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Thesis Abstract

The Galileans in Josephus and Jewish Tradition

A Study in Jewish Nationalism

B.Phil. thesis submitted to the Faculty of Divinity,
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(319 pp.)

It has long been recognised by scholars that the Galileans played an important role in the anti-Roman revolts of the first century B.C. and first century A.D. in Palestine. Despite this, few have ever sought to account for it. This thesis makes a study of the references to the Galileans in Josephus and Rabbinic Literature (principally the Mishnah, Tosephta, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim), in order to ascertain whether a reason exists for this rebelliousness.

The historical background revealed that there was continuous Jewish tradition in Galilee from 733 B.C., the Assyrian Conquest, to 103 B.C., the reconquest of Galilee by Aristobulus. This was supplemented by the more detailed history of Josephus, which indicated that there was strong support in Galilee for the Hasmonaean kingdom - probably as a result of the activities of Aristobulus I. This support was evidenced in two ways. First, the Galileans supported Antigonus in 40-37 B.C. and; secondly, the activities of the aristocratic troop commander, Ezekias, whom Herod killed in 47 B.C., and his descendants. The most important of these was Judas Ben Ezekias (the Galilean). In 6 A.D. along with Zadok, the Pharisee, he founded the Fourth Philosophy, which laid the foundations for all the Jewish revolutionary movements of the first century A.D. That the aim of Judas, and his sons and grandson, was to re-establish the Hasmonaean state is clear from the fact that during the First Jewish War against Rome (66-74 A.D.), Menahem, the

grandson of Judas entered the Temple dressed as a king. The probability that the Galileans had a strong pro-Hasmonaean tradition is also illustrated by the appointment of Josephus as Commander there during the war, as Josephus was a descendant of the Hasmonaean family, and would have carried local sympathy - which he did.

While the Fourth Philosophy is important, it was not possible to subscribe to the views of H.E. Del Medico, C. Roth and G.R. Driver that the Fourth Philosophy was responsible for the composition of the Qumran Manuscripts. On examination, the arguments of these scholars were found to be based on weak evidence.

The Rabbinic evidence did not yield much information on the political activities of the Galileans; yet, it did give valuable information regarding the religious beliefs and activities of the people. Many of their practises differed from those in Judaea and Trans-Jordan, which supported the suggestion that the Galileans were traditionalists who did not change their ways, even after 103 B.C. It was further noted that there are only four recorded teachers in Galilee before 70 A.D. This, along with evidence of strong Hasidic traditions and influence there, indicated that the Galileans were not interested in the minutiae of the Pharisees, but concerned themselves with practical and social matters. The Fourth Philosophy was testimony to this; it demanded action not acceptance of Roman overlordship.

Jesus Christ then fits into this picture not as a rebel, rather in the Hasidic tradition of the $\eta\psi\chi\alpha\ \rho\omega\tau\eta$. The strong possibility that he had zealots in his disciples is testimony to the zealotic Zeitgeist, rather than evidence to show that Jesus was a zealot.

The importance of the Galileans in the revolts is finally emphasised by two uses of the name "Galilean". In the First Jewish War a group emerged known as οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι ; although at first the members would have been for the most part "men of Galilee", later in the war in Jerusalem they were led by John of Gischala but were not comprised of "men of Galilee". Secondly, in the Bar Cochba rebellion (132-35 A.D.), a letter written by Bar Cochba to Joshua ben Galgola refers to "Galileans" in the fortress of Kepharsa-Baruk. These "Galileans" were almost certainly rebels who had travelled south to join Bar Cochba's army.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

THE GALILEANS IN JOSEPHUS AND JEWISH TRADITION

A Study in Jewish Nationalism

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THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REGULATIONS
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BY

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JUNE 1975



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CERTIFICATE

I certify that Francis Loftus has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court 1970, No. 3, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, (B.Phil.)

(Matthew Black)

Principal, St. Mary's College,
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of the Reverend Principal Matthew Black, St. Mary's College.

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INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognised by scholars that the Galileans in the first century A.D. were the most rebellious of the Jews. It is clear from the evidence of Josephus that in the anti-Roman revolts of the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. the Galileans played an important role, indeed, many of the revolts began in Galilee, and many of the leaders of the resistance movements were Galileans, most of them from one family - that of Ezekias, a rebel leader executed by Herod in 47 B.C. Despite this, there have been few attempts to account for these phenomena.

The study of Jewish resistance against Rome has almost always concerned itself with the Zealot movement in general, rather than with specific antecedents. Where the antecedents have been studied, scholars have been concerned with drawing links between the Maccabees and the first century rebels. A prime example of this is W.R. Farmer in his monograph Maccabees Zealots and Josephus. In this he draws undisputable links between the Maccabees and the Zealots¹. However, the links he draws are ideological, and he fails to draw a historical link. He argues that this is due to deliberate obliteration of these historical links by Josephus.

The most important work to be published on the Zealots is the magisterial thesis of M. Hengel, Die Zeloten. This is a painstaking study of every aspect of the Zealot movement, yet he devotes but a few pages to the Galileans. His work on the Fourth Philosophy of Judas of Galilee, and the hereditary links between Ezekias and his son and grandsons, is excellent, but he does not account for the development of the tradition.

The present thesis will attempt to trace a historical link between the Maccabees and the first century Zealots by accounting for the fact that it was the Galileans who emerged as the leaders of anti-Roman resistance in the first century A.D. It is the development of a point

made in my undergraduate dissertation, The Zealot Movement in Israel in the First and Second Centuries A.D. which was submitted to the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1973. In this, I noted that Galilee appeared to be one of many links between the rebellions against Roman domination. Principal Black then suggested that I work on this while at St. Andrews, as he also had noted this.

The basic question to be answered by the thesis^{is}, "Why did Galileans emerge as the leaders of anti-Roman resistance in the first century A.D.?" An answer to this will be sought in the history of Galilee, the evidence of Josephus and the evidence of rabbinic literature.

The evidence presented in the Historical Background deals with the period 733 B.C. to 63 B.C. For all but about forty years of this period Galilee was not under Jerusalem rule, but under foreign domination. Yet the evidence will show that they nurtured many of their traditions throughout this period. Then in 103 B.C. when Aristobulus conquered Galilee they became strong supporters of the Hasmonaeen state. This fact, then, gives the clue to the answer to the problem of why the Galileans were so rebellious and at the same time, draws a historical link between the Hasmonaeans and the Zealots, through the Galileans.

The primary source of any history of Israel of the first century B.C. and first century A.D. is Josephus, the Jewish historian who was born about 37/8 A.D. and died some time after 100 A.D. His Greek writings give us vast amounts of information on the history and philosophy of the Jewish state, if at times the testimony is difficult to assess. For this thesis the evidence of Josephus is very important as it supplies our information about the Fourth Philosophy, the movement that laid the foundations of Jewish resistance in the first century A.D. begun by Judas of Galilee, and Zadok the Pharisee. It is also important as Josephus

himself was appointed Commander in Chief to Galilee in the First Jewish War, 66-74 A.D. Thus the main part of the thesis is the presentation of the evidence of Josephus to the Galileans in order to ascertain if there is any evidence there to provide an answer to the basic question.

While we know of the Fourth Philosophy only through the writings of Josephus, several scholars have made attempts to show that it was the Fourth Philosophy which was responsible for the composition of the Dead Sea Scrolls. These scholars, C. Roth, H.E. del Medico and G.R. Driver base their assertions on the militancy that is apparent in several of the scrolls, and a rejection of other theories on the origin of the writings. Their views will be examined as their findings, if correct, have important repercussions on the study of the Fourth Philosophy.

The thesis is concerned with "The Galileans" and in order that a balanced picture may be obtained the rabbinic sources, primarily the Mishna, Tosephta, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim, have been examined. The evidence contained within them is unlike that of Josephus, and there is the inherent problem of deciding when a tradition referred to was current in the period before 70 A.D. Nevertheless the evidence is important, and will be presented in two parts, the first outlining the traditions preserved of the Galileans in the rabbinic literature, and the second an examination of the principal teachers in Galilee before 70 A.D.

The chronological limits of the thesis are 733 B.C. to 135 A.D. However, the more narrow limits are 63 B.C. to 74 A.D. (the fall of Masada). The much later terminus ad quem is in order to take into account a document from the Bar Cochba period.

The N.T. has not been considered in a systematic fashion. In a study of this nature, where the basic question is one of Jewish history, the N.T. is not a major primary source. However the evidence of the N.T.

has not been ignored, and in the concluding chapter there is a short discussion of the relevance of the findings of the thesis for the school of thought that believes Jesus was a Zealot.

I would like to offer my thanks and appreciation to Principal M. Black for his supervision over the past eighteen months, to the "Arts Counter" staff of the University Library, in particular Miss Baird, without whose assistance many of the books referred to would not have been available to me, and finally to my typists, Mrs. A.H.M. Marshall assisted by Mrs. E. Rodger, for their work in typing the thesis.

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Note:

For the purposes of the Introduction the general term "zealots" is used to indicate all the anti-Roman revolutionaries of the first century A.D.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The principal aim of this thesis is to attempt to answer the question, "Why did Galilee become the centre of the Jewish revolutionary movements against Rome?" The important historical period is therefore the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., (an excursion is made into the early second century A.D.). However, it is both desirable and necessary to make some study of Galilean history before this time in order to establish a solid basis of enquiry into the later period. Further, it is also necessary as a study in its own right as it may provide some clue to the later developments.

This survey will begin with the Assyrian Conquest of Galilee in 733 B.C. This is an odd time to begin ~~it~~ as this period may be referred to as the "Dark Ages" of the Northern Kingdom. The reasons for this are twofold. First, while the early historical traditions of the Jewish nation are important, especially with respect to Galilee, they are not informative in considering the developments of later Galilean history. Secondly, in view of the material which will be presented later in the thesis (Chapter IV) there were distinct differences between Galilean tradition and Judaeian tradition, hence it would be permissible to conclude that there was a period of separate development; this period may well have been the Assyrian and Persian periods of Galilean history. To be sure, the strong influence of the south did not restart until the Hellenistic period.

THE ASSYRIAN CRISIS AND DOMINATION OF GALILEE

The Assyrian Emperor Tiglath Pileser III¹ had as one of his main aims the desire to attack and conquer Syria and Palestine. His opportunity came after his expedition to Philistia in 734 B.C.² as a result of the confusion that was being caused in the area by the "Syro-Ephraimite War"³.

This war was between Ahaz, King of Israel; ^{and} Pekah, son of Ramalia, King of Judah and Rezin the King of Damascus, _{was} caused by Ahaz's refusal to join an anti-Assyrian coalition. Ahaz, in danger of losing his kingdom, called upon Tiglath Pileser to assist him. Against the advice of the vociferous Isaiah, Ahaz sent the Emperor a bribe, although Oded has shown that this bribe had probably nothing to do with the subsequent actions of Tiglath Pileser⁴. The Assyrians then invaded Northern Israel, and Galilee, Gilead and the coastal region were conquered and brought under Assyrian control⁵.

This took place in 733 B.C. and is preserved in the biblical tradition and the Annals of Tiglath Pileser III⁶. The annals text unfortunately has a lacuna at the point where the conquest of Galilee may be referred to. It reads in Rost's edition:

... li) rap-^vsu a-na si-[^vhir-ti-^vsu] a-na mi-^vsir (m[^]at) A^vssur
u-tir-ra

"... li in its whole extent I restored to the border of Assyria." Hommel⁷ proposed the restoration of the lacuna to read "[Naph^ta]li"⁸, which would bring it into line with the biblical text. This highly probable suggestion was then followed by most commentators including Rost. Naphtali it may be noted was one of the tribes which settled in Galilee and was the O.T. designation of the area⁹. Since the work of Hommel (1885) new light has been thrown on this inscription by two new inscriptions from Nimrud, ND400¹⁰, and ND4301 + ND4305¹¹. As a result of careful comparison of texts Wiseman has suggested that the lacuna should read:

[^vBit Ha-za- > a-i-] li

This is Beth Hazael, Damascus¹². As a result there is no Assyrian inscription which refers to the conquest of Galilee. However, there is no doubt that it was conquered at this time. In excavations at Hazor it was discovered that stratum Vd is a layer of destruction caused at the time of the Assyrian Conquest¹³, and in the Annals certain of the towns referred

to are identifiable as North Israelite communities¹⁴. Much further south, Megiddo III was destroyed and Megiddo II reveals a large Assyrian fort and watchtower¹⁵.

It is now possible to consider the biblical account.

In the days of Pekah king of Israel, Tiglath Pileser king of Assyria came and captured Ijon, Abel beth Ma'aicah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried the people captive to Assyria.

I Kings, xv 29.

This verse has been linked by most commentators with a verse which Ginsberg has described as "one of biblical exegesis' most disheartening children of sorrow"¹⁶, Isaiah viii 23 (ix 1),¹⁷.

In the former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he will make glorious the way of the sea, the land beyond the Jordan and Galilee (or the district) of the Nations.

The fact that Zebulun has not been mentioned in I Kings xv 29 is not a major stumbling block. Zebulun was one of the tribes which settled in Galilee¹⁸ and the historian is not expected to be so accurate that he includes every tribe¹⁹.

A. Alt has shown that Isaiah viii 23 refers to the three provinces that were created in Northern Israel after the Assyrian conquests. The names of the districts were based on the chief towns:

Isaiah viii 23	Chief Town	Assyrian Title
דֹּרְדֹר הַיָּם	Dor	<u>Du'ru</u>
יְבֵר הַיָּרְדֵן	Gilead	<u>Gala-zu</u>
גְּבֵיל הַמְּגִידוֹ	Megiddo	<u>Magidū</u>

Although some scholars do not accept this analysis²⁰, it does withstand the critical examination given to it by Emerton, who along with many other scholars accepts Alt's analysis²¹.

Apart from the biblical evidence we have no direct information on the province of Megiddo. Early scholars regarded the Assyrian conquest as being sheer violence, the complete depopulation of the area, and the forcible resettlement of foreigners. However, recent research has done much to prove this view to be erroneous. We know that the province would have been ruled by a bel pihati, a governor of royal status²². However, what of depopulation? The logical conclusion of stating that there was total depopulation of the Jews in Galilee would be that there were no Jews there until the late Hellenistic period. However, the evidence as it stands would point to the fact that there was no mass depopulation of Israelites from Galilee; or in any of the territories the Assyrians occupied.

First the annals list numbers of deportees and the numbers involved do not indicate mass deportation²³. Although none of these numbers apply to Megiddo, we can suppose that a similar situation obtained there. Secondly, the biblical evidence provides some clue that Galileans were left in sufficient numbers to create later interest. II Chron. xxx 6, 10 refer to certain letters which were sent out to Jews by Hezekiah in his reform, and Josiah made an attempt to reconquer Galilee which would point to the fact that there were Jews there.

Verse 6 of II Chron. refers explicitly to a "remnant ... who have escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria"; and verse 10 further informs us that the letters were sent to the area of the Galilean tribes mentioning Zebulun and Manasseh, and, although the messengers were laughed to scorn, we learn from the following verse that some of them came to Jerusalem. Finally verse 18 comments:

For a multitude of the people many of them from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves yet they ate the passover otherwise than as prescribed. For Hezekiah had prayed for them saying, "The good Lord pardon every one ..."

In this verse no fewer than three of the four Galilean tribes are mentioned²⁴

and despite the possibility that this whole passage may be unhistorical, there is at least a tradition of a remnant in Galilee - a tradition that may well be based on historical fact. Of the actions of Josiah (ruled 638-609 B.C.) very little need be said due to his untimely death at Megiddo. His action in the north may have been to attempt to reinstate the borders of the Davidic kingdom, but it may also be paralleled with the punitive expedition of the Maccabees some 500 years later which was to aid Jews living in Galilee²⁵.

A comment has already been made on the changes in scholarly opinion on the Assyrians and this change is best illustrated in respect of the cult. Two works are worthy of note. First an unpublished thesis of M. Coggan²⁶ in which he has shown that there is no evidence, textual or pictorial to show that New Assyrian Imperialism subjected local cults to regulation, or that they interfered in any way with the customary rites of these cults; although, in territories annexed as provinces there is evidence of Assyrian gods being worshipped, and the provincials were expected to pay for the upkeep of the Assyrian temple. The formal annexation of the Northern Kingdom in 720 B.C. did not preclude the worship of sundry foreign gods and the Yahweh cult received official sanction. J. McKay in his work Religion in Judah under the Assyrians²⁷ has drawn similar conclusions. Although Assyrian cults flourished in Judah, there is no evidence which confirms the theory that the Assyrians "imposed" their cults on the Israelites. Indeed, he goes so far as to say that the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah would not have been regarded as rebellion as such. Previously Alt had taken a similar position²⁸. Further evidence of such a view may be found in II Ki. xvii 27 when the Assyrians allowed a priest back to the Jews in Samaria.

In the light of this evidence we may conclude that the Assyrian conquest of Galilee did not result in the total destruction of Israelite

tradition in Galilee. Scholarly confirmation of this view may be found in Ewald who writes:

Galilee ... still inhabited by many descendants of Israel who remained true to their religion as far as the pressure of times allowed²⁹.

Alt has further noted:

The entirely credible statements about the deportation of the priesthood of the Israelite royal sanctuary at Dan (Jud. xviii 30) naturally provide no information about the fortunes of the peasantry³⁰.

Following Alt to a large extent S. Herman writes:

Die Deportation betrafen vor allem die Oberschicht. Die breite Masse der Landbevölkerung blieb zu Arbeitsleistungen am Ort³¹.

And A.H.M. Jones believes that village life continued as it was right through to Roman times³².

The later history of Megiddo is obscure. Alt has suggested that the name of the province may have become "Akko" in 722/1 as a result of the territorial changes that took place at that time³³. Politically there was no change, and the introduction of Persian rule made little difference. In an event as important as the return from exile under the Emperor Cyrus there is no evidence which suggests that the Galilean Israelites were brought into the community around Jerusalem. The returning Jews did not want to live under Persian rule in a province but wanted to re-establish the worship of the Jerusalem Temple. Further, the Galilean Jews may have wished to help the returnees but were rejected along with the Samaritans as $\int \gamma \eta \eta \text{---} \delta \gamma$. To be sure, in the city list in Neh. xi 20ff. there is no mention of any Galilean town³⁴. However, even if the Galilean Israelites were rejected as would-be helpers in the rebuilding of the Temple, it is not unlikely that they were under southern influence. Indeed M. Noth writes of this period,

But Israel extended far beyond the province of Judah, apart

from those provinces which were scattered in the Diaspora. In the neighbouring provinces of Samaria and Acco, assuming that was the name of the Galilean province at the time ... there lived descendants of the old Israelite tribes who still regarded themselves as belonging to the community of Israel and the Jerusalem religious community, and took part in public worship at Jerusalem³⁵.

Herman comes to a similar conclusion:

Aber sie reicht wohlaus, um auch jene uns unbekanntem Gruppen des Volkes Israel zu interessieren und zu binden, die außerhalb des eigentlichen Juda, abgesehen von Samaria, etwa Galiläa oder im Ostjordanland vorausgesetzt werden dürfen ...³⁶

Thus we may conclude that during the "Dark Ages" of the Northern Kingdom, the Assyrian and Persian periods, Israelite tradition was always evident, if not always strong. This "traditionalism" was strong in the Galilean tradition in the face of the difficulties of foreign rule, and the later developments of Galilean history reflect this.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

With the conquests of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.³⁷, Palestine passed into the jurisdiction of the rapidly growing Empire of the Macedonians. The effective change on the Galileans would have been no more than a change in ruler. There are few references to Galilee in the early Hellenistic period, therefore it may be assumed that Galilee did not play any significant part in the political set-up of the day. The death of Alexander in 323 B.C. led to an immense power struggle throughout the Empire, the period of the "Diadochi"³⁸. Palestine, including Galilee, passed into the jurisdiction of the Egyptian Empire of the Ptolemies in 301 B.C. when it was annexed by Ptolemy son of Lagos, and remained thus until 198 B.C.

The sources of Ptolemaic rule are scant, and the most important evidence is the collection of papyri connected with Zeno. Zeno was the

agent of Apollonius, the Finance Minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, ^{the Zeno papyri} and were written in the middle of the third century B.C. They are primarily concerned with the commercial transactions of Egypt and Judaea³⁹, and also are a collection of reports made by Zeno on his travels in Judaea, including a visit to Galilee (260-258 B.C.)⁴⁰.

A. Ptolemaic Domination of Galilee 301-198 B.C.

If Galilee was known as Megiddo, or Akko under the Assyrians it was under the Ptolemies known as 'Galilee'. In P Col.Zen.2⁴¹, a manuscript dated to 259 B.C. written by Zeno we have the one occurrence of the name Galilee in a non-biblical manuscript of that period⁴².

ἐξ Σιδῶν] ὦ [ο]ς [εἰς] Γ[αλιλαίαν]
σὶτηγῆσαντες ἐλ[αβον] (δραχμαῖς) μῆ
ἄλλης σὶτηγίας ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
τόπου (δραχμαῖς) μῆ
μετὰ Σίμωνος ἐχ[ε] Γαλιλαί[α]ς
σὶτηγῆσαντες (δραχμαῖς) ρν

Translation:

From Sidon into Galilee carrying grain they received 48 drachmai
For another grain transport from the same place 48 drachmai
With Simon, from Galilee, carrying grain 150 drachmai

Of Ptolemaic rule in Palestine Tcherikover writes,

- many concessions could be made to the native population but the country had to be ruled nevertheless, and the Ptolemies had no conception of methods of rule^{other} than those familiar to them from Egypt (total despotism). Palestine was too near Egypt not to sense the air blowing there. If our conjecture is true and Ptolemaic Syria had no administrative head of its own, then, from an administrative point of view, it was regarded as in no wise other than part of the Egyptian χώρα, and its administrative districts were dependent entirely upon Alexandria ...⁴³

However, Tcherikover's position is unsatisfactory. Rostovtzeff has shown that Galilee was ruled by an ὑπαρχος⁴⁴. Hengel follows this and names one of the 'hyparchs' Cerias on the basis of Polybius 5, 70, 10, although it is true Polybius gives no indication of where Cerias's 'hyparchy' was⁴⁵. Further, we know that the High Priest carried some authority in Jerusalem⁴⁶. Thus there is evidence of local administrative heads in Palestine, but most^{of} the power rested in the hands of wealthy sheiks.

Joseph the Tobiad was one of these sheiks. Under the later Ptolemies there arose a conflict between the High Priest and the throne. Onias II the High Priest refused to pay the taxes due to the king, Ptolemy IV⁴⁷. The king therefore threatened to make Syria a military fief. Joseph then stepped in and paid the money. As a result of his action his own wealth increased, along with his power, and the country had twenty years of prosperity⁴⁸. There is no reason to suspect that this payment did not include taxes due from Galilee, and serves to emphasise the fact that under the Ptolemies and the peace they preserved in Syria, Galilee became more and more under the influence of the south. There would have been no difficulties facing the Galilean who wished to go to Jerusalem and worship, and there may have been even a slight trend to move north into Galilee if it was as well off as Papyrus London 1948 (inv.2661) would imply⁴⁹. However, against this view is the fact that 'Hellenism' did not have much effect in Galilee. Indeed, the only evidence of Hellenism in Galilee was the re-emergence of Philoteria, a city on the S.W. shore of the Sea of Galilee⁵⁰.

B. Seleucid Domination 195-167 B.C.

The fifth Syrian War between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids led by Ptolemy V and Antiochus III lasted from 201 to 195 B.C. Unlike the previous four, this war was to have a far-reaching effect on Syria. After

the war Syria, including Galilee, was ruled by the Seleucids⁵¹. Further, the effect of the war, according to Taubler, was such that there arose a messianic movement at the time⁵².

The change of ruler over the Galileans probably had little effect. In Rostovsteff's opinion the Seleucids probably followed the same pattern of rule as had the Ptolemies⁵³. Presumably therefore Galilee was a small huparchy of little importance to the Seleucid rulers. It must be noted that Galilee receives no mention in any of the documents which refer to the Seleucid domination of Palestine until after the Maccabaeen Revolt. The reason for this is clear. Many of our sources are concerned with the influences and conflicts caused by the Seleucids in Jerusalem. Therefore the activities of the small community of Galilean Israelites pale in comparison to the world-important events taking place in Jerusalem and the south.

One event of importance to the Israelite religious community which took place at some time in the Hellenistic Period must be referred to: the Samaritan Schism.

C. The Samaritan Schism

The beginnings of Jewish-Samaritan friction may be seen in the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah after the return of the Jews from Babylon⁵⁴. Before this time, and especially during the exile, in the face of new inhabitants and cults, the Samaritans and Jews, particularly those in Galilee, may well have worshipped together, or at least possessed some common bond through their religion. At some stage in the Hellenistic Period⁵⁵ there was an increase in tension between the Samaritans and the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem which resulted ultimately in a rival Temple being established on Mount Gerizim.

Now the implications of this for this thesis are twofold. First,

the rejection of 'Jerusalemite Yahwehism' by the Samaritans resulted in problems for Galileans when they travelled south to Jerusalem to worship (see Chapter 4). Secondly, the rejection of the Jerusalemite centre of the religion probably went a long way towards creating the friction between the Galilians and the Samaritans, which flared up from time to time into extremely violent incidents resembling tribal warfare.

In concluding the first part of the Hellenistic period of the history of Galilee we see that to all intents and purposes the Galileans were able to be full participants in the Jerusalem Temple worship, and, despite the supposed strong gentile influence in Galilee, in fact Hellenism did not have much effect directly. The change in relationship between the Galileans and the Samaritans was to have far-reaching effects.

THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT

The fanatical attempts made by Antiochus IV Epiphanes to unify the Empire by the enforcement of Hellenism on the subject peoples and the internal strife within the Jewish community thus affected, led, in 167 B.C., to the revolt of Jews in southern Judaea at Modiim. This revolt, begun by Mattathias and his five sons, was to lead to the first Jewish state since the conquest of Judaea by Nebuchadrezzar in 587 B.C. The history of the revolt is an oft told story and requires no detailed repetition here⁵⁶; however, the effect it had on the history of Galilee is important.

It has been shown above that there were Israelites in Galilee from the time of the Assyrian Conquest, and by the second century B.C. there were Jews living in all the territories surrounding Judaea in its narrowest sense. As a result of the Maccabean revolt, persecutions of the Jews broke out in Gilead and Galilee⁵⁷. Therefore one of the first actions of the Maccabees after the restoration of the cult was the relief of Jews residing in these areas.

Details of the punitive expedition made by Simon (the brother of Judas Maccabaeus) into Galilee are preserved in I Maccabees and Josephus⁵⁸. With three thousand men Simon battled with the Gentiles and pushed them as far back as Ptolemais on the West coast. Using the advantage thus gained, he brought out such Jews as desired to leave Galilee, and took them south to Judaea⁵⁹. This did not include all the Jews living in Galilee as has been noted by Alt⁶⁰ and followed by Janssen⁶¹. Only those on the border were affected. Niese⁶², followed without acknowledgement by Avi-Yonah⁶³, reckoned that only the western part of Galilee was affected, and that eastern Galilee was left largely Jewish. This theory is further supported by the fact that Demetrius I Soter⁶⁴ when he attacked Judaea in April 161 killed many people in the caves of Arbella in the hill district of Galilee⁶⁵. These caves, it will be seen, became the traditional hideouts of the Galileans in the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

Despite the early success of the Maccabean Revolt, the Jews had not a hope of withstanding the Seleucid army in the event of a major offensive. Despite a Roman order that the Jews were to be left in peace, at the fateful Battle of Elasa in the autumn of 161 B.C. Judas Maccabaeus and his tiny army were defeated by the Seleucid troops led by Bacchides, and Judas was killed⁶⁶. Nevertheless, the seeds had been sown, the "national Judaism defended by the Maccabees"⁶⁷ had for the first time since the Assyrian Conquest seen an active concern for the Galilean Jews. Further, the challenge presented to the pro-Hellenistic Sanhedrin by the establishment of a rival government in Michmash by Jonathan⁶⁸ during the period 153-148 B.C., which was an important step in the establishment of Hasmonaean power, would have been popular with the Galilean Jews in Judaea. In 150/49 B.C. Jonathan became στρατηγός and μεριδάρχης to Alexander Balas, and thus became de facto king of the Jews⁶⁹. However this was only in Judaea, but the repercussions would have been felt in Galilee. His power gradually increased due to the uncertainties

and confusion in the Seleucid Royal House. Tryphon, a rebel general in the Seleucid army, was making an attempt to have Alexander Balas's son Antiochus set up as a rival king to Demetrius⁷⁰. This gave Jonathan and his brother Simon a chance to expand the borders of the 'kingdom'.

This expansion led eventually to the Battle of Hazor in 145 B.C.⁷¹ Engendering memories of the Battle for Galilee in the early stages of the settlement of Palestine by the Israelite Tribes⁷², Abél describes Hazor as "la Haşor biblique maîtresse de la Galilée à l'époque de l'Exode"⁷³. Although the battle was a near disaster for the Jews, Jonathan and Simon eventually won. The Jewish army then moved further north still, to Hamath, north of Lebanon, but avoided another battle with Demetrius II⁷⁴. Jonathan's murder in 143 B.C. left his brother Simon on the throne.

It is impossible to say how far Jonathan had actually conquered Galilee. Perhaps he provided the opportunity for the refugees to return to their homes, and may have consolidated the conquest of the border territories. The important fact is that under the Maccabees, and the early Hasmonaeans, Galilee was once more brought under Jewish control, and if our hypothesis is correct that Jewish tradition was preserved in Galilee for the five hundred years of foreign domination, then the Maccabean traditions may well have been preserved. This was to be of importance later in the history.

THE RULE OF THE HASMONAEANS TO THE CONQUEST OF POMPEY

While Jonathan had gone far in establishing an independent Jewish state, it was under the rule of Simon (142-135 B.C.) that complete political independence was attained, certainly in Judaea and possibly in some part of Galilee. This is described in I Macc. xiii 41-2:

In the one hundred and seventieth year the yoke of the gentiles was removed from Israel, and the people began to write in their documents and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon the great high priest and commander and leader of the Jews'.

The Jewish leader was no longer merely an official of the Syrian government, nevertheless it must be noted that the actions of Antiochus VII Sidetes in 135/4 B.C. in Judaea served to show that the Jewish nation could not stand without a weak Syrian government⁷⁵, and Meek has shown that the seal of authority from the Syrian king $\varphi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ was still being used as a title⁷⁶.

Galilee was not conquered totally by the Hasmonaeans until the reign of Aristobolus I (ruled 104-103 B.C.). John Hyrcanus I (ruled 135-104 B.C.) had left his wife with the throne, but Aristobolus had her starved to death and took the throne jointly with his brother Antigonus. However, Aristobolus' desire for power led him to have his brother murdered too⁷⁷. Although Aristobolus is given the title $\varphi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\delta\eta\gamma\upsilon$ by Josephus, his Jewishness is never in question; he probably used it as a name rather than as a description of his character⁷⁸. His reign was important for Galilee as he was the king who established full Jewish control over Galilee (and possibly Ituraea). We are told by Josephus that the Ituraeans were forcibly circumcised and made to live in accordance with Jewish law and tradition⁷⁹.

Schlürer (1973) writes, "the population of Galilee was until this time more gentile than Jewish"⁸⁰. This is the usual opinion of scholars, that gentile influences were so great in Galilee that the Galilean Jews were not as "Jewish" as the Judaeans. While this view is correct so far as the balance of population is concerned, it must not be taken too far. If it is a false picture of Galilee emerges. Klein has emphasised the fact that the Maccabaeen exodus did not destroy Jewish tradition in Galilee, and the previous history has also revealed a similar conclusion. After discussing the major settlements in Galilee Klein writes:

Zur Zeit als Galiläa in unserer Geschichtsquellen zum ersten Mal vorkommt, hatte es schon eine nicht unbedeutende jüdische Bevölkerung⁸¹.

Alt also refers to Galilee during the Hasmonaean period thus: "Galiläa mit seinem Grundstock israelitischer Bevölkerung⁸²". The main point of this discussion is whether Aristobolus' conquest and 'Judaising'^{would} have been so successful that Jones could write,

... the Galileans became more Jewish than the Jews, though still regarded with some suspicion and contempt by Jews of the old state - 'Can any good thing come out of Galilee?' was a proverb in our Lord's day⁸³,

if there was not a solid basis of Jewish tradition there already. The word of caution sounded by Schürer with regard to the Ituraean conquest merely emphasises the fact that Galilee at least was conquered⁸⁴. Further evidence of the fact that Galilee may have had a good base of Jewish tradition before the conquest of Aristobolus is preserved in Josephus.

According to Josephus⁸⁵, John Hyrcanus' son Alexander was brought up in Galilee, as Hyrcanus did not wish his son to be his successor. It may be that Galilee was outside the borders of Israel and therefore the boy would not be equipped to deal with the difficult task of ruling Judaea; or that Hyrcanus himself was in possession of the southern parts of Galilee. Abel writes of this:

En Galilée, Hyrcan avait dû poursuivre l'occupation commencée par son oncle Jonathan sous Demetrios II. On voit qu'il fait élever son fils Alexandre Jannée en Galilée comme dans un apanage lointain pour le tenir éloigné des affaires⁸⁶.

However, the reason for Hyrcanus' action was political rather than religious, and it seems unlikely that Zeitlin is correct when he asserts that Alexander was brought up in a milieu that was not Jewish⁸⁷. Perhaps this reflects Zeitlin's own presuppositions on the subject of Galilee rather than a statement of historical value, as he later goes on to state that Alexander's Galilean period resulted in his absorbing Syrian Hellenism⁸⁸.

One fact^{which} militates more than any other in asserting that Jannaeus was in a Jewish milieu in Galilee was that for all the importance that it played in his reign there was no necessity to establish the loyalty of the

Galileans, which may have increased after the destruction of the Samaritan Temple by his father⁸⁹. His prime concern was in establishing the borders of the kingdom, and perhaps, as Zeitlin suggests, taking advantage of the weaknesses of the Syrian government that Alexander had observed in Galilee.

Alexander was to reign from 103-76 B.C., and two things of importance must be noted about the latter years of the Hasmonean period: first, the increase in violence, particularly in the realm of foreign affairs, in comparison to the reign of Simon; secondly, the ever increasing influence Rome was playing in the politics of the Middle East.

The former point is well illustrated in the reign of Alexander. His first action on taking the throne was an action against Ptolemais. This was totally unsuccessful, and resulted in Ptolemy Lathyrus attacking two towns in Galilee, Asochis and Sepphoris (103 B.C.)⁹⁰. These attacks threatened the whole of Judaea, and it was only the timely support of Cleopatra that saved Judaea⁹¹. Alexander also had a violent reign within the kingdom itself. He had an important conflict with the Pharisees⁹² and internal strife and dissension are illustrated by the fact that he had men crucified for the first time, and the reported Feast of Tabernacles incident. In the latter he was pelted with ethrogs by the worshippers, and was taunted with being the son of a prisoner of war, thereby breaking the law as it was laid down in Lev. xxi 14⁹³ as one unworthy to sacrifice⁹⁴. Now it is more than likely that Galileans were among the pilgrims. Evidence exists to show that from the earliest times the Galilean Tribes had taken an active part in the religious life of the nation⁹⁵, and later in the first century A.D. the evidence of Josephus indicates a large and active Galilean group of pilgrims. The historicity of this may be seriously questioned in the light of the Rabbinic evidence, so too much cannot be made of it.

Despite the internal strife, Alexander Jannaeus established a military

power that was capable of extending the boundaries of the nation - in so doing he captured Gamala, a town of some importance, later⁹⁶. He also captured Mount Carmel, the scene of Elijah's most spectacular miracle, which also played ^{a role of} some importance in the Galilean tradition⁹⁷.

There is no evidence that Alexander concluded a treaty with Rome, or that he even desired to. U. Rappaport has discussed the influence, or lack of it, of the Romans in Jewish affairs during the reign of Alexander; and, despite the opinion of Reicke⁹⁸ that Rome was a major influence in Near Eastern affairs generally, Rappaport suggests that Alexander Jannaeus and his successors were anti-Roman and that this led ultimately to the conquest of Pompey. He concludes

... ce motif, c'était l'attitude hostile de Jannée et aussi de ses successeurs, Salomé, Alexandre et Aristobule II, à l'égard de Rome ... L'antagonisme entre la Judée et Rome était donc antérieur à 63 av. J.-C. Il apparaît bien qu'alors assez imperceptible - déjà à l'époque de Jannée⁹⁹.

This anti-Roman movement would have been popular with the Galileans as it avoided any danger of direct influence in Jewish affairs, or worse, occupation of the land.

When Alexander died, Alexandra, his wife, took the throne. Her short reign was characterised by futile troop movements, and an increase in Roman influence¹⁰⁰.

In the four years that Aristobolus^I was to reign, we see a complete transformation in the state of Israel. From an independent state it was made into a Roman province. His reign was totally occupied with fighting his brother for the throne. The details of this civil war do not totally concern us¹⁰¹, but it was to have an important effect on the loyalties of the Galileans.

Roman influence was now so strong in the Near East that neither of the brothers could take the throne without at least the moral support of the Romans. Between the brothers there was a personality difference. On the

one hand was Aristobolus who was the brash, hard soldier whom Josephus describes as *δραστήριος καὶ διεχγηγέρμενος τὸ φρόνημα* ¹⁰², who was prepared to take the throne. On the other hand was Hyrcanus, who was weak and moreover was being supported by the interfering Idumaeans, Antipater. Wellhausen describes Hyrcanus thus: "eine Puppe in der Hand seiner Ratgeber"¹⁰³. As a result of his foreign support and a weak character many deserted Hyrcanus, and a Hasid of the time refused to curse Aristobolus, Honi the Circle¹⁰⁴.

Thus when Pompey arrived in Damascus in the spring of 63 B.C. there were three Jewish delegations to meet him, Aristobolus, Hyrcanus and representatives of *τὸ ἔθνος* ¹⁰⁵. The latter were opposed to any king, and requested that the old sacerdotal monarchy be restored¹⁰⁶. Pompey refused to settle the matter until after his Nabataean campaign. Aristobolus was not satisfied with this, and with his army moved to Alexandria, thence to Jerusalem¹⁰⁷. However, his courage failed him when Pompey arrived in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and Aristobolus submitted himself to the Roman Commander with gifts, on condition that all hostilities should cease¹⁰⁸. However, the Jewish supporters would not allow Gabinius into the city. This was the crucial moment, Aristobolus had in typical Hasmonaean-Maccabaeans style resisted foreign power. At this time it is not clear where the Galileans stood, however later, after the Roman conquest, we see them supporting a similar move by Antigonus against Herod.

The conflict had an unfavourable outcome for the Jews. On the Day of Atonement (so Josephus) 63 B.C. Jerusalem fell, and the Jews were under Roman domination¹⁰⁹.

This concludes the survey of the history of Galilee to 63 B.C., and it brings out several important factors which may well point towards an answer to the question of why the Galileans became the centre of the Jewish

revolutionary movement against Rome. It may also answer certain questions regarding the traits and traditions of the Galileans in the first century A.D.

'Tradition' is the operative word. The Galileans were under foreign domination for some five hundred years, yet it has been shown that they remained loyal to their beliefs - although to be sure they did not have the prophets of hope that the exiles had in Babylon, nor did they develop the kind of Judaism that was later evidenced by the Pharisees under Babylonian influence. Thus, in 164 B.C., when the Maccabees released some of the Galileans into temporary exile in Judaea, the Galileans may well have preserved this among their traditions, and developed a loyalty to the Hasmonaean cause unsurpassed in the state of Israel. W.R. Farmer in his monograph Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus, wished to show an ideological link between the Zealots and the Maccabees. In order to do this he rested on 'tradition'. In drawing an ideological link he most certainly succeeded, but he could not trace a historical link. One connection could be the Galileans, and without wishing to presuppose any of the material presented below it is possible that the Galileans were the ones who preserved the tradition.

Thus the study of the Galilean traditions preserved in Josephus and Rabbinic Tradition which follows is to enquire whether there is any justification in the above suggestion that it was pro-Hasmonaean, traditionalists who were the leaders of the anti-Roman movements.

NOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1. Ruled 745-737 B.C. His Assyrian name was Tukulti-apil-Esarra, and was thought to be Tiglath Pileser II in early histories, e.g. C.P. Tiele Babylonisch Assyrische Geschichte I p. 227. He was also known as Pul, ibid. n.1; Robinson History p. 373; H.W.F. Saggs "The Assyrians", in P.O.T.T. (ed. J. Wiseman) p. 160; Smith C.A.H. III p. 746; Hommel Geschichte des Assyriens und Babyloniens p. 664; Tadmor P.I.A.S.H. 2 (1967) p. 169 n.6.
2. See on this, Alt K.S. II pp. 150-162; E. Vogt Biblica 45 (1964) pp. 348-354; Aharoni Land of the Bible p. 328.
3. I Ki. xv 37; xvi 5; Is. viii 1; C.P. Caspari Über den Syrischer-Ephraimitischen Kreig under Jotham und Ahaz; Noth History p. 259; Aharoni Land of the Bible pp. 327 ff; B. Oded Tarbiz 38 (1968/9) pp. 205-224; Albright B.A.S.O.R. 140 (1955) pp. 34-5; J. Begrich Z.D.M.G. 83 (1929) pp. 213-237.
4. Tarbiz 38 (1968/9) p. I; also J. McKay Religion in Judah under the Assyrians p. 6.
5. Graetz Geschichte II p. 148; Renan History pp. 430 ff; Smith C.A.H. III p. 39; Dubnow Weltgeschichte I pp. 195-99; Kittel Geschichte (7th edn.) pp. 362 ff; C.P. Tiele Bab.-Assyr. Gesch. p. 233; Ewald History IV p. 160; G. Ricciotti Histoire pp. 443 f; Kissane Isaiah I p. xiv; Robinson History I p. 476; Saggs art. cit. (n.1) p. 160; Noth History p. 260; Bright History (2nd edn.) pp. 272 ff. Herodotus Histories vii 63.
6. III R 10 2: published by Luckenbill ARA § 815; E. Schrader Keil. Bibl. II pp. 30 ff; P. Rost Keilschrift Texte I p. 78; Vogt Biblica 45 (1964) pp. 351-4; ANET (3rd edn.) p. 283; DOTT. pp. 53 ff. Generally on the Annals see W. Schramm Einleitung in Die Ass. Kbn. pp. 125 ff. H. Tadmor P.I.A.S.H. 2 (1967) pp. 168-187.
7. Gesch Babyl. und Assy. pp. 664-5; A.L. Oppenheim ANET (3rd edn.) p. 283.
8. Keilschrift Texte I p. 78.
Reference may be made to a similar attempt by certain scholars to see the name 'Galilee' in the pre-Israelite city lists of Tuthmosis III. No. 80 reads k-r-r (in semitic g-l-l) Sethe Urkunden des Aegyptus IV. Aharoni Land of the Bible p. 140 follows this. However see Mariette-Bey Les Listes Geographiques ... p. 36, who suggests that Γεραζ, a town of the Philistines is meant. Noth Z.D.P.V. 61 (1938) pp. 52 ff; idem Z.D.P.V. 66 (1943) pp. 159 ff, reprinted in Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes und Altertumskunde II pp. 447 ff, and pp. 119-132 respectively; k-r-r is 𐤀𐤓𐤓, (tell esch scheri'ia). See also Alt K.S. II p. 365 n.2; Muller Die Pal. Liste p. 24; Maspero J.T.V.I 22 p. 83.
9. Josh. xx 7; Ju. i 33, iv 6; II Chron. xxiv 5; Is. ix 1 (viii 23); Ez. xlvi 3, 34. Carried into the New Testament in Matt. iv 13, 15.
10. Published by Wiseman in Iraq 13 (1951) pp. 21-24.

