.3 Jesus in His Historical Context

Jesus's occupation is said to be that of a τέκτων (*tektōn*) in Mark 6:3, a trade also attributed to Joseph (Matt 13:55). The term τέκτων refers to an unskilled manual laborer from the lower class, someone who lived just above the subsistence level.[460] Were we to ask how a poor laborer came to possess such theological mastery, we might look to John the Baptist.[461] After all, John was the son of a priest and thus had a certain theological education. In addition to the "anthropological premise" mentioned above, Jesus likely inherited a certain critical stance toward the temple from John, albeit (like John[462]) without fundamentally questioning the temple itself (► V.6 below). Jesus himself was probably not able to read and write. Early Jewish texts frequently depict children learning to read and write for the purpose of interpreting the Torah (1QSa I,6–8; Josephus C. Ap. 2.204; T. Levi 13.2), but that is an idealization. The literacy

458 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 210.

459 Jesus's practice of common meals is richly attested and "invariable" across genres (Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 124), being found in miracle traditions (Mark 6:35–44), narrative material (Matt 14:14–21; Mark 14:3 par.; Luke 7:36; 19:5; John 12:2), and sayings traditions (see Q 7:34; 13:29; 14:16–23; Matt 25:1–13; Luke 14:15; Rev 19:9). Jesus maintains this practice to the end. In view of his impending death, he celebrates a last, symbolic meal (John 13:2; 1 Cor 11:23–25), which he consciously interprets as a farewell meal – with an eye toward the kingdom (*basileia*) that is nevertheless already dawning (Mark 14:25); ► V.7.3.3 below.

460 See Heil, Analphabet, 282; Ebner, Stadt, 15f.; in detail: Frenschkowski, Artisans, 191–222.

461 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 356f.

462 See Avemarie, Johannestaufe, 395–410.

rate in Palestine at that time of Jesus was lower than 10–15 percent (► III.6 above). The information in Luke 2:41–51; 4:16, and John 8:6, 8 thus has no historical value:[463] Luke 2:41–51 (the twelve-year-old Jesus in the temple) reproduces the standard motif of the *puer sapiens* (the wise boy surpassing the wisdom of the elders, a motif also found in Josephus, *Vita* 9, ► III.8.1.1 above); Luke 4:16 (Jesus reads from the scroll of Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth) portrays Jesus as an educated Jew;[464] John 8:6, 8 (Jesus writes in the sand) is a passage that originally was not even part of the Gospel of John. Jesus's writing in the sand merely heightens the drama of the narrative and reveals nothing about his literary abilities. It should be noted, however, that in those times, illiteracy and social status were not correlated factors. It was possible to be recognized as a "teacher," as Jesus was, even without being able to read and write.[465] We do not know whether Jesus, like John the Baptist, also became a target of Herod Antipas (Luke 13:31), but it would have been possible.[466]

The Gospel of John indicates that, during the period of his public activity, Jesus made more than a single, programmatic journey from Galilee to Jerusalem at the end of his life. He was in Jerusalem or Judea multiple times and preached there on several occasions (Joh 2:13; 3:22; 5:1; 7:10–14; 9:7; 10:22; 11:1; 12:1). This likely reflects the basic truth of the matter, even considering the theological intentions of the Gospel of John. We may assume that Jesus's later preaching activity also extended beyond Galilee, since John the Baptist baptized in Transjordania near Jericho (► III.10.1 above). Moreover, Jesus's intended *gathering of all Israel* (► I.2.2.1 above) would not have been compatible with an initial restriction of his movements to Galilee. The idea of a *one-off* journey from Galilee to Jerusalem during Jesus's public career is shaped by the narrative dynamics of Mark's Gospel, where Jesus deliberately goes to meet his death and, through predictions of his sufferings, prepares the disciples for a path cruciform discipleship. The fact that the fourth Gospel mentions three Passover festivals during Jesus's public career (John 2:13; 6:4; 11:55; John 5:1 is ruled out, since it does not explicitly mention the Passover) aligns well with information that Jesus made repeated journeys to Jerusalem. If we "assume, with Mark, that Jesus's public activity lasted one year,"[467] then we overlook the narrative's own dynamics and the fact that the

463 See Heil, Analphabet, 275, 286–289.

464 The mixed citation presented here is not otherwise attested (see Heil, Analphabet, 287f.). Moreover, there are no indications as to whether reading cycles existed in the synagogues of the time, or what form they might have taken (► III. 7.6.6 above). The passage is likely shaped by Luke's intention to present Jesus as an educated person.

465 See Heil, Analphabet, 290f., who cites examples from Roman Egypt, where illiterate persons could hold high local offices. Hezser, Scribes, 158, draws attention to the difference between scribes and authors: "Scribes were experts in the technicalities of writing rather than creative minds who authored or edited texts. They were paid craftsmen rather than scholars and intellectuals. ... Authors and editors used scribes to put in writing what they created in their minds. They considered scribes inferior to themselves and looked down on them, even if they were copyists of sacred texts."

466 Thus, Kollmann, Einführung, 95; Ebner, Stadt, 15f.

467 Hoppe, Galiläa, 189 [JV].

Synoptics never definitively present a one-year chronology. However, John's account is shaped by pronounced Christological interests.[468] We should probably reckon with just under two years,[469] with Galilee as the focus of Jesus's activity. Thus, "Jesus's public activity could have begun toward the end of 28 CE," though we must ask whether "both the Baptist and Jesus after him made such a provocative impression on the political and religious rulers that neither was granted all that much time."[470] However, to date the Baptist's emergence to 28 CE, as most scholars do (► II.5.3.5 above), would seem too short a time to account for the enduring nature of the movement he led (see Acts 18:24; 29:2f.) and the reaction of Herod Antipas. If we then still wish to consider the possibility that Jesus spent time as a disciple of John (► III.10.2.1 above), and if we take seriously the note in Q 4:1–13 and Mark 1:12f. that Jesus took a "reprieve" in the wilderness before beginning his public activity, then the "fifteenth year of the reign of Emperor Tiberius" (Luke 3:1) should be dated to the year 26 CE (► II.5.3.5 above).

During the period of his public activity, Jesus appears to have had his "base of operations" in Capernaum (as suggested by Mark 1:21; 2:1; 9:33; Matthew 4:13; and John 2:12).[471] The place is described in Mark 1:29 (in contrast to John 1:44) as the hometown of Peter and Andrew. This "mission base" could well have been maintained by Jesus's first disciples: "There can be little doubt about the existence of an early, likely Jewish-Christian community in Capernaum."[472] Broadhead also reckons with a Jewish-Christian community there, whose presence did not come to an end with the first generation, although he is rightly critical of the idea of an "unbroken line of Jewish Christian presence and influence in Capernaum up to the time of Constantine"[473] (► I.2.2.6 above). However, the authenticity of the "House of Peter" has a certain plausibility. Its oldest walls date back to the first pre-Christian century. A Christian sanctuary was built over it in the fourth century CE and an octagonal Byzantine church in the fifth century.[474] The presence of Jewish Christians in Galilee likely ceased after the First or Second Jewish war. The corresponding traditions were carried on by Christian pilgrims. The synagogue in Capernaum is also worth mentioning, which may have had a predecessor during the Second Temple period (► III. 7.6.4 above).

---

468 On the chronology of the Gospel of John, see Theobald, Evangelium, 17–22.

469 Hengel/Schwemer, Judaism, 360f.: "The period of about one year in Mark 6 is probably somewhat too short. For example, we can probably presuppose several trips to Jerusalem since he was – also according to Mark – known there. John may have possessed more extensive traditions here, but they have been so transformed through his christological narrative interest that we can no longer get behind them." Hengel/Schwemer opt for "perhaps a year and a half, but probably not two full years" (*loc. cit.* 362). On the historical value of John, see Charlesworth, Gospel, 3–46.

470 Hengel/Schwemer, Judaism, 362.

471 See Ebner, Stadt, 15f.; De Luca, Capernaum, OEBA 1/168–180; Becker, Capernaum, 138.

472 Stemberger, Juden, 70 [JV].

473 See Broadhead, Ways, 341. See also the evaluation of different arguments in Zangenberg, Silence, 104–107, and Tiwald, Logienquelle, 83–88.

474 See Loffreda, Capernaum, NEAEHL I/295; De Luca, Capernaum, OEBA 1/176f.

10.2.4 The Final Days and Death of Jesus

During his final visit to Jerusalem, Jesus carried out a spectacular symbolic act in the temple precinct (Mark 11:15–19 parr.),[475] probably "in the Court of the Gentiles ..., presumably in front of the Royal Stoa [sc. Salomon's Porch]."[476] Jesus's word about the temple (Mark 14:58; Joh 2:19) makes it clear[477] that his deed in the temple "was the physical enactment of a call to repentance and faith, meant to be understood within the context of the message about the kingdom of God."[478] Jesus's symbolic act should be understood as a prophetic criticism of false assurances of salvation provided by the sacrificial cult. A relevant analogy is found in Jeremiah 7:4–7:

> 4 Do not trust in these deceptive words: "This is the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD." 5 For if you truly amend your ways and your doings, ... 7 then I will dwell with you in this place, in the land that I gave of old to your ancestors forever and ever.

In both word and deed, Jesus calls on people to enter into the salvific immediacy of the *basileia* and not to brush it aside with a gesture toward the already salvific temple cult. In keeping with early Jewish expectations, Jesus likely also anticipated a new eschatological temple, made not by humans but by God himself (► V.6.2 below). This expectation explains his words about tearing down and rebuilding the temple. The final act in the dawning of the *basileia* would begin in the very heart of Israel – in the temple. With his final, emblematic journey to Jerusalem and his symbolic act in the temple, Jesus thus ushers in the *final phase of the dawning of the basileia*. However, with this prophetic escalation he also placed his own life in the balance. The temple was, to a profound degree, *the* nerve center of Israel, in both political and religious terms. Any disruptive actions there were dealt with in prompt and severe fashion. It is inconceivable that Jesus was unaware of this. As Hengel rightly points out, "the notion

475 Jesus's act in the Temple should not be called a "cleansing of the Temple." His intention was neither a ritual purification of the Temple nor a cleansing of the Temple of petty merchants, but rather a prophetic, symbolic act. On this, see Söding, Tempelaktion, 50–52.

476 Söding, Tempelaktion, 50 [JV]. On Solomon's Porch, see Peleg-Barkat, Excavations, 91–120.

477 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 432: "The substance of Jesus' symbolic action against the temple cult and his prophecy against the temple belong together." However, they occur in the same text only in the Gospel of John (2:14–22). In Mark 15:58, the words are attributed to "false witnesses." However, the parallel attestation in John 2:19 and its close alignment with the temple action and similar traditions in Q 13:34f. and Mark 13:2, indicate that it is an authentic saying of Jesus (Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 432). The early Christians struggled with Jesus's criticism of the temple, as evidenced by the mention of "false witnesses" in Mark 15:58, the spiritualizing portrayal of John 2:19, which relates the saying to Jesus's body, the use of the subjunctive in Matthew 26:61, and the omission of the saying in Luke, taken together with its transfer to Stephen in Acts 6:14. For an argument against the historicity of Jesus's act in the Temple, see Koch, Geschichte, 175. Yet Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 433, are correct in their assessment that "A prophecy which demonstrably caused so much perplexity and difficulty was not attributed to Jesus only at a later stage."

478 Söding, Tempelaktion, 61 [JV].

that Jesus was caught unaware by his arrest and sentencing is entirely improbable."[479] In his unwavering trust in the dawning of the *basileia*, he willingly accepts death as the ultimate consequence of his actions. His struggle in Gethsemane reveals that he was fully aware of their implications.[480] Jesus's anguish in the face of death (Mark 14:26, 32–41 parr.), though indeed dramatically and theologically augmented, is historical at its core. To elude his enemies, Jesus would only have needed to flee from the Garden of Gethsemane over the Mount of Olives into the Judean desert. Instead, he deliberately sought the prophetic confrontation and, despite his consciously accepted failure, anticipated the arrival of the *basileia*. This is evident in Mark 14:25, an essentially authentic saying of Jesus: "Truly I tell you, I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." The saying demonstrates that, for Jesus, the final act in the struggle for God's reign had begun. Despite his possible death ("I will never again drink"[481]), the kingdom of God will nonetheless come ("when I drink it new in the kingdom of God"[482]). Perhaps Jesus saw the looming escalation as a kind of divine "trial," in which he would need to prove his own faith in the coming of the *basileia* before its conclusive arrival. He would now exemplify the same unconditional trust in God and the courageous decisiveness which he had demanded of his hearers in parables (Matt 13:44–46) and sermons (Q 12:8; 17:6; Matt 6:30; 8:26). The idea of prophetic representation – namely, that the messenger must also physically embody his message (► V.7.3.3 below) – is likely the guiding impulse here. In view of this dramatic escalation, Jesus does on the eve of his death what he had been doing all along: he holds a meal. For him, such meals had always served as symbolic anticipations of the coming kingdom of God (on Jesus's meal practices, ► III.10.2.2 above and V.7.3.3 below). That he anticipates his impending death during this meal is also evidenced by his symbolic act involving the bread and wine. The broken loaf of bread recalls his own breaking in death, the red wine his blood. It is no longer possible to determine the exact words Jesus used, owing to the substantial reshaping of the tradition by the early church (cf. the different accounts in Mark 14:12–26; Matt 26:17–29; Lk 22:14–20; 1 Cor 11:23–26; Didache 9). However, we can be reasonably certain of a *symbolic act involving bread and wine*, an *interpretive utterance* (for instance, just as the bread, so I will be broken, just as the wine, so my blood will be poured out), and the *passing of the elements to the disciples* (women were likely also present, including Mary Magdalene, who had accompanied

479 Hengel, Tora, 170 [JV].

480 See Niemand, Abendmahl, 102 [JV]: "In the crisis, which is explicitly addressed in the subsequent Gethsemane narrative (Mark 14:32–42 parr.), he nevertheless does not waver in his faithful obedience and childlike trust in the infallible, sovereign goodness of his God, whom he knows as *abba*/father."

481 See Niemand, Abendmahl, 109 [JV]: "The statement that Jesus will never again drink wine is a solemn, oath-like expression of his clear *expectation of death*. Given the state of conflict, Jesus concludes that he is here and now celebrating the last fellowship meal of his life. However, the utterance is also an expression of a genuine *readiness to die*."

482 See Niemand, Abendmahl, 109 [JV]: "The authoritative invitation to the already irrupting *basileia* of God remains in force, even and especially in light of his own approaching death."

the group from Galilee). The first Christians already understood this as a symbolic act (1 Cor 11:23). It meant that, despite Jesus's failure – or rather, precisely because of his faithfulness even in the midst of apparent failure – the kingdom of God would still come (► V.7.3.3). However, in 1 Corinthians 11:26, the arrival of the *basileia* has already been shifted onto the return of Jesus: "until *he* comes."

The high council feared further provocations from Jesus and was worried that he might provoke a popular uprising – followed by the devastating consequences of a Roman intervention ("If we let him go on like this, everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation"; John 11:48). There is ample evidence of prophetic movements turning into political uprisings in the Judaism of the time (► IV.2 below). In each case, the Romans intervened with brutal force of arms. The high council's concerns are therefore understandable. Thus, they sought a place where they could secretly take Jesus out of the picture, away from the crowd (this is what is meant by Judas "betraying" Jesus; Mark 14:10). They evidently wanted to "neutralize" Jesus before the Passover, as Mark 14:2 suggests: "Not during the festival, or there may be a riot among the people." Judas in fact chose an ideal location for the high priests. The Garden of Gethsemane lay outside the city, on the far side of the Kidron Valley, and was otherwise deserted at night.[483]

At the time, the high council lacked capital jurisdiction. Thus, after a brief nighttime assessment of the situation (► II.5.3.6 above for the chronology), Jesus was brought before the Roman prefect, Pilate, in the early morning hours of the Day of Preparation. It is unlikely that Jesus's execution was the result of a summary sentencing.[484] The Synoptics and John independently report a trial before Pilate.[485] Jesus's decidedly non-violent stance evidently contributed to his not being immediately classed among the notorious rebels. The fact that prefects were quite willing to go to the trouble of such a trial, even for an insignificant individual defendant, happens to be illustrated by a namesake of Jesus: a man named Jesus ben Ananias appeared in Jerusalem in 62 CE, prophesying the imminent destruction of the Jerusalem Temple (*B.J.* 6.300–309). This Jesus was also detained by the Sanhedrin for causing unrest and handed over to the Roman procurator Albinus. Albinus interrogated and released him after having him whipped, supposing him to be insane. Jesus of Nazareth was doubtless just a "poor lunatic" in Pilate's eyes, much as Jesus ben Ananias later was for Albinus (*B.J.* 6.305: μανία). Yet, with his action in the temple, Jesus had pricked the very nerve center of the Jews' and Romans' fragile collaboration. Pilate, who was anyway not given to moral scrupling (► II.5.4.3 above), decided in favor of maintaining "peace and order" – that is, for Jesus's execution.

Perhaps Jesus still expected, right up to the end, that God would step in and usher in the kingdom. Jesus's defeat on the cross – recounted with the words of Psalm 22:2 in Mark 15:23 ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?") – becomes an an-

483 Jesus often went to such solitary places to pray (Mark 1:35; 6:31), as Judas must have known.

484 For example, Fiedler, Pilatus, 48 [JV]: "summarily crucified."

485 If the author of John's Gospel knew the Synoptics, he made no use of them, relying instead on his own sources; see Theobald, Evangelium, 76–81, and id., Erzählung, 228–260.

guished, questioning cry, wondering if he had been mistaken in his trust in God and in his hopes. In any case, God did not intervene in the way Jesus had originally hoped. Yet it is precisely Jesus's sustained, representative faithfulness to God's mission on behalf of all others, for which he placed his own life in the balance ("*pro-existence*"[486]), that becomes the initial impetus of early Christian theology. This is the starting point from which, in the light of the Easter event, it became possible to speak of a vicarious atoning suffering, as Paul does in Romans 3:25,[487] and as the Synoptic Gospels do in their adaptation of the Servant Songs (Mark 9:12; Matt 8:17; Luke 24:46; Acts 3:18; 17:3; ▸ V.7.3.3 below). In the resurrection of Jesus, nascent Christianity sees Jesus's hopes fulfilled and the kingdom of God (now interpreted as a new age of salvation) as having dawned after all.[488] Seen in this light, Jesus's hope was ultimately realized.

10.2.5 Jesus and the Later Gentile Mission

Jesus did not intend to found a religion separate from Judaism (▸ I.2.2.1 above). His goal was the eschatological ingathering of Israel, to prepare it for the *basileia*, as articulated in Matthew 10:5b–7:

> 5 "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, 6 but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. 7 As you go, proclaim the good news, 'The kingdom of heaven has come near.'"

Even though the *explicit directive* in Matthew 10:5b–6[489] stems from the first evangelist's perspective on salvation history (mission beyond Israel's borders only after the resurrection: Matthew 28:17), the described approach nevertheless preserves the *ipsissima intentio* of Jesus, who directed his mission initially and exclusively to Israel.

This is also made clear in Mark 7:26f., where Jesus denies the request of the non-Jewish Syrophoenician woman with the words, "Let the children be fed first, for it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs." The "children" here refer to Israel (see Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1; Jer 31:9, 20). The centurion of Capernaum (Q 7:1, 3, 6b–9) and the Gerasene demoniac (Mark 5:1–20 takes place in a non-Jewish region, as indicated by the pig-farming there) are also contextualized as exceptions. Historically accurate, here, is the information that Jesus was evidently active in the "region around Tyre" and in the "region of Decapolis." His target audience, however,

---

486 See Niemand, Abendmahl, 100 [JV; translator's note: The term "pro-existence" expresses the nature of Jesus existence as being entirely *for* (Latin: *pro*) others]: Jesus "is, *through and through*, a messenger whose presence takes the form of pro-existence, to direct people to the reality of this *basileia*." Even when, as a messenger of the *basileia*, Jesus is "radically marginalized and rejected, … the value of his message must be made visible by what he does and what he endures, that is, through his pro-existence" (partially italicized).

487 See Tiwald, Hilasterion.

488 This tension between the *already* and the *not yet* is clearly reflected in passages such as Rom 8:23 and 1 John 3:2.

489 On the reconstruction of Jesus's mission discourse in the Sayings Source and Matthew, see Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 102–211.

was the Jewish minority in those areas, whom he included in his task of gathering all Israel (► IV.1.3.5 below).

Nevertheless, in keeping with the promised "pilgrimage of the nations to Zion" (Isa 2:2–5; 60:3; Mic 4:2f.), we may assume that the historical Jesus already envisioned the Gentiles receiving a share in salvation through eschatologically restored Israel (this two-step process is also attested in Rom 1:16and Acts 3:26; 13:46; ► I.2.2.1 above). Such ideas can already be identified in the historical Jesus in Q 13:28f. ("[And many] shall come from Sunrise and Sunset and recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God").[490] In any case, Jesus's expectation of the *cosmic, all-encompassing power of the kingdom of God* permits no other interpretation than that, after the gathering and preparation of Israel, all other peoples of the world would be caught up in the dynamic sweep of God's kingdom. The historical Jesus likely had this perspective in mind as part of his proclamation of the kingdom of God. In his view, however, it was a stage in the unfolding of eschatological events that had not yet been reached. He therefore left it to God's timetable, which he himself professed not to know (Mark 13:32). It was likely the resourceful interpretation of the "Hellenists" gathered around Stephen (► III.10.3 below) that, recognizing the onset of the eschatological stage subsequent to Jesus's death and resurrection, creatively advanced Jesus's objective. In line with Joel 2:28 (= Joel 3:1 LXX; quoted in Acts 2:17), they saw the outpouring of God's Spirit *on all flesh*, including the Gentiles, as marking the newly inaugurated end-time. They therefore initiated the mission to the Gentiles without requiring circumcision.

10.3 The Jesus Movement in Palestine and Syria

10.3.1 Stephen and the "Hellenists" of Acts 6

The "Hellenists" mentioned in Acts 6 took up and creatively developed Jesus's criticism of the temple (► III.10.2.4 above) and his expectation that, in line with the promised "pilgrimage of the nations to Zion" (Isa 2:2–5; 60:3; Mic 4:2f.), the Gentiles would also partake in salvation. These "Hellenists" were Jews from the Hellenistic diaspora who resided in Jerusalem and were organized in regional synagogues.[491] The question

490 Thus, Theobald, Kirche, 388. Whether "those coming from east and west" are dispersed Jews from the diaspora (cf. *the images of the eschatological gathering of Israel* in Isa 43:5f.; 11:12–16; 60:4; Ps 107:3 [= Ps 106:3 LXX]; Zech 8:7f.; Bar 4:37; 2 Macc 2:18; 1 En. 57.1; 90.33; Pss. Sol. 11:2) or Gentiles (cf. the images of the *pilgrimage of the nations* in Isa 2:2–5; 11:10; 60:3; Mic 4:2–3) is inconsequential, as both images blend together, for example, in Isa 11:10–16 (see the extensive discussion in Zeller, Zukunft, 359–362; id., Völkerwallfahrt 1, 222–237, and Völkerwallfahrt 2, 84–93; Tiwald, Commentary, 144–147). "The idea of the nations reverently streaming to Zion holds no independent significance anywhere in the Old Testament or later texts" (Zeller, Völkerwallfahrt 1, 236f. [JV]), but always serves the restoration of Israel, into which, however, the Gentiles are now drawn in universal salvation.

491 It remains unclear whether "synagogue" here refers to members of a regional association or a religious synagogue community (see Stemberger, Judaistik, 24, ► III.7.6.1 above). Acts

of whether such Jewish "Hellenists" were basically more *liberal* or *conservative* in their stance toward Jewish ritual laws and the temple cult must remain open. It is wise to avoid generalizations here, since this question is a point of contention in scholarship.[492] There were seemingly both *conservative* "Hellenists," who had returned to Jerusalem out of loyalty to the temple and the Torah, and *liberal* "Hellenists," who (under the influence of Hellenistic culture) aimed to simplify the ritual law and temple cult. Indeed, *both* groups make an appearance in the story of Stephen. For those mentioned in Acts 6:9, "who belonged to the synagogue of the Freedmen (as it was called), Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and others of those from Cilicia and Asia" (► III.7.6.1 above), Stephen's position is clearly too liberal.

Stephen and the other Jewish "Hellenists" who believed in Jesus were likely advocating for a reinterpretation of the temple service that downplayed the *ritual laws* (► V.8 below on the theological positions of Stephen and their contextual plausibility within the Judaism of the time). Such a position is also suggested by the secondary addition to Jesus's temple prophecy of the quotation from Isaiah in Mark 11:17: "My house will be called a house of prayer (προσευχή) for all (gentile) nations" (Isa 56:7 LXX, trans. MT). "The term '*proseuche*' is a widespread designation for a synagogue. The transformation of the temple into a kind of 'synagogue' would have opened it up to Gentiles. For Gentiles were allowed into synagogues (as God-fearers)."[493] Stephen is not calling for an "abrogation" of the temple but rather a downplaying of the ritual laws, a demand also visible in other liberal circles of early Judaism (► V.8.2 below). In the ears of conservative Jews, however, this was tantamount to a critique of the temple and the law, leading to the expulsion of these "Hellenists" from Jerusalem (Acts 8:1). The "Apostles" were not expelled from Jerusalem, as they were "Hebrews" and not critical of the temple cult.

10.3.2 Philip and the Samaritan Mission

Next, Acts turns to an account of the "Hellenist" *Philip*.[494] Mentioned immediately after Stephen in the list of Acts 6:5, Philip was the second most significant figure in Stephen's circle and appears to have carried on the latter's theological positions. While the historical outline presented in Luke-Acts is highly schematic and tends to

---

6:9 mentions τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας (translated literally: "some of those from the synagogue of the so-called Freedmen and Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and others of those from Cilicia and Asia,"), though it is unclear whether there was a synagogue of the Freedmen, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians or if there was also a separate one for those from Cilicia and Asia (for example, the NASB translates: "some men from what was called the Synagogue of the Freedmen, including both Cyrenians and Alexandrians, and some from Cilicia and Asia"). On the Hellenists, see Zugmann, Hellenisten, 299; Theobald, Kirche, 392f.

492 See the relevant overviews in Braun, Geschichte, 6–32; Zugmann, Hellenisten, 295– 299; Theissen, Hellenisten, 323–326; Hengel, Jesus, 151–206.

493 Theissen, Hellenisten, 335 [JV].

494 On this, see Kollmann, Philippus, 551–565; Ebner, Stadt, 20; Theobald, Kirche, 392f.

smooth over events, it likely preserves authentic material here. Jesus's expectation of a pilgrimage of the nations to Zion (► III.10.2.5 above) gave the "Hellenists" the courage to cross the boundaries of Judaism. Furthermore, Stephen's criticism of the temple likely also helped build a bridge to the Samaritans. John 4 is striking in the way it connects criticism of the temple with the mission to the Samaritans:

> 9 The Samaritan woman said to him, "How is it that you, a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of Samaria?" ... 20 Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain [i. e., Gerizim; ► III.9.2 above], but you say that the place where people must worship is in Jerusalem." 21 Jesus said to her, "Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. 22 You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. 23 But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him. 24 God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth."

This kind of argument, that true people of prayer need not pray to God in a specific place, already appears in Philo, Spec. 1.66f. According to Philo, God made the whole world (σύμπαντα κόσμον) his temple. The handmade (χειρόκμητος) temple in Jerusalem is merely a concession to human ways of thinking (► V.4 below).

The matter becomes even more complex with the *baptism of the Ethiopian* (Acts 8:27–38). The man was a eunuch, which was customary for high officials at Near Eastern royal courts.[495] As such, however, it was not possible for him to become a proselyte, as laid down in Deuteronomy 23:2. This is the first baptism of a gentile in Acts! The fact that this detail in Luke is clearly at odds with the competing parallel account in Acts 10:1–48 significantly enhances its historical value, since it resists the tendency of Luke's narrative. In Acts 10:1–48, Luke is quite intent on attributing the beginning of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles to the early church moderate, Peter, who belonged neither to the "liberal" nor the "conservative" faction. Historically, then, the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles appears not to have had its singular starting point in Antioch. Nevertheless, that mission did have its first center there after the expulsion of the "Hellenists" from Jerusalem (Acts 8:1).

10.3.3 Persecution under Agrippa I

To the outside world, Agrippa I (37–44) presented himself as a sophisticated, liberal Hellenist. Yet on the domestic front, he styled himself as an advocate of conservative Jewish interests (► II.5.5.3 above). His persecution of the early Christian community

---

495 Here, the designation "eunuch" does not merely indicate the titular usage, functioning as a synonym for an official (as it was sometimes applied to those without the corresponding physical alteration; for example, the German *Einheitsübersetzung's* translation as "finance officer" [*Kämmerer*]). Rather, the pairing of εὐνοῦχος and δυνάστης first denotes the physical state and only then the professional function. See Kollmann, Philippus, 558; likewise, Theobald, Kirche, 393.

in Jerusalem likely reflects this tendency.[496] Acts 12 tellingly integrates the account of persecution by Agrippa (called Herod here) into its portrayal of the growing community in Antioch. The circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles seems in fact to have been centered in the diaspora community of Antioch. It would be reasonable to expect some degree of criticism of the temple there (► III.10.3.1 above). This clearly must have drawn the ire of those devoted to the temple, a circumstance that Agrippa exploited. According to Acts 12:2, he had James, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, executed by the sword (Mark 10:35–40). This probably took place in 42/43 CE. Peter was also put in prison, but he managed to escape. Afterward, Peter had to leave Jerusalem. *James the brother of Jesus* subsequently assumed leadership of the Jerusalem community (Acts 12:17). According to Mark 3:21, 31–35 and John 7:1–10, James appears not to have numbered among Jesus's original supporters. However, according to 1 Corinthians 15:7, he was granted an appearance of the risen Christ. Acts 1:14 already depicts him among the community of early Jerusalem Christ-believers. In Galatians 2:9, he is named alongside Peter and John as one of the three "pillars" of the Christ-believing community in Jerusalem (significantly, James is already named before Cephas/Peter here).[497] According to Acts 15:13 as well, James is one of the leading figures of the early Jerusalem community. When Paul came to Jerusalem in 56 CE to deliver the collection of the gentile congregations, he was received there by James (Acts 21:18).

10.4 From Antioch to Rome

10.4.1 The Antiochene Congregation and Paul

The circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles was centered in Antioch. That the disciples were first called "Christians" there clearly shows that, once baptism had replaced circumcision, Christians were perceived as a distinct group with its own name.[498] If we can trust Acts 11:26; 13:1 (Gal 1:21[499] and 2:11–14 give us good reason to do so), then Paul came into contact with the idea of circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles in Antioch and received his missionary commission there. According to Josephus (*B.J.* 3.29), Antioch was the third largest city in the Roman Empire after Rome

496 See the analysis of Agrippa's possible motivations in Theissen, Verfolgung, 263–289.

497 On this, see Schwemer, Verfolger, 184 [JV], who supposes that Peter resided in Syria for a long while after being expelled from Jerusalem. Galatians 2:11 seems to confirm this. Schwemer traces the "Peter tradition in the Gospel of Matthew" to this period (according to Luz, Matthew 1–7, 49–51, the Gospel of Matthew was probably written in Antioch or at least somewhere in Syria). For more on James the brother of Jesus and Peter, see Gielen, Kephas, 93–131.

498 See Kollmann, Philippus, 551.

499 Syria could stand *totum pro parte* for Antioch here, and Cilicia for Tarsus, Paul's home city.

and Alexandria and was home to an exceptionally large Jewish diaspora community.[500] A melting pot of diverse cultures, it undoubtedly served as a catalyst for new developments in Christianity.

10.4.2 The Apostolic Convention and the Conflict at Antioch (48/49 CE)

Acts 15 contains only a scant reference to the conflict at Antioch (also known as the incident at Antioch). This is due to Luke's tendency to smooth out and harmonize his narrative. Paul's account in Galatians 2:11–14 is much closer to the actual incident, though his depiction is likewise distorted by his own polemical perspective. Paul and Acts agree on the following points:

1) Acts 15:1 and Galatians 2:3f. agree that, prior to the conflict, there were disputes about the question of circumcising gentile Christians: In Galatians 2:3f., we learn of this only after the note about the Apostolic Convention, but in connection with the question of Titus's circumcision and indicating the reason for the apostles' gathering.

2) Acts 15:2–33/Galatians 2:1–9 agree that the Apostolic Convention approved the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles. However, the two accounts diverge in the details. In Galatians 2:1–10, Paul writes:

> 1 Then after fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along with me. 2 I went up in response to a revelation. Then I laid before them (though only in a private meeting with the acknowledged leaders) the gospel that I proclaim among the Gentiles, in order to make sure that I was not running, or had not run, in vain. 3 But even Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised, though he was a Greek. ... 6 And from those who were supposed to be acknowledged leaders (what they actually were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality)—those leaders contributed nothing to me. 7 On the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel for the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel for the circumcised 8 (for he who worked through Peter making him an apostle to the circumcised also worked through me in sending me to the Gentiles), 9 and when James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars, recognized the grace that had been given to me, they gave to Barnabas and me the right hand of fellowship, agreeing that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised. 10 They asked only one thing, that we remember the poor, which was actually what I was eager to do.

Paul mentions that this meeting with "those who were supposed to be acknowledged leaders" led to a division of the mission field: Paul would go to the Gentiles, the Jerusalemites would continue to go the "circumcised." According to Paul's account, the only requirement placed on him was to care for the poor in the Jerusalem community, a duty he in fact conscientiously fulfilled through the collection. The account of Acts, however, mentions the formulation of a different compromise here:

---

500 See Zugmann, Hellenisten, 65f. Similarly, Strabo 16.2.5. Josephus reports that during the unrest at the start of the Jewish War, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea were the only cities in Syria where no pogroms against Jews occurred – due, not least, to the considerable number of Jews living there (*B.J.* 2.479).

> 15:28 For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to impose on you no further burden than these essentials: 29 that you abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from fornication. If you keep yourselves from these, you will do well. Farewell.

Paul's account of the Apostolic Convention knows nothing of these regulations, which are often referred to as the "Apostolic Decree." It is likely that these conditions were not issued at the Apostolic Convention at all. Rather, they were probably formulated in response to a subsequent, previously unconsidered issue – namely, purity regulations governing table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians.

3) Both accounts are consistent in reporting that, after the Apostolic Convention, there was a severe disagreement between Paul and Barnabas (Gal 2:13/Acts 15:36–40; v. 39: παροξυσμός). Acts 15:37 cites a dispute about John Mark as the reason for the conflict. However, Galatians 2:11–14 states:

> 11 But when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face, because he stood self-condemned; 12 for until certain people came from James, he used to eat with the Gentiles. But after they came, he drew back and kept himself separate for fear of the circumcision faction. 13 And the other Jews joined him in this hypocrisy, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy. 14 But when I saw that they were not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?"

After Agrippa I's persecution (42/43 CE), Peter (Aram. Cephas) was no longer in Jerusalem on a regular basis. He likely made his way to Antioch shortly after the Apostolic Convention. There, he had table fellowship with gentile Christians. This was unavoidable, since according to 1 Corinthians 11:20–34, the communal meal (the *agape*) was an integral part of the Eucharist celebration. If Peter wished to celebrate the Eucharist with the Antiochene congregation, then he would necessarily have had to eat with gentile Christians. As a result, Peter was no longer able to observe the Jewish dietary regulations at meals – regulations that of course did not apply to gentile Christians after the Apostolic Convention (as described by Paul).

At first, Peter seems to have tacitly accepted this state of affairs. Only when τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου, "certain people from James,"[501] arrived in Antioch did Peter withdraw from these meals – effectively renouncing eucharistic fellowship with the Antiochenes. Peter's departure from the dietary laws was evidently a source of embarrassment for him in the presence of the "people from James." Paul accused him of "hypocrisy" for withdrawing from fellowship with the gentile Christians. However, the question of table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians had not yet

501 James the brother of Jesus was moderately conservative. On the one hand, he supported the decisions of the Apostolic Convention that gentile Christians are free of circumcision and kashrut. On the other hand, he insists (also in keeping with the Apostolic Convention) on Jewish Christians' full observance of the Torah. The "people from James" should therefore not be equated with "Judaizers," who demanded that gentile Christians be circumcised (cf. Acts 15:1; Gal 2:4). Rather, they demand only that Peter, a Jewish Christian, observes kashrut, even during table fellowship with gentile Christians. On this, see Pratscher, Jakobus, 80–85; Gielen, Kephas, 115. On "Judaizers," see Betz, Judaisten, ELThK 2/1006.

been addressed. This fresh conflict had to be settled in the form of a new compromise, the "Apostolic Decree," which Acts 15:28f. anachronistically attributes to the Apostolic Convention. In reality, however, the Apostolic Decree was a later *regula conviventiae*, regulating such cases and enabling shared meals between Jewish and gentile Christians.[502] Thus, the conflict at Antioch was a "subsequent problem that, according to both Galatians 2:1–10 and Acts 15, had not been discussed in Jerusalem," namely the problem of "cohabitation and eating together in mixed congregations."[503] Luke omits the open escalation of the conflict between Paul and Peter out of a concern to bridge the divide between Jewish and gentile Christians. Luke therefore positions the Paul of his narrative as close as possible to Judaism. Acts is thus a kind of "apology for Paul"[504] (► V.13 below). Paul and Barnabas likely fell out with each other because of the conflict in Antioch,[505] as Galatians 2:13 in fact relates. Barnabas likely sided with Peter in Antioch after Paul unjustly attacked him with such ferocity. In keeping with his tendency to smooth over tensions, Luke depicts the conflict concerning John Mark as a personal dispute, in order to obscure the real tensions between the two camps. The following chronology suggests itself based on the foregoing discussion: Jesus died in 30 CE and Paul's conversion likely occurred in 32 CE. According to Galatians 1:18 and 2:1, Paul went to the Apostolic Convention in Jerusalem sixteen or seventeen years after his conversion, that is, in the year 48/49 CE. The incident at Antioch must be dated either shortly after that, in 49 CE, or not until 52 CE.[506]

At this point, it becomes clear that it is preferable to speak of an "Apostolic *Convention*" rather than an "Apostolic *Council*." For the depiction of Acts 15:6 ("The apostles and the elders met together to consider this matter") is exaggerated. In Galatians 2:1–10, Paul only speaks of a meeting of those "supposed to be acknowledged leaders," mentioning toward the end that "James and Cephas and John, who were acknowledged pillars" gave Paul and Barnabas "the right hand of fellowship." Strictly speaking, then, it was only an "*Apostolic* Convention" in a limited sense. What took place is more accurately described as "a consultation between Paul and Barnabas (who were sent by the congregation in Antioch) and the representatives of the congregation of Jerusalem ..."[507] It is also clear that the participants in the Apostolic Convention did not intend to make the mission to the Gentiles an independent one. Rather, they de-

502 See Pratscher, Jakobus, 84 and 87; Söding, Apostel, 107; Löhr, Speisenfrage, 28–30; Gielen, Kephas, 113.

503 Söding, Apostel, 100 [JV]. Gielen, Kephas, 115 [JV]: "However, no further agreements were made in Jerusalem regarding the practical consequences ..."

504 Wasserberg, Mitte, 365. Cf. Söding, Apostel, 92–113.

505 See Gnilka, Paulus, 106. By contrast, Konradt, Datierung, 24.

506 According to Konradt, Datierung 19–39, Acts 15 only refers to the Apostolic Convention, where Acts 18:22 mentions the visit to Antioch during which the incident occurred (in 52 CE, between the second and third missionary journeys), which Luke, however, does not mention. Similarly, Gielen, Kephas, 95; Schwemer, Antiochien, 161, 175f.; Hengel, Petrus, 93–95; Öhler, Barnabas, 63f., 78, 448f., et passim.

507 Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 258 [JV].

cided to divide the missionary territory into a mission to the Gentiles and one to the circumcised (Gal 2:9). Following M. Theobald, we may conclude:[508]

> They had not thought some things through to the end, especially the practice of shared meals between Jews and pagan "Christians" in mixed congregations. Nor could they have foreseen the momentum the mission would gain in Asia Minor, Greece, and then in the western regions of the Roman Empire, let alone that the church would soon come to have a "gentile Christian" face. Everything looked different under the portent of their "imminent expectation."

In the eyes of the participants, the Apostolic Convention was not an epoch-making "Council," but merely a pragmatic agreement between the Jerusalem mother congregation and the congregation in Antioch. According to Joel 2:28 (= Joel 3:1 LXX)/ Acts 2:17 (the outpouring of the Spirit on "all flesh"), the participants interpreted the experience of the Spirit at Pentecost as a sign of the eschaton. Thus, they felt justified in regarding the vision of the Gentiles' eschatological participation in salvation (Isa 2:2–5; 60:3; Mic 4:2f.) as having come to pass. They did not dwell over much on organizational details, as these would be clarified by the returning Lord in the imminent eschaton, once the non-Jews had also been given a share in the promise. No one at the time could have foreseen that this dynamic – not least after the fall of Jerusalem and the consequent disappearance of the center of Jewish Christianity – would lead to the cessation of the Jewish Christian group and the dominance of gentile Christianity. Tragically, gentile Christians later showed no gratitude for the Jewish-Christian openness to the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles. Soon, Church Fathers (► I.2.2.5 above) came to regard opposition to Jewish Christians as a matter of putative "orthodoxy."

10.4.3 Was Paul the Founder of Christianity?

The concept of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles was systematically developed in Antioch. However, the model did not truly thrive until Paul, sent out as a missionary by the Antiochene congregation (Acts 13:1–3), exported it to the entire eastern Mediterranean region. Was Paul therefore the true "founder" of Christianity?[509] The answer to this question is clearly no. Paul was neither the "founder" nor the "second founder" of Christianity. Rather, he was "a transmitter of Christian beliefs that had primarily taken shape in Antioch, but also in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Tarsus."[510] Paul stands in the same continuum of tradition as the "Hellenists," who for their part draw on early Jewish ideas (► V.6.2 below).

508 Theobald, Christus, 98f.

509 On this question, see Horn, Paulus, 31–44.

510 Horn, Paulus, 38 [JV], likewise, Theobald, Christus, 104.

10.4.4 Paul and the "God-Fearers"

The great success of Paul and his mission was due to the fact that many non-Jewish sympathizers of Judaism (so-called "God-fearers"[511]) did not dare a full conversion to Judaism, which required circumcision and observance of the purity laws. Such a step would have made a professional career impossible and effectively severed ties with family and friends. Besides the centurion of Capernaum (Matt 8:5–13/Luke 7:1–10), Luke names the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10), Titius Justus (Acts 18:7), and the dealer of purple cloth, Lydia (Acts 16:14) as God-fearers. At the time, Judaism exerted an enormous attraction on many who sought an alternative to the degraded state cult. Judaism's social cohesion and care for the poor were also exemplary.[512] For these God-fearers, who had previously only been afforded "second-class membership"[513] in Judaism, Christianity now offered full membership – without circumcision and purity laws – as a kind of *reform Judaism at a discounted price*.[514] Within Christianity, non-Jews could now remain culturally and ethnically loyal to their origins, since, according to Galatians 3:28:

> There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus.

10.4.5 Paul as persona non grata in Jewish Congregations

The great success of Paul's mission was likely due in no small part to the fact that he "drew away" many of the aforementioned God-fearers during his journey through the synagogues of the eastern Mediterranean. From a logistical perspective, the tightly knit Jewish social network was doubtless also important for the success of Paul's mission. By visiting synagogues, he automatically had a local social connection, a place to stay, and direct contact with Jews and God-fearers, the target audience of his mission. The number of Jews who embraced Paul's message remains uncertain, as does the number of "true Gentiles" converted by Paul. Paul should not be assumed to have converted *only* God-fearers and no "*proper Gentiles*" at all.[515] Yet Paul's message was certainly highly attractive for God-fearers, who account for the main success of his

---

511 This term is a modern construction that goes back to the Greek φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι (with or without τὸν θεόν), and θεοσεβεῖς; Lat.: *metuentes*; Heb.: יראי שמים, terms which have a far wider range of meanings in the ancient sources. On this, see Kraemer, Godfearers, 61–87; Lieu, God-fearers, 483–501; Frederiksen, Judaizing, 232–252; id., Question, 175–201; Schröter, Paul, 110. On Paul, see Reiser, Paulus, 84f.

512 On care for the poor in the Jewish diaspora, see Berger, Diakonie, 94–105.

513 Frey, Paulus, 267 [JV].

514 See Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 428 [JV]: "For non-Jewish 'God-fearers' and Greek and Roman sympathizers of Judaism, Hellenistic-Jewish and gentile Christianity likely appeared to be the 'the most feasible form of Judaism for them personally,'" (with a quotation from G. Stemberger).

515 Thus Reiser, Paulus, 87 and 91, who nevertheless rightly recognizes how Paul used the network of Jewish synagogues for his own purposes.

mission. Paul's use of Jewish infrastructure and his wooing of God-fearers must have been seen by Jews as a hostile takeover.[516] It is therefore understandable that Paul was considered a *persona non grata* in many Jewish communities.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that Paul's missionary zeal also upset the fragile balance between diaspora Jews and non-Jewish authorities. Acts 19:23–40, the "uproar in the silversmith's shop," makes this clear.[517] The Silversmiths categorize Paul as a Jew. The tumult is thus not at all directed against a distinct group of "Christians," but against the Jews of Ephesus, of whom the first Christians are seen as a subgroup. Against this background, it is understandable that the Jews in Ephesus were not sympathetic toward Paul (Acts 20:3). Such situations may have accelerated the parting of Jews and Christians, but the reasons for this were practical in nature and not theological.

10.4.6 The Religious Policy of Claudius

As in Ephesus, conflicts between Jews and Christians also erupted in Rome, where the Romans again regarded the Christians as part of Judaism. In *A.J.* 19.280–291, Josephus recounts two edicts issued by Claudius. Despite their embellished tone, they are authentic at their core and grant the Jews in Alexandria and throughout the empire the privileges of free religious practice.[518] The two edicts must be understood in the context of the disastrous Caligula crisis that immediately preceded them. In the first edict, Claudius assures the Jews of Alexandria that they will once again enjoy the privileges they held before the Caligula crisis. However, he also urges both parties of the dispute, πλείστην ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν ὅπως μηδεμία ταραχὴ γένηται ("to take the greatest precaution to prevent any disturbance" *A.J.* 19.285). In other words, Claudius guarantees the free practice of religion only on the condition that peace and quiet prevail. This fits well with what Suetonius writes about the period of Claudius's rule (DeVitCaes/Claudius 25,4):

> Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit.
>
> Since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome.

The unrest among the Jews in Rome was clearly at odds with Claudius's religious policy. The most likely date of this edict is 49 CE,[519] but it is debatable whether Claudius expelled *all Jews* from Rome, or *only those who were incited to unrest by "Chrestus."* According to Acts 18:2, Claudius had expelled πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ("all Jews") from Rome. To do so, however, would have been a logistical impossibility. "Chrestus" likely

---

516 See Frey, Paulus, 267 [JV]: "His mission among the sympathizers of the synagogues simultaneously contested the synagogues' hold on an important group of pagan benefactors and supporters ..."

517 On this, see Tiwald, Ephesus, 135f. Likewise, Frey, Paulus, 267. See also, Ebner, Stadt, 89.

518 See Kollmann, Einführung, 99.

519 Regarding the chronology, see Schnelle, Paul, 48, and Theissen, Verfolgung, 275.

refers to Christ, "whom Suetonius apparently thought to be a Jewish ringleader living in Rome ... particularly as Tacitus [also refers to Christians as Chrestians (Ann 15.44)"[520] (on Tacitus, ▸ III. 10.4.8 below). *Chrēstos* (χρηστός, "useful/capable") was a popular slave name. There were probably also numerous slaves among the first Christians in Rome,[521] which explains the confusion of names. It is interesting that "the first Christians in Rome were still perceived as part of Judaism"[522] at the time. The unrest is thus likely attributable to disputes between Jews and Jewish Christians, ignited by the issue of belief in Jesus as the "Christ."[523] It is unlikely that all Jewish Christians were expelled from Rome. More likely, only a few ringleaders were expelled, among them the missionary couple Prisca/Priscilla and Aquila.[524] After their expulsion from Rome, the two made their way to Corinth, where they met Paul (Acts 18:2; see 1 Cor 16:19). The edict of Claudius lost its validity with the death of the emperor in 54 CE. When Paul wrote his letter to the Romans shortly thereafter, the list of greetings in Romans 16:3 reveals that Priscilla and Aquila were back in Rome.

Together with the Gallio Inscription, the edict of Claudius is an important historical anchor for the Pauline chronology. According to Acts 18:12, Paul was in Corinth "when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia." The term of office of Lucius Gallio, a brother of Seneca, can be dated with relative precision based on a letter from Emperor Claudius to the city of Delphi, preserved in an inscription (the "Gallio Inscription"). This document records Claudius's twenty-sixth acclamation as emperor. Since the twenty-seventh acclamation had already taken place on August 1, 52 CE, and "Since proconsuls of senatorial provinces were usually in office for one year, we may infer that Gallio was proconsul of Achaia from the early summer of 51 to the early summer of 52."[525] According to Acts 18:11, Paul worked in Corinth for a year and a half, meaning he could have arrived there in 50 CE, shortly after Priscilla and Aquila, who had been expelled from Rome in 49 CE.

10.4.7 Paul's Delivery of the Collection and His Arrest in Jerusalem

The delivery of the collection that Paul raised among the Christians of Achaia for the mother congregation in Jerusalem (Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9), which he intended to present at the Feast of Pentecost in 56 CE (Acts 20:16), took place during the final phase of Felix's term of office. The rationale for this collection stemmed from the resolutions of the Apostolic Convention. According to this rationale, the collection was not merely economic support for the mother congregation in

520 Kollmann, Einführung, 100 [JV].
521 Philo Legat. 155 reports that there were a number of freed Jewish slaves living in Rome.
522 Theissen, Paulus, 239 [JV].
523 On this, see Theissen, Verfolgung, 276 [JV], who notes, however, that this "enticing interpretation ... is not entirely certain."
524 See Kollmann, Einführung, 100.
525 Theissen, Paulus, 239 [JV].

Jerusalem but also an expression of solidarity between gentile and Jewish Christians.[526] The original Jerusalem congregation likely did not accept the collection or accepted it only with reservations. This may explain why Luke largely omits this conflict-laden topic in Acts.[527] In any case, all we learn is that the money must have arrived in Jerusalem (Acts 24:17). According to Acts 21:23–26, at least a part of the money was used to cover the costs for four members of the Jerusalem congregation to fulfill a Nazirite vow. Perhaps this was the compromise under which the Jerusalem congregation was willing to accept the money.[528] In any case, an increasingly strong Jewish nationalism had developed in Jerusalem as a result of the resistance movement against the Romans, fostering a theologically conservative climate that was bound to view Paul's liberal interpretation of the law as an affront. The original Jerusalem congregation, which still saw itself as an integral part of Judaism, was also less than enthusiastic about receiving a visit from the liberal Paul. Despite all of Luke's narrative tendencies, Acts 21:18–24 accurately captures the essence of the matter:

> 18 The next day Paul went with us to visit James; and all the elders were present. 19 After greeting them, he related one by one the things that God had done among the Gentiles through his ministry. 20 When they heard it, they praised God. Then they said to him, "You see, brother, how many thousands of believers there are among the Jews, and they are all zealous for the law. 21 They have been told about you that you teach all the Jews living among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, and that you tell them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs. 22 What then is to be done? They will certainly hear that you have come. 23 So do what we tell you. We have four men who are under a vow. 24 Join these men, go through the rite of purification with them, and pay for the shaving of their heads. Thus all will know that there is nothing in what they have been told about you, but that you yourself observe and guard the law.

In the end, Paul's delivery of the collection failed and his presence in Jerusalem turned into a debacle. A rumor spread that Paul had brought the gentile Christian Trophimus into the area of the temple reserved exclusively for Jews (Acts 21:28f.) From a historian's perspective, it is unlikely that Paul would have committed such a sacrilege. The fact remains, however, that the Jewish authorities of the time *thought Paul capable* of such an offense, which is unsurprising given the rumors circulating about him (see the text of Acts quoted above).[529] Paul was nearly lynched in the ensuing turmoil, but Roman soldiers intervened and rescued him, bringing him to Felix's official residence in Caesarea. The proceedings stalled there, as Felix appears to have been reluctant about tackling the delicate matter. Eventually, after Felix's removal from office, his successor Festus had to take charge of the Paul's case.

---

526 See Koch, Geschichte, 323. On the whole topic of the collection, see Koch, Geschichte, 321–334; Weihs, Gott, 164–188; Kloppenborg, Collection, 153–198.

527 See the argumentation in Konradt, Datierung, 31; Kollmann, Einführung, 106. The chronological placement of Acts 11:27–30 remains entirely uncertain (Weihs, Gott, 167).

528 See Koch, Geschichte, 334; Kollmann, Einführung, 106; Sänger, Kollekte, 282.

529 See Kollmann, Einführung, 107. Likewise, Konradt, Datierung, 32, who suggests that there was fierce word-of-mouth propaganda against Paul.

10.4.8 Nero (Rule 54–68 CE) and the Christians

Paul was evidently afraid that Festus (60–62 CE) would offer him up as a sacrificial pawn to appease conservative Jewish groups. He therefore appealed to Caesar, a possibility open to him as a Roman citizen (Acts 24:27–25:12; ► V.9.1.1 below). Acts 27–28 then recounts Paul's transfer from Caesarea to Rome, including a shipwreck off the coast of Malta and his winter sojourn there.[530] Emperor Nero held power in Rome (37–68 CE), where Paul's case was resumed. Acts 28:30 reports that Paul was able to live in Rome for two years in his own rented lodgings (under house arrest, as it were), "teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness and without hindrance." This depiction arises from Luke's theological reading of history.[531] Owing to his pro-Roman leanings, Luke omits mention of Paul's execution, even though his fate is already foreshadowed in the farewell scene at Miletus (Acts 20:23–25; v. 25: "And now I know that none of you, among whom I have gone about proclaiming the kingdom, will ever see my face again."). Despite Paul's execution, Luke regards Rome as a state governed by the rule of law (see Acts 18:12–17; 25:18f.) and thus worthy of trust, notwithstanding this aberration.[532] The situation under Nero is vividly illustrated by two texts from Tacitus and Suetonius.[533] Tacitus writes in the Annales 15.44.2–4:

> 2 But despite the human help, despite the princeps's lavishments and the appeasements of the gods, there was no getting away from the infamous belief that the conflagration had been ordered. Therefore, to dispel the rumor, Nero supplied defendants and inflicted the choicest punishments on those, resented for their outrages, whom the public called Chrestiani [*quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Chrestianos appellabat*: *Chrestianos*, accusative of *Chrestiani*]. 3 (The source of the name was Christus [*Christus*], on whom, during the command of Tiberius, reprisal had been inflicted by the procurator Pontius Pilatus; and, though the baleful superstition [*supersitio*] had been stifled for the moment, there was now another outbreak, not only across Judaea, the origin of the malignancy [*mali*], but also across the City, where everything frightful or shameful, of whatever provenance, converges and is celebrated.) 4 The first to be seized were those who confessed, then, on their information, a mighty number was convicted, not so much on the charge of the conflagration as for their hatred of the human race [*odio humani generis*]. And, as they perished, mockeries were added, so that, covered in the hides of wild beasts, they expired from mutilation by dogs or, fixed to crosses and made flammable, on the dwindling of daylight they were burned for use as nocturnal illumination.

Tacitus reports that Nero seized the Christians as scapegoats for the burning of Rome. The historian calls the Christians "Chrestiani" here, similar to Suetonius (DeVitCaes/Claudius 25,4), who reports that under Claudius, *impulsore Chresto Iudaeos assidue tumultuantis* ("Since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome"; ► III.10.4.6 above). Here, the name "(Jesus) Christ"

---

530 On the details of the journey and the question about the historical reliability of Luke's account, see Koch, Geschichte, 356–360.

531 See Gnilka, Paulus, 307; Koch, Geschichte, 361.

532 See Koch, Geschichte, 363.

533 See Heemstra, Fiscus, 87–93.

is confused with the Greek slave name "Chrestos" (χρηστός; "useful"), whom "Suetonius apparently thought to be a Jewish ringleader living in Rome …"[534] Tacitus, who wrote at about the same time (actually: shortly before Suetonius), renders the name "Christus" correctly, but uses the designation *Chrestiani* instead of *Christiani*. At the time, many Christians were likely recruited from the ranks of slaves, which would explain the confusion with the common slave name "Chrestos."[535] Suetonius is also aware of the persecution of Christians under Nero (DeVitCaes/Nero 16,2):

> Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae; Punishment [i. e.: *supplicium*, which can also be the death penalty] was inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition.

However, Suetonius does not draw a connection between the persecution of Christians and the burning of Rome (64 CE). Rather, he reports a laudable measure taken by the emperor against the spread of a "new and mischievous superstition."[536] 1 Clement 5.5–7, the oldest source on the martyrdom of Paul,[537] (apart from the indirect references in Acts 20:23–35) makes no mention of the persecution of Christians under Nero. However, Tacitus and Suetonius agree that such a persecution took place – regardless of whether it was connected with the burning of Rome. This suggests that Paul likely suffered martyrdom in the course of the persecution of Christians under Nero.[538] Peter may also have died a martyr's death for Christ in Rome during this persecution.[539] The persecution of Christians under Nero was restricted to Rome and took place over a limited period of time. Such a measure would indeed be most comprehensible in connection with the burning of Rome.[540] The question of the extent

534 Kollmann, Einführung, 100 [JV].

535 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 84.

536 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 82 n. 55.

537 The argument of Zwierlein, Rom, 17, that 1 Clem. does not actually mention the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, but only their "endurance and suffering" (5.5, 7), is not entirely persuasive. In 5.2, there is mention that "the pillars [Gal 2:9] … struggled in the contest even to death" (ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν). In 5.3 they are referred to as "apostles" and in 5.4, 5 called "Peter" and "Paul." Even if this passage might only refer to perseverance until the hour of death without martyrdom, the entire context nevertheless inclines toward the sense of martyrdom. While it is true that μαρτυρήσας, *martyrēsas* ascribed to Peter (5.4) must indeed be understood as a testimony *of faith* rather than a testimony *in blood* (as rightly noted by Zwierlein, Rom, 15f.), this testimony nevertheless brings him "to the place of glory that he deserved." Similarly, Paul also was "set free from this world and transported up to the holy place," by virtue of his μαρτυρήσας, *martyrēsas* (5.7).

538 Thus, Schnelle, Paul, 386. By contrast, see Koch, Geschichte, 364 [JV], who places Paul's death at the beginning of the 60s CE: "There is no discernible temporal connection with the Neronian persecution in 64 CE." Theissen, Unglücksstifter, 242 [JV], wonders whether Nero first "became aware of Christians through Paul's appeal [to Caesar], which only later gave him the idea of diverting suspicion about the arson onto them."

539 See Kollmann, Einführung, 109.

540 See Kollmann, Einführung, 109.

to which St. Peter's Basilica and San Paolo fuori le Mura have preserved authentic traditions of the apostles' graves has been intensely debated and must remain open.[541]

10.4.9 The Reign of Domitian (81–96 CE)

According to an earlier widely held view, an intensification of the imperial cult under Domitian – which led to corresponding persecution of Christians – was behind the harsh anti-Roman statements of the Book of Revelation.[542] In the meantime, however, the negative assessment of Domitian has come to be seen as a later polemical misrepresentation by historians with senatorial leanings.[543] "Revelation's nightmarish vision of Rome cannot be verified from the perspective of ancient historiography. ... It is more likely that Acts, with its emphasis on the high value of legal norms, does justice to the conditions that prevailed in the Roman Empire."[544] The one-sided perspective of Revelation is better explained with reference to the particularities of the author's biography. "The findings of a tradition-historical examination of Revelation, together with parallel cases in early Christian history, strongly suggest that the prophet John came from the region of Syria-Palestine and left in the course of the First Jewish War (66–70 CE) to continue his activities in Asia Minor."[545] We have several other attestations of such emigration from Palestine. Acts 19:3 reports disciples of John the Baptist in Ephesus.[546] Note also Eusebius's (HE 3.5) mention of the flight of Christians to Pella during the Jewish War (see also Josephus in *B.J.* 5.422 and Luke 21:20f.). The experience of the Jewish War likely left John with a "wholly different image of the Roman state ... from that prevalent in the peaceful and prosperous world of the communities of Asia Minor."[547] Furthermore, John's negative assessment of the Roman state has parallels in early Jewish apocalyptic writings from Palestine in the period after the destruction of the temple, such as 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra (► III.8.4 above).

---

541 See Zangenberg, Gebeine, 108–138. See also Jäggi, Zeugnisse, 306–322; Koch, Geschichte, 601–603 and 606–611.

542 See the overview in Klauck, Sendschreiben, 154, and Backhaus, Vision, 19–21. See also, Tiwald, Pluralität, 136f. On the worship of living rulers in the eastern part of the Empire, see Ebner, Stadt, 145–161.

543 See Molthagen, Garant, 137; Klauck, Sendschreiben, 155; Freudenberger, Christenverfolgung, 25.

544 Molthagen, Garant, 136f. [JV]. Recently, however, Kollmann, Einführung, 125f., is minded to give more credence to the persecution scenario sketched by Revelation.

545 Stowasser, Nikolaiten, 223 [JV]. Likewise, Backhaus, Vision, 17.

546 On the disciples of John the Baptist, see Trebilco, Ephesus, 129.

547 Stowasser, Nikolaiten, 223 [JV].

10.4.10 Christianity under Trajan (115–117 CE)

Christian martyrs are attested under Trajan in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor.[548] The Jerusalem bishop Simeon was, for instance, crucified by the governor Atticus. Ignatius of Antioch was imprisoned, transported to Rome, and thrown to the beasts there. Particularly illuminating, however, is the correspondence between Pliny the Younger, governor of the province of Bithynia and Pontus, and the emperor. In Ep. 10.96, Pliny writes to Trajan:

> 1 ... I have never been present at an examination of Christians (*cognitionibus de Christianis*). Consequently, I do not know the nature or the extent of the punishments usually meted out to them, nor the grounds for starting an investigation and how far it should be pressed. 2 Nor am I at all sure ... whether it is the mere name of Christian (*nomen ipsum*) which is punishable, even if innocent of crime, or rather the crimes associated with the name (*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*). For the moment this is the line I have taken with all persons brought before me on the charge of being Christians. 3 I have asked them in person if they are Christians, and if they admit it, I repeat the question a second and third time, with a warning of the punishment awaiting them. If they persist, I order them to be led away for execution ... 5 An anonymous pamphlet has been circulated which contains the names of a number of accused persons. Among these I considered that I should dismiss any who denied that they were or ever had been Christians when they had repeated after me a formula of invocation to the gods and had made offerings of wine and incense to your statue (which I had ordered to be brought into court for this purpose along with the images of the gods), and furthermore had reviled the name of Christ: none of which things, I understand, any genuine Christian can be induced to do. 6 Others, whose names were given to me by an informer, first admitted the charge and then denied it; they said that they had ceased to be Christians two or more years previously, and some of them even twenty years ago. ... 7 They also declared that the sum total of their guilt or error amounted to no more than this: they had met regularly before dawn on a fixed day to chant verses alternately among themselves in honour of Christ as if to a god, and also to bind themselves by oath, not for any criminal purpose, but to abstain from theft, robbery and adultery, to commit no breach of trust and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it. After this ceremony it had been their custom to disperse and reassemble later to take food of an ordinary, harmless kind ... 8 This made me decide it was all the more necessary to extract the truth by torture from two slave-women, whom they call deaconesses (*ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur*). I found nothing but a degenerate sort of cult carried to extravagant lengths (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*). 9 ... The question seems to me to be worthy of your consideration, especially in view of the number of persons endangered; for a great many individuals of every age and class, both men and women, are being brought to trial, and this is likely to continue. It is not only the towns, but villages and rural districts too which are infected through contact with this wretched cult.

The distinction that a Christians is to suffer ὡς Χριστιανός ("as a Christian"), that is, for their religious conviction, but not as an evildoer, is already found in 1 Peter 4:15f. (note Pliny's phrasing of *nomen ipsum* in contrast to *flagitia cohaerentia nomini*).[549] We

548 See Kollmann, Einführung, 129.

549 1 Peter 1:1: "To the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia"; Pliny was governor in Pontus and Bithynia. 1 Peter was written shortly before 100 CE.

also learn that Christians gathered on a specific day – likely Sunday – before sunrise (Sunday was a workday). Later in the day (perhaps after the workday in the evening?) there was also a communal meal (likely the Eucharist and Agape). Two deaconesses are also mentioned here. Having originated in a rural setting, Christianity had found success as an "urban religion"[550] outside of Palestine and was now spreading from these urban centers out into the surrounding rural areas. In his answering letter, Trajan validates Pliny's basic procedure, advising him concerning the Christians in Ep. 10.97:

> 1 … it is impossible to lay down a general rule to a fixed formula (*quod quasi certam formam habeat*). 2 These people must not be hunted out; if they are brought before you and the charge against them is proved, they must be punished … But pamphlets circulated anonymously must play no part in any accusation.

This correspondence demonstrates that, until Trajan's time, there was indeed no general guideline (*certa forma*) for dealing with Christians – and that this remained the case thereafter. It is also noteworthy that the Romans exhibit a certain sense of propriety here. They refrain from acting independently and dismiss anonymous accusations. Of course, the Roman approach falls well short of modern ideas of "religious freedom." The correspondence between Pliny and Trajan is significant for the "parting of the ways," as it marks the first instance of Roman authorities recognizing Christianity as a distinct group. Christians were still quite clearly subsumed under Judaism in the edict of Claudius ("*Iudaeos* impulsore Chresto …"; ▸ III.10.4.6 above). Tacitus's account of Nero's persecution of Christians represents a further step: while the name "Chrestianoi" appears there, it is not yet an official designation but rather a name used by "the people." Moreover, the relationship to Judea, from where this "evil" is said to have spread, is still in evidence (▸ III.10.4.8 above). Suetonius's remark about Nero's persecution of Christians (▸ III.10.4.8 above) goes yet another step further, already describing the *christiani* as followers of a "new and mischievous superstition." Suetonius, however, wrote his *Lives of the Caesars* between 117 and 122 CE. His patron and mentor was Pliny the Younger. It is quite possible that Pliny's correspondence with Trajan had an influence on Suetonius's portrayal of Nero's persecution of Christians (Pliny, too, describes the Christians as followers of a "wretched superstition"). From the time of Trajan onward, then, the Romans also perceived the Christians as a distinct group. It is evident that this is a recent development, since neither Pliny nor the emperor have recourse to standardized procedures and struggle to find practicable solutions.

Pliny wrote somewhat later.

550 On this, see Ebner, Stadt, 15–18.

11 The Jesus Movement within Early Judaism as a Whole

The first followers of Jesus certainly did not establish a separate religion. Rather, they saw themselves as an integral part of Judaism. However, the level of their interaction with the different groups varied.

11.1 The Sadducees and the Jesus Movement

The Sadducees were doubtless the decisive opponents of Jesus in his final days.[551] Jesus's action in the temple (► III.10.2.4 above and V.6.3 below) brought him into the crosshairs of the temple aristocracy. As the case of Jesus ben Ananias (*B.J.* 6.300–309) demonstrates, inciting unrest against the temple provoked an immediate reprisal. During Jesus's time, the Sadducees had the majority in the high council. As the aristocracy, they inevitably had to collaborate with the Romans. Thus, they feared an uprising and the loss of their own power (Mark 14:1f.; John 11:48–50). According to Acts 4:1, the Sadducees were also opponents of the first Christians. This is historically likely for several reasons. First, due to his critique of the temple, Jesus had become a *persona non grata* for the Sadducees. This in turn reflected on Christians, who invoked Jesus as their authority. However, Jesus was also theologically much closer to the positions of the Pharisees than those of the Sadducees. For example, he thought that God intervenes in the world and believed in the resurrection. Later, Paul was able to turn belief in the resurrection into a point of contention between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, aligning himself with the latter (Acts 23:6f.). Finally, James the brother of Jesus was executed at the behest of a Sadducean high priest (*A.J.* 20.197–200), which provoked vehement protest from the Pharisees (► II.5.6 above). We should also not overlook the fact that the Jesus movement contained strong elements of social critique (► IV.2 below). For this reason as well, it likely aroused the suspicion of the Sadducees.

11.2 The Pharisees and the Jesus Movement

Among all the Jewish groups mentioned by Josephus (Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots), Jesus clearly had the most in common with the Pharisees. Like them, he too believed in God's intervention in the world (the advent of the *basileia*) and acknowledged the reality of angels and demons. In the wake of Easter, the proclamation of the Lord's resurrection and the resurrection of all believers was the central doctrine of faith in the earliest church. Belief in the resurrection was also central for the Pharisees. Their tendency to extend the ritual purity laws of the temple cult – otherwise observed only by the temple priests – to daily life outside the temple inevitably

551 For the following discussion, see Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 225.

brought Jesus into conflict with them. This does not mean, however, that Jesus simply abolished the purity laws. Rather, he espoused a concept of "offensive purity." Instead of contagious impurity, the all-pervasive purity of the *basileia* restores the world to its prelapsarian integrity (► V.5.2.3 below).[552] In a certain sense, then, Jesus even takes up the Pharisee agenda of extending the purity of the temple to all of Israel – though he pursues this sanctification by different means than the Pharisees. The purity and holiness of the *basileia* would first permeate all of Israel and then spread to the whole world (► V.5.2.3–4 below). This shows that the fierce rivalry between Jesus and the Pharisees did not arise from inherently contradictory positions, but from different emphases in underlying proximity.[553] It is thus likely that (as Acts 15:5 notes) several Pharisees did indeed join the Christian community. Indeed, the Gospel of John presents Nicodemus as a Pharisee sympathetic to Christianity (John 3:1–21; 7:50; 19:39). A final example is the Pharisees' protest after the execution of James, the brother of Jesus, by a Sadducean high priest (*A.J.* 20.197–200; ► II.5.6 above).

11.3 The Essenes and the Jesus Movement

11.3.1 No Mention in the New Testament

It is striking that there is no mention of the Essenes in the New Testament. The authors of the Gospels, writing after 70 CE and from outside Palestine, may well have grouped the Essenes with the Sadducees.[554] Paul – an heir to Pharisee values – likely had little love for the Essenes, who were not well-disposed towards the Pharisees (► III.4.2.6 above). Whether the Essenes had a significant presence in Galilee is unknown. It may be that "Galilee of the Gentiles"[555] was too far removed from Judea for the Essenes, who propagated an "extremely elitist priestly value system and a way of life created, aggressively propagated, and meticulously supervised by priests."[556] This may also explain why a text like the Sayings Source, which presumably originated in Galilee, does not mention the Essenes.

11.3.2 Differences between the Qumran Texts and the New Testament

The Essenes' extremely elitist priestly worldview – with its marked ritualization and strong emphasis on purity – was foreign to Jesus. Rather than establishing an exclusive, insular community of the redeemed, he laid claim to Israel as a whole. Instead of the "holy remnant," all Israel is to be saved. Jesus makes this plain by appointing

552 On this, see Berger, Pharisäer, 237–248.
553 See Wilk, Evangelien, 104.
554 See Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 137.
555 Matt 4:15; cf. Isa 8:23. Since the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Assyrians, pious groups regarded Galilee as less than pure because of the non-Jews who resided there.
556 Müller, Wissenschaft, 55 [JV].

the Twelve as a symbol of the restoration and ingathering of "all" Israel at the dawn of the end-time. He thus reaches out to all Israel and does not avoid contact with tax collectors, sinners, prostitutes, and outcasts. Quite the opposite: Jesus seeks to "infect" sinners and marginalized groups in particular with the all-pervasive purity of the dawning *basileia*. It is purity, not impurity, that is infectious (► V.5.2.3–4 below), just as a small amount of leaven permeates the entire batch of flour (Q 13:21). Thus, Jesus propagates an "'offensive purity' and 'inclusive holiness,' that does not shrink form contact with the unholy."[557] This is quite likely the most important difference to the Qumranites. Since purity is conveyed through the *basileia* and not through purity rites, Jesus dispenses with separation and the meticulous observance of purity regulations.

11.3.3 The Question of Celibacy

As E. Qimron rightly observes, the question of the supposed celibacy of the Qumranites bears a heavy burden of proof, since it has sometimes been viewed as a parallel to Jesus's practice (Matt 19:10–12) and Paul's way of life (1 Cor 7:1–7, 28f.).[558] However, whereas Jesus and Paul stress imminent eschatological expectation,[559] the focus at Qumran is on ritual purity. At bottom, the guiding idea at Qumran is not *celibacy* per se. Rather, the concern is to avoid sexual intercourse to *prevent impurity from contact with sexual fluids* (► III.4.5 above). In fact, it was possible to temporarily abstain from marriage and family for the sake of higher religious values. This is evident in the example of Flavius Josephus, who lived with the hermit Banus in the desert for three years before the age of nineteen (*Vita* 11).