11. Published by Wiseman, Iraq 18 (1956) pp. 118 f; Vogt Biblica 45 (1964) pp. 351-4; DOT. pp. 55, 57.
12. Wiseman Iraq 18 (1956) pp. 120-21; Tadmor I.E.J. 12 (1962) p. 115.
13. Yadin etal, Hazor I pp. 22 f, II p. 63; also Hazor (Schweich Lectures 1970) pp. 191 ff.
14. Annals 11. 126 ff; Gray I & II Kings p. 627; Aharoni Land of the Bible p. 331.
15. Kenyon Archaeology in the Holy Land p. 229; Schonfield "Megiddo" in A.O.T.S. (ed. D.W. Thomas) pp. 324 f.
16. Marx Jubilee Volume p. 357.
17. For a useful introduction to the many problems of this verse see Wildberger Jesaja 1-12 pp. 365 ff.
18. Josh. xix 11-16.
19. J.A. Emerton J.S.S. 14 (1969) p. 154. See also Josh. xx 7; Judg. ii 33.
20. Ginsberg, for example, has suggested that Is. viii 23 refers to the reconquest of the land by Josiah, identifying the 'Prince' (Is. ix. 1ff) with Josiah, Marx Jubilee Volume p. 358. The problem with this solution is that Josiah did not reconquer the territories mentioned in Is. viii 23.
21. J.A. Emerton J.S.S. 13 (1969) pp. 151-175. Scholars following Alt include: Kaiser Isaiah 1-12 p. 126; Kissane Isaiah I p. 98; Zlotki Isaiah p. 43; Auvray Isaiah p. 123.
Other interpretations abound. Christian interpretation in a messianic sense is illustrated by Marti Jesaja p. 191; Eisenmengers in his Erpectes Judentum ... ii p. 747 presents two rabbinic references testifying that the Messiah will appear in Galilee.
See also Delitzsch Isaiah (4th edn.) pp. 238 ff; Renan History I p. 122. N. Tur Sinai in S.H. (1969) p. 176 suggests that the יב'ל are not Jews.
It is interesting to note from the geographical point of view that the Targum at this point reads כרבי עגא'א, taking גליל in its primary meaning of 'district, region'.
22. bel pihati, literally 'lord of the province'. Saggs J.T.S. 10 (1959) pp. 84-87; Ebeling R.D.A. I pp. 54-5. On the Assyrian system of government generally see E. Forrer Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches, Alt K.S. II pp. 187-205. Specifically on Megiddo Alt K.S. II pp. 374-384. B. Oded J.N.E.S. 29 (1970) pp. 177-76 (Trans-jordan); H. Donner M.I.O. 5 pp. 162-184 (Moab).
23. ANET (3rd edn.) p. 283, Annals 11.229-34, Rost Keilschrift Texte I p. 39.
24. See now Keil Chronicles p. 462; Curtis and Madson Chronicles p. 473 who argue that there must have been Jews in Galilee. However, on the historicity of this passage see McKay Religion in Judah under the

24. (cont'd.)
Assyrians pp. 16 f.
Jews were left in Gilead, B. Mazar I.E.J. (1957) 8, p. 233, Ginsberg Marx Jubilee Volume p. 350 n. 53. In transjordan Oded J.N.E.S. 29 (1970) pp. 177 ff. According to Ezra x 1 ff. there were Jews left in Southern Judaea around the Temple.
On II Chron. xxx 10 Wellhausen Geschichte p. 163 writes "Hier hat das Judentum überall fröhlich Fuss gefasst, aber niemals das Heidentum gänzlich verdrängt-selbst in Galiläa nicht."
25. On Josiah's expedition to the North see Alt K.S. II pp. 276-288, followed by Noth History pp. 273 ff. On the other hand Ginsberg states that the book of Joshua is the wrong place to seek out information on Josiah, Marx Jubilee Volume p. 353.
26. "Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C."
27. SBT II No. 26. The change in scholarly opinion with regard to the Assyrian Conquest may be paralleled to a change in opinion on ~~the part~~ of certain scholars studying the Viking conquest of Britain. See G. Jones A History of the Vikings.
28. K.S. II p. 416.
29. History V p. 90.
30. Where Jesus Worked p. 29 n. 83 (= K.S. II p. 455 n. 1).
31. Geschichte p. 311.
32. Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces p. 234; see also J.E.H. Thomson The Samaritans p. 35.
33. K.S. II pp. 376 ff., followed by Noth History p. 263. However, cf. Avi Jonah in J.P.F.C. p. 79 who states that the territory was probably still ruled from Megiddo, or Hazor, and remained thus throughout the Assyrian period.
34. "Hazor" in Neh. xi 33 refers not to Hazor in Galilee but to Baal Hazor (II Sam. xiii 23) L.W. Batten Ezra-Nehemiah p. 274.
35. History p. 337; cf. Schürer (1973) p. 141 n. 9.
36. Geschichte p. 394.
37. For details of Alexander's conquest : Diodorus xvii 48, 7; Curtius iv 6, 7 ff.; Arrian II 11 10; Arrain Anabasis II xxv, 4; Abél Histoire I pp. 1-12; Noth History pp. 346 ff.; Abél R.E. 43 (1934) pp. 528-545; R.E. 44 (1935) pp. 42-61; Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 41.
Some scholars have made attempts to see the conquests of Alexander in Hab. i-ii, for example C.C. Torrey in the Marti Festschrift (B.Z.A.W. 41 (1925)) p. 283; cf. J.P. Hyatt "Habbakuk" in Peakes Commentary (ed. H.H. Rowley, M. Black) p. 637; Eissfeldt Introduction to the O.T. pp. 417 ff. Also in Zech. ix 1-8, see M. Delcor

37. (cont'd.)
V.T. i (1951) pp. 110-124; H.G. Mitchell Zechariah pp. 260 ff.
Ackroyd in "Zechariah" (Peakes Commentary) p. 652 favours an Assyrian dating. Torrey follows the Alexandrian dating, Marti Festschrift pp. 285 f; Eissfeldt Introduction to the O.T. p. 437; Elliger Z.A.W. 62 (1950) pp. 63-115. Torrey further suggests that Ezekiel xxvi, Joel and Isaiah xiv^b-21 reflect Alexander's conquest. Marti Festschrift pp. 284 ff.
The problem is open, however, as C.A. Keller in Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie writes, "libre à l'exégète de l'identifier au tyran de son choix."
38. Diodorus xviii 43, 1; Appian Syr. 52; Polybius v 67. Abel R.B. 44 (1935) pp. 559-81; Tcherikover H.C.J. pp. 50 ff. Russell Jews from Alexander to Herod pp. 16 f; Noth History pp. 347 ff; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II pp. 17-23.
39. Important discussions of these papyri may be found in Tcherikover in Mizraim iv-v (1937) pp. 9-90; G.M. Harper A.J. Ph. 49 (1928) pp. 1 ff; Hengel Judentum und Hellenismus pp. 38 ff.
On Zeno's actual position Harper writes, p. 31, "Zenon (sic) had the foremost position in the administration of Apollonius's business enterprises in Syrian lands."
40. On these travels see Hengel Judentum und Hellenismus pp. 76-79. One important papyrus P Lond 1948 (inv 2661) refers to Beth Anath in Galilee. Abel Histoire I pp. 65-74.
41. Published in Corpus Papyrum Judaicarum I p. 124. The papyrus is also referred to as P Zen 59015 (inv).
42. Tcherikover Mizraim iv-v (1937) pp. 40-42. See also on the importance of the occurrence of the name in this papyrus Alt K.S. II p. 364.
43. Mizraim iv-v (1937) p. 55; H.C.J. p. 72; Polyb. v 86, 10. See also W.L. Sterman on the treatment of Ptolemaic subjects in Egypt in A.H.R. 43 (1937/38) pp. 270-287.
44. Economic History p. 341. For a bibliography on hyparchies see ibid. Vol. III p. 1400 n. 136.
45. Hengel Judentum und Hellenismus p. 37
46. Dubnow Weltgeschichte II p. 24.
47. A. xii 158.
48. A. xii 175. Ewan The House of Seleucus II p. 297 states that this may have included Galilee, as does Thackeray LCL ad loc. On the life and work of Joseph the Tobiad, and the later Oniad, Tobiad conflicts; see R. Marcus Josephus ICL 7 pp. 767 ff; Mazar I.E.J. 7 (1957) pp. 137-145; S. Zeitlin P.A.A.J.R. 4 (1932/3) pp. 169-223; M. Stern Tarbiz 32 (1962) pp. 35-47; Tcherikover H.C.J. pp. 70 ff, 126-142, 458 ff; Schürer (1973) p. 140 n.4; B. Caleda Cultura Bíblica 15 (1958) pp. 113 ff.

49. Unfortunately this unpublished papyrus is unavailable to me, but is discussed in Hengel Judentum und Hellenismus p. 76 under the title 'Gut in Beth-Anath'.
The view that all was well in Galilee, and that there would have been no difficulty in travelling N. to S. was expressed by Kennet in The Composition of the Book of Isaiah (Schweich Lectures 1909) p. 45.
50. Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 64 states that Hellenism did not get a foothold in Samaria either.
PHILOTERIA:- Dalman in Sacred Sites and Ways p. 180 refers to it as a place only inferior to Tiberias in the first century A.D. The city had its period of prosperity in pre-Israelite times, which was renewed in Hellenistic times. In the time of Josephus it was no longer autonomous and must have belonged to Hippos or Scythopolis as Alexander Jannaeus had destroyed its full glory.
Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 102 identifies it with Beth Yerah or Sinnabris, as does Avi Yonah Q.D.A.P. 5 (1936) p. 174. Polybius v 70; yMeg. 70a (1:1); Alt K.S. II pp. 386 ff. Bevan The House of Seleucus I p. 361 n. 1 points out that the town had Ptolemaic foundation, and was named after the sister of Ptolemy II, but goes on to identify it with Tiberias. A.H.M. Jones Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces p. 242 states that the name has a 'Ptolemaic ring' about it.
51. Polyb. xv 25, 13; xvi 18-19; xxviii i, 2-3; A. xii 130 f; Jerome Daniel 11, 15-16; Daniel xi 13-15. Noth History p. 350; Abél Histoire I pp. 85-87; Meyer Ursprung I... pp. 121-124; Bevan The House of Seleucus II pp. 29-38; Niese Geschichte II p. 578.
52. J.Q.R. (n.s.) 27 (1946-7) pp. 1 f.
53. Social and Economic History p. 341.
54. On the relationship between the Jews and the Samaritans at the time of Nehemiah see F.M. Cross H.T.R. 59 (1966) pp. 201-211, and I.H. Eybers "Relations between Jews and Samaritans in the Persian Period," pp. 72-89 in Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of "Die Oud-Testamentiese Werkgenootskap in Suid-Afrika" (1966).
55. This is the opinion of many present day scholars. The literature on the subject is vast, and it is not for this thesis to attempt to solve the problem of the Samaritan Schism. All the theories expounded before 1955 are dealt with by Rowley B.J.R.I. 38 (1955/6) pp. 166-98, also in Men of God pp. 246-276. Beyond that F.M. Cross art. cit. (n. 54); Reicke N.T. Era pp. 27-30; G.E. Wright H.T.R. 55 (1962) pp. 498-511. A useful discussion and bibliography are given by Marcus in Josephus 6 (ICL) Appendix B.
Original references to the schism are in A. xi 297-347; b Yom 69a, Lev. r. xiii 5.
The scholion to the Meg. Ta'an refers to the destruction of the Temple on Gerizim attributing it to Alexander Jannaeus. We know, however, that it was John Hyrcanus who destroyed it. Derenbourg Histoire pp. 41 ff; Lichtenstein H.U.C.A. 8-9 (1931/2) p. 288; Zeitlin J.Q.R. (n.s.) 10 (1919/20) p. 256; Graetz Geschichte III p. 64; Schürer (1973) p. 207; Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 43 ff.

56. The bibliography on the Maccabean Revolt is enormous. Reference to the standard histories may be made, especially now Schürer (1973) p. 4. E. Bickermann's book Der Gott der Makkabäer is an excellent treatment of the subject, and a more recent eminently readable work by M. Pearlman entitled The Maccabees is worth consulting.
57. I Macc. v 9-14; A. xii 330. Cp. I Macc. v 14 with A. xii 331 where it is possible to see that Josephus may well be dependent on Macc. for his source.
58. I Macc. v 20-23; A. xii 334.
59. The phrase used in I Macc. is τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐν Ἀρβητοῦς, (Josephus makes no mention of Arbetta), but would only refer to Jews wishing to emigrate to Judaea, Schürer (1973) pp. 142, 165. On the campaign generally: Wellhausen Geschichte p. 212; Niese Geschichte III p. 240; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II p. 66 refers to 'die galiläische Räuber' indicating perhaps that those Jews who emigrated were rebels who wished to fight for the cause. Noth History p. 372; Meyer Ursprung II.. p. 227; Abél Histoire I p. 144; Avi Yonah J.P.F.C. pp. 85 ff; Pearlman The Maccabees pp. 49 ff.
- In I Macc. v 15 Γαλιλαίων ἀλλοφύλων ; cp. Joel iv (iii) 4 (LXX) Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων (MT. שִׁבְעָה לִיבְבָי). This phrase may echo אֲרִבְתָּא בְבָי used in Is. viii 23; but at the time I Macc. was written Γαλιλαία was certainly a proper name and did not just carry the meanings of the Hebrew בְבָי . See on this Alt K.S. II pp. 414 ff.
60. K.S. II pp. 414 ff.
61. Das Gottesvolk p. 39.
62. Geschichte III p. 240 n. 6.
63. J.P.F.C. p. 85; Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 210 regards it as an exaggeration to state that all the Jews were removed.
64. Ruled 162-150 B.C.
65. We have two versions of this story. I. Macc. ix 2 reads:
καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαία καὶ παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ Μαισαδωθ τὴν ἐν Ἀρβητοῦς καὶ προσκατελάβοντο αὐτήν καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων πολλὰς

Josephus in A. xii 421 reads:

ὅς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξορμήσας καὶ παραγεγόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν Ἀρβητοῦς πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίαις ὄντας, πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ συμπεφύγεσαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβῶν ἄρας ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα σπουδῆν ἐποιεῖτο,

65. (cont'd.)

There are two problems here. First the equation of Galilee with Judaea by Josephus. He is probably using Judaea in its wider sense, as meaning 'Jewish Territory' cf. B.J. i 309. In so far as the mix up between Galilee and Gilgal is concerned Abél Géographie II p. 324 prefers to read Galilee for Gilgal.

The second problem is the phrase $\mu\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\ \tau\eta\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\beta\beta\eta\delta\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$. It has been suggested that $\mu\alpha\upsilon\alpha\lambda\omega\theta$ or $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\theta$ may well be a transcription of the Hebrew גִּלְגָּל meaning 'ascents' and 'high places'; Abél-Starcky Les Livres des Maccabées p. 150; J.C. Dancy A Commentary on I Maccabees p. 131; Abél Histoire I p. 164; Abél R.B. 33 (1924) p. 380. Neither Josephus nor the Talmudic literature ever mentions a place by the name of $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\theta$. See also Keil Makkabäer p. 149 n. 1; Klein Jeschurun 14 (1927) p. 287 reads Arbella as a district which was predominantly Jewish; on the other hand Ewald History V p. 323 esp. n. 1 states that Arbella is אֲרֵבֵלָה in Hos. x 14.

In the light of later developments it is quite plausible to read 'the heights of Arbella'.

66. The Roman Order I Macc. viii 31-2; the battle I Macc. ix 6-21, A. xii 422-34.
67. Schürer (1973) p. 177.
68. $\mu\alpha\chi\upsilon\lambda\delta\varsigma$, I Macc. ix 73; A. xiii 34; Schürer (1973) p. 177 n. 10; Niese Geschichte III p. 262; Tcherikover H.C.J. pp. 236 ff.
69. I Macc. x 51-66; A. xiii 80-85; Schürer (1973) p. 180; Niese Geschichte III p. 262; Tcherikover H.C.J. pp. 236 ff.
70. This incident is referred to by several of the ancient historians; I Macc. xi 39-40, 54; A. xiii 131-2, 144; Strabo xiv 2, 10; Diod. xxxiii 4a; Appian Syr. 68, who mistakenly refers to the young king as Alexander. Abél Histoire I pp. 191 ff; Schürer (1973) p. 183; Dancy I Maccabees p. 159; Klein Makkabäer pp. 194 ff; Noth History pp. 378 ff; Reicke N.T. Era p. 61; Meyer Ursprung... II pp. 256-260; Pearlman The Maccabees pp. 219 ff.
Along with his treason Tryphon took Jonathan a prisoner and had him murdered in 142 B.C., effectively turning Simon against him, causing Tryphon's downfall.
71. I Macc. xi 63-74; A. xiii 154, 158-62.
 $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\omega\theta$ is מֵסֹסָלָה situated not far from Lake Semachonitis, or Merom, north of the sea of Galilee. Yadin et al. Hazor I p. 3; Schürer (1973) p. 184.
72. The problems associated with the occupation of Galilee are immense. Two accounts are preserved in the biblical tradition, Josh. xi 1-9 'By the Waters of Merom'; and the Battle of Deborah in Judges iv-v. Four distinct schools of thought have emerged in attempting to solve this problem. A discussion of them is given in M. Weippart The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine (SBT II No. 21) pp. 33 ff.
73. Histoire I p. 187; Abél R.B. 35 (1926) pp. 213 ff. Bevan The House

73. (cont'd.)
of Seleucus II p. 228 n. 6 states wrongly that Galilee had no Jewish population at this time.
74. I. Macc. xii 24-30, A. xiii 174-8.
These incidents have been linked by Derenbourg Histoire pp. 99-100 with Meg. Ta'an. xxiv "On 17th Adar, as the Gentiles rose against the remnant of the scribes in the district of Chalcis and Zabadaea, deliverance came to the house of Israel." There was a battle between the Jews and the Zabadaeans, referred to in I Macc. xii 31-7, A. xiii 179-83. Derenbourg is followed by Wellhausen Parisäer und Sadducäer p. 58; and Abél-Starcky Les Livres des Maccabées p. 186. Zeitlin on the other hand dates this text to the 66-74 war, when the Gentiles throughout Syria rose against the Jews (B.J. ii 559-61, Vita 25). He reads סִבְרֵי not as "scribes" but as "men of Sepphoris" (cp. y Kidd 67d) J.Q.R. 10 (1919/20) pp. 284 ff. The scholiast links it to the persecution of the סִבְרֵי by Alexander Jannaeus, as does Graetz Geschichte III pp. 570 ff, linking it to A. xiii 383 and B.J. i 98. See also Lichtenstein H.U.C.A. 8-9 (1931-2) p. 293, followed by Schürer (1973) p. 185 n. 34.
75. A. xiii 236. See Schürer (1973) p. 202 n. 5 for a discussion of the date. Other scholars are agreed that Jewish strength rested on Syrian weakness, e.g. Meyer Ursprung... II p. 252, "der Krieg ... zur Entstehung eines unabhängigen jüdischen Staates führte, beruht nicht auf der inneren Kraft des jüdischen Volkes und der religiösen Bewegung, sondern auf der Gestaltung der politische Verhältnisse." Bevan in C.A.H. VIII pp. 528 ff writes, "The conflicts of these early years under Hyrcanus showed once more that the small Jewish state could only remain free from Syrian domination as long as the Syrian Empire itself was weak." On the other hand opposed to this view is Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 241 who believes that the Jewish state was not dependent on a weak Syrian throne.
76. I. Macc. xi 57 f; xiii 6. The Sacral Kingship (SN4) p. 351.
77. A. xiii 299, 302; B.J. i 74. See Schürer (1973) p. 216; Abél Histoire I pp. 224 ff.
78. A. xiii 318. Meyer Ursprung II p. 277; Schürer (1973) p. 217; Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 253; Graetz Geschichte III p. 103; Russell Jews from Alexander to Herod p. 68. According to A. xiii 301; B.J. i 70 Aristobolus was the first to assume the title 'King'; while Strabo Geog. 16,140 says that he was the first to declare himself king instead of priest. Zeitlin states that Strabo is wrong, J.Q.R. 51 (1960/1) p. 3 n. 4, however without other evidence a final decision cannot be made. Numismatic evidence casts no light on the subject.
79. A. xii 318; cf. also Jacoby F.Gr.H. 88F5 (Timagenes) = 91F11 (Strabo). Wellhausen Geschichte p. 229 f; Abél Histoire I p. 224 f; Schürer (1973) p. 218; Tcherikover H.C.J. p. 246; Graetz Geschichte III p. 140; Zeitlin J.Q.R. 51 (1960/1) p. 12; Klein Jeschurun 14 (1927) pp. 300 ff.
80. P. 217.

81. Jeschurun 14 (1927) p. 306.
82. K.S. II p. 409.
83. The Herods of Judaea p. 9.
84. (1973) p. 218 n. 10.
85. A. xiii 322.
86. Histoire I p. 225; cf. Schürer (1973) p. 218 n. 10.
87. J.Q.R. 51 (1960/61) p. 7.
88. Ibid.
89. B.J. i 64-66; A. xiii 275-283.
90. A. xiii 324-34; Abél Histoire I pp. 226-229; Schürer (1973) p. 220.
91. On the Battles between Ptolemy Lathyrus and the Jews, and the problems in the account of Josephus see I. Levy H.U.C.A. 23 (1950/1) pp. 127-136.
92. Gen. r 91:3; y Ber. 11b; b Ber. 48a. Derenbourg Histoire pp. 96-98; Graetz Geschichte III pp. 112 ff, 473ff (n. 13); I Levy R.E.J. 35 (1897) pp. 218-223; Schürer (1973) p. 222. That this conflict may be referred to in the Qumran scrolls see Rabin J.J.S. 7 (1956) pp. 3-11.
93. A. xiii 275; C.Ap. I 35. See Hbilscher Der Sadduzäismus p. 88.
94. A. xiii 372-3; B.J. i 88. In b Kidd 66a Yannai is named as a person whose mother was captured from the enemy at Modiim. A. xiii 292 supports this, his mother was a captive from Antiochus Epiphanes. Schürer (1973) p. 223 n. 16 believes this story to be unhistorical, and even if it were historically sound it would be better suited to John Hyrcanus.
In the Talmud an unnamed Sadducee was pelted for pouring the libation water at his feet, b Sukk 48b. Derenbourg Histoire pp. 98 ff; Graetz Geschichte III pp. 473 ff (n. 13). t Sukk 3:16 refers to a Boethusian doing this. Hbilscher Der Sadduzäismus pp. 27, 59; Leszynsky Die Sadduzäer p. 65; Wellhausen Pharisäer und Sadduzäer p. 96; Le Moyne Les Sadducéens pp. 101, 285 ff. It is possible that the Sadducees objected to the libation water Le Moyne Les Sadducéens pp. 283 ff. Finkelstein suggests somewhat fancifully that the plebeians pelted the Sadducee/Jannaeus because they were wasting the water - a precious commodity in Jerusalem (!). See also Moore Judaism I pp. 63 ff; Abél Histoire I p. 231; Zeitlin J.Q.R. 51 (1960/61) p. 14.
95. Jud. xvii 6, xxi 25; Josh. xxiv, although the latter passage is credal in nature, see Soggin Joshua pp. 227 ff. Also in the period of the Judges the Galilean Tribes provided at least three, and possibly five of the Judges:

95. (cont'd.)
TOLAH b. PUAH - Issachar Judges x 1-12.
ELON - Zebulun Judges xii 11-12.
BARAK b. ABINOAM - Naphtali Judges iv 6-23.
? SHAMGAR b. ANATH - Asher Judges iii 71, v 6.
?? IBZAN OF BETHLEHEM - Judah or Zebulun Judges xii 8-10.
The Galilean Tribes were also well represented in Gideon's army, and were at the anointing of David, II Sam. v 1-3.
Despite the difficulties of the 'Levitical Towns' and 'Cities of Refuge', Kedesh in Naphtali was preserved as a 'City of Refuge', Josh. xx 7; xxi 32; I Chron. vi 61; t Makk 2:2. For an introduction to the problem see Albright in Ginzberg Memorial Volume pp. 49-73; Mazar SVT VII (1959) pp. 193-205. It is interesting to note that Wellhausen in Prolegomena... pp. 159-64 concludes that the idea of 'Levitical Cities' is "evil Mosaicity transcending history." See now M. Haran J.B.L. 80 (1961) pp. 45-54, 156-165.
96. A. xiii 394; B.J. i 105.
97. A. xiii 396. In general on the wars of Alexander Jannaeus, Abél Histoire I pp. 232-239; Schürer (1973) pp. 219 ff; B. Kanael Tarbiz 24 (1954) pp. 9-15; M. Stern Tarbiz 33 (1964) pp. 325-366.
98. N.T. Era pp. 70 ff.
99. R.E.J. 127 (1968) pp. 329-345, the quotation is from pp. 344 ff. Zeitlin on the other hand states that it was neutrality rather than anti-Roman feeling that resulted in this apparent lack of communication, J.Q.R. 51 (1960/1) p. 10.
100. The Roman attack on Tigranes Empire, A. xiii 419-421, B.J. i 116.
101. The dispute is treated by Wellhausen Geschichte pp. 238 ff; Abél Histoire I pp. 247-250; Graetz Geschichte III pp. 130 ff; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II pp. 170 ff; Schürer (1973) pp. 233 ff; Derenbourg Histoire pp. 170 ff; Schalit König Herodes pp. 4 ff; Laquer Der Jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus pp. 134-6.
102. A. xiv 13.
103. Geschichte p. 238.
104. A. xiv 4-7, see below Chapter V.
105. The representatives of τὸ εἶδος may well have been the Pharisees, Schalit König Herodes p. 10, who describes them as "die Feinde des Hasmonäerhauses." On Pharisaic opposition to the Hasmonaean House see V. Aptowitzer Partei-politik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum, passim.
106. A. xiv 41-5; Diod. xi 2; B.J. i 131-32. On the form and sources of Josephus see Laquer Die Jüdische Historiker pp. 145 ff.
107. A. xiv 48-53, B.J. i 133-7. A.H.M. Jones The Herods of Judaea p. 17 states that Aristobolus raised an army of Galileans and Ituraeans.
108. A. xiv 58-60; B.J. i 142-4.

109. For an introduction to the problems associated with this see Schürer (1973) p. 239 n. 23.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVIDENCE OF JOSEPHUS

Chapter II

THE EVIDENCE OF JOSEPHUS

Chapter I outlined the history of Galilee from 733 B.C. and showed that there is good reason to believe that the Galileans were strong supporters of the Hasmonaean State. This tendency then led to their emerging as the leaders of the Jewish revolts against Rome. In this chapter we will present and analyse the evidence of Josephus in order to determine whether the above suggestion is plausible.

One problem that must be pointed out at the beginning is that the noun Γαλιλαῖοι in Josephus's writings is not always used to mean "the Galilean community"¹, in reference to the First Jewish War (66-74 A.D.). It sometimes refers to a separate group of rebels. This problem will be dealt with below where the different usages will be made clear.

As we are concerned with Jewish resistance against Roman domination, this chapter falls into four major divisions:

1. Opposition to Herod the Great
2. Opposition to the Census (6 A.D.)
3. Opposition to the Procurators
4. The First Jewish War.

OPPOSITION TO HEROD THE GREAT

The resistance of Aristobulus to Pompey led the Romans to give the throne to his brother Hyrcanus II. It is clear that Hyrcanus was nothing more than a puppet ruler, and when Aristobulus's son Alexander escaped from Roman captivity he made an attempt to seize power in Palestine². He failed in his attempt but nevertheless was able to raise a considerable army, indicating that there was still support for the Hasmonaean house. Gabinus easily quelled the rising.

At the same time (61 B.C.) Gabinus was involved in a reorganisation of Palestine. According to Josephus Gabinus created five σύνεδου (B.J.), or συνέδρα (A). This achieved two things: first, it removed any vestiges of political power Hyrcanus might have had, and secondly it facilitated direct Roman rule. In this reorganisation the city of Sepphoris was made the capital of Galilee³.

Aristobulus then escaped from Rome and went to Alexandreion which he attempted to rebuild⁴. In the Antiquities passage we read:

Πολλοὶ δ' Ἀριστοβούδῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ
τὴν Παλαιὰν εὐκλείαν προσέρρεον, καὶ οὖν καὶ
νεωτέρους χάροντες ἀεὶ πράγμασιν

Within this there is ample proof that the former glory of the Hasmonaeans was preserved among the people, although this does not refer specifically to the Galileans. Aristobulus failed and was returned to Rome, where he was poisoned in 49 B.C.⁵

In 47 B.C. the two sons of Antipater, Herod and Phasaël, were appointed στρατηγού over the Jews, and Hyrcanus was ἑθναρχῆς at the time⁶. Herod had jurisdiction in Galilee, and proceeded immediately to exercise his authority in the manner that was to typify his rule. His aim was always to please the Romans. At the time of Herod's appointment Galilee was harbouring a rebel band led by Ezekias, an extremely important figure in Galilean resistance movements.

A. Ezekias the Galilean

A. xiv 159.

... on learning that Ezekias, a bandit leader, was overrunning the borders of Syria with a large troop, he caught and killed him and many of the bandits with him. This achievement of his was greatly admired by the Syrians for he had cleared their country of a gang of bandits of whom they longed to be rid.

B.J. i 204.

Herod, energetic by nature, at once found material to test his mettle. Discovering that Ezekias, a brigand chief, at the head of a large horde, was ravaging the district on the Syrian frontier, he caught him and put him and many of the brigands to death. This welcome achievement was immensely admired by the Syrians.

Ezekias is described in both passages as an ἀρχι-ἀγστῆς, "brigand chief". However, the actual role of Ezekias has been variously assessed in the light of the reaction to Herod's action on the part of the Jewish authorities.

The summary way in which Herod had dealt with Ezekias was unpopular with the Jerusalemite aristocracy, and Hyrcanus was asked to summon Herod to answer charges. Further pressure was exerted upon him by the mothers of the men whom Herod had killed. They had gone to the Temple, and daily created a disturbance demanding that Herod be brought to justice⁷.

Herod was summoned to appear before the Sanhedrin charged with murder. However, when he appeared he was not in mourning, but dressed in royal robes, surrounded by a bodyguard. The Sanhedrin, although at first silenced by this display, eventually passed the death sentence upon Herod. Sextus Caesar ordered Hyrcanus to acquit Herod, so the latter was advised to leave the city. Annoyed by the insult the Sanhedrin had paid him, Herod left Jerusalem, but returned later with an army. It was the urgent requests for peace from Antipater that eventually persuaded Herod to return to Galilee⁸.

The questions which arise from this episode are numerous. Who was Ezekias, that the Sanhedrin should indict Herod for murder? Who were the men with him, and what was their objective?

If we follow only the testimony of Josephus, then the answers to the above questions are insoluble, or at best only partially solved. Scholars have generally rejected the statement that Ezekias was nothing more than a brigand chief, and have offered various other solutions. J. Klausner in

Jesus of Nazareth writes of Ezekias and Galilee at this time:

... the "brigands" and "bandits" who, especially in Galilee, combined together in large numbers and, under the leadership of Hezekiah the Galilean became a "mighty host" ... It is important ... to take special note of the fact that these "brigand" bands were very numerous in Galilee, which was far removed from the political and religious centre, and that ignorance, disorder and injustice were there most frequent. Galilee was far more suited than Judaea for the nurturing of unruly, unbalanced zealots⁹.

This attitude is reflected in many of the older writings on the subject of Galilee, and Ezekias. Greßmann merely refers to Ezekias as a "Räuberhauptmann"¹⁰, and BÜchler simply refers to him as a zealot¹¹.

Wellhausen comes nearer the modern line of thinking when he describes Ezekias as "ein hasmonäischer Freiheitskämpfer"¹². J. Spencer Kennard in an enlightening article on the origins of the Zealots refers to Ezekias thus: "Hezekiah was Israel's militant champion of Judaism against heathen encroachments ... "¹³, a point taken up later by W.R. Farmer. He argues that Ezekias was the leader of an old established force of troops which had originally been placed in Galilee to defend the borders of the land after the conquests of Aristobulus I¹⁴. In the light of the consequences of Ezekias's death, this latter view seems highly likely.

M. Hengel in his magnificent study of the zealots¹⁵ goes beyond the two previous scholars and states that Ezekias had been approached by the Sadducees to counterbalance the growing power of Antigonus in Judaea. However, several criticisms may be made of this position. First, why should Ezekias attack the Syrians if he was merely counterbalancing the power of Antigonus? Secondly, this makes Ezekias into nothing more than a hired mercenary. Finally, this does not take into account the Galilean aspect of Ezekias's background; perhaps he was more interested in opposing Herod rather than Antigonus, as we shall see that Galilean support for Antigonus was strong.

Applebaum with his interest in agrarian and social matters suggests that Ezekias was a major landowner in Galilee, on the grounds that there may be a link between his name and the name which appears on a second century A.D. sarcophagus discovered in N.E. Galilee¹⁶. The name may well have been a family one as it is found in Masada also¹⁷. Applebaum further suggests that the roots of Galilean banditry may have lain in local reaction against Herod as the foreign rival of the last Hasmonaeans. Finally H.P. Kingdon points out that, although Ezekias is described as an ἀρχιλοστής; he is in fact more than a "robber"¹⁸.

Therefore we would concur with the modern scholars, that Ezekias was much more than a brigand chief. The various solutions offered reflect their own particular interests, but a combination of them may well point towards a satisfactory answer to the questions of who Ezekias was, and his motivation for leading a gang of λησται

(i) Ezekias as Messianic Pretender

Hengel writes¹⁹:

Daß Hiskia als messianischer Prätendent auftrat, bzw. von seinen Anhängern als solcher verstanden wurde, ist unwahrscheinlich.

It must be conceded, however, that there is a distinct possibility that Ezekias was a messianic pretender. In 1870 Geiger suggested that Ezekias was a messianic figure²⁰, and this was followed by Greßmann²¹. Mowinckel reckons that Ezekias was the false messiah recognised by Hillel²². Thus the possibility that Ezekias was a messianic pretender must be considered.

It is a trait of the zealot movement in general, and the Galileans in particular, that few of their leaders are mentioned in the rabbinic literature; there is one third century tradition, however, that may refer to Ezekias. This tradition is used by Geiger²³, von Gall²⁴, Eisler²⁵ and

Roth²⁶ to argue that Ezekias was messianically motivated²⁷. The story is one about Johanan ben Zakkai on his death-bed, and exists in two recensions.

ySot. 9:16 (24c)

Rabbi Jacob b. Idi tells in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi, that just before his death Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai prescribed a throne for Ezekias, king of Judah.

ARN A 25 (Goldin p. 107)

Johanan ben Zakkai: He said: Clear the house of uncleanness and prepare a throne for Hezekiah; king of Judah²⁸.

Goldin takes the reference here to mean Hezekiah the scholar²⁹; and Hengel opposes any attempt to identify this Hezekiah with Ezekias³⁰:

Nun kommt jedoch Jochanan ben Zakkai als Kronzeuge für die messianischen Ansprüche eines Bandenführers kaum in Frage. In der relativ spät im 3. u. 4. Jh. n. Chr. geführten Diskussion wurde ausschließlich die Frage erörtert, ob der alttestamentliche König Hiskia der Messias sein könne.

This suggestion is probably correct, and on the rabbinic evidence alone there is no justification in stating that Ezekias was a messianic pretender as there is no certainty that the passages even refer to him.

In conclusion it is not very likely that Ezekias was a messianic pretender per se; rather we may agree with Hengel that Ezekias, as a man of rank and of aristocratic birth and probably a leader of a Hasmonaean force (so Farmer) had no need to be a messianic pretender³¹.

(ii) Founder of the Zealots

While most scholars are agreed that the "zealots" as a movement did not emerge until 6 A.D., led by Judas of Galilee, many of them are prepared to see the origins of the movement in its first century A.D. form in 47 B.C. with Ezekias³². However, it is Hengel who makes the clearest judgement³³:

Als Gründer der Zelotenpartei wird man ihn kaum bezeichnen können, er war bestenfalls ein Vorläufer derselben.

A. von Gall in referring to Ezekias's connections with the zealot movement

refers to the Galilean aspect of it³⁴:

Ihre Heimat war Galiläa, wo sie wohl schon in der Makkabäerzeit mit Schrift und Wort für ihre Ansichten auftraten und Propaganda machten.

It is highly unlikely that a completely new ideology would emerge in 6 A.D., and the origins of the zealots are to be seen in the actions of Ezekias³⁵.

Thus we have a historical link between the Maccabees, Hasmonaeans and the zealots. Ezekias, a man of aristocratic connections and more than likely a leader of a Hasmonaean force in Galilee, was the founder of a dynasty of anti-Roman rebel leaders. It further shows that there were strong Hasmonaean traditions in Galilee.

This accounts for two things. First, Herod had Ezekias summarily executed, fair treatment for a rebel leader of robbers, but not so for a man of rank and a military commander. Secondly, if Ezekias was fighting the Syrians to protect the borders of the land, he may also have been training his men in order that they would be ready to support him if he were to make a bid to take the Hasmonaean throne. If this is the case, then Herod could not allow a possible rival to build up power and support, hence his swift actions. If anyone was to take the throne, then Herod had every intention that it should be himself.

Although this latter discussion is purely hypothetical at this stage, in the light of the later history of the Galileans, and in particular the history and careers of the descendants of Ezekias, it does carry some weight.

B. The Galileans and the Rising of Antigonus 40-37 B.C.

In 40 B.C. the immense power struggle between the Romans and the Parthians had important consequences in Palestine. At this time Antigonus,

the son of Aristobulus II, with the aid of the Parthians took the throne of Palestine, and became effective king of the Jews for three years³⁶. Full details of the revolt may be passed over, but several important aspects of it relate to the Galileans and they are to be dealt with here.

Anti-Herodian feeling was strong in Galilee, which was probably strengthened by the fact that Herod had Roman support. The Galileans supported Antigonus, and met him at Mount Carmel. A. xiv 334 reads³⁷:

ἔκ δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς Ἀντιγόνου ἐλθόντων καὶ συνελθβαλ εἰν ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων

Mount Carmel was a good place to rally support, but the question remains: were Galileans included in the term τῶν Ἰουδαίων ? Almost certainly they were, and, although we have no direct evidence it is not entirely an argumentum ex silentio. It has been noted that in Galilee opposition to Herod was strong³⁸; also Mount Carmel may have been held in reverence within Galilean religious feelings, since it was the scene of Elijah's greatest and most spectacular miracle, and it will be seen below that Elijah apparently played an important part in Galilean traditions. Finally, the resistance to Herod was long-lasting in this revolt, especially in the caves of Arbella, the traditional hideout of Galilean rebels.

A contradiction appears in the writings of Josephus on this revolt. We are told that when Herod marched through Galilee καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ προσέδωκετο³⁹. However, this probably reflects the source Josephus is using - Nicholas of Damascus - as a statement of this nature, which is clearly an exaggeration, reflects a pro-Herodian Tendenz⁴⁰. A.H.M. Jones writing on this text shows an unusual lack of perception when he states that Galilee went over to Herod as the latter was popular there⁴¹. Even though Herod quelled Galilee once, resistance continued, and in 37 B.C., having wintered in Sepphoris, Herod

and his troops moved against the caves of Arbella.

(i) The Troglodytes

The *ἀγροταί* who had taken refuge in the caves proved difficult to capture or kill and Herod supervised the action himself. During the campaign Josephus tells the story of an old man, his wife and seven sons. A. xiv 429⁴².

Now there was an old man shut up in one of the caves with his seven children and his wife; and when they begged him to let them slip through to the enemy, he stood at the entrance and cut down each of his sons as he came out, and afterwards his wife, and after throwing their dead bodies over the precipice, threw himself down upon them, thus submitting to death rather than slavery. But before doing so he bitterly reviled the king - for he was a witness of what was happening - stretched out his right hand and promised him full immunity.

It must be noted at the outset that there is a "legendary" quality about this story⁴³, and within it there are certain contradictions.

First, the use of the word *ἀγροταί*. The men in the caves were almost certainly more than mere brigands⁴⁴, as had been Ezekias. Rather they were patriots who preferred to die rather than suffer slavery under the rule of Herod - thus they became martyrs. Zeitlin postulates that these men were the political heirs of the men who were with Ezekias⁴⁵. Dalman⁴⁶, followed by Black⁴⁷, imply this when they refer to them as the remnants of Antigonus's army.

Hengel describes the action of the man as a heroische Selbstmord⁴⁸, and after pointing out that the opposition to Herod was great in Galilee he concludes^{48a}:

Ein einheitliches Ziel und feste Organisationsformen werden weder bei Hiskia und seiner Bande noch bei den Späteren "Raubern" in Galiläa sichtbar. Die Unruhen waren ein Ausdruck des tiefen Freiheitswillens der Galiläer, dem allerdings eine religiöse Grundlage nicht abgesprochen werden kann: sie wollten nur einen solchen Herrscher anerkennen, der den Forderung des Gesetzes entsprach.

The action of the old man is testimony to the fact that opposition

was great in Galilee, but it is also remarkable that it is precisely the teaching of Judas the Galilean and Zadok the Pharisee in 6 A.D.

Although the legendary elements in this story are strong, they do not negate the fact that the story is based on historical events. There would have been martyrdoms in the action of Herod against the caves, and the message of the story is in accordance with what we know of the later traditions and teachings of the Galilean resistance movements. However, a study of the legendary traits is important from the point of view of the relationship between the writings of Josephus and other Jewish literature. The two traditions which stand out for discussion are: first the old man with seven sons, and secondly the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons.

(a) The Figure of Taxo in the Assumption of Moses, ix 1-7.

The Assumption of Moses is a pseudepigraphic work known to us only in a late Latin recension of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, transmitted through Greek⁴⁹. Most scholars are agreed that it is to be dated between 7 and 30 A.D.⁵⁰ Thus it was written some 40 or 50 years before the histories of Josephus.