11.3.4 No New Testament Texts at Qumran

The manuscripts found at Qumran include only "homogeneous" texts that align with the theology of the Qumran community. For that reason alone, it would be surprising to find parts of the New Testament at Qumran. Apart from differences of content, there would also be a chronological problem with this, since Qumran was destroyed in 68 CE and the gospels were not written until after 70 CE. Arguments such as those put forward by J. O'Callaghan and C.P. Thiede, who see remnants of Mark 6:52 in the Qumran fragment 7Q5, have been refuted by paleographic and stichometric analysis.[560]

---

557 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 431; [The translation has been corrected here, in accordance with the German original, to read "unholy" instead of "holy."]. This point had already been made by Berger, Pharisäer, 238–248, and Loader, Law, 523. Most recently, Avemarie, Jesus, 276 and 279, has also spoken of the idea of "dynamic purity" along these lines.

558 See Qimron, Celibacy, 287.

559 Jesus: "for the sake of the kingdom of heaven," Matt 19:12; Paul: "I mean, brothers and sisters, the appointed time has grown short," 1 Cor 7:29.

560 See Enste, Markustext. On the history of research, see *loc. cit*. 8–49.

11.3.5 First Point of Contact: Authoritative Torah Interpretation

The most striking correspondence between the Qumran texts and the New Testament likely consists in the Qumran community's estimation of the "Teacher of Righteousness" and Christianity's estimation of Jesus. The Qumran community regards the "Teacher of Righteousness" as a "prophet like Moses," who continues to update the Torah and interpret it in an eschatologically compelling way. The same can be said of Jesus (Acts 3:22). "This [assessment of the "Teacher of Righteousness"] imbued Qumran theology with an eschatological dynamism comparable only to that of early Christianity."[561] What is more, the Qumran community shared the expectation (voiced in Acts 15:16, quoting Amos 9:11,) that God would reestablish the fallen Tabernacle of David (4Q174 [Florilegium] III,12 and CD VII,16).[562] The "Teacher of Righteousness" and Jesus are both portrayed by their followers as messianic, Davidic figures and end-time mediators,[563] "a kind of human embodiment of salvation."[564] According to 1QpHab VIII,2f., the Qumranites can only be saved by "their loyalty to the Teacher of Righteousness" (ואמנתם במורה הצדק), a teaching comparable to justification by faith in Jesus Christ (διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) in Galatians 2:16. Both the "Teacher of Righteousness" and Jesus Christ are presented as figures of "*exclusive salvific significance.*"[565] Additionally, the "Teacher of Righteousness" and Jesus both ultimately become end-time "mediators of revelation."[566] Thus, 1QpHab VII,1–5 states:

> 1 And God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen to 2 the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. 3 And as for what he says: *Hab 2:2* "So that / may run/ the one who reads it". 4 Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known 5 all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets.

Only the "Teacher of Righteousness" is given the ability to rightly interpret "the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets." Similar statements are made about Jesus in the New Testament (Luke 24:32; Heb 1:1f.)

11.3.6 Second Point of Contact: Pesher Exegesis

As evident in the interpretation of the above-cited Habakkuk text, the Qumranites espoused an interpretive method that read prophetic texts in particular as speaking to the immediate present (understood as the end-time). This method is known as "Pesher exegesis" (► III.8.5 above).[567] Similarly, Christianity made use of the prophetic texts in particular to interpret Jesus as the Messiah (see Acts 3:18; 1 Pet 2:22–25 as a paraphrase of Isa 53:1–12).

---

561 Fabry, Umgang, 322 [JV].
562 See Stowasser, Qumranüberlieferung, 47–63.
563 See Tiwald, Hebräer, 239–251.
564 Kuhn, Qumranparallelen, 229 [JV].
565 Tiwald, Hebräer, 250 [JV].
566 Lange, Weisheit, 107 [JV].
567 On Pesher exegesis, see Maier, Testamenten, 134–136.

11.3.7 John the Baptist and the Qumranites?

A number of parallels can be drawn between John the Baptist and the Qumranites: both derive from priestly circles, the Qumranites being a splinter group of the temple priests and John the son of parents from a priestly lineage (Luke 1:5). Both proclaim a form of the forgiveness of sins that is no longer associated with the temple. Both use water rituals for the purpose of atonement. Both hold to an imminent eschatology and take the essentially sinful brokenness of humanity for granted. The differences are nevertheless considerable: John's baptism is a one-time act, a gift of God's grace rather than a ritual purification. Ritual purity does not factor in John's message. Instead, radical repentance saves from the coming judgment. John does not establish an elitist, closed community. Rather, he offers his baptism for the forgiveness of sins specifically to sinners. In summary, the points of contact between John the Baptist and the Qumranites do not stem from a relationship of direct dependence but rather from broader theological thought patterns current in Israel at the time. In this vein, one need only consider the figure of Banus, whom Josephus mentions (*Vita* 11), alongside John the Baptist and the Qumran community. Banus, too, lived in the wilderness, clothed himself solely in materials gathered from trees, ate only what grew wild in nature, and practiced daily washings to maintain purity.

11.3.8 Where There Essenes among the First Christians?

As we have already seen, there were Pharisees among the first Christians, while the Sadducees were generally more hostile to the first disciples of Jesus. But what about the Essenes? The existence of an "Essene Gate" in Jerusalem suggests that there were Essenes residing in the holy city (► III. 4.3.3 above). Nevertheless, R. Riesner oversteps the evidence in his attempt to associate the "great many priests" of Acts 6:7 who "became obedient to the faith" with the Essenes, which he bases on the claim that the gathering place of the first disciples of Jesus in Jerusalem ("the room upstairs"; Acts 1:13) was in the "Essene quarter."[568] Despite the points of contact mentioned above, the Essenes and the Christians pursued completely different theological aims.

11.4 The Zealots and the Jesus Movement

11.4.1 Jesus and the Imperial Tax

In Mark 12:14–17, Jesus responds to his opponents' trick question as to whether it is permissible to pay the imperial tax with the words, "Give to the emperor the things

568 See Riesner, Tempel, 78f. Riesner indicates that the "local tradition (Epiphanius, De mensuris et ponderibus 14 [PG 43,260]) ... goes back to the time before the Bar Kochba Revolt" (*loc cit.*; see also, Riesner, Quarter, 198–234), a claim that can hardly be verified. Recently, however, Riesner's argument has been positively received by Charlesworth, Followers, 212.

that are the emperor's, and to God the things that are God's." If Jesus had answered with a simple "yes," then he would have opened himself to the accusation of collaborating with the Romans. If he had answered with a clear "no," he would have fallen into the gears of Roman justice as a rebel against Rome. However, Jesus's answer reflects neither cowardice nor mere diplomatic finesse. The Galilean was used to openly standing up for his convictions. Instead, Jesus's answer reflects his conviction that, in the end, it would not be political revolt but proclamation of the burgeoning reign of God that would achieve the desired goal. The injunction to give "to God the things that are God's" evokes Old Testament models of behavior. According to 1 Chronicles 29:11–14, everything belongs to God, especially kingship.[569] Jesus does not endorse the idolatrous claims of the emperor, yet his approach to action differs from that of the Zealots. Like the Zealots, Jesus holds to an imminent eschatological expectation, but he expects the turning point to come *from God rather than from human action*. In this regard, Jesus's misgivings about the imperial cult and the imperial tax are just as pronounced as those of the Zealots. In Jesus's understanding, God's coming *basileia* will restore the proper power structure – God will rule, not the emperor. Jesus, too, is critical of the emperor's rule and "holds to the future expectation that God himself will soon bring an end to this cosmos, and thus also the Roman Empire, an event that would include judgment."[570] However, this reversal is initiated at God's bidding and is not the work of human hands.

11.4.2 Zealots Among Jesus's Followers

To many Jews, Jesus's expectation of the kingdom of God must have sounded similar to the preaching of the Zealots. In fact, Luke 6:15 and Acts 1:13 mention "Simon the Zealot" as a member of the Twelve. Some scholars also propose that the surname of Judas Iscariot is derived from the word *sicarius* (Judas the Sicarius). It is, however, more likely a toponym (*'ish qeriyyot* – "man from Kerioth").[571] Yet the fact remains that there were points of contact between Jesus and the Zealots: imminent eschatological expectation and hope for the coming of the kingdom of God. These expectations are particularly evident among the followers of Jesus. During Jesus's entry into Jerusalem, for example, Mark 11:9f. reports:

> 9 Then those who went ahead and those who followed were shouting, "Hosanna! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord! 10 Blessed is the coming kingdom of our ancestor David! Hosanna in the highest heaven!"

The "coming kingdom of our ancestor David" is understood by those crying "hosanna" as a concrete, earthly kingdom, and Jesus is seen as a political messiah. This is still evident in Acts 1:6f., when the disciples ask Jesus before his ascension:

---

569 See Förster, Jesus, 178–187. The connection between eschatological judgment and "God's possession" is also evident in Hag 2:6–9 and Joel 4:4–8.

570 As Förster, Jesus, 225 [JV], rightly observes.

571 See Klauck, Judas, 40–44.

> 6 … "Lord, is this the time when you will restore the kingdom to Israel?" 7 He replied, "It is not for you to know the times or periods that the Father has set by his own authority."

Luke feels the need to counteract an all-too-earthly misunderstanding of the kingdom as a political reality intended for Israel. This is surely not without reason, as such expectation likely circulated among the first disciples of Jesus and perhaps even persisted among the earliest Christians.

11.4.3 Jesus as Zealot?

Jesus himself firmly opposed the use of violence (Q 6:29: turn the other cheek). Yet the fear that Jesus – following his entry into Jerusalem and subsequent action in the temple (► III.10.2.4 above) – would spark an actual uprising led to his execution as a political agitator. The fact that he was crucified between two λῃσταί (► III.5.3 above; Mark 15:27; Matt 27:38; Mark 14:48) confirms that the Roman authorities viewed him as a rebel. This is also reflected in the inscription on the cross (the "*titulus* of the cross"), which states the reason for his condemnation: Jesus was crucified as "King of the Jews." This was a title fraught with unfavorable connotations. Judas of Galilee, after all, had himself honored as king when he entered Jerusalem (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.434). The historicity of the *titulus* of the cross from Jesus's crucifixion is debated.[572] However, Mark 15:26 and John 19:19 pass on this tradition independently (whether he knew the Synoptics or not, the fourth evangelist uses his own sources and traditions). The detail that Jesus was questioned by Pilate about the title "King of the Jews," and that the soldiers later used it to mock him, also fits well within this context (reported independently in both Mark 15:2 parr.; 15:18 parr.; and John 18:33; 19:3). The choice between Jesus and Barabbas (likewise reported in Mark 15:7 and John 18:40), wherein Barabbas, too, is described as a λῃστής (John 18:40; Mark 15:7: στασιαστής, "rebel"), also points in this direction.[573] Jesus's announcement of the "kingdom of God" probably gave rise to the misunderstanding that he might take the envisioned kingship on himself.[574] The suspicion that the *titulus* is merely an invention of Christian theology[575] hardly seems convincing. Apart from Jesus's trial, the title "King of the Jews" occurs only in Matt 2:2 (and there only in the narrative opposition of the Magi to *King* Herod). The earliest Christians were also aware of the political charge the title carried, as Acts 17:7; John 6:15; 19:12 make unmistakably clear. While it is true that the gospels present a certain royal metaphor for Jesus (Matt 25:34.40; Luke 19:38; John 1:49), Jesus never refers to himself as "King of the Jews." Even his response to Pilate's

572 See the overview of the research in Broer, Kreuzestitulus, 268–273, and Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 442–444. While Broer's judgment here is negative, Eck, Rom, 160f. and 184f., sees good grounds for its historicity.

573 On the historicity of such an amnesty, see Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 443. An amnesty of λῃσταί is known to us from Josephus, *A.J.* 20.215.

574 On this, see Niemand, Kreuz, 454f. (further literature 473); and Frey, Jesus, 299–313.

575 Thus Broer, Kreuzestitulus, 282f. By contrast, Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 53, and Frey, Jesus, 305.

question, "Are you the King of the Jews?" with "You say so" (Mark 15:2), shows a certain distancing in its terseness. "'You say so' is not a straightforward affirmation such as 'I am,' but it is also not a denial. If the answer remains ambiguous, then it still remains to be seen in what sense he is King of the Jews."[576] In the same way, Jesus's answer in John 18:33–37 also represents a clear distancing from expectations of a purely earthly kingship. Thus, the reasons favoring the historicity of the *titulus* "King of the Jews" seem to predominate. The fact that Jesus used similar key terms as the Zealots ("kingdom of God"), and exhibited a similar immanent eschatology, could have led to the misunderstanding that he envisioned a violent revolt and intended to make himself king. His entry into Jerusalem, the crowd's shouts of Hosanna, and his subsequent action in the temple further contributed to this misapprehension, leading to his accusation as a rebel and pretender to the title "King of the Jews." Nevertheless, the fact that Jesus received a regular trial rather than being summarily condemned[577] indicates that the facts of his case were by no means clear-cut. Jesus's distinctly non-violent ethos distanced the Galilean itinerant preacher from other rebels (► IV.2.2 below). Furthermore, the fact that Jesus's disciples did not share his fate on the cross indicates that he and his disciples were not regarded as Zealots in a fundamental sense.[578]

11.4.4 Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Points of Contact

A further point of contact between Jesus and the Zealots is that they belonged to the social underclass (► III.6 above). We should not underestimate the weight that socio-political and socio-economic factors carried among Jesus's disciples. According to Mark 9:34, the disciples were already discussing among themselves which of them was the greatest. Matthew 18:1 indicates that their discussion was not mere wrangling but concerned the distribution of honorary posts in the anticipated "kingdom of God," which they conceived of in real political terms. This interpretation is supported by Mark 10:37, where the sons of Zebedee request of Jesus, "Grant us to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your glory." Here, too, we have to do with very concrete claims to power in a *basileia* imagined along quite earthly lines. The motivations at work among Jesus's followers were not solely of a pristine religious nature. They were also driven by the desire for social advancement and the fantasies of omnipotence characteristic of the have-nots. For his part, Jesus was familiar with the problems and pressing needs of the lower classes. He answers the Zebedees' request in Mark 10:42–44:

> 42 You know that among the Gentiles those whom they recognize as their rulers lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. 43 But it is not so among you; but

576 Gnilka, Markus II, 300 [JV].

577 Contrary to Fiedler, Pilatus, 48: "summarily crucified" (► III.10.2.4 above).

578 As Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 460, convincingly argue.

> whoever wishes to become great among you must be your servant, 44 and whoever wishes to be first among you must be slave of all.

Jesus clearly addresses the situation of the oppressed *plebs misera* here. Nevertheless, he outlines the "contrast society" of God (► IV.1.3.7 below) as an alternative to common ideas about ruling. This enables him to bless the poor, the hungry, and the mourners in the Beatitudes. And it is at this point that the clearest difference between Jesus and the Zealots is discernible, namely Jesus's unconditional non-violence (Q 6:20f., 27f., 35c, 29):

> 20 And raising his eyes to his disciples he said: Blessed are you poor, for God's reign is for you. 21 Blessed are you who hunger, for you will eat your fill. Blessed are you who mourn, for you will be consoled. ... 27 Love your enemies 28 and pray for those persecuting you, 35c so that you may become sons of your Father, for he raises his sun on bad and good and rains on the just and the unjust. 29 The one who slaps you on the cheek, offer him the other as well; and to the person wanting to take you to court and get your shirt, turn over to him the coat as well.

11.5 Apocalyptic and the Jesus Movement

Jesus's theology was shaped by a strong, imminent eschatological expectation of God's coming reign. Nevertheless, Jesus's *eschatological* theology cannot be called *apocalyptic*, since, for him, there is no break in salvation history, nor does he envision a catastrophic end of the present world. The kingdom of God arrives *hic et nunc*, transforming the form of this world, but not destroying the earth. Furthermore, Jesus does not espouse any dualism or apocalyptic secret knowledge. All will be included in the kingdom of God and the message is open to everyone. The New Testament only contains texts with certain apocalyptic features. The Book of Revelation bears some of these but as a whole does not correspond to the genre of "apocalypse." Small portions of the Sayings Source have some apocalyptic coloring, such as the messianic shout of joy in Q 10:21f., or in a very limited sense, Q 17.[579] The same applies to the so-called "little apocalypse" of Mark (Mark 13).

11.6 The Samaritans and the Jesus Movement

As in later rabbinic Judaism, the view that the Samaritans represent a kind of cross between Jews and Gentiles is also discernible in Matthew.[580] Passages from the material unique to Luke play on the supposed inferiority of the Samaritans, ultimately

---

579 See Tuckett, Apocalyptic, 113: "Q itself is certainly not an 'apocalypse' ... There is one reference in Q to such an idea: that is the so-called *Jubelruf* of Q 10:21–22, with the claim that 'these things' have been hidden from the 'wise and understanding' but now revealed to 'infants' ..." See also Kloppenborg, Eschatology, 306.

580 See Pummer, Samaritans, 37: they "belong neither to the Gentiles nor to the Jews." For the position of the Rabbis concerning the Samaritans, ► III.9.1.5 above.

challenging the notion, such as the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37) and the healing of the sick, where only the Samaritan shows gratitude (Luke 17:11–19). Here we discern Luke's tendency to view the mission to the Samaritans as a kind of springboard for the mission to the Gentiles (► III.10.3.2 above).[581] John 4:4–42 (Jesus and the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well) also appears to take an early Christian mission to the Samaritans into account.[582] Such an early Christian mission to the Samaritans has plausibility, as the New Testament gives no indication of a targeted mission by Jesus among the Samaritans. Luke 9:52–56 still reflects an authentic local state of affairs: pilgrims en route to Jerusalem are unwelcome among the Samaritans (► III.9.1.5 above; see also Josephus, *B.J.* 2.232–246/*A.J.* 20.118–136). In Matthew 10:5f., Jesus explicitly instructs his disciples not to go to the Gentiles nor to any town of the Samaritans. Rather, they are to go exclusively "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." While it is Matthean theology that lies behind this statement (the mission does not become universal in scope until Matt 28:16–20),[583] it likely also contains a kernel of truth. While the historical Jesus had no contact anxiety with regard to Samaritans (Luke 9:52–56) and Gentiles (Mark 7:26), his mission was nevertheless first to Israel. Only through an Israel prepared for the end-time would all other nations also come to experience salvation. Jesus's universalism regarding salvation emboldened the "Hellenists" around Stephen to transcend the boundaries of Judaism and extend Jesus's offer of salvation initially to the Samaritans. "That there was such a mission after Easter is very likely in view of the testimony of Acts 8 and John 4."[584] The "Hellenist" Philip[585] is named immediately after Stephen in Acts 6:5 and appears to have preached the latter's theological positions also to the Samaritans (Acts 8:5). Stephen's critique of the temple in particular could have enabled the building of a bridge to the Samaritans. John 4 likewise draws a connection between the critique of the temple and the mission to the Samaritans. The proper worship of God takes place neither on Gerizim nor in Jerusalem but "in Spirit and truth" (► V.6.2 below).

581 See Pummer, Samaritans, 41: "The Gospel of Luke thus sees the Samaritans neither as pagans nor as syncretists ... but as part of the Jewish people ... Luke's interest is not primarily in the Samaritans, but in the removal of religious boundaries – what matters is to do the will of God."

582 Pummer, Samaritans, 43: "John 4 reflects the concern over the Christian mission among Samaritans."

583 See Luz, Matthew 8–20, 73–75.

584 Frey, Samaritaner, 231 [JV].

585 On this, see Kollmann, Philippus, 551–565.

IV Sociopolitical and Socioreligious Interconnections in Early Palestinian Judaism

Theology does not emerge from a vacuum. Theology is always, among other things, a response to political and social challenges. All the theological developments of early Judaism likely stem from the pervasive tension between Hellenization and the defense of Jewish distinctives, between assimilation and separation. This tension was also intertwined with economic factors, which could manifest beyond the cultural and religious framework in either material prosperity or destitution.

1 Social Deracination During Jesus's Time?

1.1 The Thesis of G. Theissen

In the 1970s, G. Theissen developed the thesis that Jesus and his earliest followers were itinerant charismatic prophets, who, by their emblematic lifestyle of poverty, homelessness, lack of familial bonds, and non-violence, offered an eloquent response to the disordered sociopolitical and socioreligious conditions of their time. This symbolic lifestyle gestured toward the impending dawn of the end-time.[1] Theissen's operative assumption is that "social deracination in Palestinian Jewish society of the first century CE"[2] gave rise to phenomena of social disintegration and "anomie."[3] In this context, he notes the following patterns:[4]

---

1 Theissen, Wanderradikalismus (first publication 1973), 79–105; id., Nachfolge (first publication 1977), 106–141; id., Jesusbewegung 33–98. For the background of Theissen's thesis, see Heil, Missionsinstruktion, 52; Theissen, Radicalism, 175–190.

2 Theissen, Nachfolge, 106 [JV]; id., Jesusbewegung, 141.

3 Theissen, Nachfolge, 133f. [JV]: "Anomie occurs 1) where members of a society can no longer live their lives according to the norms of their traditional social environment, 2) when this phenomenon is unusually widespread, and 3) where the affected groups have experienced a change of status, which leads to a disruption of their traditional way of life." Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 214f. (see 138 and 183), uses the term social "deviance" analogously to "anomie."

4 Theissen, Nachfolge, 113 [JV; trans. based on an earlier but not quite identical version of this table in: id., The First Followers of Jesus, 35]; See also id., Jesusbewegung, 142.

	Evasion	Aggression	Support
Signs of disintegration	Emigrants New settlers	Bandits Social bandits	Beggars Vagabonds
Renewal movements	Qumran community	Resistance fighters	Adventists, prophetic movements

He classifies the Jesus movement under the pattern of support and draws comparisons to the numerous "sign prophets"[5] (► IV.2.2 below) within the Judaism of the time. Rather than leading Jesus to aggression toward or withdrawal from society, "latent social deracination"[6] became a source of new creative potential. Rather than an armed revolution, his announcement of the Kingdom of God enabled a "revolution of values."[7]

1.2 Critiques of G. Theissen's Thesis

Theissen's thesis has been the subject of intensive discussion.[8] Criticisms have centered on whether this "latent social deracination" was truly pervasive and whether Jesus and his first disciples genuinely viewed their impoverished, itinerant existence as a prophetic sign for the coming *basileia*.

Was Jesus a political revolutionary? R. Horsley and D. Oakman argue that "urbanization, monetization, commercialization, and tenancy promoted by the Roman elites"[9] led to hunger and impoverishment. They portray Jesus as a political revolutionary who pursued purely political aims[10] and was therefore rightly regarded as a political revolutionary by Pilate. This reductionist perspective fails to account for the core of Jesus's message about the kingdom of God and disregards the symbolic value of Jesus's pointed nonviolence.

Does the construct of the wandering charismatic hold up? According to W. Stegemann, Jesus's poverty and itinerant existence is simply the "destitute existence of a person who suffers from hunger,"[11] which carries no symbolic or prophetic significance in relation to the *basileia*. Nevertheless, it seems questionable whether the voluntary assumption of poverty and homelessness truly represents "an alternative to the ex-

5 Theissen, Jesusbewegung [JV], 144.
6 Theissen, Jesusbewegung [JV], 145.
7 Hence the title of Theissen's work, Die Jesusbewegung. Eine Revolution der Werte [The Jesus Movement. A Revolution of Values].
8 Overviews of the research are found in Stegemann, Horizont, 76–95; Heil, Missionsinstruktion, 25–55 and 48–54; Theissen, Wandercharismatiker, 101–116.
9 Oakman, Aims, 42. See Horsley, Sociology, 67.
10 Hence the title of Oakman's book: "The Political Aims of Jesus." See Horsley, Sociology, 132, who speaks of a "sharp conflict between the Jesus movement and the ruling institutions."
11 See Stegemann, Wanderradikalismus, 111 [JV]. See also Stegemann, Horizont, 86 and 94f.

istential insecurity of the poor."[12] According to Stegemann, Luke was the first to develop Jesus's behavior into a "program of social and ethical critique."[13] J. Draper goes further, calling "the wandering charismatics thesis" a "a modern scholarly construct."[14] He also finds insufficient reason for thinking that Jesus and his disciples deliberately led a life of symbolic poverty and homelessness.

Was there mass impoverishment and rampant social deracination? Recent archaeological studies challenge the idea of a stark divide between Roman rulers (with their Jewish collaborators) on one side and the subjugated Jewish population on the other. Rather, the rift ran right down the middle of Judaism. It can therefore hardly have been the case that the entire population of Palestine at the time was afflicted by mass impoverishment and social deracination. Today we know that, unlike Scythopolis, Caesarea Maritima, and Paneas, the cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias were mainly populated by Jews. The presence of "Jewish 'index fossils,' such as ossuaries, miqwa'ot and stone vessels,"[15] have made this abundantly clear.[16] The city of Magdala can also be placed alongside Sepphoris and Tiberias as Jewish and yet receptive to the advantages of Hellenistic culture.[17] Zangenberg even refers to "Magdala's pivotal role between the Mediterranean and the Decapolis."[18] Hellenization was driven not only by foreigners but also by local elites who encouraged the trend.[19] Under the Herodian dynasty, settlement density west of the Sea of Galilee reached "an unprecedented level."[20] In the first century BCE, numerous new settlements emerged, including Nazareth, Gamla, Tabgha, Capernaum, and Magdala.[21] There can be no talk of mass impoverishment and universal social deracination.[22]

---

12 Stegemann, Wanderradikalismus, 113 [JV]: "In this context, the message of the Q prophets represents an alternative to the existential insecurity of the poor."

13 Stegemann, Wanderradikalismus, 117 [JV], see also 115f.

14 Draper, Charismatics, 45.

15 Zangenberg, Jesus, 27 [JV].

16 See Chancey, Myth, 79f., 93–95; Zangenberg, Jesus, 7–38, 27–29; Freyne, Jesus, 183–207, 190f.; Evans, Jesus, 26: "... Sepphoris in Jesus' day was a thoroughly Jewish city."

17 See Zangenberg, Galiläer, 139. A "whole range of 'Jewish index fossils'" (*loc. cit*. 142) were found in Magdala as well, but also a public bathhouse, sports, and leisure facilities (*loc. cit*. 140f.). Likewise, Aviam, Reverence, 123–144; Chancey, Milieu, 127–145. For the interaction between fish processing facilities and international trade in Magdala, as well as Jewish life there, see the edited volume by Bauckham, Magdala. On the port of Magdala see also, De Luca/Lena, Harbor, 113–163.

18 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 142 [JV].

19 Zangenberg/Van de Zande, Urbanization (in: The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine), 174, speak of the "indigenous elite who embraced the 'new fashions.'" See also Zangenberg, Jesus, 26f.

20 Zangenberg, Jesus, 32 [JV].

21 See Zangenberg, Jesus, 28f.

22 As rightly noted by Ostmeyer, Armenhaus, 147–170. In his judgment (*loc. cit*.), "It makes a difference whether Jesus entered public life as an opponent of the Romans, as a pioneer in the fight against deplorable social conditions, desperation, and poverty, or whether he viewed the rule of the Satan as his true enemy." Ostmeyer rightly points out that the *religious*

1.3 A Cultural Split Within Jewish Society

1.3.1 Galilee – A Land of Contrasts

Despite the benefits that Hellenism and urbanization brought to many Jews in Palestine, it is important to note that "urban Judaism in a pagan Hellenistic context and the more rural Judaism in the villages of the Galilean hill country existed ... in close proximity."[23] The situation in Galilee was "anything but culturally homogeneous."[24] For this reason, the Galilee of Jesus's day is now "viewed less monolithically and is increasingly understood as a 'kaleidoscope' comprising different groups."[25] This situation produced tensions within the population. We should "expect that, in Galilee, different interpretations of what Judaism was and ought to be existed alongside – and sometimes in opposition to – one another."[26] We should expect the "simultaneous existence of a seemingly very traditional rural world next to strongly urbanized centres of Hellenism beginning already in the 2nd century BCE (Magdala) and continuing well into the 1st century CE (Tiberias)."[27] Freyne, Meyers, Zangenberg/Van de Zande, and Berlin assume there was a deep rift within the Jewish population of Galilee.[28] Tensions arose from the strong tendencies toward Hellenization on the one hand and the conservatism of the non-Hellenized, mostly rural population on the other.[29] "What remained was an atmosphere of distrust and alienation between some Jewish circles and their Hellenized elites, and a Jewish population that was divided about the blessings and curses of Hellenism and the increasing urbanization of their country."[30]

1.3.2 Economic Motivations

Tensions ran especially high in Tiberias just before the outbreak of the war. There, three Jewish groups were locked in rivalry (*Vita* 32–42): the peace party, supported by "refined men" (*Vita* 32), the war party, "comprising the most insignificant" people (*Vita* 35), and a group formed around Iustus, who was "longing for revolutionary activities, intending to manufacture power for himself out of the upheaval" (*Vita* 36; ► II.6.1.3 above for the text and explanation of *Vita* 32–38). The influential and

---

aspects of Jesus's message predominated. However, he assigns too little weight to the *social* implications of Jesus's message.

23 Zangenberg, Jesus, 29 [JV]. For the following, see the in-depth discussion of Tiwald, Roots, 149–175.

24 Zangenberg, Jesus, 33 [JV].

25 Zangenberg, Jesus, 32 [JV].

26 Zangenberg, Jesus, 33 [JV].

27 Zangenberg, News, 481.

28 See Freyne, Jesus, 192f.; Meyers, Sepphoris, 114; Zangenberg/Van de Zande, Urbanization, 174; Berlin, Romanization, 67.

29 See Zangenberg, Jesus, 32f.

30 Zangenberg/Van de Zande, Urbanization, 174. Likewise, Wilker, God, 157–187.

wealthy had no interest in a war with the Romans. Only the "most insignificant" people and discontented fortune hunters like Iustus were inclined to go to war. Iustus gives a straightforward explanation of his motives (*Vita* 38f.):

> 38 Now, he was saying: "You yourselves [sc. the inhabitants of Tiberias] just happen to have been given to the younger Agrippa as a gift from Nero! And because it submitted to Rome, Sepphoris immediately became the capital of Galilee, and both the royal bank and the archives, having been dismantled, are with them. 39 ... Now is the time to take up weapons, after welcoming the Galileans as allies – for they are willing to begin, because of the hatred they have toward the Sepphorites for maintaining loyalty to the Romans – and with a large force to execute vengeance because of them.

As long as Tiberias remained the capital city of Galilee, its inhabitants were inclined to collaborate with the Romans for the advantages it brought them. Only when Agrippa II moved his capital city to Caesarea Philippi (modern Banias) in 61 CE[31] did resistance begin to stir. The anger felt toward Agrippa and the Romans was now turned against another Jewish city associated with the Romans:Sepphoris. However, Iustus forgets that the newly founded Tiberias had displaced Sepphoris itself as the capital in 19 CE under Herod Antipas. The internal Jewish rivalry is stronger at this point than the negative feelings towards Rome. Iustus's motivations were economic in nature and, at least in this case, are not rooted in the religious resistance of Jewish minorities to the Roman conquerors. However, economic and religious motivations could intermingle. In *Vita* 65, Josephus invokes religious factors, specifically the images in the Herodian palace in Tiberias that were prohibited by Jewish law. The destruction of the palace is then carried out by Iesous the son of Sapphias, the leader of τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως (that is, the rebellious precariat, *Vita* 66). The latter seize the opportunity to plunder and murder all the Greek bystanders in Tiberius (πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας, *Vita* 67). However, in *Vita* 375–379, the wrath of the Galileans is directed toward their own compatriots (κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, 376) from the city of Sepphoris. Josephus narrowly manages to prevent the looting and destruction. Tiberias is threatened with the same fate in *Vita* 381–389, where there is also mention of the Galileans' hatred toward the city allied with Rome. Here as well, economic motives, the desire for freedom, and religious factors combine into an explosive cocktail (see the discussion of "social bandits" in IV.2.1 below).

1.3.3 Fundamental Fissures in Jewish Society

The archaeologists Berlin/Overman speak of "fundamental fissures ... [in the] Jewish population."[32] Many of the Jews had benefited greatly from Roman rule, while other groups experienced social impoverishment.[33] Small family enterprises could no longer keep up with the possibilities available to the urban economy or large land-

31 See Hirschfeld, Tiberias, NEAEHL IV/1464.

32 Berlin/Overman, Introduction, 9.

33 See Freyne, Revolt, 51: "The causes for these deep divisions in Jewish society were manifold, and certainly cannot be laid at the door of the Romans alone. Some Jews had benefited gre-

owners.[34] The New Testament repeatedly mentions foreign landowners who turn a profit by leasing out their land (Mark 12:1), crooked managers who seek their own gain (Luke 16:1–8), tax collectors who collaborate with the Romans and are therefore shunned by other Jews (Mark 2:16f.; Mt 18:17; 21:31; Lk 5,30; 18:11.13), and impoverished day laborers (Matt 20:1–16; Luke 15:19; Jas 5:4). Because of large landowners, the balance increasingly shifted, with small farmers sinking into poverty and large plantations displacing small family enterprises.[35]

1.3.4 Tiberias, Sepphoris, Magdala – and Jesus?

As we have seen, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Magdala were predominantly Jewish cities (► IV.1.2 above). Sepphoris was just three miles from Jesus's hometown of Nazareth.[36] During the expansion of the city, Jesus likely worked there as a τέκτων (*tektōn*, builder or craftsman, Mark 6:3, like Joseph before him, Matt 13:55).[37] It is thus all the more surprising that Sepphoris is not mentioned even once in the New Testament. The same is true of Tiberias and Magdala. In 19 CE, Herod Antipas established Tiberias as the capital. Should we not assume that Jesus would have preached there? Nevertheless, Tiberias appears only as a toponym for the "Sea of Tiberias" (John 6:1, 23; 21:1) and, even then, only in John – not in the synoptic tradition. Magdala was likewise a flourishing, cosmopolitan Jewish city. However, the name is mentioned in the New Testament only in connection with the origins of Mary "Magdalene" (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή, Mark 15:40passim). Jesus does not appear to have preached in Sepphoris, Tiberias, or Magdala. This indicates "that Jesus's activity was focused in a specific part of Galilee and had clearly defined geographical boundaries."[38] We can even say that "the selectivity of Jesus's geographical radius according to the New Testament – i. e., the area around the lake with its immediate surroundings to the east and north; villages, visits to villages and towns in this region, avoidance of Sepphoris and Tiberias – corresponds to the equally limited scope of his audience."[39] This, in turn, means that "Jesus's sphere activity does *not* conform to the whole cultural spectrum

atly from the increased opportunities of the Hellenistic age, thus creating a wider gap than had existed at any other period previously."

34 See Freyne, Jesus, 196.

35 See Kloppenborg, Growth, 61: "... tenancy became an important instrument of the agricultural economy in Jewish Palestine ... The growth of large estates had important effects on the structure of labour: not only were smallholders forced to cede their plots in favour of large estates, ... but the labour demands of such properties also distorted established agricultural patterns. ... There is evidence of a shift from small-scale polycropping to large-scale monoculture oriented to export ..."

36 See Weiss, Sepphoris I, NEAEHL IV/1324; Chancey, Milieu, 127–145; Ebner, Stadt, 15f.

37 See Kollmann, Einführung, 94.

38 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 152 [JV].

39 Zangenberg, Jesus, 38 [JV].

of Galilee known to us through archaeological findings."[40] The Jesus tradition is focused on rural structures in a way that causes "the urban milieu to fade from view."[41] Even a "city" such as Capernaum was no more than a large village compared to Sephoris, Tiberias, or Magdala. In the Sayings Source, this rural environment is still clearly evident as a backdrop to the early Jesus movement.[42] As later appropriators of the Sayings Source, Matthew and Luke already clearly introduce elements of urban culture,[43] whereas the Sayings Source itself primarily reflects the "world of outdoor or household work" and the parables of Q "exhibit a rural point of view rather than an urban one."[44] This is also evident in Q 10 in the simple mission to households in small village communities. Yet the mission to entire villages also presupposes "small-scale social structures," since the village "acts as a whole when it receives or rejects the disciples."[45] In the case of their rejection, the gesture of shaking off the dust of the place is more conceivable in a small marketplace – where it would be possible to address the entire village – than in the bustling crowd of a big city.[46]

1.3.5 Jesus in Non-Jewish Cities?

The New Testament recounts Jesus's excursions into the region of the Decapolis, east of the Sea of Galilee (Mark 5:20; 7:31), and northward into the region of Tyre and Sidon (Mark 7:24, 31). There were strong Jewish minorities in those areas, which evidently qualified as target audiences for Jesus. Josephus remarks that four hundred followers of the Jewish revolutionary leader John of Gischala (► II.6.1.3 above) came ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κωμῶν ("from the region of Tyre and the villages therein").[47] Interestingly, however, Jesus does not enter the city itself but only its rural outskirts (Mark 7:24: εἰς τὰ ὅρια Τύρου, see also v. 31; the plural ὅρια here refers to the whole administrative district).[48] There was also a strong Jewish minority in

40 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 155 [JV]. Ebner, Stadt, also refers to this narrow geographical radius. According to Ebner, Jesus "deliberately and shrewdly avoided royal administrative cities" (*loc. cit.* 15) because Herod Antipas had violently eliminated Jesus's teacher, John the Baptist, and "Jesus's only reliably attested stay in a big city [sc. Jerusalem] led to his death" (*loc. cit.* 16).

41 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 155 [JV].

42 See Tiwald, Gott, 64.

43 Kloppenborg, Q, 67f, also takes this view: "Matthew and Luke are Gospels oriented to *urban* settings." Luke's urban focus is completely beyond dispute (see Hoffmann, Studien, 278–280). However, Matthew also clearly reveals his urban culture when he mentions large arterial roads (22:9: τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὁδῶν), or the "holy city" Jerusalem (4:5) and the "city of the great King" (5:35).

44 Schröter, Entscheidung, 74 [JV]; likewise, Kloppenborg, Q, 69: "Q presents us with a rural, Galilean Jewish gospel ..."

45 Zeller, Logienquelle, 51 [JV].

46 See Tiwald, Gott, 64.

47 Concerning the ethnic conditions in the Tyrian-Galilean border region, see Theissen, Gospels in Context, 66–68.

48 See Theissen, Gospels in Context, 66.

the region of the Decapolis, and particularly in Gerasa.[49] *B.J.* 2.458–461 reports that during the Jewish War in 66 CE, severe tensions arose between the Jewish minority in the Decapolis and the Syrian population – among other places, in Gerasa. However, this conflict had been simmering since the Hasmonean conquest of Transjordania and the liberation of these territories from Jewish rule by Pompey (63 BCE; *A.J.* 14.74–76). Regarding the Decapolis as well, Jesus appears to have operated more in rural areas than in urban territory. This is at least suggested in Mark 7:31 (here, too, the term ὅρια is used). Furthermore, Mark 5:1–20 clearly takes place in a rural area among pig farmers. While Jesus shows no hesitation in interacting with non-Jews, his primary interest is in the Jews living in the diaspora, whom he seeks to gather and win over for the *basileia*.

1.3.6 Jesus's Selective Geographical Radius and the Restoration of Israel

How can the selective geographical radius of Jesus's activity be explained? Is it not curious that Jesus preferred visiting Jewish minorities in predominately non-Jewish regions such as the Decapolis to the predominately Jewish cities of Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Magdala, which were closer to Galilee? First, Jesus's excursions to the regions outside Israel should be understood as symbolic in nature. As with the symbolic appointment of the Twelve, Jesus lays claim to *all* Israel by going into the diaspora, evoking images of the end-time ingathering of Israel (Isa 60:4). The restoration of the twelve tribes was, after all, expected in the end-times.[50] The universality of a restoration of all Israel is even conveyed by the fact that Jesus deliberately approached tax collectors, sinners, the ritually impure, the marginalized, and women, since these were all part of Israel and therefore belonged to his target audience. In doing so, Jesus espouses "an 'offensive purity' and 'inclusive holiness' that does not shrink from contact with the unholy"[51]: it is no longer impurity that is infectious. Instead, the purity of the dawning *basileia* will now make everything pure, just as a small amount of leaven leavens the whole batch of dough (Q 13:21; ► V.5.2.3–4 below). Yet if Jesus does not even exclude tax collectors, prostitutes, lepers, and other marginalized groups from salvation, why does he not preach in Jewish cities such as Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Magdala?

49 See Theissen, Gospels in Context, 109–112; Tiwald, Kranken, 87.

50 See Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 42; Gnilka, Christen, 182.

51 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 431 [corrected trans.]. See also Theissen, Reinheitslogion, 242. Berger, Pharisäer, 238–248, and Loader, Law, 523, had previously made this point. Most recently, Avemarie, Purity, 276 and 279, has also spoken of the concept of "dynamic purity" in precisely this sense.

1.3.7 Jesus's Option for the Poor

A likely answer to this question is that, given the significant socioeconomic tensions in Galilee at the time, Jesus's primary audience was to be found among the socially disadvantaged rural segments of society. It is not by happenstance that the New Testament primarily spotlights the losers of society: smallholders, day laborers, poor fishermen and manual workers, prostitutes, and those suffering from skin disease. The beneficiaries of urbanization are not the target audience, as Jesus had already indicated with reference to his teacher, John the Baptist (Q 7:25): in his company, one looks in vain for people dressed in fine cloths. Instead, the poor, the hungry, the sorrowful, and the reviled are considered blessed (Q 6:20–22). Only the poor will inherit the kingdom of God (Q 6:20), for "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:25). These statements capture Jesus's deepest conviction: God's preferential option for the poor. In this view, too, Jesus follows in the footsteps of the Old Testament prophets. To reduce Jesus's agenda to a sociopolitical protest would therefore fail to capture its full reality. J. Zangenberg gets to the heart of the matter: "Jesus's focus on rural milieus, the poor and the marginalized in Galilean society, *cannot*, therefore, be seen as a direct response to rampant oppression and distress in Galilee. Rather, it represents a deliberate emphasis rooted in his own distinctive reception of Israel's soteriological tradition, which, marked by a critical stance toward society and the dominant powers, amounts to a theologically motivated 'option for the poor.'"[52] It is in this light that G. Theissen's most recent observation (2011) on the question of poverty, social deracination, and social disintegration in Palestine at the time finds its rightful place: "There is much to suggest that the homeland of the Jesus movement was flourishing economically at that time and was, for this very reason, undergoing a crisis. In such times, traditional values are called into question just as much as in times of decline."[53] While the *basileia tou theou* that Jesus preached was primarily religious in nature, born entirely of faith in the God of the Old Testament and his promises, it was nevertheless not otherworldly, but spoke of a reality meant to transform the concrete course of the world. It was a "contrast society"[54] meant ultimately, through the love of neighbor demanded by Jesus, to ensue in a "revolution of values,"[55] not of weapons.

---

52 Zangenberg, Galiläer, 155 [JV]. Similarly, Hoppe, Galiläa, 190–198. Ebner, Stadt, 17 [JV]: "Neither the Herodian cities within Galilee nor the large cities surrounding Galilee to the west (along the Mediterranean coast) and east (in the Decapolis) fall within the sphere of Jesus's activity."

53 Theissen, Wandercharismatiker, 115 [JV].

54 Lohfink, Jesus, 181 [JV].

55 See Theissen, Jesusbewegung. [JV].

2 Social Bandits and Sign Prophets

G. Theissen's thesis that there was social disintegration and anomie at the time of Jesus can be upheld in principle. In keeping with the table introduced above (► IV.1.1 above), there were evasive, aggressive, and supporting patterns of response to this situation. Two phenomena in particular stand out in Palestine: "social bandits" and "sign prophets." Jesus thought of himself as an eschatological sign prophet and was executed as a social bandit (► III. 10.2.4 above). Both groups are therefore central for an understanding of the Jesus movement.

2.1 Social bandits

2.1.1 The Term "Social Bandit"

Wolfgang and Ekkehard Stegemann use the term "social bandit"[56] to give as accurate a description as possible of the λῃσταί, *lēstai*, "bandits" (► III.5.3 above), of Jesus's time. In the figure of the social bandit, the prosaic pursuit of economic gain intertwines with "higher" motivations such as patriotism or religious devotion. Thus, large segments of the population see the social bandit not merely as a "robber" but often also as a "hero, savior, avenger, and fighter on the side of justice. He is even seen as a leader of the struggle for liberation or, at the very least, as an admirable man worthy of aid and support."[57]

2.1.2 Social Bandits at the Time of Jesus

The λῃσταί mentioned in Josephus and the New Testament (usually inaccurately translated as "robbers") are best described by the term "social bandits." As previously mentioned, the Zealot party found most of its supporters among the lower classes. Dissatisfaction with the dismal social conditions and the frustration of those on the losing side of Hellenistic urbanization policies (*economic parameters*) were mixed with hatred of Roman foreign rule (*political and patriotic motivations*) and often intertwined with a yearning for religious freedom (*religious amplification*). Thus, the Zealot movement in Palestine always had a messianic component, as M. Hengel has rightly shown: "The λῃσταί consisted to a very great extent of members of socially disadvantaged groups fighting, among other things, for a new system of ownership, which they regarded as God's will."[58] Judas of Galilee had himself honored as a king upon his entry into Jerusalem (*B.J.* 2.434). His son Menahem followed his example (*B.J.* 2.434). The

56 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 157–160 [JV]. For the following, see also Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 47–51. The term was coined by E. Hobsbawm in a comparative study published in 1959 on forms of social resistance in the 19th and 20th centuries.

57 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 157 (with a quotation from Hobsbawm) [JV].

58 Hengel, Zealots, 45.

royal title carries messianic overtones informed by the model of Davidic kingship, "and demonstrates the way in which religious, social and military factors were intermingled in the rebellion."[59] The strong sympathies that large segments of the ordinary population held for the rebels, and the intermingling of "social banditry" and religious motivations, are evident in *B.J.* 1.648–655/*A.J.* 17.149–151. When Herod the Great was on his deathbed, Matthias and Judas, who had "a reputation as profound experts in the laws of their country, who consequently enjoyed the highest esteem of the whole nation" (*B.J.* 1.648), incited their pupils to tear down a golden eagle that Herod had installed above the main gate of the Jerusalem Temple. The presence of the Roman eagle there, a kowtow to Roman rule, was felt to be especially humiliating (the *patriotic and political component*). Compounding this was the Jewish prohibition of images in keeping with their "ancestral laws" (*religious motivations*). The sympathies of the population were with the rebels in this undertaking. Herod responded by having Matthias and Judas executed (*A.J.* 17.206). After Herod died, these executions sparked a violent uprising among the people, who directed their anger against Archelaus, who in turn massacred 3,000 rebels (*A.J.* 17.214–218). When Archelaus subsequently traveled to Rome "to obtain the royal title" (cf. the reflection of this event in Luke 19:12), the people sent an embassy after him with the message, "We do not want this man to rule over us" (Luke 19:14; as reported in *A.J.* 17.230). Socioreligious and sociopolitical patterns are tightly interwoven here.

Socioeconomic patterns then come into play, for example in *B.J.* 2.228, which describes a "bandit uprising" (ληστρικὸς θόρυβος):[60] one of the emperor's slaves is robbed on the road of Beth-Horon. The locals are subsequently arrested and brought before the prefect Cumanus for failing to pursue the bandits. The local populace evidently sympathized with the social bandits. In this context, a soldier finds a scroll of the law (likely during a house search), which he tears into pieces and burns. In response, people from across the region surrounding Caesarea gather to demand the offender's execution. Cumanus has to yield to the pressure of the crowd to avoid a further escalation of the situation. The locals shield the raids of the rebels, who are operating in Robin Hood fashion. Apart from *personal enrichment*, a *patriotic yearning for freedom* and *resistance to religious oppression* (recall the burnt Torah scroll) are the determinative factors in these events.

2.2 Sign Prophets

Although Jesus was executed as a λῃστής (► III.11.4.3 above), his self-understanding was not that of a resistance fighter, even if his expectation of the reign of God coincides with the Zealots' aspirations (► III.5.2 above). Among the phenomena of social anomie evident in Palestine at the time, Jesus most resembles the sign prophets.

---

59 Schäfer, History, 124.

60 See Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 48f.

2.2.1 Sign Prophets and Resistance Fighters

Following the deposition of Archelaus in 6 CE, Judea came under direct Roman rule. Emperor Augustus subsequently ordered a census, sparking the uprising led by Judas of Galilee. While the Zealots sought to establish the sole rule of God through political means and armed resistance,[61] sign prophets pursued a different course, expecting God to intervene directly and redeem his people. Often, however, religious enthusiasm and violent rebellion went hand in hand, with a fluid boundary between the two, as Josephus's examples demonstrate.

2.2.2 Sign Prophets in Palestine during the Time of Jesus

Josephus mentions a *Samaritan prophet* who appeared in 36 CE,[62] claiming he would rediscover the temple implements that, according to Samaritan tradition, Moses buried on Mount Gerizim (*A.J.* 18.85–87). Pilate had cavalry and infantry quell the undertaking as an "uprising." The resulting bloodbath ultimately led to Pilate's dismissal. This is a case in which "rebellion" and charismatic "prophethood" clearly overlap. Josephus calls the episode an "uprising" (θόρυβος, *A.J.* 18.88). However, the driving force behind it was a "prophet" who led a crowd to Mount Gerizim. Messianic motifs also come into view here, such as the end-time expectation of a "prophet like Moses" (▸ III.4.6.2 above; Deut 18:15, 18; Acts 3:22).

A certain *Theudas* is mentioned in *A.J.* 20.97, who appeared in the time of Cuspius Fadus (44–46 CE; incorrectly dated in Acts 5:36f. to the time before Judas of Galilee). Theudas claimed to be a prophet and proclaimed that he could part the waters of the Jordan with his word. "Apparently, he intended, in a reversal of the conquest of the land under Joshua (Josh 3), to lead his followers back through the Jordan into the desert, in order to usher in liberation from there."[63] Here, too, religious hopes for redemption and political hopes for liberation intertwine. Accordingly, Theudas is listed alongside the rebel Judas in Acts 5:36. Cuspius Fadus reacted swiftly, sending out his cavalry to kill Theudas and his followers.

During the time of the procurator Felix (52–60 CE), an unnamed *"Egyptian"* appeared (*A.J.* 20.169–172/*B.J.* 2.262f.) who also left traces in Acts (Acts 21:38). He is likewise described as a prophet, having led a large crowd to the Mount of Olives, expecting the walls of Jerusalem to fall at his command – in analogy to the conquest of Jericho. Felix intervened with his cavalry, leaving 4000 dead in his wake, according to Josephus. Though that number is greatly exaggerated, it nevertheless paints an impressive picture of the peoples' willingness to follow such prophets. In this context, Josephus also mentions a number of "impostors and deceivers" (οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ

61 See Hengel, Zealots, 143.

62 For the following, see Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 144–146, and Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 60–62.

63 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 151 [JV].

ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι; *A.J.* 20.167), whom he equates with λῃσταί, which suggests that the boundary between them was fuzzy.

A special case of this phenomenon was *Jesus ben Ananias*, who appeared in 62 CE and repeatedly prophesied the imminent destruction of the Jerusalem Temple (*B.J.* 6.300–309). The Sanhedrin arrested him for causing unrest and handed him over to the procurator, Albinus. The latter interrogated and ultimately released him after the scourging, supposing him to be mad (*B.J.* 6.305: μανία). In the unusual case of Jesus ben Ananias, one of the prophets was not killed, perhaps because he had no following among the people and was therefore considered politically insignificant.

2.2.3 Jesus as a Sign Prophet

These examples clearly indicate that Jesus falls into the category of a "sign prophet," with his claims demonstrating not only "contextual plausibility" but also displaying elements of a "contextually plausible individuality" within that framework.[64]

What is contextually plausible is Jesus's expectation of the reign of God, a hope similar to that of the Zealots. Moreover, the hope of making the nearness of the Kingdom of God tangible through symbolic actions aligns with the role of sign prophets. For the Old Testament Prophets, an אות (*'ot*, "sign") calls a present reality to mind or symbolically anticipates a not yet present but imminent reality.[65] Tangible sings of the dawning *basileia* are Jesus's miraculous healings and his meal practices (► III.10.2.2 above and V.7.3.3 below). Through Jesus's miraculous deeds, the prelapsarian integrity of the human person (*the protological component*) is restored in the now dawning end-time (*the eschatological component*; ► V.5.2.2 below). The heavenly feast is already anticipated in miniature in Jesus's meals, a small foretaste on earth of the festive joy of the *basileia*.

However, Jesus also presents antitheses to other groups ("*contextually plausible individuality*"). In his emblematic *poverty* and "economic disinterestedness"[66] ("*Wirtschaftsenthobenheit*"; see Q 10:4; 12:22–31), he presents a counterpoint to social bandits, Roman collaborators (e.g., Zacchaeus), and urban social climbers. His *nonviolence* (Q 6:27–29; 10:3) is antithetical to the Zealots. Jesus's *homelessness* (Q 9:57f.) symbolizes the end-time *familia Dei*, in which *all* those drawn into the kingdom are children of God and thus brothers and sisters to one another (Mark 3:33–35; 10:29f.).[67] In all of this, Jesus's conduct is *not apolitical*. Rather, his stance is best characterized as

64 Regarding the criteria of plausibility in *historical Jesus* research, I follow Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 116–118, here 117 [JV; trans. modified], and the more detailed study in Theissen/Winter, Kriterienfrage, passim.

65 See Helfmeyer, אות, ThWAT 1/183 and 202; Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 156.

66 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 148 [JV], see also 154.

67 See Tiwald, Gesetz, 299.

pre-political:[68] the *basileia* represents a "counterworld,"[69] a "contrast society"[70] to all earthly strivings for power. It changes the world, but not through violence. It is a *revolution of values, not of weapons* (► IV.1.1 above).

3 Social Tensions in the History of Israel

The cultural divide separating the winners and losers of Hellenistic urbanization policy has a long prehistory, apart from which the two Jewish wars remain incomprehensible.

3.1 Sociopolitical Backgrounds

Following Alexander's death, Palestine became a bone of contention between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Rival aristocratic families in Jerusalem engaged in a lamentable policy of oscillation between the two spheres of power. The tensions begin especially with Joseph, the son of Tobias from the Tobiad clan (end of the third century BCE). "It was doubtless in the Ptolemaic period that the Fateful equation of 'poor' with 'pious' and 'rich' with 'Hellenized' originated, a mixture of social with religious categories which was subsequently to prove dangerous."[71]

The tremendous resonance that the Maccabean revolt found in Israel was due not least to the socioeconomic structures mentioned above. Soon, however, the political course of the Maccabees' degenerated from a struggle for religious freedom into a purely dynastic pursuit of power. This became clear, at the latest, when the non-Zadokite Jonathan (160–142 BCE) unlawfully seized the high priesthood. At that time, a certain Zadokite group with an acutely apocalyptic orientation likely split off from the Jerusalem Temple, subsequently referring to Jonathan and his successors as "Wicked Priests." These events are reflected in 1QpHab XII,6–10 (an interpretation of Hab 2:17), where the Wicked Priest is accused of plundering Judah "of the possessions of the poor." Here, too, the strong intertwining of religious and social tensions is evident.

When a fraternal feud broke out between Aristobulus II (67–63 BCE) and his brother Hyrcanus, not only did the two rival brothers send delegations to Pompey, but so did the common people. In *A.J.* 14.41, we learn that the people had little regard for either brother, accusing both of exploiting the monarchical form of government (introduced with Aristobulus I and expanded under Alexander Jannaeus) to enslave the people. It is clear from this "that the Hasmonean monarchy was experienced as being

68 See Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 183.
69 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 183 [JV].
70 Lohfink, Jesus, 181 [JV].
71 Schäfer, History, 21.

no different from the tyranny of a pagan king."[72] The desire of the ordinary people, however, was to follow "the custom of their country to obey the priests of the God who was venerated by them" (*A.J.* 14.41). In other words, they desired a restoration of the old theocracy, a theological ideal still current in the Judaism of the time. These statements have clear resonances with Jesus's proclamation of the *basileia tou theou*.

Herod the Great's lavish construction projects provided a modest prosperity for many craftsmen. However, the funding of the projects had to be raised through taxes imposed on the population. "An unequal distribution of the tax burden, rural depopulation, ... driven in part by the founding of cities and in part a consequence of the establishment of large estates (not least those in royal hands), further impoverished certain segments of the population, while others flourished in their professions despite high taxes."[73] The rural population in particular became increasingly impoverished. It was for this reason that riots broke out precisely in the rural parts of Galilee when Herod died, driven by "radical social-Messianic groups."[74] "The emergence of John the Baptist and Jesus must certainly be seen in the context of the social and political upheavals at the beginning of the first century CE."[75] According to *A.J.* 18.116–119, John the Baptist's criticism of Herod Antipas won him great sympathy among the common people. Here as well, we might be able to discern socially critical undertones.

Around the turn of the century, social banditry took on a veritable "dynastic" character. After Herod the Great was appointed king in 40 BCE, he had to expend considerable energies to capture a bandit leader named *Ezekias*, who was making trouble in Galilee (*A.J.* 17.271). Ezekias's son was none other than *Judas of Galilee*, the founder of the Zealot party and ringleader of the revolt against the census of Quirinius in 6 CE. Judas of Galilee's sons also remained loyal to the "family profession": *Simon* and *James* were crucified under Tiberius Alexander (46–48 CE) as Zealot leaders (*A.J.* 20.102). Another of Judas's sons, *Menahem*, was a leading protagonist in the Jewish War. With his followers, he plundered the armory of the Masada fortress and made a ceremonial entrance into Jerusalem in 66 CE. There, the populace paid homage to him as to a king (*B.J.* 2.434), yet another demonstration of "the way in which religious, social and military factors were all intermingled in the rebellion."[76] After Menahem was assassinated by a rival rebel leader, the temple captain Eleazar, his followers retreated to Masada under the leadership of his nephew, *Eleazar ben Jairus* (a grandson of Judas of Galilee). From there, they offered the Romans fierce resistance until 74 CE.[77]

---

72 Schäfer, History, 77–78.
73 Maier, Geschichte, 70 [JV].
74 Schäfer, History, 103.
75 Schäfer, History, 106.
76 Schäfer, History, 124.
77 On the family tree of Judas of Galilee, see Schäfer, History, 114.

3.2 Reflections of Social Tensions in Early Jewish Literature

3.2.1 Apocalyptic Literature

As we have seen (► III.8.3 above), apocalyptic is a crisis phenomenon engendered by economic, political, and religious pressures. Jewish apocalypticism was also a "reflection of Judaism's socioeconomic and political history during the Hellenistic-Roman period."[78] Its origins lie in the sociopolitical, socioreligious, and socioeconomic uncertainty that Hellenization generated within Judaism. As shown above, these difficulties began with the power struggles of the Tobiads, not with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who merely acted as a catalyst.[79] The experience of powerlessness and crisis gives rise to apocalyptic "de-historicization," the "futility of hoping for a salvific turning point within history."[80] This makes it clear that the apocalyptic movement should also be understood as a "dissident position."[81] Apocalyptic is fueled by the sociological conditions that G. Theissen has described as "anomie" and the Stegemann brothers as "deviance" (► IV.1.1 above).

3.2.2 The Epistle of Enoch

Aspects of social critique are particularly evident in the "Epistle of Enoch" (1 En. 92.1–5; 93.11–105.2[82]), contained the First Book of Enoch.[83] The Epistle of Enoch was likely written shortly before the Maccabean revolt.[84] The author sees himself in line with the Old Testament prophets, following in their footsteps as he pronounces woes against rival early Jewish groups under the name of the biblical Enoch.[85] In particular, tensions between rich and poor run like a red thread through the Epistle of Enoch.[86]

> 94.7 Woe unto those who build their houses with sin! For they shall all be demolished from their foundations; and they shall fall by the sword. Those who amass gold and silver; they

78 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 134 [JV].
79 See Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 134f. Of course, narrower boundaries apply to the historical delimitation of the genre "apocalypse." Hieke, Ende, 19, estimates the historical demarcation as beginning with the crisis of the Maccabean period (first half of the 2nd century BCE) and concluding with the Bar Kochba revolt (first half of the 2nd century CE).
80 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 135 [JV].
81 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 136 [JV].
82 According to the demarcation of Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 3.
83 For the following, see Tiwald, Valeur, 125–137.
84 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 215.
85 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 197.
86 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 548: "... circumstances of social underprivilege and oppression (as is clear from statements about the righteous throughout the Epistle) ..." Likewise, Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 426f.

> shall quickly be destroyed. 8 Woe unto you, O rich people! For you have put your trust in your wealth. You shall ooze out of your riches, for you do not remember the Most High.
>
> 96.4 Woe unto you, you sinners! For your money makes you appear like the righteous, but your hearts do reprimand you like real sinners, this very matter shall be a witness against you, as a record of your evil deeds. 5 Woe unto you who eat the best bread! … trampling upon the weak people with your might.
>
> 97.8 Woe unto you who gain silver and gold by unjust means; you will then say, "We have grown rich and accumulated goods, we have acquired everything that we have desired. 9 So now let us do whatever we like; for we have gathered silver, we have filled our treasuries (with money) like water. And many are the laborers in our houses." 10 Your lies flow like water. For your wealth shall not endure but it shall take off from you quickly for you have acquired it all unjustly, and you shall be given over to a great curse.

As the Qumran texts attest, the Epistle of Enoch was an exceptionally influential work and remained so well into the period following the turn of the century. The text was subject to numerous revisions and later, as part of 1 Enoch, continued to be interpreted in the first century CE.[87] The issues crystallized in its text are thus not only characteristic of the period preceding the Maccabean Revolt but also reflect social problems spanning from the second century BCE to the first century CE. The group of people behind the Epistle of Enoch confirms what we have already found to be the result of the socioeconomic situation of Palestine during Jesus's time: "There is much to suggest that the homeland of the Jesus movement was flourishing economically at that time and was, for this very reason, undergoing a crisis. In such times, traditional values are called into question just as much as in times of decline."[88] It was not the complete impoverishment of the masses but the social rise of a few and the descent – or fear of descent – of others that led to instability and the erosion of existing values. The Epistle of Enoch is rooted in educated, scribal circles (see 1 En. 92.1).[89] Thus, it is not a matter of the lower class railing against the "wealthy," but rather "disempowered upper-class groups in opposition to the ruling families. … That they may have also garnered sympathy among the people cannot, however, be ruled out."[90] Apocalyptic "hope for upheaval" likely trickled down gradually from the upper class to the middle class, later to be adopted by the lower class.

---

87 4Q212 (= 4Qeng ar) contains parts of the Epistle of Enoch in Aramaic and Maier, Texte II, 164, dates it to the middle of the first century BCE. See also Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 114f. The impact of the Epistle of Enoch is evident in the fact that it inspired the likewise important Book of Jubilees; see Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 215. The Book of Parables, on the other hand, was only added to 1 En. around the turn of the century.

88 Theissen, Wandercharismatiker, 115 [JV].

89 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 219: "The role of Enoch as 'scribe' is widespread in the early Enoch tradition …" – also in 1 En. 92.1. See also Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 65: "The Enochic authors refer to Enoch as 'scribe' (12:3; 92:1) …"

90 Stegemann/Stegemann, Sozialgeschichte, 136 [JV].

V "Torah" and "Temple" as Identity Markers in Early Judaism and Early Christianity

J. Dunn names 1) monotheism, 2) election, 3) Torah, and 4) the temple as the "Four Pillars of Second Temple Judaism."[1] According to Dunn, the "parting of the ways" occurred at all four points because Christians had redefined "each of these four axioms in greater or less degree – at any rate, to a degree unacceptable to mainstream Judaism."[2] This is essentially correct, although Dunn overestimates both the significance of "mainstream Judaism" and the developments within incipient Christianity. There was considerable latitude for interpretation at all four points.

For example, Christianity continued to espouse monotheism, and the interpretation of Jesus as the "Son of God," the personified wisdom of God, and the divine logos was not initially a cause for separation (► V.7.2 below). The title "Son of God," for instance, had already become a kind of "official title" for the Messiah in 4Q174 (Florilegium) III,10f., with reference to 2 Samuel 7. The divine wisdom, on the other hand, had been hypostatized as the mediator of creation and salvation before the end of the first century BCE (Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24; Wis 9; ► V.7.4.1 below). In Philo's writings, the divine logos (occasionally in the plural) functions as a mediator between God and humans (Deus 180, 182; Somn. 1.69; Migr.173f.; ► V.7.4.2 below). Of course, titles such as "Son of God," "wisdom," and "logos" still operate largely at the figurative level in these instances. It ultimately took Christianity until the great councils of the fourth century for a dogmatically fixed reality to emerge from the level of the figurative (two nature doctrine; doctrine of the trinity).

The election of the people of Israel is likewise not a reliable criterion for pinpointing a parting of the ways. Beginning in the second century BCE, the steadily advancing Hellenization of Palestine generated acute cultural, social, and religious tensions within Judaism itself. As a result, the line of demarcation between those chosen by God and those excluded from election no longer strictly followed the boundaries of ethnic membership in the people of Israel. The dividing line was now transposed into the people of Israel itself. The previously expected end-time judgment of *Israel's enemies* (the "day of YHWH") was expanded into a division *within Israel* between the righteous and sinners.[3] Already in Malachi, the day of YHWH is no longer exclusive-

---

1 Dunn, Partings, 24–48. See Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 58, who also views "exclusive monotheism, knowledge of eleciton, the Torah, and the land ... along with the temple" as the *identity markers* of early Judaism.

2 Dunn, Partings, 48.

3 See Hieke, Ende, 37. See the anthology, Tiwald, Q in Context I.

ly directed against Israel's external enemies, but also brings about a division within Israel, where "the difference between the righteous and the wicked, between one who serves God and one who does not serve him" becomes clear, and "all the arrogant and all evildoers" are burned like chaff (Mal 3:18f.). John the Baptist's message (Q 3:8) is entirely in line with this idea: "bear fruit worthy of repentance, and do not presume to tell yourselves: We have as forefather Abraham! For I tell you: God can produce children for Abraham right out of these rocks!" The decisive factor is no longer election but "fruit worthy of repentance." This division is also evident in the Qumran literature, the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 92.1–5; 93.11–105.2), the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93.1–10; 91.11–17), and 4 Ezra.[4] Such patterns are also present in Paul when he writes in Romans 9:6–8 "not all Israelites truly belong to Israel, and not all of Abraham's children are his true descendants; but 'It is through Isaac that descendants shall be named for you.' This means that it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted as descendants."

If "Torah" and "temple" remain the most tangible criteria, it is not because of their precise power of demarcation. Rather, they are paradigms for how diversely such identity markers were used and how intensively the beginnings of Christianity participated in inner-Jewish patterns of interpretation.[5]

1 Terminology "Torah"

The Hebrew word for the Jewish law[6] is תּוֹרָה Torah). The latter is usually rendered in the LXX with νόμος (*nomos*): 193 times of a total of 223 occurrences.[7] The terms *Torah*/*nomos* exhibit a broad semantic spectrum, encompassing a range of meanings in both the Hebrew Bible and the LXX: "The various connotations and formulations of the term tôrāh preclude any attempts to narrow its semantic range. Tôrāh encompasses a highly complex entity. With regard to the origin and semantic development of tôrāh, the root originated in pre-biblical times, flourished in biblical times, and reached its full development in post-exilic Judaism."[8] In early Judaism in particular, the term was by no means limited to the Pentateuch. We should therefore avoid the overly simple (and yet in Christian circles frequent) automatic equation of the Torah with the Pentateuch.[9] "The Pentateuch contains Torah, but is not necessarily regarded as

4 See Tiwald, Israel, passim.

5 See the study by Doering, Torah and Temple in Judean Pseudepigrapha.

6 For the following see discussions in Tiwald, Gesetz, 295–314, and id., Hebräer, 185–189 and 243–246.

7 See Abegg, 4QMMT, 205. As a counterexample: "The closest competitor is νόμιμος, which translates 6 תורה times." Schröder, Gesetze, 21f.; Fernández Marcos, Septuagint, 317.

8 García Lopez, תורה, ThWAT VIII/631 [JV].

9 See the critique of Müller, Tora, 258 [JV]: "Therefore, a scholar of Judaism cannot be certain that he has the same thing in mind as an Old Testament scholar when he reads the word 'Torah.' He need not even consider the deep and cumbersome differentiations arising from the inner frameworks of the two disciplines. Rather, he encounters a quite superficial and

'the Torah' in a general sense."[10] The early Jewish understanding of the Torah was, in principle, not at all confined to a specific body of texts but encompassed a broad spectrum of both biblical and extrabiblical interpretive possibilities.[11] What was regarded as binding Torah – as binding, god-given "law" – was invariably tied to the theological traditions of various groups, of which there were many in early Judaism.[12]

2 The "Torah" in Early Judaism

2.1 Different Torah Theologies in Palestine

2.1.1 Torah as the Personified Wisdom of God

The Torah is regarded as the personified wisdom of God in Proverbs, Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon. According to Proverbs 8:22–31 and Sirach 24, this wisdom is *pre-existent* and already present at the creation of the world. It later comes to reside in the temple on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, taking concrete form as the βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν Μωυσῆς ("the book of the covenant of the Most High God, a law that Moyses commanded us"; Sir 24:8–11, 23).[13] The notion of the personified wisdom of God – preexistent and present at the world's creation – later made it possible to interpret the Torah as expressing the order of creation, the world order laid down by God in the act of creation.

2.1.2 Torah as Order of Creation at Qumran

When the Temple Scroll (11Q19 LVI,1–4) mentions regulations "from the book of the law" (מספר התורה), it is not a reference to the Pentateuch but to the Qumranites' own collection of laws.[14] This is all the more significant since the Temple Scroll claims to be a "Torah revelation" directly dictated by God at Sinai.[15] A similar case can be observed in 4QMMT. This document addresses controversies about disputed legal questions. "It is important to note the style of argumentation. At issue are disputed tech-

---

thoroughly obvious prejudgment when faced with the reduction – certainly not intuitive to him – that Old Testament scholars ... impose on the term 'Torah' by largely confining it to what is ultimately found in the Pentateuch."

10 Maier, Gesetz, 159 [JV].

11 See Najman, Torah, EDEJ 1316. Likewise, Hezser, Torah, 119–140.

12 See Najman, Torah, EDEJ 1317: "In early Judaism ... Torah was repeatedly redefined or sometimes radically transformed in the context of a particular interpretative community and its tradition of reading and interpretation. In Second Temple period, there was thus no Torah apart from its tradition."

13 See Najman, Torah, EDEJ 1317.

14 See Maier, Interpretation, 118: "The Sefer ha-Tôrah mentioned in 11Q19 is certainly not the Pentateuch but a Book of Law proper." Likewise, García Lopez, תורה, ThWAT VIII/635.

15 See Maier, Texte I, 373; id., Tempelrolle, 10f.

nical questions of a legal and ritual nature, some of which are also addressed in the Pentateuch. However, the text never cites the Pentateuch on these legal questions. Instead, using the citation formula 'it is written,' it quotes from non-biblical collections of laws ..., which at the time apparently played a larger role than the Pentateuch ... Contrary to the prevailing habit, therefore, one should not equate the Torah of the Qumran texts with the Pentateuch and its interpretation."[16] Our earlier observation holds here as well: in early Judaism, the Torah is not a standardized compendium of fixed texts or regulations – a cliché still prevalent in Christian circles – but rather the concretion of God's plan in creation as perceived within respective group-specific interpretations. For this reason, Fabry rightly concludes that in the Qumran texts "Torah" comprises a range of meanings "that subtly shifts away from a book of laws with fixed statutes toward something that explodes all previous contours in a movement that transcends the book and moves into the divine – perhaps even cosmic – sphere. At Qumran, the Torah was seen everywhere – better still, in and behind everything. This totality is likely best understood by conceiving of the Torah as the cosmic order of the world established by God..."[17] Similar approaches to interpreting the Torah as the order of creation can be found in diaspora Judaism as well (► V.2.2 below).

2.1.3 The Correspondence of Protology and Eschatology at Qumran

According to the ideas outlined above, the Torah was understood as the order of the cosmos, *preexistent* and established before the creation of the world (at Qumran: CD II,2–10, 1QH IX [earlier 1QH I],7–14 and 4Q180).[18] According to early Jewish apocalyptic, however, humans lost the knowledge of this original order of creation as a result of sin. Even within Israel, different factions vied for the correct interpretation of the Torah (► III.8.3 above). However, competing early Jewish groups expected their own understanding of the Torah to be confirmed by God as the only correct one in the end-time. The end-time would thus unveil the true meaning of God's will – already laid down at creation – and disgrace opponents who did not adhere to the respective group's particular interpretation of the Torah. Early Jewish groups saw their exclusive interpretations of the Torah as special eschatological knowledge. Like a "mystery" (רז, *raz*, see 1QH IX,13), the true meaning of the Torah was manifest only to the initiated until the onset of the eschaton.[19] However, when the end-time dawned, it would be unveiled for all to see.[20] It is clear from this "that in the Qumran texts, but also in other early Jewish works, רז ('mystery') can describe the hidden, preexistent order of the world's being and history."[21] The *eschatological order* is thus nothing other than the end-time restoration of the world's *protological foundational state*, resulting in a *cor-*

16 Maier, Texte II, 361.
17 Fabry, Tora, 322 [JV].
18 See Lange, Weisheit, 219–220 and 297. See also Tiwald, Protologie, 370–372.
19 See Lange, Weisheit, 217f.
20 See Lange, Weisheit, 215 and 297.
21 Lange, Weisheit, 217f. [JV]. On this, see also Doering, Torah, 137–155.

respondence between protology and eschatology. Paul expresses a similar view in Romans 11:25; 1 Corinthians 2:7; and 15:51, where he interprets the term μυστήριον (*mystērion*, 'mystery') as the salvific plan that "God decreed before the ages," now revealed in the eschaton. In the 1QH XII (earlier 1QH IV),27–29, the Teacher of Righteousness says to God, "you have shown me your wondrous mysteries." In other words, his interpretation of the Torah is in harmony with the cosmic order, the order of the world.

2.1.4 The "Teacher of Righteousness" and the "Prophet Like Moses"

If the Teacher of Righteousness indeed possesses knowledge of the cosmic order – that is, of the epitome of the Torah – then he is also authorized to send the binding interpretation of God's will (his "Torah") to the Wicked Priest, as he in fact does in 4Q171 III,15–16 and IV,8–9. The "Torah" is thus not so much a binding compendium of scriptures as it is their correct eschatological recontextualization by the "Interpreter of the Torah," the "Teacher of Righteousness" (both designations very likely referring to the one and the same person; ► III.4.6 above). "Like the môreh haṣṣaedaeq [Teacher of Righteousness], the dôreš hattôrāh [Interpreter of the Torah] is the authorized conveyor of the Torah, who issues binding instructions on the basis of his knowledge of the Torah. Indeed, it is he who authoritatively establishes Torah in the first place. ... This messianically endowed Zadokite (CD VII,18) sought out 'in the hidden background of the whole Torah ... what the moment required,' which he then proclaimed as 'revealed' Torah ..."[22] This indicates that the Teacher of Righteousness assumed the function of a "Prophet like Moses" for the Qumranites (► III.4.6.3 above).[23] Originally, there had been such a Torah prophet, a "Prophet like Moses" in Israel (see Deut 18:15, 18; Acts 3:22), who "had the authority to issue new Torah in individual cases, or to update existing ('revealed') Torah. ... Deuteronomy 29:28 already presupposes the existence of revealed (*niglôt*) and hidden (*nistᵉrôt*) Torah, Torah present at hand and thus applicable and Torah yet to be revealed, both of which are grounded in the notion of the whole Torah as the epitome of God's will. This distinction plays an important role in the Qumran texts. Typically, *nistᵉrôt* is understood to refer to group-specific laws. On closer examination, however, it concerns hidden Torah that has been brought forth from its concealment by the competent authority and added to the revealed Torah ..."[24] Thus, at Qumran, "Torah" was understood as the epitome of the order of creation, freshly adapted in specific cases to speak to particular circumstances (for instance, by adding the "hidden Torah" to the "revealed Torah" through the decree of the "Torah prophet"). The "Interpreter of the Torah's" task "to elaborate concrete Torot from [the 'hidden Torah'] for the respective present, understood as the end of days ... brought about an eschatological dynamic in Qumranite theology comparable only to that of the earliest Christianity."[25]

---

22 Fabry, Tora, 321 [JV], containing a quotation from Maier.
23 See Maier, Torah, 48.
24 Maier, Torah, 47f. [JV].
25 Fabry, Tora, 322 [JV].

2.1.5 Special Eschatological Knowledge as "Torah"

Analogous to the Teacher of Rightousness, who unveils the *protological* "mystery" of the world order in the present *eschatological* timeframe, 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra also contain the notion of an eschatologically germane special knowledge revealed only to certain groups. The *Apocalypse of Weeks* (part of 1 Enoch) states:

> 93.9 And after this, in the seventh week, there will arise a wicked generation, and many will be its deeds, and all its deeds will be wicked. 10 And at its end, there will be chosen the chosen righteous ones from the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom will be given the sevenfold instruction with respect to the whole of his creation.

The idea here is "that, in the Apocalypse of Weeks, the eschatological act of election is accompanied by eschatological instruction – given immediately and without recourse to the written Torah – that unveils the true order of creation ..."[26] This knowledge is "revelatory instruction received by the specially elect community."[27] This special knowledge is granted exclusively to the elect. Only they understand the true meaning of the divine law. "The elect are chosen, first of all, to be the recipients of wisdom and knowledge. In the context of the Epistle, this means a particular understanding of the divine law, other esoteric information about the cosmos, and the eschatological message of the coming judgment."[28] It is thus clear that the incriminated "evildoers" are not mere hedonistic unbelievers but are themselves also theologians. At issue are differing interpretations of the Jewish law: "The deceivers ... wrongly claim to present the right interpretation of the Torah, sometimes in opposition to the 'true' interpretation presented by the author's hero."[29] This of course corresponds to conceptual patterns also observed at Qumran, namely that the "Teacher of Righteousness" alone was entrusted with the revelation of the "mystery" of the world order. This particular announcement is found again at Qumran in 4Q212 (= $4QEn_g$ ar) frg. 1c II,12f. (the Aramaic text of 1 Enoch 93.9–10; 91.11–17), which states that the elect will be given "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" in the eschaton. Similar ideas are present in the Qumran text Musar leMevin (previously called 4QInstruction), where there is mention of "chosen ones of the truth" (4Q418 frg. 69 II,10).[30] Musar leMevin ("Instruction for One Who Understands") is a text found at Qumran, the origins of which are dated to the third or early second century BCE.[31] The text thus predates the Qumran community but was read there in at least six copies, indicating that it was

---

26 Merklein, Gottesherrschaft, 104 [JV]. Likewise, Heil, Nachfolge, 131–333.

27 Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 57.

28 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 448.

29 Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 488; likewise, Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 360: "Thus it is the opponents who have departed from the unalterable law of God. Since they have 'gone astray' and influence others to do the same (98:15), they will undergo harsh forms of punishment and destruction described in each of the woes."

30 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 125.

31 See Kampen, Wisdom, 43. The text was formerly referred to as *4QInstruction*, but the corpus also includes text fragments from the first cave (all together: 1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q423).

regarded as a particularly important document. However, the corresponding Qumran manuscripts were not penned until the early Herodian period (late first century BCE).[32] This suggests that the text retained its undiminished relevance even during the time just before the end of the first century BCE. Analogous to the declaration of the Apocalypse of Weeks that the elect will receive "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" in the eschaton, Musar leMevin speaks of the mystery of being that will be revealed only to those who have understanding. The רז נהיה (*raz nihyeh*), the "mystery of being," had "solidified into a virtually formulaic" stock phrase.[33] The "mystery of being" has a "revelation-mediating function"[34] and denotes "an order of the world and creation that contains ethical and historical components and will eventually be fulfilled in the eschaton. In the term רז נהיה, the ethical and moral elements belonging to the primordial order of the sapiential tradition begin to merge with the notion of a predestinarian historical order that is converging toward the eschaton."[35] Can רז נהיה be identified with the "Torah"? Yes and no. For רז נהיה is "not just the Torah, but encompasses much much more."[36] It stands for "the ordering instrument by which and according to which the creation was organized …"[37] So, in a certain sense, the רז נהיה is indeed identical to the Torah, though not as a textual compendium but as a world order. However, the "mystery of being" is "reserved for elect bearers of revelation, such as Enoch, the Teacher of Righteousness, or the members of *yaḥad* who followed in his footsteps."[38] The Teacher of Righteousness thus functioned as a kind of "mediator of revelation."[39] This aligns with the notion that the "mystery of being" was revealed only to the elect.[40] According to 4Q118 frg. 123 col. 2,4f., the "mystery of being is revealed to the one who understands. The רז נהיה is thus eschatological insight into God's salvific plan, open to only the elect few.[41]

A parallel idea is also found in *4 Ezra* 14.44–46:

> 4 Ezra 14.44 So during the forty days ninety-four books were written. 45 And when the forty days ended, the Most High spoke to me, saying, "Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; 46 but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people. 47 For in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge."

According to this account, in addition to the twenty four "canonical" books of the Hebrew Bible (► V.3.1 below), seventy further books were dictated, which contain the

32 See Goff, Wisdom, 1: "early Herodian (30–1 BCE)."
33 Lange, Weisheit, 58 [JV]. See also Najman, Wisdom, 459–472.
34 Lange, Weisheit, 58 [JV].
35 Lange, Weisheit, 60 [JV].
36 Lange, Weisheit, 59 [JV].
37 Lange, Weisheit, 59 [JV].
38 Lange, Weisheit, 119 [JV].
39 Lange, Weisheit, 107 [JV].
40 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 127. Likewise, Kampen, Wisdom, 36f.
41 See Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 127: "revelatory knowledge called 'the mystery of being.'" See also Lange, Weisheit, 109–120.

correct interpretation of the law for the end-time[42] and are reserved for the "wise" alone (v. 46: "but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people"). Here, an esoteric subgroup within early Judaism claims that the eschatologically binding meaning of the Torah must be extrapolated from its own group-specific traditions, which extend beyond the twenty four recognized books. In the assessment of L. Doering: "... we find Ezra in the role of the new Moses."[43]

Jubilees also offers special eschatological knowledge by applying strict priestly purity halakhah to all of Israel. *2 Baruch*, on the other hand, mentions "traditions of the Law" (84.9), a phrasing that suggests regulations extending beyond the Pentateuch.[44]

The *New Testament* also contains special eschatological knowledge, which should be seen in continuity with its Jewish roots rather than as a break from them. The Sayings Source contains the following statement (10.21f.):[45]

> 21 ... I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, for you hid these things from the sages and the learned, and disclosed them to children. Yes, Father, for that is what it has pleased you to do. 22 Everything has been entrusted to me by my father, and no one knows the Son except the Father, nor [does anyone know] the Father except the Son, and to whomever the Son chooses to reveal him.

The "special knowledge" of Jesus and his followers is underscored here, too, in a way reminiscent of apocalyptic thought patterns.[46] Later, such notions resurface in the expectation of the spirit's immediate presence to "all flesh," as described in Acts 2:17, an evocation of Joel 2:28 (= 3:1 LXX) with reference to the eschaton. However, Luke does not posit esoteric knowledge here but rather the eschatological gift of the Spirit bestowed on all people.

2.2 The Law in Greek-Speaking Early Judaism

Philo, too, interprets the Jewish law as the epitome of the order of creation.[47] This is expressed in Mos. 2.37, where he says: κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἡ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχή ("For

---

42 See Nickelsburg, Wisdom, 81.

43 Doering, Torah, 152. Furthermore, Hogan, Meanings, 551, observes: "... the wise can find *tôrâ* (in the sense of divine instruction) in esoteric books – presumably texts that were eventually excluded from the Jewish canon of Scripture."

44 On this, see Doering, Torah, 137–155. Jubilees "is not a sectarian approach, though one that *views the Torah from the angle of its specific halakic legacy*" (142), and 2 Baruch "suggests that the Torah is transmitted within a *wider set of legal traditions*, which Baruch tacitly presupposes and into which he notably inserts his own epistle" (147, italics original in both quotations).

45 Brooke, Jesus, 42–44.47, already compared the eschatologically revealed special knowledge in *Musar leMevin* with the statements about Jesus in the Sayings Source.

46 On the question of apocalyptic patterns in Q, see Tuckett, Apocalyptic, 107–121, esp. 113.

47 On this and the following, see Najman, Copy, 54–63.

the creation of the cosmos is the beginning of the laws"). As Abr. 5f. explains, the consequence of this notion is that the Torah given to Moses on Sinai merely represents a later formulation of the "unwritten law" (ἄγραφος νομοθεσία), that is, the order of creation. In contrast to the Qumranites' eschatological perspective, Philo does not view this "natural world order" (φύσις) as a "mystery." Rather, it can be discerned with the aid of human reason, since what is at issue are, after all, λογικοὶ νόμοι ("laws endowed with ... reason"; Abr. 5). This in turn corresponds to Romans 1:20: "ever since the creation of the world" (ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου), God's prescripts have been perceivable "through the things he has made" (τοῖς ποιήμασιν). For this reason, Paul holds that even those as yet unfamiliar with divine revelation are without excuse before God, since they could have discerned his laws through reason (Rom 1:20). Along the same line of argument, Philo concludes that the Patriarchs were also already able to observe the laws of the Torah, since they followed God's natural laws even in the absence of the fully formulated Sinai Torah. According to Abr. 5, Philo regards the laws issued at Sinai merely as a "memorial" of the Patriarchs, who lived in accordance with the order of creation (τοὺς τεθέντας νόμους μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ὑπομνήματα εἶναι). Besides Philo and Paul, this idea also appears in 2 Bar 57.2 and Arist 143.

2.3 Final Assessment

For Jews of the time, "Torah" was not so much a self-contained compendium of scriptures as the living will of God, established as the protological "order of the world" in the act of creation.[48] This "blueprint" had been partially forgotten as a result of human sin. However, the eschaton was expected to restore the original order. In the context of early Judaism, it is anachronistic to restrict "Torah" to the five books of Moses. Besides the order of creation, "Torah" could of course always also encompass certain bodies of texts, with the Pentateuch doubtless being the most prominent, though without an exclusive claim on the designation. Paul, for instance, employs the term "Torah/nomos" in a multifaceted manner, referring variously to the "natural law" of the world order (Rom 2:14), the Old Testament in its entirety (Rom 3:19; 1 Cor 14:21), the Pentateuch alone (Rom 3:21; Gal 3:10), sometimes even just the Decalogue as the epitome of the Pentateuch (Rom 7:7; 13:8f.), and frequently to specific individual requirements of the law (Rom 2:13b, 14, 25, 27; 4:15).

48 Doering, Torah, 154, remarks on Jub, 2 Bar, and 4 Ezra: "Torah and temple are by no means obvious and static notions in the Judean Pseudepigrapha under scrutiny here. In all of them, though in different ways, Torah includes *more* than the Pentateuch or the Hebrew Bible, and there is an attempt to correlate the covenantal, particularistic Torah with universal notions of natural law ... there is a link with ... an *Urzeit-Endzeit* correlation."

3 Questions about the Biblical Text

3.1 Clarification of the Terms "Canon" and "Bible"

"First, it should be noted that the term 'canon,' in the sense of a guideline, is a Christian product of the fourth century. Before this time, therefore, there are only indirect indications of a canon in the later sense of the word ... Such indications are references to collections of texts, certain terms (e.g., 'defilement of the hands' in rabbinic literature), references to certain writings in textual citations (e.g., in Philo), or even the mention of criteria (great antiquity, inspiration, holiness; e.g., in Josephus)."[49] It "cannot be emphasized strongly enough that the definition of a 'canon' of biblical writings in both Christianity and Judaism was a much later development and can therefore cause misunderstandings when the term is applied to earlier periods."[50] The term "canon" can only be used in quotation marks – and then only for lack of a better alternative – when referring to the Jewish Bible, particularly in the context of early Jewish times.[51] Something similar can be said about the term "Bible," "since the Qumran discoveries have demonstrated that there was no such thing as 'the Bible' in the late Second Temple period: the Bible, in the form of a fixed list of specific forms of specific books, emerged only at a later date ..."[52] While Josephus uses the term βιβλία (*biblia*) – "the (collection of holy) books/scrolls" – in *A.J.* 12.36 (τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία, "the books of the Jewish legislation") or C. Ap. 38 (δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, "but only twenty-two books"), he does so only in general terms and without specifying scope (► V.3.1.2 below). It would be correct to speak of the "holy scriptures" with reference to the early Jewish period, although this term is also misleading, as there was no generally recognized compendium of "holy scriptures" and their scope varied from group to group. English constructions such as "Bible translation" or "Bible texts" are likewise difficult to render precisely with the term "holy scriptures." Thus, keeping these reservations in mind, I will go on using the terms "Bible" and "biblical." Similar issues arise with the designation *Old Testament*, "since it appears to be associated with a baleful history of devaluing both this collection of scriptures and Judaism as a living religion."[53] However, it should be noted "that such automatism [i. e., in the use of the term 'Old Testament'] is not inevitable and that all previous attempts to propose an alternative title have proven unconvincing."[54] This is especially true of the term "First Testament": "After all, in the case of testaments ..., the later one alone is binding."[55] The term "First Testa-

49 Schröder, Gesetze, 236 [JV]; likewise, Schröter, Kanon, 37–65.
50 Maier, Frage, 137 [JV].
51 See also, Stemberger, Canon, 114 [JV]: "The rabbinic texts do not know any word that was similar to our word 'canon'."
52 On this, see VanderKam, Jubilees, 409; Zahn, Scripture, 323f.
53 Seebass, Testament, 28 [JV].
54 Seebass, Testament, 28 [JV].
55 Seebass, Testament, 28 n. 6 [JV].

ment" therefore ultimately contradicts the notion of an enduring "testament" (or "covenant") that remains binding. C. Dohmen rightly observes:[56]

> The new term *First Testament* undoubtedly catches our attention and sensitizes us to the issue of the distinctiveness of the Christian Bible in its two parts. Nevertheless, it cannot fully capture all that is contained in the traditional designations of Old and New Testaments. The new designation calls for some additional explanation, just as the designation *Old Testament* requires us to clarify that it does not imply obsoleteness.

The term "Hebrew Bible" is likewise unsatisfactory, both because the word "bible" is anachronistic when applied to early Judaism, and because Philo and the authors of the New Testament did not use the *Hebrew* Bible at all, but rather its Greek translation. However, Philo and Paul also did not use the "the Septuagint," as *the* Septuagint did not even exist (► III.7.2.4 above). Ultimately, the term "Old Testament" is not so bad after all, referring to the venerated old covenant that God made with the fathers – a covenant which, according to Christian understanding, is continued and renewed in Jesus. This is all the more appropriate since the promise of a "new testament/covenant" is already introduced in Jeremiah 31:31 (MT: ברית חדשה; LXX: διαθήκη καινή). Thus, the terminological pair "Old/New Testament" or "Old/New Covenant" represents an interpretive pattern already inherent to the Bible, underscoring the steadfast continuity of God's salvific action (see the context of Jer 30:18–31:40).[57] Accordingly, Romans 9:4 speaks of the "covenants" (διαθῆκαι) in the plural, in the sense of an unbroken continuity. Reference to "covenants" in the plural is already common in Sirach 44:12, 18; Wisdom 18:22, and 2 Maccabees 8:15, where it likewise underscores the continuity of God's gracious dealings with his people and its reaffirmation in the present.

3.1.1 "Limits of the Canon"

The notion that the limits of the "canon" of Jewish scripture were established at the oft-evoked "Council of Yavne" between 90 and 100 CE is anachronistic (► I.2.2.3 above).[58] Alternatively, reference is frequently made to a purported closed canon,

---

56 Dohmen, Einheit, 18 [JV].

57 This applies to the "covenant I made with their ancestors" in Jeremiah 31:32 as well. Even though this covenant was broken on the human side, God's promises of salvation to the patriarchs are by no means obsolete. God now *renews* this covenant in a hitherto unknown fullness.

58 See Stemberger, Jabne, 163 [JV]: "Just as the fact of a 'council' cannot be substantiated, neither can the closure of the biblical canon by the Rabbis during the time of Yavne be verified …" Likewise, Stemberger, Canon, 114. The old view is, for example, discernible in the 1995 "fifth expanded edition" of W. Schmidt's *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 6 [JV]: "That final determination of the scope of the entire Old Testament likely took place at the end of the first century CE (perhaps at the so-called Council of Yavne), during the reconsolidation of the Jewish community following the destruction of the Temple (70 CE)."

existing in the early Jewish period, based on Josephus's statement in C. Ap. 1.38f. and that of 4 Ezra 14.44 (► V.2.1.5 above for the text):[59]

C. Ap. 1.38 among us there are not thousands of books in disagreement and conflict with each other, but only twenty-two books ... Five of these are the books of Moses ... 40 From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes ... the prophets after Moses wrote the history of what took place in their own times in thirteen books; the remaining four books contain hymns to God and instructions for people on life (ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν).

In both texts, only the number of biblical books is mentioned. Josephus refers to twenty-two, while 4 Ezra mentions twenty-four.[60] This alone demonstrates that there can be no talk of uniformity. Thus, we do not here find a "fully developed and sharply defined canon of Judaism ... around 100 CE."[61] Furthermore, whether the numbers mentioned are real or symbolic would require further discussion. We also do not learn the names of the books that are counted as authoritative works.[62]

3.1.2 A Three-Part Canon?

In Josephus, however, the threefold division into Torah (*tora*), Prophets (*nevi'im*), and "hymns to God and instructions for people on life," is already in place. This is reminiscent of the phrase used in Luke 24:44: "... in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms." Thus, while it can be said that "Josephus was already noticeably moving toward the concept of the canon,"[63] he is still a long way off from a definitive definition of it. After all, the last group, the *ketuvim*, remained in flux for a long time afterward. Josephus refers to it as "hymns to God and instructions for people on life." Luke refers to it as "Psalms." Following Campbell, we might indeed wonder whether that which is presented here is not rather a two-part "canon":

> In Philo and Josephus, apparent tripartite language was in reality making secondary distinctions of a generic nature. Scripture was essentially bipartite for both writers, but on occasion the Prophets could be subdivided generically – into "history" and poetic-didactic texts for Josephus (*CA* 1.40) or into "oracles" and "Psalms" for Philo (*Vita* 3.25). Indeed Jose-

59 Cf. Wanke, Kanon, TRE 6/5 [JV]: "The concept of the canon [of Judaism] is present and fully developed around 95 CE in Josephus, *C. Ap.* I.8. ... The earliest evidence for the enumeration of 24 books in the Old Testament canon [4 Ezra] comes from approximately the same time, around 100 CE." This view has also become established in more recent publications, for example, Koch, Schrift, 47 (with reference to TRE Wanke's article), and more recently, Rosner, Paul, 20f.

60 These holy books were being rewritten since, according to 4 Ezra, they had been destroyed. However, the twenty-four books of previous tradition are now supplemented by seventy further books containing special eschatological knowledge, resulting in the number ninety-four.

61 As Wanke, Kanon, 5f. [JV] asserts.

62 See Stemberger, Canon, 114.

63 Maier, Frage, 137 [JV].

phus makes a similar distinction between the Torah's legal and historical portions in *CA* 1.39.[64]

With this in mind, Luke 24:44 should also be read differently. According to Acts 2:30; 4:25; and 13:34, David is viewed – entirely in line with early Jewish thinking – as a prophet (belonging to the *nevi'im* rather than the *ketuvim*). Consequently, mention of the Psalms in Luke 24:44 could be interpreted as a "subdivision of the Prophets"[65] rather than as a distinct "canonical group." David was regarded as a prophet in the Qumran texts as well. As a result, the Psalms attributed to him were classed among the prophetic literature.[66] The prologue of Sirach, however, already attests to the three parts of the Jewish "canon." Nevertheless, while "Law" and "Prophets" are consistently referred to by the same terms, the designation for the third part frequently varies. The author speaks of "the others [i. e., writings] that followed them," or "other ancestral books," and finally, "the rest of the books." With regard to the third group, it becomes clear "that this body of writings was by no means clearly defined even in the time of the grandson."[67] In Contempl. 25, Philo mentions "laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and anything else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety." Strictly speaking, Philo actually makes a fourfold division of the "canon" here. The evidence from the Qumran texts is likewise ambiguous. Fabry concludes that the "oldest canon list attested at Qumran, 4QMMT C,10, testifies to a threefold structure of the Qumran Bible. Written a little later, the Community Rule 1QS I,3 speaks only of Moses and the Prophets."[68] However, 4QMMT may not actually intend a threefold division of the canon, since it speaks of what is written in "the book of Moses [and] the books of the prophets and David." Since David was also counted among the prophets in the Qumran texts, it seems likely that the Qumranites also recognized a twofold canon.[69] The question of the scope of the third part of the "canon" was, in any case, still vague in the early Jewish period and remained a topic of discussion for the later rabbis.[70]

64 Campbell, Canon, 188.

65 See Campbell, Canon, 188: "... 'the psalms' probably represents a similar generic sub-division of the Prophets. Indeed, David, as the presumed author of the Psalms, is explicitly called a 'prophet' in Ac. 2:30." Likewise, Schröter, Kanon, 56.

66 See Bowley, Prophets, 355; Ulrich, Pluriformity, 34.

67 Hengel, Septuaginta, 257f. [JV]. Jesus Sirach's grandson translated the book into Greek and wrote a prologue, in which he repeatedly mentions Judaism's holy scriptures. The note that he immigrated to Egypt from Palestine in the 38th year of King Euergetes (= 132 BCE), and there felt compelled to translate the book, is helpful for determining the time of composition.

68 Fabry, Text, 45 [JV].

69 Thus, Campbell, Canon, 189; likewise, Schröter, Kanon, 54–56.

70 See Maier, Frage, 138.

3.1.3 Different "Concepts of a Canon"

"Just as we cannot view first-century Judaism a homogeneous entity, we must also not assume that all Jewish groups of the period recognized the same writings as authoritative or applied the same selection criteria."[71] Before the destruction of the temple, there were different "concepts of a canon" which corresponded to the different groups within Judaism (▸ I.1.3 above).[72] "There is a discernible trend in which temple-centered groups (Sadducees, Samaritans) concentrated on the Torah, while 'extended canons' – in which prophetic opposition could be articulated (e.g., Jeremiah in Dan 9:2) – are evident among groups whose activities lay outside the temple (Pharisees, Essenes, Qumran, the earliest Christians)."[73] In the Judaism of the time, "the canonicity of a text" cannot be determined "through explicit terminology, but [only] on the basis of certain criteria."[74] H.-J. Fabry thus sought to evaluate the Qumran documents by examining how frequently a text was cited or copied. He used this metric to gauge the degree of authority ascribed to the text in question. Fabry's project clearly shows that many texts held to be authoritative at Qumran – such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, the Temple Scroll (11QT), or the unidentified Book of Hagi – did not find their way into the later "canon."[75]

3.2 Textual Variants

It should also be noted that prior to 70 CE, there was no uniform, established text. This fact alone could lead to significant differences in interpretation.[76] Such variability characterized both the Hebrew text and the Greek translation of the Jewish Bible. Whereas it was formerly thought "that there was a relatively stable text of the Septuagint in the period before the New Testament,"[77] it is now generally assumed that the text of the LXX only achieved "relative stability" in "the 2nd or 3rd century CE."[78] The quotations from the LXX "in the New Testament, Philo of Alexandria, Josephus, and the Church Fathers" thus "reflect various kinds of recensions ..."[79] In Qumran also, the Greek textual traditions turn out to follow "multiple tracks, since

71 Schröder, Gesetze, 236 [JV].
72 On this, see Maier, Frage, 146.
73 Fabry, Text, 37 [JV].
74 Fabry, Text, 44 [JV].
75 See Stemberger, Canon, 131.
76 See Stemberger, Canon, 127 [JV]: "If one talks about the canonical books in the Second Temple period, one has to know that the text was yet not stable."
77 Koch, Septuaginta, 229 [JV]. While Koch takes the existence of pre-Christian LXX recensions into account based on current knowledge, he nevertheless misjudges their significance: "Only a limited circulation can be assumed for these early revisions or attempts at recension" (*loc. cit.* 235). See also his statement that these recensions likely "only had a limited impact" (*loc. cit.* 237). This has since been refuted by advancements in text-critical research.
78 Tov, Bibelübersetzungen, 133 [JV].
79 Tov, Bibelübersetzungen, 165 [JV].

many variants have an independent character and cannot be derived from the LXX (4Q119 [4QLXXLev^{a}]; 4Q120 [4Qpap LXXLev^{b}])."[80] It is therefore important for Pauline studies to note that we do not know which Greek reference-text Paul used. Thus, we cannot determine whether deviations from what is now considered the standard LXX text stem from Paul's independent redaction or a different textual source. We must also bear in mind that during Paul's period, the "full text" of biblical books was not always used. At times, only excerpts, florilegia, or testimonia were used.[81] 4QTestimonia (4Q175) combines Deuteronomy 5:28f.; 18:18f., Numbers 24:15–17; Deuteronomy 33:8–11, and Joshua 6:26 to predict the coming of a Torah Prophet "like Moses" (Deut 18:18). 4QFlorilegium (= 4Q174) combines biblical statements concerning the promise given through Nathan in 2 Samuel 7:11–14 and the raising of the fallen booth of David in Amos 9:11. Acts 7:42b–43 and 15:16–18 may have drawn on a "pre-Lucan testimonial collection" concerning eschatological expectations from the "early Jewish interpretive traditions of the Twelve Minor Prophets [Am 5:25–27 and 9:11f.], which the Qumranites and early Christianity upheld, albeit ultimately with very different results."[82]

4 The Temple in Early Judaism

4.1 Protological-cum-Eschatological Reservation

The Jerusalem Temple service and the Torah were both regarded in the light of the protological-cum-eschatological reservation (► V.2.1.3 above). We have seen that the true Torah consisted of the order of creation, the understanding of which had been temporarily lost due to human sin but would be restored in its authenticity in the eschaton. This idea also applied to the temple in Jerusalem. The original, protological immediacy of God to creation had ceased in the postlapsarian state. The cult of the existing temple in Jerusalem was widely regarded as inadequate, or at least as an unsatisfactory copy of the heavenly temple. The true temple would only be revealed in the eschaton.

4.2 The Temple as a Factor in Power Struggles

The temple was, without question, one of the most influential factors in early Judaism.[83] Theologically, the "Second Temple" was regarded as a reconstruction of

80 Fabry, Text, 42 [JV].

81 See Tiwald, Hebräer, 108–114.

82 Stowasser, Qumranüberlieferung [JV], 63.

83 For the following: Ego, Temple, 168–175. For detailed descriptions of the Second Temple, see Ritmeyer, Temple, 19–57; Bahat, Temple, 59–74; Ebner, Stadt, 110–115; Galor, Jerusalem, 61–69.

Solomon's Temple. Through Hezekiah's pre-exilic centralization of the cult – the concern of which (i. e., unity and purity of the cult) was taken up again by Ezra and Nehemiah in the post-exilic period – the temple gained additional significance, also as a political factor. In the Maccabean period, it was Jonathan (160–142 BCE) who, as a non-Zadokite (► II.4.1.5 above), usurped the office of high priesthood. In this way, Jonathan acquired both political and religious supremacy. In consequence, a pro-Zadokite group split off from the temple under the "Teacher of Righteousness," henceforth referring to Jonathan and his successors as "Wicked Priest." Jonathan's "wicked deed" was felt to be so far-reaching that several groups in Israel afterward considered the temple to be desecrated, as recorded in Jubilees 23.9–32, the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En 93.1–9; 91.11–17), and Qumran texts such as 1QpHab XII,6–10.[84]

The temple was also seen as a factor of *economic* power. Rebuilt after the exile, the "Second Temple" was extensively expanded and effectively reconstructed by Herod the Great, beginning in 20 BCE (*A.J.* 15.380–425). The resulting temple area covered 150,000 m^2, making it comparable to the largest similar temple complexes (Ephesus, Baalbek, Palmyra). Josephus states that the construction work under Herod lasted one and a half years (*A.J.* 15.421–423), but refers only to the building of the temple in the strict sense. In John 2:20, it is said that the temple was built over the course of forty-six years. An even longer period of construction is mentioned in *A.J.* 20.215, which dates the end of construction to the transition from Albinus to Gessius Florus (thus, around 64 CE). According to *A.J.* 20.219, approximately 18,000 workers were employed at the temple during the period of its construction. This figure is greatly exaggerated. Jerusalem at the time likely had a population of 30,000 to, at most, 50,000.[85] However, G. Theissen may be right in his estimate that around a quarter of the population of Jerusalem and its environs depended on the temple for their livelihood.[86] This figure includes not only the construction workers but also cult personnel, those who supplied sacrificial animals, the money changers (for the temple tax), the cleaning staff, and many more, along with their wives and children. Indeed, being a veritable "marketplace" (John 2:16), the Jerusalem temple was an enormous economic power factor. It comes as no surprise that the ancient prophets already criticized the temple precisely on the matter of economic injustice. The accusation of having turned the temple into a "den of robbers" already occurs in Jeremiah 7:11 and is taken up in Mark 11:17 (parr Matt 21:13; Luke 19:46). Amos's criticism of the cult (e.g. Amos 5:21–25) is carried forward by Stephen in Acts 7:42f., while that of Isaiah 66:1–4 is taken up in Acts 7:49 (► V.8 below). Such images receive even more weight, since the temple tax

84 See Ego, Temple, 171.

85 Estimations vary greatly on this point: Theissen, Tempelweissagung, 155f., reckons that Jerusalem had 220,000 inhabitants, an estimate which, he is aware, is far higher than others. Since the largest cities of the Empire – Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Carthage in North Africa – are typically estimated to have had populations of 200,000 to 300,000, and major cities such as Ephesus, Pergamum, or Smyrna are estimated at 50,000 to 100,000, an estimate of 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants seems most likely for Jerusalem (see Ebner, Stadt, 85). Rome alone approached the million-person mark in the second century CE.

86 See Theissen, Tempelweissagung, 155f.

had to be paid in Tyrian shekels, a silver coin that can be considered the "dollar of antiquity,"[87] due to its stability of value (hence the tables of the money changers in Mark 11:22; Matt 21:12; John 2:14f.). However, this particular coin bore the depiction of a pagan god: Melqart, the city god of Tyre. For the sake of their own economic security, the temple priests disregarded the prohibition of images where the temple treasury was concerned.

4.3 Theological Approaches to the Temple Cult

4.3.1 Critique of the Temple in Early Judaism

The temple had become the plaything of political and economic interests. As a result, the notion of the earthly temple's cultic insufficiency gained traction in broad segments of early Judaism, though of course without fundamentally questioning the temple cult itself.[88] Testament of Moses 5.5 and 6.1 criticizes the impurity of the temple priests, as do Jubilees 32.21b, Psalms of Solomon 2.3–5, *B.J.* 4.323, 2 Baruch 10.18, and (the much later) Targum Isaiah 28.1.[89] In his rite of baptism, John the Baptist, the son of a temple priest, proclaimed an alternative means of attaining forgiveness of sins, independent of the temple. The Qumranites went a step further than John, since they regarded the current temple in Jerusalem as desecrated. Until the dawn of the eschaton, the Qumran community substituted certain atoning functions of the temple by means of a "temple made up of people men" (מקדש אדם) which offered "works of praise" (מעשי תודה) instead of animal sacrifices.[90] Despite their critique of the temple, the Qumranites did not fundamentally deny its legitimacy, as evidenced by their continued practice of sending votive offerings there.[91]

4.3.2 A Heavenly Temple – The Spiritualization of Sacrificial Imagery

A readily understandable theological solution presented itself to those who wished to criticize the impurity of the Jerusalem Temple while still affirming the compulsory nature of the temple cult: the true temple cannot be made by human hands, for God will not submit to confinement within their poor handiwork. God's presence is therefore no longer mechanically bound to the earthly temple. God is enthroned in heaven

87 Ebner, Stadt, 115 [JV].

88 See Paesler, Tempelwort, 40–89, 150–166; Evans, Opposition, 236–241; Ådna, Tempel, 122–127; Doering, Torah, 137–155; Tiwald, Protologie, 378f.

89 See Evans, Opposition, 237f.; Doering, Torah, 137–155.

90 See Ådna, Tempel, 105; Maier, Bausymbolik, 103–106; Schiffman, Importance, 75–93.

91 See *A.J.* 18.19: "They send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification. For this reason they are barred from those precincts of the temple that are frequented by all the people and perform their rights by themselves." See also the depiction in Philo's Prob. 75.

(see Ps 11:4; 103:19; 1 Kgs 8:30–61), where the true temple also resides.[92] There must therefore also be a fitting heavenly temple cult, of which the Jerusalem temple is merely a frail, earthly copy. The idealized notion of the temple is thus retained, while the earthly temple's role as a man-made copy – and its consequent inadequacy – is excused. The notion of a heavenly sanctuary was widespread in the ancient Near East and is also reflected in Psalm 104:3 and Amos 9:5–6.[93] In early Judaism, this idea is first found in 1 Enoch in the Book of the Watchers (esp. 14.9–25), which dates to the third century BCE. Enoch embarks on a heavenly journey, in the course of which he also enters the heavenly temple. Further evidence for the idea of a heavenly temple cult can be found in 11QMelchisedek II,7–8 and T.Levi 3.[94] The Sabbath songs of the Qumranites also attest to such ideas. On the Sabbath, the Qumran Community participates in the heavenly temple cult through its praise.[95] It is noteworthy that in this context the word "sacrifice" is consistently understood to mean praise, pointing to an early metaphorization of sacrificial concepts. In place of animal sacrifices, מעשי תודה ("works of praise") are offered (4Q174 III,7).[96] The idea of a heavenly temple cult is also well attested in the New Testament, appearing in Revelation (e.g., Rev 7:15; 11:1; 11:19; 14:15; 15:5; 16:1) and Hebrews (Heb 9:12, 24).

4.3.3 The Eschatological Temple

According to a widespread notion in early Judaism, the earthly and the heavenly temple would not converge until the eschaton. In the end-time, God would establish his own temple, no longer marred by cultic inadequacy, here on earth. Exodus 15:17 reads: "You will bring them and plant them in the mountain of Your inheritance, The place, LORD, which You have made as Your dwelling, The sanctuary, Lord, which Your hands have established" (NASB). These words, in particular, fueled early Jewish expectations of a temple built by God rather than by human hands. Such ideas are found in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174); Jubilees 1.29; 1 En 90.28–29; 2 Baruch 32.2–6; and 4 Ezra 10.46–55.[97] Similarly, Revelation envisions the "new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven" in the eschaton to be "the home of God ... among mortals" (Rev 21:2f.). Since it envisions the living presence of God transforming the whole city of Jerusalem into a temple in the eschaton, this conception attests to the idea that the eschatological temple descends from heaven to be newly established on earth.

---

92 For the following, see Ego, Temple, 169, and Doering, Torah, 137–155.

93 See Hartenstein, Wolkendunkel, 125–179.

94 At its core, T. Levi is a genuine early Jewish text that was only later overlaid with Christian elements. This can be substantiated by the Aramaic T. Levi text from Qumran as well as by the text fragments of the Cairo Geniza (see Stökl Ben Ezra, Impact, 83). On Melchizedek, see Stuckenbruck, Melchizedek, 124–138.

95 See Schwemer, Königsherrschaft, 76, 81–84 and 94–103. See the especially well-preserved second and seventh Sabbath songs from Qumran.

96 See Ådna, Tempel, 105. Likewise, Maier, Bausymbolik, 103–106.

97 See Ådna, Tempel, 44–45.104; Paesler, Tempelwort, 156–165; Doering, Torah, 137–155.

4.3.4 A Temple Made Up of Living People

There is talk of three temples in 4Q174 III,7 (► III.4.2.5 above):[98] the desecrated Jerusalem Temple, the temple to be built by God in the eschaton, and the present temple made up of living people (מקדש אדם). Although this temple, consisting of living people, did not replace the Temple in Jerusalem, it did substitute some of its atoning functions, which the desecrated temple was no longer thought capable of fulfilling. Since the Qumranites regarded the Jerusalem Temple as desecrated and the end-time temple yet to come, the Qumran community itself needed to assume some of the temple's atoning functions in the interim.[99] Philo also bears witness to the idea that living humans can constitute a temple. According to Somn. 1.215, the λογικὴ ψυχή, the "rational soul," can also be regarded as God's temple. In the New Testament, the notion of a temple made up of living people is found in 1 Corinthians 3:16–17; 6:19–20; 2 Corinthians 6:16, and 1 Peter 2:5.

4.3.5 Cultic Metaphors: From Spiritualization to Ethical Interpretation

In eschatologically-minded circles of early Judaism, the expectation of an eschatological temple could lead to a *spiritualization* of cultic ideas. In Qumran, for instance, blood sacrifices were transmuted into "works of praise" (► V.4.3.2 above). Yet such patterns were also readily understood outside of eschatological circles in Hellenistic Judaism. In Spec. 1.66f.,[100] for example, Philo explains that God made the whole world (σύμπαντα κόσμον) his temple. According to Philo, the hand-built (χειρόκμητον) temple in Jerusalem is merely a concession to human ways of thinking. In Spec. 1.68, he speaks of θύειν εὐαγῶς (the injunction "to sacrifice purely") along the lines of Stoic thought about an ethically pure underlying disposition.[101] When he writes about Yom Kippur in Spec. 2.194–203, Philo completely spiritualizes the cult: blood offerings, incense, and priests play no part here. Instead, fasting and prayer occupy center stage.[102]

---

98 Thus Flusser, Gesetzeswerke, 398. It has occasionally been suggested that the eschatological temple and the "temple made up of living people" might be one and the same. However, this is less likely, as 11Q19 XXIX,9 (the Temple Scroll) speaks of the new creation of the sanctuary (on which, see Maier, Tempelrolle, 72; Ådna, Tempel, 104f. and Kuhn, Bedeutung, 204).

99 See Maier, Bausymbolik, 103–106.

100 See Ådna, Tempel, 123; Niehoff, Philo, 165f.

101 On this, Niehoff, Philo, 166 writes: "... Cicero describes Stoic theology as an approach that respects the traditional cults while reinterpreting them in a philosophical vein ... : 'But the best and also the purest, holiest, and fully pious form of worshiping the gods is ever to venerate them with purity, sincerity, and innocence of mind and speech.' Philo uses the same vocabulary of spiritual purity when speaking about sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple (θύειν εὐαγῶς)." Referring here to Cic., N.D. 2.60–62, 2.71, 2.153.

102 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Impact, 101: "[Philo] completely spiritualizes the temple ritual." For "blood, sacrifice, incense, the temple and the Aaronic priesthood play no role in this kind of Yom Kippur. Abstinence and prayer are its principal features" (*loc. cit.* 108).

The term νηστεία ("fasting") is, after all, the *terminus technicus* for Yom Kippur in Greek-speaking diaspora Judaism (see also Acts 27:9). In Philo's texts, the groundwork is already laid for the transition from a pure *spiritualization* to an *ethical interpretation*, where the true value of the cult no longer consists in *ritual purity* but in the *purity of ethical conduct*. Thus, the Letter of Aristeas (128, 143–150; III.7.2.3 above) already emphasizes the ethical value of dietary regulations. With a view to the supposed violent nature of unclean animals, God "has indicated that it is the solemn binding duty of those for whom the legislation has been established to practice righteousness and not to lord it over anyone ..., but to govern their lives righteously ..." And Philo stresses in Migr. 89–93 that circumcision signifies "the excision of pleasure and all passions." Later, in Luke 11:39–41, we read, "Now you Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and of the dish, but inside you are full of greed and wickedness. ... So give for alms those things that are within; and see, everything will be clean for you."

5 Jesus and the "Torah"

5.1 The State of the Question

There is still no consensus among biblical scholars on Jesus's stance toward the Torah.[103] Some assume he had a "doubtless broken relationship to essential parts of the law ... due to the demands of the impending rule of God."[104] Others see God's rule in rivalry with a Torah that remains valid in principle, though "the rule of God, by providing its own norms,"[105] redefines the Torah. The range of possible interpretations extends further, from the thesis that, with Jesus, "The Torah is not interpreted, not criticized, not done away with, but transcended,"[106] to the position that "there is no indication that Jesus criticized the Torah. At issue are differences in the interpretation of the Mosaic Law."[107] In keeping with the previous discussion (▸ V.2 above), however, it is important to note that there was no uniform interpretation of the Torah during Jesus's time. Rather, whatever was considered authoritative Torah was inevitably bound up with the theological traditions of the different groups.[108] With this in mind, it is advisable to see Jesus as a participant in an inner-Jewish discussion about how rightly to interpret and live according to God's will, that is, "the Torah."

---

103 For the following, see Tiwald, Gesetz, 298–302, and id., Protologie, 372–380.

104 Taeger, Unterschied, 34 [JV].

105 Becker, Jesus, 354 [JV].

106 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 364.

107 Stegemann, Jesus, 283 [JV].

108 See Najman, Torah, EDEJ 1317: "In early Judaism ... Torah was repeatedly redefined or sometimes radically transformed in the context of a particular interpretative community and its tradition of reading and interpretation. In Second Temple period, there was thus no Torah apart from its tradition."

5.2 Jesus as an Interpreter of the "Torah"

5.2.1 Did Jesus Address the Issue of "Torah"?

It must be conceded that an *explicit* discourse by the historical Jesus on the correct interpretation of the "Torah" cannot be reconstructed. However, in early Judaism, it was not absolutely necessary to refer to "the Torah" *verbatim* when discussing *matters pertaining to* "Torah." When, for example, the Qumran texts speak of the eschatological "mystery" of God (► V.2.1.3 above), they refer precisely to the order of creation – and thus to the "Torah," even if they do not explicitly name it as such. In the whole text of *Musar leMevin*, for example, there is not a single *explicit* reference to the "Torah."[109] Yet this work speaks of the רז נהיה (*raz nihyeh*), the "mystery of being" (► V.2.1.5 above), a circumlocution for "the ordering instrument by which and according to which the creation was organized ..."[110] But this is precisely what the "Torah" is, though not in the form of a fully formulated compendium, but in its function as the order of the world. There are also other early Jewish currents of interpretation (e.g., in Ben Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon, and 1 Enoch) that present ideas for which Moses and the Sinaitic law are not central.[111] However, this does not imply an abrogation of the Sinai Torah, but rather an "appeal to revelation beyond that of Sinai."[112] The latter was not understood as a new teaching, but rather as a kind of restoration of the original message, to "enable Israel to return to the authentic teaching."[113] Recourse is, however, *not* made to Sinai for this purpose. Rather, the Torah is presented as the epitome of the protological order of creation, already having being and only later articulated at Sinai (see Philo's ideas on this matter, ► V.2.2 above). The intertwining of protology and eschatology is rooted in the longing for an eschatological restoration of the prelapsarian order. For this idea, we can turn to the revelation of Enoch or the "Teacher of Righteousness," the Apocalypse of Weeks' "sevenfold instruction with respect to the whole of his creation," or the "mystery of being" in *Musar leMevin*. But we might also look to the Saying Source for the special knowledge held about and by Jesus (► V.2.1.5 above). Even though Jesus does not interpret the Torah as a written compendium of specific legal propositions, he does interpret "Torah" in the sense of the order inherent in creation. Regarding the question of divorce in Mark 10:6, he refers back to the order laid down by God "at the beginning of creation" (ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως). In Matthew 5:45 he calls for mercy, since God, the loving father of creation, "makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the

109 See Kampen, Wisdom, 49: "... there is no reference to 'Torah' in the extensive fragments [i. e., from Musar leMevin] and no rhetorical argumentation for its authority or usage."
110 Lange, Weisheit, 59 [JV].
111 See Nickelsburg, Torah, 232–235; Macaskill, Wisdom, 45–47; Paganini, Judentum, 295–310.
112 Goff, Wisdom, 73. See Macaskill, Wisdom, 89–91.
113 Najman, Sinai, 13.

unrighteous." Behavior in accordance with creation was thus a guiding principle also for Jesus.[114]

5.2.2 Jesus on Protology and Eschatology

Jesus's reference to the underlying order of creation becomes even more pronounced in the correlation of the *primeval age and the end-time*, the *correspondence of protology and eschatology*.[115] As noted above (► V.2.1.3; III.8.3), early Jewish apocalyptic considered the original order of creation as lost on account of human sins. Different groups in Israel disputed over the correct interpretation of the Torah. In the eschaton, however, God would proclaim the authoritative interpretation of the Torah, through *specially appointed redemptive seers or mediators (restoration figures)*, and restore the *protological order*. The *eschatologically* valid interpretation of the Torah is congruent with the *protologically* established order of creation. There were several examples of such *redemptive seers or mediators* (► II.8.4 above) during the Second Temple period. The figure of Enoch was particularly influential, inspiring a rich body of literature that continued to grow and remain relevant, in the form of 1 Enoch, over more than three centuries. The same applies to the figure of Ezra, to whom (according to 4 Ezra 14.44–47) seventy additional books of special eschatological teachings were revealed, beyond the twenty-four holy books already known in early Judaism. The Teacher of Righteousness and the Musar leMevin are also examples of such an eschatological disclosure of knowledge that aligns with the protological order of creation. With his call to repent and be baptized, John the Baptist likewise claims to announce the eschatologically binding will of God, since his proclamation will be legitimized by the "stronger" one who comes after him.[116] This "stronger" one is not God's self (cf. the anthropomorphism of carrying his sandals in Matt 3:11), but rather a judge, mediator, and savior who acts in God's name. There is a certain contextual plausibility to the idea that John perhaps already identified this figure with the "Son of Man," although this cannot be proven (► V.7.3 below). As John's pupil, Jesus himself lived in the imminent expectation of the eschaton. After a time as John the Baptist's disciple, Jesus appears to have had a formative experience, which many scholars pinpoint in the *fall of Satan* (Luke 10:18).[117] From this vision, Jesus seems to have concluded that Satan's fall from power, which John looked for in the immediate future, had already occurred (see also Jesus's victory over Satan in Q 4:1–13 and Mark 1:12f.; similarly Rev 12:7–10). This idea has some contextual plausibility, aligning with early Jewish expectations that Satan's power

114 On the question of whether this saying can be claimed for the historical Jesus, see Tiwald, Commentary, 58f. and 116.

115 The *analogy between primoridial and eschatological ages* is well documented in early Judasim. *Eschatology is interpreted in light of protology.* See Doering, Laws, 217; id., Much, 240; Becker, Jesus, 155–168; Schnelle, Jesus, 109f.; Kollmann, Wundertäter, 251–254; von Lips, Traditionen, 247–254; Niebuhr, Jesus, 330–334.

116 On the following, see Tiwald, Commentary, 179–181.

117 Thus, for example, Ebner, Zeit, 100–108, and Theobald, Satan, 174–190.

would be broken in the end-time and that God's salvific reign would take its place. Jubilees 50.5, 9 and the Assumption of Moses 10.1 illustrate this point:

> *Jub 50.5* And Jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in all the land. And then it will not have any Satan or any evil (one). ... 9 ... And a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days always.
>
> *As.Mos. 10.1* And then his kingdom will appear in his entire creation. And then the devil will come to an end, and sadness will be carried away together with him.

For Jesus, this formative vision results in an acceleration of the eschatological timetable: John the Baptist's *imminent expectation* becomes a *present expectation*. At the same time, Jesus set aside John's expectation of a fiery judgment, as the fall of Satan had already occurred. Purification through a fiery judgment is no longer necessary. Instead, the powerful establishment of God's rule – already a reality in heaven since the fall of Satan – will now follow on earth as well. Jesus sees himself as the messenger, more precisely, the *proactive agent* for the establishment of God's rule on earth. On the basis of his vision of Satan's fall, Jesus understands himself to be commissioned to expel demons, illnesses, and all suffering (see As.Mos. 10.1 above: the removal of all "sadness" in the kingdom of God) "by the finger of God" (Q 11:20), thereby furthering the establishment of God's rule on earth. In keeping with early Jewish apocalyptic, this special knowledge is acquired from a vision. Unlike early Jewish apocalyptic, however, it is not *exclusive and esoteric* but *inclusive and universal* and – as with John the Baptist – imbued with a strong social component.

5.2.3 Jesus and the Restoration of Humanity's Prelapsarian Integrity

Clearly, the arrival of God's rule required a state of complete purity. Where God rules, there can be no impurity. For the Qumran community, the restoration of purity and holiness was accomplished by cultic and ritual means through the *exclusion* of all cultic and ritual impurity.[118] On Jesus's understanding, however, the rule of God had already begun, allowing him to invert this paradigm. Thus, through a concept of "offensive purity,"[119] he champions the *inclusion* of all the impure within the purifying dynamic of God's rule. Impurity is not contagious, but rather, the purity of God's

---

118 On this, see Magness, Glory, 182–188.

119 Theissen, Reinheitslogion, 242. Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 431 [corrected trans.]: "'offensive purity' and 'inclusive holiness,' that does not shrink from contact with the unholy." This idea goes back to Berger, Pharisees, 238–248. See also Loader, Attitude, 523; Avemarie, Purity, 276 and 279 ("dynamic purity"); Schröter, Diskussion, 71 ("integrating purity"). Most recently, Magness, Glory, 190, referring to Jesus's understanding of ritual purity as "inclusive and proactive." "Actually, Jesus' exorcisms and healings as well as his emphasis on moral or ethical behavior should be understood within the context of biblical purity laws" (*loc. cit.* 180). For, "Jesus' exorcisms and healings, as well as his exhortations to behave morally and ethically, reflect his concern with the observance of biblical law, as absolute purity and perfection were prerequisites for the establishment of the kingdom of God" (*loc. cit.* 193).

dawning rule is even now pervading and cleansing all things.[120] According to Q 13:21 a small piece of leaven leavens the whole lump of dough. In the same way, God's rule permeates all things with its sanctifying and healing power. Jesus does not thereby *devalue* the old purity laws. Rather, he *transvaluates* them. As the messenger of the *basileia* he need not fear those who are morally or ritually impure, since he is in the process of restoring the protological purity and paradisical goodness of the world (Genesis 1:10, 12, 18, etc.). He accomplishes this in the power of the nearing kingdom of God by driving out demons, healing sickness, and cleansing impurities of all kinds."[121] This is why Jesus deliberately seeks the company of the sick and sinners, in order to "infect" them with eschatological "purity." In the process, the *whole* person is returned – mentally, morally, bodily, ritually – to the prelapsarian state of being God's child. According to Q 7:22f., Jesus claims this as proof of his legitimacy: "The blind regain their sight and the lame walk around, the skin-diseased are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized. And blessed is whoever is not offended by me" (▸ V.7.1.5 below). The same is true of the missionaries of the Sayings Source: "And whatever town you enter and they take you in, ... cure the sick there, and say to them: The kingdom of God has reached you" (Q 10:8f.) For Jesus, the *signs of the restitution of prelapsarian purity* – healings (Q 7:22f.), driving out demons (Q 11:14–20), forgiveness of sins (Q 11:19; 15:10; 17:3f.) – demonstrate that the "kingdom of Satan" is broken and the "kingdom of God" has come, as Q 11:14–20 makes clear.

5.2.4 Jesus and the Purity Torah

That Jesus seems to have disregarded the prevailing concepts of ritual purity in his time should be interpreted in this vein. To name just a few examples:

- He holds meals with sinners:
  - Q 7:34 Look! A person who is a glutton and a drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners.
  - Mark 2:16 When the scribes of the Pharisees saw that he was eating with sinners and tax collectors, they said to his disciples, "Why does he eat with tax collectors and sinners?" 17 When Jesus heard this, he said to them, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I have come to call not the righteous but sinners."
- He touches people with skin diseases:
  - Matt 8:1 ... and there was a leper who came to him and knelt before him, saying, "Lord, if you choose, you can make me clean." 3 He stretched out his hand and

120 See also Magness, Glory, 181: "I suggest that Jesus' exorcisms and healings were not intended merely as apocalyptic signs, but were performed by Jesus and his disciples as God's agents to effect the entry of the diseased and disabled into the kingdom of God."

121 Tiwald, Gesetz, 300 [JV]; see also id., Commentary, 176–185.

touched him, saying, "I do choose. Be made clean!" Immediately his leprosy was cleansed.

- He allows himself to be anointed by a publicly known sinner:
  - Luke 7:37 And a woman in the city, who was a sinner, having learned that he was eating in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster jar of ointment. 38 She stood behind him at his feet, weeping, and began to bathe his feet with her tears and to dry them with her hair. Then she continued kissing his feet and anointing them with the ointment. 39 Now when the Pharisee who had invited him saw it, he said to himself, "If this man were a prophet, he would have known who and what kind of woman this is who is touching him – that she is a sinner."

Jesus's taboo violations are demonstrative and symbolic in nature. They demonstrate the *restoration of prelapsarian wholeness in the basileia that is now beginning*. As we have already seen, Jesus (like the Old Testament prophets) relies not only on preaching but also on the use of prophetic signs (► IV.2.2.3 above). The *basileia's* prelapsarian integrity is emblematically restored not only through Jesus's preaching in parables but also in the symbolic joy of his meals (for Jesus's typical meal practice, ► III.10.2.2 above and V.7.3.3 below), in his inclusion of sinners, and in his miraculous healings. Luke 11:20 sums this up perfectly: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out the demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you." In his practice of shared meals, Jesus did not set aside the Torah's purity regulations. Rather, in keeping with the concept of "offensive purity," impurity no longer spreads like a disease. Instead, the purity of the dawning *basileia* now makes everything pure.

5.2.5 Jesus and Divorce

The traditional understanding of Mark 10:2–12 is that Jesus overrode the provision for a certificate of divorce in Deuteronomy 24:1–3. This was then taken as a confirmation of Jesus's supposedly conflicted relationship to the "Torah."[122] However, m. Git. 9.10 already revolves around the question of how to interpret *ervat davar* ("a matter of indecency") from Deuteronomy 24:1: Shammai restricts *ervat davar* to adultery, Hillel expands *ervat davar* to include lesser occasions (for example, if the wife serves burnt or over-salted food), and Rabbi Akiva interprets *ervat davar* as encompassing any shortcoming (for example, if the husband finds a more attractive woman). These positions are only partially reliable, as the rabbinic attribution of traditions to certain names was often stylized and rooted in legend.[123] There is, nevertheless, some historical rec-

122 This saying of Jesus is, at its core, authentic; see Holtz, Bemerkungen, 140, and Theobald, Ehescheidung, 109–124. For the following, see Tiwald, Commentary, 117–120; id., Gesetz, 298– 302; id., Protologie, 372–380.

123 Hillel is not mentioned at all before the rabbinic literature, either in Josephus or in the New Testament. In rabbinic texts, the names "Hillel" and "Shammai" often function as placeholders for divergent halakhic traditions that can no longer be precisely traced. See Doering, Marriage, 134f.; Noam, Divorce, 212f.; Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 39; id., Pharisees, 243.

ollection of disagreements from the early Jewish period on how narrowly or broadly to interpret *ervat davar.* For example, Philo and Josephus interpret the possibility of divorce in the broadest terms: Philo Spec. 3:30, "for any cause whatever" (καθ' ἣν ἄν τύχῃ πρόφασιν); Josephus *A.J.* 3.276, "for whatever reason" (ἐφ' αἱσδηποτοῦν αἰτίαις). In Deuteronomy 23:14 *ervat davar* refers to general uncleanness, but in Genesis 9:22 and 1 Samuel 20:30 *ervah* (עֶרְוָה) refers to exposure of the genitals. Thus, Matthew 5:32 reproduces the text of Deuteronomy 24:1 in the narrower sense, using παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας ("except on the ground of unchastity"). Malachi 2:14–16 ("do not let anyone be faithless to the wife of his youth.") already forbids divorcing one's wife merely because one has grown weary of her.[124] Moreover, the LXX text of Proverbs 18:22 contains an addition not found in the Hebrew text: "He who rejects a good wife rejects the good, but he who keeps an adulteress is foolish and impious." V. Noam has shown that at Qumran as well, divorce was permitted *only in the event of adultery*, since in this case the marriage was *ipso facto* broken by the act of infidelity.[125] Marriage to a divorced woman was also forbidden at Qumran, since the broken marriage made the woman unclean. The text of CD IV,20f is noteworthy in this regard: "[They] are caught twice in fornication: by taking two wives in their lives, even though the principle of creation is Gen 1:27 'male and female he created them.'" Even though this passage from CD (also 11Q19 LVII,17–19) addresses polygyny and not (contrary to the frequent assumption) remarriage,[126] the parallel to Mark 10:2–12 holds, where the husband-wife relationship is described as a matter governed by the order of creation. The question, "Is it lawful for a man to divorce his wife?" (Mark 10:2) was a *quaestio disputata* in the Judaism of the time and was likely brought to Jesus as a serious question (and not as a trick question as depicted in Mark 10:2). According to Mark 10:6, Jesus's directive is a clear appeal to that which was established ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ("from the beginning of creation"). His objective, therefore, is the restoration of the protological will of God (► V.5.2.2 above). In the version of Q 16:18, the reference to Genesis is missing, and perhaps the Sayings Source has shortened this saying in favor of a more sententious style.[127] That such abbreviation was possible is evident when CD IV,21 is compared with 11Q19 LVII,17–19, where the reference to Genesis 1:27 is likewise missing. The *porneia exception* of Matthew 5:32 and 19:9 was considered self-evident in Judaism (and thus also by Jesus himself). According to Proverbs 18:22 (LXX); Jubilees 33.7; Testament of Reuben 3.15; 1QGenAp XX,15; t. Soṭah 5.9; and

124 See the explanations in Doering, Marriage, 134 (esp. n. 5). Mal 2:14–16 does not constitute an *absolute* prohibition of divorce, but rather "is directed against divorce on account of mere aversion to the woman" (ibid.).

125 See the argumentation in Noam, Divorce, 219: "... the sect followed the same ancient *halakhah* that was partially preserved in the halakhic rulings of *Bet Shammai*, and which was stated in Jesus' sermon as well: divorce was permitted only in cases of adultery." Furthermore, *loc. cit.*, 222f.: "In all likelihood, the sect denounced marriage to a divorcee, just as Jesus denounced it and just as the ancient Pharisaic midrash denounced it."

126 See Doering, Marriage, 133–163, and Noam, Divorce, 206–223.

127 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 192, 227, 362, 374, 599, think the reference to Genesis is authentic Jesus tradtion.

b. Git. 90b (see also Matt 1:19!), a man *was obligated* to divorce an unfaithful wife in accordance with purity norms.[128] In this case, however, the dissolution of the marital bond did not occur through divorce but rather *ipso facto* by the fact of infidelity. Interestingly, "the specific form of [Q] 16:18's divorce prohibition shows that concrete reception of regulations given in the νόμος is shaped by a tradition in which Jewish ideas about purity play a role – differing in this respect from the Markan reception."[129] It is likely that Q 16:18 and Mark 10:2–12 *both* preserve aspects of the historical Jesus: in Q, his observance of Jewish purity regulations, in Mark, his appeal to the order of creation and his effort to stave off the "hardness of heart" (σκληροκαρδία, Mark 10:5) that stems from androcentric legislation.[130] The latter aligns well with Jesus's preferential option for the poor and disadvantaged (► IV.1.3.7 above) and allows for positions beyond nomistic rigorism in today's discussions about divorce.

5.2.6 Jesus and the familia Dei

Another frequently presumed point of conflict between Jesus and the Torah is his alleged abrogation of the Decalogue's commandment to honor one's parents (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16) in Q 9:59f. (the prohibition to bury a dead father) and Q 14:26 (hating father and mother). Regarding the commandment to honor one's parents, J. Becker observes that "in this case, the kingdom of God's higher-ranking demand [overrides] the validity of the Torah."[131] However, the breaking of earthly family ties, in particular, was something expected to take place in the eschaton:[132]

1 En 99.5 In those days they (the women) shall become pregnant, but they (the sinners) shall come out and abort their infants and cast them our from their midst; they shall (also abandon) their other children, casting their infants out while they are still suckling. They shall neither return to them (their babies) nor have compassion upon their beloved ones.

1 En 100.2 For a man shall not be able to withhold his hands from his sons nor from (his) sons' sons in order to kill them. Nor is it possible for the sinner to withhold his hands from his honored brother. From dawn until the sun sets, they shall slay each other.

128 See Konradt, Matthäus, 90. On the topic as a whole, see Junker, Reinheitslogion, passim.

129 Schröter, Gesetzesverständnis, 457 [JV]. Similarly, Stowasser, Ehescheidung, 89 [JV]: "Could it be that the underlying 'humanistic, enlightened' image of Jesus overlooks the possibility that, as a Jew, Jesus remained more deeply committed to early Jewish categories of ritual purity, and that these shaped his strict position on divorce and remarriage to a far greater extent than is often assumed?"

130 See Theobald, Ehescheidung, 119 [JV]: "Being far more attuned to the injustice that befell the poor, the hungry, and those who wept, Jesus surely also perceived the manifold injustices experienced by women who, for whatever reason, had been 'dismissed' from marriage."

131 Becker, Jesus, 355 [JV].

132 On this, see Bieberstein, Jüngerinnen, 120; Berger, Gesetzesauslegung, 508. On the whole problematic of Q 9:59f., see Heil, Nachfolge, 117–133; Tiwald, Kommentar, 202f.

> Jub 23.19 Some of these will strive with others, youths with old men and old men with youths, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the judge concerning the Law and the Covenant because they have forgotten the commandments and covenant and festivals and months and sabbaths and jubilees and all of the judgments.

According to early Jewish apocalyptic interpretation, the earthly family will collapse under the pressure of cataclysmic end-time events (see Q 12:53; Mark 10:29–30, and Gos. Thom. 15; 16; 55), paving the way for the establishment of the new *familia Dei*. Jesus does not intend the abrogation of parental love, as Mark 7:10–13 makes clear. However, he does uphold the notion that, as a father, God establishes his own new family, constituted not by fleshly bonds but by alignment with his will:

> Mark 3:32 A crowd was sitting around him; and they said to him, "Your mother and your brothers and sisters are outside, asking for you." 33 And he replied, "Who are my mother and my brothers?" 34 And looking at those who sat around him, he said, "Here are my mother and my brothers! 35 Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother."

In the *basileia*, the protologically intact primordial state of the world is restored. In his goodness and willingness to forgive, the loving Father God restores the world to its original state, in which *all* are children of God. Thus, he makes his sun rise on *all* his children, on the "bad and good and rains on the just and unjust" (Q 6:27–28, 35; the original phrasing was not yet antithetical, as it later is in Matt 5:38f., which is formulated in contrast to Exod 21:24, Lev 24:20f., and Deut 19:21). Jesus once again employs creation theological topoi here, by referring to the sun and the rain. In consequence of God's love for his children as father and creator, his sons and daughters are to follow his example by loving and mercifully forgiving each other as siblings, "that you may become sons (and daughters) of your Father" (Q 6:35). The connection between mercy and the fatherhood of God is a central theme for Jesus, also found in such important texts as Mark 11:25; Luke 15:11–32, and the Lord's Prayer (Q 11:2f.).[133]

5.3 Jesus and the Sabbath

It has often been assumed, particularly with regard to Sabbath observance, that Jesus disregarded the Torah's commandments and departed from the customary practices of the Judaism of his time.[134] There was, however, no uniform understanding of the Sabbath in early Judaism. "There can be no talk of *the* Jewish Sabbath halakha and practice ... The form Sabbath observance took among the individual groups of early Judaism essentially corresponds to the respective segment of Jewish society's particu-

133 Mark 11:25: "Whenever you stand praying, forgive, if you have anything against anyone; so that your Father in heaven may also forgive you your trespasses." Luke 15:11–32: The parable of the "Prodigal Son" also concerns the loving father, who forgives both (!) of his lost sons. The Lord's prayer likewise combines addressing God as Father with the theme of forgiveness of sins.

134 See the research overview in Doering, Schabbat, 399f.

lar *frame of reference*, which is determined by economic and social factors."[135] In other words, there were group-specific, divergent Sabbath halakhot. The idea of a uniform Sabbath practice that was recognized as normative for all Jews, which was therefore susceptible to violation by Jesus, is anachronistic for early Judaism.[136] "The Sabbath was also a major source of disputes among Jewish groups. Some advocated lessening or even abolishing Sabbath strictures that made life difficult in the Hellenistic world, but others sought to strengthen Sabbath laws."[137] The basic conclusion of the many publications on the question can be summed up as follows: Jesus's specific form of Sabbath observance fell within the broad range of Jewish Sabbath practices in Palestine during the Second Temple period. However, it did not align with the tendencies of certain priestly or Pharisaic groups, who saw Israel's identity in the covenant with God as guaranteed only by a rigorous implementation of the prohibition of work on the Sabbath. "Where the Sabbath is concerned, there can be no talk of Jesus transgressing the boundaries of what was permissible in the Judaism of the time."[138] Early Jewish pluriformity in handling the Sabbath carried over into early Christianity and was perpetuated within it. "The handling of the Sabbath was by no means uniformly regulated in early Christianity."[139] Paul, for his part, also "knew nothing of a conflict between Jesus and the Torah [where the Sabbath was concerned],"[140] which also suggests that the historical Jesus did not fundamentally question the Sabbath.

5.3.1 Pluriform Sabbath Halakhot in Early Judaism

This section presents some examples of divergent Sabbath halakhot. 1 Maccabees 2:34–38 portrays the heroic courage of pious Jews, who preferred to be killed rather than fight on the Sabbath (see also 2 Macc 6:11; or 8:26–28). We know of similarly strict regulations from Jubilees 50.12f. (around 150 BCE). Nevertheless, 1 Maccabees 2:41 ultimately approves the regulation that allows for combat on the Sabbath, and Josephus also concedes to military self-defense on the Sabbath (*A.J.* 12.277; 14.63; *B.J.* 1.146), though he rejects actively engaging in a war of aggression on the Sabbath (*Vita* 159 and 161).[141] Josephus makes an interesting argument in *B.J.* 1.146, where he invokes the principle of saving life – permitted on the Sabbath – in the event of a defensive war. Later rabbis also allow for the saving of life on the Sabbath, using the technical designation of פקוח נפש (*piqquaḥ nefesh*; see t. Shabbat 9 [10],22; 15[16],16.17; b. Yoma 84b).[142] The scope for interpreting this regulation was disputed in early Ju-

135 Doering, Schabbat, 575 [JV].
136 For the following discussion, see Tiwald, Protologie, 376f.; id., Gesetz, 300f.
137 Falk, Sabbath, EDEJ 1174.
138 Mayer-Haas, Geschenk, 680 [JV]. Likewise, Tuckett, Sabbath, 435; Doering, Schabbat, 476.
139 Mayer-Haas, Geschenk, 668 [JV]. See also, Tuckett, Sabbath, 425: "...the issue of Sabbath was one of considerable flux ... and no clear or universal 'Christian' viewpoint emerges."
140 Mayer-Haas, Geschenk, 114f. [JV].
141 On this, see Doering, Schabbat, 498–502.
142 See Doering, Schabbat, 566.

daism. For example, CD XI,16f. prohibits the use of tools (ropes, ladders, etc.) on the Sabbath to save someone who has fallen into a "place of water or a reservoir."[143] In this, the Damascus Document is much stricter than the later Tannaim: "on the Tannaitic understanding, practically any suitable object and any action can be used to save a life, with the exception of idolatry, sexual immorality, and the shedding of blood ... (t. Shabbat 15 [16],17; b. Yoma 84[b]; y. Sanhedrin 3.6 [21[b]]; y Shevi'it 4.2 [35[b]] etc.; see also t. Shabbat 9 [10],22)."[144] The Damascus Document also addresses the question of what to do with livestock that falls into a pit on the Sabbath, expressly forbidding its extraction (CD XI,13f.).[145] Here as well, the later Tannaim are not quite as strict, since they at least allow for life-preserving measures such as feeding the animal in the pit (t. Shabbat 14 [15],3), even though its extraction remains forbidden. The even later Babylonian Talmud, however, permits placing blankets and cushions under the animal, so that it can free itself from the pit (b. Shabbat 128b). Clearly, there was still a need to amend these regulations even in rabbinic times. We can therefore assume that they were not yet unanimously accepted and practiced in the early Jewish period. Against this background, examples from New Testament texts, such as the sheep falling into a pit (Matt 12:11) or the ox falling into a well (Luke 14:1–6), are newly contextualized within early Jewish discussions of the Sabbath.

5.3.2 The Protological and Eschatological Sabbath According to Jesus

How did Jesus understand the Sabbath? Is there an eschatological elucidation of the protologically established divine will here as well? The Sabbath is indeed protologically grounded in Jubilees (Jub 2.1), where the retelling of the creation account culminates in the Sabbath, integrating the creation of humanity into the context of the Sabbath (Jub 2.14f.) There is a parallel to this in Mark 2:27, albeit with a different theological emphasis. When Jesus states, "the sabbath came about (ἐγένετο) because of humankind, not humankind because of the Sabbath" (trans. MT), he has the creation of the world and its underlying divine order in mind. "In the dawning eschaton, God comes to rule in such a way that protological realities, previously obscured by sin, once again become determinative. In this view, the Sabbath is essentially a gift that serves humanity, not a demand imposed upon it."[146] The aspect of saving life on the Sabbath is likewise addressed further on (Mark 3:4: ψυχὴν σῶσαι; "to save a life"), demonstrating that Jesus "views the healing of the chronically ill through the lens of life-saving measures."[147] Yet Jesus's argument goes even deeper. In his view, suffering and illness are "incompatible with the nature of the Sabbath ..., which was defined with reference to God's creative power and, presumably, by anticipation of

143 On CD XI,16f., see Doering, Schabbat, 201–204. Likewise, Rowland, Summary, 46.
144 Doering, Schabbat, 204 [JV].
145 In the following, see Doering, Schabbat, 568f. Likewise, Rowland, Summary, 46.
146 Doering, Schabbat, 424 [JV].
147 Doering, Schabbat, 454 [JV].

the end-time."[148] "... a reference to God's creative act and thus ... to the institution of primordial Sabbath [symbolises] a restauration of paradisical conditions proclaimed by Jesus as part of his eschatological mission of the kingdom of God ..."[149] If the Sabbath indeed represents the pinnacle and epitome of the entire creation (as in Jub 2), then *eschatological* salvation (understood as the restoration of the *protological* order of creation) must also be specially realized on the Sabbath. "In this respect, the thesis that Jesus ... had to heal on the Sabbath has a claim to validity."[150] The idea that the Sabbath already anticipates the end-time is also found in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice from Qumran, in which eschatological redemption is anticipated in the present celebration of the Sabbath liturgy.[151] For Jesus, in contrast to Qumran, this prolepsis is a "divine gift to sinners and outcasts," which "explodes the traditional understanding of the cultic framework."[152] This shows, however, that even in his – at times provocative – Sabbath practice, Jesus remains within the contemporary early Jewish discourse.