Ass. Mos. ix 1-7:

Then in that day there shall be a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo who, having seven sons shall speak to them, exhorting them: ² Observe my sons, behold a second ruthless (and) unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and far exceeding the first. ³ For what nation, or what region, or what people of those who are impious toward the Lord, who have done many abominations have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? ⁴ Now, therefore, my sons hear me: for observe and know neither did the fathers, nor their forefathers tempt God so as to transgress his commands. ⁵ And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we will do. ⁶ Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave, which is in the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our fathers. ⁷ For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord. (Tr. Charles)

Kohler⁵¹, and Klausner⁵² have postulated that the figure of Taxo in this passage is to be identified with the Galilean rebel referred to above.

Jeremias admits this as a possibility⁵³, as does Black⁵⁴. But it is by no means certain - in fact the majority of commentators do not agree - and no commentator has yet put forward a convincing reason why it can not be so.

Scholars have been so involved in trying to unravel the name $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron(\nu)$, by numerous methods, e.g. gematria or ab-bag, that they have paid little attention to any identification of the character with a historical personality. To illustrate the methods used the following survey has been made.

HIIGENFELD⁵⁵ presumed on the basis of an emendation of the name, and by gematria that the name meant "Messiah". Thus $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ became $\tau\xi\chi$ = 363; and as $\eta'\psi\lambda\eta = 363$, then $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega = \eta'\psi\lambda\eta$.

However, two general criticisms must be made here. First, that an emendation was necessary makes his argument weak, and secondly, there is no justification for using gematria in solving a problem in a text before 30 A.D., as this method of interpretation was probably not used until after 70 A.D. at the earliest⁵⁶.

For VOLKMAR⁵⁷, the word $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ was corrupted from the word $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron$ = 431, and as $\aleph\beta\gamma\ \eta\iota\eta$ also = 431, then Taxo was Rabbi Akiba. But $\eta\iota\eta$ is an impossible form⁵⁸, and furthermore Akiba was never written without the yod, thus $\aleph\beta'\gamma$. COLANI thought that the word $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$ was a corruption for $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\nu$ = "ordering", (heb. $\square\psi$). Hence he asserted that Rabbi Judah ben Baba, slain during the Hadrianic persecution, is meant⁵⁹. These last two scholars date the writing far too late.

CARRIÈRE⁶⁰ did not try to identify the man. He argued that the Latin cujus nomen erit Taxo in Aramaic would be $\aleph\omicron\kappa\tau\ \eta\chi\iota\omega\iota\tau$, which is corrupt for $\aleph\omicron\kappa\tau\ \square\psi\iota\tau$, i.e. "one who will promulgate a decree", as $\aleph\omicron\kappa\tau$ "ordinance", which was misunderstood by the Greek translator.

HAUSRATH⁶¹ tried to show by the ath-bash (corrected by Lattey to ab-bag⁶²), that Shiloh was meant, as an epigram for the Messiah. Thus השיל became השיל, which the Greek translator read as השיל. WIESLER⁶³ provided an equally ingenious suggestion. Taxo was derived from השיל, "the badger-like one". Thus he linked it to II Macc. x 6, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηδαίοις θηρίων τρόπον ἦσαν νεμόμενοι. This is really too far-fetched, and is similar to DEANE'S view that Taxo goes back to a low Latin word meaning a "badger"⁶⁴.

ROSENTHAL⁶⁵ followed Hausrath and stated that השיל is numerically equal to השיל. It referred, therefore, to the Second Moses of Deut. xviii 18. EWALD⁶⁶ states that Taxo is to be identified with Judas of Galilee, but offers no concrete proof.

CHARLES began the modern critical study of the pseudepigraphic work and offered a new solution to the problem. He referred to the Samaritan Legends of Moses, wherein there is a reference to a man of the stem of Levi, zealous for the law. Thus he argues that cujus nomen erit Taxo, in Hebrew השיל, and the last word being corrupt for השיל, "the zealous" makes it possible to identify the man with Mattathias on the basis of I Macc. ii 27, πᾶς ὁ Σηδων πῶ νόμος καὶ εὐσεβὴς διαθήκεν, (cf. A. xii 271)⁶⁷. Charles has fallen into the same trap as the scholars he criticises, and he has to use an emendation or corruption to solve the problem to his satisfaction. This was probably noticed by Charles, as later we find that he changed his view to follow Burkitt⁶⁸.

BURKITT⁶⁹, states that we should read Taxoc for Taxo, hence by ab-bag השיל becomes השיל. This Eleazar is to be identified with the Eleazar of II Macc. vi 18 ff. HÖLSCHER⁷⁰ using a similar method identifies Taxo with an Eleazar of the Bar Cochba period. Both these solutions have been criticised, the latter because it dates the book far

too late; and the former because Eleazar, although important, would hardly have influenced the later apocalyptists⁷¹.

Two rather more esoteric views then emerged. EISLER⁷² identified him with John the Baptist, as in a Mandaic myth John the Baptist has eight children. GALL⁷³ links this passage with the Persian myth of saošyant - an apocalyptic fore-runner.

The most popular solution, adopted by SCHÜRER⁷⁴, CLEMEN⁷⁵, BOUSSET-GREßMAN⁷⁶, JEREMIAS⁷⁷ and KUHN⁷⁸, is that Taxo is based on the Greek τάξις, and means "the orderer".

TORREY⁷⁹ and PFEIFFER⁸⁰ both identify Taxo with Mattathias and hold that the seven sons are the dynasty of the Hasmonaeans; as in Aramaic ܟܫܘܬܐ = ܟܫܘܬܐ, by gematria.

APTOWITZER⁸¹, criticises Klausner's position and suggests instead that the sentence "a man of the tribe of Levi, named Taxo" would be

הַיֵּשׁ אֲבָגָט לְבִי שֵׁשׁ אֲבָגָט in Hebrew.

In Eccl. vi 4 אֲבָגָט was written אֲבָגָט; thus the translator read אֲבָגָט as אֲבָגָט, and thereby indicated that Taxo was a "concealer".

LATTEY⁸² took up the older personal interpretation of Shilo. Taxo was an ab-bag for Shilo, which should be read שִׁלֹּה, "until he come, whose they are" is thus the interpretation of the name.

ROWLEY⁸³. As he so often was, Rowley was non-committal in his analysis of the name Taxo. He opposes cryptograms, and the identification of Taxo as the Messiah, as, he argues, Taxo is doing nothing of world importance:

The figure remains completely obscure, therefore it is probable that he was an actual person, contemporary with the writer (c. 30 A.D.), who it would be dangerous to indicate more openly. This suggests that he was a well known person and the significance attached to his death would independently suggest this. Yet no contemporary figure in the age when the book is believed to have been written, who would fulfil these conditions is known. Possibly in the circles for which the book was written exaggerated significance was attached to one who created no ripple on the surface of history.

Rowley does not appear to allow for the possibility that if Taxo were based on an actual historical figure it may have been one who existed before the book was written.

ZEITLIN⁸⁴ insists that the book was written in the second century A.D. He argues that Taxo is a latinised form of the word τόξον, "a bow". The Hebrew for this is טוֹר, and the bow played an important part in Jewish theology. He believes that the author of the Assumption did not have a belief in the Messiah, but held that God would reveal himself in this world through a man called Taxo, and the טוֹר would herald God's coming in majesty. The author had R. Joshua in mind when he wrote the name Taxo.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls led MOWINCKEL⁸⁵ to suggest that Taxo is to be seen as the "orderer", and is to be linked with רְרֹן, "regulator, supervisor" in CDC. The word רְרֹן occurs in Num. xxi. 18, and is translated by βασιλεύς in the LXX. He concludes:

... so we can more easily understand that the author of the "Assumption" has taken up the religious title of the "Orderer" as the apocalyptic "name" of the "forerunner" before the days of the end, and through his voluntary "sacrifice" should make the Lord let salvation come⁸⁶.

In this view he is followed by EISSFELDT⁸⁷, and HENGEL⁸⁸. However Mowinckel is criticised by DELCOR⁸⁹ on the basis of the LXX use of the word רְרֹן. In the LXX it is never translated by τάξω. Delcor would rather identify Taxo with the "Teacher of Righteousness", as, he asserts, the Assumption originated in Essene circles.

LICHT⁹⁰ would appear to have the correct solution to this problem. He does not analyse the name using gematria or other methods, but follows VOIZ (among others)⁹¹, in identifying Taxo as an "orderer" in the apocalyptic sense. However, Taxo must also be understood as an active figure and "his proposed deeds have the political significance of a manifesto". Thus Licht, although he does not suggest any particular historical

figure, allows the exegete to determine from other criteria the identity of the character Taxo was based upon.

Three real possibilities have been suggested by scholars as to the identification of Taxo. First Mattathias, secondly Eleazar of II Macc., and lastly the Galilean rebel.

There is no real evidence within the texts for an identification with Mattathias, except that he was zealous for the law. Eleazar is a much better suggestion. Even here, however, the analogies are not strong. Eleazar is old⁹² and we presume that the man in the Assumption is old. But Eleazar is alone (although linked with a separate story of the martyrdom of seven sons), whereas Taxo has his seven sons with him. Taxo retires to a cave; Eleazar does not⁹³. Further, the developments which took place in the literary history of the story between II Macc. and IV Macc. indicate that Eleazar was preserved not so much as a martyr, but as a model of Jewish philosophy.

The parallels between Taxo and the Galilean rebel are much stronger. They both have seven sons, are in a cave, they both die voluntarily; and the comparative brevity of both stories is a small but significant point.

The question which remains is that it is almost impossible to say where the story originated. Josephus may have modelled his story on that of the Assumption of Moses, and the Assumption of Moses may be modelled on the happenings in the caves of Arbella. However, the legendary elements of the story do not end here, and there is a possibility that both stories are based on a popular folk tradition. This will be discussed in more detail after the image of the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons has been discussed.

(b) The Martyrdom of a Mother and Her Seven Sons

This image was common in Jewish literature, and was taken up later

in Christian tradition. It is first expounded at length in II Maccabees.

An analysis of the material preserved in II Maccabees is necessary in order to trace the Traditionsgeschichte of the image of the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons. It is then necessary to trace the influences II Macc. may have had on later writings, especially IV Macc. and Josephus; and indeed it is clear that the image did not pass out of usage at the end of the first century A.D., as the story is repeated many times in early Christian literature, and the Rabbinic writings, which will be dealt with in Appendix I at the end of the thesis.

(ba) II Maccabees vii 1-41

It must be stated at the outset that this image is an O.T. one, which signifies perfect happiness. Job's wife, married to the Wisdom literature's perfect man, has seven sons⁹⁴; in the "Song of Hannah"⁹⁵ we find a reference to a barren woman bearing seven sons; and in Ruth⁹⁶ there is a hope that she will have seven sons⁹⁷. The complete antithesis to this picture is found in Jeremiah. In Jer. xv 9 we read:

She who has borne seven has languished;
She has swooned away;
Her sun went down while it was yet day;
She has been shamed and disgraced.⁹⁸

Thus the image is not new in II Macc.⁹⁹, and therefore there is a possibility that the stories as they occur in II Macc. may not be strictly historical, but may be a haggadic-midrash on Jer. xv 9. Two things need to be pointed out before this is discussed. First, that this does not rule out the fact that there would have been martyrdoms at the time of the Maccabean Revolt; and secondly, it does not detract from the message of the author in writing II Macc. His purpose may well have been homiletic, and therefore the inclusion of a midrash would be to his advantage.

Haggadic-midrash is an extremely wide term, and it is necessary to define it in order to present our argument. The problem is that scholars

themselves are divided as to an acceptable definition of midrash, and this is not the place for a full discussion of the problem¹⁰⁰. Renée Bloch defines midrash-haggadah thus¹⁰¹:

L'autre qui se rapporte surtout aux parties narratives de la Torah, et cherche à dégager la signification des récits et des événements de l'histoire, est désigné sous le nom de midrash aggadah.

She is defining rabbinic midrash, hence the narrow sphere of interpretation. Rather more recently Wright has commented (my italics)¹⁰²:

If we are to be precise in a classification of literary genres, we should borrow from the rabbis the term haggadah as well as the term midrash, and use the term haggadah to describe works of didactic fiction.

Here Wright makes an important point, in that we are borrowing a method of exegesis which is to a large part rabbinic, although it is true that it was not exclusive to the rabbis, as we shall see. However, he assumes that midrash is a literary genre, which is not possible, as Le Déaut has pointed out¹⁰³. But he does mention creative historiography, which he defines as "the complementing and amplification of the available facts in an imaginative manner"¹⁰⁴. Thus our definition of haggadic midrash must take into account this phenomenon of creative historiography. This is found in Josephus, according to Rappaport¹⁰⁵, and is also found in the targumic literature.

The type of midrash haggadah we are dealing with here is not simply creative historiography, as its point of departure is apparently scripture. Bloch states that such midrash is "une réflexion, une méditation sur les textes sacrés, une 'recherche' sur L'Écriture"¹⁰⁶. Thus with the proviso made by Gertner that "covert midrash" is acceptable in this context, meaning that an idea (or legal principle) may be spoken of, but the text never defined, we may come to a definition of haggadic midrash suitable for this study:

Haggadic midrash is the development of an idea found in scripture, which is used to embellish historical facts for homiletical purposes.

Having defined haggadic midrash, it is necessary briefly to consider the question whether we are justified in applying it to a document composed in the second century B.C. In 1938 Finkelstein published an article entitled "The Oldest Midrash: Pre-Rabbinic ideals and teachings in the Passover Haggadah"¹⁰⁸. In this he argued that the "Passover Haggadah" was composed in the first half of the second century B.C., when Palestine was under Egyptian (Ptolemaic) rule. He states that the work was of a propagandist nature. If Finkelstein is correct, and he is followed by Daube¹⁰⁹, Seeligman¹¹⁰ and Wright¹¹¹, then we have evidence of a written midrash about the time of the composition of II Macc.¹¹². Further pre-Christian haggadah has been identified in the genizah fragments of the targums, especially by Kahle¹¹³ and McNamara¹¹⁴. A. Robert has gone further than most in presenting a pre-haggadic style in Prov. i-ix, which he describes as a "style anthologique", and dates Prov. i-ix to 485 B.C.¹¹⁵ It may also be noted that midrashic tendencies have also been identified in the peshar form of Qumran, the Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo and Josephus¹¹⁶.

Vermes in a short but enlightening conclusion to his book Scripture and Tradition in Judaism¹¹⁷. summarises, on the basis of his discussion, the history of haggadic interpretation. He states that the earliest traces of post-biblical haggadah are to be found in the "corrections of the scribes" (תַּרְוּנָה וְיִרְוּנָה), and the emended readings (יִרְוּ) which were on occasions to supplant the written (כַּתּוּב) text. The influence of the sopherim here is important as they date back to Ezra¹¹⁸. Thus haggadic tradition went back far beyond the Maccabees¹¹⁹.

The question now arises, why should the stories preserved in II Macc. vii be haggadic midrash, even though the form and methodology were current at the time of the composition of the work? The answer to this lies in a careful analysis of the chapter on the basis of form. This shows that it is a literary creation rather than a straight reporting of fact.

The form is as follows:

The Martyrdom Passage in II Maccabees vi 12 - vii 42

A literary unit with an introduction and epilogue

INTRODUCTION	vi 12 - 17	From the author
MARTYRDOM OF ELEAZAR	vi 18 - 30	
POSTSCRIPT	vi 31	From the author

Chapter vii divides up into eleven sections

INTRODUCTION	vii 1	
FIRST BROTHER	vii 2	Statement
	3-5a	Torture
	5b-6	Mother's comment
		(Quoting Deut. xxxii 36 verbatim)
SECOND BROTHER	vii 7a	Introduction
	7b-9a	Brother's torture
	9b	Brother's statement
		(Echoes Dan. xii 12 cf. Heb. xi 35)
THIRD BROTHER	vii 10a	Introduction
	10b-11a	Torture
	11b	Brother's statement
	12	Reaction of court
		(om. in I.B.M.)
FOURTH BROTHER	vii 13a	Introduction
	13b-14a	Torture
	14b	Brother's statement
FIFTH BROTHER	vii 15-16a	Torture
	16b-17	Brother's statement
SIXTH BROTHER	vii 18a ^a	Introduction

SIXTH BROTHER (cont'd.)	vii 18a ^B	Torture	(implicit in the words <i>καὶ μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν ἔφη</i>)
	18b-19	Brother's statement	
FIRST SPEECH OF MOTHER	vii 20-21 22-23	Introduction Speech	(Echoes Ps. cxxiv 13, Eccl. xi 5)
SEVENTH BROTHER	vii 24-27a 27b-28 30-38 39-40	Appeal by Antiochus, introduction to the death of the last brother. Second speech of mother. Speech of brother summing up all that has gone before. Torture and death of last brother.	
DEATH OF MOTHER	vii 41		
EPILOGUE	vii 42		From author

This analysis is by no means conclusive evidence in itself for a literary creation. It is true that every section does not directly resemble every other; but when this analysis is linked with the other evidence as to the possible source of the stories, then it is highly probable that the section is haggadic-midrash.

Scholars have tended to avoid discussing this passage in relation to the rest of the book, presumably in the interests of trying to show the historical validity of the book. However, Zunz in 1892 wrote¹²⁰:

... vom Daniel, der selbst ein Erzeugnis der Hasmonäischen Epoche ist, ist der Übergang zu dem Cyklus der Maccabäersagen, gleich dem von Esra zur Chronik; wie dem Chronisten die Thaten des Esra, so erscheinen gewissen späteren Autoren die der Maccabäischen Märtyrer und Helden in der Glorie des Wunderbaren ... allein die folgenden Maccabäischen Bücher, ursprünglich in Alexandrien verfasst, sind fast nur Sage die zum Theil in späteren Hagadas wieder angetroffen wird. Unter dem vielfältigen haggadischen Themas aus der Maccabäischen Epoche tritt die Erzählung von der Mutter und den sieben Söhnen besonders glänzend hervor, sie bildet eine Zierde der historischen Hagada aller Jahrhundert.

Several years later there was a swing in scholarly opinion towards the view that II Maccabees was rather more historically accurate than

I Maccabees. Niese leading the view reminded us, however¹²¹:

Ueberhaupt liebt das zweite Buch Wunderwerk allerlei Art, wovon ~~das~~ schon erwähnte schreckliche Ende des Menelaus und die Martyrien des greisen Eleazar und der sieben Brüder, ferner die in den Einleitungskapiteln erzählten legenden Beispiele sind.

Schürer describes the stories as having a "sagenhafte Character"¹²²; and Keil points out that the name Eleazar is not uncommon, and that the mother with seven sons is not too far from historical possibility but, "die Sieben als die Vollzahl ehelichen Kindersegens symbolisch bedeutsam erscheint"¹²³. More recently it has been pointed out by Starcky¹²⁴:

On notera la présence du roi, le chiffre "sept"... l'accumulation des supplices d'une part, l'absence de toute indication vraiment concrète, comme le lieu du martyre et même le nom des héros, d'autre part.

Many scholars have stated that the stories are creations of the author, including Moffatt^{124a} following Bevan's somewhat rhetorical attack on the author of the stories¹²⁵. Torrey¹²⁶ regards the stories as unhistorical and uses them to doubt the historical validity of the book. On the other hand, Surkau believes that the stories are not the creation of the author, but come from an unknown source which he classes as a Volkserzählung, and in this he is probably correct¹²⁷. T.W. Manson has probably presented the best solution¹²⁸:

In the case of the passions of martyrs we have always to be on the lookout for what is pious embroidery of the original story, because such stories tend to attract such embellishments as time goes on.

He further points out that these embellishments are more likely to be attached to stories with more Passio than Acta in them, which the II Macc. stories undoubtedly have¹²⁹.

This haggadic midrash was itself the basis of further developments of the story, but before these can be traced it is necessary to date the relevant documents as far as possible.

Most scholars are agreed on a B.C. date for II Macc. Exact dating is impossible due to the redactional nature of the book. We follow Eissfeldt in dating the book to the mid-first century B.C. (just after Jason of Cyrene's work was finished), and the final redaction of the work to ca. 60 B.C.¹³⁰ Zeitlin holds a view far in the extreme of this, dating the book to 41-44 A.D., but this has not found much approval¹³¹.

Thus it is possible to argue that the Assumption of Moses was influenced by this work, and that the image of the martyrdom of seven sons was taken from this midrash. This is not likely, however, as the differences are too great. Before discussing the influences further we must consider briefly the relationship between IV Macc. and II Macc.

(bb) IV Maccabees

That IV Macc. is dependent on II Macc. has never been called into question by any modern scholar. It is true that there are differences, and Surkau points out that there are no verbal connections¹³². There are also many differences in content. For example the whole of IV Macc. is a philosophical treatise^{132a}, the speeches of Eleazar are not short and pragmatic, but are long, rhetorical and apologetic expositions. Also details are different: for example the fate of the second brother in II Macc. is the fate of the fourth brother in IV Macc. There is only one speech by the mother in II Macc., but two in IV Macc.; and the fate of the mother has been developed and expanded upon. It is not necessary here to attempt a full critical survey of the relationship between the works, which has been done by Surkau¹³³.

The important point to note is that the story has been expanded and exaggerated, which is contrary to what we have found in Josephus, where the story has been stripped down to the bare essentials.

Once again the date of IV Macc. is important in determining relative

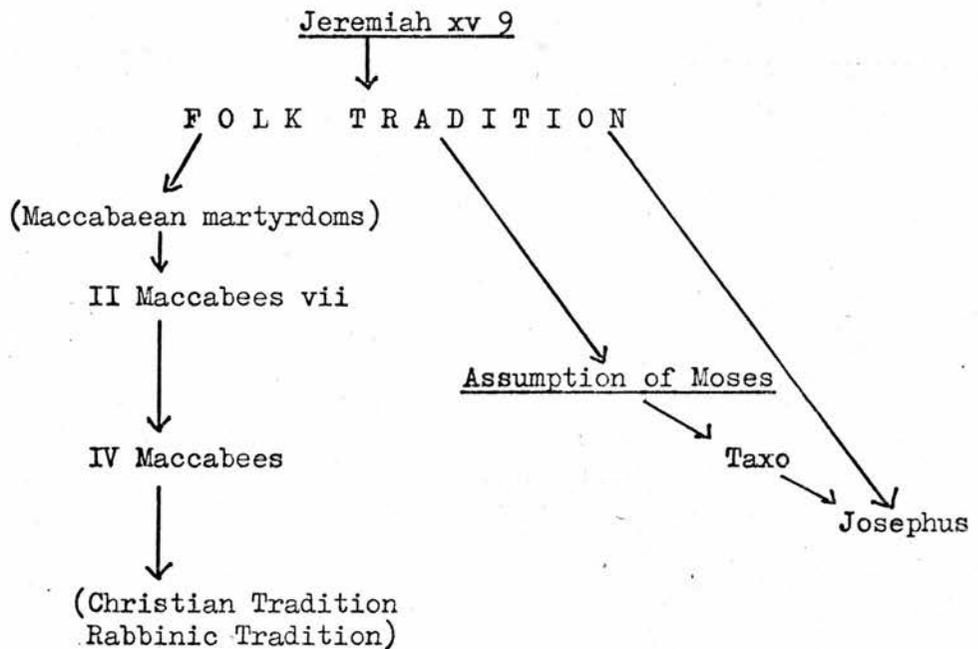
influences. As it presupposes II Macc., it cannot be older than the middle of the first century B.C. and many scholars are content to date it within the limits 63 B.C. to 70 A.D., for example Torrey¹³⁴, Deissman¹³⁵, Townsend¹³⁶ and Schürer.¹³⁷ Nevertheless the date has been narrowed down. Both Grimm¹³⁸ and Hadas¹³⁹ argue for a date in the reign of Caligula (ca. 38/9 A.D.). Eissfeldt¹⁴⁰ and Bickermann¹⁴¹ date it a little earlier, ca. 35 A.D. Dupont-Sommer dates the work to ca 117/8 A.D., which is rather too late.¹⁴² Thus it is possible for Josephus to have been dependent on this work as a source for his story about the Galilean rebel's wife and seven sons.

Thus from the point of view of date Josephus may have drawn the story from either II or IV Macc. The question which faces us is: Did Josephus have either of these works as a source? André¹⁴³ points out four instances where Josephus agrees with II Macc. against I Macc: firstly the intrigues of the priesthood in II Macc. iv 1 ff. (= A. xii 237); secondly the consecration of the Samaritan Temple to Jupiter, II Macc. vi 2 (= A. xii 261-3); thirdly the execution of Menelaus in Beroea II Macc. xiii 3-8 (=A. xii 385); and finally the disembarkation of Demetrius Soter at Tripolis, II Macc. xvi 1 (=A. xii 389). However, apart from these parallels there is little resemblance between the two works, and this information may well have come from Jason of Cyrene¹⁴⁴. No-one to-day accepts the tradition preserved in Eusebius that Josephus was the author of IV Macc.¹⁴⁵, primarily on the grounds that as Josephus had no knowledge of II Macc., he could not have written IV. Macc.

Thus we may conclude that there is no literary dependence between Josephus and II or IV Macc. But there can be little doubt that there is a connection the images in the respective stories.

The results of this enquiry lead us to conclude that the following may well be the solution to the problem, and indeed the Traditionsgeschichte

of the stories as we have them in the Assumption of Moses, II Maccabees and Josephus. The original image came from Jer. xv 9 and this was taken up in a later Volkserzählung, which was then used by later writers to illustrate their writings, especially about martyrdoms. No literary source can be satisfactorily identified for this intermediate stage. In tabular form it is as follows.



(c) The Message of the Man in Galilean Tradition

The message of the man to Herod is important. We read in A. xiv 429 "after hurling their dead bodies over the precipice, threw himself down upon them, thus submitting to death rather than to slavery (θάνατου πρὸ δουλείας ὑπομένων)". It is significant that this is precisely the message of Judas of Galilee and Zadok the Pharisee in 6 A.D. Therefore it is quite plausible that this teaching was not as new as Josephus implies, but was a well established halacha in Galilee. This may well have emanated from the pro-Hasmonaean tendencies of the Galileans, as H.G. Wood points out, the old man was "in the spirit of the Maccabees"¹⁴⁶.

It is worth noting that even after this action of Herod and his men, Galilee was not quelled. After he left the district, Ptolemy was left in charge with a contingent of troops that should have been able to quell any further rising which might take place¹⁴⁷. When a rising did occur, the Galileans killed Ptolemy, and once again fled to the marshes and other "inaccessible places", probably the caves, until Herod returned and once more attempted to wipe out opposition. However he failed. In 38 B.C. after Antigonus had killed Joseph at the Battle of Jericho, Galilean partisans rose against the pro-Herodian nobles, and drowned them in the lake¹⁴⁸.

Although Herod eventually managed to put down the rebellion led by Antigonus, and have him beheaded¹⁴⁹, bringing to an end 103 years of Hasmonaean rule¹⁵⁰, opposition to Herod continued, although Josephus does not provide us with the details so far furnished.

C. The Death of Herod, 4 B.C.

Before discussing the rebellions that took place at the death of Herod in Palestine, it is worth-while to survey briefly the possible reasons for continued hatred on the part of the Galileans towards Herod, and also to discover if there is any evidence for the theory that it was due to pro-Hasmonaean tendencies.

Herod's reign betrays the fact that he was worried by the constant Hasmonaean threat. Indeed the first years of his reign were spent in trying to wipe out the Hasmonaean line. We learn from Josephus that the king had his mother-in-law watched at all times, and that she tried to escape to Cleopatra, one of Herod's greatest enemies, in a coffin¹⁵¹. Secondly, he brought back from Babylon Hyrcanus, Miriamme's grandfather. A.H.M. Jones has suggested that this was in order for Herod to show to

the people that he had the patronage of the Hasmonaean house¹⁵², although it is quite clear from the testimony of Josephus that Herod had him returned in order to kill him¹⁵³. This act of Herod is made to look more evil as Josephus is equally clear in indicating that Hyrcanus was an old man with no designs on taking the throne from Herod. Perhaps Neusner is correct in suggesting that the Parthians were going to use Hyrcanus in order to interfere in Jewish politics when it suited them, and Herod wished to avoid this¹⁵⁴. Even the marriage between Miriamme and Herod, which was contrived to give Herod some legitimate claim to the throne, was tempestuous, and constantly reminded Herod of the danger of a possible resurgence of pro-Hasmonaean feeling.

Herod was also concerned with the High Priesthood. Until Hyrcanus the High Priest had been the Hasmonaean king, but Herod gave the post to his brother-in-law Aristobulus, who was only seventeen years of age¹⁵⁵. Aristobulus was extremely popular with the masses, and so Herod had him drowned. Although Herod feigned grief, Alexandra knew what had happened, and was aware that Herod was guilty of murder¹⁵⁶. During the course of the next six years (35-29 B.C.), Herod was torn between his infatuation for Miriamme, and the intrigues of his mother and sister. The result of this was that in 29 B.C. he put to death another of his brothers-in-law, Joseph¹⁵⁷. Then he had little option but to put to death his wife and her mother¹⁵⁸.

Thus Herod had systematically wiped out the powerful section of the Hasmonaean line. He could not remove the threat to his throne of the Hasmonaean House, however, as the revolts of 4 B.C. show. It may also be mentioned that Josephus claims Hasmonaean descent, so the line was not completely wiped out.

It must be stated that there would have been other, less "idealistic" reasons for Galilean opposition to Herod. It is difficult to assess how

far the internal strife within Herod's family would have affected the ordinary people, especially in Galilee; but Herod's public works would have affected them, and two things must be pointed out with respect to the Galileans: first, the rebuilding of the city of Samaria.

Herod rebuilt the city and renamed it Sebaste. Σεβαστός is the Greek translation of "August"¹⁵⁹, and thereby reveals the honour and esteem Herod accorded to the Romans. Indeed he added to the city a large temple dedicated to Caesar¹⁶⁰. This would have incensed the Galileans in two ways; first it was a deliberate honouring of the Romans, and secondly it was showing favour to the Samaritans, whom the Galileans hated¹⁶¹.

The second important point is that, apart from the creation of a "colony" in Gaba in Galilee, Galilee was totally ignored in Herod's building plans¹⁶².

The fact that Herod was pro-Roman is beyond question, and the Galileans were well aware of the fact. While Herod had been governor of Galilee he had summarily executed Ezekias and further, when Cassius became master of Syria (44B.C.) and demanded seven hundred talents in taxes, Herod raised the first hundred talents to be presented to Cassius presumably with characteristic vigour, and he became especially friendly with Cassius¹⁶³.

Thus it may be seen that Herod, far from being a popular figure in Galilee, was most unpopular. His unpopularity, which was countrywide, is reflected at the end of his reign. An example of this was the plan to pull down the golden eagle Herod had had erected above the gateway to the Temple. It was led by two σοφισταί, Judas ben Sepphoraeus and Matthias ben Margalus, and was prompted by a popular rumour that Herod was dead. He was not, and had many of the rioters executed¹⁶⁴.

Before discussing the implications of this incident it is worth considering the name of Judas. The text of the B.J. is far from clear.

B.J. 648	Ἰουδας τε υἱὸς Σεπφωραίου	A	Read by Niese, Thackeray and Michel
	Σεπφωραίου	PA	
	Σεπφωραίου	MLVRC	
	Seferaei	Latin	

A. xvii 149 Ἰουδας ὁ Σεφραίου

Schalit has suggested two possible solutions to the name of Judas¹⁶⁵.

The first is to read the A. text as primary, then the name may well indicate a town to the east of the Jordan, יְרֵי יְרֵי יְרֵי

(in y Kid. 65d יְרֵי יְרֵי יְרֵי). But if the original is the B.J.

text, then it may well mean the town Σεφωρα a town in Galilee. Now the latter is more likely, as the story as it is preserved in the B.J. text is shorter than in the A. text. In the B.J. the culprits are taken to the palace in Jerusalem, where Herod lay ill; but in the A. they are taken to a magistrates court in Jericho. Also in the A. the speeches are longer. These speeches reflect an awareness of the fact that Herod was constantly worried about the threat of the Hasmonaeans as he states that the Hasmonaeans had done nothing for the Temple, whereas he had¹⁶⁶.

If Judas was from Sepphoris, then we have a good example of Galilean opposition to Herod. Certain traits within the story add further support to this theory. First we read that the action was carried out in zeal for the law. This has two parallels. The first is with Mattathias when he destroyed the pagan altar at Modiin; and the second is with the actions of οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the Jewish war¹⁶⁷. Also there is the fact that the insurgents preferred death, rather than life under the symbol of Roman domination. Thus there is a strong possibility that Judas was

from Sepphoris.

The action may also be referred to in the Assumption of Moses xv 8:

Then thou, O Israel wilt be happy,
And thou wilt mount upon the necks and wings] of the eagle¹⁶⁸.

In the Slavonic version of the B.J. the author refers to the forerunners of the present martyrs as Eleazar and the seven brothers of the Maccabaeian period¹⁶⁹.

When Herod died, at the end of March or the beginning of April in 4 B.C.¹⁷⁰, there was an upsurge of latent nationalism. Despite the appeals by Archelaus for peace, rebels in Jerusalem, supported by many pilgrims as it was Passover, clamoured for the deaths of Matthias and Judas to be avenged. Archelaus had to send in troops to quell the disturbance¹⁷¹. After Archelaus sailed for Rome to claim the throne, there were further much larger disturbances in Palestine.

(i) The Pentecost Rising in Jerusalem (A. xvii 254-268; B.J. ii 39-54)

This rising is important in the study of the Galilean tradition as it reveals several aspects of the Galileans and their activities in the first century A.D.

Sabinus, the Roman Procurator, oppressed the people in many ways. As a result, we read that at the Feast of Pentecost in 4 B.C. many pilgrims were gathered in Jerusalem, angered at their treatment at the hands of Sabinus¹⁷²:

There were Galileans and Idumaeans and a multitude from Jericho and from those who lived in Transjordan, and there was a multitude from Judaea itself who joined all these, and they were much more eager than the others in their desire to punish Sabinus.

The rebels distributed themselves around the city in three camps, and prepared to fight. Although they were brave, they were ill-equipped, and the standard of their military training fell far short of that of the skilled and experienced Roman troops which Sabinus despatched against them.

It was during the disturbances that Sabinus availed himself of an opportunity to break into the Temple and steal 400 talents¹⁷³. The desertion of the royal troops led the rebels into besieging Sabinus in the Palace, and although he was offered safe passage by the Jews, he refused (not unwisely), and waited for Varus in Syria to send assistance¹⁷⁴.

This event tells us that the Galileans were present at the major festivals in Jerusalem; and that they were willing supporters of anti-Roman rebellious movements. Josephus links together Galileans and Idumaeans, and it will be remembered that Aristobulus had conquered Galilee and Idumaea in the same campaign.

Klausner regards this revolt as the beginning of the end of the Second Temple¹⁷⁵; and indeed, it was. The seething unrest continued until 66 A.D. when the first Jewish War broke out.

This revolt was not the only one to take place in Palestine, There was one being led in Galilee by Judas b. Ezekias¹⁷⁶.

(ii) Judas ben Ezekias (A. xvii 271-1)

Then there was Judas, the son of the brigand chief Ezekias, who had been a man of great power and had been captured by Herod only with great difficulty. This Judas got together a large number of desperate men at Sepphoris in Galilee and there made an assault on the royal palace, and having seized all the arms that were stored there, he armed every single one of his men and made off with all the property that had been seized there. He became an object of terror to all men by plundering those he came across in his desire for royal rank, a prize that he expected to obtain not through the practice of virtue, but through excessive illtreatment of others.

(B.J. ii 56)

At Sepphoris in Galilee Judas, son of Ezekias, the brigand chief who, in former days, infested the country and was subdued by King Herod, raised a considerable body of followers, broke open the royal arsenals, and, having armed his companions, attacked the other aspirants to power.

This story is omitted in the Slavonic version.

The problems of the identity of this Judas will be dealt with below.

At this stage we have an example of the tradition of the Galileans

fighting against foreign rulers. The fact that B.J. states that he wished to attack the other aspirants to power, indicates that Judas was indeed obsessed with the aim of becoming king - as the A. states. It has been argued above that this aspiration came from the very pro-Hasmonaean leanings of the Galileans, and it is worth noting that M. Hengel states¹⁷⁷:

Der "Rauberkrieg" auf dem Lande wurde mit besonderer Aktivität in den erst unter den Hasmonäern neugewonnenen Grenzprovinzen Idumäa, Galiläa und Peräa geführt.

This is an important reflection of the point made in Chapter I that the Galileans were pro-Hasmonaean because they had been freed from foreign domination by the Hasmonaean. Dubnow further comments about the fact that this revolt took place away from Jerusalem¹⁷⁸:

Nicht in der Hauptstadt allein kämpfte indessen das Volk für seine Befreiung von der Herodianern und den Römern. Auch die alte Stätte des revolutionären Geistes, Galiläa rührte sich.

Therefore it is not "a rather surprising ambition"¹⁷⁹ that Judas *ζηλώσει βασιλείου τυγῆς* (A. xvii 272). His royal ambitions are thrown into greater relief by the fact that it would appear that Athronges actually reigned in the hill country of Peraea for several years¹⁸⁰.

Professor Black is nearest the mark when he writes¹⁸¹

He (Judas) is also reported by Josephus as even aspiring to royalty (Bell. ii 56), a statement which could mean that the family of Ezekias was perhaps a cadet branch of the Hasmonaean house.

Therefore the motives of Judas will have been twofold. First there would have been an element of revenge, to avenge his father's death. Secondly he wished to continue the work of Antigonus and reinstate the Hasmonaean throne - with himself as the king. His followers were no doubt the relatives, if not the sons, of the men who were with Ezekias.

Judas failed because he was fighting without the assistance of many

Galileans, who were in Jerusalem. Yet it is possible that he had visions of linking up with the rebellion in Jerusalem. He also failed because Varus was quick to react to the situation. He marched from Syria and in a savage reprisal enslaved many of the citizens of Sepphoris, and had two thousand rebels crucified¹⁸². It may also be pointed out that the other rebels had a similar lack of success.

This brings us to the turn of the era, and the next major revolt involving Galileans was in 6 A.D., in opposition to the census of Quirinius¹⁸³.

OPPOSITION TO THE CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS 6 A.D.

A. xviii 4-10; 23-24.

But a certain Judas, a Gaulonite from a city named Gamala, who had enlisted the aid of Saddok, a Pharisee, threw himself into the cause of rebellion. They said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to downright slavery, no less, and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence. They urged that in the case of success the Jews would have laid the foundation of prosperity, while if they failed to obtain any such boon, they would win honour and renown for their lofty aim; and that Heaven would be their zealous helper to no lesser end than the furthering of their enterprise until it succeeded - all the more if with high devotion in their hearts they stood firm and did not shrink from the bloodshed that might be necessary. Since the populace, when they heard their appeals responded gladly, the plot to strike boldly made serious progress; and so these men sowed the seed of every kind of misery, which so afflicted the nation that words are inadequate ... In this case certainly Judas and Saddok started among us an intrusive fourth school of philosophy; and when they had won an abundance of devotees, they filled the body politic immediately with tumult, also planting the seeds of the trouble which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy that I shall now describe. My reason for giving this brief account of it is chiefly that the zeal which Judas and Saddok inspired in the younger generation meant the ruin of our cause ...

(23) As for the fourth of the Philosophies, Judas the Galilean 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. Inasmuch as most people

have seen the steadfastness of their resolution in such circumstances, I may forgo any further account.

B.J. ii 117

Under his (Caponius's) administration, a Galilean named Judas, incited his countrymen to revolt, upbraiding them as cowards for consenting to pay tribute to the Romans and tolerating mortal masters, after having God as their Lord. This man was a sophist who founded a sect of his own, having nothing in common with the others.

The first problem to be dealt with here is the identification of Judas. Early scholars of a distinguished nature, for example Thackeray¹⁸⁴, Lake¹⁸⁵ and Meyer¹⁸⁶ categorically stated that there could be no identification of the two Judases referred to in Josephus. Lagrange even went so far as to suggest that there was only one rebellion, and the fact that we have two is due to duplication in Josephus¹⁸⁷. This view has been successfully criticised by Smallwood¹⁸⁸.

The former position, however, is untenable also. It contradicts ancient tradition¹⁸⁹ and has been shown to be false by modern scholarship. J.S. Kennard in an important article on this point¹⁹⁰ follows Schürer¹⁹¹, among others, in stating that the two Judases referred to are one and the same person. He points out that the silence in Josephus concerning Judas's death is significant, and further states that there is no problem in Judas being supported by Sadducees (although the evidence for this is weak), in 4 B.C. and by Pharisees in 6 A.D.¹⁹²:

... we need not depart from the exact words of the text to deny religious motives to the Judas of 4 B.C.E., or political motives to Judas of 6 C.E. Religion and politics went hand in hand, and no revolutionary leader who proved successful would have disdained the blessing of God.

Since the work of Kennard few, if any, have questioned this identification. Recently Zeitlin in an unusually reasoned article has suggested that the term "Galilean" when used to describe Judas does not necessarily have a geographical connotation, but is used in the sense of describing a member of a revolutionary group in first century Palestine¹⁹³. An attractive hypothesis, but it is not acceptable here as the designation *οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι* refers to a group specifically concerned with the first

Jewish War, and Josephus would be guilty of this sole anachronism in order to support Zeitlin's view.

The appeal to the geographical problem, that Judas is described as coming from Gamala, also carries little weight. Klein¹⁹⁴, resting on the rabbinic evidence¹⁹⁵, states that the Gamala referred to is גבולא ב'בג . However, Abel¹⁹⁶, and many others¹⁹⁷, have noted that the Gamala east of the Sea of Galilee is the one referred to. This apparent contradiction is solved when it is realised that the attack on the royal palace at Sepphoris and the subsequent risings were hardly spontaneous, and after the death of Ezekias the leaders who escaped may well have fled to Gamala, not so far removed from Galilee itself, and the caves where many of the brigands were hidden.

Thus, although Judas spent a certain part of his life in Gaulanitis, he was of Galilean extraction, and epitomised many of the traits of Galilean resistance against Rome.

(i) The Rising due to the Census

M. Hengel points out that, although Judas could have justified the opposition to the census in traditional Jewish terms, by referring to the belief that "the numbering of the people" would incite divine justice and punishment, as it had in the form of a plague after David's census¹⁹⁸, he did not specifically use this method¹⁹⁹. It must further be pointed out that a census was not new in Palestine; the Ptolemies and the Seleucids would have had censuses of sorts. The travels of Zeno are testimony to this²⁰⁰. Further, the census did not affect Galilee, which was the territory of Antipas. Thus we have the problem of why Judas was successful in raising a riot in Judaea where Galileans were held in contempt. His success rested on several things, not least of which was his political expertise.

Judas was using "tried" methods to achieve his ends. His message was essentially religious, that men should have no master but God; and this would seem to contradict the view that Judas was trying to take the Hasmonaean throne. However, when it is considered that Judas was a determined person who was driven to use any means available to him in order to achieve success, then it is not unlikely that he would resort to any claim in order to win support. This claim was almost certainly to win support from the Pharisees, as it has been pointed out that it was they who asked Pompey not to appoint a king over the Jews in 63 B.C.²⁰¹ It is also highly likely that Josephus is wrong in creating a "fourth philosophy" at this stage, in the form he presents it. It is more likely that this teaching developed in the first century throughout the rebel groups - particularly in those followers of Eleazar ben Jair in Masada. M. Hengel has done a major study of the religious message of Judas²⁰², which is condemned by Smith as "the great German façade"²⁰³, unfairly. The work is, however, a little optimistic, and it also assumes that the religious message was the most important part of the actions of Judas.