5.4 Final Assessment: Jesus and the "Torah"

Even though the "Torah," as an *explicitly* defined canon of norms, plays no role in Jesus's preaching, he nevertheless interprets the "Torah" *implicitly* as the basic protological constitution of the creation, now being revealed in the eschaton through his activity as messenger of the *basileia*. This view of the Torah was quite common in Judaism at that time. The authority that Jesus ascribes to himself here, as the definitive interpreter of God's salvific will, likewise remains within the bounds of what was conceivable in the Judaism of the time. The authors of 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Qumran texts, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra likewise felt authorized to unveil the eschatological "mystery" of God, and thus to propagate eschatologically binding interpretations of the divine will – that is, the Torah.

6 Jesus and the Temple

6.1 Jesus's Positive Attitude Toward the Temple

The large number of Jesus's positive references to the temple (e.g., Mark 1:40–44; 11:11), his teaching in the temple (Mark 12:35, 41–44; 14:49; John 5:14; 7:28; 8:2, 20;

148 Doering, Schabbat, 456 [JV] (some of the original is in italics).

149 Doering, Laws, 217. Similarly, Doering, Much, 241; Doering, Schabbat, 477.

150 Mayer-Haas, Geschenk, 678 [JV]. See Tuckett, Sabbath, 438–442; Tiwald, Trajectories, 403; Doering, Schabbat, 456. However, we should not go so far as to claim that Jesus used the Sabbath for his healings *in a calculated manner* (see Doering, Schabbat, 456).

151 See Schwemer, König, 116f.

152 Schwemer, König, 117 [JV].

18:20), and his participation in festivals held at the temple (Joh 7:14; 10:23),[153] clearly show that he did not fundamentally question the validity of the Jerusalem Temple.[154] This finding is supported by the way Acts highlights the participation of the original Jerusalem congregation in the temple cult (Acts 2:46; 3:1, 3, 8; 5:20f., 25, 42; 21:26f.; 22:17; 24:12, 18; 25:8; 26:21). Naturally, Luke's interest in portraying Jesus (Luke 2:46, 49; 4.), his family (Luke 2:22, 27, 41f.), and his disciples (see the passages listed above) as having a particularly devout temple piety, is evident here. Such a portrayal would, however, be impossible if Jesus had fundamentally opposed the temple.

6.2 Protology and Eschatology in Jesus's Understanding of the Temple

Mark 14:58 bears similarities to the ideas presented in Spec. 1.66f. (► V.4.3.2 above):[155]

> I will destroy this temple that is made with hands (τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον), and in three days I hewill build another, not made with hands (ἀχειροποίητον).

Might Jesus, too, have expected the earthly temple to be replaced by an eschatological one? This would, in any case, be wholly in line with early Jewish eschatological expectations (► V.4.3.3 above). For Jesus, as we have already seen, the *basileia* restores the prelapsarian integrity of humankind. The same could apply to the temple cult: in the paradisical immediacy of God's presence, humans had no need of a temple. It is possible that Jesus expected the eschatological restoration of this direct divine presence. The Qumranite Sabbath Songs already make a strong connection between the rule of God and the temple cult.[156] For them, participation in the Sabbath liturgy meant sharing in the heavenly temple cult. In the end-time, this heavenly temple would replace the defiled earthly temple (► V.4.3.3 above).[157] By way of the Sabbath liturgy, the Qumranites' present participation in the heavenly temple cult becomes an anticipation of God's reign, which is already a reality in heaven.[158] God's king-

153 See Ådna, Tempel, 130f. and 434–440; likewise, Charlesworth, Jesus, 145–181. On Acts' depiction of the Sabbath practice of the earliest disciples of Jesus, see Charlesworth, Followers, 183–212.

154 In the following, see Tiwald, Protologie, 377–379; id., Gesetz, 301f.

155 Here, of course, the word is put in the mouths of "false witnesses." The early Christians clearly struggled with Jesus's critique of the temple. Nevertheless, the saying has a claim to credibility on the lips of Jesus (even if not in the Markan diction), as it has a parallel attestation in John 2:19 (see also Q 13:34f.; Mark 13:2) and fits well with Jesus's action in the temple.

156 On this, see Schwemer, Königsherrschaft, 116–118.

157 Thus Brooke, Eden, 298; García Martínez, Functions, 316f.; Flusser, Gesetzeswerke, 398; Ådna, Tempel, 104f.; Kuhn, Bedeutung, 204. On the heavenly temple, see Maier, Planungsziele, 421–425; Fletcher-Louis, Mysticism, 442–445. The defiled earthly temple is also replaced by a new temple in the eschaton in Jub 1.10, 26, 29; 4.26. See van Ruiten, Visions, 215–227. Also Doering, Torah, 137–155.

158 See Schwemer, Königsherrschaft, 76, 81–84 and 94–103. See the particularly well-preserved second and seventh Sabbath Songs from Qumran.

ship however, is not manifested in the vision of God sitting as king on a "high and lofty throne. Rather, it is indirectly visible in the celebration of the heavenly worship service ..."[159] Similar ideas are found in Jesus's teaching, though with a different theological emphasis. For him as well, the rule of God is already a reality in heaven ("Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven"; Matt 6:10). With Jesus, however, the *basileia* is not anticipated in the Sabbath service, but in his miraculous healings and forgiving of sins. In the dawning *basileia*, the restoration of prelapsarian integrity and holiness could result in the entire community of salvation standing in the immediate presence of God, with the community itself constituting a temple. Perhaps Revelation even preserves original traces of Jesus's thinking about the temple: similar to Qumran, where the eschatological temple is expected to replace the earthly one, the heavenly Jerusalem is expected to replace the earthly one in the Book of Revelation (Rev 3:12; 21:2, 10). However, there is no temple in this new city (which stands *pars pro toto* for the sphere of divine salvation), since, according to Revelation 21:22, the immediate presence of God will replace the Jerusalem Temple, turning the entire city (*totum pro parte*) into a temple.[160] Incidentally, the restoration of God's protological immediacy to the creation was already prophesied for the end-time in Joel 2:28–32 (= 3:1–5 LXX), which is taken up in Acts 2:17–21. The Spirit's immediacy, as described in the latter passage, could imply that for Jesus (as stated in John 4:20–24) any place where God's Spirit is present may serve as a temple. The notion that, through worship, a group of people takes on the atoning functions of the Temple, becoming a sanctuary composed of humans, is already attested in Qumran (▸ V.4.3.4 above). A similar idea is found in Philo as well, namely that the λογικὴ ψυχή, the "rational soul," can be understood as a temple of God (Somn. 1.215). Similar ideas were subsequently developed further during the beginnings of Christianity. For Paul, too, believers are equated with the temple (1 Cor 3:16–17; 6:19–20; 2 Cor 6:16), a notion still present in the post-Pauline 1 Peter 2:5.[161]

6.3 Jesus's Action and Word Concerning the Temple

Against this background, Jesus's action in the temple (▸ III.10.2.4 above) gains new significance: rather than abrogating the temple, Jesus assigns it a prominent role in the eschatological "timetable" of the *basileia*. He deliberately goes right to the heart of Israel: the journey to Jerusalem, the emblematic entry into the city, and the purposeful visit to the temple. In doing so, Jesus initiates, by way of a prophetic escalation, the *final phase for the dawning of the basileia*. He now proclaims – standing, as it were, in the innermost chamber of Israel's heart – the imminent coming of the *basileia* and the eschatological temple. At this point, he must have been aware that there was no

159 Schwemer, Königsherrschaft, 101 [JV].

160 See Huber, Tempel, 204, 210f., 229–231.

161 In 1 Peter 2:5, the spiritualization of temple metaphors is not the result of supersessionist ideas but remains within the context of early Jewish ways of thinking; see Bottner, Essence, 409–425.

turning back. He consciously placed his own life in the balance to effect the breakthrough of the *basileia* – and with it, the new temple (► III.10.2.4 above; V.7.3.3 below).

7 From Jesus to Christ

The historical Jesus of Nazareth did not take upon himself any of the honorific titles later associated with him. He neither referred to himself as the "Messiah/Christ," nor as the "Son of God" in the sense of the second divine person, nor as the "Son of Man." Does this mean that Christianity is guilty of retroactively "deifying" the human Jesus, turning him into the Christ of faith?[162] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's 1777 remark about the "broad and ugly ditch" is often invoked to address the tension between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith:[163]

> *On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power* 7: this is the broad and ugly ditch which I cannot get across, no matter how often and earnestly I have tried to make the leap. ... I do not deny for a moment that that prophecies were fulfilled in Christ; I do not deny for a moment that Christ performed miracles. But ... I do deny that they can and should bind me to the least faith in the other teachings of Christ.

With Lessing (and his citation of the previously unpublished work of H.S. Reimarus [1694–1768]), the question of the truth content of Christological statements erupts in the so-called "Fragment Controversy."[164] Lessing's focus, however, is less on the diastasis between the historical Jesus and the Christ of faith (see the quote above) and more on the postulate of a universally valid religion of reason,[165] in harmony with hu-

---

162 *Pars pro multis*, Lüdemann, Unheilige, 123 [JV]: "However the deified Christ has little to do with Jesus. More and more Christians today have an inkling of this, which is why many church officials are aware of it again. The following statement therefore applies without restriction: 'The corpse in Christianity's cellar is the deified Jesus himself" (with a quote from Türcke).

163 This distinction is based on a specific premise, about which Schröter, Heilsbedeutung, 118. [JV], rightly says: "It would be misguided to attempt to understand the significance of Jesus's actions independently of the events of Easter. This renders attempts to distinguish the 'historical Jesus' from the 'Christ of faith' inherently questionable when undertaken within the framework of Christian interpretation of reality." This is all the more so because "such attempts fail to see ... that depictions of the 'historical Jesus' are themselves selective, revisable reconstructions, subject to their respective author's epistemological premises and knowledge of the sources ..." However, "historical-critical research ... must provide a plausible account of how these interpretations came about." Thus: "The paradigm of the 'historical Jesus' therefore represents a specific approach that critically distinguishes between historical reconstruction and early Christian interpretations, thereby bringing the relationship between the two into clearer focus."

164 Here and in the following, Tiwald, Urevangelium, 71–87, esp. 74–80.

165 In his 1762/63 treatise *On the Origin of Revealed Religion*, Lessing refers to this as "natural religion." From the perspective of the Sociology of Religion, we come full circle here to positions in early Judaism that identified the "Torah" with God's natural order of creation (see above, ► V.2.2).

man nature and entirely independent of historical foundations. Thus, in *On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power* 5, he writes: "contingent truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason." This statement is directed against ecclesiastical pretensions to power (Lessing's father was a proponent of Lutheran orthodoxy). The supposed historically "proven" miracles of Jesus were construed as definitive evidence of his divine authority and, by extension, of the authenticity of church doctrine.[166] With his "broad and ugly ditch," Lessing dismantled the automatic process by which claims to truth and power were directly derived from biblical statements. In doing so, he established a directive for all future interpretations of Jesus, one that cannot be disregarded. There is no direct path leading from the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith (Jews, of course, see something different in Jesus than Christians do). We might, nevertheless, reduce the distance of the "leap" required to cross the ditch by coming to understand the genesis of christological titles in their early Jewish matrix. This also serves to reduce the distane of the "leap" between early Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity, making the development from the Jesus of history to the Christ of faith more intellectually comprehensible. Thus, J. Schröter concludes:[167]

> The poles designated by the labels "historical Jesus" and "kerygmatic Christ" must be brought into dialog with one another … for to absolutize either position would inevitably lead to a dilemma. For in each case, Jesus is disengaged from early Christian beliefs as a Jewish Prophet and wisdom teacher, and the diastasis model is presupposed. This, however, reduces the origin of the Christian faith to circumstances that can only be connected to Jesus's career in an extremely artificial manner and which were imposed on him retroactively. It is the problem of this (supposed) diastasis that needs to be solved in order to relate historical-critical Jesus research to systematic-theological reflections on the foundation and scope of Christology.

The best approach will be to examine the honorific titles individually to assess their respective compatibility with early Jewish ideas. After all, "high Christology" emerged quite early, with the earliest evidence being found in the authentic letters of Paul, written between 50 and 56 CE. There, the title "Christ" is already used as a matter of course and has even solidified into a "surname" of Jesus (see Paul's first letter, 1 Thess 1:1, up to Rom 1:4–8). Something similar can be said for the title "Son of God" (here, too, already present in 1 Thess 1:10 and then Rom 8:3, 32). However, we must be careful not to overlook the lines of development.

---

166 Goethe's Faust also critically appropriates this line of argument with the words, "Wonders are dear to faith" (Faust, Part 1, 1808; trans. David Luke, Oxford University Press, 1998). See Tiwald, Investment, 129–145 (here 129, quoting from the Dogmatic Constitution "De Filius," ch. 3 [DH 3009]): "in 1870 the First Vatican Council declared that Jesus' miracles were 'sure signs of divine revelation and adapted to everyone's perception.' (*divinae revelationis signa sunt certissima et omnium intellegentiae accomodata*)."

167 Schröter, Diskussion, 77f. [JV].

7.1 Messiah

7.1.1 The Basic Meaning of "Messiah" in Early Judaism

In early Judaism, the term משיח (*maschiach*, "anointed one"; Greek: Χριστός, *christos*) initially only referred to the fact that a person was "anointed," without necessarily implying any "eschatological messianic" expectations. The anointing was emblematic of a "divinely ordained position of authority."[168] This God-given position of leadership in early Judaism consisted of three components: an *anointed ruler* (the "Davidic anointed one"), an *anointed high priest* (the "priestly anointed one"), and a *Torah prophet* (► III.4.6.3 above).[169] John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) usurped and consolidated all three offices in his own person (► II.4.2.1 above). Once the Maccabees had regained Davidic rule, Jonathan unlawfully assumed the office of high priest (► II.4.1.5 above). According to *B.J.* 1.68 and *A.J.* 13.299, in addition to the titles of ethnarch and high priest, John Hyrcanus then also assumed the office of Torah prophet (εἶχεν τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ προφητείαν; *B.J.* 1.68).[170] This clearly shows that the title initially played no *eschatological messianic* role, but rather had *real significance where political power was concerned*. This non-eschatological meaning of the term "anointed" is also evident in 4Q254 frg. 4, where the "two sons of oil" (see Zech 4:14) merely refer to the anointed lay leader and the anointed priestly leader, without bringing any eschatological messianic expectations into play.[171] For this reason, we should not speak of two *eschatological* "messiahs" in relation to the Qumran community. The Qumran text's repeated mention of two anointed ones – an "*anointed one of Aaron*" and an "*anointed one of Israel*" (CD XII,23-XIII,1; XIV,19; XIX,10f.; XX,1) – refers to the two positions of the priestly and political leaders.[172]

7.1.2 Eschatological Messianism

The Maccabees'/Hasmoneans' usurpation of the three God-ordained offices left a profound mark on early Judaism. The Essenes regarded Jonathan and his successors in the office of high priest as "Wicked priests" (1QpHab XII,6–10), while the office of the Torah prophet (1QpHab XII,6–10) was attributed to the "Teacher of Righteousness" (a "prophet like Moses," see Deut 18:15, 18; Acts 3:22). Eschatological expectations already emerge in the person of the "Teacher of Righteousness," to whom

168 Pomykala, Messianism, EDEJ 938. For the following, see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 163–166.

169 See Maier, Torah, 49. Although the Torah prophet was anointed, he was not referred to as a "prophetic anointed one" (Maier, Messias, 590, 596–598). See the triad in 1QS IX,10f.

170 See Theissen, Sadduzäismus, 226.

171 On this, see Maier, Messias, 605–612.

172 See Maier, Messias, 596 and passim. Likewise, Pomykala, Messianism, EDEJ 941. This becomes even clearer in 1QSa II,11–15. There, it is even stipulated that the "anointed one of Aaron" is to take precedence over the "anointed one of Israel." This establishes the primacy of the anointed priestly leader over the anointed lay leader.

is ascribed the final, eschatologically binding interpretation of the Torah (1QpHab VII,1–5). In political terms, the failure of the Hasmonean kings resulted in an unprecedented eschatologization of the concept of the messiah.[173] Under the pressure of political helplessness vis-à-vis both their own rulers and the foreign powers, people came to expect a divinely legitimized ("anointed") political redeemer, who, in deliberate opposition to earthly rulers, would usher in the Kingdom of God at the eschaton. At Qumran, a messiah was thus expected who would restore the political kingdom of David as a "warrior king" and "militant figure."[174] 4Q161 frg. 8 + 9,5–13 and 4Q285 announce that the shoot of David will conquer the "Kittim." Daniel 11:30 designates the Romans as the "Kittim." The messiah is also depicted as a warlord in Pss. Sol. 17.23– 46. In 4 Ezra (chs. 11 and 12) the messiah from the line of David, in the symbolic form of a "lion," destroys the Romans, who are represented by the (Roman) "eagle." Designating a *warlord opposing the Romans*, the political concept of the Messiah finds its clearest expression in the figure of Simon ben Koseba, the instigator of the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 CE) against the Romans. Prior to this, Rabbi Akiva had proclaimed him to be the Messiah, reinterpreting his name as Bar Kochba, "Son of the Star" (y. Taʿan. 4.8, 68d), in accordance with the prophecy from Numbers 24:17. Besides Bar Kochba, early Judaism witnessed a number of other pretenders to the title of Messiah, among whom the lines between symbolic prophetic action, political revolts, and messianic expectations were blurred (see the long list of resistance fighters in ► IV.2 above). Clearly, *real political hopes for liberation and ideas about religious redemption* were deeply intertwined in the expectation of a political messiah. A characteristic feature of these "sign-prophet messiahs"[175] is the frequent expectation that God will once again make salvific events from Jewish history into present realities (► IV.2.2 above).[176] Toward the end of Pilate's tenure of office (26–36 CE), a *Samaritan prophet* promised to rediscover the temple implements that Moses was said to have buried on Mount Gerizim (*A.J.* 18.85–87). Under the procurator Cuspius Fadus (44–46 CE), a certain *Theudas* (*A.J.* 20.97–99) and Acts 5:36, where he is misplaced chronologically) announced that the Jordan would be parted, allowing for a new crossing similar to that of the conquest of the land in Joshua 3. During the time of the procurator Felix (52–60 CE), an unnamed "*Egyptian*" (*A.J.* 20.169–172/*B.J.* 2.262f.; see Acts 21:38) led a large crowd to the Mount of Olives, claiming that the walls of Jerusalem would collapse at his command – a clear analogy to the conquest of Jericho. Under Porcius Festus (60–62 CE), an *unnamed prophet* (*A.J.* 20.188) promised the Jews "salvation and rest from troubles" (σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παῦλαν κακῶν), if they would

173 See Theissen/März, Jesus, 533: "The conclusion to be drawn from the Old Testament period is that we know either messianic expectation without a messianic concept or historical figures called 'Messiah' to whom no messianic expectations are attached. ... Messianic figures who bear the name 'Messiah' appear first around the turn of the ages."

174 Pomykala, Messianism, EDEJ 939.

175 See Pomykala, Messianism, EDEJ 941: "Whether these prophets should be designated 'messiahs' depends in large measure on whether the divine deliverance they promised is considered eschatological."

176 For the following, see Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 144–146.

follow him into the desert. Shortly after the Jewish War broke out, *Menahem*, a son of Judas of Galilee, plundered the armory of the Masada fortress (*B.J.* 2.433f.) and then made a ceremonial entrance into Jerusalem, where he had himself hailed as king. In characteristic fashion, the Romans reacted to the sign prophets and resistance fighters with ruthless ferocity. All of these movements were suppressed through brutal military force, and their leaders were killed.

7.1.3 Jesus's Avoidance of the Title "Messiah"

For Jesus, it was imperative to avoid the title of "Messiah" if he did not want to be misunderstood as a *warrior Messiah or political resistance fighter* against the Romans. There is, however, a deeper reason avoiding the title: "Jesus fits the picture of a Davidic messiah poorly, given his nonviolent ministry ..."[177] The use of the title "Messiah" was out of the question for Jesus, not simply from *political* caution, but more significantly because of his *theological* concerns: *God himself* would bring about the arrival of his kingdom – not even Jesus knew the exact day or hour of this occurrence (Mark 13:32). He therefore subordinates himself completely to God's eschatological timetable. If God himself is to inaugurate the arrival of his kingdom, then armed force is out of the question. God's kingdom would gently yet inexorably permeate all things, like the leavening of flour (Q 13:21). As the parable of the mustard seed (Mark 4:31) illustrates, it would overtake everything else through peaceful yet irresistible growth. Clarification of this point was all the more important as there were in fact also Zealots (that is, advocates of political revolution) among Jesus's followers ("Simon the Zealot" was a member of the Twelve; Luke 6:15 and Acts 1:13). Texts such as Mark 10:35, 11:9f., and Acts 1:6f. confirm that many of Jesus's followers harbored concrete political expectations regarding their master. In contrast to the above-mentioned sign prophets, however, Jesus firmly refused to announce some kind of spectacular miracle as the symbolic action that would legitimate him (Q 11:16.29–30). On the other hand, it is precisely Jesus's meals, healings, forgiving of sins, and parables (as word-events) that become his performative symbolic actions, indeed, the "sacraments" of the dawning *basileia* (see Luke 11:20, ▸ V.7.3.3 below). He also regards the appointment of the Twelve as a prophetic sign of the imminent eschatological restoration of *all* Israel (i. e., including the lost tribes). Jesus's announcement that the "rule of God" was now beginning could thus be misunderstood to mean that he desired to rule as a "king." The *titulus* of the cross (▸ III.11.4.3 above) and Jesus's execution alongside other dissidents (Mark 15:7 parr. and John 18:40; Mark 15:27 parr.) confirm that Jesus was indeed ultimately executed as a political rebel. Seen in this light, Jesus too fits into the above described cluster of characteristics, though he never connected the claims of power politics, or the use of force, with his message, and also avoided the title of Messiah.

177 Pomykala, Messianism, EDEJ 940.

7.1.4 The Title of Messiah in the Earliest Church

The *Sayings Source* is a Palestinian document that originated shortly before the outbreak of the First Jewish War in the early 60s CE.[178] Since the time of Jesus, political tensions had further escalated and the outbreak of war was imminent (► II.5.6 above). It would have been political and theological suicide to apply the title of Messiah to Jesus in this situation. For this reason, the Sayings Source does not yet apply the title of "Christ" to Jesus. The situation was different for *Paul* and his mission to the diaspora, however, where there was no danger of misunderstanding. Already in Antioch, the original meaning of the title "Christ" was no longer understood (Acts 11:26), where the disciples of Jesus were called "Christians." Such a designation would have made little sense in the Palestinian Jewish context, where multiple political-messianic groups already existed (► V.7.1.2 above). The term "Christians" could only become a *distinctive* group designation once the term "Christ" was misunderstood as a proper name. This misunderstanding already appears under Claudius, where the title "Christos" is confused with the slave name "Chrestos" in Suetonius's description of events, (► III.10.4.6 above). Tacitus similarly misunderstands the term "Christ" as a proper name in his account of conditions under Nero (► III.10.4.8 above). Where such was the case, there was no longer any danger of associating the title "Christ" with the interests of power politics. Accordingly, Paul too uses the title of Christ in a *spiritualized and depoliticized* way: Jesus is the divinely legitimated ("anointed") savior and redeemer. This fits in well with Paul's use of the "kingdom of God" (Rom 14:17; 1 Cor 4:20; 6:9, 10; 15:24, 50; Gal 5:21 1 Thess 2:12), which seems like little more than a theological catchphrase, having lost the explosive force it carried in words and deeds of the historical Jesus. For Paul, the death and resurrection of Jesus are the actual means of eschatological salvation, with the *basileia* entirely subordinated to christology.

7.1.5 Messiah and Eschatological Bringer of Good News

The Sayings Source already characterizes Jesus as the eschatological bringer of good news, citing Isiah 61:1–2:[179]

> Q 7:18f., 22 [18] And John, on hearing about all these things, sending through his disciples, [19] said to him: Are you the one to come, or are we to expect someone else? [22] And in reply he said to them: Go report to John what you hear and see: The blind regain their sight and the lame walk around, the skin-diseased are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised, and the poor are evangelized (εὐαγγελίζονται; Isa 26:19; 29:18f.; 35:5f.; 42:7, 18; 61:1).

As K. Backhaus correctly observes, "What we hear in these words is not a final word from John the Baptist, but rather the first tentative attempt to integrate the figure of John into the Jesus tradition – and the figure of Jesus into John's message."[180] Back-

178 See Tiwald, Logienquelle, 81–93.
179 Thus Tuckett, Q, EDSS 732f.; Tiwald, Logienquelle, 160f. See Tiwald, Commentary, 69–71.
180 Backhaus, Täufer, 252 [JV].

haus's view is supported by the considerable theological and scriptural effort discernible in this passage from the Sayings Source. Of course, the eschatological bringer of good news is not yet identified with the messiah in the Sayings Source, as the title "Christ" does not appear in Q. Noteworthy, however, is the grouping of certain statements from Isaiah, linked together in in the manner of a testimonia collection, regarding the raising of the dead (Isa 26:19), the healing of the deaf, the blind, and the lame, the liberation of the poor and the imprisoned (Isa 29:18f.; 35:5f.; 42:7, 18), and the proclamation of the good news to the poor (Isa 61:1). Luke develops the Isaiah reference from Q 7:22 into one of his central texts: Jesus's programmatic inaugural speech in Nazareth (Luke 4:17–21). In early Judaism, the association of an eschatological savior figure to texts from Isaiah is also evident in 11Q13, a Qumran text which Maier dates to 75–25 BCE.[181] This text invokes the words of Isaiah 61:1f. and 52:7 to acclaim Melchizedek – not Jesus – as the expected bearer of good news and eschatological salvation.[182] In the Hodayot, by contrast, these characteristics are ascribed to the Teacher of Righteousness, the central figure of the Qumran community (1QH XXIII,15). This latter eschatological bearer of good news is even linked to the messiah in 4Q521 frg. 2 + 4: II,1, 4, 8, 12f. (modified trans. following Maier):[183]

> ... the heavens and the earth will listen to his anointed one ... Will you not in this encounter the Lord, ... 8 freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted. 12 for he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor 13 and he will satisfy the lowly, lead the abandoned and enrich the hungry.

The peculiar compilation of diverse passages from Isaiah in Q 7:22 – healing *the blind, the lame, those with skin-disease*, and the *deaf*, as well as *raising the dead* and the *proclamation of the good news to the poor* – has an early parallel in 4Q521 (which Maier dates to the first century BCE), which attributes these acts to the messiah.[184] It may well be that the Qumran community and, somewhat later, the Q community drew on similar florilegia concerning the eschatological agent of salvation. This similarity can be accounted for in terms of "ongoing interpretative trajectories in late Second Temple Judaism."[185] The Sayings Source's function as a bridge between early Judaism and early Christianity is clearly discernible here: Q re-reads an early Jewish theologoumenon in relation to the person of Jesus, though it is only later Christian texts (in this case, Luke) that expand the reference and further develop it in a christological direction. The (likely unihistorical) narrative containing John's question serves to identify Jesus as the "coming one" foretold by John (Q 3:16b). It is thus plain that "Q 7:18–23 is ... an apothegm, in its narrative pragmatics likely less concerned with factuality and more intent on describing the relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist."[186] What we

181 See Maier, Texte I, 361. See also Kühschelm, Antrittsrede, 167f.

182 On the figure of Melchizedek in early Judaism, see Stuckenbruck, Melchizedek, 124–138.

183 See Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 166–168.

184 See Maier, Texte II, 683.

185 Thus Brooke, Traditions, 581, in his examination of "Isaiah 35 and 61 in 4Q521 and Q."

186 Hölscher, Matthäus, 94 [JV]. Labahn, Gekommene, 311 [JV], has pointed out a further gap in the narrative: "The question of where the Baptist is posing his query to Jesus from remains

find here is not the report of a historical fact, but rather a literary reworking of the relationship between John and Jesus. The effect is, in Haggadic fashion, to reinforce theological statements by casting them in narrative form.

7.2 Son of God

7.2.1 Son of God as a Relational Term

In the Old Testament, the term "son of God"[187] served as a relational term to denote belonging to God. For example, the angels of heaven are called "son/sons of God" (Gen 6:4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Ps 89:7). Yet Israel is also God's firstborn son (Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1; Jer 31:9, 20). The king (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7), the wise person (Sir 4:10), and the one who suffers in an exemplary manner (Wis 2:13, 18) are likewise referred to as sons. In the New Testament, this usage is even reflected in Jesus's own words: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God" [thus the literal translation; the NRSV rightly renders it with gender-inclusive language as "children of God"] (Matt 5:9). The term is used similarly in Romans 8:14: "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" [NRSV: "children of God"].

7.2.2 Son of God as a Functional Term

The use of "Son of God" as a *functional term* heightens and extends the relational sense, serving as a special title for one who is anointed and appointed by God. The earliest paradigmatic statement of this understanding is found in Psalm 2:2–7:

> 2 The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the LORD and his anointed, saying, 3 "Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us." 4 He who sits in the heavens laughs; the LORD has them in derision. 5 Then he will speak to them in his wrath, and terrify them in his fury, saying, 6 "I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill." 7 I will tell of the decree of the LORD: He said to me, "You are my son; today I have begotten you."

The king installed by God on Mount Zion is referred to as "his anointed one," whom God shields from his enemies. A similar concept is evident in the promise made to David in 2 Samuel 7:

> 12 When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your ancestors, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. 13 He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever. 14 I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me.

---

unresolved." This is a clear indication that the incident is fictional – the gap in the narrative is only filled when Matthew 11:2 reports that John asked his question from prison. See Tiwald, Commentary, 73–75.

187 See Gnilka, Markus I, 60–64; Theobald, Sohn, 119–141; Kremer, Sohn Gottes, 3–71.

4Qflorilegium (= 4Q174) III,10f. likewise interprets 2 Samuel 7:12f. with reference to the expected Davidic Messiah:

> 10 And YHWH declares to you that "he will build you a house [2 Sam 7:11b]. I will raise up your seed after you and establish the throne of his kingdom 11 forever [cf. 2 Sam 7:12f.]. I will be a father to him and he will be a son to me." [2 Sam 7:14] This refers to the "branch of David", who will arise with the Interpreter of the law ...

The pre-Pauline confession in Romans 1:3f. follows a similar line of thought:

> ... descended from David according to the flesh 4 and was declared to be Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead ...

In analogy to 2 Samuel 7:14, the old view that the Messiah is *appointed* by God still shines through here. However, the insertion of the phrase "in power" preempts the misunderstanding that Jesus only became the "Son of God"" after being raised from the dead. Here, the old functional title "Son of God" is already being developed along christological lines. Similarly, this same diction is still in evidence in Acts 2:36 in Peter's Pentecost speech. Jesus was "*made* ... both Lord and Messiah." The old functional designation is still evident:

> Therefore let the entire house of Israel know with certainty that God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom you crucified.

It remains controversial whether the Qumran texts speak of the Messiah as "Son of God" and "Son of the Highest." The solitary Aramaic fragment 4Q246, which dates to the Heriodian period, has sparked discussion on the matter. However, the text consists of only two columns, is fragmentary, and its interpretation remains unclear:[188]

> 4Q246 II,1 ... He will be called son of God, and they will call him son of the Most High (ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה) Like the sparks 2 that you saw [in the vision], so will their kingdom (מלכותהן) be they will rule several years over 3 the earth and crush everything; a people will crush another people, and a province another province. ... 5 His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom, and all his paths in truth. He will jud[ge] 6 the earth in truth and will make peace

It is unclear from this brief fragment whether this refers to a *negative historical figure* (unlawfully usurping the honorary title) or a *positive messianic figure*. An interpretation *in malam partem* could be made with reference to Psalm 82:6f., but a reading *in bonam partem* as an eschatological redeemer is also possible. Luke 1:32–35 offers a remarkable parallel:

> 32 He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High (υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται), and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David (τὸν θρόνον Δαυὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ). 33 He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end." 34 Mary said to the angel, "How can this be, since I am a virgin?" 35 The angel said to her, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High (δύναμις ὑψίστου) will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God (υἱὸς θεοῦ).

188 See Maier, Texte II, 189f. on the reconstruction and interpretation of the text; Stökl Ben Ezra, Qumran, 324f.; Segal, Son, 289–312.

7.2.3 Son of God as an Ontological Statement

In the New Testament, the pure *functionality* of appointment as Messiah is expanded by an ascription of the title "Son of God" understood in the "immediate, literal sense of Jesus's most intimate imaginable mode of belonging to God."[189] This title becomes *the* soteriological metaphor par excellence. Through it, the unique and unsurpassable depth of Jesus's belonging to the divine sphere is made manifest, and God's unique saving work in Jesus is elucidated:

> Gal 4:4 But when the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, 5 in order to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as children. 6 And because you are children, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!"
>
> Rom 5:10 For if while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more surely, having been reconciled, will we be saved by his life.
>
> Rom 8:3 For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and to deal with sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, ...

7.2.4 Son of God and Jesus's Appropriation of the Father Metaphor

Like the "Son of God" metaphor, the metaphor of God as father is also widely used in the Jewish Bible and early Judaism: Isaiah 63:16; 64:7; Psalm 89:27; Malachi 2:10; Sirach 23:1, 4; Wisdom 2:16; Tobit 13:4; 3 Maccabees 6:3, 8; Apocryphon of Ezekiel frg. 3; 4Q372 frg. 1, 16; 4Q460 frg. 5 I,5; to name only a few passages.[190] If we seek to identify a distinctive feature in Jesus's habit of addressing God as Father, it will not lie in the supposition that the historical Jesus already distinguished his own address ("my Father") from that of his disciples ("your Father").[191] The long-standing interpretation that Jesus's use of the address *Abba* was "something new and unheard of,"[192] expressing his exclusive awareness of being God's son, has been definitively rendered obsolete. Noticeably, however, Jesus associates two aspects in particular – each al-

189 Theobald, Sohn, 125 [JV].

190 See Schattner-Rieser, Aramäische, 100; Strotmann, Vater 24–379 (esp. 362). On the Qumran texts (besides Strotmann's remarks), see Doering, Father, 107–135. For the New Testament, see Zimmermann, Namen, 74–167. For Jesus's use of the metaphor, see Tiwald, Vatermetaphorik, 129–142.

191 Contrary to Jeremias, Prayers of Jesus, 62, who states that "We can see this already from the way in which Jesus never allies himself with his disciples in saying 'our Father' when he prays, and distinguishes between 'my Father' and 'your Father' in what he says." Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 526, also seek to trace this distinction to the historical Jesus himself. Along similar lines, see also Rau, Vater, 222–243, with a view to the Sayings Source. However, the Lord's Prayer shows no awareness of such a division (in Q, the address likely consisted only of "Father" without "our." Yet "our Father" in Matt 6:9 is also inclusive). John 20:17 and Mark 11:25 parr.; Matthew 23:9; Luke 22:29; 24:49; John 15:15 are later formulations rooted in the life of the congregation.

192 As Jeremias, Prayers of Jesus, 62, still argued.

ready present in early Judaism[193] – with the metaphor of God as Father: 1) *creation theology*,[194] and 2) *the constitution of an end-time familia Dei as an eschatological contrast society*. Jesus regards the loving Father in heaven as the caring creator God, who "makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous" (Matt 5:45), who gives good gifts to all his children (Luke 11:13/Matt 7:11), and whose care for his creation is such that not a single sparrow falls to the earth without his will (Matt 10:29/Luke 12:6, however without using "Father"). Therefore we need not worry about what we will eat or drink, for "your Father knows that you need them" (Luke 12:30/Matt 6:32). Childlike trust in God, which can unconditionally expect everything from the heavenly Father, is the appropriate attitude toward the dawning *basileia*. One may now, with outright boldness, ask the heavenly Father for anything, provided one becomes active toward the arrival of his kingdom (Q 11:9–13). Just as God the Father provides for the brazen ravens and the carefree lilies, so too will he care for his children in the *basileia* (Q 12:22–31). Jesus's *Aramaic* address of his heavenly Father as *Abba* is preserved only once in the New Testament: Mark 14:36 ("Abba, Father, for you all things are possible; remove this cup from me; yet, not what I want, but what you want."). Apart from this instance, the address occurs in Romans 8:15 and Galatians 4:6 (neither time from the mouth of Jesus). Old Palestinian traditions seem to have been preserved in the Markan passion narrative. Paul appears to have come into contact with these traditions as well (for example, during his visit to Jerusalem following his conversion; Gal 1:18). In the Pauline homologoumena, the two instances of Abba are among the few occasions where Paul's knowledge of Aramaic/Hebrew is apparent.[195] Jesus's use of the father metaphor was so pronounced that all three instances of the use of Abba likely preserve an echo of his *ipsissima vox* (his most characteristic manner of speaking).[196] Thus, if we seek to identify a distinctive feature of Jesus's relationship with God, it will *not be disclosed in an exclusivity that sets Jesus apart from and against Judaism*, but rather in the way Jesus *deepened certain emphases within his early Jewish experience of God*. This distinctive feature lies in Jesus's particularly intimate and trusting relationship with his heavenly Abba. Thus, as U. Schattner-Rieser observes, "this invocation of the Father [by Jesus] was apparently so impactful for the early community that even Paul could presuppose familiarity with it as a loanword among his Greek-speaking addressees in Galatia and Rome (Gal

193 Strotmann, Vater, 360 [JV]: In early Judaism, addressing God as Father encompassed the following elements: "Nurture, mercy, forgiveness, faithfulness, reliability, care, responsibility, love, kindness, joy, devotion, closeness, protection, help, salvation, powerful intervention on behalf of humans, absolute creative power, sharing in God's power, glory, and knowledge."

194 On the early Jewish connection between creation theology and the fatherhood of God, see Strotmann, Vater, 360f. and 365–367.

195 Also "Cephas" for "Peter": 1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14; "Maranatha" in 1 Cor 16:22; and the formulaic affirmation "Amen": Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 15:33; 16:24, 27; 1 Cor 14:16; 2 Cor 1:20; Gal 1:5; 6:18; Phil 4:20.

196 See the discussion in Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 526f., and Zimmermann, Namen, 77.

4:6; Rom 8:15)."[197] It is also noteworthy in this context, that Jesus *does not* make use of other predicates of God that were common in early Judaism. "With the exception of the Psalm quotation in Mark 15:34, 'Father' is Jesus's form of address for God in all prayer texts in the Gospels."[198] It is particularly striking that Jesus never refers to God as *King* even though doing so would seem natural given his expectation of the coming kingdom of God.[199] In other early Jewish writings, the kingship and royal titles of God are usually mentioned in tandem, for example, in the Assumption of Moses 4.2; 10:1; Pss. Sol. 17.1, 3; 1QM XII,7f.; Testament of Benjamin 9.1; 10.7; Sibylline Oracles 3.46.55; Wisdom of Solomon 3:8; 6:4. As Theissen and Merz note, "for Jesus, God's nature is expressed as goodness in his fatherhood. And as father he will come to power. For Jesus 'power' is not a value in itself but serves to make God's goodness break through universally."[200] Alongside the interpretive track in early Judaism that could refer to the Messiah as "Son of God" (see above), it was likely Jesus's distinctive emphasis in addressing God as Father that, after Easter, led to "Son of God" becoming his preeminent designation.

7.3 Son of Man

It is a matter of scholarly debate whether the designation "Son of Man" is honorific. The term only appears in the words of Jesus and is never used as a titular form of address for him.[201]

7.3.1 Use of the Term in the Jewish Bible and in Early Judaism

Originally, the Hebrew phrase בן אדם (*ben 'adam*) had the generic meaning "son of a man," that is, a descendant of the human race (as it is used in the book of *Ezekiel*). In *Daniel* (written in Aramaic around 164 BCE), the Aramaic expression בר אנש (*bar 'enosh*; 7:13), "one like a son of man" (NASB), heralds an eschatological agent who will establish an eternal kingdom in God's name (the "Ancient of Days" NASB). Some

197 Schattner-Rieser, Aramäische, 94 [JV].

198 Zimmermann, Namen, 77 [JV].

199 See Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 274: "Jesus never speaks of God as 'King'. The few instances are secondary: Matt 5:35 is special material and a secondary extension of the antithesis on swearing. The parable Matt 22:1ff. has a parallel in Luke 14:16ff., which does not speak of a 'king'. Two further instances are Matthaean special material: 18:23f.; 25:34ff. As a rule Jesus speaks only of the 'kingdom' of God." Regarding further evidence in the Gospels: in its mention of the king, Luke 19:12–27 has allegorical characteristics (with reference to the tetrarch Archelaus; see Tiwald, Commentary, 199) and, at least in Luke, refers to Jesus rather than God. Jesus is not the speaker in John 12:13. Otherwise, in New Testament theology, Jesus himself is already spoken of as king (Mark 15:2 parr.; John 1:49; 18:33; and elsewhere).

200 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 274.

201 On this, see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 151–155; Schröter, Entscheidung, 73; Hurtado, Summary, 169; Tuckett, Q, EDSS 570 ("a christological 'title' of some importance for Q").

interpreters understand this figure, who comes to rule over the beastly God-opposing powers (Dan 7:17), collectively as a representation of the righteous in Israel (Dan 7:18, 21f., 27). However, it is more likely that this human-like figure represents an angel acting in God's name (Dan 8:15; 9:21; see also 12:1).[202] The *Book of Similitudes in 1 Enoch* (chs. 37–71) later describes the "Son of Man" not only as someone who (as in Daniel) will assume dominion over the world in God's name at the end of time (48.5; 69.26), but also as a preexistent heavenly agent (48.2f., 6f.; 62.7) who will judge the world (62.6; 69.27–29). The "Son of Man" thus becomes the embodiment of eschatological hopes (48.10; 52.4). The dating of the Book of Similitudes is disputed. Most likely, it was written in Palestine in the beginning of the century, making it contemporaneous with the historical Jesus.[203] In *4 Ezra* (written in Palestine toward the end of the first century CE after the destruction of the temple), the "Son of Man" appears in chapter 13 as an eschatological judge and savior (v. 3–13, 25–40), being identified with the Davidic Messiah (12.31f.).

7.3.1 Jesus and the "Son of Man"

The New Testament use of the title "Son of Man" is limited to the Gospels, with four exceptions: Acts 7:56; Hebrews 2:6–8; Revelation 1:13; 14:14. The term is entirely absent from Paul's writings. In the Gospels, the expression occurs exclusively in the words of Jesus and is never used for him as a titular form of address. This suggests that the term is not of post-Easter provenance but originates with the historical Jesus himself. In the Gospels, Jesus most often uses "Son of Man" with reference to himself. However, Q 12:8f./Mark 8:38 is an exception:

> Q 12:8 Anyone who may speak out for me in public, the son of humanity will also speak out for him before the angels. 9 But whoever may deny me in public will be denied before the angels.
>
> Mark 8:38 Those who are ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of them the Son of Man will also be ashamed when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Coinciding in content, the parallel traditions independently presented by Q and Mark attest to the Jesuanic origin of the pericope. It is clear "that, by the Son of Man, Jesus

---

202 On this, and for the following, see Nickelsburg, Son of Man, EDEJ 1250f. Likewise, Chialà, Son, 177.

203 See Nickelsburg, Son of Man, EDEJ 1250: "Composed between late first century B.C.E. and the first half of the first century C.E. ..." Id., Parables, 47 "no later than the early decades of the first century C.E." Charlesworth, Composition, 465 ("20–4 B.C.E."); Boccaccini, Place, 288 ("parallels the earliest origins of the Jesus movement"); Vögtle, Gretchenfrage, 125; Schreiber, Menschensohn, 2. Boyarin, Enoch, 75: "the parables give evidence for developments within Judaism that by analogy illuminate developments that can most plausibly be held as having taken place in the Judaism underlying the Gospels as well."

meant *someone other than himself.*"[204] It may well be that John the Baptist's expectation of the "stronger one" (Q 3:16 and 11:22), who would augment John's water baptism with "holy Spirit and fire," was adopted by John's disciple Jesus (► III.10.2.1 above) in the person of the "Son of Man," who comes to judge. At that time in Judaism, "Son of Man" referred to a God-appointed figure who, on behalf of the transcendent God, would carry out the final judgment on earth. Jesus adopted this early Jewish idea from John the Baptist, but with two important adjustments.

Before the "stronger one's" fiery judgment (carried out, that is, by the Son of Man who comes to judge), Jesus places the salvation of the lost through the *basileia*.[205] Contrary to the expectations of the Zealots (► III.5.2 above), this "rule of God" is not achieved by political violence but represents God's unique offer of salvation to humans, surpassing all that has come before. However, this offer of salvation does not imply an automatic process. Here as well, believing acceptance of Jesus's message is necessary for salvation.

This leads to the second specific feature of Jesus's expectation regarding the Son of Man: Jesus links his own message inseparably to the coming of the Son of Man as judge, as evidenced by Q 12:8f. and Mark 8:38. *Whoever does not believe in Jesus's message will not withstand the eschatological judgment before the Son of Man.* In this way, Jesus's message of the kingdom of God becomes *the decisive point at which the salvation of its hearers stands or falls.* This point of view is only possible if Jesus himself becomes the prophetic sign of the dawning *basileia*.

7.3.2 Jesus as the Prophetic Sign of the *basileia* and the Concept of a Substitutionary (Atoning) Death

According to the model of the Old Testament prophets, the messenger merges with his message (► IV.2.2.3 above).[206] Hosea, for example, marries a prostitute and fathers three children with her, each bearing a symbolic name (Jezreel, Lo-ruhamah,

---

204 Becker, Jesus, 252 [JV; italics MT]. The term "Son of Man" is thus not Jesus's idiomatic way of speaking in the first person singular (i. e., his way of saying "I"), as is sometimes claimed. Apart from Jesus's expectation of a "Son of Man" qua judge, early Jewish usage and the philological evidence also speak against such a view, as Vögtle, Gretchenfrage, 64 [JV] rightly notes: the attempt to "conclusively integrate the I/Son of Man sayings [i. e., the idiomatic use of Son of Man in place of "I"] with Jesus's way of speaking about the Son of Man is doomed to fail." Likewise, Becker, Jesus, 254 [JV]: "For philological reasons, however, this approach [i. e., the idiomatic use of Son of Man in place of the first person singular] can scarcely be upheld, since there is as yet no evidence whatsoever of such a linguistic option in the time of Jesus." See the research report on this in Müller, Expression, passim.

205 Thus Becker, Jesus, 252. Charlesworth, Composition, 466, speculates that Jesus deliberately used the term Son of Man "because it was a vague concept and not a title. Thus, Jesus may have imagined that God was free to shape the Son of Man concept and define it." In any event, Jesus was able to combine the concept of the "Son of Man" with his own eschatological conceptions.

206 For the following, see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 119f.

and Lo-ammi; Hos 1:2–9) to draw attention to Israel's "unfaithfulness" to its God and the consequent threat of rejection. Also noteworthy in this connection is Ezekiel, who publicly makes himself unclean by baking his bread over human feces (Ez 4:12), shaves off his hair in public (5:1), and symbolically refusing to mourn the dead (24:16f.). In this way, he dramatizes *performatively* in his own body the impurity of Israel and the promised judgment. Then there is Jeremiah, who goes about with a yoke on his neck to signal the impending exile of the people (Jer 27:2). In terms of genre, these acts are instances of אות (*ʾot*), that is, prophetic symbolic actions that recall *an existing reality or symbolically anticipate an imminent one that has not yet come to fruition*.[207] Jesus's self-understanding was entirely in line with this form of action:

> Q 12:24 Consider the ravens: They neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet God feeds them. Are you not better than the birds? 25 And who of you by being anxious is able to add to one's stature a cubit? 26 And why are you anxious about clothing? 27 Observe the lilies, how they grow: They do not work nor do they spin. Yet I tell you: Not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these. 28 But if in the field the grass, there today and tomorrow thrown into the oven, God clothes thus, will he not much more clothe you, persons of petty faith! 29 So do not be anxious, saying: What are we to eat? Or: What are we to drink? Or: What are we to wear? 30 For all these the Gentiles seek; for your Father knows that you need them all. 31 But seek his kingdom, and all these shall be granted to you.

Jesus's complete and unreserved trust in the dawning of the rule of God leads him – like the ravens and the lilies in his symbolic *lack of possessions* – to rely completely on God. Jesus's *lack of family*, on the other hand, symbolically points to God as the new Father in a new world. As a loving father, God is now creating his own *familia Dei*, which no longer conforms to the bonds of the flesh but to those of divine childship.[208] Jesus's *homeless itinerant existence* expresses the expectation of a new home prepared by God in the now-dawning *basileia* (see Q 9:58: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head"; modified trans.). Jesus's *non-violence* (Q 6:29) symbolizes the eschatological peace that only God can give. This peace is symbolically prefigured in the greeting used by his messengers, which verges on the magical in its quasi-substantial expression:

> Q 10:5 Into whatever house you enter, first say: Peace to this house! 6 And if a son of peace be there, let your peace come upon him; but if not, let your peace return upon you.

Symbolic assertion of the *basileia's* present reality occurs not only in Jesus's *way of life*, but also in his *miraculous healings and forgiveness of sins*, as the restoration of the human person's prelapsarian integrity (Q 11:20); in his *table fellowship*, as a foretaste

---

207 Following the definition of Helfmeyer, אות, ThWAT I/183.

208 See Jacobson, Families, 361–380. C. Heil, Rezeption, 212–214, has demonstrated that, in early Judaism, Micha 7:6 (loosely quoted in Q 12:53: "For I have come to divide son against father, and daughter against her mother, and daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law") already serves as a thematic backdrop in Jubilees 23.19 and 1 Enoch 91.11–17, being understood there as a sign of the eschatological crisis. Likewise, Melzer-Keller, Frauen, 347 notes [JV]: "Evidently, the Q community interpreted their experiences of family divisions resulting from faith in Jesus as a prophesied symptom of the end-times' having begun with Jesus …"

of the heavenly banquet (Q 7:34; Mark 2:19 parr.; Luke 14:15); in the *appointment of the Twelve*, as a sign of the eschatological restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel (Mark 3:16 parr.); and in his *parables*, as performative word-events (► III.10.2.2; IV.2.2.3 above).

Jesus probably interpreted his *symbolic self-sacrifice* – which he likely understood as a test preceding the advent of the *basileia* – as a prophetic symbol of the arrival of the kingdom of God. In the mode of *pro-existence* (► III.10.2.4 above), and in view of the widespread rejection of his message by many in Israel, he now steps into the breach himself, demonstrating with his own existence that unconditional trust in God which he had repeatedly demanded of others in his parables (Matt 13:44–46 and elsewhere) and sermons (for example, Q 12:8; 17:6; Matt 6:30; 8:26). The aspect of *substitution* thus already enters the picture with the historical Jesus.[209] Through his *emblematic symbolic actions*[210] and his equally symbolic total self-commitment to the *basileia* in the surrender his own life – indeed, with his whole existence – Jesus becomes the prophetic sign of the coming reality: the messenger fully identified with his message. In this, he is like Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (see the above examples), who likewise became prophetic signs of their messages with their whole existence. The upheavals expected at the macro-level of the cosmos are symbolically enacted on his own body. Thus if, after Easter, Jesus transitioned from the messenger of the *basileia* to the message itself (from the proclaimer to the proclaimed), the foundations for the *identification of the messenger with the message* were already laid by the historical Jesus. This is the historical anchor point of the later Pauline christology of a substitutionary *atoning death* (Rom 3:25; 8:3), the Synoptics' identification of Jesus with the suffering Son of Man (► V.7.3.4 below), and the substitutionary, atoning servant (esp. Isa 52:13–53:12, explicitly cited in Matt 8:17; also the Markan passion predictions and their synoptic parallels: Mark 8:31; 9:12; 9:31; 10:45; and Luke 24:46; Acts 3:18). The identification of Jesus with the Son of Man qua judge (as already attested in the Sayings Source, see below) is thus not a mere superficial bridge between two distinct protagonists but arises from an inherent, indissoluble, and essential affinity: in his whole person, in his words, deeds, and death, Jesus himself becomes the instrument, the prophetic sign, of the dawning *basileia*.[211]

---

209 On the terms "pro-existence" and "substitution," see Schröter, Sühne, 66f.; Frey, Probleme, 21–32; Janowski, Ecce, 31f.

210 That is, emblematic poverty as a sign of complete trust in God vis-à-vis the coming *basileia*, miraculous healings, meal fellowship, forgiveness of sins, the appointment of the Twelve, parables as word-events, the symbolic entrance into Jerusalem and action in the Temple.

211 See Theissen, Veränderungspräsenz, esp. 321–343. Theissen uses the term "transformative presence" (*loc. cit.* 175–192; [JV]) to describe the symbolic, formative, taboo-breaking power of these actions. In the Catholic church, Jesus is therefore regarded as the primary sacrament (see *Lumen Gentium*, Abbot, Documents of Vatican II).

7.3.4 The "Son of Man" in Q and Mark

The *identification of Jesus with the eschatological Son of Man* already occurs in the Sayings Source (Q 11:30; 12:40; 17:24; modified trans.).

> Q 11:30 For as Jonah became to the Ninevites a sign, so also will the son of man be to this generation.
>
> Q 12:40 You also must be ready, for the Son of Man is coming at an hour you do not expect.
>
> Q 17:24 For as the lightning streaks from Sunrise and flashes as far as Sunset, so will the Son of Man on his day. 26 As it took place in the days of Noah, so will it be in the day of the Son of Man. 27 For in those days they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day Noah entered the ark and the flood came and took them all. 30 so will it also be on the day the Son of Man is revealed.

However, these statements are still so unspecific that they could after all represent the "authentic voice" of Jesus and indicate an eschatological judge other than Jesus himself. Here, the sign of Jonah does not yet refer – as it does in Matthew 12:40 – to the resurrection but rather points to the coming judgment, which, according to Jesus and Q, is bound up with the Son of Man. It is only through identification with the *earthly* Jesus (Q 6:22; 7:34; 9:58) that it becomes clear that, for Q, Jesus is this "Son of Man":

> Q 7:33 For John came, neither eating nor drinking, and you say: He has a demon! 24 The son of humanity came, eating and drinking, and you say,: Look! a person who is a glutton and a drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners!
>
> Q 9:58: And Jesus said to him: Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the Son of Man does not have anywhere he can lay his head.

The final stage in this process is the identification of the "Son of Man" with the *suffering Jesus*. However, this identification does not yet feature in the Sayings Source (which of course does not contain a passion narrative) but first appears in Mark (in 10:33, Jesus states: "See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death; then they will hand him over to the Gentiles").

7.3.3 Conclusion: "Implicit" Christology

Nowhere is the close connection between early Jewish eschatological expectations, Jesus's message of the *basileia*, and the later theology of the earliest church more evident than in the motif of the "Son of Man." It was by no means uncommon in apocalyptically oriented circles of early Judaism for visionaries or mediators of purported salvific significance to arise, promising to deliver the conclusive and binding interpretation of God's will. In this connection, one need only consider the considerable Enoch literature, the "Teacher of Righteousness" at Qumran, or 4 Ezra (► V.2.1.3–V.2.1.5 above). Although the historical Jesus did not claim to be such an eschatological mediator, he nevertheless placed himself in a close and indissoluble

relationship to the expectation of the Son of Man. Just as Jesus – as an agent of the *basileia* – has the power to drive out demons and heal diseases, so too, empowered by the dawning kingdom of God, he can, by the power of the *basileia*, forgive sins and liberate from all manner of impurity (both moral and ritual). Even though Jesus does not yet act *on his own authority* but as the one *authorized* by God's *basileia*, his claim nevertheless carries unconditional salvific significance and determines acceptance or rejection at the last judgment before the Son of Man. After Easter, this *implicit* claim to authority as an agent of the kingdom of God was further developed along *explicit* christological lines.[212] This development could proceed with relative ease, since the oft-cited identification of *message* and *messenger* is not merely a post-Easter development, being rather a distinctive feature of the proclamation both of the Old Testament prophets and Jesus (▸ IV.2.2.3; V.7.3.3 above). Of course, this identification obtains a different weight in the wake of Easter. Talk of the *basileia* is replaced by the "gospel of (Jesus) Christ" (Mark 1:1; Rom 15:19; 1 Cor 9:12; 2 Cor 2:12; 9:13; 10:14). The new message is the messenger himself, Jesus Christ. Mention of the "kingdom of God" in Paul's letters (Rom 14:17; 1 Cor 4:20; 6:9, 10; Gal 5:21; 1 Thess 2:12) comes across as little more than a theological catchphrase that is entirely subordinated to christology. Nevertheless, even if the Easter experience of the risen Christ provided the initial spark for an actual "christology," its anchor point had already been established in the historical Jesus. Conversely, the following also holds true: "The impulses of the historical Jesus ... continue to be the source with which personal faith and reflective understanding align themselves in substantive continuity. ... A christology that does not refer to the historical Jesus loses its footing in history."[213]

7.4 Jesus as "Wisdom" and "Logos"

7.4.1 The Hypostatization of Wisdom in the Old Testament

The process leading to the hypostatization of Wisdom in the Old Testament went through various intermediate stages:[214] *1)* First, Wisdom was stylized as *an objective entity* that could be sought and found (Job 28:12–28). *2)* Next, Wisdom was *personified* as a person speaking in public, issuing invitations, warnings, promises, and threats (Prov 1:20–33; 8:1–21, 32–36; 9). *3)* The final stage is the *hypostatization* of Wisdom, by which it came to be regarded as independent vis-à-vis God and the creation (Prov 8:22–36; Sir 24:3–22; Wis 9). According to Proverbs 8:22–31 and Wisdom 9:2, Wisdom is already portrayed as the mediator of creation, preexistent before the making of the world and aiding God in the work of creation. Wisdom is then identified with the Torah in Sirach 24:23. This particular line of interpretation, which identifies the Jewish

212 On this, see Frey, Continuity, 69–98.
213 Öhler, Kontinuitätskonstrukte, 108f. [JV].
214 See Lips, Christus, 79–85.

Torah with the order of creation, became a central theologoumenon in early Judaism (► V.2.1 above).

7.4.2 Wisdom and the Logos in the Writings of Philo

For Philo of Alexandria as well the knowledge of divine Wisdom represents the "royal road" (πορεύεσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν βασιλικήν, Deus 144) to God.[215] According to Philo, however, the path to wisdom cannot be trodden without divine aid. "The idea that the human person needs a guide on the path is an integral feature of Philo's perspective on the matter. The one who has no guide wanders astray."[216] According to Deus 180–182, God grants such aid by providing the divine Logos:

> 180 ... So then the earthly Edom purposes to bar the heavenly and royal road of virtue, but the divine reason on the other hand would bar the road of Edom and his associates. [181] 182 For it is then that the ailments of the soul become not only hard to tend, but even utterly beyond healing, when though Conviction fronts us, Conviction, the divine reason, the angel who guides our feet and removes the obstacles from them that we may walk without stumbling along the high road (λόγος δ' ἐστὶ θεῖος, ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀναστέλλων, ἵνα ἄπταιστοι διὰ λεωφόρου βαίνωμεν τῆς ὁδοῦ), we yet set our ill-judged purposes before those counsels of his which he is wont to give without ceasing for our admonishing and chastening and the reformation of our whole life.

The divine Logos comes to help humans as ἄγγελος ποδηγετῶν, "the angel who guides," an angel "who removes the obstacles before [our feet], that we may walk without stumbling along the high road." The concept of the divine Logos as the guide of humanity runs through Philo's entire oeuvre (Opif. 117–119; Cher. 36; Sacr. 8 and 51; Deus 134 and 180; Migr. 23f.; 173–175; Fug. 131 and 199f.; Mut. 113–120; Somn. 1.69 and 102f.). In some places, he refers to *logoi* in the plural. According to Philo (Somn. 1.69), the strict transcendence of God is the reason for this intermediary entity positioned between God and humans. Rather than intervening directly, God operates in the world through his "logoi":

> For God, not deeming it meet that sense should perceive Him, sends forth His Words [logoi] to succour the lovers of virtue, and they act as physicians of the soul and completely heal its infirmities, giving holy exhortations with all the force of irreversible enactments, and calling to the exercise and practice of these and like trainers implanting strength and power and vigour that no adversary can withstand.

Thus it seems consistent that in Migr. 173–175 these "logoi" are equated with angels, though talk of the one divine Logos subsequently resumes.

> 173 Now he that follows God has of necessity as his fellow-travellers the words and thoughts [logoi] that attend Him, angels as they are often called (τοῖς ἀκολούθοις αὐτοῦ λόγοις, οὓς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀγγέλους) ... 174 For as long as he [i. e., the one who follows God] falls short of perfection, he has the Divine Word [logos] as his leader: since there is an oracle which

215 On this and the following, see Tiwald, Hebräer, 255–257.

216 Mack, Logos, 135 [JV].

> says, "Lo, I send My messenger before thy face, to guard thee in they way, that he may bring thee in into the land which I have prepared for thee: Give heed to him, and hearken to him, disobey him not; for he will by no means withdraw from thee; for My name is on him" (Exod. 23:2f.). 175 But when he has arrived at full knowledge, he will run with more vigorous effort, and his pace will be as great as that of him who before led the way; for so they will both become attendants on the All-leading God (ὀπαδοὶ γενήσονται τοῦ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ) ...

Here it becomes clear that, for Philo, the logos ultimately serves, on the one hand, as a construct to safeguard the transcendence of God (mediated by his logoi), while, on the other hand, accounting for God's action on earth. The text's oscillation between a *singular* logos and *multiple* logoi indicates that Philo envisions the logos merely as God's earthly mode of operation. Finally, it becomes clear that it is the "All-leading God" himself from whom salvation comes. For Philo, the concept of the logos is entirely in the service of the transcendence and omnipotence of God. Similar to the wisdom theology of the Old Testament, the concept of the logos does not function as an independent salvific agent alongside or over against God in Philo's works but merely serves as the transcendent God's hypostatized mode of operation in the world.

7.4.3 Jesus, the Divine Wisdom and Logos

In the Sayings Source, John the Baptist and Jesus are portrayed together as "Wisdom's two children" (7:31–35):

> 31 To whom am I to compare this generation and what is it like? 32 It is like children seated in the market-places, who, addressing the others, say: We fluted for you, but you would not dance; we wailed, but you would not cry. 33 For John came, neither eating nor drinking, and you say: He has a demon! 34 The son of humanity came, eating and drinking, and you say: Look! A person who is a glutton and a drunkard, a chum of tax collectors and sinners! 35 But Wisdom was vindicated by her children.

In this passage, Jesus is neither elevated above John in the manner familiar to us from later New Testament texts (e.g., Mark 1:7–11; Matt 3:13–17; Luke 1:40–45; 3:15f.; Acts 18:25; 19:3–6; John 1:25–37; 3:26–30), nor depicted as personified Wisdom. Similar to the ideas already noted in the Old Testament, Wisdom is hypostatized as an active entity in the Sayings Source as well. This is apparent in Q 11:49 as well:

> Therefore also Wisdom said: I will send them prophets and sages, and some of them they will kill and prosecute, ...

Here, too, Jesus is not yet identified with Wisdom, but is merely its messenger. Wisdom itself, however, is hypostatized and speaks independently. G. Boccaccini has pointed to a parallel between Q and the Book of Similitudes (in 1 Enoch) at this point: "The heavenly Enoch is the herald and messenger of the divine Wisdom, not its incarnation."[217] Whereas the diction of Q is still preserved in Luke 7:31–35 and 11:49, the first evangelist takes a further step, reworking his Q source material so that Matthew

217 Boccaccini, Place, 277.

11:19c reads: "Yet wisdom is vindicated by her *deeds*." Here, Jesus is understood to be the personification of Wisdom, which is validated by its deeds. In Matthew 23:34 as well, it is no longer Wisdom who sends out her messengers, but Jesus himself. When it is said that he sends out "prophets, sages, and scribes," these figures already represent functionaries of the congregation.[218] Even behind the texts containing Matthew's wisdom theology, however, "no coherent christological model at all is visible."[219] The conclusion of von Lips on the matter is quite reasonable:[220]

> The presence of wisdom theology in New Testament christology is undeniable. Yet the interpretive aims associated with the incorporation of wisdom traditions are as diverse as the respective wisdom traditions themselves. All these observed distinctions caution against assuming and constructing a linear development where the incorporation of the wisdom tradition into christology is concerned, and thus against positing a consistent progression from the initial rudiments of wisdom christology to its fully developed form.

A similar conclusion suggests itself with regard to the logos statements in the New Testament. The prologue of John asserts the *preexistence* of the divine logos ("In the beginning was the Word"; John 1:1) and its role as *mediator of creation* ("All things came into being through him"; John 1:3). Both attributes had already been applied to the divine Wisdom in the Old Testament, which Philo links to the Logos.[221] However, identifying the logos with God ("and the Word was God"), rather than regarding it merely as a mode of divine action, represents a bold step beyond earlier precedents. Yet it is pointless to debate the extent to which these statements are still to be understood in a *figurative and narrative* sense or already in *dogmatic and realistic* terms. The entire theology of the New Testament operates within an established repertoire of forms and images borrowed from the Old Testament and early Judaism. While the New Testament authors develop this linguistic framework in independent and creative ways, it does not definitively lose its metaphorical fluidity until the interpretation established by the the fourth-century councils is dogmatically fixed as the sole orthodox reading (on the "parting of the ways" between Jews and Christians, ▸ I.2.2 above).

The fluidity of the Old Testament statements regarding Wisdom and Philo's concept of the logos has already been established: despite their hypostatization, Wisdom and the logos are not depicted as agents of salvation apart from and over against the "All-leading God" (τοῦ πανηγεμόνος θεοῦ, Philo, Migr. 175). Behind the scenes, it is God himself who acts. In their *dogmatically binding* statements on Jesus as the second divine person, the councils of the fourth and fifth centuries CE abandoned the *fluidity* of the established repertoire of early Jewish images and forms, while nevertheless retaining the overarching principle of monotheism. However, the *speculative theological* element of early Jewish theology is also preserved within Christianity, only it shifts away from Wisdom and logos theology over to the doctrine of the Trinity. The "per-

218 Thus, Luz, Matthew 21–28, 152.
219 Luz, Matthew 21–28, 153.
220 Von Lips, Christus, 93 [JV].
221 See Boccaccini, Place, 282f.

ichoretic" conception of the Trinity – which is not a matter of three independent deities ("tritheism"), but one divine substance in three persons – reflects the underlying monotheistic concept. Even in this notion, therefore, the *one* divine substance remains the agent of salvation.[222]

8 The "Hellenists"

8.1 Stephen's Circle and the "Hellenists"

8.1.1 The "Hellenists" in Acts 6

For the identity of the "Hellenists" and the positions they represented, ▸ III.10.3.1 above. Led by Stephen, the "Hellenists" mentioned in Acts 6 were liberal Jewish Christians from the diaspora. They boldly embraced Jesus's position, integrated it with ideas from diaspora Judaism, and developed it further in creative and independent ways.

8.1.2 The "Hellenists" and the Temple

In particular, the "Hellenists" gathered around Stephen (Acts 6) adopted Jesus's criticism of the temple (▸ V.6.3 above) and his expectation – in accordance with the promised pilgrimage of the nations to Zion (Isa 2:2–5; 60:3; Mic 4:2f.) – that the Gentiles would also partake in salvation. The group creatively developed these motifs toward a pronounced spiritualization of sacrificial and temple metaphors, a tendency already attested in early Judaism (▸ V.4.3.2 above). In Acts 6:13f., Stephen is accused of the following:[223]

> 13 ... This man never stops saying things against this holy place [i. e., the Jerusalem Temple] and the law (λαλῶν ῥήματα κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου [τούτου] καὶ τοῦ νόμου); 14 for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place and will change the customs (ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθη) that Moses handed on to us.

These words from Luke's pen are of course also shaped by the interests of his theological narrative, being written after the destruction of the temple and placed only in the mouths of "false witnesses." Nevertheless, the remark likely touches the heart of the matter. Although Luke introduces ideas of his own here (such as opening the

222 On the "tritheistic" misunderstanding, see Greshake, Gott, 142 [JV], who (quoting Karl Rahner) identifies "the real danger of Trinitarian doctrine ... in the average understanding of the normal Christian, [characterized by] a vulgar (unspoken but, 'just below the surface,' quite severe) tritheism." "Perichoresis" (Gr. περιχώρησις, *perichoresis*, literally: "dancing around," to rotate around something) refers to complete reciprocal interpenetration, which, in Trinitarian theology, describes the unity of the three divine persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (see, *loc. cit*., 93f.).

223 On this, see Tiwald, Hebräer, 379–383, similarly Schnelle, First One Hundred Years, 131–132.

temple to Gentiles and the notion of a cult without sacrifices), such ideas were very much present in liberal currents of early Judaism and their contextual plausibility exhibits a certain historical accuracy.[224] Furthermore, when, despite his irenic tendencies, Luke mentions such a conflict, there must be some truth to it. In the verses cited above, Stephen takes up Jesus's prophecy concerning the temple and interprets it in the sense of an opening of the temple to the Gentiles.[225] This is further reinforced by the secondary addition of a quotation from Isaiah in Mark 11:17, which states: "My house will be called a house of prayer (προσευχή) for all the (gentile) nations" (Isa 56:7 LXX; trans. MT). "The term 'proseuche' is a widespread designation for a synagogue. The transformation of the temple into a kind of 'synagogue' would have opened it up to Gentiles. For Gentiles were allowed into synagogues (as God-fearers)."[226] A cult without sacrifices is likely also envisioned here, as Stephen's speech in Acts 7:42–50 suggests:

> 42 … as it is written in the book of the prophets: Did you offer to me slain victims and sacrifices forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel? … 44 Our ancestors had the tent of testimony in the wilderness, … 47 But it was Solomon who built a house for him. 48 Yet the Most High does not dwell in houses made with human hands; as the prophet says, 49 Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool. What kind of house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? 50 Did not my hand make all these things?

The point is clear: the wilderness generation offered no sacrifices to God and had only the tent of testimony, not a temple. Obviously – following Stephen's logic (at least in Luke's portrayal) – God needs neither offerings nor a temple. For God's actual temple is heaven and the earth is his footstool. This is somewhat reminiscent of Philo's statement that God made the whole world (σύμπαντα κόσμον) his temple (Spec. 1.66f.), while the "handmade temple" (τὸ δὲ χειρόκμητον) is merely a concession to human necessities. Stephen, however, was likely not at all interested in a fundamental rejection of the temple. Rather, he urged a new interpretation of the temple service that downplayed *ritual laws*.[227] The accusation of ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθη ("changing the customs") in particular suggests such an interpretation: "When Luke uses the word ἔθη, it often refers to cultic norms and traditions (e.g., Luke 1:9: priestly service; 2:42: Passover pilgrimage; Acts 15:1: circumcision)."[228] Stephen does not call for an "abrogation" of the temple, but rather a downplaying of ritual prescriptions, a point of view that we have also encountered in liberal circles of diaspora Judaism. Of course, to the ears of conservative Jews, this was tantamount to a critique of the temple itself: λαλῶν

224 For the question of how to assess the historical value of Acts, see the research overview in Braun, Geschichte, 16–32.

225 See Theissen, Hellenisten, 335; Kraus, Jerusalem, 46; Attridge, Temple, 213–237.

226 Theissen, Hellenisten, 335 [JV].

227 Contra Wilckens, Röm I, 240f., who sees in these verses an "abrogation of the Jewish Temple cult in early Christianity" in the "context of the Hellenistic Christian tradition" (the Hellenists gathered around Stephen; Paul; Hebrews). Talk of an "abrogation" of the Temple cult fails to recognize the significance of early Jewish critiques of the Temple.

228 Theissen, Hellenisten, 334 [JV]. likewise, *loc. cit*. 335, and Kraus, Jerusalem, 48f.

ῥήματα κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου [τούτου] καὶ τοῦ νόμου, "saying things against this holy place [i. e., the Jerusalem Temple] and the law."

The other "Hellenists" from Acts 6:1 likely also shared Stephen's opinion and were thus expelled from Jerusalem, as Acts 8:1 reports. Interestingly, the "Apostles" were not expelled from Jerusalem, being after all "Hebrews" and not critical of the temple cult. G. Theissen is likely correct to suspect theological differences within the early community behind this differing treatment and Luke's notes about a conflict between "Hebrews" and "Hellenists." It is evident, then, that there was a liberal faction that creatively elaborated on Jesus's critique of the temple and integrated it with their own positions, which were already well-known from the diaspora.

8.1.3 Christ as *hilastērion*

"Stephen's circle's critique of the cult fit seamlessly into the proclamation that Jesus is the appointed eschatological locus of atonement (*hilastērion*; Rom 3:25), which eschatologically surpassed the former locus of divine encounter and atonement."[229] The majority of exegetes assume that Paul incorporated a pre-Pauline hymn in Romans 3:25,[230] the underlying of ideas of which could indeed go back to the "Hellenists." According to Romans 3:25, God appointed Jesus Christ as *hilastērion*, that is, as the כַּפֹּרֶת (*kapporet*, "atoning cover"), the place in the temple's Holy of Holies to which the atoning blood is applied (Lev 16:13–15). In Romans 3:25, Christ is depicted "as the saving and thus atoning locus of God's presence, that is, as the antitype of the 'kapporet' ..."[231] However, this view does not signify the substitution of the temple cult with Jesus, but rather "an understanding of Jesus's death on the cross through the medium of cultic ideas."[232] It is thus clear that Jesus has now become the locus of eschatological atonement for our sins – like the atoning cover in the temple. Finally, there are similar concepts in Hebrews 7:26–8:6; 9:11, 24f., where Jesus is portrayed not as the atoning cover but as a new high priest. According to Hebrews 9:24–28, Jesus's singular sacrifice now fulfills everything that the annual Yom Kippur celebration had represented (Hebrews was written after the destruction of the temple). The bloody sacrifices in the temple are thus no longer necessary. A spiritualization and metaphorization of the temple cult takes place at the beginnings of Christianity. Yet, just like the idea of a temple without bloody sacrifices (► V.4.3 above), the first Christians adopted this spiritualization and metaphorization of the temple cult from early Judaism.