Judas's success was also due to the newness of his teaching. It is clear that the Pharisees and the Sadducees would not pronounce on the real problems of the day - i.e. the rule of the Romans and political questions in general. Therefore Judas with his *ἰδῖος ἀίρεσις*²⁰⁴, a *τετράτη φιλοσοφία*²⁰⁵, did pronounce on these questions. At the same time it must be noted that the Pharisees were not totally a-political, as the actions of Matthias and Judas reveal²⁰⁶.

Despite the claims of Judas, the revolt was doomed to failure and Josephus does not tell us anything of the fate of Judas or the rebels, which Black suggests may be due to Josephus's denigration of them ad maioram gloriam Romae²⁰⁷.

(ii) The Person of Judas

(a) Rabbinic Literature.

Josephus describes Judas as a σοφιστής²⁰⁸, which Black points out is equivalent to דַּוָּק, a teacher of wisdom learned in the Torah²⁰⁹. Later Josephus refers to him as a σοφιστής δεινότατος²¹⁰. It is worth pointing out that this is the same term Josephus uses to describe Matthias and Judas. Thus Hengel is able to write²¹¹;

Dies deutet darauf hin, daß Judas wohl nicht nur Bandenführer, sondern zugleich Gesetzeslehrer war; man könnte den Begriff wohl am ehesten mit "Schriftgelehrter Volksverführer wiedergeben.

There are within this context two possible references to Judas in the rabbinic literature. The first is found in Eccl. r. 1:11:

Rabbi Zeira said, "How many pious men and sons of the Torah (בני תורה) deserve to be numbered as for example Judah b. R. Hezekiah (יהודה ב"ר חזקיהו).

If this text does refer to Judas this would support Black's statement. Hengel doubts whether this tradition does refer to Judas²¹², and follows Bacher²¹³ in stating that this is the correction of R. David ben Luria which reads יהודה ב"ר חזקיהו; and that the original saying referred to the sons of R. Hiyya, Judah and Ezekias. However, many scholars are of the opinion that this passage does refer to Judas of Galilee²¹⁴.

To describe Judas as a דַּוָּק on the basis of the use of σοφιστής by Josephus is perhaps too narrow. It has been pointed out above that the religious message of Judas must not be given too much importance, and it must also be noted that he was a Galilean and therefore less likely to be well versed in the Torah, as, for example, Zadok would be. If we refer to him as a דַּוָּק, as Hengel²¹⁵ and Applebaum²¹⁶ do, then we may have a stronger basis for taking this reference as an allusion to Judas of Galilee. It will be shown below below in Chapter V that there was strong Hasidic influence in Galilee in the first century A.D. This is

exemplified in the life of Hanina ben Dosa, who was described as one of the תפוצא ׳שנן . This group of rabbis are described by Büchler not as those who practise miracles, although it is true many of them did, but those who practised religious duties²¹⁷. The problem with this solution is that we have no indication as to whether Judas can be classed thus²¹⁸. There is one further reference in the Mishnah which may refer to Judas, and, if it does, then there may be some justification in stating that Judas was a ת׳וֹן in its widest sense.

mYad. iv 8:

A Galilean heretic said, I cry out against you, O ye Pharisees for ye write in a bill of divorce the name of the ruler together with the name of Moses. The Pharisees said, We cry out against you, O thou Galilean Heretic, for ye write the name of the ruler together with the Name (of God) on the (same) page, and, moreover ye write the name of the ruler above, and the Name (of God) below; as it is written, And Pharaoh said, Who is the Lord that I should hearken to his voice to let Israel go? (Ex. v 2). But when he was smitten what did he say? The Lord is righteous. (Ex. ix 27). (Tr. Danby)

The phrase "Galilean heretic said" בלב אן אר has been changed in modern editions to read בלב אדוק אר . But, as Lisowsky points out, this is only in the censored editions²¹⁹. Thus it is with the reading בלב אן א , which is primary, that we are concerned. The word אן א within the Mishnah has problems of its own with which we are not totally concerned. We take it to mean "heretic" in a general sense²²⁰. The problem is, does the phrase בלב אן א refer to a specific person, or does it refer to a group in a generic sense, as Liebermann suggests²²¹, basing his arguments on the phrase "morning-bathers" in a parallel tosephtha?

Wellhausen states, "Nur qadduqi gelili ist wohl in Wahrheit qadduq ha-gellili, der bekannte Stifter der Zeloten, der abtrünnige Phariseer Sadduk"²²². This view has recently been opposed by J. Le Moyne, who states that the Galilean heretic was a Galilean nationalist but not Zadok

the Pharisee²²³; although Rivkin has revived the previous view²²⁴. Finkelstein is non-committal about the text²²⁵:

... it is clear that the sectarian involved was not a Sadducee, but a Galilean nationalist; who opposed the recognition of the non-Davidic, and certainly of the Roman, rulers in Jewish ceremonial.

Although Hengel has reservations about this solution he believes that it is the best one, and that the Galilean nationalist was not Judas, but a follower of Judas²²⁶.

In conclusion, there is no real evidence to show that this text refers to Judas of Galilee²²⁷; further, there is no indication as to whether the phrase ב'בא ג'א is to be read in a generic sense, or in a personal sense. The best view is that of Finkelstein. It may be stated categorically, however, that there is no justification for translating the later emendation of ב'בא ג'א ת'ל'ק'א as "Zadok of Galilee".

Thus, apart from the possible reference to Judas in Eccl. r., which is also a later emendation, we learn nothing further about Judas of Galilee from the rabbinic literature.

(c) References to Judas in Later Josephus

According to nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars Judas of Galilee founded the "Zealots"²²⁸, and it is only very recently that this view has been questioned, and changed slightly with the differentiation that is now made between the various rebel groups in first century Palestine. The use of the term "Zealots" as a blanket designation of Jewish freedom fighters will not do.

If we read carefully the testimony of Josephus we find that Judas founded the sicarii, not the Zealots. Thus G.F. Moore's statement made in 1929 that there can be no absolute identification of the Zealots with the sicarii is correct²²⁹, but only to a point. The problem here is

trying to differentiate the rebel groups through the obvious laxity Josephus demonstrates in his nomenclature of them. We are concerned with the relationship - if any - between the Fourth Philosophy and the sicarii, in the light of B.J. vii 263:

... Eleazar. He was a descendant of Judas who as we previously have stated induced multitudes of Jews to refuse to enrol themselves when Quirinius was sent as censor to Judaea. For in those days the sicarii clubbed together against those who consented to submit to Rome, and in every way treated them as enemies.

Two things need to be noted about this text. First that Eleazar is a descendant of Judas, an important reflection on the hereditary tradition in the Galilean freedom movements. Secondly Judas is attributed with the founding of the sicarii, whom Eleazar and Menahem led in the first revolt. Menahem went into the Temple dressed as a king and accompanied by his "suite of armed fanatics". The Greek here states καὶ τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἐνὸς αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένους, but this translation (Thackeray's) reflects the old Latin version, studiosos sui in armis habebat²³⁰, thus translating ζηλωταί as "zealous ones", rather than "Zealots". This is not unlikely as those followers of Menahem who fled to Masada were known as sicarii.

G. Baumbach has put forward the convincing view that the sicarii had their origin in Galilee, and were concerned with purifying the land by circumcision and by driving out the Hellenists. He comments that the movement was mainly peasant in origin²³¹. Thus in 54-6 A.D. when Josephus informs us that the sicarii killed Jonathan the High Priest, it was probably due to his collaboration with the Roman overlords²³². In this he may well be correct, but it would appear that after this time there was a split in the sicarii, which resulted in sicarii with Galilean connections and antecedents, and sicarii better classed as ἀγισταί, in its widest sense. M. Smith in an article which analyses

as much secondary material as it does primary, states with regard to the possible identity of the Zealots with the sicarii²³³:

It seems unlikely, however, that the organisation Judas founded - Josephus's "fourth philosophy" - called itself the Zealots for had it done so, the same title could hardly have been taken as it was in the revolt, by quite a different party. Whatever it called itself Judas's sect survived, continued its opposition to the Romans, was led by his descendants, and in the fifties, when Roman control of the country began to disintegrate, made itself notorious by a series of murders of distinguished individuals. These won this party the name of the "Sicarii" ...

He then goes on to state that all we know of the party is in Judaea, and that none of the Galilean material in the Gospels shows any trace of it. This does not negate the Galilean aspect of the movement, because of course the anti-Roman movement was based in Judaea, as this was the centre of political and religious power. Thus on purely dynastic grounds we have seen that Judas's Fourth Philosophy later became known as the sicarii. As Professor Black writes²³⁴:

It will be noted that it was the 'fourth philosophy' of Judas of Galilee which Josephus regarded as the fons et origo of all the political disasters of the period, culminating in the open rebellion against Rome under Gessius Florus in 66 A.D. We have little difficulty in recognising in this group of political activists led by Judas, the ancestors of the so called zealots, nicknamed sicarii ...

Thus we may see in the sicarii the two sides of Judas's movement, the religious and the political, and Wellhausen's description of them as "die theokratische Aktionspartei der Zeloten"²³⁵ is apt. Indeed, there can be no division between the Fourth Philosophy and the sicarii, but blanket descriptions such as that of Michel²³⁶:

Die Sikarier in Palästina waren die radikale Flügel der Zeloten und bildeten eine Art patriotischer Geheimorganisation, da der offene Aufbruch durch die scharfe römische Kontrolle unmöglich gemacht wurde ...

only contain half-truth. Radical indeed, but the later history of the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii indicates a very different approach, which points to the fact that there were at least two groups of sicarii.

The question of the relationship between the Zealots and the sicarii can now be considered. The Zealots were the revolutionary group led by the High Priestly party in Jerusalem²³⁷ and they were opposed to the increasing power of Menahem and the sicarii. In the hope of destroying the power of the group, therefore, they attacked the leader. No absolute distinction can be made. The Zealots and the sicarii were both zealous, and if the small case "z" is used for zealots, then the term applies to both groups. Hengel's position is that the zealots were a unity until the death of Menahem, and only after this did the movement finally break up²³⁸. Zeitlin regards them, i.e. the Zealots and the sicarii, as two mutually hostile groups²³⁹, which is too strong. The latest statement to hand on this problem is Hengel's article entitled "Zeloten und Sikarier"²⁴⁰. In this he re-examines all the relevant passages, and much of the secondary material since Die Zeloten, and re-affirms his view that $\epsilon\iota \ \zeta\eta\lambda\omega\tau\epsilon\lambda$ and $\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\iota$ are different names for what was basically the same group, and the important distinction is one of ideology, and thus he concludes²⁴¹:

Wenn wir heute diese Gruppen einschließlich der "Sikarier", als "Zeloten" bezeichnen, so tragen sie diesen Namen zu Recht, denn an der paradigmatischen Tat des Phineas waren sie alle orientiert. Daß das Problem der "Parteiennamen" aufgrund dieses besonderen Sprachgebrauchs bei Josephus - unserer Hauptquelle - dabei seine Fragen aufwirft, soll nicht geleugnet werden.

This somewhat complex discussion has shown that while Judas was the leader and founder of the first century A.D. zealots, the fluid state of the parties, and the almost impossible task of differentiating groups from the writings of Josephus, brings us to the conclusion that Judas founded the sicarii, but that does not necessarily mean that he did not found the Zealots. It has been noted that the tradition of opposition to foreign rule was well established in Jewish feelings, and that this tradition was strongest in the Galileans, but this does not rule out

participation from other, less well documented rebel leaders.

Finally it is necessary to consider a suggestion made by R. Eisler with respect to the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$, and Judas the Galilean. Eisler argues on the basis of the Slavonic Version of the B.J.²⁴² wherein we read the phrase "to live in (sic) the outside", that the teaching of Judas was taken up by the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$ of Jerusalem, referred to in bGit. 56a. He bases this on the fact that the word barjon $\text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$ means "outside, free space, desert", thus the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$ are "those who stand outside" and therefore become "outsiders, outcasts and outlaws". Thus, he argues, that Judas was also the founder of the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$ in Jerusalem, while also drawing more sinister inferences from the fact that Josephus spent some time in the desert with an ascetic²⁴³. In his analysis of the word he is undoubtedly correct, and M. Hengel agrees that the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$ in Jewish resistance were the outlaws²⁴⁴. If therefore Judas is also taken to have formed the $\square' \text{ן} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ב}$, it proves the many representations of Jewish resistance in the first century A.D. It must be noted that a somewhat less sinister and more plausible solution is presented by V. Istrin²⁴⁵, who states "Judas paraît concu comme le premier solitaire, par opposition aux Esséniens".

In conclusion, therefore, the later evidence of Josephus is testimony to the importance of Judas of Galilee in the later resistance against Rome, although it is not entirely clear on several matters. Josephus does not give any indication as to how Judas died. The gap may be filled by the New Testament, however.

(c) The New Testament. Acts v 34-39

In the speech of Gamaliel we read:

34 But a Pharisee in the Council named Gamaliel a teacher of the Law, held in honour by all the people, stood up and ordered the men to be put outside for a while. 35 And he said to them,

"Men of Israel, take care what you do with these men. ³⁶ For before these days Theudas arose, giving himself out to be somebody, and a number of men, about four hundred, joined him; but he was slain and all who followed him were dispersed and came to nothing. ³⁷ After him Judas the Galilean arose in the days of the Census and drew away some of the people after him; he also perished, and all who followed him were dispersed and came to nothing.

Scholars have long noted an apparent historical error in this text. We know of a Theudas in 44 A.D. leading a rebellion, yet Judas emerged in 6 A.D. Interpreters have tried to solve this by stating that the author of Acts was either hasty in reading Josephus, or that he had forgotten what he had read, for example Schürer²⁴⁶:

Jedenfalls wird man nach allem Bisherigen die Alternative dahin stellen dürfen: Entweder hat Lucas von Josephus überhaupt keine Notiz genommen oder er hat nachträglich von seiner Lectüre wiederum Alles vergessen. Die erstere Annahme als die einfachere scheint mir den Vorzug zu verdienen.

F.F. Bruce on the other hand creates two Theudas. He states that the Theudas referred to here was a rebel who took part in the popular risings at the death of Herod in 4 B.C.²⁴⁷ W. Neil has recently dismissed the view that Luke was guilty of a hasty reading of Josephus, but then goes on to comment that the two names Theudas and Judas were easily confused²⁴⁸. Dibelius has made a careful study of the problem, in particular the suggestion that Luke hastily read Josephus. He states that the two passages Luke is most likely to have confused are A. xx 102, referring to the death of Judas's two sons, and A. xx 97f, referring to Theudas. As the passage referring to Judas is more concerned with his sons, and the passage in between those referred to, have nothing to do with either character, Dibelius concludes, "Luke has obviously recorded the incidents as freely as he composed the whole speech." Therefore Luke is guilty of an historical error²⁴⁹. A.C. Clark has put forward the convincing view that the two stichoi should be reversed, and that the passage be read as though Judas was referred to first²⁵⁰. He further

goes on to argue that in v. 36 where εἰς ἀνῆρέθη is read by most manuscripts, D reads εἰς διελεύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ (Clark has κατέλυθη, read by Eusebius and Blass) which indicates that Judas killed himself. Black points out that here the verb is in the passive or middle and does not necessarily need αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ to give the sense "killed himself"²⁵¹. R.S. MacKenzie²⁵², without mentioning the possible change in the order of the stichoi suggested by Clark, follows him in adopting the D reading. Indeed, MacKenzie points out that εἰς διελεύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ is preserved in the Latin, qui interfectus est²⁵³, and states that the scribe here has given an "independent interpretation of the event in the narrative he was copying or translating and wrote down his personal opinion as the text"²⁵⁴.

Thus although it is not proven that the D text in Acts preserves the original story of Judas's death, there was at least a possibility that he killed himself. This is not unlikely, as we have already noted several instances of Galilean rebels preferring suicide to imprisonment.

(iii) Judas of Galilee

Mommsen writes with great insight on Judas²⁵⁵:

He spoke out what all thought, that the so called census was bondage, and that it was a disgrace for the Jew to recognise another Lord over him than the Lord of Zebaoth; but that he helped only those that helped themselves. If not many followed his call to arms, and he ended his life, after a few months, on the scaffold, the holy dead was more dangerous to the unholy victors than the living man.

This emphasises the most important aspect of the action of Judas. It was following the tradition of Galilean resistance, and was continued by his sons. Further, there can be no doubt that Judas was politically and religiously motivated. The former is better exemplified in 4 B.C., the latter in 6 A.D. The two cannot be separated, nor can one be over-emphasised against the other. S.W. Baron states that Judas upbraided

his countrymen using accepted religious nomenclature for purely political purposes²⁵⁶, and is guilty of overemphasising the political aspect.

Roth and Driver on the other hand see Judas as the founder of the Qumran sect²⁵⁷.

Several scholars have seen Judas as a messianic pretender, notably Greßmann²⁵⁸, Mowinckel²⁵⁹, Hengel²⁶⁰, Stauffer²⁶¹, Brandon²⁶² and Baumbach²⁶³. In the light of the fact that his father may have been a messianic pretender, and that the time was ripe for such a claim, there can be no serious objection to this view.

The main point, however, is that Judas was almost certainly making a claim to the Hasmonaean throne, as had his father before him. Jeremias on this point writes that the fact that Ezekias and Judas had both stood against Roman domination "makes it seem probable that this family was of royal descent"²⁶⁴. Farmer further points out²⁶⁵:

... though it is far from certain, we may with some confidence suggest that the family of Judas of Galilee might well have been related to the royal Maccabaeian family and that this claim to the throne therefore would have been based on that relationship.

In view of the influence the Maccabaeian and Hasmonaean traditions appeared to have in Galilee (as argued in Chapter I), this suggestion carries much more weight. Hausrath²⁶⁶ shows great perception in stating (my italics):

Had Judas succeeded in establishing his kingdom of God, it would have resembled neither the theocracy of the Sadducees, nor the dominion of God according to the Pharisees, but would have been more like the Maccabaeian state ...

(iv) Zadok the Pharisee

Zadok the Pharisee is indeed a mysterious figure. We know nothing of him from Josephus, except the fact that he was with Judas in 6 A.D., and there are no certain references to him in Tannaitic literature. However, two quite distinct schools of thought have developed on the

question of the identification of Zadok.

The first is the older view, and rests on a weak reference to Zadok in bYeb. 15b. It was postulated by Graetz²⁶⁷, who was followed by Derenbourg²⁶⁸, Ewald²⁶⁹, Abél²⁷⁰ and Hengel²⁷¹. They state that Zadok was in the school of Shammai, traditionally the "zealotic" of the two major schools at the turn of the era, and therefore linked up with Judas's Fourth Philosophy. This view has about as much to commend it as the following view, as it will be seen that Shammaite influence was strong in Galilee²⁷².

The second view is much more complex, and is presented by Driver and favoured by Black²⁷³. Driver suggests that the Zadok was the Zadok who came from Egypt with Boethus, and was influential in the founding of the Boethusian sectarians²⁷⁴, although Driver admits that this view is based on a late tradition. The name Zadok would suggest that he may well have been connected with the Priesthood at Leontopolis, but by becoming a Pharisee and linking his name with Judas of Galilee, he was founding a new religio-political party known as the Zaddoukim. For Driver, then, the reference in mYad. iv 8 where $\int' \times$ and $'\int \int \times$ were interchanged becomes important. Thus it is not inconceivable, therefore, that Zadok was an Egyptian priest, who became a Pharisee, and joined up with Judas of Galilee, perhaps with hopes of seeing the Zadokite priesthood restored in Jerusalem. It is worth noting that in the original Maccabaeen State it was the Zadokite line that provided the High Priests.

Either of these solutions is possible, and without further evidence it is difficult to favour the one or the other.

Before examining the opposition of the Galileans to the Romans in the first century A.D. it is worth noting that there are three quite distinct divisions which can be drawn.

1. The Galilean people, ruled from 4-39 A.D. by Antipas.
2. The Fourth Philosophy-sicarii.
3. Σι Γαλιλαίου , who emerged in the Jewish War led first by Josephus and later by John of Gischala.

Rather than split the evidence into these arbitrary divisions, we will preserve as far as possible a historical framework.

OPPOSITION TO THE ROMAN PROCURATORS

Before discussing this it is necessary briefly to survey the reign of Herod Antipas in Galilee. Detailed discussion of it is not necessary as the recent work by H. Hoehner, Herod Antipas, supplies much discussion.

A. Herod Antipas

Antipas was the son of Herod the Great and Malthake, his wife, who was a Samaritan²⁷⁶, and was born about 20 B.C.²⁷⁷ In 4 B.C. he was unsuccessful in claiming the throne from Archelaus but was appointed Tetrarch of Galilee²⁷⁸. Antipas is important for this study of the Galileans in two ways: first the apparent lack of opposition shown by the Galileans towards him, and secondly his rebuilding of Sepphoris and Tiberias.

(i) The Lack of Rebellion against Antipas

This phenomenon is indeed a strange one in the light of the fact that the Galileans have shown great opposition to pro-Roman rulers. The reasons for it are twofold.

First, Herod was an astute ruler. Jesus refers to him as "that fox" (Luke xiii 32), which in a talmudic sense meant sly, or insignificant. In b Ber. 61b the fox is referred to as the "most cunning of beasts". Hoehner has examined the Greek, Latin and Jewish literature and concludes that there was a development in the meaning of "fox" used in a derogatory sense. In early Greek writings the emphasis was on the ability of the animal to outwit the other animals, but later it became a symbol of

inferiority, so that by the first century A.D. the man who was called a fox was one of base character²⁷⁹. In Jewish writings the sense of inferiority is always present²⁸⁰. Thus Hoehner concludes²⁸¹:

Therefore one can conclude that a person who is designated a fox is an insignificant or base person. He lacks real power and dignity, using cunning and deceit to achieve his aims.

His astuteness, according to Hoehner, was especially evident in dealing with the Baptist. John was imprisoned before he could cause political unrest²⁸². Therefore Hoehner concludes that there was no rebellion in Galilee and Peraea during his reign, and continues²⁸³

Although this is an argumentum ex silentio, it does carry some weight because of Josephus's interest in Galilean affairs in that he had been a military and political leader in Galilee during the war of 66-70.

However, Hoehner misses two points here. Josephus was not born in the reign of Antipas, and is therefore dependent on sources for his material. The most likely source was Nicholas of Damascus and it may be noted that he favoured Archelaus, and therefore would not have devoted much attention to Antipas. Secondly, the fact that Tiberias had to be forcibly populated reflects a certain amount of inherent opposition to Antipas.

Another major reason for the fact that there was apparently no opposition to Antipas during his reign is that the activities of the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii were centred in Jerusalem. For them to oppress Herod Antipas would have achieved little or nothing. It is also evident that the Galilean people were not prone to rising unless there were leaders for them to follow.

Thus, although there is silence in Josephus with regard to opposition to Herod Antipas in Galilee, it by no means proves that there was none.

(ii) The Rebuilding of Sepphoris and Tiberias

(a) Sepphoris. According to Josephus²⁸⁴, Herod Antipas fortified Sepphoris and made it the "ornament of all Galilee" and called it

Ἄυτοκράτορις, Autocratoris. This was in true Herodian tradition. The town had suffered in the rebellion of 4 B.C., and now as it was the residence of the ruler it had to be fitting for him. Dalman suggests that Antipas took up residence there in 1 B.C.²⁸⁵, which is perhaps a little early. Apart from Philoteria, Sepphoris became the only Hellenistic city in Galilee until the founding of Tiberias. From the archaeological evidence we learn that Antipas founded a theatre, water-works and a defensive wall²⁸⁶.

Sepphoris remained the largest city in Galilee throughout the first century²⁸⁷, although it was not the seat of government.

(b) Tiberias. This was a far more important move by Antipas, as Tiberias was the first town in Jewish history to be founded as a πόλις and the act is described as "revolutionary" by Avi Jonah²⁸⁸. The basic article on the subject of the founding of Tiberias is that of Avi Jonah, which is supplemented and criticised by Hoehner²⁸⁹. We will concern ourselves, therefore, with the reference to the Galileans in the passage concerned.

A. xviii 37:

σύνχλυδες δὲ ἕκισταν, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαϊκῶν
ἦν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ αὐτῷ γῆς ἀναγκαστοὶ
καὶ πρὸς βίαν εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν ἀγόμενοι

The fact that Tiberias was populated by Galileans is not so surprising, but the description of them as "a promiscuous rabble" reflects source material rather than an accurate description of them, as it contradicts the locus classicus on them in B.J. iii 41-47.

The reason for the forcible settlement of Tiberias has been put down to the fact that it was built on the site of a cemetery, and this would have made the inhabitants unclean for seven days²⁹⁰. However, it is more than likely that the Galileans did not settle in Tiberias willingly

because of the pro-Roman proclivities of Antipas which it revealed, as it will be seen in Chapters IV and V that the Galileans were not absolutely scrupulous about levitical purity in the first century A.D. The actual date of founding is a matter of conjecture²⁹¹.

Antipas, then, was an astute ruler, but not without a certain amount of opposition from the Galileans. The Galilean leaders were in Jerusalem and until 66 A.D. the centre of resistance changes from Galilee to Jerusalem.

B. The Early Procurators

Of the first four procurators of Judaea, Coponius (6 - 9 A.D.), Marcus Ambivius (9 - 11 A.D.), Annius Rufus (11 - 14 A.D.) and Valerius Gratus (14-26 A.D.) we know very little, and certainly there are no references to specific Galilean opposition to them. However Pontius Pilate, famous for his dealings with Jesus, obviously aroused the opposition of the Galileans, with his crass disregard for Jewish feelings. An example of this is the votive shield he had erected in the Palace in Jerusalem²⁹²; but it is with a curious episode preserved only in Luke with which we are concerned.

Luke xiii 1-5²⁹³:

¹ There were some present at that very time who told him of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. ² And he answered them, "Do you think that these Galileans were worse sinners than all the other Galileans, because they suffered thus? ³ I tell you, No; but unless you repent you will all likewise perish. ⁴ Or those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell and killed them, do you think that they were worse offenders than all the others who dwelt in Jerusalem? ⁵ I tell you, No: but unless you repent you will all likewise perish."

W.R. Farmer has argued most cogently from the point of view of form that this passage (he takes vv. 1-9) is a literary unit, consisting of an introduction and three sayings, two of which are illustrated here. He also regards the passage as in the form of a Chreia, following Dibelius's

definition of Chreia²⁹⁴. He compares it with Luke xv 1-32, and states that despite the difference in length between the two passages they both evidence the same literary and form characteristics, and that they may well have come from a common source. This source was Palestinian and the Chreia contained in it was created to meet the catechetical and homiletical needs of the community of early Christians, although he does not believe that it necessarily comes from the same manuscript²⁹⁵.

The Palestinian origin of this passage is supported by Bultmann²⁹⁶, Grundmann²⁹⁷, Winter²⁹⁸ and Schwarz²⁹⁹, and the presence of numerous semitisms in the passage emphasises this also. Moulton-Turner state that the use of the positive for the comparative in v. 4 ἑμάρτωλὸν παρά is based on a semitic pattern, and the παρά in vv. 2, 4 after the comparative, although common in Hellenistic usage, reflects semitic influence³⁰⁰. Knox further argues that the use of ἔν αὐτῶν in v.1 and ἐφ' οὓς ... αὐτοῦς in v. 4 reveals a semitic origin to the story³⁰¹. This view is added to by Black, who states that the word ὀφειλέτης reflects the Aramaic ܢܘܢ or ܢܘܢܐ³⁰². We may be fairly certain, therefore, that the passage comes from a Palestinian source.

On the question of the actual source of the story, scholars are divided in trying to identify the incident with similar happenings in Josephus. Wellhausen³⁰³, followed by Bultmann³⁰⁴ and Meyer³⁰⁵ link this story with the massacre of Samaritans ordered by Pilate after their fruitless "pilgrimage" to Mt. Gerizim, led by a false prophet claiming to be able to discover the "lost vessels" of the Samaritan tradition³⁰⁶. Keim³⁰⁷, Stauffer³⁰⁸ and Pickl³⁰⁹ all argue that the slaughter was connected with a supposed revolt led by Barabbas. This view is opposed correctly by Grundmann, who dismisses it as pure hypothesis³¹⁰. Ewald, among others, has postulated that the massacre took place as a result of opposition to Pilate's removal of money from the Temple in order to pay

for the aqueduct he had built for Jerusalem³¹¹. Perhaps the most exceptional solution is that of Klausner³¹², who argues that Luke has confused Archelaus and Pilate, and that the incident referred to here is one in which Archelaus ordered troops into a crowd of pilgrims in 4 B.C.³¹³ Finally, Kraeling states that the massacre was due to Galilean opposition to Pilate introducing signa into the Temple³¹⁴. These solutions are nothing more than hypotheses. There is no need to identify a historical parallel or cause in order to explain the passage. The incident cannot have been a major one as Josephus does not record it, but his interests, and sources, at this point in Jewish history seem limited³¹⁵. In addition, there is much to support the view that Luke only included it to provide a reason for the enmity between Antipas and Pilate³¹⁶.

If a parallel must be found, then it is one of imagery. In B.J. v 17 we read that the Roman missiles falling into the Temple caused the Priests and the sacrificers to fall before their sacrifices, "and sprinkled with libations of their own blood that altar universally venerated by Greeks and barbarians"³¹⁷. Although Winter disregards this and states that the words "whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices" are oriental picturesque language which need not indicate that Pilate's troops had actually entered the Court of Priests. He points out that if such an act had taken place it would not have been omitted in all other contemporary literature³¹⁸.

Therefore we may turn to an interpretation of the passage. The word "Galileans" referred to has led many scholars to understand the term as referring to zealots, on the supposition that the Galileans were renowned opponents of Rome, and the fact that Pilate attacked them is testimony to their reputation³¹⁹. There is much to commend this view, especially as

in later tradition the zealots are referred to as Galileans and there was a group in the Jewish War called οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι³²⁰. However this must be opposed. Without contradicting any statement that the Galileans stood against the Romans, οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι referred to here³²¹ are merely בְּיַד יְשׁוּעָה , and the term is being used in the same sense as it is found in Acts ii 7. If we are to interpret the term as designating members of οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι then Luke, or his source, must be guilty of an anachronism as οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι do not emerge as a definable group before 66 A.D. Further, at this period of history, ca. 30 A.D., there was a definite lull in the activities of the Galilean resistance movement, particularly that section led by the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii, which may account for the fact that Jesus had some followers of the Fourth Philosophy in his disciples. So along with Hengel³²² and Hoehner³²³ we conclude that the use of the term "Galileans" in this context does not necessarily signify zealots.

This does not invalidate the basic question that was put to Jesus, one which called for his opinion on Pontius Pilate, which may be paralleled with the question of tribute to Caesar (Mk. xii 17 parr.)³²⁴. As a major religious leader of the day, practising in Galilee, he was called upon from time to time to issue a dictum on the contemporary events. His answer in this case was a call to repentance, which Dodd likens to the calls to repentance of the O.T. prophets³²⁵. Jesus was not disowning the Galileans, as those people state who believe that the questioners had sinister motives.

One of these latter scholars is Eisler. He sees in the reference to the massacre of the Galileans an allusion to the Roman counterstroke against the rebellion that Jesus had planned to follow the cleansing of the Temple. The Galileans (Barjonim of Jerusalem) had seized the tower

of Siloam, and Pilate then had to recapture this³²⁶. This fanciful suggestion has found no popular support; even Brandon, a follower of Eisler's work, only suggests that the pacific statements attributed to Christ are part of a Lucan attempt to draw a picture of Christ the pacifist, which, he argues, is removed from reality³²⁷. This whole theory is criticised by Wood³²⁸.

Blinzler's suggestions that Jesus was informed of this incident in Galilee, as he had not gone to Jerusalem (Jn. vi 4) are certainly possible³²⁹. However, he moves into the realm of speculation when he suggests that the incident was the consequence of a popular Passover demonstration which took place on Monday 18th April, 29 A.D., that is one year before the death of Christ.³³⁰

Thus we may conclude that the story of the Galileans as it occurs in Luke xiii 1-5 (part of a larger unit 1-9) does not refer to the action of a group of zealots, but is an example of the cruelty of Pilate which in this instance was reported to Jesus as he too was a Galilean. If the incident was historical, and there is no reason to doubt it, then it would have increased Galilean hatred of Rome, and may well be when the two sons of Judas of Galilee emerged as leaders of the somewhat dormant Fourth Philosophy³³¹. The date of the incident must be around 30 A.D.³³²

If the sons of Judas did respond to the challenge of the Roman Procurators it was under Tiberius Julius Alexander (46-8 A.D.) that it came to a head. James and Simon were brought to trial and were crucified as rebels³³³. We have no indication of their crimes in Josephus, although it is known that Jewish nationalism was running high at this time with many messianic pretenders leading the people astray. The important point is that these two sons of Judas were carrying on the family tradition, perhaps with pretensions to the throne. We may agree with Hengel³³⁴:

Diese kurze Notiz zeigt deutlich, wie 40 Jahre nach Gründung der zelotischen Bewegung diese unter Führung der Familie des Gründers weiter ihren unterirdischen Kampf gegen die Römer führte.

The suggestion by Schonfield that these two sons of Judas are to be identified with the two *ἄστυ* who were crucified with Christ is based on the late Gospel of Nicodemus xvi 7, and carries little weight³³⁵.

Of all the procurators it was Cummanus who was to have most dealings with the Galileans: indeed they were to be the cause of his downfall. He was procurator from 48-52 A.D. and like Pilate showed a disregard for Jewish feelings, and his procuratorship was therefore troubled. One incident among many stands out for discussion.

Galileans journeying to Jerusalem for the festivals had to pass through Samaria, and on one occasion a Galilean pilgrim was murdered in the village of Gema, the modern Jenin, at the head of the Plain of Esdraelon³³⁶. The A. passage states that several of the pilgrims were murdered, and this version is to be preferred, as it may be questioned how far the death of one pilgrim would have been the cause of the bloodshed which followed³³⁷. M. Aberbach believes that the reduction in the numbers killed between the B.J. and the A. is due to the fact that Josephus was using official Roman sources in the B.J., which were often anti-Jewish³³⁸. The leaders of the Galileans then asked Cummanus to step in and save the situation from deteriorating into open war. Cummanus, however, bribed (A. xx 119) by the Samaritans, did nothing. The Galileans then stirred up the masses in Jerusalem, and, abandoning the festival, they went to Samaria to avenge the deaths of the Galileans³³⁹.

Leaders soon emerged. Eleazar b. Deinaeus, probably a Galilean zealot, who was leading the Fourth Philosophy after the deaths of James and Simon, was one of them. Josephus describes him thus: *ἀστυ*

δ' οὗτος ἦν ἕτη πολλά τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ἔρει πεποιημένος³⁴⁰.

Our evidence for stating that he may have been leading the Fourth Philosophy comes from A. xx 120, wherein we read:

The Galileans indignant at this, urged the Jewish masses to resort to arms and to assert their liberty; for they said, slavery was in itself bitter, but when it involved insolent treatment, it was quite intolerable.

The B.J. adds another leader, Alexander³⁴¹.

The Galileans then attacked several Samaritan villages, and caused much suffering. Cummanus thus had to bring peace to the area, so with Roman troops, and having armed the Samaritans, moved against the Jews and dispersed them, capturing many and killing many more. Eleazar escaped, and probably led the sporadic attacks on property which began to break out in Samaria and Judaea³⁴². He was later captured by Felix³⁴³.

The Samaritans then appealed to Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syra, accusing the Jews of violence against them³⁴⁴. The Jews, led by the High Priest Jonathan b. Ananus, claimed that the blame was to be attached to the Samaritans. Quadratus deferred judgement until he had seen the area for himself. Eventually he sent the leading Jews to Rome for Caesar to decide between their claims, and Agrippa, already in Rome, gave a spirited defence of the Jews³⁴⁵. Caesar decided that the Samaritans were to blame, and that Cummanus should be exiled³⁴⁶. Felix was then appointed procurator.

This episode represents the state of affairs that existed between the Samaritans and the Galileans in the first century A.D. The Galilean attitude towards the Samaritans is well reflected in a passage in Luke ix 52-55. The people in a Samaritan village would not accept Jesus and his disciples; so James and John asked Jesus if they should call down fire from heaven upon the village: *Θέλεις ἔπιπνεῖν πῦρ καταβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναδῶραι αὐτούς,*

Now it is worth noting that Elijah did this to the men of Ahaziah the king,

(II Ki. i 10,12), and it is significant that in addition to the text in Luke, read by A D W⁰ et al., the following words occur: Ἔς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐπορεύον . It will be seen that the Galileans had more than a passing interest in Elijah. If Elijah then played a different role in the later Christian church, this reference became unnecessary and was therefore deleted³⁴⁷.

Before this discussion can be completed it is necessary to consider a possible reference to this clash between the Galileans and the Samaritans in Tacitus Annals xii 54, in which he states that Cummanus was the procurator of Galilee and Felix was procurator in Samaria.

The districts have long been at variance, and their animosities were now under the less restraint, as they could despise their regents. Accordingly they harried each other, unleashed their troops of bandits, fought an occasional field, and carried their trophies and their thefts to the procurators. At first, the pair rejoiced; then, when the growth of mischief led them to interpose the arms of their troops, the troops were beaten, and the province would have been ablaze with war but for the intervention of Quadratus, the governor of Syria.

Jackson³⁴⁸ states that the account preserved in Tacitus cannot be reconciled with that of Josephus. However, Smallwood points out that the accounts are to a certain extent complementary. Josephus provides the details of the troubles, whereas Tacitus is more interested in the anarchy which resulted. This, linked with his hatred of freedmen, led Tacitus to charge Cummanus with maladministration³⁴⁹. It must be stated that Josephus being a Jew was the better informed of the two writers, and he was also in his late teens when this incident took place.

Therefore, while the testimony of Josephus is to be regarded as the more accurate of the two, the writing of Tacitus may be loosely based on this incident, and must not be dismissed out of hand.

C. The Later Procurators

Before discussing the relations between the Galileans and the later

procurators a distinction must be made. Above it was argued that the Fourth Philosophy of Judas of Galilee and the sicarii were essentially the same group. Until 52 A.D. this is quite possible, but after that date the situation becomes more complex, with the rise in force of the sicarii.

Sicarii in Josephus does not designate one group of rebels, it designates their method of attack. Thus not all members of the sicarii were members of the Fourth Philosophy. As we shall see, some of the sicarii were not averse to temporary coalitions with the Romans in order to facilitate their banditry.

After the dismissal of Cummanus, Felix was appointed procurator (52-60 A.D.)³⁵⁰. Although he had seen the damage Cummanus had done, it did not deter him from being something of a megalomaniac³⁵¹. At this time Agrippa II returned to Palestine, and Nero added to his territory Tiberias and Tarichaea in Galilee³⁵², thus giving him two of the major towns there. Although we do not know what was happening in Galilee, in Jerusalem Felix was causing much trouble. He obtained the help of Doras, a Jerusalemite, to bring in brigands (probably sicarii) to murder Jonathan the High Priest³⁵³. In the B.J. version of this, Josephus does not mention the fact that it was at the instigation of Felix, and states that it was the work of a "new species of banditii" called the sicarii³⁵⁴. This probably reflects the fact that there were at least two groups of sicarii, those in the "pay" of the Romans, and those following the Fourth Philosophy. Other rebels who emerged at this time include the "Egyptian", with whom Paul was confused³⁵⁵. The distinction between the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii and other brigands is implicit in the fact that Josephus makes special mention of a group of brigands who³⁵⁶

... incited numbers to revolt, exhorting them to assert their independence, and threatening to kill any who submitted to Roman

domination and forcibly to suppress those who voluntarily accepted servitude.

The fact that Josephus does not refer to them specifically as the Fourth Philosophy possibly indicates that his previous description of the group in A. xviii 23-4 was a creation in the style of the previous three.

Felix was unsuccessful politically, and in 59-60 A.D. Nero recalled him³⁵⁷. His successor was Porcius Festus (? 60-62 A.D.). Although Festus made an attempt at undoing the damage of the previous procurators, he was unsuccessful³⁵⁸. Albinus (62-64 A.D.), his successor, is well described by Schürer³⁵⁹:

His guiding principle ... seems to have been to obtain money from any source. He plundered both public moneys and private funds; the whole population suffered from his exactions ... His venality knew no limits ...

It is clear that certain elements known as sicarii were prepared to cooperate with Albinus³⁶⁰. His successor, Gessius Florus, was worse than Albinus, although he was not helped by the fact that Albinus, as one of his last actions before leaving Palestine, had emptied the prisons of brigands³⁶¹. Florus was ruthless, and in the A. Josephus lays the blame for the First Jewish War at Florus's feet³⁶²:

It was Florus who constrained us to take up war with the Romans, for we were prepared to perish together rather than by degrees.

Florus's most rash act of pillaging the Temple, and removing seventeen talents, caused ferment in Jerusalem³⁶³; although it was almost certainly a legitimate claim to arrears of tribute. However, it was this act that brought about open hostility, and the First Jewish War against Rome began.

THE FIRST JEWISH WAR - 66-?74 A.D.

It must be stated at the outset of this discussion that we will not attempt to solve all the problems relating to the Jewish War, nor will it be a systematic account of the history of it. Such studies may be found

in the general histories, and the narrative of Josephus's B.J.³⁶⁴ We are concerned with the Galileans and in particular with the descendants of Judas of Galilee, and the following will therefore be discussed in detail:

- A. Menahem, Grandson (?Son) of Judas of Galilee
- B. The Appointment to Galilee of Josephus
- C. The People of Galilee in the War
 - (i) The Common People
 - (ii) οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι
- D. John of Gischala
- E. Eleazar ben Jair and the Sicarii in Masada.

Apart from adding much further useful information about the Galileans, it is also a proving ground for that which has been argued above.

A. Menahem υἱὸς Ἰουδα.

Although Menahem is introduced as υἱὸς Ἰουδα³⁶⁵, modern scholars tend to follow Kennard in stating that Menahem was in fact the grandson of Judas³⁶⁶. His first action in the war was to take his colleagues and break into the Herodian fortress of Masada, and as his grandfather had done in Sepphoris, armed them. He then returned to Jerusalem and began to direct the siege of the Romans trapped in the Palace of Herod. Few scholars have noted that there appears to be some confusion in the B.J. text, as it clearly states that Masada was taken before the rise to power of Menahem, in B.J. ii 408. Dubnow³⁶⁷ and Drexler³⁶⁸ discuss this. The former believes that an underlying source is to blame for this apparent confusion, whereas Drexler reckons that the solution to the problem is to be found in B.J. vii 253 ff, where it is indicated that the occupants of Masada were the sicarii. Therefore, he argues that a doublet is formed, and that B.J. ii 408, and the reference to the sicarii bursting into the Temple at the festival of wood-carrying³⁶⁹,

are supplements to the story of Menahem³⁷⁰. Thus Menahem was also responsible for the burning of the records in Jerusalem, effectively freeing everyone from debt³⁷¹. Drexler is almost certainly correct in this supposition, as Menahem was probably leading the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii, and the fact that he was turned upon by the upper classes may be explained by his burning of the records of their debtors³⁷².