229 Kraus, Jerusalem, 53 [JV]. On the following, see Tiwald, Christ, 189–209.

230 See the research overview in Schreiber, Weihegeschenk, 90.

231 Merklein, Bedeutung, 33 [JV].

232 Merklein, Bedeutung, 31 [JV]. However, Merklein is right to note that "cultic ideas" are not simply "*transferred* to Jesus," but are instead applied through a process of interpretation and understanding (ibid. [JV]). See Tiwald, Christ, 195–201.

8.1.4 The Circumcision-Free Mission to the Gentiles

The circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles likely originated with the "Hellenists" who were expelled from Jerusalem, with Antioch as its first center (► III.10.3 above). It seems that some liberal Jews held the view that circumcision was not at all necessary for converts. At least this is what Josephus's account of the acceptance of the Jewish law by Queen Helena of Adiabene and her son Izates seems to suggest (*A.J.* 20.38–43; modified trans.):

> 38 When Izates had learned that his mother was very much pleased with the Jewish customs (τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν), he was zealous to convert to it himself; and since he considered that he would not be genuinely a Jew (εἶναι βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος) unless he was circumcised, he was ready to act accordingly. 39 When his mother learned of his intention, however, she tried to stop him by telling him that it was a dangerous move. For, she said, he was a king; and if his subjects should discover that he was devoted to rites that were strange and foreign to themselves, it would produce much disaffection and they would not tolerate the rule of a Jew over them. ... 40 ... [Izates] reported her arguments to Ananias. The latter expressed agreement with the king's mother ... 41 ... The king could, he said, worship God even without being circumcised (δυνάμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη καὶ χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν) if indeed he had fully decided to be a devoted adherent of Judaism, for it was this that counted more than circumcision (εἴγε πάντως κέκρικε ζηλοῦν τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦτ' εἶναι κυριώτερον τοῦ περιτέμνεσθαι; *more accurately*: if only he were to diligently observe all the ancestral customs of the Jews: that would be more kingly than circumcision). 42 He told him, furthermore, that God Himself would pardon him if, constrained thus by necessity and by fear of his subjects, he failed to perform this rite. And so, for the time, the king was convinced by his arguments. Afterwards, however, since he had not completely given up his desire, another Jew, named Eleazar, who came from Galilee and who had a reputation for being extremely strict when it came to the ancestral laws (πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς εἶναι; *more accurately*: who seemed extraordinarily conscientious in observing the ancestral customs), urged him to carry out the rite (πρᾶξαι τοὔργον).

Izates grapples with the question of whether circumcision is necessary to be "genuinely a Jew" (βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος). Such a step would, after all, be a highly significant political move for the heir to the throne of a non-Jewish country. The Jewish merchant Ananias is clearly a liberal diaspora Jew. In his assessment, it is possible χωρὶς τῆς περιτομῆς τὸ θεῖον σέβειν ("to whorship God even without being circumcised"), if only one diligently observes the πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, the "ancestral customs of Judaism." Ananias, it seems, does not count circumcision among those customs!

To do justice to the full meaning of the text, one must be aware that, for Josephus, the πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ("the ancestral laws of Judaism") was a term designating Judaism's sacred legal regulations. In *Vita* 191, he remarks that the Pharisees "have a reputation of excelling others in their precision with respect to the ancestral legal matters" (περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβείᾳ διαφέρειν; modified trans.). The measure of "precision" with which one observed the "ancestral laws" was considered the measure of one's faithfulness to the Torah (compare Paul's similar statements in Gal 1:14). From Josephus's perspective, the liberal Ananias does not measure up to this "precision," as he does not count circumcision among the "ancestral laws." He attributes this "precision" solely to Eleazar, whom he describes

as πάνυ περὶ τὰ πάτρια δοκῶν ἀκριβὴς εἶναι, "seeming extraordinarily conscientious in observing the ancestral customs." In the figure of Ananias, however, we learn that some indeed held such liberal positions within early Judaism. It seems plausible that Josephus recounts this incident in such detail in order, by way of his polemic against Ananias, to criticize contemporaries who held similar views. For further examples of the relativization of circumcision in early Judaism, ► V.8.2.3 below.

8.2 Liberal Early Jewish Positions and Early Christianity

The view that the temple cult can function without bloody sacrifices and that God actually has no need of a temple has already been discussed above, as has the assumption that one might dispense with circumcision. Similarly liberal positions on purity regulations can be found in early Judaism, which were later further developed by the first Christians.

8.2.1 Liberal Early Jewish Positions on Dietary Regulations

In the Letter of Aristeas 128 (see the text and introduction above, ► III.7.2.3), we read that there were "many" who regard the dietary laws as a senseless exaggeration. These "many" are likely not mere non-Jewish critics. As Stemberger suggests, this text likely also aims to "redefine the dietary regulations within an enlightened Jewish community ..."[233] Thus, Aristeas 143 emphasizes that, by nature (πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον), all foods are equally clean. The basic thesis, "that nothing is unclean in itself; but it is unclean for anyone who thinks it is unclean" (ὅτι οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ τι κοινὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ κοινόν; Rom 14:14), is also found in Paul. Later, this idea is taken further in Titus 1:15: "To the pure all things are pure, but to the corrupt and unbelieving nothing is pure. Their very minds and consciences are corrupted." A similar tone is discernible the discussion of the dietary laws found in Mark 7:18–23 (► V.11 below).

8.2.2 Liberal Positions on Marriage Regulations

Intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews had been a problem since the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. As a result, even a number of priests and Levites left Jerusalem to seek a new role at the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim, which had been established in the mid-fifth century BCE (► III.9.1.2 above). Controversies sparked by forbidden liasons seem to have persisted into the time of Josephus, as evidenced by *A.J.* 4.145–149):

> 145 After him Zambrias (Ζαμβρίας) arose and said, "On the contrary, you, Moyses, should observe the laws that you yourself have attended to with zeal (νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδακας), having procured confirmation for them through the simple-mindedness of

233 Stemberger, Dekalog, 92 [JV].

> these men, ... 146 But you will not get me to be a follower of the orders which you give tyranically (προστάττεις τυραννικῶς). For up until now you have wickedly done no other thing than to contrive slavery for us (δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν) and headship for yourself under the pretense of laws and of God (προσχήματι νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ) ... 147 In this way you will become harsher to the Hebrews than the Egyptians, in claiming to punish according to the laws the wish of each person to do what is agreeable to himself. You yourself much more deservedly should undergo punishment for having preferred to obliterate the things that are agreed among all (κατὰ τῆς ἁπάντων δόξης) to be good and for having arranged to make your own eccentricity (τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακὼς ἀτοπίαν) prevail against the opinion of everyone else. 148 ... I have married a foreign wife (γύναιόν τε ξενικόν), as you say. You will hear my actions from myself as from a free man (ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου), for indeed I did not intend to conceal it. 149 And I sacrifice to the gods whom, according to my thinking, it is proper to sacrifice, considering that it is right to take the trouble to arrive at the truth for myself from many people, and not to live as if in a tyranny (ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν), dependent for all the hope of my entire life upon one person. And let no one take joy in proclaiming that he has more authority over what I do than my own opinion."

Zambrias (Ζαμβρίας), son of Salu, is known to us from Numbers 25:6–15 (LXX: Ζαμβρι; NRSV: Zimri) as a leading man from the tribe of Simeon, who openly defied Moses's instructions, particularly regarding dealings with foreign Midianite women (the Midianite women had seduced the Israelites into idolatry). Zambrias becomes the "paradigmatic evildoer" in early Judaism (1 Macc 2:26; Philo Mos. 1.301–304). Josephus expands on the story by putting a lengthy speech into Zambrias's mouth. Through this speech, Josephus is clearly airing contemporary Jewish objections to the prohibition of intermarriage and idolatry.[234] Zambrias's argument is noteworthy. He does not in fact question the law of God, the Torah, *per se*, as one might expect from an apostate. Instead, he proclaims that, exploiting the "simple-mindedness" (ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐηθείας) of the Israelites, Moses arbitrarily "added" (παρεσχημένος) his "tyrannical commands" (προστάττεις τυραννικῶς) to the will of God. However, this is said to have occurred merely "under the pretense of laws and of God" (προσχήματι νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ). It is not the Torah *itself* that is criticized, but its false and "tyrannical" interpretation, which forces free Jews under the yoke of slavery (δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν). Yet Zambrias considers such interpretation of the laws by certain religious zealots to be "your own eccentricity" (τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακὼς ἀτοπίαν), standing in contradiction to "the opinion of everyone else" (κατὰ τῆς ἁπάντων δόξης). Especially in the context of a sexually and religiously permissive pagan environment, liberal diaspora Jews likely viewed the strict regulations of their religion as an undue intrusion into their personal freedom. It is evident, however, that this opinion was held not only by apostates but also by Jews who still considered themselves such. Zambrias, for his part, does not criticize the faith or the law *per se*, but only the "tyrannical" constric-

234 Feldmann, Phinehas, 328: "Zimri (*Ant*. 4.145–149) artfully summarizes arguments that assimilated Jews of Josephus' day might have used; namely, his opposition to the tyranny of the commandments (*Ant*. 4.146, 149) and his advocacy of liberty of action (ἐλευθέρων, *Ant*. 4.146, a key word throughout the Antiquities)." Pollmann, Gesetzeskritik, 25–65 [JV] ("Josephus is likely aware of criticism of the law by assimilated Jews who advocated for intermarriage, attributing their arguments to the apostate Zimri"; 46); Theissen, Religion, 291–294.

tion of it "under the pretense of the laws and of God." The fact that Josephus puts such a lengthy speech into the mouth of an "evildoer," of all people, demonstrates that he is combating similar arguments posed by his Jewish contemporaries.

8.2.3 Liberal Positions on Circumcision

As we have already seen, there were also various positions on the issue of circumcision. While circumcision had become the "exclusive *nota Iudaica*"[235] in early Judaism and, according to Genesis 17, was *the* sign par excellence of the covenant between God and Abraham and his promised descendants,[236] contrasting tendencies nevertheless existed.[237] For example, according to 2 Maccabees 4:10–14, 1 Maccabees 1:11–15, and *A.J.* 12.237–241, the *Hellenization policy of the high priest Jason* (► II.3.4.2 above) created a situation in which Jews who trained in the newly built Gymnasium abandoned their Jewish customs and underwent procedures to restore their foreskin. Written shortly after the Maccabean revolt, Jubilees 15:33 also reports that, despite the Maccabean takeover, certain pro-Hellenistic groups remained critical of circumcision.

The *"radical allegorizers" whom Philo criticized* pushed his allegorical interpretation of the Bible to the extreme: why adhere to the literal wording of the laws if their true meaning is already revealed at the symbolic level? If, according to Philo's reading, "circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions" (Migr. 92, Text: ► III.7.3 above), then physical circumcision is no longer necessary. Philo fends off this misunderstanding by defending the literal sense, and with it, the practice of circumcision. Yet the "radical allegorizers'" line of argument appears to have been more widespread than Philo's remark suggests. Paul himself employs a similar argument in Romans 2:29, where he asserts that the requirements of the law are to be observed ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι ("in spirit, not in the letter"). While Philo criticizes the εὐχέρεια, the "easy and off-handed manner," of these people, it is nevertheless "noteworthy that [his] criticism of them is unusually mild."[238] In any case, he sees no grounds for denying them their Jewishness, demands "no indictment or punishment," and does not address them as "renegades."[239] We can only speculate about the size of this group, which at least encompassed "several" (τινες) people, and "Philo took them seriously enough to feel compelled to respond to their arguments …"[240]

The conversion of Izates, mentioned by Josephus in *A.J.* 20.34–36), has already been discussed in some detail above (► V.8.1.4 above). Regarding Ananias's position, i. e. that Izates need not be circumcized, M. Konradt reasons that it was "not only a workaround solution born of political considerations [i. e., a circumcized Izates would not have been accepted as king in a non-Jewish country], but rather had a broader so-

235 Blaschke, Beschneidung, 360 [JV].
236 See Blaschke, Beschneidung, 104.
237 See Tiwald, Beschneidung, 223–240; Konradt, Kontext, 3–42; Theobald, Christus, 107–114.
238 Doering, Schabbat, 348 [JV]. See Löhr, Speisenfrage, 22f.
239 Doering, Schabbat, 348 [JV].
240 Doering, Schabbat, 347 [JV].

cial background."[241] We may assume that Josephus relates this story, with its lengthy exchange of arguments, to persuade liberal Jewish contemporaries of the necessity of proselyte circumcision.

Epispasmos, the operation that restored the foreskin, is mentioned in the Assumption of Moses 8.3. This aligns with 1 Corinthians 7:18, which was written shortly after the Assumption of Moses. The fact that Paul has to warn against epispasmos is clear evidence that a number of Jewish Christians took their newly acquired belief in Christ as an opportunity to be rid of the supposed "stigma" (at least according to Hellenistic standards) of circumcision.

Written around 100 CE in Palestine, *2 Baruch* (66.5) also assumes that some Jews were distancing themselves from circumcision at the time.[242] P. Schäfer suggests that many Jews enthusiastically accepted Hadrian's policy of Hellenization. In support of this, he cites passages from the Sybilline Oracles (5.46–50), the renaming of Sepphoris to Diocaeserea in Hadrian's honor even before the uprising (130 CE), and the construction of a Hadrianeion in Tiberias. These sympathizers practiced epispasmos and, according to t. Shab 15(16).9 were re-circumcised after the Bar Kochba revolt.[243]

Suetonius's account of the *fiscus Iudaicus* under Domitian (DeVitCaes/Domitianus 2,2; for the text ► I.2.2.8 above) mentions those who did not pay the fees imposed on their people because they concealed their origins (*dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent*). The phrase *dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent* refers to circumcised Jews who concealed their Jewish identity, either because they had abandoned the Jewish faith or simply because they did not want to pay. Here, again, it is clear that some Jews took a critical view of circumcision.

Resistance to the idea that physical circumcision automatically guarantees salvation and covenant belonging is already found in the Old Testament: referring to "circumcision of the heart," Deuteronomy 10:16; Ezekiel 44:7, 9; 9:24f. emphasize that the actual salvific value of circumcision lies less in a physical rite than in an inner disposition. Of course, in none of these passages does "circumcision of the heart" replace concrete, bodily circumcision. However, they contain an evaluation: without circumcision of the heart, circumcision of the body is meaningless. The statement of 1QS V,5 is very much in line with this:

> 5 ... he should circumcise in the Community (ביחד) the foreskin of his tendency and of his stiff neck in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the eternal 6 covenant (ליחד ברית עולם). They should make atonement for all who freely volunteer for holiness in Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel and for those who join them for community (ליחד), lawsuit and judgment, 7 to proclaim as guilty all those who trespass the decree.

241 Konradt, Kontext, 25 [JV].

242 Since the reference texts for Josiah's reforms in 2 Baruch 66.5 (2 Kgs 23:4–25; 2 Chr 34:1–7, 33; 35:1–19) make no mention whatsoever of the killing of uncircumcised members of the people, we can assume that 2 Baruch 66.5 speaks to a current problem. This, at least, is how Konradt, Kontext, 25 interprets the text.

243 See Schäfer, Aufstand, 46 [JV]: "... these people were clearly assimilated Jews, friends of the Romans (in the political and cultural sense) who had ... conformed to the surrounding Greco-Roman culture."

In this passage, circumcision of the heart is explicitly identified with membership in the Qumranite Yahad. Whereas liberal groups such as the radical allegorizers interpret "circumcision of the heart" metaphorically as an *inclusive criterion*, broadening the circle of the redeemed beyond circumcised Jews, the same concept serves as an *exclusive criterion* in Qumran to make a further distinction between the physically circumcised (= all Israelites) and those "circumcised of heart" (= the Yahad; likewise 1QpHab XI,12–15; 4Q434 frg. 1 I,4 or 4Q184 frg. 2). John the baptist undertakes a similar relativization – not of circumcision but of Abrahamic descent – in Matthew 3:9/ Luke 3:8 (cf. John 8:39; Rom 9:7). Eschatologically oriented Jewish groups expected the rift between the redeemed and the condemned to also run through Israel itself. Circumcision and Abrahamic descent were no longer guarantees of certain salvation. Rather, what was necessary for assured salvation was a redemptive, special eschatological knowledge, which was usually linked to revelatory intermediary figures (► V.5.2.2 above). Thus, L. Stuckenbruck comments on 1 Enoch 93.10: "First, membership in Israel is no guarantee of future salvation ... Second, the author characterises the 'chosen ones' as those who will be endowed with special knowledge."[244] This shows that circumcision no longer possessed exclusive salvific significance by itself but had need of the interpretive competence of a redemptive interpreter of the Torah. The latter could have been the Teacher of Righteousness, Enoch, or Ezra. For early Christianity, it was Jesus of Nazareth. All of this meant that the fundamental necessity of physical circumcision for salvation could be questioned where proselytes were concerned. This was all the more the case, as Hellenized groups within early Judaism already suffered under the restrictions imposed on them by ritual and purity laws.

8.2.4 Liberal vs. Preservationist Concepts and the "Parting of the Ways"

Building on Jesus's concept of "offensive purity" (impurity is not contagious; rather, the purity of God's dawning rule makes everything pure, ► V.5.2.3 above), those liberal diaspora Jews referred to as "Hellenists" in Acts 6 (► V.8.1 above) were able to cultivate Jesus's impetus in creative ways. Under the auspices of imminent expectation, they now espoused a liberal interpretation of ritual and purity laws. Similar to the radical allegorizers, they evaluate circumcision, the temple cult, and kashrut purely in metaphorical and ethical terms. Such liberal ideas entered into conflict with contrary preservationist ideas current within Palestinian Judaism (Judea, Jewish Galilee, Gaulanitis). Archaeologically, the emergence of a *household Judaism* within Palestinian Judaism can be detected around the middle of the first century CE:[245] cultic purity practices, such as ritual baths (*mikva'ot*) and stone vessels not susceptible to ritual contamination, begin to dominate the Jewish household. This demonstrates the

244 Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch, 124.

245 Berlin, Life, 417–470. Similar conclusions are reached by, Adler, Purity, passim; Charlesworth, Temple, 395–442; Jensen, Purity, 3–34 ("household purity grew to the extent it did with ritual baths, stone utensils and even oil lamps made of holy Jerusalem-clay", *loc. cit.*, 34); Amit/Adler, Observance, 121–143.

tendency, also familiar among the Pharisees (► III.2.4.2 above), to extend the ritual purity laws of the temple cult, originally intended only for the temple priests, to private domestic life: "The table in the house of every Jew is like the table of the Lord in the Jerusalem temple."[246] Under Agrippa I in particular (► II.5.5.3 above), there was a surge in preservationist ideas, as evidenced in Josephus *A.J.* 19.331 and m. Soṭah 7.8a. This climate resulted in the "Hellenists'" expulsion from Jerusalem (Acts 8:1). In all likelihood, their expulsion was not initiated solely by law-observant *Jews* but also found support among law-observant *Jewish Christians.* The disputes mentioned in Acts 6:1 between "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" likely extended beyond the issue of providing for widows – an abridgment attributable to the third evangelist's harmonizing tendencies, since Acts 21:20 also mentions conservative, law-observant groups within the early Jerusalem congregation. Two conclusions emerge from this: *first*, the issue of circumcising proselytes could be assessed in different ways within both early Judaism and early Christianity.[247] And *second*, "the participation and (partial) integration of non-Jewish sympathizers in synagogue life had laid the foundation for the idea of a circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles to emerge and flourish within the movement centered on faith in Christ."[248] At the Apostolic Convention (► III.10.4.2 above), the approval of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles inadvertently paved the way for the eventual separation of Jews and Christians. Due to the emigration of Jewish Christians from Jerusalem (and likely all of Palestine; ► I.2.2.6 above) in the course of both Jewish Wars, and because of the increasing dominance of gentile Christians, what had originally been intended as a temporary measure before the parousia (until the Lord's imminent return) – and even then, only as a concession of the Jewish Christian majority to the gentile Christian minority in Antioch – proved *in retrospect* to be the starting point of the "parting of the ways," which would not be completed until much later. However, that which later divided the two groups was also what had previously united them: the debate about how strictly the purity and ritual Torah should be observed. Yet the fracture lines initially ran *not* between "Jews" and "Christians," but between a "more liberal" and a "more conservative" Torah interpretations within both Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity (see the appendix *The Spectrum of Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity*).

246 Neusner, Judentum, 24f. [JV]. See also, Mußner, Toraleben, 38.

247 See Konradt, Kontext, 25 [JV], who concludes that, in early Judaism, "there were differing attitudes toward the necessity of circumcising non-Jews ..." On this subject, see also the monograph of N. Livesey, *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol* (2010), which, however, does not recognize the full significance of the positions of the radical allegorizers or Josephus. Likewise, Theobald, Christus, 111 [JV]: "The evidence suggests that diaspora Judaism did not regard circumcision as absolutely necessary requirement for non-Jews to participate in the Abrahamic covenant."

248 Konradt, Kontext, 26 [JV].

9 Paul

9.1 Biography

9.1.1 Paul Before His "Conversion"

Paul, whose birthplace was Tarsus (Acts 22:3; see also Gal 1:21, where Cilica may represent Tarsus *totum pro parte*), most likely "first came into contact with the Pharisaic movement in Jerusalem."[249] As we have already seen (► III.2.3.2 above), there were no "diaspora Pharisees." It is possible, however, that Paul's parents, or more likely his (great-)grandparents, were deported from Palestine as slaves. This may have occurred during Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. Paul would then have received Roman citizenship as a descendant of freed slaves.[250] His self-designation as a "Hebrew of Hebrews" (Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, Phil 3:5; cf. 2 Cor 11:22; Gal 1:13–24; Rom 11:1–29), on the other hand, alludes to his family's origins: according to Acts 6:1, "Hebrews" were Jews from Palestine, as opposed to "Hellenists," who were Jews from the diaspora.[251]

Paul may indeed still have had relatives in Palestine, which would align with the mention of his nephew in Jerusalem in Acts 23:16. Perhaps that part of his family was in fact close to the Pharisees, which may have prompted Luke, given his Pharisee-friendly attitude (see Lk 13:31; Acts 5:34–39; 15:5; 22:3), to portray Paul as the "son of a Pharisee" in Acts 23:6. If so, however, it is an exaggeration. "The oft-hypothesized 'diaspora Pharisees,' who had their own 'Hellenistic' teaching houses outside Eretz Israel, ... did not exist. The strict observance and precise study of the Torah ... was only directly possible in the Holy Land ..."[252] Thus, Paul was certainly not a Pharisee already during childhood. Rather, he grew up in the liberal environment of diaspora Judaism,[253] where positions similar to those of the radical allegorizers were likely

249 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 121; furthermore: id., Paul, 66f.; Tiwald, Hebräer, 412–415.

250 On Paul's Roman citizenship, see Schnelle, Paul, 60–62. By contrast, Koch, Geschichte, 335–340, for whom the arguments against Paul's Roman citizenship carry more weight (Koch, *loc. cit*., 355f., sees Paul's transfer to Rome as evidence of the particular political significance of his case, which is hardly convincing). Since freed slaves automatically received Roman citizenship, Paul could have received citizenship as the descendant of such a freed person (see Acts 22:28). Philo, too, reports that a number of freed Jewish slaves who now had Roman citizenship lived in Rome. And Acts 6:9 tells of the synagogue of the Freedmen, that is, of former slaves (Lat. *libertinus*, "freed"). It should also be noted that, starting with the Second Triumvirate (43 BCE) and during the subsequent wars in the eastern part of the Empire, Roman citizenship was quite generously granted to allied cities (see Sherwin-White, Citizenship, 306–311).

251 See Gutbrod, Ἰουδαῖος, ThWNT III/374; Wanke: Ἑβραῖος, EWNT I/894; Tiwald, Hebräer, 177–183.

252 Hengel, Stellung, 28 [JV].

253 Acts 22:3 would have us believe that, although Paul was born in Tarsus, he was brought up in Jerusalem from childhood (ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ; see Unnik, Tarsus,

held (► V.8.2.3 above). Besides these family ties, there were also excellent political and economic connections between Tarsus and Jerusalem. We can assume that the tent-maker from Tarsus had visited Jerusalem (whether for business, personal reasons, or as a pilgrim to the temple) long before the Damascus event. It was perhaps during such a visit that Paul was "*converted,*" becoming a Pharisee "blameless" with regard to the "righteousness under the law" (Phil 3:5f.). Paul's experience in the Damascus event was not, therefore, a conversion from Judaism to Christianity through relinquishing his Jewish identity, but rather a kind of *reversion* – a return to the more liberal interpretation of the law from his youth, now however within the framework of his faith in Christ. Only in this way can Paul's differing construals of the Damascus event be reconciled, on the one hand, as a "break" (Phil 3:8), and on the other, as a continuous development (Gal 1:14).

9.1.2 Paul's Years as an Apprentice

The Christian Paul likely learned the missionary's craft in Antioch (here, Acts 11:26; 13:1 is confirmed by Gal 1:21; 2:11–14; ► III.10.4.1 above). There, he adopted positions similar to those we have already identified among the "Hellenists." In Acts 13:1, Paul is still listed last in a list of "prophets and teachers." As a newly fledged "missionary," he is then depicted as the "junior partner" of Barnabas, who had already taken him under his wing earlier in the narrative (Acts 11:25, 30; 12:25; 13:2, 7). However, Paul seems to have gradually stepped out of Barnabas's shadow (being listed first from Acts 13:43 onward).[254] Acts 15:37–39 then tells of a παροξυσμός, a sharp disagreement, between Paul and Barnabas. Was the insignificant figure of John Mark really the reason for the disagreement, as Luke would have us believe? This is likely due to Luke's obfuscating mode of presentation. The latter tells of the disagreement taking place shortly after the incident at Antioch (► III.10.4.2 above), which Paul and Barnabas are said to have weathered together in unity. However, Galatians 2:13 places the conflict with Barnabas in the context of the incident at Antioch itself, which is far

259–320), where he was a pupil of Gamaliel I. The historical value of this statement is generally doubted (see the overview in Tiwald, Hebräer, 167–183), since Paul nowhere mentions having been brought up in Jerusalem or receiving an education under Gamliel in any of his authentic letters – not even in Phil 3:5 or 2 Cor 11:22, where it would have fit well into the rhetorical strategy of outdoing his opponents. There is no mention anywhere that Gamaliel I founded his own school (see Stemberger, Paul, 68f.). If, however, it is true that Gamaliel taught on the steps of the Temple Mount (t. Sanh. 2.6; cf. m. ʿOr. 2.12), "we probably have to think of Saul [i. e., the pre-Christian Paul] being witness to some of Gamaliel's public appearances and decisions rather than of formal discipleship" (Stemberger, Paul, 69).

254 An exception to this is Acts 14:8–20, which is part of an older tradition (cf. also 15:25). Here, Luke "slips up" and, contrary to his customary usage, refers to Paul and Barnabas as "apostles," naming Barnabas first. It is also noteworthy that Barnabas, rather than Paul, is identified as "Zeus." The old pecking order shines through the new coat of paint applied by Luke. On this, see also Konradt, Datierung, 21.

more plausible. Barnabas likely took Peter's side, leading to the disagreement with Paul, who then parted ways with his former teacher.

9.2 Theology

9.2.1 Paul and the Law

Consistent with its usage in the Judaism of the time (► V.1 above), the word νόμος ("law") proves to be polysemous in Paul's writings,[255] denoting different things and appearing in a wide variety of contexts.[256] One must therefore be cautious about ascribing an "abrogation of the Torah" to Paul.[257] First, it is necessary to clarify what Paul actually means by the term in each passage.

9.2.2 "Works of the Law" and the "Love Commandment"

Romans 3:21[258] can be termed the "theological and architectonic center of Romans,"[259] and is also the *locus classicus* at which Pauline research has observed an abrogation of the Jewish law by Paul:[260]

> Rom 3:21 But now, apart from law (χωρὶς νόμου), the righteousness of God has been disclosed, and is attested by the law and the prophets (μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν), 22 the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. ... 28 For we hold that a person is justified by faith apart from works prescribed by the law (χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου).

V. 21 seems to contain an internal contradiction. How can God's righteousness be revealed "apart from the law" (χωρὶς νόμου), if it is simultaneously said to be "attested by the law (μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου) and the prophets"? It is clear that this righteousness through faith does not bypass the law, but rather fulfills it.[261] This apparent contradiction is resolved if we understand the phrase χωρὶς νόμου ("apart from the law") as a rejection of the ritual and purity laws, which Paul considers obsolete. It is only at this point that the believer is "free from the law" (see also Rom 7:6;

---

255 For the following, see Tiwald, Gesetz, 303–308; likewise, id., Hebräer, 184–415.

256 In Rom 3:19 and 1 Cor 14:21, the term refers to the whole Old Testament; in Rom 3:21 and Gal 3:10, it refers only to the Pentateuch; in Rom 7:7 and 13:8f., only the Decalogue is meant; the term denotes the epitome of the Pentateuch in Rom 2:13b, 14, 25, 27; while in 4:15 it only refers to certain requirements of the law. Besides these uses, νόμος can also simply denote a general rule or order (Rom 3:27 and 8:2: law of faith/ of the Spirit/ of Sin/ of Death).

257 Thus Schnelle, Wandlungen, 74 [JV].

258 For the following, see Tiwald, Glaube, 165–175.

259 Theobald, Gottesbild, 131 [JV] (citing O. Kuss).

260 See the overview in Wengst, Gerechtigkeit, 139–141.

261 See Theobald, Römerbrief I, 99.

Gal 5:1).[262] This seems to hold for v. 28 as well, where Paul expands the phrase χωρὶς νόμου ("apart from the law") to "apart from works prescribed by the law" (χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου). While the phrase ἔργα νόμου ("works prescribed by the law") is not documented as a consistent *terminus technicus* for an interpretation of the law focused on ritual matters, *use of the syntagm nevertheless seems to tend in that direction*.[263] In the Qumran texts, the Hebrew equivalent to the ἔργα νόμου, מעשי התורה ("works prescribed by the Torah"),[264] occurs in 4QMMT^{e} (= 4Q398 Frg. 14 II,3). Here, too, as with Paul, the context is the question of what a person must do for it to be reckoned "as righteousness" (לצדקה; 4Q398 frg. 14 II,7) by God.[265] While the expression "works prescribed by the Torah" appears only once in the Qumran texts, the phrase מעשי בתורה (works *in* the Torah) is more widely attested (e.g., 1QS V,20–24; VI,18; 4Q258 II,1–5). In such instances, the phrase "works in the Torah" refers to precisely quantifiable and measurable practices, which are mentioned in the context of purity regulations in 1QS V. This aligns with 2 Baruch 57.2, where the Syrian text speaks of "works of the commandments," the fulfillment of which is necessary for salvation in the final judgment. Here, 2 Baruch emphasizes the distinction between Israel and the Gentiles. It is likely that cultic regulations are meant here as well.

An interpretation of "works prescribed by the law" as referring to cultic and purity regulations is also plausible where the phrase occurs in the authentic letters of Paul. The whole of Galatians 1–4 culminates theologically in 5:3, in the question of whether gentile Christians should undergo *circumcision* and observe the *dietary regulations*. This is precisely what is meant by ἔργα νόμου (Gal 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10). Thus, in Galatians 2:3–6, Paul mentions that "nothing was imposed" (trans. MT) on him at the "Apostolic Convention," not even the demand that Titus be *circumcised*. Peter, nevertheless, is said to have observed the *dietary regulations* when he was in Antioch, as Paul explains in Galatians 2:11–15, before concluding in v. 16 that a person does not become righteous through ἔργα νόμου, that is, *through circumcision and dietary regulations*.[266] In Romans 4:10, Paul takes up and further develops what he had said about the circumcision of Abraham in Galatians 3:6–18: Abraham was already righteous through faith before being circumcised, making circumcision secondary and no longer as indispensable as

---

262 See Haacker, Römer, 86 [JV]: "The notion that this righteousness has been revealed 'apart from the law' seems to refer merely to the rejected thesis of a justification on the basis of works of the law. For Paul positively hurries on to an affirmation of the enduring authority of scripture as revelation ... so that the original Christian message ... does not amount to the propagation of a new religion."

263 See the overview of research on the interpretation of ἔργα νόμου in Bachmann, Rechtfertigung, 5–12; id., Keil, 70–80; Schröter, Paul, 106–112.

264 It is legitimate to compare the Pauline ἔργα νόμου with the מעשי התורה mentioned in 4QMMT. In the LXX, 158 out of total of 235 mentions of מעשה are rendered with ἔργον, while 193 from a total of 223 mentions of תורה are translated with νόμος. See Abegg, 4QMMT, 205; Dunn, Works, 160–169.

265 See Bachmann, 4QMMT, 33–56, on the points of contact between the Pauline ἔργα νόμου and the מעשי התורה of 4QMMT.

266 Similarly, Heil, Speisegebote, 168.

faith for salvation (see Rom 3:20,28). The primacy of grace and faith over circumcision is likewise justified in Romans 4:2, 6; 9:32; 11:6. Since Abraham's faith was already decisive for salvation before the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, it has priority over "the law, which came four hundred thirty years later" (Gal 3:17), that is, over the Sinaitic law. This line of argument is reminiscent of Philo, who likewise emphasized the posteriority of the Sinaitic law in relation to the natural faith of the patriarchs (► V.2.2 above). Like Paul, Philo sees the meaning of the entire law contained in the "love commandment":[267] not only does Philo arrive at theological conclusions similar to Paul's later conclusions in Romans 13:8–10, but both authors also employ similar technical terminology:

> Spec 2.63 But among the vast number of particular truths and principles there studied, there stand out practically high above the others two main heads: one of duty to God as shewn by piety and holiness (τό τε πρὸς θεὸν δι' εὐσεβείας καὶ ὁσιότητος), one of duty to men as shewn by humanity and justice (τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους διὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης), each of them splitting up into multiform branches, all highly laudable.

> Rom 13:8 Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for the one who loves another has fulfilled the law. 9 The commandments, "You shall not commit adultery; You shall not murder; You shall not steal; You shall not covet"; and any other commandment, are summed up (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται) in this word, "Love your neighbor as yourself." 10 Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.

Using similar phrasing, both authors underscore the centrality of the love commandment. Philo refers to the double commandment as κεφάλαια (*kephalaia*, "head" commandments; a κεφάλαιον is a main point).[268] Paul uses the same root: ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται (*anakefalaioutai*; ἀνακεφαλαιόω means "to sum up in main points"). As Mark 12:28 shows, the question of which of the many commandments was the most important was a virulent one in the Judaism of the time. Paul answers in the same way as Philo, though unlike Paul, Philo continues to adhere to the ritual purity regulations. Paul thus comes markedly close to the radical allegorizers' interpretation of the law (► V.8.2.3 above). The love commandment is central for him, while the ἔργα νόμου are obsolete as "legal regulations primarily concerned with ritual purity."[269] An interpretation of the law focused on cultic and purity matters, such as he had formerly practiced as "a Pharisee according to the law" (Phil 3:5, trans. MT), now appears to him as "refuse" (Phil 3:8, trans. MT). However, a non-cultic interpretation of the Torah remains valid for Paul – for instance, in terms of the fulfillment of the salvation promised by God and "attested by the law and the prophets" (Rom 3:21),

---

267 On the double love commandment in early Judaism, see Doering, Nächstenliebegebot, 32–39. The love commandment and the commandment to love one's enemy is particularly prominent in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (► III.8.4 above), esp. T. Iss. 5.2; 7.6 and T. Dan 5.3 (on which, see Konradt, Söhne, 348–380).

268 In doing so, Philo employs a Stoic argument (Niehoff, Philo, 149–170). Cleanthes († ca. 232 BCE), the second leader of the Stoic school, already referred to *capita* as the foundations of the ethical order. His writings have only survived in Latin, however, the Greek equivalent was likely *kephalaia* (*loc. cit.*, 153).

269 Bachmann, 4QMMT, 52 [JV].

or as a fundamental ethical law in the form of the love commandment (see Rom 13:8 and Gal 5:14).

While there was no *explicit* distinction between "ceremonial" and "moral" law at the time,[270] such a distinction was nonetheless present *in substance* as is clearly evident in Philo's distinction between natural moral law and the laws of the state, which are based on human statutes (Migr. 88–94, ► III.7.4 above, excurses 1 and 2). In the same way, the Letter of Aristeas 144–150 already called for understanding the dietary regulations of the Mosaic law in terms of their ethical symbolism (► V.8.2.1 above). An increasing "'metaphorization' of purity in the sense of a moral disposition"[271] is particularly observable in early Hellenistic Judaism. However, where the Torah was interpreted in purely moral terms, liberal Jews (such as the radical allegorizers, Zambrias, Ananias, or Paul after the Damascus event) could declare its ritual aspects to be obsolete.

9.2.3 Christ as the "Goal of the Law"

With this in mind, we are in a position to reassess the enigmatic statement, τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστός (Rom 10:4), a sentence that has long divided New Testament scholars, who debate whether Christ is the "end" or the "fulfillment" of the law.[272] "One cannot determine Paul's understanding of the expression τέλος τοῦ νόμου ... from the lexicon alone,"[273] as his use of τέλος is too polyvalent (appearing 12 time in the authentic letters of Paul). However, Paul nowhere uses τέλος in the sense of something "coming to an end." "Even if there is no consistent core meaning of the word in Paul's usage, each use can nevertheless be derived from a common underlying sense, namely that of 'moving toward an ultimate purpose.'"[274] It is therefore clear that, in Christ, the Jewish law has not come to an end but has reached its deepest fulfillment. A parallel with Romans 13:8–10 suggests itself at this point: just as the whole law is "fulfilled" (πεπλήρωται; Gal 5:14), or "summed up" (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται; Rom 13:9) in the love commandment, so too the law finds its "goal" in Christ. The arc of Paul's argument comes full circle in Galatians 6:2, where Paul speaks of love ("Bear one another's burdens") as the "law of Christ."

---

270 Thus, the justified criticism in Wolter, Zeremonialgesetz, 341, and Niebuhr, Gesetzespraxis, 22.

271 Heil, Absonderung, 156 [JV].

272 See the research overviews in Haacker, Ende, 127–129; Tiwald, Hebräer, 204–214; Reinbold, Ziel, 297–312.

273 Schnelle, Paul, 347 n. 167.

274 Tiwald, Hebräer, 212 [JV]. See the individual analyses of the respective passages in: *loc. cit.*, 206–212.

9.2.4 The Posteriority of the Sinaitic Torah

We have already seen that in early Judaism the "Torah" was interpreted as the order of creation (► V.2.1.2 above) that was only later fully articulated in the Sinaitic Torah. According to Philo (Abr. 5), the Sinaitic laws are merely a "memorial" of the Patriarchs, who lived in accordance with the order of creation (ὑπομνήματα; ► V.2.2 above). Philo employs this argument to underscore the antiquity of the Jewish law: it did not come into being with the giving of the law at Sinai but has existed since the creation of the world. According to Philo, in the patriarchs "we have laws endowed with life and reason" (ἔμψυχοι καὶ λογικοὶ νόμοι ἄνδρες; Abr 1.5), since they lived according to φύσις, the "law of nature," even in the absence of the Sinaitic law. There is a parallel to this idea in Romans 2:14:[275]

When Gentiles, who do not possess the law (μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα), do what the law requires by nature (φύσει), these, though not having the law, are a law to themselves (ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος) [modified trans.].

It is thus possible to recognize the law by "natural" means through the natural law. Then what need is there for the Sinaitic law, the posteriority of which Paul emphasizes in Galatians 3:17 and 4:22–31? Paul turns Philo's argument on its head in these passages (of course Paul knew neither Philo nor his writings; the parallel lines of argumentation merely show how widespread such interpretive patterns were): natural law does not prove the antiquity of the Sinaitic law, but only its posteriority. Perhaps people such as the "radical allegorizers" had already used similar arguments, because like Paul in Galatians 4:22–5:3, Philo brings the story of Abraham's two sons into play in Migr. 94:

> Gal 4:22 For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. ... 24 Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery. ... 28 Now you, my friends, are children of the promise, like Isaac. ... 30 But what does the scripture say? "Drive out the slave and her child; for the child of the slave will not share the inheritance with the child of the free woman." 31 So then, friends, we are children, not of the slave but of the free woman. ... 5:1 For freedom Christ has set us free. Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery. 2 Listen! I, Paul, am telling you that if you let yourselves be circumcised, Christ will be of no benefit to you. 3 Once again I testify to every man who lets himself be circumcised that he is obliged to obey the entire law.

> Migr. 94 Notice that it says that wise Abraham had good things both great and small (μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ μικρὰ), and it [i. e., the scripture; here Gen 25:5f. LXX] calls the great ones "property," that is, realities, which went by entail to his legitimate son alone. The small ones it calls "gifts," and to receive these the base-born sons of the concubines are deemed worthy [Gen 25:5f.]. The former [substantial gifts] correspond to The natural, the latter to positive laws [regulations] (ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν ἔοικε τοῖς φύσει, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς θέσει νομίμοις).

275 In Rom 1:26; 2:14; 1 Cor 11:14; and Gal 4:8 as well, the word φύσις – natural (law) – is used in the sense of the order of creation laid down by God.

In this passage – part of his dispute with the radical allegorizers (► III.7.3 below) – Philo refers to the distinction between "good things both great and small" (μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ μικρά), associating the greater goods with the "laws of nature" (τοῖς φύσει νομίμοις), which he likens to the inheritance of the free son, Isaac. The smaller goods, by contrast, he likens to τοῖς θέσει νομίμοις, the regulations put in place by humans. These he associates with ritual and purity regulations, while the natural laws are associated with ethical values, as the context makes clear (► III.7.3 below for the text and interpretation of Migr. 89–93). Philo and Paul thus agree that ritual and purity regulations are less noble than the natural laws, which are directed toward ethics, so that the former are said to correspond to the slave woman Hagar. The conclusion from this syllogism is drawn only by Paul – and likely before him by figures such as the extreme allegorizers – despite the fact that both Philo and Paul share the two premises:

1. Premise: The Sinaitic law was given at a later time.
2. Premise: the later human ordinances correspond to the children of Hagar and focus on ritual and purity regulations.
Conclusion: The Sinaitic laws are ritual and purity laws (see the mention of circumcision in Gal 5:2, which obligates one to observe the "whole law," including the purity regulations). These regulations are secondary in nature and lead to slavery (ζυγῷ δουλείας, Gal 5:1), just as Hagar herself is a slave.

Paul, however, was not the first to think of contrasting the Sinai covenant with natural law. As we already saw in V.2.1, Sirach, Wisdom, 1 Enoch, and 4 Ezra propound ideas which do not have Moses and the Sinaitic law at their center.[276] These are instances of an "appeal to revelation beyond that of Sinai."[277] The latter, however, is not understood as a new teaching but rather as a kind of restoration of the original message "[to] enable Israel to return to the authentic teaching."[278] To this end, these texts look not only to Sinai but directly to the protological order of creation.[279] Incidentally, this once again coincides with Paul. When he dismisses the Sinaitic covenant as a covenant of slavery, he is not breaking with Judaism as a whole but only contrasting *one* covenant (the one from Sinai) with another one (the Abrahamic covenant of grace).[280] This is why Paul speaks of "the covenants" in plural in Romans 9:4. The "new covenant" in Jesus's blood (1 Cor 11:25) is a continuation of the covenant of grace made with Israel. As Romans 11:26–29 makes unmistakably clear, this new covenant will also result in the salvation of "all Israel" – including those in Israel who do not believe in Jesus (!) – "for the gifts and the calling of God are irrevocable." Then, as 2 Corinthi-

276 See Nickelsburg, Torah, 232–235; Macaskill, Wisdom, 45–47; Paganini, Judentum, 295–310.
277 Goff, Wisdom, 73. See Macaskill, Wisdom, 89–91.
278 Najman, Sinai, 13.
279 See also the programmatic title of Najman's study: "Seconding Sinai."
280 See Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 250 [JV]: "Paul is convinced that this reading does not separate him from Judaism, even if it brings him into conflict with the Pharisaic tradition – his own tradition – that is, with Sinai theology and the directives proclaimed therein."

ans 3:14 attests, the veil that still obscures the old covenant will be removed, so that this covenant finds its deepest fulfillment in Christ.[281]

9.2.5 Ritual and Purity Torah as "Pedagogue"

The foregoing argument has shown that, for Paul, the Sinaitic Torah – which he equates with the ritual and purity regulations – was a provisional arrangement that became obsolete with the coming of Christ. What, however, was the meaning of the Sinaitic law, of the ritual and purity regulations? The answer is found in Galatians 3:23–25:

> 23 Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law until faith would be revealed. 24 Therefore the law was our disciplinarian (ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν γέγονεν) until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith. 25 But now that faith has come, we are no longer subject to a disciplinarian (οὐκέτι ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν ἐσμεν) ...

Here, Paul compares the ritual law (it is this law that is referred to in the context of circumcision and purity regulations, ► V.9.2.2 above) to a "pedagogue" who keeps us under strict discipline so that we might not sin. As Paul sees it, this strict pedagogy came to an end with the coming of Christ and the working of grace. Here, too, Paul is employing established patterns of argumentation from early Judaism. As we saw above (► III.7.2.3 above), the Letter of Aristeas also explains the dietary regulations of the Mosaic law in terms of its symbolic ethical content. By abstaining from foods derived from "immoral" animals, we ourselves are conditioned to avoid acting in immoral ways (according to the underlying logic of *Let.Aris.* 144–150). The introduction of the Letter of Aristeas reveals the pedagogical value of such abstinence:

> 139 In his wisdom the legislator, in a comprehensive survey of each particular part, and being endowed by God for the knowledge of universal truths, surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls (περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν) to prevent our mixing with any of the other peoples in any matter, being thus kept pure in body and soul ... 142 So, to prevent our being perverted by contact with others or by mixing with bad influences, he hedged us in on all sides (πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς περιέφραξεν) with strict observances connected with meat and drink and touch and hearing and sight. 143 In general everything is similarly constituted in regard to natural reasoning (τὸ γὰρ καθόλου πάντα πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον ὅμοια καθέστηκεν; *more accurately*: Namely, when viewed as a whole, he [God] has established everything equally [i. e., equally pure] with regard to the natural sense), being governed by *one* supreme power, and in each particular everything has a profound reason for it ...

Although all things are pure by nature (as § 143 states; ► III.7.2.3 above), with its regulations, the purity law takes the Jews into a kind of "protective custody" to shield

281 See Tiwald, Hebräer, 209f. It is not the covenant that is taken away here, but merely the veil over the covenant, since the subject of the main clause is the neuter κάλυμμα, which is picked up again in the following participial construction with ἀνακαλυπτόμενον and thus serves as the logical object for the concluding καταργεῖται. On this, see Klauck, 2. Korintherbrief, 40.

them against their own shortcomings, surrounding them "with unbroken palisades and iron walls" and fencing them in "on all sides." Paul also recognizes the value of this pedagogy. However, it has now lost its function through faith and grace in Jesus Christ. By the grace of Christ, it is no longer necessary. Josephus likewise emphasizes the didactic value of the dietary regulations in C. Ap. 2.171–174:

> 171 ... All education and custom-construction is of two kinds: one instructs by means of words, the other through training in character. 172 ... the Lacedaemonians and Cretans used to conduct their education through customs, not words, whereas the Athenians and almost all the rest of the Greeks used to issue instruction on what should or should not be done through laws, but neglected to accustom people to these through deeds (τοῦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζειν ὠλιγώρουν). But our legislator combined both forms with great care: he neither left character-training mute nor allowed the words from the law to go unpracticed ... 174 but even in relation to food (περὶ σιτίων), what they should refrain from and what they should eat, the company they keep in their daily lives (περὶ τῶν κοινωνησόντων τῆς διαίτης ἔργων; *trans. literally*: "and in relation to the works that are to partake in these dietary regulations"), as well as their intensity in work and, conversely, rest, he set the law as their boundary and rule, so that, living under this as a father and master (ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ), we might commit no sin either wilfully or from ignorance (μήτε βουλόμενοι μηθὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας).

The two pedagogical instruments are "instruction by means of words" and "training in character" διὰ τῶν ἔργων by means of carrying out "deeds." The "deeds" in question are περὶ τῆς διαίτης ἔργων, "about the works of dietary regulations." The word δίαιτα, *diaita*, can also mean "lifestyle" in a general sense. In context, however ("in relation to food"; Περὶ σιτίων), the word is clearly used to refer to "dietary regulations." Notably, dietary regulations are referred to as "works" twice in this passage. This is reminiscent of the "works of the law" in Paul and confirms that, when Paul uses this syntagm, he is referring to ritual and purity regulations. This aligns with *A.J.* 20.43, where the circumcision of Izates is described as πρᾶξαι τοὖργον (to "carry out this rite" [literally: "work"]; ▸ V.8.1.4 above for the text).

Like Paul, this pedagogy puts Josephus in mind of a strict "father and master" (ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ) that helps to avoid sinning "either wilfully or from ignorance." Yet here we come full circle to Zambrias (▸ V.8.2.2 above) and Paul. Both strive for "freedom" and a liberation from the "yoke of slavery" to these regulations:

> Gal 5:1 For freedom Christ has set us free (Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν). Stand firm, therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery (ζυγῷ δουλείας).

> Josephus, *A.J.* 4.146 But you will not get me to be a follower of the orders which you give tyrannically (προστάττεις τυραννικῶς). For up until now you have wickedly done no other thing than to contrive slavery for us (δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν) ... 148 ... I have married a foreign wife, as you say. You will hear my actions from myself as from a free man (ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου), for indeed I did not intend to conceal it.

9.2.6 Lines of Development in Paul's Understanding of the Law

The question of development and ruptures in Paul's theology was already raised in the nineteenth century. Since the 1970s, however, it has been posed with increas-

ing urgency.[282] This question is linked to the issue of the *contingency* and *coherence* of Paul's authentic letters[283] – that is, the further question of how situational his statements are and whether they share a common core of thought. If we take 1 Thessalonians as the first of Paul's authentic letters, and if we understand Romans as his "testament"[284] and "theological summa"[285] – in which he attempts "to redress his own early reception history …"[286] – then we can indeed discern such lines of development.[287]

As we have already seen, the problematic passage in 1 Thessalonians 2:14–16 ("the Jews … killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets") should be understood in terms of the standard early Jewish theologoumenon concerning the *violent fate of the prophets* (► I.2.2.4 above, also for background information on the political explosiveness of Paul's mission). 1 Thessalonians must therefore be regarded as a *contingent* (situational) letter in which Paul vents his frustration – albeit in a shamefully unfair manner by resorting to commonplaces of gentile anti-Jewish polemics (► III.7.1.4 above). However, we have good reason to think that, in the Letter to the Romans, Paul corrected his tirade from 1 Thessalonians. In 1 Thessalonians 2:16, widespread early Jewish language about the *wrath of God*, a metaphor for God's eschatological judgment of sinners (see 1 Thess 1:10; 5:9),[288] is directed against "the Jews" who hinder "us from speaking to the Gentiles so that they may be saved." In Romans, by contrast, such talk is directed "against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth" (see also Rom 2:1–5: all humans, "whoever you are," will be judged by God). The *theme of Israel* is directly connected to this observation: in both 1 Thessalonians 2:14 and Romans 9:3, Paul mentions his Jewish "kindred" (1 Thess: συμφυλέτης; Rom: συγγενής). In both instances he addresses their refusal of the gospel (1 Thess 2:16; Rom 10:9, 14–21), albeit in different ways: "He [now] no longer interprets this refusal as an expression of their malevolence (1 Thess 2:16a), but as a 'hardening' imposed by God himself (Rom 11:7f., 25)."[289] This "hardening" does not, then, lead to a judgment of wrath upon "the Jews" (1 Thess 2:16), but is instead part of the economy of salvation set in place by God, who "has imprisoned all in disobedience so that he may be merciful to all" (Rom 11:32). Thus, Paul resolves the question of sin and God's judgment (which is the central theme of Romans 1–8) and that of

282 See the overview in Schnelle, Wandlungen, 9–12; Theobald, Wandlungen, 504–511. Likewise, von Bendemann, Frühpaulinisch, 210–229.

283 See Theobald, Kontingenz, 512–517; von Bendemann, Frühpaulinisch, 213f. and 227–229.

284 Thus, Theobald, Kirche, 327; Wilckens, Röm I, 47; Becker, Paulus, 351.

285 Wilckens, Röm I, 49. This remains the case even if one supposes that other letters (or parts of letters) postdate Romans. For example, Schnelle, Paul, 369f. and 377f., argues that Paul wrote Phil and Phlm after Rom; Gnilka, Paulus, 313, argues that 2 Cor 10–13 and Phil 3 were written after Rom. None of these suppositions are in any way conclusive, as Becker, Paulus, 332, has convincingly shown. It is still most likely that Romans represents the culmination of Paul's work in both the theological and chronological sense – it is most certainly the *theological* culmination.

286 As Theobald, Kirche, 328 [JV], supposes.

287 On this, see Tiwald, Kontinuität, 445–460.

288 On the topic of God's wrathful judgment, see Konradt, Gericht, 57–93.

289 Theobald, Wandlungen, 506 [JV].

Israel's future (Romans 9–11) in the same manner: in the end, God will have mercy on all people – including, of course, those in Israel who do not believe in Jesus. In Romans 11:25f., Paul traces his theological change of mind back to the eschatological "mystery" of God that was revealed to him (on the eschatological mystery, ▸ V.2.1.3 above). In view of this, we can trace the lines of development in Paul's biography in the following way: raised in the Jewish diaspora, converted to become an overzealous Pharisee, converted to become an overzealous preacher of Christ, converted to the view that God would have mercy on all people.

Presumably, Paul wrote to the Romans also with a view to his journey to Jerusalem, where he intended to deliver the collection before proceeding to Rome. There is a certain tragedy in the fact that this shift in his theology occurred too late for the dialogue with the Jews in Jerusalem (▸ III.10.4.7 above). Acts 21:21 attests to Paul's poor reputation even in the original Jerusalem congregation, namely the accusation that he was teaching Jews who lived among Gentiles to forsake Moses (on the conservative climate in Jerusalem at the time, ▸ II.5.5.3 above). Even though the historical Paul's new insight came to him (too?) late in his career, it does not reach us too late today and should have a lasting impact on the Christian relationship with Judaism.

10 The Sayings Source

The Sayings Source (abbr. as Q) originated in Northern Palestine:[290] the imagery it draws on in metaphors and parables is rural, its setting Jewish, and the places it mentions indicate the Galilean-Syrian border region. The social setting is rural and reflects the "world of fieldwork or that of the household." The parables of Q "exhibit a rural perspective without reference to urban life."[291] This distinguishes Q from Mark, Matthew, and Luke, in which the texts taken from Q are increasingly projected into an urban context.[292] In theological terms as well, the Sayings Source remains deeply intertwined with the Galilean-Jewish roots of the Jesus movement. In it, post-Easter reflection has not yet advanced to the point of ascribing the title of Messiah/Christ to Jesus, the Passion and Easter narratives are absent, and imminent expectation is still quite palpable. In Q, we encounter "a group that sought to preserve and elaborate the 'kerygma' (in the non-technical sense of oral proclamation), virtually in the orig-

290 See Schröter, Entscheidung, 74; Tiwald, Haus, 63f.; Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 73.

291 Schröter, Entscheidung, 290 [JV]; in the same vein: Kloppenborg, Q, 290: "Q presents us with a rural, Galilean Jewish gospel ..."

292 See Kloppenborg, Q, 67f.: "Matthew and Luke are Gospels oriented to *urban* settings." There is no doubt about Luke's urban focus (see Hoffmann, Studien, 278–280), but Matthew also reveals his urban culture when he mentions τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὁδῶν (22:9), or the "Holy City" of Jerusalem (4:5), and the "city of the great King" (5:35). Mark's many Latin loanwords (even if one does not assume Rome as the place of writing) indicate an urban context (see Ebner, Markusevangelium, 15, ▸ V.11 below).

inal voice of the earthly Jesus."[293] There is currently no scholarly consensus regarding the degree to which the Sayings Source was rooted in early Judaism. However, it seems most plausible that Q "should be read and understood within an intact Jewish matrix."[294] In the Sayings Source, the term νόμος (*nomos*, law, i. e. "Torah") appears only in Q 16:16 and 17:

> 16 The law and the prophets were until John. From then on the kingdom of God is violated and the violent plunder it. 17 But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one iota or one serif of the law to fall.

Given the centrality and clarity of this statement, we have to assume that the Q community continued to observe not only the love commandment but also the ritual Torah and purity regulations. This is also evident from Q 11:39b, 42, where the Pharisees are accused of neglecting inner virtues such as justice, mercy, and faithfulness in favor of merely external observance of the law (tithing and purity regulations). "The answer of the Sayings Source is not to practice inner virtues instead of outward regulations, but to integrate *both* with each other: 'But these one had to do, without giving up those' (ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ ἀφιέναι)."[295] Since the Sayings Source does not yet use the title of Christ for Jesus, it is difficult to describe the group behind the document as "Christians." In Q, Jesus is not even interpreted in terms of personified Wisdom, as Matthew 11:19 does in its adaptation of Q 7:35. In Q 7:35, Jesus and John are merely called "children" of Wisdom. It is therefore to be assumed that the foundational matrix of Q indeed still "remains entirely at home within Judaism."[296] Thus, Q becomes a kind of "missing link" between Jews and Christians, a document from "Jewish followers of Jesus," or "Jewish believers in Jesus" – however one chooses to phrase it. It is therefore likely that the Q community did not yet engage in a mission to the Gentiles,[297] although such a mission had been permitted by the original Jerusalem congregation ever since the Apostolic Convention (► III.10.4.2 above). In Q 6:34 ("Do not even the Gentiles do the same?") and 12:30 ("For all these the Gentiles seek"), the "Gentiles" are used merely as a *negative foil*, a pattern that remains rooted in inner-Jewish ways of thinking. Likewise, the image of the Gentiles is just as simplistic when used as a *positive foil* to admonish Israel's unbelief, for example in Q 7:9 ("not even in Israel have I found such faith"), or the hyperbolic contrast with the gentile cities in Q 10:13–15. Even if the Sayings Source is aware of Gentiles who have come to faith (Q 7:1–9), it remains focused on the inner-Jewish mission initiated by Jesus in Galilee and in the Jewish diaspora communities in Syria (► IV.1.3.5 above). However, increasing tensions already arise between the Jewish followers of Jesus behind the Sayings Source and other Jewish groups. Yet these tensions remain within the bounds

293 Ebner, Q, 85 [JV], although, of course, even Q is no longer actually the *ipsissima vox* of Jesus and also exhibits redactional and theological developments, see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 23f.

294 Ebner, Q, 98 [JV]; see 100.

295 Tiwald, Gesetz, 302f. [JV]. See id., Gültigkeit; id., Haus, 81f.; Foster, Traditions, 183–186; Harb, Weherufe, 159f.

296 Ebner, Q, 100 [JV]; see the research overview in Tiwald, Logienquelle, 94–116.

297 See the overview and argumentation of Tiwald, Logienquelle, 111–114.

of what we know about other diverging early Jewish groups.[298] Itinerant prophets from the Sayings Source community likely founded the community behind the later Gospel of Matthew, so that we can understand the latter as a further theological development of Q (► V.12 below).

11 The Gospel of Mark

11.1 The Second Gospel and Early Judaism

Older scholarship has generally identified Mark as a gentile Christian text, primarily citing Mark 7:1–23 as evidence. In these verses, the Torah is reduced to the double love commandment (Mark 12:28–32) and ritual purity laws are regarded as matters long obsolete. The second evangelist ("Mark") has generally been regarded as a gentile Christian who wrote his gospel far from Palestine (with Rome often suggested as the place of composition). Recently, well-founded objections have been raised against this view.[299] In Mark 1:44, for example, Jesus pointedly acts in accordance with the Torah, sending a person healed of skin disease to the priest and referring to the purification offering prescribed by Moses (Lev 13:49; 14:2–4). Individual Jews are portrayed in a positive light, such as the scribe in Mark 12:2–84 and the Jewish council member Joseph of Arimathea (Mark 15:42–46). Mark explains Jewish practices and expressions for his gentile Christian audience with remarkable precision (esp. Mark 7:3f.; see 3:17; 5:41; 7:11, 34; 15:42). While Mark's polemics against Jews should not be minimized, R. von Bendemann is correct to point out:[300]

> At the same time, there is much to suggest that questions regarding Jewish halakha were still relevant among the intended readers. The controversy stories in particular (esp. Mark 2:1–3:6; 11:27–12:37) can hardly be understood in a satisfactory way – as innovative and essential compositional building blocks of the second Gospel – if they are grasped merely as a means of coming to terms with the past. Rather, they express modes of questioning and arguing that are only intelligible and communicable under Jewish premises.

Mark was thus not a gentile Christian unfamiliar with Judaism. Von Bendemann considers him to be a "Christ-believing Jew," while Guttenberger sees him as a "scribe" who "handles biblical texts with scribal acumen."[301] It would also be possible to view

---

298 See Tiwald, Valeur, 116–137, which compares the polemics of the Sayings Source with inner-Jewish polemics from 1 Enoch. See the studies on early Jewish polemics in Nickelsburg, Wisdom 73–91; Johnson, Slander, 419–441; Marshall, Apocalypticism, 68–82.

299 For classical perspective and new approaches: Guttenberger, Hermeneutik, 111f.; id., Evangelium, passim; von Bendemann, Markusevangelium, 27; id., Antagonismen, 241.

300 Von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 27 [JV].

301 Von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 27 [JV]; Guttenberger, Schriftgelehrter, 171 [JV]; Stökl Ben Ezra, Markusevangelium, RAC 24/186 [JV] ("a Jewish gospel written for readers familiar with Jewish traditions and institutions.") On Scribes in early Judaism, see Hezser, Scribes, 149–172. There were Scribes in a wide array of early Jewish groups. However, the fact that

him as a "God-fearer" (► III.10.4.4 above). In any case, the Markan Pharisees and "some of the scribes" (Mark 7:1) are clearly the main opponents of Jesus. However, there is also a scribe to whom Jesus attests, that he is "not far from the kingdom of God" (Mark 12:34; could the latter be a self-portrait of Mark?). Given the strong presence of the Palestinian-Pharisaic purity Torah, and the great proximity of Mark to the Palestinian Jesus traditions and local color, it seems advisable not to locate the composition of Mark in far-off Rome, but rather shortly after 70 CE in a large Syrian city (outside of, and yet close to Palestine).[302]

11.2 Mark 7 as a Test Case

As a test case, let us take a closer look at Mark 7:1–23

> Mark 7:1 Now when the Pharisees and some of the scribes who had come from Jerusalem gathered around him, 2 they noticed that some of his disciples were eating with defiled hands, that is, without washing them. 3 (For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, do not eat unless they thoroughly wash their hands, thus observing the tradition of the elders; 4 and they do not eat anything from the market unless they wash it; and there are also many other traditions that they observe, the washing of cups, pots, and bronze kettles. 5 So the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, "Why do your disciples not live according to the tradition of the elders, but eat with defiled hands?" 6 He said to them, "Isaiah prophesied rightly about you hypocrites, as it is written, 'This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; 7 in vain do they worship me, teaching human precepts as doctrines.' 8 You abandon the commandment of God and hold to human tradition." ... 15 there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile." ... 17 When he had left the crowd and entered the house, his disciples asked him about the parable. 18 He said to them, "Then do you also fail to understand? Do you not see that whatever goes into a person from outside cannot defile, 19 since it enters, not the heart but the stomach, and goes out into the sewer?" (Thus he declared all foods clean.) 20 And he said, "It is what comes out of a person that defiles. 21 For it is from within, from the human heart, that evil intentions come: fornication, theft, murder, 22 adultery, avarice, wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy, slander, pride, folly. 23 All these evil things come from within, and they defile a person."

---

the New Testament frequently conflates the groups, mentioning "scribes" and "Pharisees" together, nevertheless shows that Pharisees were often scribes.

302 I am grateful to R. von Bendemann for the fruitful exchange on this question. There were no Pharisees outside of Palestine (Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 120). Regarding early Christian itinerant prophets, who circulated the Jesus tradition in the Syrian area, see Tiwald, Logienquelle, 122–124. For Syrian local color in Mark, see Theissen, Lokalkolorit, 117–119; Klinghardt, Lokalkolorit, 28–48; Lau, Legio, 351–364. For the dating of Mark after 70 CE, see Ebner, Markusevangelium, 14–16. Since the Markan Latinisms stem from the military and economic spheres, a composition in Syria remains conceivable. On the Latinisms and Aramisms in Mark, see Stökl Ben Ezra, Markusevangelium, RAC 24/182f.; on the dissemination of Latin in Syria and Palestine during that time, see Eck, Rom, 157–200 (esp. 159 and 161).

Here, the antagonists are "Pharisees and some of the scribes who had come from Jerusalem." It is accurate that the Pharisees were present only in Judea, particularly in Jerusalem, though their influence extended to Galilee as well (► III.2.3.2 above). Mark explains the customs of the "Iudaioi" for his non-Jewish readers. Guttenberger is inclined to translate "Iudaioi" in a strictly ethnographic sense with "Judeans," rather than opting for the religiously connoted "Jews" (on this issue, ► I.1.3.4 above). However, this misses the point. The real question here is which customs are authentically Jewish, or rather, how the purity Torah is to be correctly interpreted and practiced.[303] The note that the Pharisees uphold "the tradition of the elders" (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) aligns with Josephus's portrayal of them in *A.J.* 13.297: Unlike the Sadducees, the Pharisees derive their doctrine from "the tradition of the fathers" (ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων; trans. MT), a phrase that refers to their characteristic manner of interpreting the law. Paul likewise describes himself as having been a zealot "for the traditions of my ancestors" (τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων, Gal 1:14) during his time as a Pharisee.

It is questionable to what extent the customs mentioned in Mark 7:3f. were actually practiced in the Judaism of the time. The Pentateuch addresses the question of impurity in Leviticus 11–15, with Leviticus 11 specifically dealing with the question of unclean foods. Ritual handwashing is prescribed in the Bible for priests performing the temple service (Exod 30:19, 21; 40:31), but nowhere is it prescribed for daily meals (at best Lev 15:11, which, however, does not pertain to eating). The absence of a biblical source text here led Guttenberger to outline the intended statement of Mark 7 as follows:[304]

> Eating does not concern purity … people do not become impure through food. This statement pertains to the everyday vegetarian diet. The Leviticus 11 regulations concerning the consumption of forbidden animals do not enter the picture at all here. Thus, the dietary laws are not abolished. They are not even addressed here. The point, rather, is this: restrictions on table fellowship and separation from other people (out of a concern for purity) are not in accordance with God's command.

In the later Mishnah, however, m. Yad. 1.1–2, m. Hag. 2.5, and m. Ber. 8.2–4, report handwashing before meals. During the Second Temple period, Josephus reports that the Essenes underwent ritual washing before meals (*B.J.* 2.129) so that, being "now pure themselves, they approach the dining room as if it were some [kind of] sanctuary" (αὐτοί τε καθαροὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιόν τι τέμενος παραγίνονται τὸ δειπνητήριον). Archaeological evidence also indicates a significant increase in the observance of purity regulations in Palestinian Jewish households during this period (► V.8.2.4 above: *Household Judaism*). Guttenberger's supposition that Mark 7 does not address kashrut is therefore unlikely.

---

303 Contra Guttenberger, Evangelium, 167, who wants to subsume Galileans also under the "Judeans." Von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 241 [JV], by contrast, offers a religious interpretation: "… the central question is always: 'who is a 'good' Jew, and who is a 'better,' or if applicable, worse Jew?"

304 Guttenberger, Evangelium, 175 [JV].

To what extent Mark 7 reflects *Pharisaic* halakhah, however, remains an open question.[305] Apart from the fact that Mark portrays the Pharisees in a rather simplistic manner, the tendency to extend purity regulations – originally applicable only to temple priests – to the private household (► III.2.4.2 above: the Pharisees "democratized" the purity regulations of the temple for everyday life) was also widespread outside of Pharisaic circles (► V.8.2.4 above: *Household Judaism*). However, *A.J.* 13.297 attests to the strong influence of the Pharisees on the general population, leading Stemberger to conclude: "It might be generally accurate that in this point the Pharisees were the driving force behind a development in Judaism of that time, one which, however, had already extended to other circles as well."[306] Thus, in Mark 7:3, the "Pharisees and some of the scribes" become the proponents of this development.

Guttenberger's hypothesis is also challenged by the strong proximity of Mark 7 to questions about kashrut in the Letter of Aristeas 128.143–150 (► III.7.2.3 above for text and explanation). In response to the accusation that the Jewish dietary regulations are a "periergia" (περιεργία, an overly fastidious work), *Let.Aris.* 143 stresses that, by nature (πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον) all foods are equally clean. Further observance of the dietary regulations is thus only justified by their "symbolic content," intended to enable moral purity (the forbidden animals lead immoral lives and are therefore deemed unfit for consumption). The critics of the purity regulations were probably not only uncomprehending Gentiles. The Letter of Aristeas likely also needed to "justify the dietary regulations anew within an enlightened Jewish community ..."[307] (► V.8.2.1 above). While the Letter of Aristeas continued to uphold the validity of the dietary regulations, Mark 7, for its part, is entirely in line with liberal Jews who regarded kashrut as a "periergia." The discussion was likely an inner-Jewish one in the sources used by Mark, as evidenced by the prominent use of scripture (the appeal to Isaiah). Similar to various distinctive traditions within the Judaism of the time, this passage does not concern an abrogation of the Torah regulations, but rather the authority to correctly interpret the Torah (► V.2.1.5 above on special, group-specific knowledge regarding the Torah). However, the subsequent pericope (Mark 7:24–30) – the account of the Syrophoenician woman whom Jesus encounters in the region of Tyre (► IV.1.3.5) – clearly shows that, for Mark, the path to the gentile mission had long since been taken. Yet Mark 7:27 ("Let the children be fed first, for it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs.") still reflects an inner-Jewish perspective – one that is nevertheless subsequently broadened, opening a window on Mark's largely gentile Christian readership.

For Mark 7:1–23, the second evangelist draws on old Jesus traditions, which he then develops independently. Contrary to what is sometimes claimed, Mark 7:15–23 does not originate with Jesus, as there is no known challenge to the dietary laws by

305 On this, see Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 73–86; von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 239.

306 Stemberger, Jewish Contemporaries, 77 (modified trans. according to the German original).

307 Stemberger, Dekalog, 92 [JV].

the historical Jesus.[308] However, Jesus propagated a concept of offensive purity and inclusive holiness (► V.5.2.3 above): the dawning rule of God permeates all things with its purity, as a small amount of leaven permeates the whole batch of flour. Jesus does not thereby *devaluate* the purity laws. Rather, he *transvaluates* them: impurity no longer spreads like a disease, but the purity of God's rule permeates all things. Building on this foundational impetus of Jesus, *Stephen and the "Hellenists" of Acts 6* (liberal Jewish Christians from the diaspora; ► III.10.3.1 and V.8 above) took up Jesus's position and connected it to ideas from diaspora Judaism in creative and independent ways. Mark 7 should be read entirely in this vein. However, that Jesus's disciples were not particularly meticulous about the purity laws and ate their bread with unclean hands (Mark 7:2) still reflects an original tradition (► III.6.2 above). Similar to the plucking of grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23), the hungry have-nots were unlikely to dwell on questions of the law when it came to getting something into their rumbling stomachs. It is noteworthy that, in both Mark 2:23f. and 7:2, 5, Jesus himself *is not criticized*. Only his disciples are found to be in violation of Pharisaic halakha. Even though Mark makes it clear that these halakhot are man-made, his Jesus does *not* transgress them. Mark evidently still has Pharisees in mind as his intended conversation partners here. The subsequent line of argument, which elevates "purity of heart" at the expense of ritual conceptions in Mark 7:15 ("there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile"), along with the teaching tacked on in Mark 7:18–23 – the central statement of which is v. 19c ("Thus he declared all foods clean") – once again reflects the positions of the "Hellenists" and does not originate with Jesus. The same basic form of argument is already present in the Letter of Aristeas: according to the λόγος φυσικός (the natural meaning, the "natural law"), nothing is impure by nature. It is only unethical behavior that determines what is clean or unclean.

11.3 The Gospel of Mark in Relation to Paul, Matthew, and Luke

The statement of Mark 7:15 ("there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile") and its explicit clarification in Mark 7:19c ("Thus he declared all foods clean") clearly show that, for the second evangelist, the Jewish dietary laws were *no longer binding*. Mark thus aligns with posi-

308 As Konradt, Datierung, 27, rightly observes, Mark 7:15–32 does not contain an authentic word of Jesus but rather reflects the process of community formation. Contrary to Guttenberger, Evangelium, 167, who sees an allusion to a supposed saying of Jesus in Mark 7:15, which Paul is then said to have taken up in Romans 14:14. Jacobi, Jesusüberlieferung, 299–386, has correctly shown that the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ in Romans 14:14 does not reflect the terminology of tradition and is therefore not based on a verbatim saying of Jesus. Jacobi likewise sees Mark 7:15 and Rom 14:14 as a shared early Christian topos that is anchored in Jesus's "'concept' of contageous purity" (*loc. cit.*, 381 [JV]), which, after Easter, was further developed in different strands of tradition (Acts 10:1–11:18 and Titus 1:15) in accordance with different aims. See also Löhr, Speisenfrage, 34f.

tions familiar to us from liberal Jewish groups (► V.8.2 above) and those advocated by Stephen and the "Hellenists" in Acts 6 (► III.10.3.1 and V.8.1 above).[309] The above-cited position of G. Guttenberger – that Mark 7 is silent on the purity and dietary regulations from Leviticus 11[310] – is untenable. M. Konradt rightly notes Matthew's fundamental reworking of Mark 7:1–23, which deliberately omits Marks explanatory comment that Jesus declared all foods clean (Mark 7:19c).[311] Although Konradt correctly observes "a fundamental abrogation of the dietary laws ... (Mark 7:19)" in Mark, his critique goes too far when he speaks of a fundamental "Markan relativization of the Torah,"[312] for which the Markan Jesus is too law observant, as Mark 1:44 established from the start. Furthermore, in Mark 7:11–13, which deals with the issues of vows and Corban, Mark demonstrates a detailed knowledge indicative of inner-Jewish discourse.[313] The question of divorce raised in Mark 10:2–12 was likewise a quaestio disputata in early Judaism (► V.5.2.5 above). The same holds for the Isaiah quotation appended by Markan redaction to Jesus's temple prophecy in Mark 11:17: "My house will be called a house of prayer (προσευχή) for all (gentile) nations" (Isaiah 56:7 LXX; trans. MT). "The term 'Proseuche' is a widely used designation for a synagogue. Transforming the temple into a kind of 'synagogue' would have opened it to Gentiles, as they were permitted to take part in synagogue worship (as God-fearers)."[314] Here we find positions that could be expected from the group gathered around Stephen (► III.10.3.1 above). However, this does not signify an abrogation of the temple cult but rather a liberal Jewish interpretation (► V.8.1.2 above). In Mark 12:28–34 (the question about the greatest commandment) as well, Jesus responds similarly to Philo in Spec. 2.63 (► V.9.2.2 above for the text and discussion of the love commandment), referring to the double love commandment and thus remaining within the realm of Jewish argumentation. We may thus share R. v. Bendemann's assessment:[315]

> A reassessment of the Torah problematic in the second Gospel is necessary – one that moves away from the aforementioned labels of gentile Christianity or an alleged criticism of the law ... The thesis of a nuanced "no" to the Torah glimpses something aright in Mark. At the same time, the guiding question proves useful: to what extent can this nuanced "no" also be understood as a Hellenistic Jewish "no" – one that originates from a completely different starting point than the Pauline epistolary reflection on the νόμος (*nómos*)?

Indeed, the term *nomos* ("law") is absent from Mark, and with it, any Pauline treatment of the Jewish law in soteriological, anthropological, and hamartiological terms. Mark should not, therefore, be seen in a direct trajectory with Paul. Rather, it should

309 Schweizer, Evangelium, 80 [JV], already observes "that this does not go significantly beyond the prophetic critique already adopted by Hellenistic Judaism ..."

310 Guttenberger, Evangelium, 175, adopted by von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 243.

311 Konradt, Gegenentwurf, 54f.; likewise Löhr, Speisenfrage, 33.

312 Both quotations are taken from Konradt, Gegenentwurf, 54 [JV]. Contra Guttenberger, Evangelium, 175: "Mark shows no signs of relativizing the purity Torah and dietary laws, let alone asserting their invalidity."

313 See Guttenberger, Evangelium, 173f. On Corban, see Josephus, *A.J.* 4.73.

314 Theissen, Hellenisten, 335 [JV].

315 Von Bendemann, Antagonismen, 241 and 243 [JV].

be regarded as an independent attempt to develop liberal Jewish approaches and to open up to the Gentiles.[316] Mark is thus too liberal for Matthew, as M. Konradt rightly observes, since Matthew still holds to the ritual and purity Torah (► V.12 below). Luke, however (writing a generation after Matthew and two after Mark; ► V.13 below), writes in view of the danger that Christianity's Jewish roots may be entirely forgotten (a tendency that we see in the Pastoral Epistles), or that the gospel tradition will be read in an anti-Jewish manner (as was the case with Marcion shortly after Luke's time). Thus, both Matthew and Luke supplement Mark with the conservative Jewish Sayings Source in order to firmly establish Jewish roots as an enduring part of Christianity.

12 The Gospel of Matthew

The Gospel of Matthew likely originated in the vicinity of Syria, possibly in Antioch, or perhaps in a city even closer to Palestine.[317] According to Josephus, Antioch was the third-largest city of the Roman Empire (after Rome and Alexandria; *B.J.* 3.29) and was home to an exceptionally large Jewish diaspora community.[318] Itinerant messengers of the Sayings Source community had already been active in the border region between northern Palestine and Syria (there is mention of Tyre and Sidon in Q 10:13f.). The Matthean community was likely founded by itinerant prophets from the Sayings Source community.[319] Matthew can therefore – particularly in its stance on the Torah – be understood as the "heir of Q's theological estate"[320] In contrast to the Sayings Source, the Matthean community had already severed its ties to the local synagogue communities.[321] This is evident in the distanced references to "*their* synagogues" (9:35; 10:17) and "*their* scribes" (7:29; in contrast to a "scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven," Matt 13:52; see also 23:2–33). However, this does not mean that Matthew had already broken with Judaism itself. Rather, it is clear "... that the community found itself in an intense conflict with local synagogues or synagogue communities, which were dominated by the Pharisees. In the context of this conflict, which it still perceived as an *inner-Jewish* struggle, the Matthean commu-

316 See Ebner, Markusevangelium, 16 [JV]: "This, precisely, is the intention of the document [i. e., Mark]: the translation of the message concerning Jesus into the Greco-Roman cultural space." Unlike Ebner, however, the view presented in the present volume does not assume Rome to be the place of Mark's composition.

317 Konradt, Matthäus, 23 ("more likely southern Syria"); Luz, Matthew 1–7, 58 ("Antioch").

318 See Zugmann, Hellenisten, 65f. Josephus reports that during the unrest at the beginning of the Jewish War, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea were the only cities in Syria where no pogroms against Jews occurered – due not least to the considerable number of Jews living there (B.J. 2.479).

319 Thus Luz, Matthäus I, 65f.

320 Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus, 59 [JV].

321 See Foster, Traditions, 188–200; Luz, Matthäus I, 70f.; Tiwald, Gesetz, 302f.; Strotmann/Tiwald, Matthäusevangelium, 64–106; Weidemann, Ekklesia, 59–81.

nity claimed to be the legitimate custodian of Israel's theological heritage."[322] For in Matt 5:17f. (a statement taken over from Q 16:17), the inviolable validity of the Torah remains intact. Despite all criticism of the "(Jewish) scribes and Pharisees," Matthew explicitly does *not* break with their teaching:

> Matt 23:2 The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; 3 therefore, do whatever they teach you and follow it; but do not do as they do, for they do not practice what they teach.

Apparently, the Matthean community still observed the whole Torah, keeping not only the ethical requirements in the form of the love commandment (like Paul, as discussed in V.9.2.2 above, or Mark, ► V.11 above), but also the ritual and purity Torah.[323] The continued observance of the Sabbath is evident in Matthew 24:20 (see the addition of "or on a Sabbath" to the wording of Mark 13:18). Tithing and kashrut likewise remain valid according to Matthew 23:23 ("these you ought to have practiced without neglecting the others"). This point is also made clear in Matthew 5:18–20:

> 18 For truly I tell you, until heaven and earth pass away, not one letter, not one stroke of a letter, will pass from the law until all is accomplished. 19 Therefore, whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments, and teaches others to do the same, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever does them and teaches them will be called great in the kingdom of heaven. 20 For I tell you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven.

Along with the inviolable validity of the *whole* Torah (v. 18: "not one stroke of a letter, will pass from the law"), v. 19 refers to the "least of these commandments." This is likely a reference to the purity commandments,[324] similar to Philo's distinction between greater and lesser commandments in Migr. 94 (► V.9.2.4 above for this text).[325] For Philo, the greater commandments are the ethical ones based on natural law, whereas the lesser ones are human ordinances that encompass ritual and purity regulations. Contrary to the position of the radical allegorizers (► III.7.3 above), Philo, like Matthew, calls for observance of both the greater and lesser commandments. However, the lesser commandments no longer have a salvific function for Matthew. Not observing them leads only to receiving a lower status in the kingdom of heaven, but not to exclusion from it. U. Luz is right to observe that Matthew's view of the matter is not "consistent with a thesis that throughout the centuries of Christian teaching and practice has become classic – the thesis that Matthew affirms the eth-

322 Konradt, Erfüllung, 130 [JV]; also id., Matthäus, 19f. Likewise Saladrini, Community, 107, who describes the Matthew group as "deviant Jews."

323 See Konradt, Matthäus, 18; id., Matthew, 121–150; Strotmann/Tiwald, Matthäusevangelium, 64–106; Weidemann, Ekklesia, 75.

324 See Tiwald, Gültigkeit; Konradt, Erfüllung, 133.

325 See Luz, Matthew 1–7, 219–220; Weidemann, Ekklesia, 79 [JV] ("There were likely different degrees of Torah observance in the Matthean ecclesia.") On points of contact between Philo and Matthew regarding the understanding of "righteousness," see Hoppe, Gerechtigkeit, 141–155.

ical law and ignores the ceremonial law."[326] In this regard, Matthew diverges from the understanding of the law that we find in Paul: "Since Matthew is familiar with the concept of different positions in heaven (11:11; 18:1, 4; 20:21), ... one may ... count him among the 'half-liberal' law-observant Jewish Christians."[327] While Matthew tolerates the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles, and the purely ethical interpretation of the ceremonial law propagated by Paul and other liberal Jews, he does not practice this kind of interpretation himself and assigns a lower place in the kingdom of heaven to those who do.[328]

Is circumcision still valid in the Matthean community? A universal missionary mandate is issued in Matthew 28:19f., according to which *gentile Christians* need not be circumcised.[329] According to Matthew, however, this universal mission also entails "that Christ-believers from the nations are obligated to observe the Torah as authoritatively interpreted by Jesus,"[330] which, however, likely refers to the interpretation of the Torah in terms of the love commandment. The *Jewish-Christian members* of the Matthean community, however, likely continued to observe kashrut, the Sabbath, and circumcision of their children. This means that Matthew is wholly in line with the decisions of the Apostolic Convention (► III.10.4.2 above): gentile Christians are obligated to observe the law in the form of the love commandment, while Jewish Christians should keep the whole Torah.[331] This view is consistent with the following thesis from M. Konradt:[332]

> The substantial revisions that Matthew made to Mark on matters of importance to him leave little room for any conclusion other than that Matthew should be regarded as critical of Mark, in not outright anti-Markan in his views. He ... wanted to displace Mark, because he considered it unfit for use in his congregations. ... Theologically, Matthew is closer to Q than to Mark.

326 Luz, Matthew 1–7, 221. By contrast, see Deines, Gerechtigkeit, 346–353. Very much in line with Luz, however, is Konradt, Erfüllung, 133; id., Matthäus, 18.

327 Luz, Matthew 1–7, 220–221.

328 See Runesson, Purity, 159: "Matthew's Jesus states clearly ... that ritual impurity is less important, or urgent, than moral impurity. This should not be understood, ... as if ritual impurity may be neglected."

329 As Konradt, Matthäus, 464 [JV], rightly observes: "For Christ-believers from the nations, baptism is thus the only rite of initiation."

330 Konradt, Matthäus, 465 [JV].

331 See Strotmann/Tiwald, Matthäusevangelium, 104f. Likewise, Weidemann, Ekklesia, 79 [JV] ("a mixed ecclesia of Jews and Gentiles with its own 'gradations' of Torah observance").

332 Konradt, Matthäus, 21 [JV].

13 The Gospel of Luke and Acts of the Apostles

Luke carries on a "particular form of Pauline thought in the second or third generation."[333] Indeed, Acts is virtually designed as a kind of "apology for Paul,"[334] though it also brings its own quite distinct perspectives to bear, which are not direct outgrowths of the apostle's legacy. For Luke's community, the break with the synagogue community had already taken place. The basic theological conception of Luke-Acts culminates in a "separation in Israel," which Luke already announces in Simeon's prophecy (Luke 2:29–35: "the falling and rising of Many in Israel") and which reaches its conclusion in Acts 28:24 ("Some [i. e., Jews] were convinced by what he had said, while others refused to believe").[335] "Even if the majority of the Jews now reject Jesus, Luke does not for that reason write Israel off, but hopes – in keeping with the Deuteronomistic understanding of history – for repentance and 'times of refreshing' for Israel, when Jesus, 'the Messiah appointed for you,' comes at the end of the ages (Acts 3:19)."[336] Luke likely "belongs to that circle of sympathizers [with Judaism] whom one designates 'God-fearers'."[337] In this respect, the theological positions of the "Hellenists," which were later developed by Paul, are grist for his mill. After all, it was the "God-fearers" who benefited most from the "reform Judaism" promoted by the "Hellenists" and Paul. These people, who formerly could only hope for a "second-rate membership,"[338] now received full membership at a "reduced price" (► III.10.4.4 above). Luke is thus greatly concerned to trace the emergence of the church from this intellectual milieu of early Judaism. Naturally, like the "Hellenists" and Paul, Luke no longer attributes any significance to the purity and ritual Torah. It is therefore all the more remarkable that Luke, a third-generation Christian, now seeks to counteract certain effects of a kind of hyper-Paulinism. Paul himself still had an immediate and self-evident sense of his Jewish identity – even if he clashed with more conservative Jews. Three generations later, however, there was a significant danger of misunderstanding Paul along a trajectory that Marcion would follow soon enough. For precisely this reason, Luke insists that the Jewish law found its fulfillment in Jesus (Luke 2:22–24, 27, 39; 10:26; 16:17; 24:44). Acts extends this tendency further to the disciples of Jesus: Peter and John are devout in their observance of the temple cult (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:20f., 42), as Jesus and his parents had been (Luke 2:41, 42, 49; 19:46, 47; 21:37f.; 22:53) and as Paul was later (Acts 21:26; 22:17; 24:12, 18; 25:8). The departure from the dietary regulations, in particular, first has to be painstakingly initiated by God against Peter's will (Acts 10:9–16). The same is true of the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles (Acts 10:22–48), which is not introduced by Paul or the "Hellenists," but by

333 Bovon, Luke 1, 11. Luke-Acts should likely be dated to 100–130 CE; see Theobald, Christus, 138; Backhaus Datierung, 212–258.

334 Wasserberg, Mitte, 365 [JV].

335 See Wasserberg, Mitte, 134–147 and 352–366.

336 Theobald, Christus, 138 [JV]; von Bendemann, Paulus, 301–303; Schröter, Geschichte, 360.

337 Bovon, Luke 1, 8. On the so-called "God-fearers," ► III.10.4.4 above.

338 Frey, Paulus, 267 [JV].

the moderate Peter in the baptism of Cornelius. It was likely a shrewd move on Luke's part to swap out the "Hellenists" and Paul for Peter at this point: it removes the already controversial "Hellenists" and Paul from the line of fire, while Peter continues unencumbered in his role as a unifying figure. The fact that the original circumstances still show through the narrative fabric of Acts – such as Philip's Samaritan mission (Acts 8:5–14), the baptism of the Ethiopian (Acts 8:27–38), or the gentile mission of the "Hellenists" in Antioch (Acts 11:19f.) – speaks, by its countertendency to Luke's narrative,[339] precisely for the historical value of these episodes (► III.10.3.2 above). Apparently, Luke could not risk imposing his harmonizing and smoothing image of history entirely against the grain of historical fact. By consistently developing his ideas, Luke thus draws an "emphatically Jewish portrait of 'his' Paul."[340] Thus, as a sign of his faithfulness to the law, Paul consecrates himself in the temple (Acts 21:21–26), thereby testifying (in Luke's portrayal) that the Christian faith remains Torah observant (Acts 24:14; 25:8; 28:23).[341] However, the opening to the circumcision-free mission to the Gentiles and the departure from the ritual and purity Torah are preordained in God's salvific plan: after baptizing the gentile Cornelius and partaking of unclean foods, Peter comes to the realization that God requires neither dietary regulations nor circumcision, but rather that "in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him" (Acts 10:35).

Similar to Matthew (► V.12 above), we may assume that, by combining Mark and the Sayings Source, the author of Luke *consciously* intends to preserve Christianity's Jewish roots. He deliberately and proactively counteracts the tendencies that soon thereafter show up "on the historical radar" in the Pastoral Epistle's forgetfulness of Israel and in the even more egregious anti-Jewish theology of Marcion and the (pseudepigraphical) Letters of Ignatius.[342] The fact that Matthew and Luke mount independent and yet substantively concordant defenses of the Jewish roots of Christianity, shows that, around the turn of the first Christian century, there was still a strong awareness within the churches of Christianity's own Jewish origins. It was from this fundamental stance that the majority Church soon thereafter issued a resolute rejection of Marcion's reductionism.

14 The Gospel of John

Without a doubt, the fourth Gospel emerged from a Jewish cultural matrix.[343] However, it remains a matter of debate in biblical scholarship whether the community

339 Theissen/Merz, Jesus, 116f.

340 Wasserberg, Mitte, 356 [JV].

341 See Tiwald, Gesetz, 308f.

342 See Theobald, Israel-Vergessenheit, on the Pastoral Epistles: 353–360, on Marcion: 351f., on the Ignatian Epistles: 257–331. See also Theobald, Kirche, 395f.

343 On this, see the anthology published by B.E. Reynolds and G. Boccaccini, *Reading the Gospel of John's Christology as Jewish Messianism (AGJU 106)*, Leiden 2018.

behind the Gospel had already cut ties with that Jewish matrix or was still rooted in Judaism. There is consensus that the term ἀποσυνάγωγος (aposynagōgos, 'put out of the synagogue'; ► I.2.2.3 above) in John 9:22, 12:42, and 16:2 should not be understood as a terminus technicus for a formal expulsion procedure against Jewish Christians, but rather as an ad hoc phrase used by the fourth Evangelist to describe a localized measure.[344] Since John's polemic is directed against Ἰουδαῖοι, *Ioudaioi* in particular, it is necessary to clarify whether the term should be translated as "Jews" or "Judeans." As discussed above (► I.1.3.4 above), the term should mostly be translated as "Jews." This is advisable for the Gospel of John as well.[345] J. Frey is not entirely mistaken in suspecting that an "aspect of 'political correctness'" seems to be "the main motive behind the current trend of rendering Ἰουδαῖοι as 'Judeans.'"[346] However, such a misguided notion of political correctness must be rejected, since it could result in an improper exculpation of John and its *Adversus Iudaeos*-Texts.

For a long time, the dominant paradigm in Johannine exegesis was what J.L. Martyn and R.E. Brown termed the *expulsion narrative*, which gained many adherents in North American and the German-speaking world.[347] According to this view, John is responding to the expulsion of Jesus-believers from the synagogue by reprojecting it into the time of Jesus ("two-level drama"). On this view, the expulsion from the synagogue is said to have been induced by the *Birkat haMinim* and the regrouping of Judaism at Yavne – two assumptions that are no longer tenable in contemporary scholarship (► I.2.2.3 above). Apart from the many other weaknesses of the Martyn/Brown narrative,[348] its effect is to shift the blame for John's anti-Jewish polemics back onto the Jews. The implication is that it was only the aggression of the Jews that provoked the fourth Evangelist's delimiting and exclusionary language as a necessary means of self-defense. The pattern of justification that *the Jews started it* (► I.2.2.4 above for further examples) is an utterly useless attempt to excuse anti-Jewish polemics. Thus, John's anti-Jewish polemics need to be examined in a text-immanent manner.

In the fourth Gospel, the term Ἰουδαῖοι, *Ioudaioi* by no means refers exclusively to a polemically disqualified group.[349] Thus, Jesus himself is referred to as *Ioudaios* (John 4:9a), as are his conversation partners and sympathizers (John 3:1; 8:31; 11:45; 12:11; 19:38). Moreover, there are descriptions of the customs and festivals of the *Ioudaioi* (John 2:6, 13; 4:9b; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 11:55; 19:40, 42). The term "Israel" (John 1:31.49; 3:10;

344 See Theobald, Johannes, 649.

345 Frey, Juden, 339–377, as well as Reinhartz, Gospel, 467.

346 Frey, Juden, 344 [JV].

347 See Martyn, History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel, and Brown, The Community of the Beloved Disciple. For followers of this view in the German-speaking world, see Wengst, Gemeinde, passim, or Klauck, Gemeinde, 199–203.

348 See the critique of Reinhartz, Gospel, 465–471; id., Covenant, 111–130; Frey, Juden, 354– 365.

349 See Frey, Juden, 351. On the ambivalent – but by no means only negative – depiction of the "Jews" in the fourth Gospel: Zimmermann, Jews, 71–109 (109: "the narrator remains ambiguous and open"); Karakolis, Juden, 402 [JV]: "As the foregoing discussion has shown, the fourth Evangelist avoids depicting the Jews of Jesus's time (with the exception of the high priest) as irreversibly antagonistic toward Jesus."

12:13) and "Israelite" (John 1:47) also have positive connotations. When Jesus's opponents are referred to as *Ioudaioi* in the disputes (starting in John 5:10), the designation can refer to representatives and authorities, as well as to ordinary members of the designated group (John 11:19, 31; 12:9). However, it can also refer to a whole crowd (John 18:20, 35, 38b; 19:20). The most polemical statement is found in 8:44, where the *Ioudaioi* are branded as "children of the devil." Elsewhere, however, it is also acknowledged that "salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22). Thus, J. Frey rightly emphasizes "that one cannot speak of a generalized 'anti-Judaism' in the fourth Gospel. In the overall picture, however, ... the polemical opposition predominates."[350] Since the Johannine references to *Ioudaioi* cannot be reduced to a common semantic denominator, it is advisable to follow Frey and Reinhartz, who observe that the term "needs to be understood as a dramaturgical element" that is "primarily rhetorical rather than denotative" in its thrust.[351] Even if the polemic of the fourth Gospel does not, therefore, hold to a generalized anti-Judaism, its demonization and exclusion of the "Other" nevertheless remain a deficient form of identity formation. In John, identity is constructed by means of a *Rhetoric of Affiliation,* and as its counterpart, a *Rhetoric of Disaffiliation*.[352] Similar to its opposition to the *Ioudaioi*, John also delimits itself from the κόσμος, *kosmos* (the negatively connoted "world"; John 13–17), a term that is just as vague and imprecise as John's talk of the *Ioudaioi*.[353]

Given the untenability of the *mirror readings* offered by Martyn and Brown and the strong rhetorical function of affiliation and disaffiliation, it remains uncertain to what extent the "parting of the ways" between "Jews" and "Christians" had actually progressed in the community of the fourth Evangelist. Interestingly, the Gospel also portrays believers in Jesus who remained within the Jewish community, such as Joseph of Arimathea (John 19:38) and Nicodemus (John 3:1f.; 7:50–52; 19:39). Seven times in the first half of the book, it is said that "many believed in him (or in his name)" (John 2:23; 7:31; 8:30; 10:42; 11:45; 12:11, 42). In three of these instances, "the Jews" are the subject of the verb (John 8:30f.; 11:45; 12:11).[354] Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus both held esteemed positions. According to Mark 15:43, Joseph was a member of the high council, while Nicodemus was a leading Pharisee (ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, John 3:1). Joseph is said to have been a disciple of Jesus in secret "because of his fear of the Jews" (John 19:38). Similarly, Nicodemus comes to Jesus only under the cover of night and does not dare to confess him openly (John 3:2; 7:52). It is likely that the fourth Evangelist portrays certain contemporaries in these figures, who, to his mind, are too hesitant in openly professing their discipleship to Jesus. Although the "parting of the ways" was clearly not yet fully realized at the time of the fourth

350 Frey, Juden, 352 [JV].

351 Frey, Juden, 353 [JV]. Reinhartz, Covenant, 161.

352 See Reinhartz, Gospel, 469–471. See her justified question: id., Covenant, 163: "Should we not resist any rhetorical program that vilifies the 'other' in order to construct the 'self'?" On the Johannine *in-group language* and *anti-language*: Malina, Sociolinguistics, 167–182.

353 See Frey, Juden, 353; id., John, 185–215.

354 See Theobald, Evangelium, 69.

Gospel's writing, the author already seems to wish for a separation. Thus, A. Reinhartz notes:[355]

> Although it is not possible to conclude that this rhetorical "parting" reflected or corresponded to a historical "parting," it is noteworthy that by the end of the first century there is at least one Christ-confessing text that envisions a mode of Christian self-identification outside of and separate from Judaism. ... But by rhetorically positing a great divide between Christ-confessors and non-Christ-confessing Jews, the Gospel of John itself may well have contributed to the views and arguments that would eventually lead Christ-confessors to define themselves and their communities outside of and in diametrical opposition to Jews and Judaism.

The fourth Evangelist would thus have anticipated tendencies later found among the Church Fathers, who pressed on with the "parting of the ways" for reasons of ideology and identity formation (► I.2.2.5 above), even though there were also parallel visions of a peaceful coexistence. As with the Matthean community, we may assume that the inclusion of non-Jews in the Johannine community (the Samaritan mission: John 4, ► III.11.6 above; and the Greek mission: John 7:35; 12:20) also led to tensions with the synagogue community. Apparently, however, the rate at which the "parting of the ways" occurred varied not only for the church as a whole [*Gesamtkirche*], but also for the Johannine community itself, as illustrated by the aforementioned Jesus-believing Jews. Yet John deliberately portrays Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea in an ambivalent light. Likewise, there is always a degree of reservation regarding the "many who believed in him," as in John 2:24: "But Jesus on his part would not entrust himself to them, because he knew all people." While the Evangelist indeed looks upon "*a 'Jewish Christianity' that is not yet separate from Israel, or the synagogue association [Synagogenverband]*"[356] here, he nevertheless regards it as a thorn in his side. "His concern is ... to convince the reader of the necessity of an independent ecclesial identity separate from the synagogue."[357] In this way, the Gospel of John plays a "catalyzing role"[358] in the "parting of the ways." As welcome as the conclusion may be that the "parting of the ways" was not yet complete in the fourth Gospel, it is nevertheless equally regrettable that, at the beginnings of Christianity, a sense of identity was all too often forged through disassociation from and denigration of the "other" (► I.2.2.5 above) – as is unfortunately also the case with the fourth Evangelist. The "parting of the ways" thus turns out to be a history of guilt, marking the failure to uphold Jesus's lofty ideal of integration.

---

355 Reinhartz, Gospel, 465 and 471.

356 Theobald, Evangelium, 69 [JV] (italics original); at the time, however, there was no "synagogue association" [*Synagogenverband*] in the sense of a centralized administration.

357 Theobald, Evangelium, 66 [JV]; similarly: Frey, John, 185–215.

358 Theobald, Evangelium, 69 [JV].

15 A Final Word on Identity Markers

Talk of a "circumcision of the heart" is already common in the Old Testament.[359] The point of this language is that a person's righteousness or unrighteousness is not determined mechanically through a given rite, but rather by one's inward disposition. Paul takes up this concept in Romans 2:25–29, furthering the tendency already present in Philo (► V.9.2.2 above) to distill the entire Torah into the love commandment. Similar to the radical allegorizers (► V.8.2.3 above), he seeks to fulfill the commandments "by the spirit, not by the letter" (ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι; trans. MT). Circumcision of the body is no longer necessary. Long after Paul, K. Rahner developed a similar concept with his notion of "anonymous Christians":[360] The true Christian is recognized by the practice of the love commandment. Thus, an unbaptized person who practices the love commandment may be more "Christian" than a baptized Christian who lacks such commitment. Rahner's idea was rightly criticized because it might lead to a Christian appropriation of other religions. However, neither Paul nor Rahner is concerned with hegemonic claims to universality. Both follow an old line of argument that inquires into *identity markers*: "what defines a true Jew/Christian?" This question does not seek to *appropriate something external* to one's own religious community, but rather to establish standards of value *internal* to it in the same way Izates, the heir to the throne of Adiabene, asks what he must do in order to "be genuinely a Jew" (βεβαίως Ἰουδαῖος, Josephus *A.J.* 20.38; ► V.8.1.4 above). And we still struggle in a similar fashion today when we seek to define what is "typically Catholic" (such *dialogismoi* are only appropriate from the perspective of one's own church). The term "catholic" – originally a term denoting all-encompassing breadth (κατά, *kata* – ὅλον, *holon*, "pertaining to the whole") – takes on a different meaning in the mouths of the ultraconservative Society of Saint Pius X than when used by socially critical liberation theologians. Similar questions arise in the sphere of the Protestant Church, where Free Churches adopt more "rigid" positions and denounce modern exegesis as being "no longer faithful to the Bible." Even today, it is possible to draw a line from conservative to liberal within Christianity (► III.7.4 above, and Excursus 2). And once again, different identity markers provide the measure for determining "orthodoxy."[361] Similar to the radical allegorizers and Paul, the Letter of Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus interpreted the ritual and purity Torah in terms of its underlying ethical meaning. Unlike the radical allegorizers, Zambrias, Ananias, and Paul, however, the Letter of Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus continue to adhere to the literal sense

359 Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4; 9:24f. Similarly, there is also a circumcision of the lips (Exod 6:12, 30) and the ears (Jer 6:10). See also, Jer 31:33f.; Ezek 11:19f.; 44:7; Jub 1:23; 4 Ezra 6:26. Frankemölle, Frühjudentum, 251.

360 See Rahner, Christen, 545–554; id., Christentum, 498–515.

361 This holds for all religions. Muslim women, for example, have various options when it comes to wearing a headscarf: from conservative (full-body covering) to liberal (the headscarf is a casual fashion accessory). Similar gradations can also be observed in the clothing of Orthodox Jews or Catholic priests (ranging from a cassock to a suit with a lapel cross).

of the ritual and purity Torah. At first blush, the radical allegorizers may appear more sympathetic. Viewed from the perspective of the sociology of religion, however, their practice would have deprived Judaism of essential identity markers. Modern psychology teaches us that identity markers are indispensable for the development of a distinct sense of self. Quite apart from religious considerations, for example, purity and dietary taboos are currently gaining new significance through the organic food trend and are quickly becoming identity markers for the fashionable and environmentally conscious crowd. In extreme cases, "orthorexia" (the psychological compulsion to eat "correctly") can even develop into a clinical illness – without any connection to "religion" at all. Even the way of life of the hermit Banus (whom Josephus briefly joined, according to *Vita* 11) – of living in close touch with nature and obtaining his clothing and food solely from self-growing natural resources – no longer seems as alien today as it did before the rise of the environmental movement. Thus, while identity markers may shift, they remain essential for the formation of one's personality. Today as well, religions must ask themselves which identity markers constitute their "core values" and which are of lesser importance. Which "adaptations to the Zeitgeist" are necessary to avoid seeming eccentric and outmoded? And how much "potential for creative resistance" must be retained to prevent them from becoming devoid of substance and arbitrary? Paul (and before him, the "Hellenists" of Acts 6) saw the opportunity to replace the identity markers of the dietary and circumcision regulations – which were difficult to convey in the diaspora – with the new identity marker of faith in Jesus Christ. This is one of the reasons his message could be so effectively communicated. It is not, however, grounds for the feelings of superiority that Christianity has repeatedly – entirely without justification – displayed toward Judaism. One often hears, in a distortion of Paul's words, that Christians belong to the "covenant of grace," while Judaism has remained the "covenant of the letter." Identity markers serve to give definition to one's own personality. Yet deriving one's identity from demarcating and defaming the "other" is the weakest form of identity formation. Incidentally, the struggle over *identity markers* has persisted for Christianity, albeit in a transformed manner on a different level. G. Theissen writes:[362]

> The tension between a religion of grace and works-based righteousness is inherent in Judaism. It was this aporia that allowed Christianity to emerge from within Judaism. And I would add: this aporia is not "resolved" in Christianity but lives on within it.

The fundamental tension between a *religion of grace* and *commandments that demand consequences* – that is, the tension between the promise of salvation in the *indicative mood* and the demand for action in the *imperative mood* – is likely present in every (!) religion. However, the question that remains for all religions is whether and to what extent their prescribed teaching is meaningful and comprehensible. The perception of *identity markers* can change over time. While the Catholic church no longer observes dietary regulations, it still upholds sexual taboos in the form of celibacy, the long-standing exclusion of "remarried divorcés" from the sacraments, and its han-

362 Theissen, Religion, 290 [JV].

dling of homosexuality. Without wishing to judge these *identity markers* (for, in terms of the sociology of religion, that is what they are, at least for conservative Catholics) as either reasonable or unreasonable, do they not lead us back to the discussion of strict purity regulations, which were already known in early Judaism (► V.8.2.2 above)? And: is it reassuring or unsettling that we have remained so true to this "continuum of discourse?" In terms of the sociology of religion, such discussions are probably indispensable for the ongoing theological existence of a living religion. *It is reassuring* if we admit to being perpetual seekers and remain open to guidance from the Spirit of God. *It would be unsettling*, however, to imagine that we have already reached the end of the journey and feel ourselves to be in "possession of the full truth." For that would mean breaking with the continuum of discourse – which would also spell the end of self-critical theology.

Appendix

Chronological Table

725–697	Hezekiah – King of the Southern Kingdom
722	Fall of the Northern Kingdom, deportation of the tribes settled there
639–609	Josiah – King of Judah
597	First deportation to the Babylonian exile
587	Destruction of the temple, second deportation to the Babylonian exile
538	Return from the Babylonian exile
538–333	PERSIAN PERIOD
520–515	Rebuilding of the temple ("Second Temple")
around 450	Building of the temple on Mount Gerizim
408	Petition of the Jewish Military Colony of Elephantine
333–63	HELLENISTIC PERIOD
333	Battle of Issus
332	Alexander the Great in Egypt
323	Death of Alexander
322–301	Wars of the Diadochi
301–200	Palestine under Ptolemaic rule
200–135	Palestine under Seleucid rule
175–164	Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Jason's Gymnasium in Jerusalem
6. 12. 167	Desecration of the temple, Persecution of the Jews under Antiochus IV
167–164	Maccabean Revolt
166	Death of Mattathias
166–160	Judas Maccabeus
14. 12. 164	Rededication of the temple (Hanukkah)
160–142	Jonathan
153	Jonathan assumes the office of High Priest, secession of the Essenes, Jonathan is dubbed "Wicked Priest"
142–135	Simon rules as "prince," "high priest," and "commander of the army"
135–104	John Hyrcanus I, destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim
104–103	Aristobulus I (first Hasmonean to bear the title of king)
103–76	Alexander Jannaeus (orders the execution of 800 Pharisees, whose factionalism becomes historically discernible for the first time here)
76–67	Salome Alexandra (aligns herself with the Pharisees)
67–63	Aristobulus II
63 BCE–70 CE	EARLY ROMAN PERIOD
63	Pompey conquers Jerusalem and enters the Holy of Holies in the temple
63–40	Hyrcanus II, Antipater and his sons Phasael and Herod as "military commanders" in Palestine
40–37	Mattathias Antigonus as the last Hasmonean king

37–4	Herod the Great
20 BCE–50 CE	Philo of Alexandria
26 CE	Appearance of John the Baptist
ca. 5 BCE–30 CE	Jesus of Nazareth (probably † 14 Nisan / April 7, 30 CE)
4 BCE–6 CE	Archelaus
4 BCE–33/34 CE	Philip
4 BCE–39 CE	Herod Antipas
6–41 CE	Judea under Roman Procurators. The census of Quirinius triggers the uprising of Judas the Galilean in 6 CE, the party of the Zealots is formed. Pontius Pilate serves from 26–36.
32	Conversion of Paul
37–44	Aggripa I
37–after 100	Flavius Josephus
40	Philo's embassy to Caligula
42/43	Execution of James, the son of Zebedee, under Agrippa I, Peter flees from Jerusalem
44–66	Palestine under Roman procurators, increase in uprisings and false prophets (Theudas and others)
48/49	Apostolic Convention and the incident at Antioch
49	Claudius edict: Jewish Christians are expelled from Rome
50–93	Agrippa II
50–51	Paul in Corinth (Consulship of Gallio: 51–52)
56	Paul in Jerusalem (Acts 20:16), delivery of the collection, imprisonment, and transfer to Caesarea under the governor Felix
61	Paul appeals to Caesar because the governor Festus is delaying the proceedings; Paul is transferred to Rome.
62	Execution of James, the brother of Jesus by High Priest Ananus II after the sudden death of the governor Festus
64	Burning of Rome, persecution of Christians under Nero in Rome, during which the martyrdoms of Paul and probably Peter occur
66	Start of the Jewish War
67	Vespasian Conquers Galilee
69	Vespasian is declared Emperor
August 70	Vespasian's son Titus conquers Jerusalem and destroys the temple
70–200	MIDDLE ROMAN PERIOD
After 70	Yohanan ben Zakkai gathers Jewish teachers at Yavne
ca. 85–110	Gamaliel II active in Yavne
110–112	Correspondence between Pliny and Trajan on the Christian situation
132–135	Bar Kochba revolt
135–175	The period of Judaism in Usha
175–217	Judah ha-Nasi ("Rabbi"); Composition of the Mishnah
200–330	LATE ROMAN PERIOD

The Political Situation in Palestine During the Time of Jesus

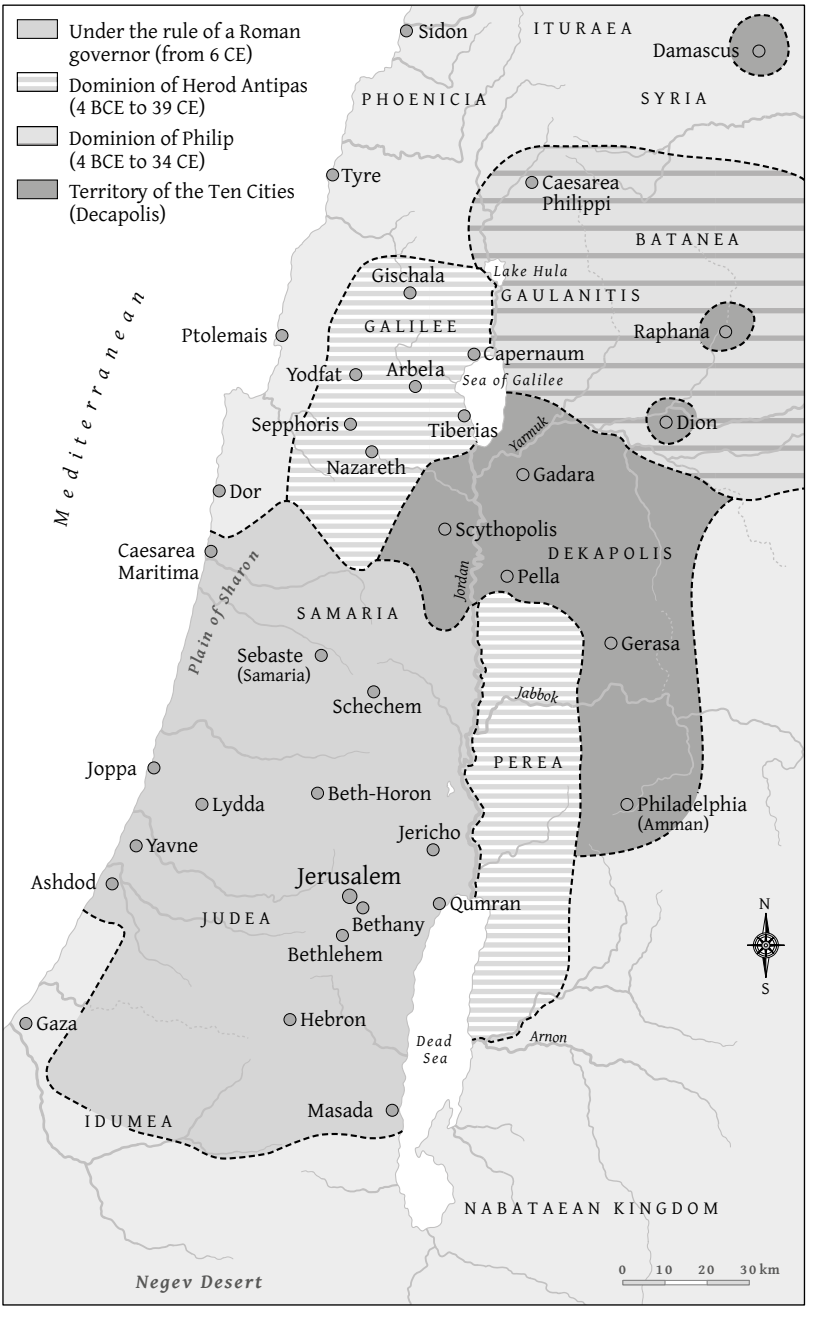


Fig. 1: © Peter Palm, Berlin.

Spectrum of Early Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity

Early Judaism

"Radical Allegorizers", Zambrias, Ananias, "Hellenists" (Acts 6), Paul	**Letter of Aristeas, Philo, Flavius Josephus, Jesus, Q, Matthew**	**Sadducees**	**Pharisees**	**Qumranites**
The laws of Torah are aimed at purely internal, ethical observance. External adherence to purity and ritual regulations is no longer necessary.	Priority given to ethical interpretation of the law while retaining ritual and purity laws.	Ritual and purity laws are primarily observed in connection with the temple—temple-centeredness.	The purity regulations of the temple priests are extended to the household.	Even stricter interpretation of the purity and ritual regulations than that of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

From "liberal" to "conservative" [363], left to right.

Beginnings of Christianity

Marcion	**Pastoral Epistles**	**"Hellenists" (Acts 6), Paul, Mark, Luke-Acts, John**	**Peter, James, Apostolic Convention, Matthew**	**"Judaizers"[364] (Acts 15:1), "false brothers" (Gal 2:4), Ebionites**
Radical rejection of the Jewish heritage. Minimalistic canon consisting of 10 Pauline letters and a "cleansed" Gospel of Luke. Rejection of the OT.	"Forgetfulness of Israel"[365]	Ethical interpretation of the Torah and Christian interpretation of the OT. The Torah's ritual and purity regulations no longer have salvific significance.	Gentile Christians are free from ritual and purity Torah. Jewish Christians are obligated to observe the whole law and keep ritual and purity regulations.	Ritual and purity regulations remain in force for Jews and Christians. According to Irenaeus Haer. 1.26.1, (► I.2.2.5 above) the Ebionites only acknowledge Matt and reject the Pauline corpus.

363 ► III.7.4 above on the terms "liberal" and "conservative".

364 See Betz, Judaisten.

365 Theobald, Israel-Vergessenheit, 353–360.

The House of the Hasmoneans

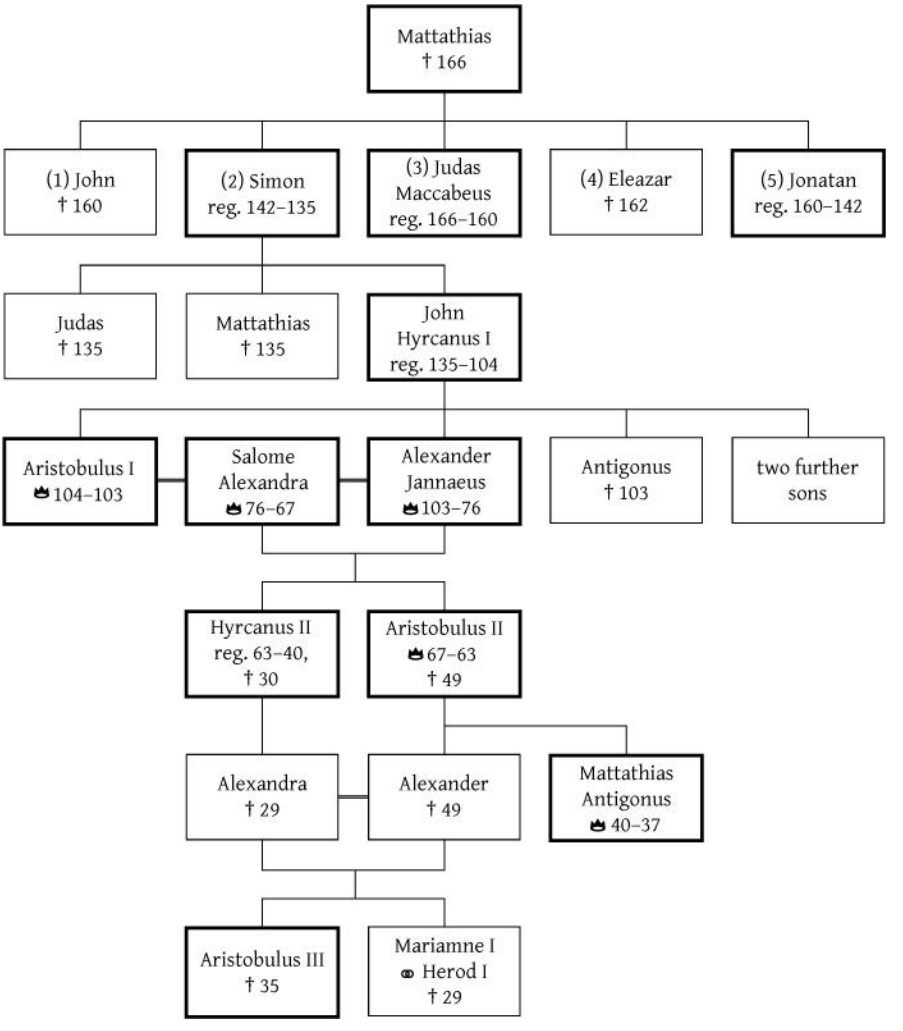


Fig. 2: Bold borders indicate rulers; those who bore the title of king are marked with a ♚. Single lines indicate lineage, while double lines represent marriage. – Updated and revised version of a diagram from Reike/Rost, Biblisch- historisches Handwörterbuch (CD-ROM).

The House of Herod

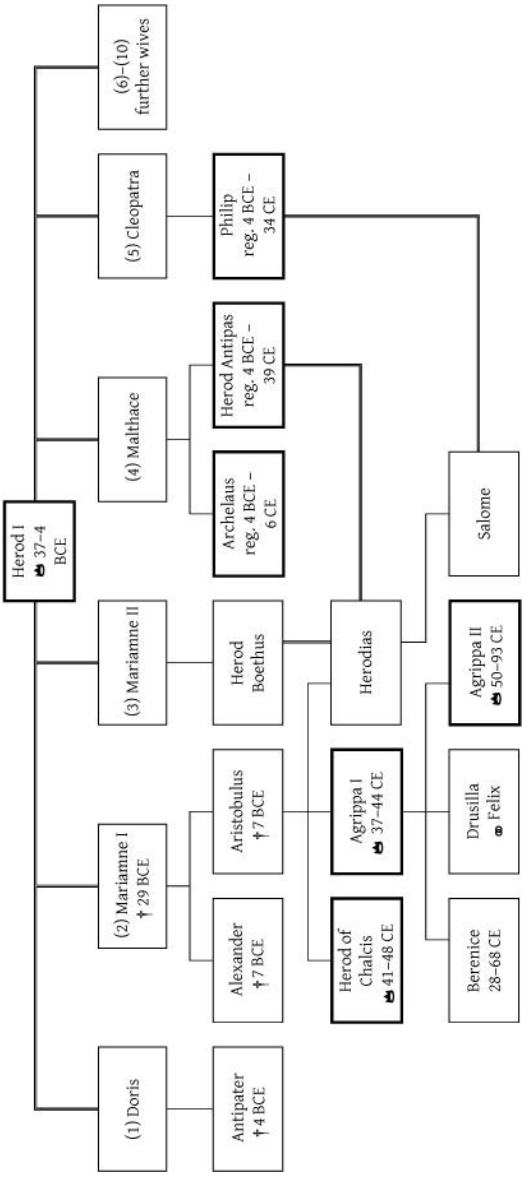


Fig. 3: Bold borders indicate a ruler. Rulers who were permitted to bear the title of king are marked with a ♚. Single lines indicate lineage, while double lines represent marriage. – Updated and revised version of a diagram from Reike/Rost, Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch (CD-ROM).

Abbreviations and Citation Style

General Abbreviations

[JV]	Translations of quotations translated by Jason Valdez
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
Trans. MT	Translated by the author, Markus Tiwald
v.	Verse(s)
Biblical texts	Abbreviation of biblical texts follows the guidelines set down in the *SBL Handbook of Style.*

Further Notes on Abbreviations and Citation Style

Bibliography and Notes: The abbreviations and notes used in this volume follow the guidelines of the *SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*, 2nd ed. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014. The secondary literature listed in the following bibliography is cited in the notes using the author's name and a short title. The short title does not necessarily have to begin with the first word of the full title. If there is a risk of confusion between different short titles by the same author, a reference to the short title is added in parentheses after the full bibliographic entry in the bibliography. Non-English name prefixes. such as "De," "van," etc.) are cited as integral parts of the surname, in keeping with increasingly common practice (e.g., "De Troyer" under "D," not under "T" – thus not "Troyer, De" as was formerly customary). Only the German "von," as in "von Bendemann," continues to be cited as "Bendemann, R. von." Umlauts are not expanded, i. e., "ä" is cited as equivalent to "a," not as "ae."

Hebrew: Hebrew words are rendered with vocalization in important cases, but usually without. The transliteration of Hebrew follows a purely phonetic system and avoids special characters, since the Hebrew original is usually provided as well and the English transliteration would otherwise become too cumbersome. Thus, *matres lectionis* are not marked as ô, û, etc., and no distinction is made between *e* and *æ*, etc.

Biblical Texts: Where it is not explicitly indicated that a biblical citation is the author's own translation ("trans. MT") or is quoted from the NASB, all citations of biblical texts are taken from the NRSV. The Greek and Hebrew texts used are the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Nestle-Aland, 28th edition) and the fifth edition of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Passages attributed to the Sayings Source (Q) are cited—as is customary in Q research—using the prefix "Q," which replaces the dual reference to Matthew and Luke (e.g., "Q 11:2–4" instead of "Matt 6:7–13/Luke 11:2–4"). The English version of Q quoted throughout is Robinson, James M., Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. *The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke,*

Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas. Leuven: Peeters Press; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.

Qumran Texts: The Numbering and Citation follow Florentino García Martínez, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997–1998. Text-critical notations have been omitted for the sake of readability, except in a few cases relevant for interpretation. Reconstructions of gaps in the text have been retained in square brackets. The Hebrew text follows Abegg, M. G. (ed.), *Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts*, Electronic Edition, BibleWorks 8, 2001.

Further Notes on Early Jewish Literature and Rabbinica: Abbreviations for the works of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus follow the SBL Handbook of Style. The same applies to the tractates of the Rabbinica, using the abbreviations "m." for Mishnah, "t." for Tosefta, "y." for Jerusalem Talmud, and "b." for Babylonian Talmud. Early Jewish and early Christian pseudepigrapha are also cited according to the SBL Handbook of Style.

On the English Text of the Works of Flavius Josephus: Where possible, citations of Josephus's works are taken from Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary, edited by Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2000–). Where this has not been possible, references are drawn from the Loeb Classical Library editions. At times, the more recent translations in the Translation and Commentary series diverge significantly from the Loeb editions in their transliteration of names and places. For the sake of clarity in discussing the cited texts, the respective transliterations of each series have been retained in quotations and their immediate context.

Citation of Primary Sources: All primary sources are cited according to the editions listed under "Primary Sources" in the bibliography. These typically include an edition of the work in the original language along with an English translation.

Literature

Primary Sources

Early Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 ENOCH
English: Isaac, E., "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," p. 5–89 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. Charlesworth, H. J., Garden City: Doubleday 1983.
Apocalypse of Weeks: Stuckenbruck, L. T., 1 Enoch 91–108 (CEJL), Berlin/New York 2007.

2 BARUCH
English: Klijn, A. F. J., "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction" p. 615–652 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. Charlesworth, H. J., Garden City: Doubleday 1983.

4 EZRA
English: Metzger, B.M., "The Fourth Book of Ezra: A New Translation and Introduction," p. 517–559 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed. Charlesworth, H. J., Garden City: Doubleday 1983.

ASSUMPTION OF MOSES
English: Tromp, J., The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 10, Leiden: Brill 1993.

LETTER OF ARISTEAS
Greek: Pelletier, A., Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate (SC 89), Paris 1962.
English: "Letter of Aristeas: A New Translation and Introduction," p. 7–34 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha vol. 2: Expansions of the 'Old Testament' and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Judeo-Hellenistic Works,* ed. Charlesworth, H. J., Garden City: Doubleday 1985

JUBILEES
English: "Jubiless: A New Translation and Introduction," p. 35–142 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha vol. 2: Expansions of the 'Old Testament' and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Judeo-Hellenistic Works,* ed. Charlesworth, H. J., Garden City: Doubleday 1985

Qumran Texts

Hebrew: Abegg, M. G., Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts, Electronic Edition BibleWorks 8, 2001.
English: García Martínez, F. / Tigchelaar E. J. C., eds. The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill 1999.

Philo and Josephus

PHILO of ALEXANDRIA
Greek/English: Works of Philo. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. 10 vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1929–1962.
The Hypothetica is cited according to the text edition of Eusebius:
Greek: Mras, K., Eusebius Werke. vol. 8/1: Die Praeparatio Evangelica I, Berlin 1982.
English: Yonge, C. D., The Works of Philo Judaeus, the Contemporary of Josephus. Translated from the Greek, vols.1–4, London 1854–55.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
DE BELLO JUDAICO
Greek/English:
Books 1 and 5–7: Jewish War, Books, translated by Thackeray, H. St. J., LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1927–1928.
Book 2: Judean War 2: Translation and Commentary vol. 1B, Steve Mason, Leiden: Brill 2008 (English only).
Books 3–4: Jewish War, Books 3–7, translated by Ralph Marcus, LCL Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1940–1945.

ANTIQUITATES
Greek: Niese, B., Flavii Iosephi Opera. vols. 1–5, Berlin 1888–1889.
Greek/English: The Jewish Antiquities, Books 1–19, translated by Henry St. J. Thackeray et al., LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1930–1965).
English:
Feldman, L. H., Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 3, Judean Antiquities 1–4, Leiden: Brill 2000.
Begg, Ch. T. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 4, Judean Antiquities 5–7. Leiden: Brill 2005.
Begg, Ch. T., and Paul Spilsbury, Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 5, Judean Antiquities 8–10. Leiden: Brill 2005.
Spilsbury, P./Seeman, Ch., Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 6a, Judean Antiquities 11. Leiden: Brill 2016.
Van Henten, J. W., Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 7b, Judean Antiquities 15. Leiden: Brill 2013.

VITA AND CONTRA APIONEM
Mason, S., Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 9, Life of Josephus, Leiden: Brill 2001.
Barclay, J. M. G., Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary Vol. 10, Against Apion, Leiden: Brill 2007.

FURTHER WORKS
Pines, S., An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications, Jerusalem 1971.

Classical Greek and Latin Authors

JUVENAL
Juvenal and Persius, edited and translated by Susanna Morton Braund, LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

PHILOSTRATOS
The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Books 5–8, edited and translated by Christopher P. Jones, LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

PLINY THE ELDER
Natural History: With an English Translation in Ten Volumes, vol. II, Books 3–7, translated by H. Rackham, LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

PLINY THE YOUNGER
Letters and Panegyricus. Loeb Classical Library 55 & 59. Translated by Betty Radice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.

QUINTILIAN
The Orator's Education, Donald A. Russel, 5 vols., LCL, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001–2002.

SUETONIUS
Suetonius, translated by J. C. Rolfe. vol. 1 LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

STRABO
The Geography of Strabo, translated by D. W. Roller, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

TACITUS
The Annals. Translated by A. J. Woodman. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004.
The Histories. Translated by W. H. Fyfe, edited and revised by D. S. Levene. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Rabbinic Texts

MISHNAH
Cohen, Shaye J. D, Hayim Lapin, and Robert Goldenberg. The Oxford Annotated Mishnah. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022.

JERUSALEM TALMUD
Guggenheimer, Heinrich W. The Jerusalem Talmud: A Translation and Commentary. 17 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000–2015.

Ancient Christian Writings

1 CLEMENT
Apostolic Fathers. Volume I. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. LCL 24. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS
Greek: Holl, K., Epiphanius I: Ancoratus und Panarion haer. 1–33, Leipzig 1915.
English: *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*. Book I: Sects 1–46. 2nd ed., rev. and expanded. Translated by Frank Williams. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA
Greek: Mras, K., Eusebius Werke. vol. 8/1: Die Praeparatio Evangelica I, Berlin 1982.
English: *The History of the Church: A New Translation*. Translated by Jeremy M. Schott. Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

JEROME
The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustin, with a Sketch of His Life and Work. Edited by Philip Schaff. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH
Apostolic Fathers. Volume I. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. LCL 24. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

IRENAEUS OF LYON
Irenaeus of Lyon. *Against the Heresies: Book 3*. Translated and annotated by Dominic J. Unger and John J. Dillon. Ancient Christian Writers 64. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2012.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM
Discourses Against Judaizing Christians. Translated by Paul W. Harkins. The Fathers of the Church 68. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1979.

JUSTIN MARTYR
Writings of Saint Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy or The Rule of God. Translated by Thomas B. Falls. *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 6. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948. Repr. 2008.

CYRILL OF JERUSALEM
Yarnold, E. *Cyril of Jerusalem*. The Early Church Fathers. London: Routledge, 2000.

ORIGEN
Contra Celsum. Translated and with an introduction by Henry Chadwick. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.

TERTULIAN
Dunn, Geoffrey D. *Tertullian*. The Early Church Fathers. London: Routledge, 2004.
Apology: Translated by T. R. Glover. Revised by Gerald H. Rendall. LCL 250. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.

Modern Primary Sources

MAGISTERIUM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
Abbot, W. M. (ed.), The Documents of Vatican II, London 1967.

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM
Lessing, G. E., On the Proof of the Spirit and of Power, in: Nisbet, H. B. (trans. and ed.), Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Philosophical and Theological Writings, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy, Cambridge 2005, 83–88.

Secondary Literature

Abegg, M. G., 4QMMT, Paul and "Works of the Law", in: P. Flint (ed.), The Bible at Qumran, Cambridge 2001, 203–216.
Adler, Y., Jewish Purity Practices in Roman Judea: The Evidence of Archaeology, in: The Ancient Near East Today V,2 (2017) https://www.asor.org/anetoday/2017/02 (13.04.2022).
Ådna, J., Jesu Stellung zum Tempel (WUNT II 119), Tübingen 2000.
Alföldy, G., L'iscrizione di Ponzio Pilato: una discussione senza fine? in: G. Urso (ed.), IUDAEA SOCIA – IUDAEA CAPTA. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 settembre 2011, Pisa 2012, 137–150.
Alkier, S., Urchristentum. Zur Geschichte und Theologie einer exegetischen Disziplin (BHTH 83), Tübingen 1993.
Ameling, W., Die jüdischen Gemeinden im antiken Kleinasien, in: R. Jütte/A. P. Kustermann (ed.), Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, Wien 1996, 29–55.
Amir, Y., Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo, in: M. J. Mulder (ed.), Mikra, Philadelphia 1988, 421–453.
Amit, D./Adler Y., The Observance of Ritual Purity after 70 c.e. A Reevaluation of the Evidence in Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries, in: Z. Weiss/O. Irshai/J. Magness/S. Schwarz (ed.), "Follow the Wise". Studies in Jewish History and Culture in Honor of Lee I. Levine, Winona Lake 2010, 121–143.
Amorai-Stark, S./Hershkovitz, M./Forster G./Kalman Y./Chachy R./Porat, R., An Inscribed Copper-Alloy Finger Ring form Herodium Depicting a Krater, in: IEJ 68 (2018) 208–220.
Arav, R., Bethsaida (Et-Tell), in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1611–1615.
Arnal, W. E., Jesus and the Village Scribes. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q, Minneapolis 2001, 198–203.
Arubas, B./Goldfus, H., Masada, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1935–1939.
Arubas, B./Talgam R., Jews, Christians and "Minim": Who really Built and Used the Synagogue at Capernaum – A Stirring Appraisal, in: G. C. Bottini/ L. D. Chrupcała/J. Patrich (ed.), Knowledge and Wisdom (PSBF.Ma 54), Jerusalem 2014, 237–274.
Atkinson, K., Maccabees: Second Temple/Hellenistic Judaism, in: EBR 17 (2019), 301–305.
Attridge, H. W., The Temple and Jesus the High Priest in the New Testament, in: C. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 213–237.
Avemarie, F., Jesus and Purity, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature, Leiden 2010, 255–279.

Avemarie, F., Ist die Johannestaufe ein Ausdruck von Tempelkritik? in: B. Ego/A. Lange/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum (WUNT 118), Tübingen 1999, 395–410.

Aviam, M., The Synagogue, in: R. Bauckham (ed.), Magdala of Galilee. A Jewish City in the Hellenistic and Roman Period, Waco, TX 2018, 127–133.

Aviam, M., Reverence for Jerusalem and the Temple in Galilean Society, in: C. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 123–144. Aviam, M./Bauckham R., The Synagogue Stone, in: R. Bauckham (ed.), Magdala of Galilee. A Jewish City in the Hellenistic and Roman Period, Waco, TX 2018, 135–159.

Avigad, N., Jerusalem, in: E. Stern (ed.), the New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land II, Jerusalem 1993, 717–725, 729–735, 750–753.

Babota, V., The Institution of the Hasmonean High Priesthood, Leiden 2014.

Bachmann, M., Rechtfertigung und Gesetzeswerke bei Paulus, in: id. (ed.), Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief. Exegetische Studien zu einem polemischen Schreiben und zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus (NTOA 40), Freiburg i. d. Schweiz 1999, 1–32.

Bachmann, M., 4QMMT und Galaterbrief, in: id. (ed.), Antijudaismus im Galaterbrief. Exegetische Studien zu einem polemischen Schreiben und zur Theologie des Apostels Paulus (NTOA 40), Freiburg i. d. Schweiz 1999, 33–56.

Bachmann, M., Keil oder Mikroskop? Zur jüngeren Diskussion um den Ausdruck "‚Werke' des Gesetzes", in: id. (ed.), Lutherische und Neue Paulusperspektive, Tübingen 2005, 69–134.

Backhaus, K., Zur Datierung der Apostelgeschichte. Ein Ordnungsversuch im chronologischen-Chaos, in: ZNW 108 (2017) 212–258.

Backhaus, K., Jesus und Johannes der Täufer, in: J. Schröter/Ch. Jacobi (ed.), Jesus Handbuch, Tübingen 2017, 245–252.

Backhaus, K., Die Vision vom ganz Anderen. Geschichtlicher Ort und theologische Mitte der Johannes-Offenbarung, in: id. (ed.), Theologie als Vision. Studien zur Johannes-Offenbarung (SBS 191), Stuttgart 2001, 10–53.

Backhaus, K., Die "Jüngerkreise" des Täufers Johannes, Paderborn 1991.

Backhaus, F.-J./Meyer, I., Das Buch Jeremia, in: E. Zenger (ed.), Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Stuttgart, ^{3}1995, 405–430.

Bagatti, B., Nazareth, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land III, Jerusalem 1993, 1103–1106.

Bahat, D., The Second Temple in Jerusalem, in: C. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 59–74.

Baron, L./Hicks-Keeton, J./Thiessen M. (ed.), The Ways That Often Parted. Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus (ECIL SBLECL 24), Atlanta 2018.

Bauckham R. (ed.), Magdala of Galilee. A Jewish City in the Hellenistic and Roman Period, Waco, TX 2018.

Baumgarten, A., The Name of the Pharisees, in: JBL 102/3 (1983) 411–428.

Bazzana, G., Village Scribes behind Q. The Social and Political Profile of the Sayings Gospel in Light of Documentary Papyri, in: C. Heil/G. Harb/D. Smith (ed.), Built on Rock or Sand? Q Studies: Retrospects, Introspects and Prospects (BToSt 34), Leuven 2018, 99–120.

Becker, A./Reed, A. Y. (ed.), The Ways That Never Parted. Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (TSAJ 95), Tübingen 2003.

Becker, E.-M., Jesus and Capernaum in the Apostolic Age: Balancing Sources and Their Evidence, in: The Mission of Jesus, in: S. Byrskog/T. Hägerland (ed.), Second Nordic Symposium on the Historical Jesus, Lund, 7–10 October 2012 (WUNT II 391), Tübingen 2015, 113–139.

Becker, J., Paulus. Der Apostel der Völker (UTB.W; 2014), Tübingen ^{3}1998.

Becker, J., Jesus von Nazaret, Berlin 1996.

Bendemann, R. von, Das Markusevangelium als Herausforderung für die Theologie, in: ZNT 47 (2021) 23–39 [abbr: Markusevangelium].

Bendemann, R. von, Antagonismen im Markusevangelium, in: S. Alkier (ed.), Antagonismen in neutestamentlichen Schriften. Studien zur Neuformulierung der "Gegnerfrage" jenseits des Historismus (Beyond Historicism – New Testament Studies Today 1), Paderborn 2021, 219–252 [abbr.: Antagonismen].

Bendemann, R. von, "Frühpaulinisch" und/oder "spätpaulinisch". Erwägungen zu der These einer Entwicklung der paulinischen Theologie am Beispiel des Gesetzesverständnisses, in: EvTh 60 (2000) 210–229.

Bendemann, R. von, Paulus und Israel in der Apostelgeschichte des Lukas, in: K. Wengst/G. Saß (ed.), Ja und Nein. Christliche Theologie im Angesicht Israels (FS W. Schrage), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998, 291–303.

Benite, Z. B.-D., The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History, Oxford 2013.

Berger, K., "Diakonie" im Frühjudentum. Die Armenfürsorge in der jüdischen Diasporagemeinde zur Zeit Jesu, in: G. Schäfer/T. Strohm (ed.), Diakonie – biblische Grundlagen und Orientierungen. Ein Arbeitsbuch zur Verständigung über den diakonischen Auftrag, Heidelberg ^{3}1998, 94–108.

Berger, K., Jesus als Pharisäer und frühe Christen als Pharisäer, in: NT 30 (1988) 231–262.

Berger, K., Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu. Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament, Teil I, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972.

Berlin, A. M., Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence, in: JSJ 36/4 (2005) 417– 470.

Berlin, A. M., Romanization and anti-Romanization in pre-Revolt Galilee, in: id./J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 57–73.

Berlin, A. M., Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine, in: BA 60/4 (1997) 2–51.

Berlin, A. M./Overman, J. A., Introduction, in: ead./id. (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 1–14.

Bernett, M., Zur politischen Zeitrechnung des Königs Agrippa II., in: C. G. den Hertog/U. Hübner/S. Münger (ed.), Saxa Loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. FS für Volkmar Fritz (AOAT 30), Münster 2003, 25–37.

Bernhardt, J. C., Judas und seine Brüder. Zum Bild der Hasmonäerfamilie in den Makkabäerbüchern, in: F. Avemarie/P. Bukovec/S. Krauter/M. Tilly (ed.), Die Makkabäer (WUNT 382), Tübingen 2017, 221–243.

Berthelot, K., Early Jewish Literature Written in Greek, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 181–199.

Betz O., Judaisten, in: ELThK 2, Zürich 1993, 1006.

Bieberstein, S., Verschwiegene Jüngerinnen – vergessene Zeuginnen. Gebrochene Konzepte im Lukasevangelium, Göttingen 1998.

Bieberstein, K./Bloedhorn, H., Jerusalem. Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolitikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft vol. I/II/III (TAVO Beiheft B 100/1–3), Wiesbaden 1994.

Biran, A., Dan, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1686–1689.

Blaschke, A., Beschneidung. Zeugnisse der Bibel und verwandter Texte (TANZ 28), Tübingen 1998.

Boccaccini, G., Finding a Place for the Parables of Enoch within Second Temple Jewish Literature, in: id. (ed.), Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of Parables, Cambridge 2007, 263–289.

Boccaccini, G., Middle Judaism and its Contemporary Interpreters (1986–1992): Methodological Foundations for the Study of Judaism, 300 BCE to 200 CE, in: Henoch 15 (1993) 207–233 [abbr.: Interpreters].

Boccaccini, G., Middle Judaism. Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E, Minneapolis 1991 [abbr.: Judaism].

Bond, Helen K., Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation, New York 1998.
Borchert, F., Maccabees, Second Book of, in: EBR 17 (2019), 332–337.
Botner, M., The Essence of a Spiritual House: Misunderstanding Metaphor and the Question of Supersessionism in 1 Peter, in: JBL 139/2 (2020) 409–425.
Bourgel, J., The Jewish Christians' Move from Jerusalem as a Pragmatic Choice, in: D. Jaffé (ed.), Studies in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity. Text and Context (AJEC 74), Leiden 2010, 107–138.
Bovon, F., Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2002.
Bowley, J. E., Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran, in: P. W. Flint/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. vol. 2, Leiden 1999, 354–378.
Boyarin, D., How Enoch Can Teach Us about Jesus, in: Early Christianity 2 (2011) 51–76.
Boyarin, D., Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism (Figurae: Reading Medieval Culture. Stanford), CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
Braun, H., Geschichte des Gottesvolkes und christliche Identität. Eine kanonisch-intertextuelle Auslegung der Stephanusepisode Apg 6,1–8,3 (WUNT II 279), Tübingen 2010.
Bremmer, J. N., Ioudaismos, Christianismos and the Parting of the Ways, in: J. Schröter/B. A. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 57–87.
Briata, I., I samaritani nei testi rabbinici, in: RStB 33 (2021) 229–247.
Broadhead, E. K., Jewish Ways of Following Jesus. Redrawing the Religious Map of Antiquity (WUNT 266), Tübingen 2010.
Broadhead, E. K., The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Sayings Source. The Relationship Reconsidered, in: R. T. Fortna/T. Thatcher (ed.), Jesus in Johannine Tradition, London/Leiden 2001, 291–301.
Broer, I., Der Kreuzestitulus (Mk 15,26 parr.), in: U. Busse/M. Reichardt/M. Theobald (ed.), Die Memoria Jesu. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität der Überlieferung (BBB 166), Bonn 2011, 267–283.
Broer, I., Die Konversion des Königshauses von Adiabene nach Josephus (Ant XX), in: C. Mayer/K. Müller/G. Schmalenberg (ed.), Nach den Anfängen fragen, Gießen 1994, 133–162.
Broer, I./Weidemann, H.-U., Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Würzburg ^{3}2010.
Brooke, G. J., Shared Exegetical Traditions between the Scrolls and the New Testament, in: J. J. Collins/T. H. Lim (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Oxford 2010, 565–591.
Brooke, G. J., The Pre-Sectarian Jesus, in: F. García Martínez (ed.), Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament (StDJ 85), Leiden 2009, 33–48.
Brooke, G. J., Miqdash Adam, Eden, and the Qumran Community, in: B. Ego/A. Lange/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum (WUNT 118), Tübingen 1999, 284–301.
Broshi, M., Qumran, Khirbet and Ein Feshkha, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV, Jerusalem 1993, 1241.
Broshi, M., The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period, BASOR 236 (1979) 1–10.
Campbell, J. G., 4QMMTd and the Tripartite Canon, in: JJS 51 (2000) 181–190. Chancey, M. A., The Myth of a Gentile Galilee (SNTS 118), Cambridge 2002.
Chancey, M. A., The Cultural Milieu of Ancient Sepphoris, in: NTS 47 (2001) 127–145.
Charlesworth, J. H., The Temple, Purity, and the Background of Jesus' Death, in: RCatT 33/2 (2008) 395–442.
Charlesworth, J. H., Jesus and the Temple, in: id. (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 145–181.
Charlesworth, J. H., The Temple and Jesus' Followers, in: id. (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 183–212.