Menahem was certainly a good military leader, and under his direction the siege went well. When it was clear that the Romans could not hold out in the Palace any longer, Menahem allowed the Jewish members of the defending troops to leave the Palace, and the Romans retired to the three fortified towers in the Palace complex³⁷³. On the next day the High Priest Ananias was murdered, as was his brother Ezekias³⁷⁴. This action reflects a basic split between the rebel factions in Jerusalem, with the High Priestly Zealots on the one hand, and Menahem and the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii on the other³⁷⁵.

Menahem was now the undisputed head of the rebels, and he became an insufferable tyrant³⁷⁶. Therefore the partisans of Eleazar, the son of Ananias, rose against Menahem and his followers³⁷⁷:

... they remarked to each other that, after revolting from the Romans for love of liberty, they ought not to sacrifice this liberty to a Jewish hangman (δῆμιος) and to put up with a master, who, even were he to abstain from violence, was anyhow far below themselves; and that if they must have a leader, anyone would be better than Menahem.

This probably reflects the attitude the Judaeans held in regard to the Galileans in the first century A.D.

The opportunity for Menahem's enemies to attack him came when Menahem was going up to the Temple, to pay his devotions, ἐσθῆτί τε βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένους καὶ τοὺς ἑθνωῦς ἐνότιδους ἐφειρόμενος³⁷⁸. The people turned against Menahem and began

pelting him with stones. Josephus at this point refers to Menahem as a

σοφιστής, linking him with the tradition of Galilean resistance leaders, notably his grandfather Judas³⁷⁹. Menahem escaped to the Ophel (Ophlas)³⁸⁰, but was caught and, along with his lieutenant Absalom, was tortured and killed³⁸¹. It was at this point that Eleazar b. Jair escaped to Masada, along with the remainder of the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii. Eisler correctly points out that the testimony of Josephus here rests upon popular reports and rumours, as he was hiding at the time this took place³⁸².

The most significant thing about the actions of Menahem is the link that exists between Ezekias and Menahem. This dynastic link has been noted above all by Brandon and Hengel. Brandon refers to the family as, "what might be termed the dynastic party of zealotism"³⁸³, and goes on to state:

The position immediately accorded to Menahem when he arrived in Jerusalem at the outbreak of the revolt in 66, indicated recognition of a charismatic as well as dynastic right to the leadership in the holy war.

Hengel also notes³⁸⁵:

Seine Autorität beruhte auf der Abstammung von dem Sektengründer Judas, auf seiner militärischen Macht, die er durch Überfall auf Masada noch verstärkt hatte, und nicht zuletzt auf seiner Kämpfenerfahrung und der Kraft seiner Persönlichkeit.

Menahem's murder left no charismatic leader in Jewish resistance movements until the rise of Bar Cochba, but³⁸⁶:

... obgleich sein Gastspiel in Jerusalem nur knapp vier Wochen dauerte, scheint er doch, "einen tiefen Eindruck" bei seinen Zeitgenossen hinterlassen zu haben.

It is necessary to discuss the significance of the actions of Menahem. Josephus is explicit in stating that Menahem went up to the Temple in royal robes. This was the first time a member of the "alten galiläischen Empörerdynastie"³⁸⁷ had been in a position to assert himself as the king. Thus it is quite probable that Menahem was asserting

himself as the true successor to the Hasmonaean throne.

His actions have also been given deeper significance by scholars. Several of them have followed Geiger³⁸⁸ in identifying this Menahem with the Menahem of the rabbinic messianic hope. Greßmann presents some of the rabbinic references to Menahem b. Hezekiah in a German translation, and believes that the title Menahem is derived from the actions of this Menahem. With Geiger he believes that the link between $\square \aleph \beth \daleth$ and $\aleph \daleth \daleth$ (=138) is the basis of the $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ tradition in the N.T.³⁸⁹ On the basis of the LXX on Lam. i 16 this view is correct, but Mowinckel opposes any general interpretation in this way. He believes that the Hebrew word $\aleph \beth \daleth$ is better reflected in $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ³⁹⁰. Klausner also opposes the statement of Greßmann; he, along with Strack-Billerbeck³⁹¹, prefers the interpretation "the comforter" at Lam. i 16, and believes that the title ben Hezekiah comes from Hezekiah the king of Israel³⁹², who we have already noted carries messianic overtones as he is referred to by Johanan ben Zakkai.³⁹³

Bousset presents the most interesting theory with regard to Menahem. He presents a reference to Μεναχέμ in Leo VI Oracula³⁹⁴, which Bousset interprets to mean the Messiah, in the same way as the $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in St. John's Gospel³⁹⁵. If he is correct then this must surely weaken the argument of those who claim that this Menahem is the basis of the rabbinic Menahem. Although it may be possible that a line of influence can be traced from this Menahem through the rabbinic literature to the Byzantine literature of the ninth century A.D.

Thus it is possible that Menahem was a messianic pretender³⁹⁶, but it is more likely that he was an aspirant to the Hasmonaean throne. In this he broke the fundamental halacha of the Fourth Philosophy, and moreover brought about his own death and a radical change in the attitude

of the Galilean leadership, based on the family of Judas, towards the Jewish War.

B. The Appointment of Josephus in Galilee.

After the death of Menahem, it is likely that the Priestly faction, who were now the leaders of the revolt, and the moderates saw an opportunity to come to a compromise with the Romans and prevent further bloodshed³⁹⁷. Thus they took it upon themselves to appoint commanders of the various regions, and try to bring some sort of orderly rule to the land. This became essential after the defeat of Cestius Gallus at the Pass of Beth Horon in 66 A.D.³⁹⁸; therefore generals were appointed. According to B.J. ii 562 it was the revolutionary council who appointed them, yet Vita 28 states that it was $\epsilon\lambda\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ of Jerusalem³⁹⁹. This is illustrative of the problems that face the historian using the testimony of Josephus, especially in reference to the Jewish War. The contradictions which exist between the Vita and the B.J. are at times impossible to solve as the two testimonies are occasionally irreconcilable. In this instance the texts may be paralleled, as $\epsilon\lambda\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda$ were probably the leaders of the revolutionary council, which almost certainly met in the Temple⁴⁰⁰.

Therefore, when using the testimony of Josephus, the following statement of Shutt must be borne in mind⁴⁰¹:

A man is not necessarily a historian, but a historian is inevitably a human being, that is, he possesses the attributes and the feelings which together constitute a man.

It is also necessary to note Brandon's view⁴⁰²:

The accounts in the Jewish War and the Life contain so many mutual contradictions that the only sure conclusion that may be drawn from them is that Josephus had found the truth too embarrassing to tell, either from the point of view of his own integrity as a Jewish patriot, or with regard to his position as a client of the Imperial family at Rome.

The major problems concerning the appointment of Josephus are these. Why should Josephus be appointed to Galilee? And, secondly, what was his brief?

Scholars have wrestled with the problem of why Josephus was appointed to Galilee [for many years] and a satisfactory solution has yet to be found. Graetz pointed out that Josephus was an ardent admirer of Rome, but it was useless for him to try to distract the people from war and, apprehensive that his pro-Roman proclivities might have made him an object of suspicion, he simulated a desire for national liberty⁴⁰³. This does not really do justice to the evidence, as once Josephus was established in Galilee, he was eager in his preparations for war. Ewald was nearer the mark when he stated that Josephus was raised to the position by a momentary majority of moderate men, on account of his great distinctions and many connections in the aristocracy⁴⁰⁴. This mention of the fact that Josephus was a moderate has been followed by many scholars, who also note that Josephus was an aristocrat, with Hasmonaean and priestly connections.

It is therefore significant that Josephus was appointed with two priests, Joazar and Judas⁴⁰⁵. Schürer states⁴⁰⁶

The appointment of Josephus to this vital command reflected his prominent position within the aristocratic society in Judaea. It is this fact which explains why a man who besides his innate intelligence could boast only of a religious education should suddenly be required to form an army from the untrained Galilean population and with it withstand the attack of legions experienced in war, led by seasoned generals.

Mayer and Müller have recently noted the importance of the Temple in Galilean religious feelings when dealing with this problem⁴⁰⁷:

Offenbar fand die Jerusalemer Abordnung zumindest in ihrer Priestereigenschaft Anmerkennung in Galiläa, deren Basis wohl das starke Interesse am Tempel als dem nationalen Zentrum bildete: Josephus' Begleiter sammelten die ihnen zustehenden Zehnten ein; auch er selbst hätte sie erhalten, nahm sie allerdings nicht an im dem Verdacht der Bestechlichkeit zu entgehen.

Some scholars have used the fact that Josephus was a priestly aristocrat to state, against the testimony of Josephus himself, that he was not a Pharisee⁴⁰⁸, but a Sadducee. When it is considered that Josephus was of Hasmonaean stock, opposed by the Pharisees; and related to the high priestly line, then this is not unlikely⁴⁰⁹. Sundberg⁴¹⁰ states that Josephus was a Sadducee, and Hengel⁴¹¹ argues that Josephus was a Sadducee at the time of the revolt, and became a Pharisee later. Perhaps Zeitlin does most justice to the evidence in stating that Josephus had Sadducean leanings⁴¹².

It is Zeitlin too who approaches the solution to be offered here. He argued that Josephus cherished the hope of some day becoming not only High Priest, but king of Judaea⁴¹³. This then may well have been the reason for his appointment to Galilee. As the Galileans were traditionally the supporters of the Hasmonaean throne, as we have seen, then Josephus was the obvious choice.⁴¹⁴ We shall see that the support for Josephus from the Galileans was similar to that given to Antigonus in the revolt against Herod⁴¹⁵.

Therefore we may state that Josephus was appointed to Galilee because he was well known in the aristocratic circles in Jerusalem, and also because he was of Hasmonaean stock there would be a good chance of his obtaining local sympathy - a fact that cannot have escaped the notice of Josephus.

The second problem is that of Josephus's actual brief. According to the B.J. he was appointed *στρατηγός* of the "Two Galilees" (i.e. North and South), and Gamala. He then entered on his commission with zeal⁴¹⁶. The Vita is much more complex, and it is here that the problem arises. The whole of Galilee had not revolted, and Josephus and his colleagues went to urge the rebels to lay down their arms. However, contrary to some scholars' generalisations, Josephus's mission was not

entirely pacific⁴¹⁷: πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς ἔστιν ἄμενον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι,

The rebels referred to here were οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, not necessarily the people of Galilee, but an ultra-rebellious group, first led by Josephus and then found with John of Gischala in Jerusalem. It emerges, therefore, that Josephus was not trying to quell the rebellion, but was playing a double waiting game. He was prepared to lead a victorious Jewish rebellion against Rome, but, knowing that this was unlikely, was also ready to change sides when the opportunity presented itself⁴¹⁸.

Josephus was singularly unsuccessful with the ultra-rebellious group, as we learn from Vita 77 that he had to pay them as mercenaries. Further evidence of the fact that Josephus was not on a specifically peaceful mission to Galilee was that on special instructions from the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, the Revolutionary Council, he had to take "special precautions" for Galilee⁴¹⁹.

It would seem reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Josephus was sent not on a peaceful mission to Galilee, but rather on a mission which would organise resistance and curb the more headstrong of the rebels⁴²⁰.

When Josephus had settled in Galilee, he began to prepare the region for war with great eagerness. The first Roman attack was to be expected there, and the revolt had by now gained much momentum. The testimony of the B.J. is again to be doubted, as it bears all the marks of later editorial activity. An example of this is the statement that Josephus organised a judiciary of seventy men over Galilee, and seven in each town. He then organised the fortification of towns, and then raised an army and trained them, but on Roman patterns⁴²¹. We shall therefore follow the much more detailed evidence of the Vita for Galilean affairs.

Josephus did a preliminary survey of Galilee⁴²², and found that Sepphoris was pro-Roman, and in great distress because it was being plundered by οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι . The pro-Roman leanings of the Sepphorites was no doubt connected with the sufferings undergone by the city in the previous two revolts⁴²³. At Tiberias he found three factions⁴²⁴; and at Gischala we are first introduced to John of Gischala, pictured here as an anti-revolutionary, until the neighbouring states attacked Gischala for its pro-Roman position. John then armed his followers and fortified the city against further attack⁴²⁵. Gamala remained loyal to Rome.

While Josephus was in Galilee he was careful in following instructions which emanated from the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem⁴²⁶. His first task was to destroy the animal representations in the Palace of Herod in Tiberias. In this he was forestalled, as Jesus b. Sapphias, with some of the people and οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, had already destroyed the place, for the gold which it contained⁴²⁷. Despite the bitter opposition which Josephus had to contend with from some groups within the Galileans, notably John of Gischala, he managed to prepare the place for war. He fortified many of the major cities, including Jotapata, Tarichaea, Sepphoris, Gischala and Mt. Tabor, and many other minor places⁴²⁸. M. Har-El has recently examined the geographical locations of these places⁴²⁹, based on surveys made by M. Avi Jonah and his students, and concludes that the zealot fortresses were selected in such a way as to give two triangles between the main centres of defence, and the best communications. This is certainly an attractive hypothesis, and his map (which accompanies Appendix II) illustrates his point. Thus in the spring of 67 A.D. the war in Galilee began, and the following brief survey is to give perspective to the following discussions.

Sepphoris fell to Vespasian without a blow being struck⁴³⁰; and at

Garis, where Vespasian marched from Ptolemais, the Galilean troops deserted and fled to Tiberias and Jotapata⁴³¹. The siege of Jotapata took place in May-June 67, and it eventually fell into Roman hands⁴³², as did Josephus. After a suicide pact, in which he managed to cheat in some way, he escaped to the camp of Vespasian, and from there accompanied the Romans for the rest of the war⁴³³. Tiberias voluntarily surrendered⁴³⁴, and Tarichaea fell to Titus in August/September 67⁴³⁵. Finally Mt. Tabor and Gischala were left in Galilee, both of which fell to Titus without much difficulty⁴³⁶. Thus the war in Galilee was settled, and Vespasian began to quell Judaea.

It is now necessary to examine the role of the Galileans in the war.

C. The People of Galilee in the War

The immediate problem which faces us in analysing the writings of Josephus in this context is his use of the word Γαλιλαῖος⁴³⁷. It is clear that in the Vita Γαλιλαῖος, almost always cited in the plural, is more than a designation of $\text{בְּבֵרֵי שׁוֹמְרֵי}$. Rather it is the name of the ultra-rebellious group mentioned above, probably based on the Caves of Arbellā. Zeitlin has recently argued for this position, although he is not critical enough in dealing with the Vita text; in certain places Γαλιλαῖου does not indicate this rebel group⁴³⁸. There are one or two references to ἐν Γαλιλαῖου in the B.J., but the rebel group features in the Vita for the most part⁴³⁹.

(a) The Galilean People

There can be no doubt about the fact that the Galilean people, or at least those concerned in the rebellion, supported Josephus throughout his command in Galilee. The reason for this was probably due to his Hasmonaean background, but also because of his aristocratic-priestly connections. When a deputation was sent, at the request of John of

Gischala, to investigate the activities of Josephus, the deputation was especially picked, and given strict instructions⁴⁴⁰:

Their instructions were to approach the Galileans and ascertain the reason for their devotion to the man. If they attributed it to my being a native of Jerusalem, they were to reply that so were all four of them; if it to my expert knowledge of their laws, they should retort that neither were they ignorant of the customs of their fathers; if, again, they asserted that their affection was due to my priestly office, they should answer that two of them were likewise priests.

Josephus makes no mention of his Hasmonaean leanings and hopes, as this would be totally inconsistent with the position he held in Rome.

When he writes of the Galileans Josephus almost always has praise for them. But when it is considered that it was the Galilean people, backed by *St. Faddeus*, who protected Josephus from his enemy John of Gischala, this is not surprising⁴⁴¹. However, that apart, in spite of Josephus's statements that he trained an army on Roman lines, it is unlikely that he did, as he would only have learned the details of Roman army training methods after the fall of Jotapata. Yet the Galileans proved to be better fighters than Vespasian expected.

In B.J. iii 41-2 we have the locus classicus on the Galileans. Having described Galilee (45-49), Josephus goes on to state:

With this limited area, and although surrounded by such powerful foreign nations, the two Galilees have always resisted any hostile invasion, for the inhabitants are from infancy inured to war, and have at all times been numerous; never did the men lack courage nor the countrymen.

This is a worthy description of the Galileans, and is borne out in the activities of the people in the war. When Placidus first attacked Jotapata early in the revolt, it was the people who caused him to retreat⁴⁴². However, the fact that many of the followers of Josephus were only peasants in arms led to the desertion of them as Vespasian made camp in Galilee⁴⁴³. They were then concentrated in Jotapata, and the long siege of the city is testimony to the fact that they were brave fighters.

They would not allow Josephus to leave the city, as they said that they depended on him for leadership⁴⁴⁴. It must be noted that Josephus had somewhat of an inflated opinion of his position in Galilee. He states in B.J. ii 142 that a deserter told Vespasian that if he captured Josephus, he would effectively have captured Judaea! Therefore Josephus remained and conducted the siege, and with great skill held back Vespasian for several months.

He makes special mention of several Galileans, famous for their individual acts of heroism. These read like despatches sent by the commander to Headquarters, in Jerusalem. Eleazar b. Sameas broke off the head of the Roman battering ram with a large rock, and carried it triumphantly to the wall of the city, where he died⁴⁴⁵. Then Netiras and Philip broke the ranks of the Romans by themselves⁴⁴⁶. Inevitably the Romans began to get the upper hand, and Josephus records: *πλείστοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτης ἀγωνιζόμενοι γενναίως ἐπέσον*,⁴⁴⁷

He then digresses and discusses the fall of Japha to Titus, and we may detect a note of sympathy in his statement, *θεός δ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Γαλιλαίων πάθη καρπύζομενος*⁴⁴⁸. When Jotapata finally fell, Josephus informs us that in true Galilean fashion, many of the defenders preferred death (suicide) to capture by the Romans⁴⁴⁹.

Galilee was eventually conquered and, so far as we can tell, the people played no further major part in the war.

(b) οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι .

We have seen that the problem of identifying the rebel groups in first century Palestine is almost impossible. Thus far few scholars, if any, have identified another group of zealots by yet another name. Hengel notes on the name "Galilean"⁴⁵⁰:

Sie hätten dementsprechend seine selbständige "Sekte" neben

den anderen jüdischen religiösen Gruppen gebildet, und ihr Ursprung würde - schon auf Grund ihres Namens - in dem Wirken des Galiläers Judas zu suchen sein.

Gelzer points out that the "Galileans" are sometimes to be identified with the "robbers" (*λῃστές*)⁴⁵¹.

However, neither scholar has identified a separate group from the references; yet it is possible to see such a group and to build up a picture of them.

As with the Galilean people they supported Josephus, partly because he was paying them, and partly because his authority was based on his background⁴⁵². They were probably based on the mountains of Arbella, as Josephus had to send for them or their leaders whenever he wished to discuss tactics etc.⁴⁵³ They were extremely anti-Roman, as their attacks on Sepphoris reveal⁴⁵⁴. Further, among other would-be leaders of the Galileans they were regarded as rather more worthy of support than Josephus. Justus of Tiberias states⁴⁵⁵: *νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ῥαμμένους ἑπὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς συμμάχους προσλαμβάνοντας,*

Nevertheless, they supported Josephus right through his time of difficulty, because of the opposition of John of Gischala⁴⁵⁶. Their ultra-rebellious nature is illustrated by their desire to attack Tiberias when the leading men of the city asked Agrippa II to come there⁴⁵⁷. Their power is reflected in the fact that John of Gischala tried to turn them against Josephus, thereby hoping hoping to induce the rest of the Galilean rebels to turn against him⁴⁵⁸.

After the fall of Galilee we do not read of their activities further; presumably many of them fell in the siege of Jotapata. However, there is one reference which may be linked to this group, or at least the remnants of it, as in B.J. we read of the activities of the *σύνταγμα τῶν βασιλευσίων* (iv 533), in Jerusalem, led by John of Gischala⁴⁵⁹.

An important point to note here is that the term does not necessarily have a geographical connotation⁴⁶⁰, although we may be sure that many of the members would have been Galileans by birth.

In conclusion, therefore, we may state that the Galilean people, and *עַלְיָאִי*, played an important part in the Jewish Revolt, and that their support of Josephus was on the whole unquestioning. This may well reflect the Hasmonaean background of Josephus, as well as the other traits in his character.

D. John of Gischala

If the Galilean people supported Josephus, John of Gischala and his followers did not. The problem we are faced with in dealing with the career of John is the fact that our only information on him comes from the hand of Josephus, and, when it is considered that John made several attempts to murder Josephus, it is not surprising that we must account for a certain amount of personal antipathy between Josephus and John, reflected in Josephus's writings⁴⁶¹.

Despite the importance of John in the Vita, in the B.J. we are given several introductions to him⁴⁶². This is probably due to the fact that Josephus wishes to emphasise the "wickedness" of John, and to introduce him each time it is necessary to mention him enables him to do this. Despite Drexler's view⁴⁶³:

Aber leider ist diese Feststellung wenig fruchtbar und bei der Eigenart des Schriftstellers auf weitere Indizien für die Entstehung des Werkes nicht zu rechnen.

it is possible to write a fairly comprehensive account of the career of John of Gischala, the most important Galilean rebel leader to emerge in the first century A.D. who was not a member of the family of Ezekias.

John was a man of no little importance in Galilee⁴⁶⁴, and had Pharisaic connections which led to his opposing Josephus for two major

reasons. First, it is apparent from his later activities in Jerusalem that he was opposed to the Jerusalem aristocracy and secondly, he aspired to be Commander of Galilee⁴⁶⁵. In the final analysis John emerged as a better leader of the rebellion than Josephus, and this is evidenced by the fact that *ὁ Ἰωάννης* joined him after the capture of Josephus. Ewald overemphasises the qualities of John⁴⁶⁶, but Abel writes⁴⁶⁷:

Jean, fils de Lévi, originaire de Gischala, au nord de Safed, homme qui incarnait le particularisme farouche du Galiléén et l'indépendance ambitieuse du chef de bande.

Brandon draws wider implications from the character and activities of John⁴⁶⁸:

That such a man should have been active then in Galilee and that he should fiercely have opposed the treacherous activities of Josephus indicates surely, amid all the welter of Josephus's apologetic, the fact that Zealot policy was strong and ably enforced in Galilee ...

At first John was opposed to the war, and it was only after the neighbouring towns to Gischala, that is, Gadara, Gabara, Sogane and Tyre, had attacked his city that he armed his men and reciprocated the attack. He then rebuilt Gischala, and fortified it at his own expense⁴⁶⁹. In B.J. ii 575 we are told that John fortified the city on the instructions of Josephus, and the money probably came from John's speculation in oil and corn from the villages of Galilee⁴⁷⁰. The permission of Josephus was reluctantly given.

Despite the opposition of the Galileans, John had a devoted body of men, numbering at least four hundred, who acted as his constant body-guard⁴⁷¹. According to Josephus they were drawn from fugitives from Tyre, more likely to be Jews who wished to join in the revolt, as it is clear that apart from being anti-Josephus, they were also extremely anti-Roman.

John's opposition to Josephus may be briefly summarised here. He tried to murder Josephus in Tiberias⁴⁷², but failed, and so tried to have him denounced for treachery at Tarichaea, as Josephus was prepared to return the booty captured by the rebels from the wife of Ptolemy II at Dabaritta, to its rightful owners⁴⁷³. In this he also failed, and so turned to the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, to induce them to investigate

Josephus, accusing him of tyranny. The support for Josephus was too strong, however, and he was far too clever at producing ruses when it was tactically necessary. John, therefore, had little option but to return to Gischala, and await an opportunity to make good his attempt to become leader of the opposition in Galilee. Little weight can be placed on the statement of Josephus: Ἰωαννῶν δὲ λουπῶν ζυτῶς τοῦ Πιχάδων τεύχους ὁ παρὰ Ἰωσήπου φόβος ἐφρούρει⁴⁷⁴.

It would appear that John played a small part in the war in Galilee, and indeed when he is mentioned in connection with the siege of Gischala by Titus, Josephus takes the opportunity to re-introduce him⁴⁷⁵.

Titus did not wish to take the town by storm, so he offered the people freedom if they surrendered. John appealed to Titus and asked him to wait until after the Sabbath for their decision. Titus agreed, and John took the opportunity to flee to Jerusalem⁴⁷⁶. After his flight, Gischala capitulated, and Titus kept his word.

When John arrived in Jerusalem, he became the head of the rebels, and caused much internal strife in the city. And he was probably the most able of the leaders, as the high priestly party had long since lost its hold on the brigands who were flowing into the city, including the Idumaeans⁴⁷⁷. Eventually John became absolute despot in the city, isolated as Vespasian and Titus had conquered the rest of Judaea. Simon bar Giora then emerged as a rival to John⁴⁷⁸.

Simon bar Giora (son of the proselyte), had spent some time in the castle of Masada with the sicarii and Eleazar b. Jair, but soon wished to become leader of the revolt. He therefore went to Jerusalem, arriving soon after the death of Ananus, the High Priest, and about the time, Josephus states, that the activities of the σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων were at their worst⁴⁷⁹.

Most scholars have assumed that the *σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων* refers to the Galilean refugees who escaped from Gischala with John⁴⁸⁰. Zeitlin suggests that they were members of *οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι*⁴⁸¹; and, while we agree that the phrase does not carry any geographical connotation, it must be pointed out that there would have been few of the original members of *οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι* involved, for the following reasons. John left Gischala by dead of night accompanied, we are told, by "not only his armed followers, but by a multitude of con-combatants with their families". However, many were lost on the way, and with a cry of "Save yourselves!" John left them and pressed on alone⁴⁸². Although the figures given by Josephus are probably wildly inaccurate, six thousand killed and three thousand captured must imply that Titus's troops managed to apprehend many of the escapers⁴⁸³. When John, and those who had managed to follow him, arrived at Jerusalem they were "surrounded" (*συναδρόξω*) by the populace, demanding news of the war in Galilee - could there therefore have been so many of them⁴⁸⁴? John had lost so many friends on the way that he had at once to go round the city raising support⁴⁸⁵. Further, although there were many influxes of brigands into the city, we know of only one other from the north, after the fall of Mt. Tabor⁴⁸⁶. Much later, when John had become despot, we find that he had split the rebels, and had to gather support from *τῶν πονηροτέρων*⁴⁸⁷. Therefore it is certain that he did not have many Galileans with him, and almost equally certain that he had few of the original members of *οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι*. Thus the phrase *σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαίων* does not refer to a collection of Galileans, and certainly not to an ordered body of troops, as Ewald would have us believe⁴⁸⁸, which came from Gischala. Applebaum is therefore correct in distinguishing between the Masada group, and these⁴⁸⁹.

John's later career is taken up in the power struggle that took

place in Jerusalem, between Eleazar b. Simon in the Temple, and John and Simon bar Giora in the city. John and his followers managed to take the Temple by using sicarii type methods, and getting into the Temple under the guise of worshippers to murder Eleazar and his followers⁴⁹⁰. This left John and Simon bar Giora, united by the presence of Titus without the walls of the city preparing to attack. The miseries of the people were heightened by the fact that the rebel groups had burnt the supplies of corn⁴⁹¹, and John was persecuting the aristocracy⁴⁹². He even went so far as to plunder the Temple⁴⁹³.

All this is the testimony of Josephus, and we may wonder where he got his information, as he was outside with Titus at the time. John is made to appear a much blacker character than he was. This is evident from John's statement to Josephus, when the latter harangued him and told him to leave the Temple and fight with Titus. John replied θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν⁴⁹⁴. This reply, although turned to abuse by Josephus, is reflective of the Galilean attitude to the war, and is worthy of special note.

Eventually the Temple fell, and John was captured, having hidden in the mines beneath the city⁴⁹⁵. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment⁴⁹⁶ after he had taken part in the victory parade in Rome⁴⁹⁷. Josephus describes his crimes thus⁴⁹⁸:

For not only did he put to death all those who proposed just and salutary measures, treating such persons among his bitterest enemies among ^{all} the citizens, but he also in his public capacity, loaded his country with evils innumerable, such as one might expect would be afflicted upon men by one who had already dared to practise impiety even towards God. For he had unlawful food served at his table and abandoned the established laws of purity of our fathers; so that it could no longer excite surprise, that guilty of such mad impiety towards God, failed to observe towards men the offices of gentleness and charity.

In assessing the role of John Gischala in the war, we emphasise

most of all the personal invective that Josephus continually pours out upon John. However, John appears as a good commander with an ability to direct troops, and even to build serviceable war machines⁴⁹⁹.

Thus John stood in the tradition of Galilean resistance leaders. There is no evidence that he desired the throne, but his constant attempts at despotism imply this. He would have been a far better leader of the Galileans than Josephus, although it would not have changed the eventual result of the revolt.

E. Eleazar ben Jair in Masada

After the murder of Menahem, we read that Eleazar ben Jair, a relative (*κατὰ γένος*) of Menahem, fled to the Herodian fortress of Masada, with the remnants of Menahem's followers⁵⁰⁰. Josephus is quite explicit about the fact that the Masada group were called sicarii, and this fits in well with the postulation that there were many groups of sicarii, and this one was the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii⁵⁰¹.

In 1964 there was an archaeological exploration of the fortress of Masada, led by Y. Yadin, which produced many important pieces of information, many of them casting light on the testimony of Josephus. The whole expedition had a great emotional impact on the modern state of Israel⁵⁰².

The Masada group appear to have disassociated themselves from the Jerusalem rebels, and apart from John of Gischala there were no Galilean leaders of the revolt in the city⁵⁰³; and apart from occasional raids in the Ein Geddi area, presumably for supplies, they took no further part in the war. When Simon bar Giora went there he did not stay long, and was not welcomed into the fortress proper⁵⁰⁴. This leads us to the conclusion that the Masada group may well have been the only concrete example of the Fourth Philosophy, and that, after the death of Menahem,

there had been a radical change in the aims of the group. Realising that there was no hope of any of the family achieving the crown, they withdrew, and concentrated on living in accordance with their religious beliefs. The archaeological evidence is testimony to this fact, as is the first speech of ~~Elazar~~.

The archaeological evidence has found fairly universal agreement among scholars as to its interpretation⁵⁰⁵, although Zeitlin has presented some contradictory arguments, which do not always stand up to the history of the fortress⁵⁰⁶.

Yadin's work is the main source of the archaeological evidence and for the most part we follow him. He maintains that the zealots in the Herodian palace made many changes to the buildings; these changes, along with ostraca finds, and some scrolls, are important to this study. It is clear that they did not add any major new public buildings, but they added ritual pools, and a synagogue⁵⁰⁷.

Of the ritual immersion pools discovered, one was identified as a mikve in accordance with rabbinic laws, and is in fact the only one known from the Second Temple period. Yadin maintains that the sicarii built this, in spite of the fact that it is a complex structure in comparison with the other additions of the defenders, which were crude⁵⁰⁸. It seems possible, therefore, that the mikve was built by Herod, for the Jewish members of his entourage, and possibly even for himself, although absolute certainty is impossible. We cannot, however, agree with Zeitlin in condemning Yadin's attempt to identify the pool as a mikve, as he states that the term does not occur until the Tosephta (ca. 250 A.D.) and that the pool was declared kosher under the rules of the Shulhan Aruk, composed by Joseph Caro⁵⁰⁹. The pool must have been built before 73 A.D., as there is no evidence to show that there was any other major Jewish occupation of the fortress after this date. Therefore the addition of

the mikve led Yadin to conclude that the occupants were strict in their religious observances.

This was also evidenced by the fact that many broken jars were found with \aleph for $\aleph \lambda \gamma \aleph$ (priestly tithe) on them⁵¹⁰. One of these ostraca was found in the synagogue, which Yadin points out had pillars, and is similar to the early synagogues discovered in Galilee⁵¹¹. In the synagogue there appear to have been seats around the walls, in the style of a bouleuteria, indicating that there was a measure of democracy in the fortress, and that Eleazar was probably primus inter pares⁵¹². Zeitlin points out that the fact that ω ($\omega \beta \omega$) and \aleph ($\aleph \lambda \gamma \aleph$) were found in Masada does not indicate that they kept priestly tithes, but that they had probably stolen them in their raids on the villages in the neighbourhood⁵¹³. Despite this, we may agree with Yadin⁵¹⁴:

... the defenders of Masada were not only zealots from the national political point of view, but also lived rigidly according to the religious code.

Of particular interest to this thesis is one of the scrolls which was found in Masada. It is a portion of the "Hymn to Famous Men" in Eccclus. (Sira) xxxix 37 - xlv 20. This hymn refers to Phineas (Sira xlv 23-4), who was the forbear of the zealots, and in particular of the sicarii; and it may well be that the hymn was preserved in Masada, not only to give encouragement to the defenders as it listed all the worthy men of Jewish history, but also because it referred to Phineas. This view is at the moment an argumentum ex silentio, but archaeological investigations are not yet complete, and this part may yet be discovered⁵¹⁵.

Thus the archaeological evidence points to the fact that we are dealing with a group of rebels totally different from those found in Jerusalem, although Baer has suggested that the archaeological finds around Masada give us better information about the character and actions of the revolt

than Josephus's descriptions and "original speeches", especially in reference to what was happening in Jerusalem⁵¹⁶.

The archaeological finds do in fact verify the description of the state of affairs in Masada, which is illustrated by the speeches of Eleazar. Presumably to heighten the dramatic effect, Josephus creates two speeches for Eleazar, the first quite short, the second longer, both heavily influenced by hellenistic learning. It is with the first speech that we are concerned⁵¹⁷. In this speech there are echoes of all that Judas of Galilee taught, and which were evidenced throughout the Roman period in Galilean opposition.

B.J. vii 323 ff.

Long since, my brave men, we determined neither to serve the Romans nor any other save God, for He alone is man's true and righteous Lord; and now the time is come which bids us verify that resolution by our action ... we who in the past refused to submit even to a slavery involving no peril, let us now, along with slavery, deliberately accept the irreparable penalties awaiting us if we are to fall alive into Roman hands ... I believe that it is God who has granted us this favour, that we have it in our power to die nobly and in freedom ... we preferred death to slavery.

Josephus thus recognises that the sicarii in Masada were not only led by a descendant of Judas of Galilee, but were also his spiritual heirs. Further, this is the only rebel group which is not accused of impiety, cruelty or with being responsible for the downfall of the nation. The Masada group was diametrically opposed to the revolutionary government which had been established in Jerusalem, for two reasons. The more important one was that the Jerusalem rebels no longer recognised the dynastic leadership of the family of Ezekias, and secondly they were far from the original aim of Judas, which was to re-establish the Hasmonaean kingdom.

The mass suicide took place in April 74 A.D.⁵¹⁸; and this was the end of the traceable line of Ezekias. Nevertheless it was not the end of

Galilean opposition to the Romans, as the Bar Cochba letter discussed below reveals.

Finally, the epilogue to the war gives us valuable information on the sicarii groups in Palestine in the first century A.D. B.J. vii 409-419 informs us that certain sicarii fled to Egypt, Alexandria, and tried to cause trouble there. Also in Cyrene the sicarii attempted to stir up a revolt (B.J. vii 437-441). In both cases they were unsuccessful, however. But it proves that sicarii was not the name of one rebel group among the Jewish freedom fighters.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence of Josephus has shown clearly that there was a strong hatred of foreign rule in Galilee. Even without the family of Ezekias there would have been risings against foreign domination, as there was under the reign of Herod, and later John of Gischala emerged as an important Galilean rebel, not of the family of Ezekias. While it cannot be proved absolutely that this opposition was due to a strong Hasmonaean tradition in Galilee, the evidence certainly suggests this, especially the fact that it was the Galileans who supported Antigonus.

The history of the family of Ezekias also suggests that there was a pro-Hasmonaean movement in Galilee. Ezekias, and each of his descendants of whom we know, all aspired to the throne. Judas of Galilee, following his father, laid the foundations for the zealot movement in the first century A.D., although he was unsuccessful. Menahem stands out in the family history as being the only member who almost achieved his aim. It was only due to the state of affairs in Jerusalem at the beginning of the revolt that he did not succeed. Eleazar b. Jair led a totally different life in Masada, and it is probably from this that Josephus

developed the account of the Fourth Philosophy.

Perhaps the most important trait in the Galilean character was that of being prepared to commit suicide, rather than submit to Roman rule. This trait was illustrated many times, and ultimately became one of the most important features of the zealots. This willingness to commit suicide stems from the Maccabees, and left its mark on much of the literature of the first century B.C. right through to the Christian writings of the fifth century A.D., and beyond.

Therefore if it can be shown that the Galileans were likely to preserve a tradition which was pro-Hasmonaeian, then we will have enough evidence to provide a historical link between the Maccabees and the zealots, and answer the basic question of the thesis. In order to determine this the rabbinic evidence must be considered; but before that we must discuss the possibility that the Qumran manuscripts were written by the Fourth Philosophy.

Notes to Chapter II

1. So Thackeray Lexicon to Josephus II, p. 110a.
2. A. xiv 82-89; B.J. i 160-8. Schürer (1973) pp. 267ff.; Abel Histoire I pp. 290f.; Graetz Geschichte III p. 144; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II p. 236; Wellhausen Geschichte pp. 263ff.; Schalit König Herodes p. 31.
3. A. xiv 90-91; B.J. i 169-70. On this reorganisation see most importantly: E. Bammel J.J.S. 12 (1961) pp. 159-62; E.M. Smallwood J.J.S. 18 (1967) pp. 89-92; B. Kanael I.E.J. 7 (1957) pp. 98-106.
It is worth noting that in the A. version instead of Ταδδαίους texts A M V W read Ἰουδαίους, which Thackeray puts down to a scribal error, LCL ad loc n.f.
4. A. xiv 92-6; B.J. i 171-74.
5. A. xiv 124-5; B.J. i 184-5; Dio xli 18, 1.
6. A. xiv 158; B.J. i 203. Schalit König Herodes p. 41.
7. A. xiv 168. These pleas are not mentioned in the B.J., and Hengel concludes that it was because the men were the sons of influential families in Jerusalem, rather than disturbances being reported to Hyrcanus, Die Zeloten p. 320.
8. The whole episode is reported in A. xiv 168-184; B.J. i 210-15. The rabbinic version of the trial is in bSanh. 19a, and has changed all the names. See H. Mantel Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin p. 72.
On Herod's trial see J. Lehman R.E.J. 24 (1892) pp. 68-81; Finkelstein The Pharisees II pp. 684f.; Leszynsky Die Sadduzäer pp. 85f.; Wellhausen Pharisäer und Sadducäer pp. 66f.; Laquer Der Jüdische Historiker. p. 183 states, "Herodes vor dem Synhedrion wegen Tötung der Räuber verklagte wäre, in der Tat das, was uns die Quellenanalyse gelehrt hat, ein geschichtliche Konstruktion des Josephus!". Zeitlin Rise and Fall I pp. 372ff.; Derenbourg Histoire pp. 146-8; Hülscher Quellen des Josephus, p. 82; J.S. Kennard Z.N.W. 53 (1962) p. 41.
9. pp. 141f.
10. Der Messias p. 458.
11. Synhedrion in Jerusalem p. 228.
12. Geschichte p. 267.
13. J.Q.R. 36 (1945/6) p. 286.
14. N.T.S. 4 (1957) pp. 150f.
15. Die Zeloten p. 321.

16. J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 159 n.33. See the report of Y. Kaplan in Eretz Israel 8 (1967) p. 71, which states that $\eta' \tau \eta$ is read in Upper Phase I.
17. Y. Yadin I.E.J. 15 (1965) p. 112.
18. N.T.S. 19 (1972) p. 79.
19. Die Zeloten p. 321, see also p. 297 n.3.
20. Jüdische Zeitschrift 8 (1870) pp. 37f. See also idem, Urschrift und Übersetzung pp. 144f.
21. Der Messias pp. 458f.
22. He That Cometh p. 284. Cf. Moore Judaism II p. 347 n.2, it was not the R. Hillel who recognised him; bSanh. 98b, "R. Hillel who maintained that there will be no Messiah for Israel, since they have already enjoyed him during the reign of Hezekiah."
23. Jüdische Zeitschrift 8 (1870) pp. 377ff.
24. Gall ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ , p. 375.
25. Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist p. 564.
26. H.B.D.S.S. p. 25n.3.
27. See also Strack-Bill. I pp. 31f.
28. On the ARN legends see Neusner, Development of a Legend, pp. 130ff.
29. The Fathers... p. 198 n. 10.
30. Die Zeloten p. 297 n. 3; see also Bonsirven Le Judaïsme-Palestinien I p. 378. On the tradition that Hezekiah will be the name of the father of the Messiah see Greßmann Der Messias pp. 458ff.; M.-J. Lagrange Messianisme Chez les Juifs p. 217.
31. Die Zeloten p. 321.
32. J.E. 6 p. 383b.
33. Die Zeloten pp. 321ff.
34. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ p. 353.
35. See also Eisler Messiah Jesus... p. 564; Driver Judaeen Scrolls p. 240; H.P. Kingdon N.T.S. 19 (1972) p. 79; Black O. Michel Fest. p. 46.
It may be noted that Driver, Judaeen Scrolls pp. 349ff., and Roth H.B.D.S.S. p. 25, both state that Ezekias was the founder of the sect which later produced the Dead Sea Scrolls, the reader is referred to the discussion of these views in Chapter 3.

36. On this whole revolt from the Parthian invasion see A. xiv 297-491; B.J. i 239-357; Diodorus xlvi 26, 2. Laquer Der Jüdische Historiker pp. 188-215; Otto PRE Supp. II cols. 25-37; Schlürer (1973) pp. 278-286; J.P.F.C. pp. 217-227; Debevoise A Political History of Parthia pp. 111-120; Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia I (SPB IX) pp. 29ff.
37. B.J. i 250.
38. See also A.H.M. Jones The Herods of Judaea p. 29. Buehler has shown that none of the Jerusalemite aristocracy supported Antigonus, which weakens Finkelstein's thesis that the Galileans were greatly influenced by the Jerusalem aristocracy, The Pre-Herodian Civil War pp. 55f.
39. A. xiv 394; B.J. i 291.
40. So Marcus LCL 7 p. 627 n. i.
41. The Herods of Judaea p. 44; Zeitlin Rise and Fall I p. 402, states that Herod was only partially successful in Galilee; Schalit König Herodes p. 41. It may be that the Galileans were torn between the lesser of two evils, Herod supported by the Romans, or Antigonus supported by the Parthians.
42. B.J. i 311f., with some differences, and in the Slavonic version B.J. i xvi (Istrin p. 47) with other differences.
43. Cp. Zeitlin Rise and Fall I p. 406.
44. Otto PRE Supp. II col. 28.
45. Rise and Fall I p. 406.
46. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 119.
47. O. Michel Fest. p. 47.
48. Die Zeloten p. 322.
- 48a. ibid., p. 324.
49. Most scholars are agreed on this point. See Eissfeldt Introduction p. 624.
50. So Charles APOT II p. 411; Clemen APAT II p. 313; Eissfeldt Introduction p. 623; Rowley The Relevance of Apocalyptic² p. 92; Torrey J.B.L. 62 (1943) p. 2. However other scholars hold differing views, Zeitlin J.Q.R. 38 (1947/8) p. 36, 140 A.D. see also the survey of Charles Assumption of Moses pp. xxi-xxviii. The most recent collection of studies on the Assumption of Moses is G.W.E. Nickelsburg (Ed.) Studies on the Testament of Moses (J.B.L. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 4). See on the date pp. 30 (Collins) and 69 (Reese).
51. J.E. xii p. 71b.

52. Jesus of Nazareth p. 143 n. 22.
53. T.D.N.T. II p. 933 n. 3.
54. O. Michel Fest. p. 46 n. 7.
55. Messias Judaeorum pp. 46 n. 7.
56. Zeitlin J.Q.R. 38 (1946/7) p. 6; see also C. Levias J.E. 5 pp. 589-592, who states that it is a talmudic method of interpretation.
57. Mose Prophetiae, und Himelfahrt p. 60.
58. R.T. 6 (1868) pp. 90-94, (Charles wrongly cites vol. 4).
59. It is worth noting that at the end of his exposition he states that was a "un jeu", p. 96.
60. R.T. 6 (1868) pp. 94-96, (Charles wrongly cites vol. 4).
61. Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte iv p. 77 n. 1.
62. V.T. 1 (1950) p. 273, following Hausrath.
63. Z.D.M.G. 36 (1882) p. 193.
64. Pseudepigrapha p. 119.
65. Vier Apokryphen Bücher p. 31.
66. History VI p. 60 and n. 5.
67. Assumption of Moses p. 36.
68. APOT. II p. 421.
69. H.D.B. III p. 449b.
70. Z.N.W. 17 (1916) pp. 117-8.
71. See Rowley The Relevance of Apocalyptic² p. 134.
72. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ... I p. 75 n. 3.
73. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ p. 381.
74. Geschichte III pp. 297f. n. 64.
75. APAT II p. 326.
76. Der Religion des Judenthums⁴ p. 232.
77. T.D.N.T. II p. 933.
78. Z.A.W. 2 (1925) p. 129.

79. J.B.L. 62 (1943) p. 4; J.B.L. 64 (1945) p. 396.
80. History of N.T. Times p. 80; cf. Nickelsburg Studies... pp. 35f.
81. Parteipolitik in der Hasmonäerzeit pp. 239, 310ff.
82. C.B.Q. 4 (1945) pp. 17f.
83. J.B.L. 64 (1945) pp. 141-3, Relevance of Apocalyptic² pp. 134ff.
84. J.Q.R. 38 (1947/8) pp. 6ff., 29.
85. S.V.T. 1 (1953) pp. 88f.; followed by J.J. Collins in Studies... pp. 22f.
86. S.V.T. 1 p. 96.
87. Introduction p. 624..
88. Die Zeloten p. 322 n. 4.
89. R.B. 62 (1955) p. 65, see also on the use of the word Vermes Scripture and Tradition pp. 49-55.
90. J.J.S. 12 (1961) p. 95 n. 1.
91. Die Eschatologie der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Neuetestamentliche Zeitalter p. 201.
92. II Macc. vi 23; III Macc. vi 1; IV Macc. v 4.
93. In III Macc. vi 16 Eleazar is in the Hippodrome and does not die. The suggestion that Taxo was one of those who fled to the caves in the Maccabean Revolt, II Macc. ii 29, is also weak.
94. Job i 2, xlii 13.
95. I Sam. ii 5.
96. Ruth iv 5.
97. Rabbinic interpretation of these verses has taken only the seven sons as important. In b Git. 88a they are the seven courts of justice who have sanctioned idolatry, and in Ruth r vii 16 they are "chiefs of the fathers households" including David and Boaz. In Pesik. R. 26:7 (Braude I pp. 37f.), we have a combination of the Job story, and a woman dressed in black who requires comfort as she has lost her seven sons.
98. See L. Elliot Binns Jeremiah p. 129; H. Freedman Jeremiah p. 108; A. Weiser Jeremiah 1-25, 13 p. 135 n. 2.
99. As has been pointed out by Abél-Starcky Les Livres des Maccabées p. 30.

100. The problem of defining midrash has had as many solutions as authors. The early pioneering work of Zunz is still important, Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden (2nd Edn. by N. Brüll), pp. 37-64, 87-164. R. Bloch V.D.B.S. 5 cols. 1263-281, and in C.S. 8 (1954) pp. 9-34. Lauterbach J.Q.R. 5 (1914/5) pp. 503-527, J.Q.R. 6 (1915/6) pp. 23-95, 303-323. M. Gertner J.S.S. 7 (1962) pp. 267-297. A.G. Wright The Literary Genre Midrash. P. Borgen Bread from Heaven (SNT 10). And the recent important offering from M.P. Miller J.S.J. 2 (1971/2) pp. 29-82.
101. V.D.B.S. 5 col. 1267.
102. The Literary Genre Midrash p. 144.
103. See the review of Wright by R. le Déaut Interpretation 25 (1971) pp. 259-282.
104. The Literary Genre Midrash p. 60.
105. Agada und Exerese bei Flavius Josephus pp. xx-xxii.
106. V.D.B.S. 5 col. 1265.
107. J.J.S. 7 (1962) pp. 267-297.
108. H.T.R. 31 (1938) pp. 291-317.
109. N.T.S. 5 (1959) pp. 176, 179 n. 4.
110. The Septuagint Version of Isaiah pp. 85-6.
111. The Literary Genre Midrash p. 78.
112. The view of Stein, J.J.S. 8 (1957) pp. 13-44 that the Haggadah is to be dated in the second or third century A.D. is extremely weak, and is based on an argumentum ex silentio.
113. P. Kahle Massoreten des Westens II pp. 9-13, The Cairo Geniza² p. 208. A.D. York has recently argued that it is not possible to see the PT. as early as the Gospels, J.S.J. 5 (1973/4) pp. 49-62, see also Kutscher S.H. 4 (1957) pp. 1-35.
114. McNamara C.B.Q. 28 (1966) pp. 1-19.
115. R.B. 43 (1934) pp. 42-68, 172-204, 374-84; 44 (1935) pp. 344-65 502-25,; see also V.D.B.S. 5 col. 411.
116. These, although some of them are pre-Christian are too late for the period we are dealing with, an introduction to them is found in Wright Literary Genre Midrash pp. 80ff.
117. pp. 228f.
118. On the subject of the corrections of the sopherim see now, S. Liebermann Hellenism in Jewish Palestine pp. 28-37.

119. Neusner states that haggadic traditions relating to the rabbis usually referred to rabbis before Hillel and Shammai - after them it was halacha, The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70. III pp. 43ff. Cf. y M.K. 3:7 (83b).
Lauterbach J.Q.R. 5 (1914/5) p. 506.
120. Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden pp. 130f.
121. Hermes 35 (1900) p. 271. On the swing in the opinion of historians see I. Abrahams in J.Q.R. 13 (1901) pp. 508-19.
122. Geschichte III p. 485.
123. Makkabäer p. 355.
124. Abél-Starcky Les Livres des Maccabées p. 30.
- 124a. APOT I pp. 130f.
125. Jerusalem under the High Priests p. 83.
126. E.B. III col. 2871.
127. Martyrien in jüdische und frühchristlicher Zeit pp. 13f.
128. B.J.R.L. 39 (1956/7) p. 478 n. 1; cf. also Zeitlin The Second Book of Maccabees p. 50 and n. 1.
129. See also Grimm KEHA I:V p. 130.
130. Introduction p. 581.
131. Second Maccabees p. 27, he acknowledges that 38-34 B.C. may be possible, but rejects it. Torrey suggests that it was written, "near the close of the last century B.C.", E.B. III col. 2874; Hadas Third and Fourth Maccabees p. 96, ca. 38 B.C.; Abél-Starcky Les Livres des Maccabées p. 34, after 124 B.C.; Keil Makkabäer p. 277, between 106 B.C. and 63 B.C.
132. Martyrer... p. 24; followed by Downing J.T.S. 16 (1963) p. 281.
- 132a. See now J.H. Lebram V.C. 28 (1974) pp. 81-96, for the literary form of the book.
133. Martyrer... pp. 24-9. See also Lohse Martyrer und Gottesknecht pp. 70ff; Brox Zeuge und Martyrer pp. 157ff.; Hadas Third and Fourth Maccabees p. 92; Zeitlin Second Maccabees p. 71; Charles APOT I p. 131; Eissfeldt Introduction p. 615. Schürer Geschichte III pp. 524ff. emphasises the Stoic standpoint of the author.
134. E.B. III col. 2884.
135. APAT. II p. 150.
136. APOT. II p. 654.

137. Geschichte III p. 526.
138. II, III, IV Maccabees p. 293.
139. Third and Fourth Maccabees p. 96.
140. Introduction p. 615.
141. Ginzberg Memorial Volume p. 112.
142. Le Quatrième Livre des Maccabées p. 81 n. 45.
143. Les Apocryphes p. 111.
144. Also Grimm II Maccabees pp. 13, 20; Laquer Hermes 35 (1900) pp. 518f., he argues that Josephus knew of these facts through Nicholas of Damascus, p. 521.
145. Eusebius. Eccl. Hist. III 10, 6.
146. N.T.S. 2 (1955/6) p. 265.
147. B.J. i 314; A. xiv 431.
148. A. xiv 450; B.J. i 326.
149. A. xiv 487-91; A. xv 5-10, quoting Strabo, F.Gr.H. 91F18; B.J. i 354-7; Dio xlix 22-6, Plut. Ant. 36.
150. Zeitlin Rise and Fall I p. 411.
151. A. xv 42-9.
152. Herods of Judaea p. 52.
153. A. xv 164-73; B.J. i 433f. See especially on this Schalit König Herodes p. 696 n. xvi. See also Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia I (SPB IX) p. 31.
154. ibid., p. 34.
155. Josephus records that this was the third time that there had been interference in the High Priesthood from the secular ruler A. xv 40-41, Abél Histoire I pp. 347-350.
156. A. xv 50-56; B.J. i 437, in the latter he is also called Jonathan.
157. A. xv 80-87; B.J. i 441-444.
158. A. xv 236; B.J. 1 441-444, Miriamme. Alexandra, A. xv 247-52. On the textual problems involved in tracing the relationship between Herod, Miriamme and Alexandra see Schürer (1973) p. 302 n. 49, quoting Destinon, who prefers the A. text, as does Marcus, LCL 8 p. 42 n.a.

159. L.S. p. 1587b, cf. the talmudic ׳טו לו e.g. mAr. 3:2.
160. A. xv 293ff.; B.J. i 403; Strabo Geog. xvi 2, 34; Cedrenus (Ed. Bekker) I p. 323, τὴν τῶν Γαβυλών πόλιν τὴν ποτε Σαμάρεαν ἑπικλήσας Σεβαστὴν αὐτὴν προσηξόρευσε,
See Schürer Geschichte II pp. 195ff., he dates it to 27 A.D.; Abel Histoire I pp. 368-9; Geographie II p. 445f.; Jones J.R.S. 21 (1931) p. 79.
161. Strabo Geog. xvi 2, 34 links all the inhabitants in N. Palestine together as being of one blood.
162. A. xv 294; B.J. ii 459, iv 36. See Schlatter Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus p. 33.
163. A. xiv 271ff.; B.J. i 220ff.; Syncellus i 576 gives 800 talents. Marcus thinks that Syncellus has added the seven hundred talents to the one hundred Herod raised in Galilee, LCL 7 p. 595 n.h.
See also Laquer Der Jüdische Historiker p. 187.
164. A. xvii 149-167; B.J. i 648-655. On the presence of the eagle in the Temple in Jerusalem see Michel De Bello Judaico I p. 425 n. 283. E.R. Goodenough Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period 8 pp. 121-142, the eagle was a traditional symbol of the Jews. A. Reifenberg Israel's History in Coins pp. 10ff.
See also Schalit König Herodes p. 734, Zus. xlv; C. Roth H.T.R. 49 (1956) pp. 169-177; Frey Biblica 15 (1934) p. 274.
165. Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus pp. 96f.; see also Namewörterbuch p. 108; König Herodes p. 638 n. 1. The basic form is ׳טו לו and the Hebrew for Sepphoris is ספורה,
Abel Geographie II p. 305. Schalit is followed by Hengel Die Zeloten p. 329 n. 1.
166. A. xvii 162.
167. See below p. 101.
168. Willrich Das Haus Herodes p. 107.
While pointing out the possible Galilean influences in this act of rebellion, it must be noted that Pharisaic opposition to Herod was quite strong. This emphasises an early link between the militant Pharisees, and the later zealots, G. Allon S.H. 7 (1961) pp. 53-78.
On the martyriological aspect of the story see Brox Zeuge und Märtyrer pp. 165-6.
169. B.J. i xxxiii (Istrin I p. 117f.)
170. A. xvii 191; B.J. i 665. For an introduction to the problem of dating Herod's death see Schürer (1973) p. 326 n. 165. According to H. Hoehner, Herod left six wills, and in the last one, the only one legally binding under Roman law, he left Antipas Galilee and Peraea as a tetrarchate, Herod Antipas App. I pp. 269ff.
171. A. xvii 210-218; B.J. ii 4-9.

172. A. xvii 254, cf. B.J. ii 42f.
173. A. xvii 264; B.J. ii 50.
174. A. xvii 268; B.J. ii 54.
175. Jesus of Nazareth p. 155. Hoehner states somewhat patronisingly, "To blame the Galileans for the uprising after Herod's death is unfair, for people from Idumaea, Jericho, Transjordan and Judaea were also involved." Herod Antipas p. 57, cf. pp. 36ff. Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 331ff.; Schürer (1973) pp. 330f.; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 29ff.
176. This was not the only revolt to affect Palestine at this time. In Peraea, a former slave of Herod's, Simon, called himself king among his band of brigands, and was put to death by the Romans, A. xvii 273-7; B.J. ii 57-9. In Judaea a former shepherd called Athronges also rebelled with his four brothers. A. xvii 278-84; B.J. ii 60-65. See most importantly on these revolts, W.R. Farmer N.T.S. 4 (1957/58) pp. 147-155; M. Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 333-36.
177. Die Zeloten p. 335.
178. Weltgeschichte II p. 301.
179. Jesus and the Zealots p. 29.
180. See W.R. Farmer N.T.S. 4 (1957/8) p. 152f.
181. O. Michel Fest. p. 47.
182. A. xvii 286-298; B.J. ii 66-79, on the War of Varus see Abél Histoire I pp. 411-414.
183. This thesis does not attempt to answer the question of whether there was a census of Quirinius or not, see for a survey of all the problems involved, Schürer (1973) pp. 339-427, Excursus I.
184. LCL II p. 367 n.e.
185. Beginnings of Christianity I App. A.
186. Ursprung und Anfänge II pp. 402ff.
187. R.B. 8 (1911) pp. 60-84.
188. J.T.S. 13 (1962) pp. 18ff.
189. Eusebius Eccl. Hist. I, 5, 5-6.
190. J.Q.R. 36 (1945/6) pp. 281-286.
191. Geschichte I p. 486; Klausner Jesus of Nazareth p. 112; Lodder N.Th.St. 9 (1926) p. 6.
192. J.Q.R. 36 (1945/6) p. 282, also Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 337ff.

193. J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) pp. 197ff.
194. M.G.W.J. 61 (1917) pp. 139-40.
195. mAr. 9:6; bAr. 32a; Sifra IV § 1; tMakk. 3:2; yMakk. 2:6.
196. Géographie p. 325.
197. Neubauer Géographie p. 240; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 337 n. 3; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots p. 33 n. 3; Feldman LCL 9 p. 5. Black O. Michel Fest. p. 46.
198. II Sam. xxiv.
199. Die Zeloten pp. 134-6; followed by Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 162.
200. On the Seleucid taxes A. xii 142, II Macc. x 29-30. See Rostovtzeff S.E.H.H.W. I p. 340.
201. See above p. 18.
202. Die Zeloten pp. 93-150.
203. H.T.R. 64 (1971) p. 10.
204. B.J. ii 118.
205. A. xviii 9. Graetz Geschichte III p. 205 places Judas in the same category as Hillel. It may well be that Josephus is presenting the Fourth Philosophy as an Athenian school, and that a group of this nature did not exist until later in the century.
206. See G. Allon S.H. 7 (1961) pp. 53-78, also D. Polish Judaism 19 (1970) pp. 415-422.
207. O. Michel Fest. p. 48.
208. B.J. ii 118; A. xvii 23.
209. O. Michel Fest. p. 50; M. Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 90ff., 339; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 31ff.; Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 160; Geiger Urschrift und Uebersetzung p. 35 n. confuses the references in Acts v 36, and refers to Theudas in this context.
210. B.J. ii 433.
211. Die Zeloten p. 339.
212. ibid., p. 340.
213. Bacher Agg. der Am. III p. 31; also Strack-Bill. II p. 651, which Hengel follows.
214. Derenbourg Histoire p. 161 n. 3; Klausner Jesus of Nazareth p. 205; Kohler J.E. 12 p. 641; Eisler ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ... II p. 67.
215. Die Zeloten p. 339.

216. J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 160.
217. See below pp. 227ff.
218. Brandon Jesus and the Zealots p. 53 n. 1; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 339; Klausner Jesus of Nazareth p. 205.
219. Jadajim p. 79. See also Danby Mishnah p. 785n.; Zeitlin J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) p. 199 n. 39. On the editions of the mishnah see Dalman Sacred Sites and Ways p. 9 n. 1; Auerbach in Mischnajot (Goldsmidt Verlag) 6 p. 657 n. 66. The talmud, at this point reads 'ר'מא ר'מא' (ed. Krotchotin 1861).
On the probability that this mishnah is confused see Zeitlin J.Q.R. 64 (1974) p. 200 n. 40.
220. On the meanings of ר'מא, see Lisowsky Jadajim p. 79, and Lewy Wörterbuch III p. 104ff.; Jastrow Dictionary p. 776.
221. P.A.A.J.R. 20 (1951) pp. 410f. see tYad. 2:20 (Zuckerman p. 684). He argues that the Galilean heretic in the Mishnah, and the "morning bathers" in the Tosephta are none other than the Γαλιλαῖοι and the ἑσπεροβυβαῖοι, referred to by Hegesippus in Eusebius Eccl. Hist. IV 22, 7; and thus means nothing more than an extremist regarded as heretical by the rabbis. In J.B.L. 71 (1952) p. 205 he links the Galilean heretic with the Essenes, based on Lewy's view that the Essenes held Moses in special reverence, whereas the rabbis did not La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine p. 279.
222. Pharisäer und Sadducäer p. 63 n. 1.
223. Les Sadduceens p. 99; see also Vermes Jesus the Jew pp. 47ff.
224. H.U.C.A. 41 (1969/70) p. 211 and n. 1. On this analysis he states that Šadok of Galilee was not a Pharisee, i.e. a member of the Prušim at all.
225. The Pharisees II p. 645.
226. Die Zeloten p. 59; Derenbourg Histoire p. 161; Kohler J.E. 12 p. 641; Strack-Bill. 4 p. 351.
227. As Roth Judaism 8 (1959) p. 37.
228. For examples Graetz Geschichte III p. 208; Ewald History 6 p. 50; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II p. 376; Meyer Ursprung und Anfang II p. 402ff.; Baron Social and Religious History II pp. 46ff.; 58, 74, 161, 346 n. 55. See M. Smith H.T.R. 64 (1971) p. 1 n. 8 for others.
229. H.T.R. 22 (1929) p. 373 n. 13, followed by Feldman in LCL 9 p. 21 n.b. See also Lake in Beginnings I App. A; M. Smith H.T.R. 64 (1971) p. 3 nn. 20, 21; Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 164.

230. See M. Smith H.T.R. 64 (1971) p. 8 and n. 44; Baumbach T.L.Z. 90 (1965) col. 733; Drexler Klio 29 (1925) p. 286. Several scholars are opposed to this interpretation, H.P. Kingdon N.T.S. 17 (1970/1) p. 69 n. 3; idem N.T.S. 19 (1972/73) p. 74; M. Black O. Michel Fest. p. 51; Hengel ibid pp. 187ff. If the former view is accepted it enables the historian to see a direct link between Judas and Eleazar ben Jair, through the title sicarii, although it must be stated that this is not absolutely necessary.
231. T.L.Z. 90 (1965) col. 731. See also T.L.Z. 92 (1967) cols. 277f.; and his article in Lit. und Relig. des Frühjudentums pp. 273ff. For the author's view on the message of freedom in the zealot movement see B.Z.A.W. (Ros Fest.) 105 (1967) pp. 11-18.
232. B.J. ii 254-7; A. xx 163-5. The A. does not refer to the sicarii by name. Perhaps Josephus noticed the contradiction between B.J. ii 254 and B.J. vii 253, and altered it in the later version.
233. H.T.R. 64 (1971) p. 18. An apparently independent, complementary article to Smith's was published by M. Borg, J.T.S. 22 (1971) pp. 504-512.
234. O. Michel Fest. p. 51.
235. Geschichte p. 300.
236. De Bello Judaico I p. 444 n. 145. See also ibid II, 2 pp. 266-7 Exc. xxi.
237. Lake Beginings I p. 421; Baumbach T.L.Z. 90 (1965) col. 732; Michel De Bello Judaico II, 2 p. 267, cf. p. 278 n. 164. Drexler Klio 29 (1925) pp. 284-87.
238. Die Zeloten pp. 86ff.
239. J.B.L. 81 (1962) p. 295; also J.Q.R. 57 (1966/7) pp. 256-9.
240. O. Michel Fest. pp. 175-96.
241. ibid., p. 193; see also Die Zeloten pp. 47-52.
242. B.J. II viii 1.
243. ИЗВОДЪ БАЗИЛЕЙС... II pp. 67f. (E.T. pp. 252f.)
244. Die Zeloten pp. 55-7; see also Krauss Lehnwörter II p. 392; Schürer (1973) p. 463; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 204f. n. 2.
245. La Prise de Jérusalem p. 139 n. 1. The latest article on this subject follows the idea that the word stems from ג'ר'ב (fort), and that they were the precursors of the sicarii as they were organised to defend the fortress in Jerusalem long before the Jewish Revolt. There is no evidence for this assertion, as the only references to them are connected with the Jewish revolt, b Git. 56a, J. Nedava J.Q.R. 63 (1972/3) pp. 317-322. He makes no reference to the view of Eisler.

245. (contd.)

It is possible that Jesus had members of the Fourth Philosophy - sicarii among his disciples. The name Judas Iscariot may well be derived from sicarii; and Simon Peter, designated in Matt. xvi 7 βαρλωνα; and Simon ὁ Σηλωτῆς in Luke vi 15, Acts i 13. See Eisler ἸΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ... II p. 68; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 42-3, 243-5 (Simon the Zealot), 204 n. 1 (Judas Iscariot), 204 n. 2 (Peter); O. Cullman Peter p. 23. Opposed to this view are M. Hengel pp. 49; 57, 72-3; R.E. Brown et al. Peter in the New Testament p. 88 n. 203.

Black states, "The Gospel tradition nowhere seems to unambiguously encourage the idea that Jesus could have been a political zealot, and indeed, seems positively to discourage it." O. Michel Fest. p. 54.

It is not unlikely that Jesus had zealot followers in his group, indeed, his emergence in Galilee would encourage it; and at the time of his ministry there was a lull in rebellious activity in Galilee, therefore they may have at first regarded Jesus as a second Judas figure - even though he was not. It by no means proves the fact that Jesus himself was a Zealot. See now O. Cullman Jesus and the Revolutionaries and most importantly M. Hengel Ev. Komm. 12 (1969) pp. 694ff.

246. Z.W.T. 19 (1876) p. 582.

247. Acts pp. 124f. esp. n. 47. F. Sonntag, B.S. 5 (1848) p. 412, states that Theudas is to be identified with Simon who arose in 4 B.C. It is a useful article as it comments on solutions presented before 1848.

248. Acts pp. 99f.

249. Studies in the Acts of the Apostles pp. 186f.; see also Meyer Acts I p. 160. P. Saydon Scripture 3 (1948) pp. 40f. goes further, in stating that Theudas cannot be identified.

250. Acts pp. liv, 33; followed by Black O. Michel Fest. p. 49. This is not as violent as the view of J.W. Swain H.T.R. 37 (1944) pp. 241-9. He argues that the speech should be transferred to fit in after chapter xii, after the story of Peter's second escape. Thus it better reflects the nationalistic messianism that emerged in 40 A.D., with the attempt by Caligula to have his statue erected in the Temple.

251. διαλύω means "to die", as in Xenophon Cyr. 8, 7, 20; Thuc. ii 12 Polyb. iv 2, and also carries a primary meaning "to break up", as of a marriage, or an army. On the phrase πρὸς τοῦτων τῶν ἡμερῶν being a vague temporal link, Black O. Michel Festschrift p. 49 n. 13; cf. Haenchen Acts ad. loc.

252. Unpublished University of St. Andrews thesis, "The Text of Codex Bezae in Acts", pp. 182ff.

253. ibid., p. 183 n. 1. qui interfectus est v. 9; dissolutus est p; ugulatus h.
254. ibid., p. 266.
255. History of Rome, The Provinces of the Roman Empire. II p. 191.
256. Social and Religious History of the Jews II p. 48.
257. A detailed examination of their views is in Chapter 3.
258. Der Messias. p. 459.
259. He That Cometh p. 284.
260. Die Zeloten pp. 298ff.
261. Die Botschaft Jesu. p. 112, he parallels Judas with Bar Cochba.
262. Jesus and the Zealots p. 32.
263. Lit. und Relig. des Fruhjudentums p. 277.
264. Jerusalem. p. 277.
265. N.T.S. 4 (1958) p. 151; cf. also Roth J.S.S. 4 (1956) p. 338; Black O. Michel Festschrift pp. 49f.
266. History of N.T. Times II p. 79.
267. Geschichte III p. 208; pp. 485f. A. 23 (2).
268. Histoire p. 195 n. 2.
269. History VI p. 48 n. 4.
270. Histoire I p. 423.
271. Die Zeloten p. 340 and esp. n. 2.
272. See below, also I. Untermann The Talmud pp. 161, 170f.
273. O. Michel Fest. p. 52.
274. The Judaeae Scrolls p. 229.
275. ibid., p. 259.
276. A. xvii 20; B.J. i 562. Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 11.
277. So Hoehner ibid., p. 12.
278. On the trial see ibid pp. 18-39.
279. e.g. Archilochus Frag. 197; Aesop's Fables; Solon Frag. xiv 1-7; Plato Rep. ii 365 a-c; Pindar Isth. iv 40-51 (72-84); Aristotle Hist. Anim. i I 488b:20.

280. mAb. 4:5; bSanh. 37a; bBer. 61b; bMeg. 16b.
281. Herod Antipas p. 347; Strack-Bill. II p. 201. For other interpretations see, A.R.C. Leaney St. Luke p. 209, who regards the fox as destructive rather than crafty. Manson St. Luke p. 169 links this with the subtlety of the strategy used by Herod in trying to intimidate Christ.
282. Hoehner Herod Antipas pp. 110-171 on the relations between Antipas and the Baptist; Schürer (1973) p. 346.
283. Herod Antipas p. 57.
284. A. xviii 27.
285. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 75; he also believes that the later name of the city, Diocaesarea, was bestowed on the city by Antipas. See Abél Géographie II pp. 305f.; Neubauer Géographie pp. 190ff.; Avi Jonah Q.D.A.P. 5 (1936) p. 169; Schürer Geschichte II p. 209 n. 489.
286. Albright believes that the theatre was not constructed until the third century A.D., Classical Weekly 21 (1938) p. 148. On the archaeology see L. Watermann (Director) Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris, Palestine in 1931; Hoehner Herod Antipas pp. 84-7.
On the meaning of ἀβτοκρατορὺς, ibid p. 86 n. 1.
287. Vita 37. It is interesting to note the view of Case, that Jesus actually may have worked at Sepphoris, J.B.L. 45 (1926) p. 18; followed by Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 85.
288. I.E.J. 1 (1950/1) p. 161.
289. Herod Antipas pp. 91-100.
290. A. xviii 38; mOhol. 17-18; Num. xix 11-16.
291. See the discussion in Hoehner Herod Antipas pp. 93-5, who dates it to A.D. 23; against Avi Jonah, 18 A.D., I.E.J. 1 (1950) pp. 168f. Abél Géographie II p. 483 17-22 A.D.
On the later development of Tiberias see Avi Jonah Q.D.A.P. 5 (1936) pp. 172f.
Hart has suggested that the parable of the great supper may well reflect the difficulty that Antipas had in settling Tiberias (Matt. xxii 1-4; Luke xiv 16-24), Expositor VIII, 1 (1911) pp. 74-84.
292. Philo Leg. ad Gaium 38 (299-305). See Hoehner Herod Antipas pp. 176ff. Pilate, it would appear was in fact a Prefect, as an inscription reads:
(Dis Augusti)s Tiberium
(Po)ntius Pilatus
(praef)ectus Iuda(ea)e
fecit d(edicavit)
A photograph of this is in Brandon, History Today 18 (1968) p. 523; Schürer (1973) p. 358 n. 22; J.P.F.C. p. 316.

293. For an unnecessary emendation to this passage see G. Schwarz N.T. 11 (1969) pp. 121-126.
294. From Tradition to Gospel pp. 152f.
295. N.T.S. 8 (1961) pp. 301-16.
296. Hist. of the Synoptic Trad. pp. 54f., who states that it was a creation of the early Church.
297. Das Evangelium Lucas p. 275.
298. On the Trial of Jesus p. 54.
299. N.T. 11 (1969) p. 124.
300. Grammar II p. 467, III p. 31; see also II p. 438.
301. Sources of the Synoptic Gospels II p. 76.
302. Aramaic Approach (3rd. Edn.) p. 140, cf. also the identification of the casus pendens in Luke xiii 4, p. 53. See F. Hauck T.D.N.T. 5 pp. 565f.
303. Das Evangelium des Lucas p. 71.
304. Hist. of the Synoptic Trad. p. 54.
305. Urspr. und Anf. I p. 204.
306. A. xviii 85-87.
307. Jesus of Nazara IV p. 119f.
308. Jerusalem und Rom p. 82.
309. Der Messias pp. 245-8.
310. Das Evangelium Lucas p. 276.
311. History VI p. 68; cf. A. xviii 60-62; B.J. ii 175-78. Schonfield The Pentecost Revolution pp. 59f., 74, 80ff.
312. Jesus of Nazareth pp. 153 n. 58; 164 n. 86. S.E. Johnstone also adheres to this view, A.T.R. 17 (1935) pp. 91-95.
313. A. xvii 237; B.J. ii 30. Cf. also A. xvii 254, which Klausner states indicates that the Galileans were included in the massacre. The confusions, he points out, are typical of the talmud.
314. H.T.R. 35 (1942) pp. 286-8.
315. See thus Holtzman Synoptiker p. 376; Dodd Parables of the Kingdom p. 65; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 344; Black O. Michel Fest. p. 53; Winter On the Trial of Jesus p. 53; H.J.P.F.C. p. 352; Knox Sources of the Synoptic Gospels II p. 516.

316. See Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 176; Ragg St. Luke p. 188; Radin The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth p. 102; Elliot-Binns Galilean Christianity p. 30; Cadbury The Making of Luke-Acts p. 240 n. 1.
317. Ragg St. Luke p. 188; Black O. Michel Fest. p. 53; Cullmann The State in the New Testament. p. 14.
318. On the Trial of Jesus p. 177 n. 9; Cullmann The State in the New Testament p. 14.
319. Thus Eisler ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ... II p. 517; idem Klio 20 (1926) p. 495; Grundmann Das Evangelium Lukas p. 276; Cullman loc. cit.; Vermes Jesus the Jew p. 47; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots p. 54. Zeitlin J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) p. 197; J. Denney The Expositor IV, 7 (1893) p. 232; Bultman Hist. of the Synoptic Trad. p. 55.
320. Justin Dial. 80; Hegesippus in Eusebius Eccl. Hist. IV 22 7.
321. The τῶν is sometimes taken to indicate that the Galileans were known to the reporters of the incident, e.g. P. Feine Ein Vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas p. 94.
322. Die Zeloten p. 61.
323. Herod Antipas p. 176; Stauffer La Nouvelle-Clio 1-2 (1949/50) p. 506.
324. See now L. Goppelt T.U. 87 Studia Evangelica II (1964) pp. 183-194.
325. Parables of the Kingdom p. 66; Knox Sources of the Synoptic Gospels II p. 76; Manson St. Luke p. 163; Blinzler N.T. 2 (1958) p. 47. Schwarz, N.T. 11 (1969) p. 126, suggests that it may have been a question from one who considered himself righteous, and that all men were sinners.
326. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ... II pp. 508-525 (E.T. pp. 500-10); Schonfield The Pentecost Revolution pp. 80ff.
327. Jesus and the Zealots p. 316.
328. N.T.S. 2 (1955/6) p. 263.
329. N.T. 2 (1958) p. 44; see also idem Biblica 36 (1955) pp. 26ff.
330. N.T. 2 (1958) p. 32; see also idem The Trial of Jesus p. 179 esp. n. 7.
331. Nothing has been said of the ancient commentators on this passage. St. Cyril omits it, but The Theophylact has a long statement accusing the Galileans of being followers of Judas of Galilee, see Payne-Smith A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke by St. Cyril II p. 446 n. 1. The passage is also omitted in St. Ambrose's commentary. Bede condemns the

331. (contd.)

Galileans for offering impious sacrifices, and states that their deaths must not be classed as martyrdoms, In Lucam IV (Corpus Christianorum 120, on Luke xiii 1.) Ephrem Syrus states that the revolt was a punitive action following the decapitation of John the Baptist, Evangelii Concordantis Expositio...In latinum translata a J.B. Aucher, on Luke xiii 1.

332. Dating the incident has as many problems as trying to identify the incident in contemporary literature. See Winter p. 117 n. 10. Stauffer Jerusalem und Rom p. 82, 31 A.D.; Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 183, 32 A.D.; Montefiore Studies in the Synoptic Gospels II pp. 449f., not later than 30 A.D.
333. A. xx 102; B.J. ii 220, which seems to indicate that Tiberius and Fadus interfered little in the lives of the Jews.
334. Die Zeloten p. 353. On the brevity of Josephus's reports on the latter procurators in comparison with Pilate, see Meyer Ursprung und Anfang III p. 44 n. 4.
335. The Pentecost Revolution p. 171.
336. B.J. ii 232 Γήμαν ; A. xx 118 Γιναις , some texts read Ναυαίς , the Latin, Ginaiis.
337. See Meyer Ursprung und Anfang III p. 44 n. 4.
338. J.Q.R. 40 (1949/50) p. 1 n. 1.
339. B.J. ii 234.
340. A. xx 121.
He is probably to be identified with Eleazar b. Dinai of the rabbinic tradition, S.S.r 2:18; mSot. 9:9. He was called ben Harazhan, "the murderer". Wellhausen describes him as a "patriotischer Bandenführer".
341. B.J. ii 235.
342. B.J. ii 238; A. xx 124.
343. A. xx 161. Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 366ff.
344. B.J. ii 239-40; A. xx 125-7.
345. Aberbach J.Q.R. 40 (1945/50) pp. 10f.
346. B.J. ii 245-6; A. xx 134-6; Seutonius Claud. 15, states that Claudius heard only one party, and Seneca Apoc. 12, 3, states that he did not hear any of the parties. See Feldman LCL 9 p. 460 n. 6.

347. Although included in the A.V., it has been deleted in modern versions. Most scholars are agreed that the interpolation is not supported well enough to accord its inclusion, and state that it is very late. Creed St. Luke p. 141; Leaney St. Luke p. 173. Many regard it as a Marcionite addition; Grundmann Evangelium des Lukas p. 202 n. 6; Holtzmann Synoptiker pp. 356f.; Manson St. Luke p. 120; Plummer St. Luke p. 263. Nevertheless A.B. Bruce retained the phrase in the E.G.T. text, I p. 536. Zahn has put forward perhaps the strongest view. He argues that the longer reading is original, and has been deleted by the later editors to prevent it falling into the hands of the Marcionites, Geschichte des Neutestamentliche Kanons II p. 468, with which we could concur. It is opposed by Manson loc. cit.
The view that Elijah was mentioned because he had been brought to the mind of the disciples at the transfiguration appearance, does not take into account the major break in the text between vv. 50 and 51.
348. See Jackson ICL Tacitus Annals 3 p. 393 n. 5.
349. Latomus 18 (1959) pp. 563f. Also P.A. Brunt Historia 10 (1961) p. 214 n. 78; E. Koestermann Cornelius Tacitus Annalen III p. 200; Hanslick PRE 8, 1 col. 818; Schürer (1973) p. 460 n. 15. On the "geographical error" of Tacitus, see H. Furneaux The Annals of Tacitus II p. 129. It is more than likely that Felix held a subordinate position in Samaria, Brunt loc. cit. states that Felix had a domanial procuratorship under Cummanus, and thereby sat on the Consilium which sent Cummanus back to Rome. Smallwood Latomus 18 (1959) pp. 563-67; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 355 n. 1; Meyer Ursprung und Anfänge III pp. 46f.
350. On this date see Schürer (1973) p. 465 n. 42.
351. Tacitus's description of him, "per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit.", probably reflects his hatred of freedmen, Hist. v 9; cf. Ann. xii 54.
352. A. xx 158; B.J. ii 252; Schürer (1973) p. 472.
353. See Smallwood J.T.S. 13 (1962) pp. 24f.
354. A. xx 163-166; B.J. ii 254-257.
355. Acts xxi 38; in general see A. xx 167-72; B.J. ii 258-65.
356. B.J. ii 264f.
357. On the conflict A. xx 173-78; B.J. ii 266-70. Schürer (1973) pp. 465f.; this conflict at Caesaraea between Jews and Syrians was longstanding.
358. B.J. ii 271; A. xx 182-88. Festus died in office, A. xx 200.
359. (1973) p. 468.

360. For example when the sicarii held the scribe of Eleazar, they released him after the procurator had released ten of the sicarii, A. xx 208.
361. A. xx 215.
362. A. xx 257.
363. B.J. ii 293.
364. See for an introductory bibliography Schürer (1973) pp. 484f.
365. B.J. ii 433.
366. Kennard J.Q.R. 36 (1945/6) p. 284, states that although Josephus calls Menahem "son of Judas", the sixty years separating their activities, and the latter's military activities, and his "tactless flaunting of royal pomp, "suggests youth rather than advanced age. Followed by Hengel Die Zeloten p. 338.
367. Weltgeschichte II p. 429 n. 2.
368. Klio 19 (1925) p. 281. Zeitlin follows Drexler's reconstruction but makes no mention of this problem, J.Q.R. 60 (1969/70) p. 191.
369. Lev. vi 12f.; mTa'an. 4:5; the 15th Ab, although Josephus dates it to the 14th Ab, B.J. ii 430.
370. It may be noted that Schürer (1973) has no mention of Menahem, except in a footnote concerning the family of Judas of Galilee, p. 382 n. 129.
371. B.J. ii 427.
372. On the sociological background of the revolt see H. Kreissig Acta Antiqua 17 (1969) pp. 223-254.
373. B.J. ii 437. On the towers see B.J. v 161ff. It is quite probable that Menahem allowed only the Jews to escape due to his hatred of the Romans.
374. B.J. ii 441.
375. Kingdon N.T.S. 17 (1970) p. 69.
376. B.J. ii 442.
377. B.J. ii 443.
378. B.J. ii 444, see above p. 66. It must also be noted that the ἑγδωταί here are called ἀγροταί in Vita 46.
379. Schlatter Theologie des Judenthums pp. 200f.
380. On Ophel or Ophlas which was the name for the eastern ridge of Jerusalem see K. Kenyon Jerusalem pp. 14ff.; G.A. Smith Jerusalem II pp. 40f.

381. B.J. ii 448.
382. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ... II p. 712 (E.T. p. 586).
383. Jesus and the Zealots p. 131.
384. ibid., p. 166.
385. Die Zeloten p. 369; followed by Kingdon with rather more dependance than is acknowledged, N.T.S. 17 (1970) p. 69. See also Ricciotti on B.J. ii 433, "evidentemente Menahem restava fedele alle tradizioni di suo padre..."; Boussett-Greßmann Religion des Judentums⁴ p. 87 n. 3, "Die Geschichte der Zeloten hängt an einigen Familien, in denen der revolutionäre Gedanke erblich gewesen zu sein scheint".
386. Die Zeloten p. 301, the quotation is from Greßmann Der Messias p. 460. See also Kingdon N.T.S. 17 (1970) p. 69.
387. ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ... II p. 602.
388. Jüdische Zeitschrift 8 (1870) pp. 39-43.
389. Der Messias pp. 449-62; Strack-Bill. I pp. 66f. The references are, yBer. 2:4 (5a); Lam.r 1:2; Jalkut ha-Machiri 103b; Mid. Lam. Suta B 133, I, 2; bSanh. 98b.
390. He That Cometh p. 290; and Z.N.W. 32 (1933) pp. 97ff., esp. pp. 102, 130. Other scholars who believe that this Menahem is the basis of the rabbinic legends include, Baron Social and Religious History II pp. 58f.; Lagrange Le Messianisme. pp. 25f.; Gall ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ p. 375; Roth H.B.D.S.S. Note E p. 79, which he uses to attempt to show that Menahem was the Teacher of Righteousness; Bonsirven Le Judaïsme. I p. 365 n. 8; Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 299ff., 369; Eisler ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ... II p. 712 (E.T. p. 586), Eisler parallels Menahem's entry into Jerusalem with Jesus's; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots p. 377; Boussett-Greßmann Religion des Judentums⁴ p. 227.
391. I, p. 66 h.
392. The Messianic Idea p. 463.
393. See also Wünsche Die Leiden des Messias p. 62.
394. A Byzantine Emperor, ruled 870-912 A.D.; the reference is in Orac. ix.
395. Z.f.K.G. 20 (1899/1900) pp. 286f.
396. For the reason for the fact that Josephus is loath to mention messianic hope among the Jews after the Jewish war see Hengel Die Zeloten p. 300.
397. ibid., pp. 372f.