Charlesworth, J. H., The Historical Jesus in the Fourth Gospel: A Paradigm Shift?, in: JSHJ 8 (2010) 3–46 [abbr.: Gospel].
Charlesworth, J. H., Can We Discern the Composition Date of the Parables of Enoch? in: G. Boccaccini (ed.), Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of Parables, Cambridge 2007, 450–468.
Chialà, S., The Son of Man: The Evolution of an Expression, in: G. Boccaccini (ed.), Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of Parables, Cambridge 2007, 153–178.
Chilton, B. D., The Isaiah Targum. Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes, Edinburgh 1987.
Cohen, S. J. D., The Ways That Parted: Jews, Christians, and Jewish-Christians, ca. 100–150 CE, in: J. Schwartz/P. J. Tomson (ed.), Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70–132 CE, Leiden 2018, 307–339.
Cohen, S. J. D., From the Maccabees to the Mishnah, Louisville ^{3}2014.
Collins, J. J., Early Judaism in Modern Scholarship, in: id./D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Cambridge 2010, 1–23.
Collins, J. J., Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora, Grand Rapids ^{2}2000.
Collins, J. J., The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature, Grand Rapids 1998.
Crawford, S. W., The Qumran Collection as a Scribal Library, in: id./C. Wassen (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library, Leiden 2016, 109–131.
Crossan, J. D., Der historische Jesus, München 1994.
Dafni, E. G., Psalmen Salomos, in: WiBiLex (created: May 2009). Permanent link to the article: https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/31540/ (accessed 10.04.2025).
Davies, G./Magness, J., Recovering Josephus: Mason's History of the Jewish War and the Siege of Masada, in: SCI 36 (2017) 55–65.
Davila, J. R., The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha, Leiden 2005.
De Luca, S., Capernaum, in: The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology, vol. 1, Oxford 2013, 168–180.
De Luca, S./Lena, A. (ed.), The Harbor of the City of Magdala/Taricheae on the Shores of the Sea of Galilee, from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Times. New Discoveries and Preliminary Results, in: S. Ladstätter/F. Pirson/T. Schmidts (ed.), Häfen und Hafenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum von der Antike bis in byzantinische Zeit. Neue Entdeckungen und aktuelle Forschungsansätze (BYZAS 19), vol. 1, Istanbul 2014, 113–163.
De Vaux, R., Qumran, Khirbet and Ein Feshkha, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV, Jerusalem 1993, 1235–1241.
Deines, R., Gab es eine jüdische Freiheitsbewegung? Martin Hengels "Zeloten" nach 50 Jahren, in: Hengel, M. (ed. R. Deines/C.-J. Thornton), Die Zeloten. Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr. (WUNT 283), Tübingen 32011, 403–448. Deines, R., Pharisees, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1061–1063.
Deines R., Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias. Mt 5,13–20 als Schlüsseltext der matthäischen Theologie, Tübingen 2004.
Delling, G., Die Begegnung zwischen Hellenismus und Judentum, in: W. Haase, ANRW II 20.1, Berlin 1987, 3–39.
DeSilva, D. A., The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as Witness for Pre-Christian Judaism. A Re-Assessment, in: JSPE 22 (2013) 21–68.
Dimant, D., The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts, in: J. Frey/C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2001, 347–395. Dimant, D., Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, in: M. J. Mulder (ed.), Mikra, Philadelphia 1988, 379–419.

Dobbler, S. von, Makkabäerbücher 1–4, in: WiBiLex (created: Jan. 2006). Permanent link tot he article: https://www.die-bibel.de/ressourcen/wibilex/altes-testament/makkabaeerbuecher-1-4 (accessed 10.10.2025).

Doering, L., Torah and Temple in Judean Pseudepigrapha: From Jubilees to Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch, in: M. Witte/J. Schröter/V. Lepper (ed.), Torah, Temple, Land: Constructions of Judaism in Antiquity (TSAJ 184), Tübingen 2021, 137–155.

Doering, L., The Synagogue at Magdala: Between Localized Practice and Reference to the Temple, in: id./A. R. Krause (ed.), Synagogues in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Archaeological Finds, New Methods, New Theories (Ioudaioi 11), Göttingen 2020, 127–153.

Doering, L., Das wichtigste Gebot. Was ist christlich am Nächstenliebegebot?, in: WUB 23/2 (2018) 32–39.

Doering, L., Fort- und Neuschreibung autoritativer Texte und Identitätsbildung im Jubiläenbuch sowie in Texten aus Qumran, in: M. Grohmann (ed.), Identität und Schrift: Fortschreibungsprozesse als Mittel religiöser Identitätsbildung (BThSt 169), Göttingen 2017, 69–103.

Doering, L., God as Father in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: F. Albrecht/R. Feldmeier (ed.), The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity (Themes in Biblical Narrative 18), Leiden 2014, 107–135.

Doering, L., Marriage and Creation in Mark 10 and CD 4–5, in: F. García Martínez (ed.), Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament (StTDJ 85), Leiden 2009, 133–163.

Doering, L., Schabbat. Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum, Tübingen 1999.

Doering, L., Much Ado about Nothing? Jesus' Sabbath Healing and their Halakhic Implications Revisited, in: id./H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.): Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 217–241.

Doering, L., Sabbath Laws in the New Testament Gospels, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature (JSJ.Supplements 136), Leiden/Boston 2010, 207–253.

Doering, L./Krause A. R., Introduction: Synagogues in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, in: ead. (ed.), Synagogues in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Archaeological Finds, New Methods, New Theories (Ioudaioi 11), Göttingen 2020, 9–22.

Dohmen, C., Die zweigeteilte Einheit der christlichen Bibel, in: id./G. Stemberger (ed.), Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments (KStTh 1,2). Stuttgart 1996, 11–22.

Donceel, R./Donceel-Voûte P. (ed.), The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran, in: M. O. Wise et al. (ed.), Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects, New York 1994, 1–38.

Donner, H., Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen, vol. 2 (GAT 4/2), Göttingen 1986.

Draper, J. A., Wandering Charismatics and Scholarly Circularities, in: id./R. A. Horsley (ed.), Whoever Hears You Hears Me. Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q, Harrisburg 1999, 29–45.

Dunn, J. D. G., Some Works of the Law, in: B. Embry/R. Herms/A. T. Wright (ed.), Early Jewish Literature. An Anthology, vol. 2, Grand Rapids 2018, 160–169.

Dunn, J. D. G., The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity, London 1991.

Ebner, M., Die Stadt als Lebensraum der ersten Christen. Das Urchristentum in seiner Umwelt I (GNT 1,1), Göttingen 2012.

Ebner, M., Das Markusevangelium, Stuttgart 2008.

Ebner, M., Die Spruchquelle Q, in: M. Ebner/S. Schreiber (ed.): Einleitung in das Neue Testament (KStTh 6), Stuttgart 2008, 85–111.

Ebner, M., Jesus von Nazaret. Was wir von ihm wissen können, Stuttgart 2007 [abbr.: Jesus].

Ebner, M., Jesus von Nazaret in seiner Zeit. Sozialgeschichtliche Zugänge, Stuttgart 2003 [abbr.: Zeit].

Ebner, M./Schreiber, S., Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie 6), Stuttgart 22013.
Eck, W., Herodes und die augusteische Politik im östlichen Mittelmeer, in: J. Zangenberg (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 16–30.
Eck, W., Judäa – Syria Palästina. Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur (TSAJ 157), Tübingen 2014.
Eck, W., Der Bar Kochba-Aufstand der Jahre 132–136 und seine Folgen für die Provinz Judaea/Syria Palaestina, in: G. Urso (ed.), IUDAEA SOCIA – IUDAEA CAPTA. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 settembre 2011, Pisa 2012, 249–265.
Eck, W., Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina, Tübingen 2007. Edsall, B. A., Justin Martyr without the "Parting" or the "Ways", in: J. Schröter/B. E. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 249–272.
Ego, B., Different Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism – A Fresh Approach to Jesus' Temple Prophecy, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 165–177.
Ego, B., Henoch/Henochliteratur, created: April 2007, permanent link to the article: http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/20989/ (accessed 10.4.2025).
Eisler, R. The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist, London 1931.
Enste, S., Kein Markustext in Qumran. Eine Untersuchung der These: Qumranfragment 7Q5 = Mk 6,52–53 (NTOA 45), Göttingen 2000.
Evans, C. A., Jesus and His World. The Archaeological Evidence, London 2012.
Evans C., Opposition to the Temple: Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: J. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, New York 1992, 235–253.
Fabry, H.-J., Der Umgang mit der kanonisierten Tora in Qumran, in: E. Zenger (ed.), Die Tora als Kanon für Juden und Christen (HBS 10), Freiburg i. Br. 1996, 293–327.
Fabry, H.-J., Der Text und seine Geschichte, in: E. Zenger et al. (ed.), Einleitung in das Alte Testament (KStTh 1,1), Stuttgart [5]1995, 34–59.
Faßbeck, G., Die Archäologie Qumrans und ihre Interpretationen – Bemerkungen zur aktuellen Diskussion, in: B. Mayer (ed.), Jericho und Qumran. Neues zum Umfeld der Bibel (Eichstätter Studien 45), Regensburg 2000, 111–127.
Falk, D. K., Sabbath, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2010, 1174–1176.
Feldman, L. H., The Portrayal of Phinehas by Philo, in: JQR 92 (2002) 315–345.
Fellmeth, U., Die Mobilität des frühen Paulus, in: U. Mell/M. Tilly (ed.), Der 1. Thessalonicherbrief und die frühe Völkermission des Paulus (WUNT 479), Tübingen 2022, 133–144.
Fernández Marcos, N., The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible, Leiden 2000.
Fiedler, P., "...gekreuzigt durch Pontius Pilatus". Erwägungen zum Problem der Verantwortung für den Tod Jesu, in: K. Märker/C. Otto (ed.), Festschrift für Weddig Fricke zum 70. Geburtstag, Freiburg i. Br. 2000, 31–48.
Finegan, J., Handbook of Biblical Chronology. Principles of Time Reckoning in the Ancient World and Problems of Chronology in the Bible, Princeton 1964.
Fitzmyer, J. A., Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: P. W. Flint/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. vol. 2, Leiden 1999, 599–621.
Fletcher-Louis, C., Jewish Mysticism, the New Testament and Rabbinic-Period Mysticism, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature (JSJ.Supplements 136), Leiden/Boston 2010, 429–470.
Flusser, D., Die Gesetzeswerke in Qumran und bei Paulus, in: H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion, vol. 1 (FS M. Hengel), Tübingen 1996, 395–403.
Förster, N., Jesus und die Steuerfrage. Die Zinsgroschenperikope auf dem religiösen und politischen Hintergrund ihrer Zeit (WUNT 294), Tübingen 2012.

Foster, P., Matthew's Use of 'Jewish' Traditions from Q, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 179–201.

Frankemölle, H., Der Brief des Jakobus. Kapitel 1 (ÖTBK 17/1), Gütersloh/Würzburg 1994. Frankemölle, H., Frühjudentum und Urchristentum (KStTh 5), Stuttgart 2006.

Frankl, V. E., ...trotzdem Ja zum Leben sagen: Ein Psychologe erlebt das Konzentrationslager, München 2009 (Original: Ein Psycholog [sic.] erlebt das Konzentrationslager, Wien 1946).

Franzen, A., A History of the Church (Revised and Edited by John P. Dolan, trans. Peter Becker, New York 1969 [German: (Steimer, B./Fröhlich R., ed.), Kleine Kirchengeschichte (Revised by B. Steimer and expanded up to the present by R. Fröhlich), Freiburg i. Br. ^{27}2014 (third revised edition of the new edition from 2006; first edition of the complete work in 1965)].

Fredriksen, P., Judaizing the Nations: The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel," NTS 56 (2010) 232–252.

Frederiksen, P., The Question of Worship: Gods, Pagans, and the Redemption of Israel, in; M.D. Nanos/M. Zetterholm (ed.), Paul within Judaism. Restoring the First-Century Context of the Apostle, Minneapolis 2015, 175–201.

Frenschkowski, M., Itinerant Charismatics and Travelling Artisans – Was Jesus' Travelling Lifestyle Induced by His Artisan Background? in: M. Tiwald (ed.), The Q Hypothesis Unveiled. Theological, Sociological, and Hermeneutical Issues behind the Sayings Source (BWANT 225), Stuttgart 2020, 191–222.

Frenschkowski, M., Galiläa oder Jerusalem? Die topographischen und politischen Hintergründe der Logienquelle, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus (BEThL 158), Leuven 2001, 535–559.

Freud, S., The Future of an Illusion, in: id., The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and Its Discontents, and Other Works, The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud vol. 21, translated from the German under the general editorship of James Strachey, London 1961, 5–56.

Freudenberger, R., Christenverfolgungen, in: TRE 8 (1993), 23–62.

Frevel, C., History of Ancient Israel, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 32, Atlanta 2023.

Frevel, C., "Dies ist der Ort, von dem geschrieben steht ...". Zum Verhältnis von Bibelwissenschaft und Palästinaarchäologie, in: BN 47 (1989) 35–89.

Frey, J., "John within Judaism?" Textual, Historical, and Hermeneutical Considerations, in: J. Schröter/B. A. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 185– 215.

Frey, J., Die Zeugnisse über Gemeinschaftsmähler aus Qumran, in: D. Hellholm/D. Sänger (ed.), The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts. Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity. Volume I: Old Testament, Early Judaism, New Testament (WUNT 376), Tübingen 2017, 101–130.

Frey, J., Die "Juden" im Johannesevangelium und die Frage nach der "Trennung der Wege" zwischen der johanneischen Gemeinde und der Synagoge, in: id. (ed. J. Schlegel), Die Herrlichkeit des Gekreuzigten. Studien zu den Johanneischen Schriften I (WUNT 307), Tübingen 2013, 339–377.

Frey, J., Von Paulus zu Johannes. Die Diversität "christlicher" Gemeindekreise und die "Trennungsprozesse" zwischen Synagoge und den Gemeinden der Jesusnachfolger in Ephesus im ersten Jahrhundert, in: C. Rothschild/J. Schröter (ed.), The Rise and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries of the Common Era, Tübingen, 2013, 235–278.

Frey, J., Probleme der Deutung des Todes Jesu in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Streiflichter zur exegetischen Diskussion, in: J. Frey/J. Schröter (ed.), Deutung des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament (UTB 2953), Tübingen ^{2}2012, 3–50.

Frey, J., "Gute" Samaritaner? Das neutestamentliche Bild der Samaritaner zwischen Juden, Christen und Paganen, in: J. Frey/U. Schattner-Rieser/K. Schmid (ed.), Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. The Samaritans and the Bible (SJ 70 = StSam 7), Berlin 2012, 203–233.
Frey, J., Continuity and Discontinuity between "Jesus" and "Christ". The Possibilities of an Implicit Christology, in: RCatT 36/1 (2011) 69–98.
Frey, J., Qumran und die Archäologie: Eine thematische Einführung, in: id./C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2011, 3–49.
Frey, J., Apostelbegriff, Apostelamt und Apostolizität. Neutestamentliche Perspektiven zur Frage nach der "Apostolizität" der Kirche, in: T. Schneider/G. Wenz (ed.), Das kirchliche Amt in apostolischer Nachfolge I (Dialog der Kirchen 12), Freiburg i. B. 2004, 91–188.
Frey, J., Der historische Jesus und der Christus der Evangelien, in: J., Schröter/R. Brucker (ed.), Der historische Jesus: Tendenzen und Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Forschung (BZNW 114), Berlin 2002, 273–336.
Freyne, S., The Revolt from a Regional Perspective, in: A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London 2002, 43–56.
Freyne, S., Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee, in: id., Galilee and Gospel. Collected Essays (WUNT 125), Tübingen 2000, 183–207.
Fuhrmann, M., Einführung, in: E. Heller (ed.), P. Cornelius Tacitus. Annalen, Mannheim ^{6}2010, 973–992.
Gaechter, P., Die Sieben (Apg 6,1–6), in: ZThK 74 (1952) 129–166.
Galon, K, Plastered Pools. A New Perspective, in: J.-B. Humbert/J. Gunneweg (ed.), Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshka II. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, Göttingen 2003, 291– 320.
Galor, K., Zur Ehre Gottes und des Königs – Jerusalem und sein Tempel zur Zeit des Herodes, in: J. Zangenberg (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 61–69.
Galor K./Bloedhorn H., The Archaeology of Jerusalem. From the Origins to the Ottomans, London 2013.
García Lopez, F., תורה, in: ThWAT VIII (1995) 597–637.
García Martínez, F., Priestly Functions in a Community without Temple, in: B. Ego/A. Lange/P. Pilhofer (ed.): Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum (WUNT 118), Tübingen 1999, 303–319.
García Martínez, F., Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis, in: Folia Orientalia 25 (1988) 113–136.
García Martínez, F./van der Woude, A. S., A Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History, in: Revue de Qumran 14 (1990) 521–541.
Gerber, C./Herzer, J., Zu diesem Heft, in: ET 80/6 (2020) 403–405.
Geva, H., Jerusalem I, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land II, Jerusalem 1993, 725–729, 753–757, 758–767, 768–781.
Gielen, M., Kephas – Jakobus – Barnabas. Drei frühchristliche Führungspersönlichkeiten und ihr Verhältnis zu Paulus im "Rückspiegel" des Galaterbriefs und des 1. Korintherbriefs, in: U. Mell/M. Tilly (ed.), Der 1. Thessalonicherbrief und die frühe Völkermission des Paulus (WUNT I 479), Tübingen 2022, 93–131.
Gnilka, J., Die frühen Christen. Ursprünge und Anfang der Kirche (HThK.S 7), Freiburg i. Br. 1999.
Gnilka, J., Paulus von Tarsus, Freiburg i. Br. 1997.
Gnilka, J., Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 1–8,26) (EKK II/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn ^{4}1994.
Gnilka, J., Das Evangelium nach Markus (Mk 8,27–16,20) (EKK II/2), Neukirchen-Vluyn ^{3}1989.
Goff, M. J., The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4 QInstruction (StTDJ 50), Leiden 2003.
Golb, N., Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: Biblical Archeologist 28 (1987) 68–82.

Golb, N., The Problem of the Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 124 (1980) 1–24.
Goodblatt, D., The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity (TSAJ 38), Tübingen 1994.
Goodmann, M., Nerva, the Fiscus Judaicus and Jewish Identity, in: The Journal of Roman Studies 79 (1989) 40–44.
Grabbe, L. L., Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period. Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh, London 2000.
Grappe, C., Die Zeloten, der historische Jesus und der Jesus der Evangelien, in: H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Martin Hengels "Zeloten". Ihre Bedeutung im Licht von fünfzig Jahren Forschungsgeschichte, Tübingen 2013, 81–106.
Greshake, G., Der dreieine Gott. Eine trinitarische Theologie, Freiburg i. Br. 1997.
Gruen, E. S., Judaism in the Diaspora, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Cambridge 2010, 77–96.
Gunneweg, J./Balla, M. (ed.), Neutron Activation Analysis. Scroll Jars and Common Ware, in: J.-B. Humbert/J. Gunneweg (ed.), Khirbet Qumrân et ʻAïn Feshka II. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, Göttingen 2003, 3–53.
Gunneweg, J./Balla, M. (ed.), Possible Connection Between the Inscriptions on Pottery, the Ostraca and Scrolls Found in the Caves, in: J.-B. Humbert/J. Gunneweg (ed.), Khirbet Qumrân et ʻAïn Feshka II. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, Göttingen 2003, 389–394.
Günther, S., The *Fiscus Iudaicus*. A Hypothetical Scholarly Construct, in: G. K. Hasselhoff/M. Strothmann (ed.), "Religio licita?". Rom und die Juden, Berlin 2017, 175–189.
Gutbrod, W., Ἰουδαῖος, Ἰσραηλίτης, Ἑβραῖος, in: G. Kittel (ed.), ThWNT III. Stuttgart 1938, 370–394.
Gutman, S., Gamala, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land II, Jerusalem 1993, 459–462.
Guttenberger, G., Hermeneutik und Vermittlung. Zur Hermeneutik des Markusevangeliums, in: ZNT 47 (2021) 107–126.
Guttenberger, G., Markus als Schriftgelehrter, in: G. van Oyen (ed.), Reading the Gospel of Mark in the twenty-first Century. Method and Meaning (BETL 301), Leuven 2019, 171–216.
Guttenberger, G., Das Markusevangelium (ZBK 2), Zürich 2017.
Haacker K., Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer (ThHK 6), Leipzig ^{2}1999.
Haacker K., "Ende des Gesetzes" und kein Ende? Zur Diskussion über τέλος νόμου in Röm 10,4, in: K. Wengst/G. Saß (ed.), Ja und Nein. Christliche Theologie im Angesicht Israels (FS W. Schrage), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998, 127–138.
Hachlili, R., Ancient Synagogues – Archaeology and New Discoveries and Current Research (HdO 105), Leiden 2013.
Hasselhoff, Wie zuverlässig ist Euseb, Kirchengeschichte IV, 1–6, in: id./M. Strothmann (ed.), "Religio licita?". Rom und die Juden, Berlin 2017, 191–202.
Hasselhoff, G. K./Strothmann, M., *Religio licita* – Rom und die Juden, in: id. (ed.), "Religio licita?". Rom und die Juden, Berlin 2017, 1–12.
Harb, G., Die ersten beiden Weherufe gegen die Pharisäer in der Logienquelle (Q 11,42.39b.41), in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012.
Harl, M., La Septante aux abourds de l'ère chrétienne, in: G. Dorival/M. Harl/O. Munnich, La Bible Greque des Septante, Paris 1988, 269–288.
Harlow, D. C., Early Judaism and Early Christianity, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism. Cambridge 2010, 257–278.
Hartenstein, F., Wolkendunkel und Himmelsfeste. Zur Genese und Kosmologie des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs, in: B. Janowski/B. Ego (ed.), Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte (FAT 32), Tübingen 2001, 125–179.
Heemstra, M., The Fiscus Judaicus and the Parting of the Ways (WUNT II 277), Tübingen 2010.

Heil, C., Jesus aus Nazaret oder Betlehem?. Historische Tradition und ironischer Stil im Johannesevangelium, in: id., Das Spruchevangelium Q und der historische Jesus (SBAB 58), Stuttgart 2014, 241–263.
Heil, C., Analphabet oder Rabbi? Zum Bildungsniveau Jesu, in: id., Das Spruchevangelium Q und der historische Jesus (SBAB 58), Stuttgart 2014, 265–291.
Heil, C., Die Missionsinstruktion in Q 10,2–16. Transformationen der Jesusüberlieferung im Spruchevangelium Q, in: W. Eisele/C. Schaefer/H.-U. Weidemann (ed.), Aneignung durch Transformation. Beiträge zur Analyse von Überlieferungsprozessen im frühen Christentum (FS M. Theobald) (HBS 74), Freiburg i. Br. 2013, 25–55.
Heil, C., Nachfolge und Tora in Q 9,57–60, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 111–140.
Heil, C., Die Absonderung Israels von Sündern und Heiden, in: J. Kügler (ed.), Prekäre Zeitgenossenschaft. Mit dem Alten Testament in Konflikten der Zeit, Graz 2004, 150–168.
Heil, C., Die Rezeption von Micha 7,6 LXX in Q und Lukas, in: ZNW 87 (1996) 211–222.
Heil, C., Die Ablehnung der Speisegebote durch Paulus. Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Apostels zum Gesetz (BBB 96), Bonn 1994.
Helfmeyer, F. J., אות, in: ThWAT I (1973) 182–205.
Hengel, M. (ed. R. Deines und C.-J. Thornton), The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I Until 70 A.D, trans. David Smith, Edinburgh 1989.
Hengel, M., Nachtrag: Zeloten und Sikarier. Zur Frage nach Einheit und Vielfalt der jüdischen Befreiungsbewegung 6–74 nach Christus, in: id. (ed. R. Deines und C.-J. Thornton), Die Zeloten. Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr. (WUNT 283), Tübingen ^{3}2011, 378–402.
Hengel, M., Der unterschätzte Petrus. Zwei Studien, Tübingen 2006.
Hengel, M., Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus zum Gesetz in den unbekannten Jahren zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien, in: J. D. Dunn (ed.), Paul and the Mosaic Law (WUNT 89), Tübingen 1996, 25–51.
Hengel, M., Die Septuaginta als "christliche Schriftensammlung", ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem des Kanons, in: id./A. M. Schwemer (ed.), Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum, Tübingen 1994, 182–284.
Hengel, M., Der vorchristliche Paulus, in: M. Hengel/U. Heckel (ed.), Paulus und das antike Judentum, Tübingen 1991, 177–293.
Hengel, M., Jesus und die Tora, in: ThBeitr 9 (1978) 152–172 [abbr.: Jesus].
Hengel, M., Zwischen Jesus und Paulus. Die "Hellenisten", die "Sieben" und Stephanus (Apg 6,1– 15; 7,54–83), in: ZThK 72 (1975) 151–206.
Hengel, M./Schwemer, A. M., Jesus and Judaism, trans. Wayne Coppins, BMSEC Studies in Early Christianity, Waco, TX 2019.
Hennig, D. L., Aelius Seianus, München 1975.
Henze, M., 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: Literary Composition and Oral Performance in First-Century Apocalyptic Literature, in: JBL 131 (2012) 181–200.
Herzer, Jens, Pontius Pilatus. Henker und Heiliger (Biblische Gestalten, 32), Leipzig 2020. Heyden, K., Orientierung. Die westliche Christenheit und das heilige Land in der Antike (JThF 28), Münster 2014.
Hezser, C., Jewish Scribes in the Late Second Temple Period: Differences Between the Composition, Writing, and Interpretation of Texts, in: R. Hakola/J. Orpana/P. Hakola (ed.), Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism, Leuven 2019, 149–172.
Hezser, C., Torah als "Gesetz"? Überlegungen zum Torahverständnis im antiken Judentum, in: U. Rüterswörden (ed.), Ist die Tora Gesetz? Zum Gesetzesverständnis im Alten Testament, Frühjudentum, und Neuen Testament, Göttingen 2017, 119–140.

Hezser, C., The Jesus Movement as a "Popular" Judaism for the Unlearned, in: P. von Gemuenden/D. G. Horrell/M. Kuechler (ed.), Jesus – Gestalt und Gestaltungen. Rezeptionen des Galilaeers in Wissenschaft, Kirche und Gesellschaft (NTOA 100), Göttingen 2013, 73–97.
Hezser, C., Rezension zu D. Instone-Brewer: Prayer and Agriculture (Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament 1). Eerdmans, 2004, in: JJS 56 (2005) 347–349.
Hezser, C., Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 81), Tübingen 2001.
Hieke, T., Am Ende der Tage wird es geschehen ... Zur Eschatologie des Alten Testaments, in: id. et al. (ed.), Zeit schenken – Vollendung erhoffen. Gottes Zusage an die Welt (Theologische Module 8), Freiburg i. Br. 2013, 7–52.
Hirschfeld, Y., Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran, JNES 57 (1998) 161–189.
Hirschfeld, Y., Tiberias, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV, Jerusalem 1993, 1464–1470.
Hobsbawm, E., Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Manchester 1959.
Hoffmann, P., Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (NTA.NF 8), Münster ^{3}1972.
Hogan, K. M., The Meanings of tôrâ in 4 Ezra, in: JSJ 38 (2007) 530–552.
Hölscher, M., Matthäus liest Q. Eine Studie am Beispiel von Mt 11,2–19 und Q 7,18–35 (NTA.NF 60), 2017.
Holtz, T., "Ich aber sage euch". Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis Jesu zur Tora, in: I. Broer (ed.), Jesus und das jüdische Gesetz, Stuttgart 1992, 135–145.
Homolka, W., Jesus der Jude. Die jüdische Leben-Jesu-Forschung von Abraham Geiger bis Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, in: ZRGG 60/1 (2008) 63–72.
Hoppe, R., Gerechtigkeit bei Matthäus und Philo, in: R. Kampling (ed.), Das Matthäusevangelium. Interpretation – Rezeption – Rezeptionsgeschichte (FS H. Frankemölle), Paderborn 2004, 141– 155.
Hoppe, R., Galiläa als kultureller und religiöser Lebenskontext Jesu, in: M. Gielen/J. Kügler (ed.), Liebe, Macht und Religion. Interdisziplinäre Studien zu Grunddimensionen menschlicher Existenz. FS für Helmut Merklein, Stuttgart 2003, 185–198.
Hoppe, R., Jakobusbrief (SKK.NT 15), Stuttgart 1989.
Horn, F. W., Ist Paulus der Begründer des Christentums? in: H. Deuser/G. Linde/S. Rink (ed.), Theologie und Kirchenleitung (FS für P. Steinacker), Marburg 2003, 31–44.
Horn, F. W., Das *Testimonium Flavianum* aus neutestamentlicher Perspektive, in: C. Böttrich/J. Herzer (ed.), Josephus und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. II. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum 25.-28. Mai 2006, Greifswald/Tübingen 2007, 117–136.
Horsley, G. H. R., The Inscriptions of Ephesos and the New Testament, in: NT 34 (1992) 105–168.
Horsley, R. A., Sociology and the Jesus Movement, New York ^{2}1994, 43–46.
Huber, K., Volk Gottes als Tempel in der Offenbarung des Johannes, in: A. Vonach/R. Meßner (ed.), Volk Gottes als Tempel (Synagoge und Kirchen 1), Wien 2008, 195–231.
Hurtado, L. W., Summary and Concluding Observations, in: id./P. L. Owen (ed.), Who is this Son of Man? The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus, London 2011, 159–177.
Hüttenmeister, F. G., Die Synagoge. Ihre Entwicklung von einer multifunktionalen Einrichtung zum reinen Kultbau, in: B. Ego/A. Lange/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum (WUNT 118), Tübingen 1999, 357–370.
Hüttig, S., Archäologie versus Textforschung? Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Archäologie und Text am Beispiel der Erforschung von Khirbet Qumran, in: J.

Frey./C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2001, 101–118.
Instone-Brewer, D., Feasts and Sabbaths: Passover and atonement (Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament 2a), Cambridge 2011.
Instone-Brewer, D., Prayer and Agriculture (Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament 1), Cambridge 2004.
Isaac, E., 1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch, in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.): The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha I, New York 1983, 5–89.
Jacobi, C., Jesusüberlieferung bei Paulus? Analogien zwischen den echten Paulusbriefen und den Synoptischen Evangelien (BZNW 213), Berlin 2015.
Jacobson, A. D., Divided Families and Christian Origins, in: R. A. Piper (ed.), The Gospel Behind the Gospels. Current Studies on Q (NT.S 75), Leiden 1995, 361–380.
Jäggi, C., Archäologische Zeugnisse für die Anfänge der Paulus-Verehrung, in: E.-M. Becker/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Biographie und Persönlichkeit des Paulus (WUNT 187), Tübingen 2005, 306–322.
Janowski, B., Ecce homo. Stellvertretung und Lebenshingabe als Themen Biblischer Theologie (BThSt 84), Neukirchen-Vluyn ^{2}2009.
Jensen, M. H., Purity and Politics in Herod Antipas's Galilee: The Case for Religious Motivation, in: JSHJ 11 (2013) 3–34.
Jeremias, J., Abba, in: id., The Prayers of Jesus, Philadelphia 1978, 11–65.
Johnson, L. T., The New Testament's Anti-Jewish Slander and the Conventions of Ancient Polemic, in: JBL 108 (1989) 419–441.
Jüngling, H.-W., Das Buch Jesaja, in: E. Zenger/et al. (ed.), Einleitung in das Alte Testament (KStTh 1,1), Stuttgart ^{3}1995, 381–404.
Junker, L., Das Scheidungslogion Q 16,18 und frühjüdische Reinheitsvorstellungen (WUNT II 497), Tübingen 2019.
Kampen, J., Wisdom Literature (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls), Cambridge 2011.
Kampling, R./Leonhard, C., Gegenwärtige Ansätze der Rekonstruktion der frühen Geschichte von Judentum und Christentum, in: ThRv 106 (2010) 268–286.
Karakolis, C., Feindliche, zweifelnde und glaubende Juden im Johannesevangelium. Ein narrativ-kritischer Versuch, in: S. Alkier (ed.), Antagonismen in neutestamentlichen Schriften. Studien zur Neuformulierung der "Gegnerfrage" jenseits des Historismus (Beyond Historicism – New Testament Studies Today 1), Paderborn 2021, 386–406.
Kartveit, M., The Second Temple and the Temple of the Samaritans, in: J. Frey/U. Schattner-Rieser/K. Schmid (ed.), Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. The Samaritans and the Bible (SJ 70 = StSam 7), Berlin 2012, 67–80.
Klauck, H.-J., Apokryphe Evangelien. Eine Einführung, Stuttgart ^{2}2005.
Klauck, H.-J., Streit um die Rechtfertigung: Paulus, Jakobus und Martin Luther, in: id. (ed.), Religion und Gesellschaft im frühen Christentum (WUNT 152), Tübingen 2003, 341–359.
Klauck, H.-J., 2. Korintherbrief (NEB 8), Würzburg ^{3}1994.
Klauck, H.-J., Das Sendschreiben nach Pergamon und der Kaiserkult in der Johannesoffenbarung, in: Bib 73 (1992) 153–182.
Klauck, H.-J., Gütergemeinschaft in der klassischen Antike, in Qumran und im Neuen Testament, in: id., Gemeinde, Amt, Sakrament. Neutestamentliche Perspektiven, Würzburg 1989, 69–100.
Klauck, H.-J., Gemeinde ohne Amt? Erfahrungen mit der Kirche in den johanneischen Schriften, in: id., Gemeinde – Amt – Sakrament. Neutestamentliche Perspektiven, Würzburg 1989, 195– 222 – Erstveröffentlichung in: BZ NF 29 (1985) 193–220.
Klauck, H.-J., Judas – ein Jünger des Herrn (QD 111), Freiburg i. Br. 1987.
Klinghardt, M., Legionsschweine in Gerasa. Lokalkolorit und historischer Hintergrund von Mk 5,1–20, in: ZNW 98 (2007) 28–48.

Kloppenborg, J. S., Fiscal Aspects of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem, in: Early Christianity 8 (2017) 153–198.
Kloppenborg, J. S., Q, the Earliest Gospel. An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus, Louisville 2009.
Kloppenborg, J. S., The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE – I CE), in: JESHO 51 (2008) 33–66.
Kloppenborg, J. S., The Sayings Gospel Q. Recent Opinion on the People behind the Document, in: CR.BS 1 (1993) 9–34.
Kloppenborg, J. S., Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q, in: HThR 80 (1987) 287–306.
Kloppenborg Verbin, J. S., Dating Theodotos (CIJ 1404), in: JJS 51 (2000) 243–280.
Knoppers, G. A., Jews and Samaritans. The Origins and History of Their Early Relations, Oxford 2013.
Koch, D.-A., Geschichte des Urchristentums, Göttingen 2013.
Koch, D.-A., Die Überlieferung und Verwendung der Septuaginta im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert. Aspekte der neueren Septuagintaforschung und deren Bedeutung für die neu- testamentliche Exegese, in: id./H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Begegnung zwischen Christentum und Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter. Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg, Göttingen 1993, 215–244.
Koch, D.-A., Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus, Tübingen 1986.
Kollmann, B., Jerusalem. Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt im Zeitalter Jesu, Darmstadt 2013. Kollmann, B., Einführung in die Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, Darmstadt ^{2}2011.
Kollmann, B., Philippus der Evangelist und die Anfänge der Heidenmission, in: Biblica 81 (2000) 551–565.
Kollmann, B., Jesus und die Christen als Wundertäter. Studien zu Magie, Medizin und Schamanismus in Antike und Christentum (FRLANT 170), Göttingen 1996.
Konradt, M., Matthew within or outside of Judaism? From the 'Parting of the Ways' Model to a Multifaceted Approach, in: J. Schröter/B. A. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 121–150.
Konradt, M., Matthäus im Kontext: Eine Bestandsaufnahme zur Frage des Verhältnisses der matthäischen Gemeinde(n) zum Judentum, in id. (ed. A. Euler), Studien zum Matthäusevangelium (WUNT 358), Tübingen 2016, 3–42 [abbr.: Kontext].
Konradt, M., Das Matthäusevangelium als judenchristlicher Gegenentwurf zum Markusevangelium, in: id. (ed. A. Euler), Studien zum Matthäusevangelium (WUNT 358), Tübingen 2016, 43–68 [abbr.: Gegenentwurf].
Konradt, M., "... damit ihr Söhne eures Vaters im Himmel werdet". Erwägungen zur ‚Logik' von Gewaltverzicht und Feindesliebe in Mt 5,38–48, in: id. (ed. A. Euler), Studien zum Matthäusevangelium (WUNT 358), Tübingen 2016, 348–380.
Konradt, M., Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (NTD 1), Göttingen 2015. [abbr.: Matthäus].
Konradt, M., Zur Datierung des sogenannten antiochenischen Zwischenfalls, in: ZNW 102 (2011) 19–39.
Konradt, M., Die vollkommene Erfüllung der Tora und der Konflikt mit den Pharisäern im Matthäusevangelium, in: id./D. Sänger (ed.), Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament (NTOA 57), Göttingen 2006, 129–152.
Konradt, M., Gericht und Gemeinde. Eine Studie zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Gerichtsaussagen im Rahmen der paulinischen Ekklesiologie und Ethik im 1 Thess und 1 Kor (BZNW 117), Berlin 2003.
Kraemer, R. S., Giving up the Godfearers, in: JAJ 5 (2014) 61–87.
Kraus, W., Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia. Die "Hellenisten", Paulus und die Aufnahme der Heiden in das endzeitliche Gottesvolk (SBS 179), Stuttgart 1999.

Kremer, J., Sohn Gottes, in: BiLi 46 (1973) 3–71.
Kreuzer, S., Entstehung und Funktion(en) der Synagoge – zum Stand der Diskussion, in: id./C. Eberhart/M. Karrer/M. Meiser (ed.), Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge. Orte jüdischen Lernens und Lebens (FS für W. Kraus), 2020, 1–31.
Kreuzer, S., The Bible in Greek. Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint, Atlanta 2015.
Kreuzer, S., Ursprüngliche Septuaginta (Old Greek) und hebraisierende Bearbeitung. Die Entwicklung der Septuaginta in ihrer Bedeutung für die Zitate und Anspielungen im Neuen Testament, untersucht anhand der Zitate aus dem Dodekapropheton, in: J. Elschenbroich/J. de Vries (ed.), Worte der Weissagung. Studien zu Septuaginta und Johannesoffenbarung (ABIG 47), Leipzig 2014, 17–55.
Kretschmar, G., Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese, in: ZThK 61 (1964) 27–67.
Krieger, K.-S., Pontius Pilatus – ein Judenfeind? Zur Problematik einer Pilatusbiographie, in: BN 78 (1995) 63–83.
Krieger, K.-S., Die Problematik chronologischer Rekonstruktionen zur Amtszeit des Pilatus, in: BN 61 (1992) 27–32.
Kuhn, H.-W., Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Galaterbriefes, in: G. J. Brooke/F. García Martínez (ed.), New Qumran Texts and Studies, Leiden 1994, 169–221.
Kuhn, H.-W., Die drei wichtigsten Qumranparallelen zum Galaterbrief. Unbekannte Wege der Traditon, in: R. Bartelmus/T. Krüger/H. Utzschneider (ed.), Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Baltzer zum 65. Geburtstag) (OBO 126), Göttingen 1993, 227–254.
Labahn, M., Der Gekommene als Wiederkommender. Die Logienquelle als erzählte Geschichte (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 32), Leipzig 2010.
Lampe, P., Die stadtrömischen Christen in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten (WUNT II 18), Tübingen ^{2}1989.
Lang, B., Jesus der Hund. Leben und Lehre eines jüdischen Kynikers, München 2010.
Lange, A., Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran (STDJ 18), Leiden 1995.
Lau, M., Die *Legio X Fretensis* und der Besessene von Gerasa. Anmerkungen zur Zahlenangabe "ungefähr Zweitausend" (Mk 5,13), in: Bib. 88 (2007) 351–364.
Légasse, S., Paulus und der christliche Universalismus, in: L. Pietri (ed.), Die Geschichte des Christentums: Die Zeit des Anfangs (vol. 1), Freiburg i. Br. 2003, 90–149.
Leibner, U., Khirbet Wadi Hamam in the Early and Middle Roman Periods, in: D. A. Fiensy/J. R. Strange (ed.), Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods, Volume 2: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages, Minneapolis 2014, 343–361.
Levine, L. I., The Ancient Synagogue in First-Century Palestine, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 23–41 [abbr.: Palestine].
Levine, L. I., Synagogues, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1260–1271 [abbr.: Synagogue].
Levine, L. I., The Ancient Synagogue. The First Thousand Years, London 2000 Palestine [abbr.: Synagogue].
Levine, L. I., Ancient Synagogues – A Historical Introduction, in: id. (ed.), Ancient Synagogues Revealed, Jerusalem 1981, 1–10 [abbr.: Synagogues].
Lewy, Y. (H.), John Chrysostom, in: EJ 10 (2008) 161f.
Lichtenberger, H., Schöpfung und Ehe in Texten aus Qumran sowie Essenerberichten und die Bedeutung für das Neue Testament, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.): Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 279–288.

Lichtenberger, H., Das Ich Adams und das Ich der Menschheit (WUNT 164), Tübingen 2004.
Lichtenberger, H., Der Beitrag der Qumranfunde zu einer neuen Sicht des Judentums, in: A. Oppenheimer/E. Müller-Luckner (ed.), Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Wege der Forschung: Vom alten zum neuen Schürer (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 44), München 1999, 193–204.
Lichtenberger, H., Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde, Göttingen 1980.
Lieu, J. M., The Parting of the Ways: Theological Construct or Historical Reality?, in: id. (ed.), Neither Jew nor Greek. Constructing Early Christianity, London ^{2}2016, 31–49.
Lieu, J. M., The Race of the God-fearers, in: JTS 46 (1995) 483–501.
Lim, T. H., Studying the Qumran Scrolls and Paul in their Historical Context, in: J. R. Davila (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity. Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews, Leiden 2003, 135–156.
Lips, H. von, Christus als Sophia? Weisheitliche Traditionen in der urchristlichen Christologie, in: C. Breytenbach/H. Paulsen/C. Gerber (ed.), Anfänge der Christologie. Festschrift für Ferdinand Hahn zum 65. Geburtstag), Göttingen 1991, 75–95.
Lips, H. von, Weisheitliche Traditionen im Neuen Testament (WMANT 64), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1990.
Livesey, N. E., Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol (WUNT II 295), Tübingen 2010. Loader W., Jesus' Attitude towards the Law (WUNT II 97), Tübingen 1997.
Loffreda, S., Capernaum, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I, Jerusalem 1993, 291–295.
Loffreda, S., The Late Chronology of the Synagogue of Capernaum, in: L. I. Levine (ed.), Ancient Synagogues Revealed, Jerusalem 1981, 52–56.
Löhr, H., Speisenfrage und Tora im Judentum des Zweiten Tempels und im entstehenden Christentum, in: ZNW 94 (2003) 17–37.
Lohse, E., Paulus. Eine Biographie, München 2003.
Lohse, E., Umwelt des Neuen Testaments (NTD Erg. 1), Göttingen ^{10}2000.
Lüdemann, G., Das Unheilige in der Heiligen Schrift. Die andere Seite der Bibel, Stuttgart 1996.
Luz, U., Matthew 1–7: A Commentary, trans. James E. Crouch, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2007.
Luz, U., Matthew 8–20: A Commentary, trans. James E. Crouch, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2001.
Luz, U., Matthew 21–28: A Commentary, trans. James E. Crouch, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2005.
Macaskill, G., Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (JSJ 115), Leiden 2007.
Mach, M., Philo von Alexandrien, in: TRE 26 (1996) 523–531.
Macaskill, G., Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (JSJ 115), Leiden 2007.
Mack, B. L., A Myth of Innocence, Philadelphia 1988.
Mack, B. L., Logos und Sophia. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum (StUNT 10), Göttingen 1973.
Magen, Y., Gerizim, Mount, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1742–1748.
Magness, J., Herod the Great's Self-Representation Through His Tomb at Herodium, in: JAJ 10,3 (2019) 258–287.
Magness, J., Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran? The Animal Bone Deposits Reconsidered, in: JAJ 7 (2016) 5–34.
Magness, J., "They Shall See the Glory of the Lord" (Isa 35:2): Eschatological Purity at Qumran and in Jesus' Movement, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 179–193.
Magness, J., Toilet Practices, Purity Concerns, and Sectarianism in the Late Second Temple Period, in: B. Eckhardt (ed.), Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba. Groups, Normativity, and Rituals (JSJ 155), Leiden 2012, 51–70.

Magness, J., Qumran, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1126–1131.
Magness, J., The Question of the Synagogue: The Problem of Typology, in: A. J. Avery-Peck/J. Neusner (ed.), Judaism in Late Antiquity 3/4 (HO 55), Leiden 2001, 1–48.
Magness, J., A Reassessment of the Excavations of Qumran, in: L. H. Schiffmann/E. Tov/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Jerusalem 2000, 708–719.
Maier, J., Torah und Normensysteme in den Qumranschriften, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 35–59.
Maier, J., Ideale Planungsziele und Realarchitektur in der Tempelrolle und an der herodianischen Tempelanlage, in: J. Frey/C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2011, 421–438.
Maier, J., Bausymbolik, Heiligtum und Gemeinde in den Qumrantexten, in: A. Vonach/R. Meßner (ed.), Volk Gottes als Tempel (Synagoge und Kirchen 1), Wien 2008, 49–106.
Maier, J., Das jüdische Gesetz zwischen Qumran und Septuaginta, in: H.-J. Fabry/U. Offerhaus (ed.), Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel, Stuttgart 2001, 155–165.
Maier, J., Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das "Neue Jerusalem" (UTB 829), München ^{3}1997.
Maier, J., Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature, in: M. Sæbø (ed.), Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation, Göttingen 1996, 108–129.
Maier, J., Messias oder Gesalbter? Zu einem Übersetzungs- und Deutungsproblem in den Qumrantexten, in: RdQ 17 (1996) 585–612.
Maier, J., Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I–II (UTB 1862/1863), München 1995.
Maier, J., Zwischen den Testamenten. Geschichte und Religion in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels (NEB Erg. 3), Würzburg 1990.
Maier, J., Geschichte des Judentums im Altertum, Darmstadt 21989.
Maier, J., Zur Frage des biblischen Kanons im Frühjudentum im Licht der Qumranfunde, in: JBTh 3 (1988) 135–146.
Maier, J., Weitere Stücke zum Nachumpescher aus der Höhle 4 von Qumran, in: Judaica 18 (1962) 215–250.
Malina, B. J., John's. The Maverick Christian Group. The Evidence of Sociolinguistics, in: BThB 24 (1994) 167–182.
Markschies, C., From "Wide and Narrow Way" to "The Ways that Never Parted"? Road Metaphors in Models of Jewish-Christian Relations in Antiquity, in: J. Schröter/B. A. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 11–32.
Markschies, C., Hieronymus und die "Veritas Hebraica" – Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des protestantischen Schriftverständnisses? in: M. Hengel/A. M. Schwemer (ed.), Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum (WUNT 72), Tübingen 1994, 131–181.
Martyn, J. L., History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel, Nashville ^{2}1979 (first edition 1968).
März, C.-P., Hebräerbrief (NEB 16), Würzburg 1989.
Marx, K., Critique of Hegel's "Philosophy of Right," trans. Annette Jolin and Joseph O'Malley, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics, Cambridge 1970.
Marshall, J., Apocalypticism and Anti-Semitism: Inner-group Resources for Inter-group Conflicts, in: J. S. Kloppenborg/J. W. Marshall (ed.), Apocalypticism, Anti-Semitism and the Historical Jesus. Subtexts in Criticism, London 2005, 68–82.
Mason, S., Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History, in: JSJ 38 (2007) 457–512.
Mason, S., Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories, Massachusetts 2009. Mason, S., Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees. A Composition-Critical Study (StPB 39), Leiden 1991.

Mayer, G., Josephus Flavius, in: TRE 17 (1988) 258–264.
Mayer-Haas, A., "Geschenk aus Gottes Schatzkammer" (bSchab 10b). Jesus und der Sabbat im Spiegel der neutestamentlichen Schriften, Münster 2003.
McNamara, M., Targum and the New Testament: A Revisit, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature (JStJ 136), Leiden 2010, 387–427.
Melzer-Keller, H., Jesus und die Frauen. Eine Verhältnisbestimmung nach der synoptischen Überlieferung (HBS 14), Freiburg i. Br. 1997.
Merklein, H., Jesu Botschaft von der Gottesherrschaft. Eine Skizze (SBS 111), Stuttgart ^{3}1989.
Merklein, H., Die Bedeutung des Kreuzestodes Christi für die paulinische Gerechtigkeits- und Gesetzesthematik, in: id. (ed.), Studien zu Jesus und Paulus (WUNT 43), Tübingen 1987, 1–106.
Meyers, E. M., Sepphoris. City of Peace, in: A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 110–120.
Mizzi, D./Magness J., Was Qumran Abandoned at the End of the First Century BCE? in: JBL 135 (2016) 301–320.
Molthagen, J., Rom als Garant des Rechts und als apokalyptisches Ungeheuer. Christliche Antworten auf Anfeindungen durch Staat und Gesellschaft im späten 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., in: E. Brandt/P. S. Fiddes/J. Molthagen, Gemeinschaft am Evangelium (FS W. Popkes), Leipzig 1996, 127–142.
Müller, K., Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und Judaistik, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.), Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 32–60.
Müller, K., Verhältnis von Tora und Halacha im Frühjudentum, in: E. Zenger (ed.), Die Tora als Kanon für Juden und Christen (HBS 10), Freiburg i. Br. 1996, 257–291.
Müller, M., The Expression "Son of Man" and the Development of Christology. A History of Interpretation, London 2008.
Mußner, F., Das Toraleben im jüdischen Verständnis, in: K. Kertelge (ed.), Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament (QD 108), Freiburg i. Br. 1986, 28–45.
Najman, H., Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Period: Toward the Study of a Semantic Constellation, in: A. Feldman/M. Cioată/C. Hempel (ed.), Is There a Text in This Cave?. Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke, Leiden 2017, 459–472.
Najman, H., Torah and Tradition, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism. Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2010, 1316–1317.
Najman, H., Seconding Sinai. The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism (JSJ.S 77), Leiden 2003.
Najman, H., A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?, in: The Studia Philonica Annual XV (2003) 54–63.
Netzer, E., The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder, Tübingen 2020.
Netzer, E., Herodium, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1778–1780.
Netzer, E., Jericho, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 1798–1800.
Neusner, J., Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament. What we cannot show, we do not know, Pennsylvania 1994.
Neusner, J., Das pharisäische und talmudische Judentum. Neue Wege zum Verständnis, Tübingen 1984.
Neusner, J., The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism: Yavneh (Jamnia) from A.D. 70 to 100. In: W. Haase (ed.), ANRW II 19/2, Berlin 1979, 3–42.
Neusner, J., The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70. vol. 1, Leiden 1971.
Neusner, J./Thoma, C., Die Pharisäer vor und nach der Tempelzerstörung des Jahres 70 n. Chr., in: S. Lauer/H. Ernst (ed.), Tempelkult und Tempelzerstörung (70 n. Chr.). Festschrift für Clemens Thoma zum 60. Geburtstag, Frankfurt a. M. 1995, 189–230.

Nickelsburg, G. W. E., Son of Man, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1249–1251.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E., Discerning the Structure(s) of the Enochic Book of Parables, in: G. Boccaccini (ed.), Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man. Revisiting the Book of Parables, Cambridge 2007, 23–47 [abbr.: Parables].
Nickelsburg, G. W. E., Torah and the Deuteronomic Scheme in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Variations on a Theme and Some Noteworthy Examples of its Absence, in: D. Sänger/M. Konradt (ed.), Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament (NTOA 57). Fribourg 2006, 222–235.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E., 1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108, Minneapolis 2001.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E., The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29–40), in: J. Trebolle Barrera/L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18–21 March, 1991, Leiden 1992, 649–659.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E., Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity, in: J. Neusner/E. S. Frerichs (ed.), "To See Ourselves as Others See Us". Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity, Chico, CA 1985, 73–91.
Nickelsburg, G. W. E./Stone, M. E., Early Judaism. Texts and Documents on Faith and Piety, Minneapolis ^{2}2009.
Nicklas, T., Parting of the Ways? Probleme eines Konzepts, in: S. Alkier and H. Leppin (ed.), Juden – Heiden – Christen? Religiöse Inklusion und Exklusion in Kleinasien bis Decius (WUNT 400), Tübingen 2018, 21–41.
Nicklas, T., Metaphern im 2. Makkabäerbuch, in: Witte, M./Behnke, S. (ed.), The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature, Berlin 2015, 173–184.
Nicklas, T., Jews and Christians? Second Century 'Christian' Perspectives on the 'Parting of the Ways' (annual Deichmann Lectures 2013), Tübingen 2014.
Niebuhr, K.-W., Jesus, Paulus und die Pharisäer. Beobachtungen zu ihren historischen Zusammenhängen, zum Toraverständnis und zur Anthropologie, in: Revista Catalana de Teologia 34/2 (2009) 317–346.
Niebuhr, K.-W., Offene Fragen zur Gesetzespraxis bei Paulus und seinen Gemeinden (Sabbat, Speisegebote, Beschneidung), in: BThZ 25 (2008) 16–51.
Niebuhr, K.-W., Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre in der gegenwärtigen exegetischen Diskussion, in: T. Söding (ed.), Worum geht es in der Rechtfertigungslehre? Das biblische Fundament der "Gemeinsamen Erklärung" von katholischer Kirche und Lutherischem Weltbund (QD 180), Freiburg i. Br. 1999, 106–130.
Niebuhr, K.-W., "Judentum" und "Christentum" bei Paulus und Ignatius von Antiochien, in: ZNW 85 (1994) 218–233.
Niederwimmer, K., Theologie des Neuen Testaments. Ein Grundriss, Wien 2003. Niederwimmer, K., Die Didache (KAV 1), Göttingen 1989.
Niehoff, M., Philo of Alexandria: An Intellectual Biographie, New Haven 2018.
Niemand, C., Jesus und sein Weg zum Kreuz. Ein historisch-rekonstruktives und theologisches Modellbild, Stuttgart 2007.
Niemand, C., Jesu Abendmahl. Versuche zur historischen Rekonstruktion und theologischen Deutung, in: id. (ed.), Forschungen zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt (Linzer Philosophisch-Theologische Beiträge 7), Frankfurt a. M. 2002, 81–122.
Nir, R., The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch (SBL Early Judaism and its Literature 20), Atlanta 2003.
Noam, V., Shifting Images of the Hasmoneans. Second Temple Legends and Their Reception in Josephus and Rabbinic Literature, Oxford 2018.
Noam, V., Divorce in Qumran in Light of Early Halakhah, in: JJS 56 (2005) 206–223.

Norton, J., Reassessment of Controversial Studies on the Cemetary, in: J.-B. Humbert/J. Gunneweg (ed.), Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshka II. Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie, Göttingen 2003, 107–127.
Oakman, D. E., The Political Aims of Jesus, Minneapolis 2012.
Öhler, M., History of Early Christianity: Religion, Culture, Identity, trans. Jason Valdez, Waco, TX 2025.
Öhler, M., Die Evangelien als Kontinuitätskonstrukte, in : C. Danz/M. Murrmann-Kahl (ed.), Zwischen historischem Jesus und dogmatischem Christus. Zum Stand der Christologie im 21. Jahrhundert, Tübingen ^{2}2011, 87–109.
Öhler, M., Barnabas. Die historische Person und ihre Rezeption in der Apostelgeschichte (WUNT 156), Tübingen 2003.
Oppenheimer, A., Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi. Statesman, Reformer, and Redactor of the Mishnah, Tübingen 2017.
Ostmeyer, K.-H., Armenhaus und Räuberhöhle? Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu, in : ZNW 96 (2005) 147–170.
Oswald, W./Tilly, M., Geschichte Israels. Von den Anfängen bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr., Darmstadt 2016.
Paesler, K., Das Tempelwort Jesu. Die Traditionen von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelreinigung im Neuen Testament (FRLANT 184), Göttingen 1997.
Paganini, S., Von Ezechiel zur Tempelrolle: Der Tempel als Realität und Vision, in: J. Frey/C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2011, 399–419.
Paganini, S., Ein Judentum ohne Mose? Beobachtungen zum Buch Henoch und zu den Schriften vom Toten Meer, in: F. Reiterer et al. (ed.), Gesellschaft und Religion in der spätbiblischen und deuterokanonischen Literatur, Berlin 2014, 295–310.
Patrich, J., Caesarea am Meer – Herodes' maritime Lebensader in die weite Welt, in: J. K. Zangenberg (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 70–79.
Patrich, J./Arubas B., Revisiting the Mausoleum at Herodium: Is It Herod's Tomb?, in: PEQ 147/4 (2015) 299–315.
Peleg-Barkat, O., The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem 1968–1978 Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Final Reports Volume V. Herodian Architectural Decoration and King Herod's Royal Portico (QEDEM 57), Jerusalem 2017.
Penner, K. M., Dead Sea Scrolls, in: M. D. Coogan, The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible, vol. 1, Oxford 2011, 173–192.
Pines, S., An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications, Jerusalem 1971.
Pollmann, I., Gesetzeskritische Motive im Judentum und die Gesetzeskritik des Paulus (NTOA/StUNT 98), Göttingen 2012.
Pomykala, K. E., Messianism, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 938–942.
Posner, A., Über Abrahams Wanderung, in: L. Cohn (ed.), Philo von Alexandria 5, Berlin ^{2}1962, 152–213.
Pratscher, W., Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und die Jakobustradition (FRLANT 139), Göttingen 1987.
Pucci Ben Zeev, M., Jews among Greeks and Romans, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 237–255.
Pucci Ben Zeev, M., Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil, 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights, Leuven 2005.
Pummer, R., The Samaritans. A Profile, Grand Rapids (Michigan), 2016.
Pummer, R., Alexander und die Samaritaner nach Josephus und nach samaritianischen Quellen, in: J. Frey/U. Schattner-Rieser/K. Schmid (ed.), Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. The Samaritans and the Bible (SJ 70 = StSam 7), Berlin 2012, 157–179.

Pummer, R., Samaritanism, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1186–1188.
Pummer, R., Samaritan Pentateuch, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1189–1190.
Qimron, E., Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarians, in: J. Trebolle Barrera/L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), The Madrid Qumran Congress (StTDJ 11,1), Leiden 1992, 287–294.
Rabin, I. et al, On the Origin of the Ink of the Thanksgiving Scroll (1QHodayota), in: Dead Sea Discoveries 16 (2009) 97–106.
Rahner, K., Die anonymen Christen, in: id., Schriften zur Theologie VI, Einsiedeln 1965, 545–554.
Rahner, K., Anonymes Christentum und Missionsauftrag der Kirche, in: id., Schriften zur Theologie IX, Einsiedeln 1970, 498–515.
Rajak, T., Jewish Millenarian Expectations, in: A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London 2002, 164–188.
Rapske, B. M., Acts, Travel and Shipwreck, in: C. Gempf/D. W. J. Gill (ed.), The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting. Volume 2: The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting, Grand Rapids (Michigan) 1994, 1–47.
Rau, E., Unser Vater im Himmel: Eine These zur Metaphorik der Rede von Gott in der Logienquelle, in: NT 53/3 (2011) 222–243.
Regev, E., The Hasmoneans. Ideology, Archaeology, Identity (JAJ 10), Göttingen 2013.
Reike, B./Rost, L. (ed.), Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch. Landeskunde – Geschichte – Religion – Kultur – Literatur (CD-ROM-Ausgabe), Göttingen 2004.
Reinbold, W., Das Ziel des Gesetzes nach Röm 10,4–13, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.), Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 297–312.
Reinhartz, A., The Gospel of John and the "Parting of the Ways", in: ET 80/6 (2020) 465–471.
Reinhartz, A., Cast Out of the Covenant. Jews and Anti-Judaism in the Gospel of John, Lanham 2018.
Reinhartz, A., A Fork in the Road or a Multi-Lane Highway? New Perspectives on the 'Parting of the Ways' Between Judaism and Christianity, in: I. H. Henderson/G. S. Oegema (ed.), The Changing Faces of Judaism, Christianity, and other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity (JSHRZ Studien 2), Gütersloh 2006, 280–295.
Rengstorf, K. H., Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer (Studia Delitzschiana 5), Stuttgart 1960.
Reiser, M., Numismatik und Neues Testament, in: Biblica 81 (2000) 457–488.
Reiser, M., Hat Paulus Heiden bekehrt?, in: BZ 39 (1995) 76–91.
Riesner, R., Zwischen Tempel und Obergemach – Jerusalem als erste messianische Stadtgemeinde, in: R. von Bendemann/M. Tiwald (ed.), Das frühe Christentum und die Stadt (BWANT 198), Stuttgart 2012, 69–91.
Riesner, R., Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem, in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, New York 1992, 198–234.
Ritmeyer, L., Imagining the Temple Known to Jesus and Early Jews, in: C. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 19–57.
Robinson, J.M./ Hoffmann, P./ Kloppenborg, J.S. (eds.), The Critical Edition of Q: Synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2000.
Rollens, S. E., Persecution in the Social Setting of Q, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 149–164.
Roloff, J., Der erste Brief an Timotheus (EKK 15), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1988.
Roloff, J., Amt / Ämter / Amtsverständnis IV, in: TRE 2 (1978) 509–533.

Root, B. W., First Century Galilee. A Fresh Examination of the Sources (WUNT II 378), Tübingen 2014.
Rosner, B. S., Paul, Scripture and Ethics. A Study of 1 Corinthians 5–7, Leiden 1994.
Rowland, C., A Summary of Sabbath Observance in Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era, in: D. A. Carson (ed.), From Sabbath to Lord's Day, Grand Rapids 1982, 43–55.
Runesson, A., Purity, Holiness, and the Kingdom of Heaven in Matthew's Narrative World, in: C. S. Ehrlich / A. Runesson / E. Schuller (Hg.), Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity. Essays in Memory of Susan Haber (WUNT 305), Tübingen 2013, 144–180.
Rutgers, L. V., The Jews in Late Ancient Rome. Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 126), Leiden 1995.
Saladrini, A. J., Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community (CSHJ), Chicago 1994.
Salzmann, J. C., Lehren und Ermahnen. Zur Geschichte des christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (WUNT II 59), Tübingen 1994.
Sanders, E. P., Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE – 66 CE, Kent ^{2}1994.
Sänger, D., "Jetzt aber führt auch das Tun zu Ende" (2Kor 8,11). Die korinthische Gemeinde und die Kollekte für Jerusalem, in: id. (ed.), Der zweite Korintherbrief. Literarische Gestalt – historische Situation – theologische Argumentation (FS D.-A. Koch) (FLANT 250), Göttingen 2021, 257–282.
Schäfer, P., Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand. Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom (TSAJ 1) Tübingen 1981.
Schäfer, P., The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World: The Jews of Palestine from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquests, London 2003, Taylor & Francis e-Library 2005.
Schaper, J., Das Theologumenon des "Eifers" Gottes in alttestamentlichen Texten, sein Zusammenhang mit dem Bilderverbot und seine Wirkung auf das frühe Judentum, in: H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Martin Hengels "Zeloten". Ihre Bedeutung im Licht von fünfzig Jahren Forschungsgeschichte, Tübingen 2013, 1–19.
Schattner-Rieser, U., Das Aramäische zur Zeit Jesu. "ABBA!" und das Vaterunser. Reflexionen zur Muttersprache Jesu anhand der Texte von Qumran und der frühen Targumim, in: J. Frey/E. Popkes (ed.), Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran (WUNT II 390), Tübingen 2015, 81–144.
Schattner-Rieser, U., Prä-, Proto- und Antisamaritanisches in den Qumrantexten, in: S. Beyerle/J. Frey (ed.) Qumranica Aktuell. Kongresstagung Greifswald 2010, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2011, 67–109.
Schiffman, L. H., The Importance of the Temple for Ancient Jews, in: C. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Temple. Textual and Archaeological Explorations, Minneapolis 2014, 75–93.
Schiffman, L. H., The Samaritans in Tannaitic Halakhah, in: JQR 75 (1985) 323–350.
Schipper, F., Jasons Gymnasium in Jerusalem, in: M. Frass/et al. (ed.), Akten des 10. Österreichischen Althistorikertages, Wien 2006, 113–126.
Schmeller, T., Brechungen. Urchristliche Wandercharismatiker im Prisma soziologisch orientierter Exegese (SBS 136), Stuttgart 1989.
Schmeller, T., Paulus und die "Diatribe". Eine vergleichende Stilinterpretation (NTA.N.F. 19), Münster 1987.
Schmid, K., Die Samaritaner und die Judäer: Die biblische Diskussion um ihr Verhältnis in Josua 24, in: J. Frey/U. Schattner-Rieser/K. Schmid (ed.), Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. The Samaritans and the Bible (SJ 70 = StSam 7), Berlin 2012, 31–49.
Schmidt, J. M., Frühjudentum, in: TRE 11 (1983) 688–689.
Schmitz, B., Judas Makkabäus. Die Inszenierung einer literarischen Figur und die Perspektiven der Erzählstimme im Zweiten Makkabäerbuch, in: I. Müllner/B. Schmitz (ed.), Perspektiven. Biblische Texte und Narratologie (SBB 75), Stuttgart 2018, 243–278.
Schmitz, B., Geschichte Israels (UTB 3547), Paderborn ^{2}2015.
Schnelle, U., Die getrennten Wege von Römern, Juden und Christen. Religionspolitik im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr., Tübingen 2019.

Schnelle, U., The First One Hundred Years of Christianity: An Introduction to its History, Literature, and Development, trans. James W. Thompson, Grand Rapids 2020.
Schnelle, U., The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings, trans. Eugene Boring, Minneapolis 1998 [Most recent German edition: Einleitung in das Neue Testament (UTB 1830), Göttingen ^{8}2013.]
Schnelle, U., Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology, trans. Eugene Boring, Grand Rapids 2005.
Schnelle, U., Wandlungen im paulinischen Denken (SBS 137), Stuttgart 1989.
Schnelle, U., Jesus, ein Jude aus Galiläa, in: BZ 32 (1988) 107–113.
Schorch, S., Der Pentateuch der Samaritaner: Seine Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis des alttestamentlichen Bibeltextes, in: J. Frey/U. Schattner-Rieser/K. Schmid (ed.), Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. The Samaritans and the Bible (SJ 70 = StSam 7), Berlin 2012, 5–29.
Schreiber, S., Weihnachtspolitik. Lukas 1–2 und das Goldene Zeitalter (NTOA 82), Göttingen 2009.
Schreiber, S., Das Weihegeschenk Gottes. Eine Deutung des Todes Jesu in Röm 3,25, in: ZNW 97 (2006) 88–110.
Schreiber, S., Henoch als Menschensohn. Zur problematischen Schlußidentifikation in den Bild- reden des äthiopischen Henochbuches (äthHen 71,14), in: ZNW 91 (2000) 1–17.
Schröder, B., Die "väterlichen Gesetze". Flavius Josephus als Vermittler von Halachah an Griechen und Römer, Tübingen 1996.
Schröter, J., Was Paul a Jew Within Judaism? The Apostle to the Gentiles and His Communities in Their Historical Context, in: J. Schröter/B. A. Edsall/J. Verheyden (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 89–119.
Schröter, J., Kanon – Eine neutestamentliche Perspektive, in: E. Gräb-Schmidt/R. Preul (ed.), Ka- non (MJTh 131), Leipzig 2019, 37–65.
Schröter, J., Gottes Geschichte als Heil für die Heiden und Israel: die Apostelgeschichte als erste christliche Geschichtsschreibung, in: H.-J. Simm (ed.), Aspekte der Bibel. Themen Figuren, Motive, Freiburg i. Br. 2017, 350–361.
Schröter, J., Die Heilsbedeutung von Sterben und Tod Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament, in: KuD 62/2 (2016) 114–133.
Schröter, J., Apokalyptik im frühen Judentum und im Urchristentum, in: Loccumer Pelikan 2 (2015) 53–56.
Schröter, J., Sühne, Stellvertretung und Opfer. Zur Verwendung analytischer Kategorien zur Deutung des Todes Jesu, in: J. Frey/J. Schröter (ed.), Deutung des Todes Jesu im Neuen Testament (UTB 2953), Tübingen ^{2}2012, 51–71.
Schröter, J., Die aktuelle Diskussion über den historischen Jesus und ihre Bedeutung für die Christologie, in: C. Danz/M. Murrmann-Kahl (ed.), Zwischen historischem Jesus und dogmatischem Christus. Zum Stand der Christologie im 21. Jahrhundert, Tübingen ^{2}2011, 67–86.
Schröter, J., Entscheidung für die Worte Jesu. Die Logienquelle in der Geschichte des frühen Christentums, in: BiKi 54 (1999) 70–74.
Schröter, J., Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit. Das Gottesbild der Psalmen Salomos in seinem Verhältnis zu Qumran und Paulus, in: NTS 44 (1998) 557–577.
Schröter, J., Erwägungen zum Gesetzesverständnis in Q anhand von Q 16,16–18, in: Tuckett, C. (ed.), The Scriptures in the Gospels (BETL 131), Leuven 1997, 441–458.
Schröter, J./Edsall, B. A./Verheyden, J. (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021.
Schröter, J./Edsall, B. A./Verheyden, J., Introduction, in: id. (ed.), Jews and Christians – Parting Ways in the First Two Centuries CE? Reflections on the Gains and Losses of a Model (BZNW 253), Berlin 2021, 1–10.
Schröter, J./Zangenberg, J. (ed.), Texte zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments (UTB 3663), Tübingen ^{3}2013.

Schuol, M., Paulus, seine Reisen und Briefe im Licht des römischen Transport- und Nachrichtenwesens, in: U. Mell/M. Tilly (ed.), Der 1. Thessalonicherbrief und die frühe Völkermission des Paulus (WUNT 479), Tübingen 2022, 145–154.

Schürer, E., The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135). A new English version revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, vol. 1, Edinburgh 1973 [abbr.: Schürer/Vermes/Millar, History].

Schwartz, D. R., Reading the First Century. On Reading Josephus and Studying Jewish History of the First Century (WUNT 300), Tübingen 2013.

Schwartz, D. R., On Pharisees and Sadducees in the Mishnah. From Composition Criticism to History, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.): Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 133–144.

Schwartz, D. R., Josephus and Philo on Pontius Pilate, in: The Jerusalem Cathedra 3 (1983) 26–45.

Schwartz, J., review of D. Instone-Brewer: Feasts and Sabbaths: Passover and atonement (Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament 2a). Eerdmans, 2011, in: Review of Biblical Literature (2012) online-Edition: http://www.bookreviews.org/bookdetail.asp?TitleId=7978&CodePage=2884,7978,4424,4659 (accessed 10.04.2025).

Schwartz, J., How Jewish to be Jewish? Self-Identity and Jewish Christians in First Century CE Palestine, in: B. Isaac/Y. Shahar (ed.), Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity (TSAJ 147), Tübingen 2012, 55 –73.

Schweizer, E., Das Evangelium nach Markus (NTD 1), Göttingen [18]1998.

Schwemer, A. M., Die "Eiferer" Elia und Pinchas und ihre Identifikation, in: H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Martin Hengels "Zeloten". Ihre Bedeutung im Licht von fünfzig Jahren Forschungsgeschichte, Tübingen 2013, 21–80.

Schwemer, A. M., Verfolger und Verfolgte bei Paulus. Die Auswirkungen der Verfolgung durch Agrippa I. auf die paulinische Mission, in: E.-M. Becker/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Biographie und Persönlichkeit des Paulus (WUNT 187), Tübingen 2005, 169–191.

Schwemer, A. M., Paulus in Antiochien, in: BZ NF 42 (1998) 161–180.

Schwemer, A. M., Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran, in: ead./M. Hengel (ed.), Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt, Tübingen 1991, 45–118.

Seebass, H., Erstes oder Altes Testament? in: J. Barton/M. Wolter (ed.), Die Einheit der Schrift und die Vielfalt des Kanons (BZNW 118), Berlin 2003, 27–43.

Seeman, C., Maccabees, First Book of, in: EBR 17 (2019) 324–327.

Segal, A. F., Jewish Christianity, in: H. W. Attridge/ G. Hata (ed.), Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism, Detroit 1992, 326–351.

Segal, M., Who is the 'Son of God' in 4Q246? An Overlooked Example of Early Biblical Interpretation, in: DSD 21 (2014) 289–312.

Shahar, Y., Why a Quarter? The Siqariqon Ruling and Roman Law, in: B. Isaac/Y. Shahar (ed.), Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity (TSAJ 147), Tübingen, 2012, 191–203.

Sherwin-White, A. N., The Roman Citizenship, Oxford [2]1973.

Shilo, Y., Jerusalem, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land II, Jerusalem 1993, 701–712.

Siegert, F., Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style, in: M. Sæbø (ed.), Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation, Göttingen 1996, 130–198.

Siegert, F., Argumentation bei Paulus. Gezeigt an Röm 9–11 (WUNT 34), Tübingen 1985.

Siegert, F., Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten (WUNT 20), Tübingen 1980.

Smallwood, E. M., The Date of the Dismissal of Pontius Pilate from Judaea, in: JJS 5 (1954) 12–21.

Söding, T., Apostel gegen Apostel. Ein Unfall im antiochenischen Großstadtverkehr (Gal 2,11–16), in: R. von Bendemann/M. Tiwald (ed.), Das frühe Christentum und die Stadt (BWANT 198), Stuttgart 2012, 92–113.

Söding, T., Kooperation in den paulinischen Gemeinden. Eine neutestamentliche Perspektive, in: BiLi 71 (1998) 108–116.