398. B.J. ii 546-55; Vita 24. Cestius had been fairly successful up to this point. He had reached Jerusalem, reducing Galilee on the way; we note that Sepphoris had "received Cestius with open arms", B.J. ii 510, and we learn that, "all the rebels and brigands in the district fled to the mountain in the heart of Galilee, which faces Sepphoris and is called Asamon." B.J. ii 511. Asamon is between Chabulon and Sepphoris, Michel De Bello Judaico I p. 449 n. 218.
The statement that Cestius killed two thousand is probably an exaggeration.
399. See on the constitution of the Jewish state at this time, Roth J.S.S. 9 (1964) pp. 295-319.
400. ibid., p. 306.
401. Studies in Josephus p. 117.
402. History Today 8 (1958) p. 832.
403. Geschichte III p. 366.
404. History VII p. 533.
405. Vita 29.
406. (1973) p. 489.
407. O. Michel Fest. p. 281. See also on this Roth J.S.S. 9 (1964) p. 316; Josephus was a priestly aristocrat; idem J.S.S. 4 (1959) p. 343; Roth History p. 436; Reicke N.T. Era p. 256.
408. Vita 12.
409. See the family tree in PRE 9 col. 1935.
410. I.D.B. 4 p. 161b; followed by Le Moyne Les Sadducéens pp. 28f.
411. Die Zeloten p. 378 n. 3.
412. Rise and Fall II p. 252.
413. J.Q.R. 59 (1968/9) p. 180.
414. Beek S.N. IV (1959) p. 350.
415. The view that Josephus was appointed to Galilee due to his Hasmonaean leanings was postulated by Black O. Michel Fest. p. 50 n. 17.
416. B.J. ii 568ff.
417. Vita 29.

418. Laquer Der jüdische Historiker pp. 247ff., states that as Josephus had been sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome in 64 A.D. (Vita 13ff.), he was appointed to Galilee on a similar mission. Thackeray Josephus - The Man and the Historian pp. 20f., opposes this, and states that Laquer does not take into account the great changes that had taken place in the two years between Josephus's journey to Rome, and his appointment to Galilee. Nevertheless he believes that the B.J. is a distorted version of his appointment, and in reaction to the Jewish scholars who brand Josephus as a Römling, he states, "I should doubt whether he had any ambition for political leadership." (p. 21). He goes further than this and states, "His fine apologia for Judaism, the Contra Apionem, crowns his services to his race. He has surely earned the name of patriot." (p. 22). Zeitlin solves the problem by stating that Josephus was opposed to the war because he saw in it the destruction of the race, and the destruction of his ambition. He states that the B.J. is the official version, and that the Vita reflects the real commission to Josephus - i.e. disarm the rebels; J.Q.R. 57 (1966/67) p. 253; J.Q.R. 59 (1968/69) p. 184; J.Q.R. 60 (1969/70) p. 39. Drexler believes that the peaceful role Josephus tries to portray is false, and opposes Laquer, and states that Josephus was simply appointed στρατηγός of Galilee, Klio 19 (1925) pp. 299, 301. On Vita 29 Gelzer writes, "Da dieser Passus sich zu Laquers Meinung nicht reimt, steicht er ihm kurzerhand..., nur erklärlich, weil er völlig übersah, welche Niederlagen die Römer schon erlitten hatten und in welche Zwangslage das Synhedrion dadurch geriet." Hermes 80 (1952) p. 69. Y. Baer is also of the opinion that the B.J. is a distorted view of Josephus's period in Galilee, Zion 36 (1971) p. I. On the question of the relative values of the Vita and the B.J. most scholars are agreed in that although the B.J. is fairly trustworthy, for the Galilean period of Josephus's life the Vita is to be preferred, see Schürer (1973) pp. 53f. It must be noted that the Vita is not an autobiography at all, Misch in A History of Autobiography in Antiquity I, states that it is, "a strange mixture of the historian's military and political memoirs, moral or religious apologia and self commendation" pp. 315-26, (p. 324 quotation); see also A. Schalit Klio 26 (1933) pp. 67-95.
419. Vita 62.
420. Shutt Studies in Josephus p. 38. See also F.M. Abél who writes with insight, "Sans nous laisser imposer par les déclarations de l'historien touchant ses intentions pacificatrices, nous voulons bien croire qu'il accepta sans grand enthousiasme de soulever les populations galiléens contra les Romains." Histoire I p. 490.
421. B.J. ii 569-584. We may note with O. Michel, De Bello Judaico I p. 451 n. 248 that the organisation of Josephus's troops is reflected in IQM.

422. Vita 30-61, although much of this is taken up with a digression on the reason why Gamala remained loyal to Rome, and the life of Philip ben Jacimus (46-61). See Laquer Der Jüdische Historiker pp. 42-6; Gelzer Hermes 80 (1952) p. 74; Drexler Klio 19 (1925) pp. 306-12.
423. Vita 30. This is the first mention of οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι as a group in Galilee.
424. One led by Julius Capellus, the pro-Roman faction Vita 32-4; the second a collection of insignificant people bent on war, Vita 35; the third led by Justus b. Pistus 35-42, although feigning peace, bent on war, N.B. Vita 39.
425. Vita 43-45.
426. Vita 62.
427. Vita 66.
428. The lists are in Vita 188; B.J. ii 573, see Appendix II.
429. I.E.J. 22 (1972) pp. 123-130.
430. B.J. iii 59, Vita 411.
431. B.J. iii 115-131.
432. B.J. iii 161-339.
433. B.J. iii 387-408. W. Weber Josephus und Vespasian pp. 42ff. maintains that Josephus here is depicted as an ἀγγελος μαρτύρων sent by God, ὁπὸ θεοῦ προφητεῖα μένος (B.J. iii 350ff.). He points out that the declaration is cast in hellenistic form. This "prophecy" by Josephus is described by Niese as "hazardous", ERE. 7 p. 570; although if we accept Schlatter's suggestion that the prophecy was not made to Vespasian until after the death of Nero, it seems less so, E.J. 10 col. 253. A similar prophecy is placed in the mouth of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, in rabbinic legends, ARN.A. 4 (Goldin pp. 35f.); ARN.B. 6 (Schechter pp. 19f.); Lam.r 1:31; bGit. 56a-b; Mid. Mishle 15 (=ARN.A), see for discussion of these texts J. Neusner A Life of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai (SPB 7) pp. 114-119; idem, Development of a Legend (SPB 16) pp. 4f.; 114-19; pp. 162-66; 228-32; Derenbourg Histoire pp. 281f. Weber Josephus und Vespasian p. 43 n. 5 places little emphasis on the rabbinic traditions; however there is no need to doubt either tradition. As perspicacious educated men both Josephus and Johanan ben Zakkai would be able to see that Vespasian was a likely candidate for the throne after the death of Nero, the only fabrication in the stories is the placing of the "prophecies" before the death of Nero, so Schlatter loc. cit. See also O. Michel De Bello Judaico I p. 461 n. 96 for other references to such prophecies, the principal ones are, Seutonius Vesp. 5, 6; Dio 66, 1, 4; Tacitus Hist. II 78; Zonaras xi 16. See most recently, H. Lindner Die Geschichtsauffassung des Flavius Josephus, pp. 61-68.

434. B.J. iii 443-61.
435. B.J. iii 462-502; Seutonius Div. Tit. 4.
436. Mt. Tabor, B.J. iv 54-61; Gischala fell immediately after John of Gischala left for Jerusalem, B.J. iv 92-120. See on the war in Galilee Weber Josephus und Vespasian pp. 125-36, who believes that the version of Josephus is based on the Commentarii of Caesar.
437. Cf. Schalit Concordance Supp. I p. 32a, b; with Zeitlin J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) p. 189 n. 1; the former is much fuller. The discussion of Hengel, Die Zeloten pp. 57-61 is quite thin, and concerns itself with the references in the later Church Fathers for most of the time.
438. J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) pp. 189-203.
The decision taken to differentiate Γαλιλαῖοι who were rebels, and those who were Galileans, was based on the context of each occurrence of the word. The following are the references in the Vita where the word does not mean the rebel groups; Vita 84, 198, 206, 210, 252, 258, 368.
439. B.J. iii 232f.
440. Vita 198, the people of Galilee were opposed to the mission anyway, Vita 230, 252.
441. The opposition of John of Gischala was based on his jealousy at the popularity of Josephus, Vita 97, 206, 258, 368.
442. B.J. iii 112.
443. B.J. iii 127.
444. B.J. iii 193-6. Josephus was contemplating flight because the town was clearly doomed, cf. also Vita 210. Misch, A History of Autobiography. I pp. 317f., says of the siege and fall of Jotapata, "This long section... has the atmosphere of a historical romance written round a hero. The second rate quality and the intrinsic untruthfulness of this elaboration make the work appear to us all the more suited to illustrate the type of this artificial sort of self portrayal..."
445. B.J. iii 229-32.
446. B.J. iii 233.
447. B.J. iii 251.
448. B.J. iii 293.
449. B.J. iii 331. Suicide was a trait of the Galilean resistance movements; it is evidenced at Gamala B.J. iv 79-81; and later in Masada. Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1970) p. 169; Farmer Maccabees Zealots and Josephus pp. 69ff.
450. Die Zeloten p. 61.

451. e.g.'s Vita 143, 145, and in Justus of Tiberias's party, Vita 39, 177, 340, 392; Gelzer Hermes 80 (1952) p. 78.
452. Vita 77; Ap. Arr. I 48.
453. Vita 143, they congregated in Tiberias; Vita 310 congregated at Arbella.
454. Vita 30.
455. Vita 39.
456. Vita 99f., 102f., 143f., 228 (although Josephus here indicates that he was not totally sure of them as he dispatched a regular soldier with each of the rebels.), 242; 253, 262, 304f.
457. Vita 381-9.
458. Vita 236.
459. Zeitlin J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) p. 196, Loftus J.Q.R. 65 (1974/5) pp. 182-3.
There is a reference to one Jesus the Galilean in Jerusalem, who, along with six hundred men, accompanied the Jerusalem delegation to Galilee, Vita 200. Now it is possible to agree with Zeitlin ibid p. 194 that he was a member of ἡ Γαλιλαίου, however this is not likely as he may well be identifiable with Jesus the ἀρχιμαρτυρῆς referred to in Vita 105, 108, 109, 110, who was employed by the Sepphorites to defend themselves against Josephus.
460. Zeitlin ibid., pp. 193, 196.
461. It has been noted by Thackeray, Josephus - The Man and the Historian pp. 119f., that the descriptions given of John, especially B.J. ii 590ff., resemble the description of Catiline given by Sallust, De Cat. conj. 5, and that the parallels between the two passages indicate that Josephus's assistant went to Sallust for this description. This is possible, although Y. Baer has recently compared the treatment of John with the treatment of the fifth century B.C. Athenian Cleon in Thucydides Hist. III 36, 6 and Aristophanes The Knights; Zion 36 (1971) p. I. See on Cleon, A.W. Gomme and T.J. Cadoux O.C.D. (2nd Edn.) p. 251a.
462. Vita 43-5, 70; B.J. ii 585-93, iv 85, iv 208.
463. Klio 19 (1925) p. 305.
464. Vita 197. See Gelzer Hermes 80 (1952) pp. 83f., this was a zealot characteristic. Ewald History VII p. 535, John was a Pharisee. Drexler Klio 19 (1925) p. 287; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 381; Michel De Bello Judaico II 1 p. 215 n. 55; Le Moyne Les Sadducéens pp. 28f. argues that John was opposed to Josephus because the latter was a Sadducee.

465. Roth J.S.S. 9 (1964) pp. 316f., states that John led a rival extremist movement, and aspired to be an absolute ruler; Gelzer Hermes 80 (1952) p. 71, John wished to be commander of Galilee; Dubnow Weltgeschichte II p. 440; Schürer (1973) p. 490; Drexler Klio 19 (1925) p. 287; Hengel Die Zeloten p. 381.
466. History VII pp. 559ff.
467. Histoire I p. 491.
468. Jesus and the Zealots p. 139 n. 3; idem The Fall of Jerusalem p. 161.
469. Vita 43-5.
470. B.J. ii 585, 590; Vita 71. See Laquer Der jüdische Historiker pp. 40-42. Galilee was famed for its oil, and Josephus is correct in accusing John of being an oil speculator. Farmer has suggested that this incident indicates that John wished to carry on the war in accordance with the rules of levitical purity in the Torah, Maccabees Zealots and Josephus p. 65. However the evidence would suggest that John being a Galilean was not concerned for the levitical purity of the oil. See below pp. 188f. See also S.B. Hoenig, J.Q.R. 61 (1970/1) pp. 63-75.
471. B.J. ii 588.
472. Vita 85-96; B.J. ii 614-619. The fact that John was at Tiberias is taken by Graetz to indicate that John was from an ailing family, Geschichte III p. 362.
473. Vita 126-48; B.J. ii 595-613. The order of the Vita and the B.J. here is different. See for a detailed discussion of the problem Laquer Der jüdische Historiker pp. 57-90, he regards the Vita as reflecting the correct order, p. 86. He is followed by Thackeray LCL II pp. 558f. n.a.
474. B.J. ii 632.
475. B.J. iv 85f.
476. B.J. iv 87-111.
477. B.J. iv 224ff.
478. B.J. iv 503ff. See on Simon bar Giora, Roth Commentary 29 (1960) pp. 52-58; Michel N.T.S. 14 (1967/8) pp. 402-408.
479. B.J. iv 533.
480. Hengel Die Zeloten p. 58; Roth H.B.D.S.S. p. 39; Driver Judaeen Scrolls p. 244.
481. J.Q.R. 64 (1973/4) p. 196.
482. B.J. iv 106-111.

483. B.J. iv 115. It is worth noting that Josephus was with the Romans and only knew of affairs in Jerusalem through rumours and reports.
484. B.J. iv 121.
485. B.J. iv 126.
486. B.J. iv 61.
487. B.J. iv 389.
488. History VII p. 563.
489. J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 196.
490. B.J. v 98-105.
491. B.J. v 21-35; bGit. 56a; Eccl.r 7:11. Perhaps a misguided attempt on the part of the rebels to hasten the advent of the last days.
492. B.J. v 440f.
493. B.J. v 562. Allegro, The Treasure of the Copper Scroll p. 128, suggests that the scroll is an inventory of the treasure John plundered from the Temple. However he assumes too much about the relationship between the rebels in Jerusalem and those in Masada.
494. B.J. vi 98.
495. B.J. vi 370.
496. B.J. vi 433.
497. B.J. vii 118ff. We agree with Applebaum that it is significant that John was given life imprisonment, while Simon bar Giora was executed. John was a military commander, without the "egalitarian" leanings of Simon, J.R.S. 61 (1970) p. 166.
498. B.J. vii 263f.
499. B.J. v 260-4.
500. B.J. ii 447. It is not known what the exact relationship between Menahem and Eleazar was. J.S. Kennard suggests that Menahem was Eleazar's cousin, J.Q.R. 36 (1945/6) p. 285 n. 5a; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots p. 133 n. 2, Eleazar was Menahem's nephew; so also Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 165 and Roth J.J.S. 4 (1957) p. 340, H.B.D.S.S. p. 10.
501. See Schürer (1973) p. 511; Zeitlin J.Q.R. 55 (1964/5) p. 302; C. Hawkes Antiquity 3 (1929) p. 197; Applebaum J.R.S. (1971) p. 166; Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 32, 39.
502. Yadin Masada pp. 200f.

503. Hengel, Die Zeloten p. 338 n. 6 has argued that Eleazar and Simon sons of Arinus, may be brothers of Eleazar ben Jair. However this is by no means certain, as he points out that it is based on weak textual evidence;
L Lat. read: Ἀρῖνοῦ
Most mss. read: Ἀρ(ε)λίμου
C reads: Ἰαέρου
504. B.J. iv 503-14.
505. See most importantly Yadin I.E.J. 15 (1965) pp. 1-120 on the excavations themselves. For the pre-excavation survey see M. Avi Jonah et al. I.E.J. 7 (1957) pp. 1-60. On the Roman siege-works, C. Hawkes Antiquity 3 (1929) pp. 195-213 and I.A. Richmond J.R.S. 52 (1962) pp. 142-55.
More popular works include Yadin Masada - Herod's Fortress and the Zealots Last Stand; M. Avi Jonah I.L.N. 1955 pp. 784-87, 836-39.
506. J.Q.R. 55 (1964/5) pp. 299-317; 57 (1966/7) pp. 251-270, the latter is almost a repeat of the former.
507. Yadin I.E.J. 15 (1965) pp. 91, 117; Masada p. 204.
508. Masada pp. 166f.
509. tKid. 5:3; J.Q.R. 55 (1964/5) pp. 308f.; 57 (1966/7) p. 264. The Shulhan Aruch was composed by Joseph b. Ephraem Caro (1488-1575 A.D.) and was first published in 1556, hence Zeitlin's criticisms. However the book draws on early traditions, and therefore its criteria may be acceptable for the Second Temple period; cf. Kohn U.J.E. 9 p. 521; Wiernik J.E. 3 pp. 583-588.
510. Masada p. 184.
511. I.E.J. 15 (1965) p. 117.
512. Applebaum J.R.S. 61 (1971) p. 168.
513. J.Q.R. 55 (1964/5) p. 313.
514. Masada p. 95.
515. On the scrolls discovered in Masada, Yadin I.E.J. 15 (1965) pp. 81ff. The portions of the Ben Sira scroll have been edited by Yadin, The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada. See the critical notes of Baumgarten J.Q.R. 58 (1967/8) pp. 323-327; Milik Biblica 47 (1966) pp. 425f.
As he does with all the Qumran material, Zeitlin believes this scroll to be a mediaeval copy, it is a translation of the original Hebrew version, J.Q.R. 56 (1965/6) pp. 185-90. Hoenig, Zeitlin's pupil, states that the archaeological remains "do not establish any evidence for heroism, or disprove that Masada was not occupied in the Byzantine period when the scrolls were deposited." Tradition 11 (1970) p. 30.
516. Zion 36 (1971) p. I.

517. For a source critical study of the speeches, O. Michel De Bello Judaico II, 2 Excursus 24 pp. 276-8. See also H. Lindner T.L.Z. 96 (1971) cols. 953-4; idem Die Geschichtsauffassung des Flavius Josephus, pp. 33-40. Brandon Jesus and the Zealots pp. 57ff., 143f.; Zeitlin J.Q.R. 59 (1968/9) pp. 186-193.
518. Schürer (1973) p. 512 n. 139; based on new inscriptions relating to Flavius Silva, published by Eck, Z.N.W. 60 (1969) pp. 282-9.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT
AND
THE GALILEANS

Chapter III

THE DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT AND THE GALILEANS

Probably the most important manuscript discovery ever made was that of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947. It eclipsed the Nag Hammadi material found in 1945. After the initial difficulties in obtaining the manuscripts from the Bedouin and locating the caves in which they were discovered, a vast amount of literature has been written upon every aspect of the scrolls. One of the most important discussions was that of trying to trace the background and identity of the sect to whom these documents belonged. Many propositions have been put forward, and although the majority of scholars accept the identification of the sect as the Essenes, there are several who hold quite different views. One of these is the identification of the sect as the Zealots. This was first suggested by H.E. del Medico; and it has been followed by an "Oxford School" of C. Roth and G.R. Driver. Although their conclusions are similar, their methodology is not; thereby each theory supports the other.

A survey of their works follows with their conclusions, which, if they are correct, have a great importance in the study of the "Galileans" in the Jewish tradition. Basically they suggest that the scrolls were composed by the Zealots, a sect which was founded by Judas of Galilee and Zadok the Pharisee, and that the historical background to the scrolls is the first Jewish revolt against Rome, 66-74 A.D.

H.E. DEL MEDICO

In V.T. 7 (1957) he presents his views on the Sitz im leben and origin of the scrolls¹. He opposes the link that was made between the ruins of Qumran and the caches of scrolls by postulating that Cave I was in fact a "geniza". Defining a geniza he states:

"(a) il n'y eut jamais d'Esséniens en Palestine;

- (b) que le monachisme est contraire à l'esprit du judaïsme et que, de ce fait, il n'y eut jamais parmi les Juifs aucun "sect monastique" de Qumrân;
- (c) que le région de Qumrân est inhabitable ...²"

At about the same time he published L'Enigme des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte³ in which his theories are expanded. The Essene theory is examined in some detail⁴, and he concludes that the name "Essene" was invented by Philo. The evidence of Josephus is dismissed along with Pliny, as the work of interpolators, and is of no value whatsoever⁵.

His views on the ruins of Qumran are essentially that the ruins are of buildings created to serve the cemetery, and not that the cemetery was a consequence of the life in the buildings. Thus there was never a monastic institute of the type described by the archaeologists.

In discussing the texts⁶, he asserts that the "Zadokite Fragments", (CD.), are mediaeval, and that the text was written by Qaraites for their own use. He evidences this by a comparison of Qaraite halacha and that of Rabbinic Judaism;

- i) Strictness of Sabbath observance: the Qaraites had no exceptions to the Sabbath laws.
- ii) The Qaraites did not accept the Rabbinic calendar.
- iii) The Qaraites had their own interpretation of the fasts.
- iv) The Qaraites forbade marriage between uncle and niece.
- v) The Qaraites had different food laws.

It is therefore necessary to examine CD. in the context of the geniza in which they were found, and not to take the documents out of their context and examine them as part of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Therefore the Teacher of Righteousness in CD. can only be Nehemiah⁷, and is not to be identified with the person of the same name in IQpHab. He argues that the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls have confused בַּב and בַּב, in the sense of "master". Thus the title "Teacher of Righteousness" in CD. is to be seen as "Professor of Law":-

"and by no means implies the far reaching sense which some people would like to give to it⁸."

Further to this, the many references to "Cohens" and "Levis" are to mediaeval patronymics; along with the fact that Jewish quarters in Egyptian towns were referred to as "camps", emphasise the fact that the same terms in the scrolls do not necessitate dependence, or identification⁹. In fact CD. is to be seen as an Egyptian version of the Book of the Division of the Ages¹⁰, and is to be seen in the fragments A₂ and A₃ (Rabin ix-xvi), of the Sepher HHGW:

"they formed the circle of the Qaraites of Cairo; the statutes of their communities in form, whilst differing fundamentally from them in substance. All analogies that may be drawn allow of only one conclusion: that we are dealing with the regulations of a religious community¹¹."

Therefore turning to the possible source of the Dead Sea Scrolls he postulates that they must come from one of three possible sources; either Pharisaic, Zadokite or Zealot.

The influence of Pharisaic doctrine may be seen in IQS., but the fact that no complete portion of the Mishna, for example, has been found, minimises the possibility of Pharisaic authorship¹².

Zadokite works are to be distinguished in two ways:

i) the emphasis on "Sons of Zadok" as the legitimate successors of the Aaronite priesthood, and by the references to Cohens, Levis, the Temple and the Law of Moses;

ii) a lack of emphasis on the prophetic and didactic books of the Bible, an absence of belief in the other world and a disparagement of the human being.

However not all Zadokites were thus; the Zadokites of the Diaspora differed in that they were less strict, seeking converts for example, and may be linked with the Baptists who referred to themselves as being "born

of woman" and used an Isaiah commentary¹³.

"The popular writing of the Zealots is marked by their beliefs in angels and demons, by their views on the other world, and by certain gnostic features¹⁴." The authors came from the Syrian Diaspora, or from Italy. This is shown by rare peculiarities of vocabulary.

By using these criteria del Medico dissects IQS., suggesting a date of compilation between A.D. 90 and 110. It was committed to a geniza about 115 A.D. The document is a type of memorandum notebook.

Having noted zealotic and rabbinic additions he then turns to the Zadokite elements.

"Zadokite societies came into being about A.D. 60. They were not named after David's High Priest, but after Zadok, an ally of Judas of Galilee, who founded the Zealot movement. Until A.D. 66 Zadokites and Zealots marched hand in hand, but after the war with the Romans had broken out they became bitter enemies¹⁵."

Thus the Manual of Discipline is a conglomeration of Zealot and Zadokite fragments, compiled in a Rabbinic school, about the time of R. Gamaliel II¹⁶. He further postulates that the author was R. Eleazar ben Arakh of Emmaus. In 115 A.D. it was seized on the orders of R. Gamaliel and committed to the geniza¹⁷.

The Habbakuk Commentary has become the basis for all the historical reconstructions of the sect, and del Medico presents an analysis¹⁸. His starting point is that the word "Kittim" does not occur; rather that the word kty'im is to be read, vocalised katay'im (legions). Hence the enemies of the sect are the Romans. However, so long as a B.C. date is postulated, then all efforts to identify persons and events run up against contradictions which one is trying to evade. He therefore suggests a first century A.D. date as the historical era of the scrolls. Thus the Teacher of Righteousness is Menahem; and Absalom was Menahem's minister/

lieutenant in 66 A.D. The Wicked Priest with the theophorous name was Ananias; and the Orator of Lies was Agrippa II. The Man of Lies was Eleazar ben Hananiah¹⁹.

Menahem was not the son of Judas of Galilee (B.J. ii 433), nor his grandson, but rather was a Zadokite. Josephus states that he had won over some men of note, i.e. Zadokites, and had joined with Eleazar. However, after the return of Menahem from Masada he was opposed and murdered:

"The date when Menahem and his ministers were put to death is not given by Josephus, but it can easily be reckoned. It can only have been 1st Tishri, the Jewish New Year."

This is then paralleled with risings in the Jewish Diaspora, especially in Caesarea, where in 66 A.D. the Zadokites joined with the foreigners and massacred 13,000 Jews. Such a deed can only be explained if the Zadokites were avenging the death of Menahem.²⁰

His death although leading to Jewish legends upon the name led to the composition of IQpHab. It was a political pamphlet composed in Jewish circles, in a town of the Diaspora during the time 70 A.D. and the first seeds of revenge, i.e. the risings in the Diaspora in A.D. 115. Because it was written by a dissident school, R. Gamaliel had it "half burnt" before it was placed in the geniza, hence the loss of the lower parts of the columns.

In fact del Medico lessens the importance of the Galilean element in the composition of the Dead Sea Scrolls by denying the link drawn by Josephus between Menahem and Judas of Galilee. This weakens his argument in showing that the Zadokites traced their ancestry back to Judas's colleague. However, his views were taken up by Roth and Driver and expanded.

C. ROTH

Dr. Roth's first comments upon the Dead Sea Scrolls were given in a radio broadcast and were subsequently published in The Listener entitled "The Teacher of Righteousness"²¹. In this short article he asserts that the Kittim were the Romans²², though not for the reasons del Medico had given; rather because in Roth's (the historian's) view the first revolt was the only time in Jewish history that all the historical allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls may be aligned. The story of Menahem as it is given by Josephus "dovetails" with the story of the persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness in IQpHab. He follows del Medico in identifying "the house of Absalom" with Menahem's chief minister. Also, the fact that Qumran was near Masada led to the formation during the war of the Republic of Masada-Qumran.

Therefore the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls were not the Essenes, but the Zealots. Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that after the failure of the rising of Judas in 4 B.C. they organised themselves in Damascus and concluded the Damascus Document (CD.).

From this Roth concluded that:

- i) the reference to the Kittim sacrificing to their standards in IQpHab. was to the Romans in the Temple in 70 A.D.;
- ii) The Lion of Wrath was John of Gischala;
- iii) The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness (IQM) would have well suited a "revivalist camp" on the Dead Sea coast.

He further concluded that the Copper Scroll (III Q 15) was an inventory of Zealot booty, from the Roman pay chest which was captured in the palace (B. ii 564) and the Temple treasure. The rivet marks are where it was fastened to a wall.

An important point that recurs in his writings is that the palaeographic evidence is inadmissible as there is no starting point from which

to date the scripts, that is ^{those} from the first century A.D. Thus as IQpHab. is the last of the manuscripts dated 66 A.D. palaeography cannot shed accurate light on the subject.

Following this in 1958, he published The Historical Background to the Dead Sea Scrolls²³, and an article in P.E.Q.²⁴ In these he presents his views in a more detailed manner. The basis, however, is that the sect which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls was that founded by Judas of Galilee.

While the followers of Judas were in Damascus²⁵, they became acquainted with the Book of Jubilees and began to regard the Pharisees as lax in their interpretation of the law²⁶. On their return to Palestine, they took over the ruins of Qumran which had been deserted since 31 B.C. It is unlikely that the new population would have been the same as those who left in 31 B.C. after the earthquake. The previous occupants may well have been Essenes, but the new occupants in 4 B.C. (? 6 A.D.) were the adherents of the "fourth philosophy"²⁷.

After the death of Judas's two sons in 46 A.D., Menahem emerged as the leader of the party. He was opposed by Eleazar ben Hananiah, as the latter was the leader of the only disciplined troops in the city. Roth asserts that Menahem may have been a $\text{קוֹהֵן גִּבּוֹר} (\text{ἐξουσιαστής})$, or "priest commoner". Thus being of lower status than the other priestly leaders of the revolt, he was rejected by them as being of a lower social stratum than themselves. Roth substantiates this assertion by reference to the fact that two passages refer to the Teacher of Righteousness as a priest²⁹.

In dealing with the apparent contradiction between the date that Josephus gives for the death of Menahem, and the statement that the Teacher of Righteousness was killed on the Day of Atonement, he states that Menahem may have had a different calendar and therefore was killed on his Day of Atonement³⁰, while on his way to carry out the Atonement ritual, as a

priest. Roth further states that Eleazar ben Jair, although descended from Judas of Galilee, may have been a priest through the male line. The conclusion is that Menahem was both sacrilegious and revolutionary, and therefore was opposed by the followers of Eleazar³¹. At his refuge on Mt. Ophel, Menahem tried to obtain the help of the "democratic wing" of the Zealots, (i.e. Simon bar Giora and Eleazar ben Simon). However, he failed and was murdered.

On the basis of this rejection and obscure passages in IQpHab. ii 1-2 and ib. 11-14 (cp. CD. xx 15), describing the actions of the Man of Lies, Roth identifies Simon bar Giora as the Man of Lies³². The "house of Absalom" now features in that Menahem could still have escaped if only he had been helped; IQpHab ii 3 states that the "house of Absalom" did not help the Teacher of Righteousness against the Man of Lies. As above, he is Menahem's minister of the same name³³.

After the murder of Menahem, Eleazar ben Jair escaped to Masada and the war began to be lost. This was due to the fact that the best fighters were with Eleazar in Masada, regarding the priestly classes in Jerusalem as evil as the Romans³⁴.

The Wicked Priest is identified as Eleazar ben Hananiah, who probably fell in the witch-hunt which took place in Jerusalem after the fall of Galilee³⁵. IVQpPs xxxvii informs that the Wicked Priest received his ultimate reward at the hands of the "ruthless ones of the Gentiles"³⁶.

The last Priest in IVQpHos. and IVQpPs xxxvii had to battle with the "wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh", and would strike Ephraim, but would eventually be captured by the Kittim (IQpHab). The last High Priest was Phanni ben Samuel, a country stonemason who had been appointed by lot to the office³⁷. Appointment by lot was essential in the Qumran texts, e.g. IQs iv 26, v 3; cp. vi 16-21, ix 7-8.

The "wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh" are identified with the Galilean

refugees who with John of Gischala "streamed south" from Galilee after the fall of Jotapata. John of Gischala is identified as the Lion of Wrath³⁸. The importance of this is seen in the career of John. In the fragmentary peshar on Nahum ii 13, the Lion of Wrath figures as persecuting the "interpreters of smooth things" and as hanging men up alive. This may be reflected in the need for Johanan ben Zakkai to escape from the city.

Therefore Roth asserts that the parallels between the scrolls and the Zealots are too many to be ignored and the identity of the sect must be the Zealots.

In his later writings on the subject he concentrates on proving his thesis. He states that the usual terminus ad quem of the ruins of Qumran at 68 A.D. is too early, and that the destruction of the monastery by the Romans was in 73 A.D.³⁹ Vespasian did not capture Qumran when he was first in the area; he was, according to Josephus, more interested in the geographical aspects of the Dead Sea area⁴⁰.

The discovery of scrolls identical with those found at Qumran in Masada led Roth to issue his last word on the subject⁴¹. It confirmed his view that the Zealots in Masada were identical to the sectaries in Qumran. Important to his thesis was the fact that the calendar was not the normal Jewish calendar, and the problem therefore had three possible solutions:

- i) The document (Serek Shiroth 'olath hashShabbath) was Essene, only if it can be proved that the Essenes abandoned their policy of pacifism during the war⁴²;
- ii) if it is not Essene it is an intrusion, which the Zealots would not have allowed;
- iii) if it is not an intrusion it must be indigenous.

Roth cannot accept the first two alternatives, and he therefore states that the Qumran Sectaries were the Zealots.

G.R. DRIVER

Although his work began earlier than Roth's, his major work on the subject did not appear until 1965. In his early writings on the Dead Sea Scrolls⁴³ he spent most of his time rejecting the view that the scrolls could have been written in the first century A.D. or earlier. With Roth he dismisses the palaeographic argument as inadmissible; and after much detailed argument on the morphology and context of the scrolls he concludes that the date of the scrolls could not be earlier than the second century A.D.⁴⁴ In an extremely useful survey of the tradition regarding the Romans sacrificing to their standards, he points out that the incident in the Temple (BJ. vi 316) is the only recorded instance of this⁴⁵. However, he states that the author of IQpHab. must be guilty of conflation of history if this is the incident referred to, and that the sect must have existed between the second and fifth centuries A.D.

His magnum opus in this field was The Judaeen Scrolls - The Problem and a Solution⁴⁶. In his preface⁴⁷ he retracts his views that the date of the scrolls must be the second century A.D. or later, but states that he now sees the central incident in IQpHab. as part of the 66-?74 war⁴⁸. The book contains a complete survey of the problems of the scrolls; some of it is not relevant to the present discussion, therefore the survey is selective.

In dealing with the history of the Qumran ruins he follows Roth in stating that the new settlers in 6 A.D. were the followers of Judas of Galilee and Zadok the Pharisee, and these last occupants were closely connected with the Covenanters and the Zealots, if not identical⁴⁹. The buildings if they were not destroyed in 68 A.D. would not have lasted beyond 73 A.D.⁵⁰ He postulates that there are clear resemblances to the Pharisees in the writings of the occupants⁵¹, but he notes:

"the resemblances between the Covenanters and the Pharisees are

remarkable enough, but those between them and the adherents of the 'fourth philosophy' which was an offshoot of Pharisaism, are striking ... "52 He regards the Essene theory as weak, in that the resemblances to the Essenes are negligible but the differences are not⁵³.

The historical problem is the identification of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest. After surveying all the work and solutions presented before him, he concludes:

"no solution of the problem of the scrolls yet brings conviction and all must be rejected⁵⁴."

IQM is for Driver the most important historical starting point: this must be dated and the identification of the "Kittians" established. The military formations outlined in the scroll best fit what is known of the Roman military formations rather than Seleucid or Hellenistic. Further, in discussing the details of the scroll, he points out that the curved dagger described therein (kidon)⁵⁵ has exactly the same proportions as the sica, although smaller than the sicae found in central Europe:

"there can be no doubt that the author of the war and Josephus are describing the same weapon⁵⁶."

From this he is able to identify the sicarii with the Covenanters.

However, on the "Kittians" he states that the references to the "Kittians of Asshur and Egypt" (IQM; IQpHab.) are the Roman forces which moved from the North and the South during the War. Hence their rulers are the Roman procurators of Judaea and their king must be the Emperor. The "Kings of the North" are identified as the princes of Syria, vassals of the Romans. The apocalyptic war is to last seven years, which is the length of the first revolt against Rome:

"In conclusion then, 'Kittians' stand for the Imperial Romans in the scrolls as 'Babylon' in the New Testament ... "57

Thus, having shown that the first revolt is the historical background

of the scrolls, he turns to discuss the origin of the sect. In working this out he creates an extremely complex structure of parties and groups, which leads him to the conclusion that the Covenanters were among other things followers of the "fourth philosophy".

The sectaries may have originated among the followers of the Zadokite Onias IV, at the Temple of Leontopolis (On) in Egypt. When Hyrcanus I was persecuting the Pharisees, some of them may have fled to the desert, which would account for Phases Ia and Ib of the ruins at Qumran. After Pompey had invaded the land of Palestine in 63 B.C., one Boethus and some of his disciples arrived in Jerusalem from Egypt, no doubt with the intention of pressing Zadokite claims to the Priesthood⁵⁸. However, Boethus compromised himself with the Herodian house, and therefore the followers threw their lot in with the followers of Hezekiah (the arch-brigand), who were now being led by Hezekiah's son Judas, especially since Judas had a follower named Zadok.

After the death of Judas, the followers who had survived both risings settled themselves in the ruins of Qumran and became the authors of the scrolls. This group was essentially the sicarii wing of the rebels⁵⁹. Later the Zealots were brought into contact with the Covenanters through their reverence of Phineas; the sicarii followed Phineas in mode of action, and the Zealots followed him in mental outlook⁶⁰. At the outbreak of the revolt the Zealots and the sicarii were identical, or so closely connected that separation is almost impossible. These groups were soon joined by the brigands (ἀγῶται) who by then had many similarities with the Covenanters. Thus he postulates that the Covenanters were in fact a group comprising Zadokite-Boethusian-Zealot-Sicarii elements.

On Judas of Galilee he closely follows Roth, in pointing out the importance of the hereditary principle in the σοφιστής tradition, thus even Eleazar ben Jair was entitled to be referred to as Teacher of

Righteousness⁶¹. Driver further points out that the name "Sons of Zadok" was in certain cases a double entendre which referred both to the laymen of the community, and the followers of the Zadok who was with Judas. Therefore the occurrence of the title is of necessity to be dated in the first century A.D. The importance of the Zadokite tradition is to be seen in the double entendre in CD. ix 14 and the emendation to Sir. li 12. The Sadduceans (Boethusians) are to be identified as the same group which followed Judas and Zadok. This conclusion is reached after a discussion of the traditions concerning the Jewish sects in Justin Martyr, Hegesipus, Pseudo Clement, Ephraem the Syrian, Philaster, Jerome and al Qirqisani⁶².

The identification of the principal characters in the scrolls made by Driver is similar to Roth's; Menahem is the Teacher of Righteousness, who was killed on the Day of Atonement; Eleazar ben Hananiah is the Wicked Priest; the "House of Absalom" is based on Menahem's minister; the "house of Judah" stands for the group which fled with Eleazar ben Jair to Masada; John of Gischala is the "Man of Falsehood" and Simon bar Giora is the "Lion of Wrath"⁶³.

Damascus may have been regarded by the rebels as a place of refuge, especially after their risings had failed in 47 B.C., 4 B.C., 6 A.D. and 46-8 A.D.⁶⁴ It may also have carried Messianic significance i.e. that the Messiah would appear in the North, or that it was whilst in the place of refuge that the group may have reformed, citing the O.T. usage of the name as a place of exile. The later importance of Damascus is that this was the place where the "splutterer of lies" created his schismatic group.

The scrolls are dated to the latter half of the first century, and Driver follows del Medico in stating that they were probably buried as a result of the increasing orthodoxy of the Rabbis after 135 A.D.⁶⁵

Driver's book in many ways synthesises the researches of Roth and del Medico, and is therefore an important work for the study of the Galilean

tradition in Jewish thought and history. In fact the ascription of Galilean background to the sect which produced the scrolls makes the Fourth Philosophy one of the best documented sects of the Jewish tradition. However, the temptation to draw far-reaching conclusions from these theories must be overcome and conclusions drawn only after due consideration of the evidence. It must be noted that all these works are extremely ingeniously argued and there is much hypothetical argument within them.

Four points stand out for discussion:

- i) The treatment of the history of the followers of Judas of Galilee.
- ii) The assertion that Menahem was Teacher of Righteousness.
- iii) The references to Sons of Zadok in the scrolls.
- iv) The statement that the "wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh" were the Galilean refugees with John of Gischala.

Other criticisms which have been levelled at the authors' theories primarily deal with archaeological/palaeographic evidence⁶⁶.

(i) Historical Considerations

The primary fault in these works is that the authors are trying to use religious sectarian documents as historical sources. In many respects the same problems occur with the rabbinic sources when using them to write the history of an event. As they are not primarily historical documents, conflation and additions are rife, and therefore it becomes well nigh impossible to date every event or character referred to, as they are not necessarily all to be dated at the same time.

Thus as far as the Fourth Philosophy is concerned, the scrolls are the only evidence to suggest that the followers of Judas fled to Damascus or the Judaeian desert. Outside the scrolls there is only the testimony of Josephus, which is tantalisingly silent on the "middle history" of the group. However, certain statements can be made as to the likely history

of the followers, which does not involve detailed speculation.

Firstly, the history of the Galilean rebels in the first century B.C. is testimony to the fact that the later Galilean rebels are unlikely to have fled as a group to a strange and remote area. After the death of Ezekias the rebels fled to the hills of Galilee where they could be supported by the peasants in the remote villages, yet remain hidden in the caves. It may be noted that it took Herod and his men some time to flush the rebels out. Secondly, they are equally unlikely to have fled north to Damascus, as their country ways and accent would have made them an obvious group of refugees from Galilee.

The Fourth Philosophy was not formed until 6 A.D., and is referred to by Gamaliel in Acts v 37 as having died out. Thus whatever the historical uncertainties of this passage, the "sect" as a group was not definable within the structure of Judaism at that time, although the seeds may have remained. Thus they were not a thriving community at Qumran. Further, the statements that the Fourth Philosophy wrote the Qumran scrolls ascribes to it an importance that was not there. Such a body of rebels would not have created documents of theological importance; they were interested in ridding the country of the Roman Imperium, and in setting up a new Hasmonaean state. Also the dating of any of the scrolls to post 73/4 A.D. weakens the argument, as there is absolutely no external evidence to show that the Fourth Philosophy survived Masada.

Driver claims to have found many references to the sectarians in the rabbinic literature; and there is no need to doubt that some of the references may refer to the Qumran sect. However, what he fails to notice is that throughout the rabbinic literature there was not one sure reference to Judas or Zadok, and it seems unlikely that so many references would exist without one allusion to the founders of the sect⁶⁷.

The solution to the problem of the identification of the Qumran sect

which does most justice to all the evidence is that of Milik. He combines the writings of the sect, the archaeological evidence and the references found in classical writers to show that the sect were in fact Essenes. He argues that there were four phases of Essenism, which coincide with the phases which can be distinguished archaeologically from the Qumran ruins⁶⁸.

Phase I, "Strict Essenism", covers Phase Ia of the archaeologists, and began in the reign of Jonathan⁶⁹. The second phase, "Essenism with Pharisaic Nuances", is to be linked with the archaeological Phase Ib, which was the most flourishing period of the Qumran occupation, and in this period were many of the Qumran texts written⁷⁰. In Phase III, "The Essenes during Herod's Reign", there is the problem of whether or not the site was abandoned during the period 31 B.C. (the earthquake), and 6 A.D. Milik believes that the site was not totally abandoned, and he argues that the reference in Josephus to Menahem the Essene at the court of King Herod⁷¹ indicates that the sect was flourishing, at least in political terms.

However it is Phase IV with which we are most concerned, "Essenism with Zealot Tendencies". While we oppose any identification between the Fourth Philosophy and the Qumran sect, there can be no doubt that in the first century A.D. there was a definite zealotic tendency in the Essenes; testimony of this is the Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness; IQM. Milik states that there would have been new recruits to the ranks of the Essenes, but does not state who these recruits were⁷². Nevertheless he argues that life in Qumran continued much as it had done in the first century B.C.; although now there is evidence of women in the community. The result of the increasing zealotic characteristics of the Essenes was the destruction of Qumran in 68 A.D.; especially in light of the fact that John the Essene was appointed general of Thamna at the same time as Josephus was appointed general of Galilee⁷³.