Söding, T., Die Tempelaktion Jesu, in: TThZ 101 (1992) 36–64.
Stauffer, E. Christ and the Caesars, London 1955.
Stauffer, E., Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, Bern 1957.
Steck, O. H., Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum (WMANT 23), Neukirchen–Vluyn 1967.
Stegemann, E., Der Jude Paulus und seine antijüdische Auslegung, in: id./R. Rendtorff (ed.), Auschwitz – Krise der christlichen Theologie, München 1980, 117–139.
Stegemann, E./Stegemann, W., Urchristliche Sozialgeschichte. Die Anfänge im Judentum und die Christusgemeinden in der mediterranen Welt, Stuttgart ^{2}1997.
Stegemann, H., Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus (Herder Spectrum 4128), Freiburg i. Br. ^{10}2007.
Stegemann, H., The Qumran Essenes – Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times, in: J. Trebolle Barrera/L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), The Madrid Qumran Congress (STDJ 11,1), Leiden 1992, 83–166.
Stegemann, W., "Hinterm Horizont geht's weiter". Erneute Betrachtungen von Gerd Theissens These zum Wanderradikalismus der Jesusbewegung, in: P. Lampe/H. Schwier (ed.), Neutestamentliche Grenzgänge. Symposium zur kritischen Rezeption der Arbeiten Gerd Theissens, Göttingen 2010, 76–95.
Stegemann, W., Jesus und seine Zeit, Stuttgart 2010.
Stegemann, W., Wanderradikalismus im Urchristentum? Historische und theologische Auseinandersetzung mit einer interessanten These, in: id./W. Schottroff, Der Gott der kleinen Leute. Sozialgeschichtliche Bibelauslegungen, München 1979, 94–120.
Stemberger, G., The Pharisees and the Rabbis, in: J. Sievers/A.-J. Levine (ed.), The Pharisees, Grand Rapids/Michigan 2021, 240–254.
Stemberger, G., Die Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion unter Hadrian: Zwischen Wirklichkeit und Martyrologie, in: Rome, Judaea, and its Neighbors. Special Issue in Honor of Hannah M. Cotton, SCI 33 (2014) 255–268.
Stemberger, G., The *birkat ha-minim* and the Separation of Christians and Jews, in: B. Isaac/Y. Shahar (ed.), Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity (TSAJ 147), Tübingen 2012, 75–88.
Stemberger, G., Dating Rabbinic Traditions, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature (JSJ Supplements 136), Leiden 2010, 79–96.
Stemberger, G., Sadducees, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1179–1181.
Stemberger, G., Das klassische Judentum. Kultur und Geschichte der rabbinischen Zeit, München 2009.
Stemberger, G., Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.), Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 15–31.
Stemberger, G., The Pre-Christian Paul, in: J. Pastor/M. Mor (ed.), The Beginnings of Christianity, Jerusalem 2005, 65–81.
Stemberger, G., "Moses Received Torah ..." (M. Avot 1,1): Rabbinic Conceptions of Revelation, in: F. García Martínez/G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in honour of A. Hilhorst, Leiden 2003, 285–299.
Stemberger, G., La formation et la conception du canon dans la pensée rabbinique, in: E. Norelli (ed.), Recueils normatifs et canons dans l'Antiquité. Perspectives nouvelles sur la formation des canons juif et chrétien dans leur contexte culturel (Publications de l'institut romand des sciences bibliques 3), Genf 2002, 113–131.
Stemberger, G., Was there a "Mainstream Judaism" in the Late Second Temple Period? in: Review of Rabbinic Judaism 4/2 (2001) 189–208.

Stemberger, G., Die Umformung des palästinischen Judentums nach 70: Der Aufstieg der Rabbinen, in: A. Oppenheimer (ed.), Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Wege der Forschung: Vom alten zum neuen Schürer, München 1999, 85–99.
Stemberger, G., Qumran, die Pharisäer und das Rabbinat, in: B. Kollmann/W. Reinbold/A. Steudel (ed.), Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum. FS für H. Stegemann (BZNW 97), Berlin 1999, 210–224.
Stemberger, G., Vollkommener Text in vollkommener Sprache. Zum rabbinischen Schriftverständnis, in: JBTh 12 (1997) 53–65.
Stemberger, G., Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel, in: C. Dohmen/G. Stemberger, Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments (KStTh 1/2), Stuttgart 1996, 23–74.
Stemberger, G., Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, trans. Allan W. Mahnke, Minneapolis 1995.
Stemberger, G., Der Dekalog im frühen Judentum, in: JBTh 4 (1989) 91–103.
Stemberger, G., Jabne und der Kanon, in: JBTh 3 (1988) 163–174.
Stemberger, G./Strack, H.L., Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, trans. Markus Bockmuehl, 2nd printing, Minneapolis 1996.
Stemberger, G., Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land. Palästina unter Konstantin und Theodosius, München 1987.
Sterling, G. E., Philo, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1063–1070.
Sterling, G. E., Philo, Apologetic Treatises, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 1072–1074.
Sterling, G. E., The Place of Philo of Alexandria in the Study of Christian Origins, in: R. Deines/K.-W. Niebuhr (ed.), Philo und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen (WUNT 172), Tübingen 2004, 21–52.
Stökl Ben Ezra, D., Qumran. Die Texte vom Toten Meer und das antike Judentum, Tübingen 2016. Stökl Ben Ezra, D., Wie viele Bibliotheken gab es in Qumran? in: J. Frey/C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2011, 327–346.
Stökl Ben Ezra, D., Markusevangelium, in: RAC 24 (2010) 173–207.
Stökl Ben Ezra, D., Le mystère des rouleaux de Qumrân, perspectives historiques et archéologiques, in: Les cahiers du Judaïsme 29 (2010) 104–119.
Stökl Ben Ezra, D., Old Caves and Young Caves. A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus, in: Dead Sea Discoveries 14 (2007) 313–333.
Stökl Ben Ezra, D., The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity. The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century, Tübingen 2003.
Stowasser, M., Ehescheidung und Wiederheirat in der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung, in: PzB 25 (2016) 73–96.
Stowasser, M., "Dies spricht für dich, dass du die Werke der Nikolaiten hasst" (Offb 2,6) – Ein frühes Zeugnis für den Konflikt um Anpassung oder Widerstand?, in: R. Klieber/M. Stowasser, Inkulturation. Historische Beispiele und theologische Reflexion zur Flexibilität und Widerständigkeit des Christlichen (Theologie, Forschung und Wissenschaft 10), Wien 2006, 203–227.
Stowasser, M., Am 5,25–27; 9,11f. in der Qumranüberlieferung und in der Apostelgeschichte. Text- und traditionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu 4Q174 (Florilegium) III 12/CD VII 16/Apg 7,42b–53; 15,16–18, in: ZNW 92 (2001) 47–63.
Strange, J. F., Nazareth, in: D. A. Fiensy/J. R. Strange (ed.), Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods. Vol. 2, Minneapolis 2015, 127–180.
Strotmann, A./Tiwald, M., Das Matthäusevangelium – eine Paulus-Polemik? Überlegungen zum Toraverständnis des ersten Evangelisten, in: M. Ebner/G. Häfner/K. Huber (ed.), Kontroverse Stimmen im Kanon (QD 279), Freiburg i. Br. 2016, 64–106.

Strotmann, A., Mein Vater bist du! (Sir 51,10). Zur Bedeutung der Vaterschaft Gottes in kanonischen und nichtkanonischen frühjüdischen Schriften (FTS 39), Frankfurt a. M. 1991.
Stuckenbruck, L. T., Melchizedek in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature, in: JSNT 41 (2018) 124–138.
Stuckenbruck, L. T., Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 143–162.
Stuckenbruck, L. T., 1 Enoch 91 – 108 (CEJL), Berlin/New York 2007.
Taeger, J.-W., Der grundsätzliche oder ungrundsätzliche Unterschied. Anmerkungen zur gegenwärtigen Debatte um das Gesetzesverständnis Jesu, in: I. Broer (ed.), Jesus und das jüdische Gesetz, Stuttgart 1992, 13–35.
Taylor, J. E., Pontius Pilate and the Imperial Cult in Roman Judaea, in: NTS 52 (2006) 555–582.
Taylor, J. E., Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins, Oxford 1993.
Theissen, G., Itinerant Radicalism: The Origin of an Exegetical Theory, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), The Q Hypothesis Unveiled. Theological, Sociological, and Hermeneutical Issues behind the Sayings Source (BWANT 225), Stuttgart 2020, 175–190.
Theissen, G., Kynische und urchristliche Wandercharismatiker. Zu W. Stegemann: "Hinterm Horizont geht's weiter", in: id. (ed.), Von Jesus zur urchristlichen Zeichenwelt. "Neutestamentliche Grenzgänge" im Dialog, Göttingen 2011, 101–116.
Theissen, G., Paulus – der Unglücksstifter. Paulus und die Verfolgung der Gemeinden in Jerusalem und Rom, in: E.-M. Becker/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Biographie und Persönlichkeit des Paulus (WUNT 187), Tübingen 2005, 228–244.
Theissen, G., The First Followers of Jesus. A Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity, trans. John Bowden, München 1997.
Theissen, G., Die Jesusbewegung. Sozialgeschichte einer Revolution der Werte, Gütersloh 2004, 33–98.
Theissen, G., Die Religion der ersten Christen. Eine Theorie des Urchristentums, Gütersloh ^{3}2003.
Theissen, G., Die Verfolgung unter Agrippa I. und die Autoritätsstruktur der Jerusalemer Gemeinde. Eine Untersuchung zu Act 12,1–4 und Mk 10,35–45, in: U. Mell/U. B. Müller (ed.), Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte (FS J. Becker), Berlin/New York 1999, 263–289.
Theissen G., Das Reinheitslogion Mk 7,15 und die Trennung von Juden und Christen, in: K. Wengst/G. Saß (ed.), Ja und nein: Christliche Theologie im Angesicht Israels (FS W. Schrage), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998, 235–51.
Theissen, G., Hellenisten und Hebräer (Apg 6,1–6); Gab es eine Spaltung der Urgemeinde? in: H. Lichtenberger (ed.), Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion III (FS M. Hengel), Tübingen 1996, 323–343.
Theissen, G., Sadduzäismus und Jesustradition. Zur Auseinandersetzung mit Oberschichtmentalität in der synoptischen Überlieferung, in: L. Fatum/M. Müller (ed.), Tro og historie (FS N. Hyldahl) (Forum for bibelsk eksegese 7), København 1996, 224–245.
Theissen, G., Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum (Erstpublikation 1973), in: id. (ed.), Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen ^{3}1989, 79–105.
Theissen, G., Die Tempelweissagung Jesu. Prophetie im Spannungsfeld von Stadt und Land (Erstpublikation 1976), in: id. (ed.), Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen ^{3}1989, 142–159.
Theissen, G., The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Minneapolis 1991.
Theissen, G., "Wir haben alles verlassen" (Mc. X,28). Nachfolge und soziale Entwurzelung in der jüdisch-palästinischen Gesellschaft des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (first publication in 1977), in: id. (ed.), Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen ^{3}1989, 106–141.

Theissen, G./Merz, A., The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide, trans. John Bowden, Minneapolis 1998.
Theissen, G./Winter D., Die Kriterienfrage in der Jesusforschung. Vom Differenzkriterium zum Plausibilitätskriterium (NTOA 34), Göttingen 1997.
Theobald, M., Kirche im Neuen Testament. Ein ekklesiologischer Entwurf in vierundzwanzig Thesen, in: ZThK 117 (2020) 377–408.
Theobald, M., Christus – "Diener der Beschnittenen (Röm 15,8). Der Streit um die Beschneidung nach dem Neuen Testament, in: J.-H. Tück (ed.), Die Beschneidung Jesu. Was sie Juden und Christen heute bedeutet, Freiburg i. Br. 2020, 96–144.
Theobald, M., Israel-Vergessenheit in den Pastoralbriefen. Ein neuer Vorschlag zu ihrer historisch-theologischen Verortung im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ignatius-Briefe (SBS 229), Stuttgart 2016.
Theobald, M., Stellt die johanneische Erzählung von der sogenannten "Tempelreinigung" Jesu (Joh 2,13–22) eine Relecture ihrer synoptischen Parallelen dar?, in: M. Ebner/G. Häfner/K. Huber (ed.), Kontroverse Stimmen im Kanon (QD 279), Freiburg i. Br. 2016, 228–260.
Theobald, M., Wandlungen im paulinischen Denken (Paulus-Synopse), in: F. W. Horn (ed.), Paulus Handbuch, Tübingen 2013, 504–511.
Theobald, M., Kontingenz und Kohärenz, in: F. W. Horn (ed.), Paulus Handbuch, Tübingen 2013, 512–517.
Theobald, M., Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 1 – 12 (RNT), Regensburg 2009.
Theobald, M., "Ich sah den Satan aus dem Himmel stürzen …". Überlieferungskritische Beobachtungen zu Lk 10,18–20, in: BZ 49 (2005) 174–190.
Theobald, M., "Sohn Gottes" als christologische Grundmetapher bei Paulus, in: id. (ed.), Studien zum Römerbrief (WUNT 136), Tübingen 2003, 119–141.
Theobald, M., Herrenworte im Johannesevangelium (HThK 34), Freiburg/Basel/Wien 2002.
Theobald, M., Kirche und Israel nach Röm 9–11, in: id. (ed.), Studien zum Römerbrief, Tübingen 2001, 324–349.
Theobald, M., Jesu Wort von der Ehescheidung. Gesetz oder Evangelium?, in: ThQ 175 (1995) 109–124.
Theobald, M., Das Gottesbild des Paulus nach Röm 3,21–31, in: SNTU 6 (1981) 131–168.
Theobald, M., Römerbrief 1. Kapitel 1 – 11 (SKK 6/1), Stuttgart 1992.
Thyen, H., Das Johannesevangelium (HNT 6), Tübingen 2005.
Tigchelaar, E., The Dead. Sea Scrolls, in: J. J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (Hg.), The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism, Michigan 2010, 163–180.
Tilly, M., 1 Makkabäer (HThKAT), Freiburg i. Br. 2015.
Tilly, M., Apokalyptik, Tübingen 2012.
Tilly, M., Testamente der 12 Patriarchen, erstellt: Sept. 2007, permanenter Link zum Artikel: http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/33302/ (accessed 10.04.2025).
Tilly, M., Einführung in die Septuaginta, Darmstadt 2005.
Tiwald, M., Kontinuität und Wandel im Schriftgebrauch des Paulus. Schriftverwendung im 1. Thessalonicherbrief im Vergleich mit Texten aus dem Römerbrief, in: U. Mell/M. Tilly (ed.), Der 1. Thessalonicherbrief und die frühe Völkermission des Paulus (WUNT 479), Tübingen 2022, 445–460.
Tiwald, M., Die Vatermetaphorik Jesu. Religionspsychologische Überlegungen zum jesuanischen Gottesbild, in: V. Burz-Tropper (ed.), Gottes-Bilder. Zur Metaphorik biblischer Gottesrede (BWANT 232), Stuttgart 2022, 129–142.
Tiwald, M., The Rural Roots of the Jesus Movement and the 'Galilean Silence', in: M. Tiwald/J. Zangenberg (ed.), Early Christian Encounters with Town and Countryside. Essays on the Urban and Rural Worlds of Early Christianity (NTOA/StUNT 126). Göttingen 2021, 149–175.
Tiwald, M., Beschneidung und Taufe als Identity Markers in Frühjudentum und beginnendem Christentum, in: U. E. Eisen/H. Mader (ed.), Talking God in Society: Multidisciplinary (Re)

constructions of Ancient (Con)texts: Festschrift for Peter Lampe, Volume 1: Theories and Applications (NTOA 120/1). Göttingen 2020, 223–240.
Tiwald, M., The Investment of Roman Catholics in the 2DH and Q, in: id: (ed.), The Q Hypothesis Unveiled. Theological, Sociological, and Hermeneutical Issues behind the Sayings Source (BWANT 225), Stuttgart 2020, 129–145.
Tiwald, M., Die Suche nach dem "Urevangelium" als Frage nach der Authentizität der Jesusüberlieferung, in: J. Kloppenborg/J. Verheyden (ed.), Theological and Theoretical Issues in the Synoptic Problem (LNTS 618), London 2020, 71–87.
Tiwald, M., Jasons Gymnasion. Der Epispasmos und die Frage der Beschneidung in Frühjudentum und beginnendem Christentum, in: A. Wypadlo/K.-H. Ostmeyer/unter Mitarbeit von V. Niggemeier und C. Baumgart, Carsten (ed.), Das Ziel vor Augen. Sport und Wettkampf im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt (BWANT 226), Stuttgart 2020, 9–27.
Tiwald, M., The Sayings Source: A Commentary on Q, Stuttgart 2020.
Tiwald, M., Die bleibende Gültigkeit der Tora nach Q 16, in: C. Heil/G. Harb/D. Smith (ed.), Built on Rock or Sand? Q Studies: Retrospects, Introspects and Prospects (BToSt 34), Leuven 2018, 347–363.
Tiwald, M., Wie streng hielt man den Sabbat im Frühjudentum? *Praktische* Überlegungen zu einem *theologischen* Thema, in: T. Söding/P. Wick (ed.), Würde und Last der Arbeit. Beiträge zur neutestamentlichen Sozialethik (BWANT 209), Stuttgart 2017, 73–84.
Tiwald, M., Die Logienquelle. Text, Kontext, Theologie, Stuttgart 2016 [abbr.: Logienquelle].
Tiwald, M., The Brazen Freedom of God's Children: "Insolent Ravens" (Q 12:24) and "Carefree Lilies" (Q 12:27) as Response to Mass-Poverty and Social Disruption? in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 111–131.
Tiwald, M., Verborgene Weisheit – Wahres Israel. Die eschatologische Scheidung zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten in Logienquelle und frühjüdischer Apokalyptik, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context I. The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source. Die Scheidung zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten in Frühjudentum und Logienquelle (BBB 172), Bonn 2015, 85–106.
Tiwald, M., Gesetz, in: L. Bormann (ed.), Neues Testament. Zentrale Themen, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2014, 295–314.
Tiwald, M., Die protreptische, konnotative und performative Valeur der Gerichts- und Abgrenzungsmetaphorik in der Logienquelle, in: D. Roth/R. Zimmermann/M. Labahn (ed.), Metaphor, Narrative, and Parables in Q (WUNT 315), Tübingen 2014, 115–137.
Tiwald, M., "Blickt auf die Vögel des Himmels" – Die unverschämte Freiheit der Kinder Gottes, in: Bibel heute 195 (3/2013) 7–9.
Tiwald, M., Von gesunden Kranken und kranken Gesunden … Rochierende Rollen im Markusevangelium, in: M. Schiefer Ferrari (ed.), Gestörte Lektüre. Disability als hermeneutische Leitkategorie biblischer Exegese (Behinderung – Theologie – Kirche. Beiträge zu diakonisch-caritativen Disability-Studies 4), Stuttgart 2012, 81–97.
Tiwald, M., Setzt der Glaube an Christus die Tora außer Kraft? Ein neuer Blick auf die "Werke des Gesetzes" in Röm 3,20–31, in: T. Söding/M.-L. Hermann/M. Bär (ed.), König und Priester. Facetten neutestamentlicher Christologie (EThS 44), Würzburg 2012, 165–175.
Tiwald, M., "Eher aber vergehen Himmel und Erde …". Vorüberlegungen zum Tagungsband, in: id. (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 9–20.
Tiwald, M., Hat Gott sein Haus verlassen (vgl. Q 13,35)? – Das Verhältnis der Logienquelle zum Frühjudentum, in: id. (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 63–88.
Tiwald, M., Jewish-Christian Trajectories in Torah and Temple Theology, in: T. Holmén (ed.), Jesus in Continuum (WUNT 289), Tübingen 2012, 385–409.

Tiwald, M., Frühchristliche Pluralität in Ephesus, in: id./R. von Bendemann (ed.), Das frühe Christentum und die Stadt (BWANT 198), Stuttgart 2012, 128–145.
Tiwald, M., Christ as Hilasterion (Rom 3:25). Pauline Theology on the Day of Atonement in the Mirror of Early Jewish Thought, in: T. Hieke/T. Nicklas (ed.), The Day of Atonement. Its Interpretation in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions (Themes in Biblical Narrative 15), Leiden 2012, 189–209.
Tiwald, M., ΑΠΟ ΔΕ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ ... (Mk 10,6). Die Entsprechung von Protologie und Eschatologie als Schlüssel für das Tora-Verständnis Jesu, in: U. Busse/M. Reichardt/M. Theobald (ed.), Die Memoria Jesu. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität der Überlieferung (BBB 166), Bonn 2011, 367–380.
Tiwald, M., Die vielfältigen Entwicklungslinien kirchlichen Amtes im Corpus Paulinum und ihre Relevanz für heutige Theologie, in: T. Schmeller/M. Ebner/R. Hoppe (ed.), Neutestamentliche Ämtermodelle im Kontext (QD 239), Freiburg i. Br. 2010, 101–128.
Tiwald, M., Hebräer von Hebräern. Paulus auf dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Argumentation und biblischer Interpretation (HBS 52), Freiburg i. Br. 2008.
Tiwald, M., Biblische Archäologie im Schwerefeld von Geisteswissenschaften, Politik und Theologie, in: PzB 13 (2004) 69–82.
Tiwald, M., Die Nichterfüllung wanderradikaler Erwartungen als Geburt frühkirchlicher Ethik, in: PzB 10 (2001) 105–119.
Tiwald, M., Der Wanderradikalismus als Brücke zum historischen Jesus, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus (BETL 158), Leuven 2001, 523–534.
Tov, E., Scribal Characteristics of the Qumran Scrolls, in: M. Fidanzio (ed.), The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference Lugano 2014 (STDJ 118), Leiden 2017, 87–95.
Tov, E., Die griechischen Bibelübersetzungen, in: W. Haase (ed.), ANRW II 20.1, Berlin 1987, 121–189.
Trebilco, P., Early Jewish Communities in Asia Minor and the Early Christian Movement, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context II. Social Setting and Archeological Background of the Sayings Source (BBB 173), Bonn 2015, 213–231.
Trebilco, P., The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius (WUNT 166), Tübingen 2004.
Tuckett, C., Apocalyptic – in Q? in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context I: The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source: Die Scheidung zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten in Frühjudentum und Logienquelle (BBB 172), Bonn 2015, 107–121.
Tuckett, C., Jesus and the Sabbath, in: T. Holmén (ed.), Jesus in Continuum (WUNT 289), Tübingen 2012, 411–442.
Tuckett, C., The Fourth Gospel and Q, in: R. T. Fortna/T. Thatcher (ed.), Jesus in Johannine Tradition, London 2001, 281–290 [abbr.: Gospel].
Tuckett, C., Q Source, in: L. H. Schiffman/J. C. VanderKam (ed.): Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Oxford 2000, 732–733 [abbr.: Q].
Tuckett, C., Q and the History of Early Christianity. Studies on Q, Edinburgh 1996 [abbr.: Q].
Ulrich, E., Interpreter of the Law, in: L. H. Schiffmann/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1, Oxford 2000, 383–384.
Ulrich, E., Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon, in: J. Trebolle Barrera/L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. vol. 1, Leiden 1992, 23–41.
Van der Horst, P. W., Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of their Relations in Other Cities of Asia Minor, in: NTT 43 (1989) 106–121.
Van der Woude, A. S., Fakten contra Phantasien: Die Bedeutung der Rollen vom Toten Meer für die Bibelwissenschaft und die Kunde des Frühjudentums, in: F. García Martínez/E. Noort (ed.), Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism, Leiden 1998, 249–271.

van Henten, J. W., Judean Antiquities 15. Translation and Commentary (Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary 7b), Leiden 2014.
van Ruiten, J. T. A. G. M., Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees, in: B. Ego/A. Lange/P. Pilhofer (ed.), Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum (WUNT 118), Tübingen 1999, 215–227.
van Unnik, W. C., Tarsus or Jerusalem, in: id., Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W. C. van Unnik. vol. 1., Leiden 1973, 259–320.
VanderKam, J. C., Recent Scholarship on the Book of Jubilees, in: CBR 6/3 (2008) 405–431.
VanderKam, J., The Pharisees and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: J. Neusner/B. D. Chilton (ed.), in: Quest of the Historical Pharisees, Waco, TX 2007, 225–236.
VanderKam, J./Flint, P., The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity, San Francisco 2002.
Viehweger, D., Ausgrabungen im herodianischen und nach-herodianischen Jerusalem, in: J. K. Zangenberg (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 90–99.
Vogel, M., Jüdisch versus christlich? "Parting of the ways" als Problem der Terminologie in Quellen und Beschreibungssprache, in: ET 80/6 (2020) 418–431.
Vögtle, A., Die "Gretchenfrage" des Menschensohnproblems. Bilanz und Perspektive (QD 152), Freiburg i. Br. 1994.
Vörös, G., Machärus – Wo Salome tanzte und der Täufer starb, in: J. K. Zangenberg (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 80–89.
Vouga, F., Das Problem der Selbstdefinition und der theologischen Einheit des frühen Christentums, in: U. Mell/ U. B. Müller (ed.), Das Urchristentum in seiner literarischen Geschichte. Festschrift für Jürgen Becker zum 65. Geburtstag, Berlin 1999, 487–515.
Wanke, J., Ἑβραῖος, in: H. Balz/G. Schneider (ed.), EWNT I, Stuttgart ^{2}1992, 892–894.
Wanke, G., Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments als Kanon, in: TRE 6 (1980) 1–8.
Wasserberg, G., Aus Israels Mitte – Heil für die Welt (BZNW 92), Berlin/New York 1998.
Waubke, H.-G., Die talmudische Ḥaberim-Halacha und die Pharisäer, in: L. Doering/H.-G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.), Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen (FRLANT 226), Göttingen 2008, 108–132.
Weidemann, Hans-Ulrich, "Meine Ekklesia" (Mt 16,18) – was ist das? Überlegungen zur jüdischen Verortung der sogenannten matthäischen Gemeinde, in: U. Winkler (ed.), Religion zwischen Mystik und Politik (Jerusalemer Theologisches Forum 35), Münster 2020, 59–81.
Weidemann, Hans-Ulrich, Jesus ist der Herr. Vorbemerkungen zur Christologie der "Urgemeinde", in: G. Augustin et al. (ed.), Mein Herr und mein Gott. Christus bekennen und verkünden (FS Walter Kardinal Kasper), Freiburg i. Br. 2013, 43–69.
Weihs, A., "Gott liebt einen fröhlichen Geber". Zur Strategie und Theologie paulinischer Spendenakquise in Korinth (2 Kor 8–9), in: R. von Bendemann/M. Tiwald (ed.), Das frühe Christentum und die Stadt (BWANT 198), Stuttgart 2012, 164–188.
Weiss, Z., Sepphoris II, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land V, Jerusalem 2008, 2029–2034.
Weiss, Z., Sepphoris I, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV, Jerusalem 1993, 1324–1328.
Weißenberger, M., Die jüdischen "Philosophenschulen" bei Josephus: Variationen eines Themas, in: C. Böttrich/J. Herzer/T. Reiprich (ed.), Josephus und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen (WUNT 209), Tübingen 2007, 521–525.
Wengst, K., Ursprünge des Christentums. Wann begann das Christentum? Der "neue Weg", in: Welt und Umwelt der Bibel 4 (2005) 11–15.
Wengst, K., "Gerechtigkeit Gottes" für die Völker. Ein Versuch, Röm 3,21–31 anders zu lesen, in: K. Wengst/G. Saß (ed.), Ja und Nein. Christliche Theologie im Angesicht Israels (FS W. Schrage), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998, 139–151.

Wengst, K., Bedrängte Gemeinde und verherrlichter Christus. Der historische Ort des Johannesevangeliums als Schlüssel zu seiner Interpretation (BThS 5), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981.
Wick, P., Die urchristlichen Gottesdienste. Entstehung und Entwicklung im Rahmen der frühjüdischen Tempel-, Synagogen- und Hausfrömmigkeit (BWANT 150), Stuttgart 2002.
Wilckens, U., Der Brief an die Römer I (EKK 6/1), Zürich ^{2}1987.
Wilk, F., Die synoptischen Evangelien des Neuen Testaments als Quellen für die Geschichte der Pharisäer, in: L. Doering/H. G. Waubke/F. Wilk (ed.), Judaistik und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Standorte – Grenzen – Beziehungen, Göttingen 2008, 85–107.
Winninge, M., Sinners and the Righteous. A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters, Stockholm 1995.
Witetschek, S., Artemis and Asiarchs. Some Remarks on Ephesian Local Colour in Acts 19, in: Bib 90 (2009) 334–355.
Wolter, M., Das Lukasevangelium (HNT 5), Tübingen 2008.
Wolter, M., "Zeremonialgesetz" vs. "Sittengesetz". Eine Spurensuche, in: S. Beyerle/G. Mayer/H. Strauß (ed.), Recht und Ethos im Alten Testament – Gestalt und Wirkung (FS H. Seebass), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1999, 339–356.
Xeravits, G. G./Porzig P., Einführung in die Qumranliteratur. Die Handschriften vom Toten Meer, Berlin 2015.
Zahn, M. M., Rewritten Scripture, in: T. H. Lim/J. J. Collins (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Oxford 2010, 323–336.
Zangenberg, J. K., "König zwischen Genie und Wahnsinn" – Eine problemorientierte Einleitung, in: id. (ed.), Herodes. König von Judäa, Darmstadt 2016, 8–15.
Zangenberg, J., Jesus der Galiläer und die Archäologie, in: MThZ 64 (2013) 123–156 [abbr.: Galiläer].
Zangenberg, J., From the Galilean Jesus to the Galilean Silence. Early Christianity in the Galilee until the Fourth Century CE, in: C. Rothschild/ J. Schröter (ed.), The Rise and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries of the Common Era, Tübingen 2013, 75–108 [abbr.: Silence].
Zangenberg, J., Zwischen Zufall und Einzigartigkeit. Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Diskussion über die Funktion von Khirbet Qumran und die Rolle einiger ausgewählter archäologischer Befunde, in: J. Frey/C. Claußen/N. Kessler (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2001, 121–146.
Zangenberg J., Archaeological News from the Galilee: Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee, in: Early Christianity 1 (2010) 3–14 [abbr.: News].
Zangenberg, J., Jesus – Galiläa – Archäologie. Neue Forschungen zu einer Region im Wandel, in: C. Claußen/J. Frey (ed.), Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas (Biblisch-theologische Studien 87), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008, 7–38 [abbr.: Jesus].
Zangenberg, J., Between Jerusalem and the Galilee. Samaria in the time of Jesus, in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), Jesus and Archaeology, Michigan 2006, 393–432 [abbr.: Jerusalem].
Zangenberg, J., Gebeine des Apostelfürsten? Zu den angeblichen frühchristlichen Gräbern unter der Peterskirche in Rom, in: id./M. Labahn (ed.), Christians as a Religious Minority in a Multicultural City. Modes of Interaction and Identity Formation in Early Imperial Rome, London 2004, 108–138.
Zangenberg, J. K./Van de Zande, D., Urbanization, in: C. Hezser (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine, Oxford 2010, 165–188.
Zapata-Meza M./Garza, A./Barriga, D./Sanz-Rincón, R., The Magdala archaeological Project (2010–2012): A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Migdal, in: 'Atiqot 90 (2018) 83–125.
Zeller, D., Jesus, Q und die Zukunft Israels, in: Andreas Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus (BEThL 158), Leuven 2001, 351–369.
Zeller, D., Kommentar zur Logienquelle (SKK 21), Stuttgart 1984.
Zeller, D., Das Logion Mt 8,11f/Lk 13,28f und das Motiv der "Völkerwallfahrt" 1, in: BZ 15 (1971) 222–237.

Zeller, D., Das Logion Mt 8,11f/Lk 13,28f und das Motiv der "Völkerwallfahrt" 2, in: BZ 16 (1972) 84–93.
Zias, J., The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest? in: Dead Sea Discoveries 7 (2000) 220–253.
Zimmermann, C., Die Namen des Vaters. Studien zu ausgewählten Neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen (AJEC 69), Berlin/New York 2007, 76–79.
Zimmermann, R., "The Jews". Unreliable Figures or Unreliable Narration?, in: S. A. Hunt/F. D. Tolmie/R. Zimmermann (ed.), Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel. Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John (WUNT 314), Tübingen 2013, 71–109.
Zugmann, M., Hellenisten in der Apostelgeschichte. Historische und exegetische Untersuchungen zu Apg 6,1; 9,29; 11,20 (WUNT II 264), Tübingen 2009.
Zwierlein, O., Petrus und Paulus in Jerusalem und Rom. Vom Neuen Testament zu den Apokryphen Apostelakten (UALG 109), Berlin 2013.

Indices (selected)

Subject Index

Allegorizers 163, 165, 166, 167, 315, 317, 319, 323, 324, 325, 326, 339, 346
'am ha-'arez 53, 54, 152
Amoraim 108
Apocalyptic 56, 62, 171, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 203, 225, 236, 253, 254, 258, 262, 276, 277, 282, 304
Apostolic age 26
Apostolic Convention 38, 215, 216, 217, 218, 221, 318, 322, 331, 340
Apostolic Decree 216, 217
Apostolic period 26
aposynagōgos 31, 343
Aramaic 25, 43, 53, 60, 104, 109, 119, 182, 186, 188, 189, 191, 194, 260, 296, 298, 299
Assimilation 53, 154, 238
Babylonian exile 53, 154, 173, 187, 196
basileia 203, 204, 208, 209, 210, 228, 229, 230, 233, 235, 239, 245, 246, 250, 251, 252, 278, 279, 282, 285, 286, 287, 292, 293, 298, 301, 303, 305
Birkat haMinim 30, 103
Caligula crisis 220
Circumcision 24, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 53, 54, 106, 154, 156, 164, 165, 166, 211, 214, 215, 219, 274, 310, 312, 313, 315, 316, 317, 322, 323, 326, 327, 328, 340, 342, 346, 347
Circumcision-free 49, 213, 214, 215, 218, 312, 318, 340, 341, 342
Common Judaism 21
Covenant 30, 52, 53, 131, 134, 257, 265, 283, 315, 316, 325, 326, 327, 347
Criticism of the temple 34, 142, 211, 213, 214, 309
Crucifixion 67, 82, 149, 234
Destruction of the temple 19, 20, 52, 102, 117, 118, 171, 175, 178, 189, 198, 200, 225, 268, 300, 309, 311
Diadochi 55, 56
Diaspora 16, 22, 24, 25, 35, 36, 44, 53, 55, 56, 91, 103, 121, 153, 154, 158, 163, 173, 195, 211, 214, 215, 220, 245, 293, 309, 311, 312, 314, 317, 319, 330, 331, 336, 338, 347
Diaspora Judaism 153, 171, 258, 274, 309, 310, 319, 336
Dietary laws 313, 334, 335, 336
Easter 237, 299, 300, 303, 305, 330
Easter event 210
Edict 36, 53, 196, 220, 221, 227
Eschatology 184, 232, 235, 259, 275
Essenes 16, 23, 63, 102, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 123, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143, 146, 151, 178, 185, 228, 229, 232, 290, 334
Ethical interpretation 164, 165, 274, 340
Ethnarch 64, 70, 71, 77, 140, 154, 290
fiscus Iudaicus 45, 46, 47, 102, 106, 316
Gathering 29, 40, 53, 65, 90, 164, 165, 172, 198, 205, 211, 215, 230, 232, 245
Geonim 108
Habitat 16
Hasideans 61, 66, 110, 140, 142
Hasmoneans 25, 60, 69, 72, 75, 86, 110, 114, 140, 185, 192, 290
Hebrews 25, 30, 33, 212, 311, 318, 319
Hellenists 25, 33, 211, 212, 213, 218, 237, 309, 311, 312, 318, 319, 320, 336, 337, 341, 342, 347
Herodians 123
hilastērion 52, 311
Identity markers 16, 49, 154, 256, 346, 347
Judaized 66, 70, 72
Judaizers 43, 44
Judaizing 41, 42
Kingdom of God 29, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 246, 250, 278, 281, 285, 291, 293, 299, 303, 305, 331, 333

lēstēs 73, 86, 148
Love commandment 323, 324, 331, 332, 337, 339, 340, 346
Mainstream Judaism 21, 22, 23, 115, 255
Messiah 27, 32, 49, 50, 82, 96, 141, 231, 233, 255, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 296, 297, 299, 330, 341
Monotheism 22, 54, 155, 255, 308
Mosaic law 21, 37, 42, 274, 324, 327
Normative Judaism 20, 21, 115
Order of creation 183, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 269, 275, 276, 280, 281, 285, 306, 325, 326
Parting of the ways 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 37, 45, 47, 48, 50, 171, 198, 199, 227, 255, 308, 318, 344, 345
Pesher exegesis 191, 231
Pharisees 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34, 36, 42, 66, 67, 75, 90, 96, 102, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 130, 131, 133, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 151, 153, 178, 180, 185, 193, 228, 229, 232, 274, 278, 312, 318, 319, 331, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339
Pluriformity 16, 20, 23, 162, 283
Popular Judaism 151
Pro-existence 210, 303
Prophet 64, 81, 89, 139, 140, 141, 145, 152, 189, 225, 231, 247, 249, 259, 267, 269, 290, 291, 310
Ptolemaic 55, 56, 57, 58, 69, 71, 73, 185, 251
Ptolemies 55, 56, 69, 153
Purity laws 43, 219, 228, 278, 317, 321, 327, 332, 336
Rabbis 20, 37, 102, 106, 107, 112, 118, 190, 193, 199, 200, 267, 283
religio licita 71, 168
Ritual laws 212, 310, 327
Sabbath observance 40, 43, 45, 133, 136, 152, 154, 157, 165, 166, 168, 170, 282, 283
Sadducees 16, 23, 34, 36, 67, 102, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 131, 133, 141, 143, 146, 151, 185, 200, 228, 232, 268, 334
Samaritans 16, 41, 54, 87, 90, 95, 197, 198, 199, 210, 213, 237, 268
Sanhedrin 90, 96, 209, 250
Savoraim 108
Second Temple Judaism 19, 193, 255, 294
Sectarian Judaism 22, 23, 115
Segregation 156, 165
Seleucid 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 66, 68, 69, 109, 140, 185, 192
Seleucids 55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 69, 110, 153, 167, 185, 251
Sicarii 96, 97, 144, 146, 150
Sinaitic law 275, 323, 325, 326, 327
Social bandits 73, 86, 96, 148, 242, 247, 248, 250
Son of God 255, 288, 289, 295, 296, 297, 299
Son of Man 276, 288, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305
Spiritualization 273, 309, 311
Tannaim 284
Teacher of Righteousness 63, 104, 110, 113, 114, 125, 128, 140, 141, 191, 231, 259, 260, 261, 270, 275, 276, 290, 294, 304, 317
Temple cult 105, 122, 174, 207, 212, 228, 271, 272, 286, 311, 313, 318, 337, 341
Tetrarch 71, 77, 78, 79, 98
Wandering charismatics 240
Works of the law 328
Yahad 129, 317
Yavne 19, 30, 31, 103, 106, 108, 119, 265, 343
Zealots 16, 23, 33, 86, 96, 97, 102, 116, 123, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 178, 228, 233, 235, 236, 249, 250, 292, 301, 314

Index of Ancient Sources

Hebrew Bible and Septuagint

Genesis
1:27 280
5:24 186
6:4 295
25:5f. 325
25:5f. LXX 325
46:1 25

Exodus
4:22 25, 210, 295

5:22 25
6:12, 30 346
20:12 281
21:24 282
23:2f. 307
30:19, 21 334
40:31 334

Leviticus
13:49 332
14:2–4 332
15:11 334
16:13–15 311
23:40 111
24:10 25
24:20f. 282
26:41 346
32:40 66

Numbers
1:52 25
18 25
19:16 79
24:17 32, 104
25:14 25
32 25
36:7.9 25

Deuteronomy
5:16 281
5:28f. 269
10:16 316, 346
14:29 155
16:11 155
17:15 72, 92
18:15 290
18:15, 18 139, 140, 249, 259
18:18 269
19:21 282
21:23 36
23 132
23:2 213
23:9–14 132
23:14 280
24:1 279, 280
24:1–3 279
24:19–22 155
29:28 139, 259
30:6 346

Joshua
3 249

Judges
9:8–15 68

1 Samuel
20:30 280

2 Samuel
7 255, 295
7:11–14 269
7:11b 296
7:12f. 296
7:14 295, 296
8:17 119
24:9–17 86, 146

1 Kings
8:30–61 272
11 25
17:23f. 196
19:1f. 81
19:10, 14 145

2 Kings
2:1–11 200
17:7–20 35
23:4–25 316

1 Chronicles
3:19 53, 196
21:1–30 86, 146
24:7 177
24:19 201
29:11–14 146, 233
34:1–7, 33 316
35:1–19 316

Ezra
1:1–4 53
4:4 53
5:1–2 53
6:3–5 53
6:16 53
6:26 346
7 189
7:5 113
7:25f. 167

Nehemiah
8 189
8:1–8 21, 118, 193
9:26 35

1 Maccabees
1:7–9 55
1:11–15 315

1:15 57, 58
1:41–50 59
1:54 59
1:54–64 59
2:1–28 60
2:4 60
2:26 314
2:27–48 60
2:34–38 133, 283
2:41 133, 283
2:42 109, 110
4:46 112, 140
6:7 59
6:17–54 61
6:55–63 61
7:13 110, 142
7:13f. 110, 140
7:14 61
7:16 61
9:23–27 61
9:56 62
10:18–21 62
11:30–37 63
14:41 64, 112, 140
15:22f. 153
16:23f. 192

2 Maccabees
1:1–10a 192
1:7 25
1:9 192
1:10b–2 192
2:4–8 52
2:7 52
2:19–32 192
3 57
4:7–18 57
4:10–14 315
4:14 57
4:23 58
6:1–5 59
6:1–9 24
6:11 133, 283
6:18–20 60
7:20–41 60
8:15 265
8:26–28 133, 283
8:28 155
9:17 24
11:22–26 61
13:4 59
14:6 109
15:36 61

Job
1:6 295
2:1 295
28:12–28 305
38:7 295

Psalms
2:7 295
11:4 272
50:12 147
69:34 38
78:54 25
89:7 295
103:19 272
107:3 [= Ps 106 211
149:1 109

Proverbs
1:20–33 305
8:22–31 255, 257, 305
8:22–36 305
18:22 280
18:22 (LXX) 280

Wisdom
2:16 297
9:2 305
18:22 265

Sirach
4:10 155, 295
23:1 297
24 255
24:3–22 305
24:8–11 257
24:23 305
44:12 265
44:16 186
49:7 35

Isaiah
1:17 155
2:2–5 29, 211, 218, 309
7:14 38
8:23 66, 229
11:10 211
11:10–16 211
11:12–16 211
14–27 190
35 294
40–55 53
42:1–4 53

43:5–8 53
43:5f. 211
49:1–6 53
50:4–9 53
52:7 294
52:13–53 53
56:7 LXX 212, 310, 337
59:23 53
60 147
60:3 29, 211, 218, 309
60:4 29, 211
61 294
61:1f. 294
63:16 297
64:7 297
66:1–4 270

Jeremiah
4:4 346
6:10 346
7:11 270
7:4–7 207
9:24f. 346
27:2 302
30:18–31 265
31:9, 20 295
31:31 265
31:32 265
31:33f. 346
36 189
37–38 52
39 52
39:9, 20 210
52:12f. 101

Ezekiel
1:1–3 52
20:12 53
22:8, 26 53
23:38 53

Daniel
9:27 59
11:29f. 58
11:31 59
12:11 59

Joel
2:28 211, 218, 262
2:28–32 287
4:4–8 147, 233

Micah
4:2f. 29
5:1 82
5:1, 3 83

Haggai
1–2 53
2:6–9 147, 233

Zechariah
2:16 25

Early Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

1 Enoch 186, 187, 254, 260, 272, 275, 276, 307, 332
37–71 182, 300
57.1 211
89.51–90.19 35
90.28–29 272
90.33 211
91.11–17 256, 260, 270, 302
91–105 182
92.1 254
92.1–5 253, 256
93.1–9 270
93.1–10 256
93.9–10 260
93.10 317
93.11–105.2 253, 256
94.7 253
96.4 254
97.8 254
99.5 281
100.2 281

2 Baruch 171, 189, 190, 225
10.18 271
32.2–6 272
57.2 322
66.5 316
84.9 262

4 Ezra 171, 189, 190, 225, 256, 260, 266, 291, 300, 304
5.20–6.34 189
10.46–55 272

10.60–12.50 189
14.44 266
14.44–46 261
14.44–47 276

Assumption of Moses 188
4.2 299
8.3 316
10.1 202, 277, 299

Book of Jubilees 187
1.29 272
2 133
2.1 284
15.33 315
23.9–32 270
23.19 282, 302
32.21b 271
33.7 280
50.5 277
50.9 277
50.12f. 133, 283

Letter of Aristeas
10 158, 160, 167
32 161
46 161
50 158
128 158, 159, 167, 274, 313, 335
139–143 327
143 156, 335
143–150 158, 159, 274, 335
144–150 324, 327
307 158

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QGenAp XX,15 280
1QH 191
IX,7–14 258
IX,13 258
XII,27–29 259
XXIII,15 294

1QM 191
II,5–6 142
VII,6f. 132
XII,7f. 299

1QpHab
I–V 35
V,11 110
VII,1–5 231, 291
VIII,2f. 231
XI,12–15 317
XII,3.6.10 38
XII,6–10 63, 113, 251, 270, 290

1QS 138, 191
I,3 267
IX,3–6 128
IX,4–6 142
IX,10f. 141, 290
V 322
V,1–IX,26 129
V,5 316
V,20–24 322
V,21–VI,7 134
VI,17 134
VI,18 322
VI,18–20 134
VI,20 134
VI,21 134
VII,18–20 134
VIII–IX 138

1QSa 138, 191
I,6–8 152, 204
II,11–15 290

4Q118 frg. 123 col. 2:4f. 261
4Q119 269
4Q120 269
4Q161 291
4Q169
I,2 67, 111, 130
I,7 66, 111, 114
II,2 67, 111, 130

4Q171
III,15–16 259
IV,8–9 259

4Q174 269, 272
III,5–7 129, 135
III,6f. 142
III,7 272, 273
III,10f. 255, 296
III,12 231

4Q175 269
4Q180 258
4Q184 frg. 2 317
4Q212 182, 254
frg. 1 c II,12f. 260

4Q246 296
4Q254
frg. 2 141
frg. 4 290

4Q258
frg. 1 Col. II,1–3 134
frg. 1 Col. II,1–7 134
II,1–5 322

4Q285 291
4Q372 frg. 1:16 297
4Q398
frg. 14 II,3 322
frg. 14 II,7 322

4Q418 frg. 69 II,10 260
4Q434 frg. 1 I,4 317
4Q460 frg. 5 I,5 297
4Q521 294
4QMMT 113, 114, 128, 142, 191, 257, 267, 322
7Q5 230
11Q13 294
11Q19
LVI,1–4 257
LVII,17–19 280
XLV,7–12 138
XLVI,13–16 132
XXIX,9 273

11QMelchisedek II,7–8 272
11QT XLVI,13–16 134
CD
I,18 67, 111, 130
II,2–10 258
IV,20f. 280
IV,21 280
VII,4f. 138
VII,12f. 131
VII,16 231
VII,18 139, 259
VII,18–21 32
VIII,12f. 131
X,14–XI,18 133
XI,4 133
XI,13f. 284
XI,16f. 284
XII,1f. 138
XII,23–XIII,1 290
XIX,35 113, 141
XVI,13 142
XX,13 113
XX,13f. 141

Philo of Alexandria

Abr.
5 263, 325
5f. 263
103 163

Agr.
35.113 163

Cher.
36 306

Contempl.
13 137
18 137
25 267
29–33 175

Decal.
100f. 158

Deus
134 306
144 306
180 255
180–182 306

Ebr.
177 163

Flacc.
1 88

Fug.
131 306

Gig.
31 163

Hypothet.
7.11f. 175

Legat.
79 163
155 221
156f. 175
159f. 88
214 153
231 87
281 153
301–303 88
312f. 175
315 168

Migr.
88–94 324
89–93 163, 166, 274, 326
92 315
94 325, 339
173–175 306
173f. 255
175 308

Mos.
2.37 262
2.216 175

Mut.
113–120 306
172 163

Opif.
78 163
117–119 306

Prob.
13 163
75 142, 151, 271
75–91 135
76 129, 139
81–83 175
141 163

Somn.
1.69 163, 255, 306
1.215 273, 287
2.127 175
102f. 306

Spec.
1.66f. 213, 273, 286, 310
1.68 273
2.62f. 175
2.63 337
2.64 158
2.194–203 273
2.230 163
3.30 280

Flavius Josephus

A.J.
1.127 121
3.276 280
4.73 337
4.145–149 167, 313
4.146–148 328
4.218 140
8.181 121
9.265–267 35
10.38–41 35
10.135 101
11.19–30 196
11.96 196
11.212 157
11.310 197
11.310f. 197
11.321 197
11.322f. 197
11.329f. 54
11.338 167
12.36 264
12.132f. 57
12.142 167
12.156–159 56
12.160 56
12.237–241 315
12.238f. 58
12.239 58
12.241 57
12.265 60
12.277 133, 283
12.278 110
12.414 62, 63
13.74 197
13.74–79 197
13.171 111, 115
13.171–173 22, 115
13.172f. 132
13.254–257 65, 198
13.255f. 198

13.257 64
13.257f. 72
13.288–296 65, 111, 112
13.288–298 178
13.293 116
13.297 334, 335
13.298 120
13.299 112, 140, 290
13.301 65
13.318 65
13.372 111
13.373 66
13.374 121
13.376 66
13.380 66, 67, 111
13.398 67
13.399–404 67, 112
13.401–423 116
13.408f. 67, 112
13.411 67
14.10 70
14.22–24 68
14.41 68, 251, 252
14.63 133, 283
14.66 69
14.74–76 245
14.115 153
14.223–230 169
14.230 170
14.403f. 72
15.65 74
15.371–379 178
15.380–425 270
15.382f. 76
15.421–423 270
16.27f. 170
16.43 175
16.166–168 169
16.167 170
17.41 116
17.41–45 178
17.42 151
17.149–151 248
17.149–155 76
17.178 74
17.193 74
17.206 248
17.214–218 248
17.230 248
17.271 73, 252
17.271f. 77
17.320 85
18.1–3 86
18.2 85
18.4 144
18.5 145
18.9 145
18.11 115
18.11–24 115
18.12–14 144
18.12–15 115
18.17 178
18.18 133
18.19 129, 142, 271
18.20 151
18.23 116, 144, 145, 178
18.23–25 143
18.27 79
18.29f. 198
18.34 89
18.36–38 79
18.55 88
18.55–59 89
18.60–62 89
18.63f. 81
18.85–87 249, 291
18.85–89 198
18.87–89 89
18.88 249
18.89 87, 88, 90
18.90 87
18.95 87, 89
18.109–114 80
18.109–119 81
18.113f. 174
18.116–119 80, 252
18.121–124 87
18.123 87
18.236f. 91
18.237 88
18.242–247 80
18.250–255 80, 91
18.259 91, 163
19.280–291 220
19.285 220
19.331 92, 318
19.343–350 93
19.343–352 92
20.1 250
20.17–96 95
20.34–36 315
20.38 346
20.38–43 24, 63, 312
20.43 328

20.97 249
20.97–99 95, 291
20.100 163
20.102 95, 144, 252
20.108 95
20.113–117 95
20.118–136 96, 198, 237
20.137f. 93
20.159 93
20.161 96
20.164 96
20.164f. 150
20.169–172 32, 249, 291
20.188 291
20.189–195 96, 123
20.197–200 96, 228, 229
20.200 34, 81
20.201 33
20.215 149, 234, 270
20.219 270
20.237 62
20.238 113
20.255 149
20.258 179
20.259 179

B.J.
1.3 98, 177
1.36 60
1.62 65, 198
1.68 112, 140, 290
1.70 65
1.110 120, 133
1.110–112 112
1.110–113 67
1.110–114 178
1.146 133, 283
1.370–380 124
1.428 121
1.648 248
1.648–655 248
2.117 85, 90
2.117f. 143
2.119 115
2.119–161 178
2.119–166 115
2.120 136
2.122–127 134
2.124 129, 135, 139
2.125 136
2.128–133 134
2.129 334
2.129–133 134, 143
2.134 134
2.137 134
2.138 134
2.142 135
2.147 132, 133
2.147–149 132
2.150 134
2.154–158 133
2.159 135
2.160 136, 139
2.162 120, 133
2.162–165 122
2.162f. 122
2.169–174 89
2.175–177 89
2.181–183 80, 91
2.203 87
2.223–227 95
2.228 248
2.228–231 95
2.232–246 96, 198, 237
2.238 96
2.247 93
2.252 93
2.253 150
2.254–257 96
2.254f. 149
2.261 150
2.262f. 32, 249, 291
2.273 149
2.277 96
2.293 97
2.301 84
2.315 97
2.398 153
2.409f. 97
2.422 65
2.425 150
2.427f. 97
2.433f. 144, 292
2.434 97, 234, 247, 252
2.444 145
2.447 144
2.458–461 245
2.479 44, 215
2.568 98, 178
2.585 98, 178
3.29 214, 338
3.169 149
3.307–315 198
4.138–157 100

4.199–202 148
4.323 271
4.400 150
4.440–489 124
5.22–26 100
5.142–146 65
5.145 133
5.146 65
5.147–152 65
5.250 101
5.292 100
5.419 177
5.422 44, 225
5.443 149
6.220–270 101
6.300–309 209, 228, 250
6.305 209, 250
7.43 153
7.165–170 81
7.218 45, 102
7.253 144
7.296–298 101
7.304 101
7.305f. 101
7.308–310 101
7.315–318 101
7.410 150

Contra Apionem
1.38f. 266
2.121 157
2.171–174 328
2.175 175
2.204 152, 204
38 264

Vita
2–6 177
3.25 266
5 177
7 98, 177
9 178, 205
10 178
10f. 178
11 230, 232, 347
11f. 139
12 22, 178
32 241
32–38 98, 241
32–42 241
35 241
36 241
37f. 93
38f. 242
46 99
65 242
66 242
67 242
159 133, 283
161 133, 283
177 99
191 22, 120, 312
191–197 116, 178
191–307 178
196f. 120, 121, 178
275 172
277 172
279 172
364–366 179
375–379 242
376 242
381–389 242
412 179
422 177
430 179

Ancient Inscriptions

Gallio-Inscription 221
Theodotos inscription 173, 175

Classical Greek and Latin Sources

Juvenal
Satires
– 14.96–106 157

Philostratos
Apollonius
– 5.33 156

Pliny the Elder
Natural History
– 5.15.73 136

Pliny the Younger
Epistles
– 10.96 226

Quintilian
InstOrat
– 3.7.21 157

Strabo
Geographica
– 16.2.5 215
– 16.2.35–39 155

Suetonius
DeVitCaes/Claudius
– 25.4 220, 223

DeVitCaes/Domitianus
– 2.2 316
DeVitCaes/Nero
– 16.2 224
DeVitCaes/Tiberius
– 21.1 80

Tacitus
Annals
– 2.42.5 86
– 12.23.1 94
– 15.44 221
– 15.44.2–4 223
Histories
– 5.4.3 157
– 5.4–9 154

Trajan
Epistles
– 10.97 227

New Testament (including the Sayings Source)

Sayings Source Q
3:7–9 201
3:8 256
3:16 203, 301
3:16b 294
3:16b–17 201
3:16f. 204
4:1–13 202, 206, 276
6:20 38, 246
6:20–22 246
6:20–29 236
6:22 35, 304
6:22f. 35
6:27–29 250
6:27f. 282
6:29 234, 302
6:34 331
6:35 282
7:1–9 210, 331
7:9 331
7:18–22 293
7:22 294
7:22f. 278
7:25 246
7:27 203
7:28 203
7:31–35 307
7:32 35
7:34 204, 278, 304
7:35 331
9:57f. 250
9:58 302, 304
9:59f. 281
10 244
10:3 250
10:4 250
10:5 302
10:8f. 278
10:10 35
10:13–15 331
10:13f. 338
10:21f. 236, 262
11:2f. 282
11:9–13 298
11:14–20 278
11:16–30 292
11:16–32 35
11:19 278
11:20 277
11:22 301
11:30 304
11:39b 117, 331
11:47–51 34, 35
11:49 307
12:8 208, 303
12:8f. 300, 301

12:22–31 250, 298
12:24–31 302
12:30 331
12:40 304
12:53 282, 302
13:21 230, 245, 278, 292
13:28f. 29, 211
13:29 204
13:34f. 35, 207, 286
14:16–23 204
14:26 281
15:10 278
16:16f. 331
16:17 30, 339
16:18 280, 281
17 236
17:3f. 278
17:6 208, 303
17:18–23 294
17:24 304
17:24–30 304

Matthew
1:1–17 83
1:17 82
1:19 281
2:1 82
2:2 32, 234
2:6 83
2:16–18 74
2:22 78
3:1 200
3:9 317
3:11 276
3:13–17 202, 307
4:5 244, 330
4:13 206
4:15 66, 152, 229
5:9 295
5:17f. 339
5:18 30
5:18–20 339
5:32 280
5:35 244, 299, 330
5:38f. 282
5:45 275, 298
6:9 297
6:10 287
6:26 152
6:30 208, 303
6:32 298
7:11 298
7:29 338
8:1–3 278
8:5–13 219
8:17 210, 303
8:26 208, 303
9:35 338
10:5b–7 210
10:5f. 237
10:6 29
10:17 172, 338
10:29 298
11:2 295
11:7 81
11:11 340
11:14 201
11:19c 308
12:11 151, 284
12:40 304
13:44–46 208, 303
13:52 338
13:55 79, 204, 243
14:3–12 81
14:9 81
14:14–21 204
17:24–27 46, 47
18:1 235, 340
18:17 243
18:23f. 299
19:9 280
19:10–12 230
19:12 230
20:1–16 243
20:21 340
21:12 271
21:13 270
21:31 243
21:33–46 35
22:1ff. 299
22:6 35
22:9 244, 330
22:16–22 123
23:2 117
23:2–33 338
23:2f. 339
23:6 116
23:9 297
23:23 117, 339
23:25 117
23:27 131
23:29–32 116
23:34 308
24:20 339

25:1–13 204
25:34 234
25:34ff. 299
26:17–29 208
26:61 207
27:19 90
27:24 90
27:38 234
28:16–20 237
28:17 210
28:19f. 340

Mark
1:1 305
1:3–5 200
1:4 201, 202
1:7–11 307
1:12f. 202, 206, 276
1:14 202
1:21 174, 206
1:21–39 171
1:29 78, 206
1:35 209
1:40–44 285
1:44 332, 337
2:1 206
2:1–3 332
2:16f. 243, 278
2:19 parr. 303
2:23 152, 336
2:23f. 336
2:27 152, 284
3:1 171
3:4 284
3:16 parr. 303
3:17 332
3:21–35 214
3:32–35 282
3:33–35 250
4:31 292
5:1–20 210, 245
5:20 244
5:22 175
5:41 332
6 206
6:2 171, 172
6:3 79, 204, 243
6:17–29 81
6:20 81
6:31 209
6:35–44 204
6:52 230
7 334, 335, 336, 337
7:1 333
7:1–23 332, 333, 335, 337
7:1f. 121
7:2 152, 336
7:3 335
7:3f. 332, 334
7:10–13 282
7:11 332
7:11–13 337
7:15 336
7:15–23 335
7:15–32 336
7:18–23 313, 336
7:19c 336, 337
7:24 244
7:24–30 335
7:26 237
7:26f. 210
7:27 335
7:31 244
8:15 123
8:22–26 78
8:27–30 78
8:31 303
8:38 300, 301
9:12 210, 303
9:12f. 201
9:31 303
9:33 206
9:34 235
10:2 280
10:2–12 279, 280, 281, 337
10:5 281
10:6 275, 280
10:25 246
10:29f. 250, 282
10:33 304
10:35 292
10:35–40 214
10:37 235
10:42–44 235
10:45 303
11:9f. 233, 292
11:11 285
11:15–17 75
11:15–19 parr. 207
11:17 212, 270, 310, 337
11:22 271
11:25 282
11:25 parr. 297
11:27–12 332

12:1 243
12:1–9 35
12:2–84 332
12:13 123
12:13–17 123
12:14 86
12:14–17 146, 232
12:17 86
12:18–27 117
12:18–27 par. 122
12:28 323
12:28–32 332
12:28–34 337
12:34 333
12:39 171
12:41–44 285
13 236
13:2 207, 286
13:9 171, 172
13:18 339
13:32 211, 292
14:1 84
14:1f. 228
14:2 209
14:3 par. 204
14:10 209
14:12–26 208
14:25 204, 208
14:32–41 parr. 208
14:32–42 parr. 208
14:36 298
14:48 234
14:49 285
14:58 207, 286
15:2 235
15:2 parr. 234, 299
15:7 234
15:7 parr. 292
15:16 84
15:18 parr. 234
15:23 209
15:26 234
15:27 234
15:27 parr. 292
15:29 84
15:34 299
15:40 243
15:42 332
15:42–46 332
15:43 344
15:46 95
15:58 207
16:3f. 95

Luke
1:1 14
1:1–4 180, 195
1:4 201
1:5 82, 120, 232
1:9 310
1:17 201
1:32–35 296
1:40–45 307
1:41–44 202
2:1 86
2:22 286
2:22–24 341
2:29–35 341
2:41 341
2:41–51 205
2:42 310
2:42–47 178
2:46 286
3:1 80, 206
3:1–3 83
3:8 317
3:19f. 81
3:20 202
3:21f. 202
3:23–38 83
4 286
4:14–30 176
4:16 172, 205
4:17 176
4:17–21 294
5:17 121
6:15 145, 233, 292
7:1–10 219
7:5 174
7:31–35 307
7:36 204
7:36–50 117
7:37–39 279
8:49 175
9:9 81
9:52 199
9:52–56 198, 237
10:18 202, 204, 276
10:25–37 237
10:26 341
10:30–37 199
11:13 298
11:20 203, 204, 279, 292
11:22 203

11:37–53 117
11:39–41 274
11:43 116
11:44 131
11:47f. 116
11:49 307
12:6 298
12:11 172
12:30 298
13:1 89
13:10–16 152
13:14 175
13:31 117, 205, 319
13:32 79
14:1–6 151, 284
14:1–14 117
14:15 204, 303
14:16ff. 299
15:11–32 282
15:19 243
16:1–8 243
16:17 341
17:11–19 237
17:16 199
19:5 204
19:12 248
19:12–15 77
19:12–27 299
19:14 78, 248
19:38 234
19:46 270
19:46f. 341
21:20 100, 101
21:20f. 44, 225
21:37f. 341
22:14–20 208
22:53 341
23:7–12 90
24:32 231
24:44 266, 267, 341
24:46 210, 303
24:49 297

John
1 343
1:49 299
1:3 308
1:25–37 307
1:28 200
1:29 202
1:33 202
1:44 78, 206
1:46 82, 83
1:47 31, 344
2:6 343
2:12 206
2:13 205
2:14–22 207
2:14f. 271
2:16 270
2:19 207, 286
2:20 270
2:23 344
2:24 345
3:1 343, 344
3:1–21 118, 229
3:1f. 344
3:2 344
3:10 343
3:22 202
3:26–30 307
4 213, 237, 345
4:1 202
4:4–42 237
4:5 198
4:9 199
4:9b 343
4:20 198
4:20–24 287
4:22 344
5:1 205, 343
5:10 344
5:14 285
6:1 243
6:4 205, 343
6:15 234
6:59 174
7:1–10 214
7:2 343
7:14 286
7:28 285
7:31 344
7:35 345
7:41f. 82
7:49 152
7:50 118, 229
7:50–52 344
7:52 152, 344
8:2 285
8:6–8 205
8:30 344
8:30f. 344
8:39 317
8:44 344

8:48 199
9:22 31, 343
10:23 286
10:40 200
10:42 344
11:19 344
11:45 343, 344
11:47–50 90
11:48 209
11:48–50 228
11:49 83
11:55 205, 343
12:2 204
12:9 344
12:11 343, 344
12:13 299, 344
12:20 345
12:31 203
12:42 31, 343, 344
13:2 204
13:16 26
13–17 344
14:6 28
15:15 297
16:2 31, 343
18:13 83
18:20 286
18:20–38b 344
18:28 83, 84
18:31 90
18:33 234, 299
18:33–37 235
18:40 234, 292
19:3 234
19:12 234
19:13 84
19:19 234
19:20 344
19:31 83
19:38 343, 344
19:39 118, 229, 344
19:40–42 343
20:17 297
21:1 243

Acts
1:6f. 233, 292
1:13 145, 232, 233, 292
1:14 214
1:21–26 33
1:21f. 26
2:17 211, 218, 262
2:17–21 287
2:30 267
2:36 296
2:46 30, 286, 341
3:1 30, 341
3:1–8 286
3:15 29
3:18 210, 231, 303
3:19 341
3:22 139, 140, 231, 249, 259, 290
3:26 29, 211
4:1 228
4:6 83
4:25 267
4:32–37 135
5:20 30
5:20f. 286, 341
5:31 29
5:34 33, 103
5:34–39 117, 319
5:36 95, 291
5:36f. 249
5:37 144
5:42 30, 341
6 211, 309, 317, 337, 347
6:1 25, 33, 155, 311, 318, 319
6:5 212, 237
6:7 232
6:9 171, 212, 319
6:13f. 309
6:14 207
7:42–50 310
7:42b–43 269
7:42f. 270
7:49 270
7:51f. 35
7:56 300
8 237
8:1 33, 212, 213, 311, 318
8:1b 33
8:5 237
8:5–14 342
8:27–38 213, 342
9:10 28
9:15f. 32
9:36 28
10 219
10:1–11 336
10:1–48 213
10:1f. 175
10:9–16 341
10:14 30

10:22–48 341
10:35 342
11:12 49
11:19 33
11:19f. 342
11:25 320
11:26 27, 49, 214, 293, 320
11, 27–30 222
11:28 95
11:30 320
12 214
12:1ff. 32
12:2 214
12:17 214
12:19–23 92
12:25 320
13:1 214, 320
13:1–3 218
13:2 320
13:7 320
13:16 176
13:27 176
13:34 267
13:43 171, 320
13:46 29, 211
14:8–20 320
13:15 175, 177
15 33, 217
15:5 33, 117, 229, 319
15:1 215, 216, 310
15:2–33 215
15:5–29 37
15:6 217
15:13 214
15:16 231
15:16–18 269
15:25 320
15:28f. 216, 217
15:36–40 216
15:37 216
15:37–39 320
15:39 216
16:13 172
16:14 219
16:16 172
17:3 210
17:5–10 36
17:22–33 156
17:28 156
17:29 156
18:2 220
18:7 219
18:8 175
18:11 221
18:12 221
18:12–17 223
18:17 175
18:22 217
18:24 206
18:25 202, 307
19:3 44, 202, 225
19:3–6 307
19:9 28
19:23 28
19:23–40 170, 220
19:33f. 36
20:3 36, 220
20:16 221
20:23–25 223
20:23–35 224
21:18 214
21:18–24 33, 222
21:20 33, 318
21:21 330
21:21–26 342
21:23–26 222
21:26 30, 341
21:26f. 286
21:28f. 222
21:38 150, 249, 291
22:3 103, 319
22:4 28
22:17 286, 341
22:28 319
23:6 121, 319
23:6–9 34, 117
23:6f. 228
23:8 122
23:9 33
23:16 319
24:12 286, 341
24:14 28, 342
24:17 222
24:22 28
24:27–25 223
25:8 286, 341, 342
25:13–26 93
25:18f. 223
25–26 94
26:5 120
26:21 286
26:24 94
26:28 27, 49
26:31f. 94

27:9 274
27–28 223
28:23 342
28:24 341
29:2f. 206

Romans
1:3f. 296
1:4–8 289
1:16 29, 211
1:20 156, 263
1:25 298
1:26 325
2:1–5 329
2:13b–27 263, 321
2:14 263, 325
2:25–29 346
2:29 315
3:19 263, 321
3:20 323
3:21 263, 321, 323
3:25 52, 210, 303, 311
3:27 321
4:2 323
4:10 322
4:15 263, 321
5:10 297
7:6 321
7:7 263, 321
8:2 321
8:3 289, 297, 303
8:15 298, 299
8:23 210
9:3 329
9:4 30, 265, 326
9:5 298
9:6 31
9:6–8 256
9:7 317
9:32 323
10:4 324
10:9–21 329
11:1 25, 30
11:1–29 319
11:3 35
11:7 31
11:7f. 329
11:18 17, 48
11:25 259
11:25f. 330
11:26–29 326
11:29 30
11:32 329
11:36 298
13:8 324
13:8–10 323, 324
13:8f. 263, 321
13:9 324
14:14 313, 336
14:17 293, 305
15:19 305
15:26 221
15:33 298
16:20 202
16:24 298

1 Corinthians
1:23 36
2:7 259
3:16f. 273, 287
4:20 293, 305
6:9f. 293, 305
6:19f. 273, 287
7:1–7 230
7:18 316
7:29 230
8 171
9:1 26
9:12 305
11:14 325
11:20–34 216
11:23 107, 209
11:23–25 204
11:23–26 208
11:25 326
11:26 209
12:28 26
14:16 298
14:21 263, 321
15:7 214
15:8 26
15:24 293
15:51 259
16:1–4 221
16:8 30
16:19 221
16:22 298

2 Corinthians
1:20 298
2:12 305
3:14 327
6:16 273, 287
8–9 221

8:23 26
9:13 305
10–13 329
10:14 305
11:22 25, 30, 121, 319, 320
11:32 79
12:12 26

Galatians
1–4 322
1:5 298
1:13–24 319
1:13f. 49
1:14 145, 312, 320, 334
1:18 217, 298
1:18f. 33
1:21 214, 319, 320
2:1 217
2:1–9 215
2:1–10 215, 217
2:2–10 37
2:3–6 322
2:3f. 215
2:4 216
2:9 33, 214, 218, 224
2:9–14 298
2:10 221
2:11 214
2:11–14 214, 215, 216, 320
2:11–15 322
2:12 33
2:13 216, 217, 320
2:16 231, 322
3:6–18 322
3:10 263, 321
3:17 323, 325
3:23–25 327
3:28 219
4:4 297
4:6 298, 299
4:8 325
4:22–5 325
4:22–31 325
5:1 167, 322, 326, 328
5:2 326
5:3 322
5:14 324
5:21 293, 305
6:2 324
6:18 298

Philippians
2:25 26
3 329
3:5 25, 30, 121, 319, 320, 323
3:5f. 320
3:8 320, 323
4:20 298

1 Thessalonians
1:1 289
1:10 289, 329
2:12 293, 305
2:14 329
2:14–16 36, 329
2:14f. 34, 90
2:15 35, 157
2:16 329
2:16a 329
5:9 329

Titus
1:15 313, 336

Hebrews
1:1f. 231
2:6–8 300
2:10 29
5:9 29
7:26–8 311
9:11 311
9:12 272
9:24–28 311
10:20 28
11:5 186
11:32–37 35
12:2 29

James
1:27 155

1 Peter
1:1 226
2:5 273, 287
2:22–25 231
4:15f. 226
4:16 27, 49

1 John
3:2 210

Revelation
1:1 183
1:9 171
1:13 300
2:6 171

2:9 171
3:9 171
3:12 287
7:15 272
11:1 272
11:19 272
12:7–10 276
12:9 202
14:14 300
14:15 272
15:5 272
16:1 272
19:9 204
21:2 287
21:2f. 272
21:22 287

Rabbinic Writings

b. Ber.
47b 54, 152
48a 112

b. Git.
56a 150
90b 281

b. Pesaḥ.
49a–b 54, 152

b. Qidd.
66a 67, 112

b. Shabbat
128b 284

b. Soṭah
22a 54, 152
39b 173

b. Taʿan.
32a 68

b. Yoma
84b 283

b. ʿErub.
86b 173

m. Avot
1.1 107

m. Ber.
8.2–4 334

m. Git.
9.10 279

m. Hag.
2.5 334

m. Mak.
1.6 150

m. Soṭah
7.8a 318

m. Sukkah
4.9 66, 112

m. Taʿan.
3.8 68

m. Yad.
1.1–2 334
4.6–8 118, 119

m. ʿOr.
2.12 320

t. Sanhedrin
2.6 320

t. Shabbat
9.22 283, 284
14.3 284
15.17 284

t. Soṭah
5.9 280

y. Ber.
7.1 199

y. Dem.
3.4:3 199

y. Ket.
3.1 199

y. Sanhedrin
3.6 284

y. Sheq.
1.4 199

y. Shevi'it
4.2 284

y. Taʿan.
4.8 32, 291

Ancient Christian Writings

1 Clement
5.5–7 224

Cyril of Jerusalem
Catechetical Lecture
– 4.37 40

Epiphanius of Salamis
DeMens
– 14 232
– 15 44
Pan
– 29.5.4 42
– 29.7.5 42
– 29.7.7–8 44
– 29.8.1–5 42
– 30.1.1 42
– 30.2.1 42
– 30.2.2 42
– 30.2.3–5 42
– 30.2.7 44
– 30.14.6 42
– 30.33.4 42

Eusebius of Caesarea
HE
– 2.7 90
– 3.5 225
– 3.5.3 44, 100
– 3.27 40
– 4.5f. 106
– 5.12 106
PraepEv
– 8.5.11–8.7.20 136
– 8.11.14 136
– 13.12.9–16 157

Irenaeus of Lyon
AdvHaer
– 1.26.1 38
– 3.21.1 38

Jerome
Letters
– 112.13 42

John Chrysostom
AdvJud
– I,1.5 41
– IV,4.1 41
– VI,7.9 41
– VIII,4.7f. 41, 43

Justin Martyr
Apol
– 1.31.6 105
Dial
– 16.2 106
– 47.1–3 37

Origen
ContCel
– 1.47 82
– 5.61 39

Tertullian
Apologeticum
– 21 168
DePraescr
– 33.5 39
De VirgVel
– 6.1 39