Thus we may agree with most scholars that the evidence most strongly points to the identification of the Qumran sect with the Essenes; and that the evidence is singularly weak from the historical point of view for those wishing to argue that they were the Fourth Philosophy.

(ii) Menahem as a Priest

In order to argue that Menahem was the Teacher of Righteousness, Roth had to state that Menahem was a priest. This is in the extreme forced, and has no justification. The references to Menahem in Josephus give no indication that Menahem was a priest; Menahem was dressed as a king when he entered Jerusalem, not a priest. Thus the fact that the Jerusalem priestly aristocracy turned against him was due to Menahem being a Galilean.

It may be noted that the Hasmonaean kings were also priests, and therefore if the supposition is correct that the family of Ezekias were all pretenders to the Hasmonaean throne, then it would not seem unlikely that Menahem could have been a priest. However, parallels of this nature must not be overworked. There is no evidence to show that Ezekias, Judas or his sons made any claim to the priesthood; and the evidence in Masada would point to the fact that the Fourth Philosophy stood in the Galilean tradition of supporting the priesthood, even that of the first century A.D. They may even have had priests in the fortress with them.

Thus there is no evidence to show that that Menahem was a priest, nor therefore was he Teacher of Righteousness.

(iii) The $\beta\text{IT}\gamma\text{'}\text{I}\text{I}$

The phrase $\beta\text{IT}\gamma\text{'}\text{I}\text{I}$ "the sons of Zadok" occurs thirteen times in the writings so far published from Qumran⁷⁴. Thus it is clear that the group it designates has some importance within the sect, and lends support to the theory that there is a connection between the sectaries at Qumran and the Zadokite followers of Onias IV at Leontopolis.

The Zadokite tradition in the O.T. involved some conflict with the Aaronite tradition, and the five genealogical lists given in the O.T. attempt to invest the Zadokite claims with the same authority as the Aaronite claims. The problems in these lists are numerous⁷⁵. The "Sons of Zadok" also occur in Ezekiel's prophecy of the new Temple⁷⁶, and it was from here that the Qumran sectaries obtained their title⁷⁷. In this prophecy the "Sons of Zadok" are appointed as sole guardians of the new sanctuary. The Zadok to whom Ezekiel refers is David's priest of that name, (I Ki. i 32).

Now in the scrolls six of the references to the "sons of Zadok" are linked with the word כוהנ'ים⁷⁸, and these references may be taken to be a select group within the community⁷⁹, and are to be linked with the prophecy of Ezekiel. Thus none of these references may apply to the Zadok with Judas of Galilee. Further midrashic references to the Ezekiel prophecy may also be excluded in this context⁸⁰. Thus ten of the references to the "Sons of Zadok" are directly dependent on the Ezekiel prophecy and three are left to those who wish to show that the Zadok referred to is the one with Judas of Galilee. However, in Sir. li 12 where there is a psalm, in the Hebrew only, praising the "Sons of Zadok", it only serves to show the importance the Zadokite tradition had in Qumran doctrine; further IVQpIs c xxii 3 is of little use as it is almost unplaceable.

The most problematic references are left. In CD. iii 21-iv 1 there is an important emendation made to the M.T.:

לְאָגַר הַכֹּהֲנִים וְתַלְמִידֵי וּבְנֵי צְדוֹק CD.

וְהַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם בְּנֵי צְדוֹק M.T. Is xliv 15.

This has been taken by Driver⁸¹ to be a double entente indicating at the same time the laymen of the community (i.e. the followers of Judas and Zadok), and the select group within the community. However this, along with the

suggestion that it is merely an editorial slip, will not do. The insertion of the "ג" is to be seen in the light of CD. iv 3 where קִיטז'גב again occurs. It may be that this is a deliberate attempt on the part of the author to emphasise a later exegetical goal which was connected with the sect's re-interpretation of the Ezekiel prophecy⁸². In any event it in no way implies a different group within the community alongside the "sons of Zadok" referred to elsewhere. The possibility that these texts were interpreted in the first century and re-applied to Zadok is unlikely, as Zadok did not have a priestly role in the Fourth Philosophy.

Finally there is an extremely dubious reference in IQs ix 14, where David's High Priest is named. The text is read by Burrows⁸³ as גב' קִיטז'ה. Scholars are divided whether to read this as קִיטז'גב⁸⁴ or קִיטז'ה גב'⁸⁵. R. North has suggested that to read the former would enable one to translate "the sons of that Zadok", and could then be read as, for example, גב' ישראל "the sons of Israel", but this does not adequately explain the article⁸⁶. The problem is solved thus by Driver⁸⁷:

"difficilior lectio potior ... the reading is a double entente like many formae mixae which the massorettes have introduced into the Old Testament as offering a choice of different readings, to leave an ambiguity. It can be read 'sons of Zadok' (sadoq) and so recall the covenanters' connection with Zadok, David's chaplain ... and Saddok or Saddouk, the co-founder of the fourth philosophy with whom the Zadokites seem to have been merged; or it can be read 'sons of the rightful one' (hassadiq) and so bring the famous Zadokite High Priest Simon the Just (hassadiq) into connection with the covenanters ... it perhaps hints at the title 'the sons of the just' or 'righteous ones' (sadeqan) which the author of the book of Jubilees gives to the righteous descendants of Noah by way of contrast to the 'sons of perdition' under Satan's dominion."

This emphasis on the double entente element in the Dead Sea Scrolls weakens Driver's arguments. That some emendation is necessary is clear to make sense of the phrase. The close affinity between this and CD. iv 3-4 again emphasises the importance the prophecy of Ezekiel had for the authors of the scrolls. It is not necessary here to see a double entente, rather to see typical midrashic interpretation. The importance here is not the

name it gave to the sect, or any part of the sect⁸⁸, but in the way it allowed, by midrashic interpretation, the phrase to be read as "sons of righteousness"; ix 14 emphasises this with the use of the article. This is the usual rabbinic use of midrashic interpretation. Ginzberg⁸⁹ points out that in Lev. r I the name Zadok is interpreted as the High Priest Aaron, having been thus equated with ר' אהרן , hence states Wernberg-Møller⁹⁰ that the phrase refers to the whole community and presents no emendation problem if it is read $\text{ר' אהרן בןי ה' (MT ר' אהרן)}$. This is especially so in the light of IVQSe⁹¹.

Thus there is very little evidence to show that the "Sons of Zadok" in the Qumran community were originally the followers of Zadok the Pharisee.

Finally a word may be said about the Zadokite rejection of the Hasmonaeen priesthood, especially after the flight of Onias IV to Leontopolis. This rejection was essential to Zadokite claims to the legitimate priesthood⁹², however, as has been shown, the Galileans did not reject the Hasmonaeen priesthood; also, the flight to Egypt and the return to Jerusalem would not have affected the Galileans in any way. A hypothetical link drawn between the Boethusians and the Galileans does not carry enough weight to maintain the view that the sectarians were the followers of Judas. Nevertheless a later connection between the rebels in Masada and the sectarians in Qumran must not be ruled out.

(iv) "The Wicked Ones of Ephraim and Manasseh".

The phrase, "the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh", occurs in IVQpNah⁹³ and IVQpPs. xxxvii 14-5⁹⁴. Both Roth⁹⁵ and Driver⁹⁶ identify them as the Galileans who fled to Jerusalem with John of Gischala. However it has been shown that there were few, if any, Galileans with John in Jerusalem.

Further, there was no connection between the traditional settlement of the tribes in Galilee, and Ephraim and Manasseh. In the early settlement period there would have been little connection between the Galilean tribes and the tribes in the central region, due to the line of Canaanite fortresses, with Egyptian commanders, which ran from Dor to Beth Shean.

The suggestions of Roth and Driver have been opposed by Milik⁹⁷:

... in addition to the general anti Samaritan feelings of Judaeans, there may be an allusion to some specific conflict between them and the Essenes, but at this point our historical sources fail us.

Other suggestions made by A. Dupont-Sommer⁹⁸, J. Ammousine⁹⁹ and J. Le Moyne¹⁰⁰ are that "Ephraim" is a cipher for Hyrcanus I and the Pharisees; and that "Manasseh" therefore indicates Aristobolus II and the Sadducees. H. Stegemann, on the other hand, sees them not as ciphers for these two groups, but as ciphers for two opposing groups of Jews, which he leaves unnamed¹⁰¹. Probably the best solution has been offered by D. Pardee¹⁰²:

We must consider the possibility that "Ephraim and Manasseh" were convenient labels to categorize any opposing group(s). Biblical texts ... for Ephraim and Manasseh, and many others for Ephraim alone ... would be sufficient backing for such a usage.

There is therefore little justification outside the texts to support the view that the "wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh" were the Galilean rebels.

In concluding this study of the Qumran texts note must be taken of the results of such a destructive enquiry. The consequences are certain pointers towards that which has been argued. If the Galileans were pro-Hasmonaeen then the scrolls offer no evidence to the contrary, further, the later links between the sectaries and the Zealots may have been due to the fact that they saw not just an end to the Roman domination of

Palestine but an end to the illegitimate priesthood in Jerusalem. It may also be that after the destruction of Qumran in 68 A.D. Masada was the nearest place to flee.

One cannot detach the Qumran texts from other discoveries in the Judaeen desert, especially those that deal with the Bar Cochba era. One of the letters which has been discovered has special relevance for this study as it refers explicitly to the "Galileans".

THE BAR COCHBA LETTER

Regarded as an important discovery from the caves of the Wadi Murabba'at¹⁰³, it involves "Galileans" in the Bar Cochba revolt. Before the actual significance of this can be discussed, it is necessary to investigate certain problems which the letter poses.

The first is the problem presented characteristically by S. Zeitlin¹⁰⁴ and supported by E.R. Lachemann¹⁰⁵. They state that the letter could not have been written by Bar Cochba or even a contemporary of his, as it is mediaeval. The argument rests upon the opening of the letter "From Simon" which, they argue, was not used as the opening to letters in the second century A.D. These have been dealt with by R. Marcus¹⁰⁶, who presents a list of letters from Josephus beginning with "From ...". In an extremely well argued introduction to his article, "The Newly Discovered Bar Cochba Letters"¹⁰⁷, I. Sonne takes Zeitlin to task for his cum odio approach to all the discoveries in the Judaeen desert.

Further discussions of this nature ceased, and most scholars accept that the letter is genuine, and comes from Bar Cochba. It is now possible to turn to the text:

משמעון בן כוסבה לישע
בן גלגלה ולאנשי הברך
שלום מעיד אני עלי ת שמים

From Simeon ben Cosba to
Joshua Son of Galgola, and
to the men of Habbaruk
Greetings. I take heaven

<p>יפסן] מן הגלילאים שהצלכם כל אדם שאני נתן ת כבלים ברגלכם כמה שעסתן] לבן עפלול [ש]מעון בן כוסבה] על [נפשה]</p>	<p>5</p>	<p>as my witness that if any of the Galileans who are with you are (). I will put fetters on your feet, as I did to ben Aphlul. Simeon ben Cosba.</p>
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Certain lacunae in the text have created doubt as to what is actually being said to Joshua ben Galgola, in particular line 4. The editio princeps published by Milik¹⁰⁸, read [ר] ס פ ו for the verb, and he translated the line, "si tu ne cesses pas (tes relations) avec les Galiléens que tu as tous tirés d'affaire." Later Milik retracted this view in the light of criticisms made by Ginsberg¹⁰⁹, Birnbaum¹¹⁰ and Cross¹¹¹, thus in D.J.D. II he reads as above¹¹².

The lacuna, as Milik states, is large enough to take a big letter, and several propositions have therefore been put forward to make sense of the verb:

- [ר] ס פ ו - Milik] ר ס פ (to separate)
- [ז] ס פ ו - Rabinowitz¹¹³; Ginsberg (who states that it may also be read [ב] ס פ ו); Cross; Birnbaum and Fitzmyer¹¹⁴.
↓ ט ו פ (to lose)
- [ד] ר פ ו - Yadin¹¹⁵ ↓ ד ר פ (to mobilise)
- [ו] ס פ ו - Vogt¹¹⁶; Bardtke¹¹⁷ ↓ ו ס פ (to distribute)
- [ז] ס פ ו - Sonne¹¹⁸ (handwriting)

The early suggestion that the Galileans referred to are the early Christians has been largely rejected, only Teicher appearing to adhere to this view¹¹⁹. The general sense must be an exhortation to protect the Galileans who have been rescued. Indeed the fact that they have been taken into the camp at all would point to this. Therefore three possibilities are open to us: either the view of I. Sonne that גלילאים is a synonym for צמח-הארץ; or that they are Galilean peasant refugees who have moved south in search of food; or that they are Galilean rebels who have escaped to join Bar Cochba's army.

(i) In an ingeniously argued article I. Sonne attempted to show that the Sitz im leben of the Bar Cochba letter was to be found not in the Second Jewish Revolt, but in the pre-revolt activities of Bar Cochba. He sees Bar Cochba as a one-time Roman fiscal official turned rebel. As an official Bar Cochba would have been in an ideal position to perceive the attitude of the Jews, and therefore at the right moment change his apparent allegiance to the Romans and lead the revolt. He states thereby that the appellation גלילאים is not a proper name; rather it is a synonym for עמ-ה'הארץ, in the sense that the גלילאים are to be distinguished from the townspeople¹²⁰. Joshua ben Galgola and his "army" (the men of the city) are the tax collectors and have overstepped their authority. The letter is therefore a reply to a plea from the peasants to deal with this matter.

To enable Sonne to argue this he translates lines 4-5 as: "and a handwriting (?) from the country people that you have devoured every man ... "

This in fact does not solve the problem of the letter. The form of the plural with an "אי" is not unusual among the Qumran texts, and it is therefore almost certain that the word גלילאים does in fact mean Galileans¹²¹. The analogy with the phrase עמ-ה'הארץ has no justification outside this text. Secondly, it ascribes to Bar Cochba a position similar to that of Josephus in the first revolt. This type of opportunist action is untypical of what we know of Bar Cochba, and, further, would Rabbi Akiba have declared an ex-Roman fiscal official as Messiah? Also, could Bar Cochba have won the support that he did if he had been guilty of such a turnabout in his apparent allegiances?¹²²

(ii) The suggestion that these people were Galilean peasant refugees from the early skirmishes in the revolt who had travelled down to Judaea has won support from several scholars¹²³. The food shortages on the border of

Galilee during the early times of the revolt led the peasants to move south in search of provisions. However, Rubenstein¹²⁴ states that it is unlikely that people would move south from Galilee into war-torn Judaea, in search of food; but he goes on to postulate that the Galileans referred to are in fact the remnant of the Qumran sect who moved north after the destruction of Qumran. This is purely hypothetical and has very little support.

iii) In the light of the activities of the Galileans in the revolts of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., there is every reason to suspect that these Galileans were rebels who came south to join in the Fourth Philosophy, or any other un-named "Galilean" sect¹²⁵; they were probably Galilean patriots, who in the tradition of Galilean involvement in Jewish affairs came to fight for their beliefs. They escaped from Galilee in arms, and joined up with Bar Cochba's army under Joshua at Kaphar ha-Baruk.

This theory lends weight to Yadin's construction of the text, but is supported by certain historical factors. The influx of Galileans into the army could have led to friction in the camp. However, Bar Cochba may have known of the traditional courage of the Galileans and therefore regarded them as worthy additions to his army. This view has been put forward by E. Vogt who states¹²⁶:

Galilaei possunt esse milites qui cum Iudaeis contra Romanos pugnabant quosque Iesua e manibus eripuit; Simon in epistula ob dissensiones inter eos et Iudaeos ortas a Iesua separationem a Galilaeis exegisset.

Bardtke suggests that the name "Galilean" was not one which had a geographical connotation, but was the name of one of the divisions of Bar Cochba's army¹²⁷. In this he may be correct, as it is possible that the rebels here were descendants of οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι of the First Revolt.

CONCLUSIONS

This discussion has shown that the view that the Qumran sectaries were members of the Fourth Philosophy has little justification, yet there can be no doubt that there was some connection between the Essenes and the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii in Masada near the end of the First Revolt. The apparent "zealotism" of the Qumran sectaries may be accounted for in the same way as the apparent "zealotism" of Jesus. The first century A.D. was one in which anti-Roman feeling was strong, therefore it was impossible for religious movements not to be under the influence of these feelings. Nevertheless, the influence must not be overworked, the zealotic tendencies must not be made to appear the most important aspect of the movements.

The involvement of Galileans, or a group known as Galileans, in the Bar Cochba Revolt serves to re-emphasise the strong anti-Roman tradition of the Galileans.

NOTES - CHAPTER III

1. Pp. 127-38.
2. ibid. p. 128; Deux Manuscrits de la Mer Morte pp. 17 ff.
3. E.T. by H. Gardner The Riddle of the Scrolls. See also T.U. Studia Evangelica I (1959) pp. 580 f.
4. ibid. pp. 64-75.
5. See also Z.R.G.G. 9 (1959) pp. 269-72.
6. Riddle ... pp. 100 ff.
7. ibid. p. 103. He is greatly dependent here on J.L. Mann The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs.
8. Riddle ... p. 103.
9. ibid. p.104.
10. ibid. p. 105.
11. ibid. p. 106.
12. ibid. p. 121.
13. ibid. p. 117.
14. ibid. p. 121.
15. ibid. pp. 122 ff; Deux Manuscrits p. 13. Cf. R. North C.B.Q. 17 (1955) p. 170, who also states that the Zadok referred to was not David's High Priest.
16. Appointed Nasi by the Romans in 90 A.D. A rather more detailed analysis is to be found in Deux Manuscrits pp. 27-30.
17. Riddle ... pp. 129-31; Deux Manuscrits p. 19.
18. Riddle ... pp. 137-50; the same views are found in V.T. 10 (1960) pp. 448-53.
19. Riddle ... p. 247; Deux Manuscrits pp. 120 f., 130.
20. He finds a reference to Judas in IQpHab. viii 1-3, on Hab. ii 4: "the men of the house of Judas", adherents to the teaching of Judas of Galilee. Also IQpHab. xii, in which he translates יְרֵךְ יְהוּדָה "cities (fields) of Judah", or "the disciple of Judas". He states, "This second interpretation seems preferable, as it puts into parallel the Zealot communities and the Zadokite lodges." Riddle ... p. 258; Deux Manuscrits pp. 125, 129.
21. June 27th (1957) pp. 1037, 1040 f.
22. V.T. 11 (1961) p. 453; Evidences 70 (1958) pp. 13-18.

23. Blackwell, Oxford.
24. 90 (1958) pp. 104-121.
25. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 107. Damascus was nearer to Sepphoris than Jerusalem and the rebels may have hidden among the Jews there. Cf. H.B.D.S.S. pp. 26 f., and n.1, where he adduces a reference to the Megallit Ta'anith, "On the seventeenth day of Adar Gentiles rose up against the remnants of saphrya in the land of Chalcis and Beth Zabdai." If saphrya are the Sepphorites, this could be a reference to the exile to Damascus.
26. They became דורשי הלכות, mYad. 4:9. Possibly CD. originated in Damascus; P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 197. H.B.D.S.S. p. 19.
27. Judas, he states, may not have had anything to do with Qumran, as his followers may have fled there after his death, P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 107; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 26 f., and esp. n.2.
28. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 108; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 8-13, 19.
29. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 109, citing IQpHab. ii 7-8; IVQpPs xxxvii: "the priest, Teacher of Righteousness". H.B.D.S.S. p. 57 n.2. In V.T. 13 (1963) pp. 91-95, he concludes that the title "Teacher of Righteousness" was a terminus technicus based upon Joel ii 23; cf. CD. i 11, vi 11; xx 32. Only the teacher who was alive in the "last days" was the true "Teacher of Righteousness". On his treatment of the "last days" concept in the Qumran material, see V.T. 10 (1960) pp. 51-68; V.T. 11 (1961) pp. 451-6.
30. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 110; H.B.D.S.S. p. 64; where he notes that the Jewish people were thus suffering from the burden of unatoned sin. Also see Jewish Life 36 (1958) pp. 45-49.
31. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 110; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 61 f.
32. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 111; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 42 f. Cf. further on Simon bar Giora Commentary 29 (1960) pp. 52-58.
33. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 112; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 13, 74-6. In the former, note 2, he suggests that if Eleazar was the Teacher of Righteousness then Absalom may not have defected until later when Eleazar and Simon quarrelled at Masada.
34. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 113; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 66 f. J.J.S. 4 (1959) p. 342.
35. Cf. IQpHab xi 14-15. ix 9-11. viii 16-ix 1-3; with B.J. iv 329, 334; on the tortures the zealots inflicted on their prisoners.
36. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 114 n.1; where he suggests that $\text{יִשְׁרָאֵל} [\dots]$ is to be completed $\text{יִשְׁרָאֵל} [\dots]$; H.B.D.S.S. pp. 18, 83.
37. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 116; H.B.D.S.S. p. 39. Cf. B.J. iv 155-7; tYom Kip. 1:6.
38. P.E.Q. 90 (1958) p. 118; H.B.D.S.S. p. 40. Cf. B.J. v 439-41, vii 263.

39. P.E.Q. 91 (1959) pp. 122-20. Cf Milik Ten Years Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea p. 54, on B.J. iv 449f.
40. Also see History Today 11 (1961) p. 96.
41. R.Q. 5 (1964/6) pp. 81-7.
42. R.Q. 1 (1959/60) pp. 418 f. on the pacifism of the Essenes.
43. Or as he prefers to call them "Hebrew Scrolls". J.Q.R. (1049/50) pp. 127-34, 359-72; J.T.S. 2 (1950) pp. 17-30; H.J. (1950) pp. 11-21; The Hebrew Scrolls (Friends of Dr. Williams Library Lecture 1950); J.Q.R. 44 (1953/4) pp. 1-20.
44. J.T.S. 2 (1950)p. 30.
45. J.Q.R. 44 (1953/4) pp. 1-20.
46. Blackwell, Oxford.
47. Pp. ix-x. He has maintained many of his views on the archaeology however, A.L.U.O.S. 6 (1966/68) pp. 23-48; J.Q.R. 61 (1970/71) pp. 241-281.
48. Scrolls ... pp. 47 f.
49. ibid. pp. 237-51.
50. ibid. pp. 395-6.
51. ibid. pp. 80-95
52. ibid. pp. 99 f.
53. ibid. pp.100-121.
54. ibid. p. 167.
55. IQM v 12-14.
56. Scrolls ... p. 186
57. ibid. p. 216.
58. A. xv 320; this may be the same Boethus as in ARN.A 5; Scrolls ... p. 222.
59. ibid. p. 241.
60. ibid. p. 243
61. ibid. pp. 252 f.
62. ibid. pp. 259-66.
63. ibid. pp. 277-291.

64. A. xv 320, pp. 386 ff.
65. IQs. A.D. 46/8; IIIQ15 A.D. 66/7; IQpHab. 70/3 A.D.; Hymns 73/8 A.D.; IQM. 81/6 A.D.; CD. 106/15 A.D.
66. See generally: M. Burrows More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls pp. 249 ff.; J. Schreiden Les Enigmes des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte; R. de Vaux Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd edn.) pp. 111-126; W.F. Albright in The Scrolls and Christianity (Ed. M. Black) p. 15.
Reviews by H.H. Rowley V.T. 9 (1959) pp. 379-392; J.T.S. 17 (1966) pp. 422-26; Albright B.A.S.O.R. April 1962 p. 59; F.F. Bruce P.E.Q. 91 (1959) pp. 81 f., 146-48; Martin Biblica 40 (1959) pp. 1046-49; de Vaux N.T.S. 13 (1966/7) pp. 89-104 (R.B. 73 (1966) pp. 212-25); G.R. Driver (of del Medico) J.T.S. 10 (1959) pp. 359-361.
On the relevance of Driver's book to N.T. studies see M. Black N.T.S. 13 (1966/7) pp. 81-89.
For a survey of all the suggestions made as to the identity of the Qumran sect see Pryke N.T. 10 (1968) pp. 43-61.
67. Scrolls ... pp. 261-65.
68. Ten Years pp. 83-9.
69. ibid. pp. 83-7; Phase Ia pp 50 f.; de Vaux Archaeology ... pp. 3-5.
70. Ten Years pp. 87-93; Phase Ib pp. 51 f.; de Vaux Archaeology pp. 5-24.
71. A. xv 373-378.
72. Ten Years p. 95.
73. B.J. ii 567, iii 11.
74. CD. iii 21, iv 3, v 5; IQs v 2, 9, ix 14; IQSa i 2, 24, ii 3; IQSb iii 22; IVQFlor. i 17; IVQpIsc xxii 3; Sir. xl 12.
75. I Chr. v 34-41 (EVV vi 3-15); Ezra vii 1-13; I Chr. ix 11; Neh. xi 11; Neh. xii 9-11, 22.
See H.J. Katzenstein in J.B.L. 81 (1962) pp. 377-84; E. Auerbach Z.A.W. 49 (1931) pp. 427 ff.; R. de Vaux Ancient Israel ... pp. 372-4, 375 f., 387-9, 394-7; J. Liver R.Q. 6 (1967/9) pp. 1-30.
76. Ez. xliv 15; Bowman P.G.U.O.S. 16 (1955/56) pp. 1-14; Mauchline P.G.U.O.S. 21 (1967) pp. 1-11.
77. J. Liver R.Q. 6 (1967/9) p. 11; C.S. Mann in The Scrolls and Christianity (Ed. M. Black) pp. 16 f.; R. Meyer T.D.N.T. 7 pp. 38 f.; G.F. Moore H.T.R. 4 (1911) p. 432; Levi R.E.J. 65 (1913) p. 27; J. Trinquet V.T. 1 (1950) pp. 287-92.
78. IQs v 2, 9; IQSa i 2, 24, ii 3; IQSb iii 22.
79. So A.R.C. Leaney The Rule of Qumran pp. 92, 165; R. North C.B.Q. 17 (1955) p. 49; R. Meyer T.D.N.T. 7 pp. 39 ff.; Wernberg-Møller Manual of Discipline p. 90; Dupont-Sommer Jewish Sect of Qumran p. 69; J. Liver R.Q. 6 (1967/9) p. 6; Wernberg-Møller V.T. 3 (1953) p. 313.
80. CD. iii 21 (N.B. see further discussion below); CD. iv 3, v 5; IVQFlor. i 17. See Schechter Documents. I p. xxxiv n.11; J. le Moyne Les Sadducéens p. 87; Meyer T.D.N.T. 7 p. 39; Wernberg-Møller Manual of

80. (cont'd.)
Discipline p. 91; Ginzberg M.G.W.J. 55 (1911) p. 684.
CD. v 5 is emended by Rabin Zadokite Documents p. 18 n.2 to read "the son of Zadok", as it is Hilkiyah who is credited with having discovered the law in the time of Josiah (623 B.C.); cf. Schechter Documents I p. xxxvi n.11; J. le Moyne Les Sadducéens p. 87.
81. Scrolls ... p. 254
82. J. Liver R.Q. 6 (1967/9) pp. 9, 24; Ginzberg M.G.W.J. 55 (1911) p. 684; Wernberg-Møller V.T. 3 (1953) p. 312. The re-interpretation is probably due to the fact that the sectarians were not satisfied with the Levitical and Priestly service as laid down by Isaiah. J. Trinquet states that the title is against the sacerdotal affairs of the time, V.T. 1 (1950) p. 291.
83. Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II pl. iii.
84. R. Marcus J.N.E.S. 11 (1952) p. 51; A.R.C. Leaney The Rule of Qumran p. 231. Schreiden Les Enigmes p. 366; Gaster Dead Sea Scrolls p. 68.
85. J. le Moyne Les Sadduceens p. 87; Wernberg-Møller Manual of Discipline pp. 42, 90, 137 n.33 (based on Job xxxi 6a); Van der Ploeg Bib. Or. 8 (1951) p. 124 n.90; G. Vermes Dead Sea Scrolls in English p. 88; J. Liver R.Q. 6 (1967/9) p. 7 (in the light of IVQSe).
86. C.B.Q. 17 (1955) p. 168.
87. Scrolls ... p. 254.
88. Ginzberg M.G.W.J. 55 (1911) p. 684; Levi R.E.J. 65 (1913) p. 25.
89. M.G.W.J. 55 (1911) p. 684 n.3.
90. V.T. 3 (1953) p. 323; Manual of Discipline p. 91. He states that this phrase bears the imprint of the Samaritan dialect.
91. J. le Moyne Les Sadducéens p. 87.
92. H.H. Rowley The Zadokite Documents p. 41. See also S.H. Steckoll R.Q. 6 (1967/9) pp. 55-69.
93. iii 9, iv 1,3,6. D.J.D. 5pp.38ff.
94. ii 17. D.J.D. 5 p. 43.
95. J.S.S. 4 (1959) p. 343; H.B.D.S.S. p. 39.
96. Scrolls ... p. 296, where he states that Galilee lay within the bounds of ancient Ephraim.
97. Ten Years p. 73; followed by Gaster Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect p. 283 n.5a.
98. J. des S. 1963 pp. 201-227; Semitica 13 (1963) pp. 55-88.
99. R.Q. 4 (1963/4) pp. 389-96.
100. Les Sadducéens p. 90.

101. R.Q. 4 (1963/4) pp. 235-74; R.Q. 6 (1967/9) pp. 193-227.
102. R.Q. 8 (1973/4) pp. 163-194, esp. 180.
103. D.J.D. II pp. 259-61, Mur. 43. Plate xlvi in D.J.D. III. G. Landester-Harding P.E.Q. 84 (1952) p. 108; Albright B.A.S.O.R. April 1952 p.2; L. Huteau-Dubois R.E.J. 127 (1968) pp. 189 f.
104. J.Q.R. 44 (1953) pp. 85-115; esp. pp. 87, 92.
105. ibid. pp. 285-90.
106. J.N.E.S. 13 (1954) p. 51.
107. P.A.A.J.R. 23 (1954) p. 51.
108. R.B. 60 (1953) p. 277.
109. B.A.S.O.R. Oct. 1953 p. 25.
110. P.E.Q. 86 (1954) pp. 23-33.
111. R.B. 63 (1956) pp. 45-8.
112. p. 160.
113. R.B. 61 (1954) p. 191.
114. Essays on the Semitic Background to the N.T. p. 339.
115. Message of the Scrolls p. 188.
116. Biblica 34 (1953) p. 421.
117. T.L.Z. 79 (1954) col. 295.
118. P.A.A.J.R. 23 (1954) p. 95.
119. J.J.S.4 (1953) pp. 122 f. Bar Cochba feared the effects of Christian propaganda on his army, although it is possible that he wished to bring them into his movement.
120. Thus not in the usual rabbinic sense of one of low intelligence or learning.
121. Milik Biblica 31 (1950) p. 205.
122. The further suggestion that it may not have been Bar Cochba who wrote the letter merely confuses the issue.
123. Yeivin (according to A. Rubenstein J.J.S. 6 (1955) p. 26); Schürer (1973) p. 547; Milik D.J.D. II p. 159; Ten Years p. 136.
124. J.J.S. 6 (1955) pp. 26 f.
125. So Dupont-Sommer The Jewish Sect p. 175, " ... in my view the Galileans referred to in the text are not to be identified with the Christians ... but are either Jews originally from Galilee or, more probably, members of the Galilean sect."

126. Biblica 34 (1953) p. 234.

127. T.L.Z. 79 (1954) col. 299.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GALILEANS IN THE RABBINIC TRADITION

Chapter IV

THE GALILEANS IN THE RABBINIC TRADITION

It is proposed in this chapter to investigate the rabbinic attitudes to the Galileans. This involves a systematic collection of the references within the rabbinic corpus to Galilee and the Galileans. Two points of general importance must be made before this study can proceed. First, historiography is not to be found in rabbinic writings; direct writing of history was not of prime importance to the rabbis: "... historiography proper (is) a literary genre completely alien to Talmudic and Midrashic writings"¹. Thus it is not possible to use the rabbinic literature as historical source material.

The second problem is that of dealing with the first century Galilean traditions. Although heavily dependent upon oral tradition from the time of Ezra onwards, the material was not written down in its present form until the second century A.D. and later². Thus it is at times difficult to state the exact state of affairs in Galilee during the first and early second centuries A.D. The danger of reading too far back is ever present. Notwithstanding these problems it is possible to build up a picture of the Galileans in the first century.

It will be immediately clear that the rabbinic writers avoided the type of political history that was presented by Josephus, and the reason for this is clear: they were aware of giving political or politically dangerous movements any prominence. The rabbis were in a precarious position as far as their relations with the Roman Imperium were concerned. The Romans had ravaged the land twice and destroyed the Temple, and although originally the rabbis were allowed to flourish under Johanan ben Zakkai they were careful not to attract any interference. Thus we may note that were it not for the testimony of Josephus we would not have

known of the existence of the Fourth Philosophy, or the importance of the Galileans in the freedom movements of the first and second centuries A.D. Therefore, although the picture of the Galileans in rabbinical sources is completely different, it is complementary.

The division in the rabbinic writings between halacha and haggada is important³, and the Galilean traditions will be treated accordingly. The arrangement of the material will be to enumerate the halachic differences and similarities between the Galileans and the rest of the Jews living in Palestine, secondly to enquire into the "common-law" as it affected the Galileans, thirdly to deal with general references to "the Galileans" as such (of which there are few). Chapter V will discuss the principal teachers connected with Galilee in the first century A.D.

It is not the aim of this paper to assess the geographical problems in the rabbinic literature, and references for these weighty difficulties may be found in the bibliography to Schürer⁴.

HALACHA

Insofar as halacha is concerned the rabbis divided the land of Israel into three divisions: Judaea, Trans-Jordan and Galilee⁵. The

phrase שלש ארצות ... יהודה ועבר-הירדן ותגליל:

occurs as a preamble to several halachic ordinances of importance⁶.

Further subdivisions are found in respect to Galilee⁷, dividing it into three areas⁸.

The reasons for these subdivisions are clear; each area had in the course of time developed its own traditions which were either unsuitable or unacceptable in the other areas. Therefore certain discrepancies arose, although at the same time there were similarities and Finkelstein writing of the second century era suggests that the similarities that

existed between Galilee and Jerusalem were due to the influence of the Jerusalemite patricians in Galilee, who were linked to Galilee through business interests⁹.

(a) New Year's Day

New Year's Day is celebrated by the Jews on the 1st Tishri (Sept./Oct. $\gamma\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$). It may be assumed that in the first century the Galileans who were able would go to Jerusalem to celebrate this. After the destruction of the Temple the cult shifted more strongly around the synagogue¹⁰, and there is one reference in yR.H. 4:7 (59c top) which refers to a special festival that was kept in Galilee. Dalman gives a false impression in referring to this as he does not differentiate between pre-destruction times and post-destruction times¹¹. We learn from the passage that the Galileans follow the order of R. Johanan ben Nouri in respect to the sounding of the shofar¹², whereas in Judaea they follow the order of Rabbi Akiba. How long this was the case is not known. The dispute was not early enough to be included in the Tosephta and we read elsewhere in the yTalmud that Rabbi Jose the Galilean followed the order of Rabbi Akiba¹³.

Both these scholars, i.e. R. Jose and R. Johanan, are in the third generation of the Tana'im, c. 120-139 A.D.¹⁴ The fact that the Galilean traditions were still not fixed early in the second century may provide a further clue to the mysterious migration of the Galileans south during the Bar Cochba revolt. They may have preferred the teachings and political activism of Rabbi Akiba to the lesser, Johanan ben Nouri.

This particular tradition highlights the importance of distinguishing between the first century and second century traditions referring to the Galileans.

(b) The Day of Atonement

This is celebrated on the 10th Tishri, and a passing reference in the Mishna gives the clue to the fact that the Galileans observed the Day of

Atonement in a special way. The fast that was expected of devout Jews was compensated for by the Galileans as they ate a heavy meal on the eve of the festival¹⁵. Finkelstein has argued that the atonement rituals carried the vestiges of an old pagan agricultural/vintage festival¹⁶. This may well have been the case in Jerusalem and Judaea but there is no evidence here that this was so in Galilee. Although wine could be produced in Galilee it did not have the same importance that it had in the south. The Tosephta on this subject merely adds that it was regarded as a
ג' טו ק"ז 17.

(c) The Passover

MPes 4:5¹⁸ is a composite mishna¹⁹, of some importance to the Galilean tradition.

Where the custom is to do work on the ninth of Ab, they may do so; where the custom is not to do work, they may not work. But everywhere the disciples of the sages cease from work. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel²⁰ says: A man should always behave as a disciple of the sages. Moreover the sages say: In Judaea they used to work until midday on the eves of Passover, but in Galilee they used to do nothing at all. In what concerns the night between the 13th and 14th Nissan, the school of Shammai forbid any work, but the school of Hillel permit it until sunrise.

(Tr. Danby)

This mishna divides into two clear halves, the ordinance regarding the ninth Ab and the traditions concerning the eve of Passover.

(i) The Ninth Ab

The 9th Ab is traditionally the day on which the destructions of the first and second Temples are remembered, and is a public fast²¹. There is no reason to suspect that ^{this} was not followed in Galilee as elsewhere in Palestine in the first century.

There is a historical problem presented here, as Jer. lii 12 gives the date of the destruction of the first Temple as the 10th Ab, and also in Josephus the second Temple was destroyed on the 10th Lous (Ab) (B.J. vi

250)²².

(ii) The Passover

Of more importance was the Passover tradition in Galilee. The mishna is quite explicit on the following points:

- (a) that where possible local tradition was followed; and
- (b) that the school of Shammai asserted the Galilean tradition.

The gemmaroth of the bTalmud and the yTalmud are worth comparing here. Although the mishna left the ruling as dependent upon local tradition, the bTalmud gives it the force of a prohibition:

But where they are accustomed to do work, one may do it, [while] where they are accustomed not to do [work] one may not do it. Now since Rabbi Meir states [that it is merely a matter of] custom, it follows that Rabbi Judah states [that it is a] prohibition.

On the other hand the yTalmud does not introduce the element of prohibition. It leaves the ruling to local tradition as does the mishna. This is important in that it reveals that the "local tradition" played an important part in the formation of the rabbinic halachot, and therefore would have played an important part in the beliefs and aspirations of the Galileans as a whole.

That this tradition is early is reflected by the fact that it entered into the dispute traditions between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. However of a mysterious nature is the reason why this particular tradition grew up. Finkelstein has suggested that it was due to the Shammaite influence in Galilee; as they did not own shops they did not have the same problems as the Hillelites in Jerusalem who had to open their businesses to cater for the pilgrims²³. An ingenious, but unlikely explanation. A further possible explanation is that it would have given the Galileans time to travel from Galilee to Jerusalem. However, it took longer than a day to travel from Galilee to Jerusalem. This may be inferred from Luke ii 44, where we read that Jesus's parents had travelled $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\delta\delta\upsilon$ "a day's

journey", and they were not home²⁴. Segal offers no suggestion as to the solution to the problem except to state that the regulations contained in the mishna may be late²⁵. In view of the fact that it is a local tradition apart from the possibility that the Galileans were preparing themselves for the festival²⁶, there appears no satisfactory answer.

The Shammaite influence will be discussed further in the light of examples given below.

From the evidence, with reference to the celebration of the festivals by the Galileans, the rabbis had no fault to find, indeed the tradition was accepted by the Shammaite school, normally regarded as legalists. This is not the case in reference to the Galilean attitude to levitical purity. This will be discussed after the possible implications of the Galilean Passover traditions on the Last Supper have been assessed.

(iii) The Galilean Passover Tradition and the Last Supper

It has long been recognised that in the accounts of the Last Supper in the Gospels there is a discrepancy between the dating as given in the synoptics and John. The attempts by scholars to solve this problem have led to an appeal to the Galilean passover tradition in m Pes. 4:5 in order to solve it.

It is agreed by almost all that the Last Supper was a Passover meal²⁷. If the Friday of Jesus's death was the first day of Passover, then the passover meal would have taken place on the Thursday evening 14th/15th Nissan. However, as the Galilean tradition prohibited work on the 14th Nissan, the Last Supper may have taken place on the Wednesday evening 13th/14th Nissan, and it could therefore have been nothing more than a Kiddus meal²⁸. The appeal by J. Mann to Josephus A. ii 327 to suggest that the 14th Nissan may have been included in an eight day festival is valueless. In the diaspora the Jews preserved Nissan 22nd as the eighth day of the festival²⁹.

There have been two major attempts to explain the discrepancy utilising the Galilean tradition.

(i) J. Klausner

Following to a large extent the work of D. Chwolson, Klausner in his work Jesus of Nazareth³⁰ argues that the astronomical calculations in fact allow for an error of one day as we do not know exactly when the Jews calculated the arrival of the New Moon. Thus the disciples and Jesus may have been torn between two conflicting views, the one, following the teaching of Hillel, that the Passover was to be regarded as a public sacrifice and thereby would override the sabbath enabling them to sacrifice the paschal lamb א'רבעה עשר, even if this broke the sabbath regulations. The priestly party, on the other hand, almost to the destruction of the Temple, insisted that the Passover was a private sacrifice, and therefore could not over-rule the Sabbath:

...if therefore, the 14th Nissan fell on the eve of Sabbath, they sacrificed on the 13th instead of the 14th, so as not to profane the sabbath.

Therefore he concludes³¹:

Hence Jesus and his disciples celebrated Passover on the Thursday, the 13th Nissan, and during the ensuing night of the 14th Nissan (the night before Friday) they had to celebrate the "seder", the Passover meal, with its unleavened bread and bitter herbs, instead of on the night of 15th Nissan.

This solution, although ostensibly solving the problem between the synoptics and John, allows the Galilean influence upon Jesus and his disciples to be accounted for; they would thus not do anything on the 14th Nissan. Jeremias criticises this theory on three grounds:

- (a) if the slaughter would desecrate the sabbath, then it would be brought forward four to six hours, not twenty-four, i.e. to the afternoon of 14th Nissan³²;
- (b) he claims that after the second century B.C. the practice of slaughtering at 2.00 p.m. was followed³³;

(c) it was out of the question that the Sadducees would slaughter their lambs and leave them for twenty four hours to eat them as Ex. xii 10 forbids anything to be left over until the next morning³⁴.

Thus if Jeremias's criticisms are allowed to stand there is no evidence here that the Last Supper was influenced by the Galilean Passover traditions.

(ii) J. Pickl.

The most practical solution to the problem of the dating of the Last Supper is that of J. Pickl³⁵. He simply argued that the great number of pilgrims wishing to slaughter their paschal lambs made it impossible for them all to slaughter at the same time. Therefore the custom developed that the Galileans slaughtered their lambs on Nissan 13th - hence the rest day developed; as the Judaeans slaughtered on Nissan 14th. Although we must agree with Jeremias that this remains "pure conjecture" as a solution to the problem of the Last Supper³⁶, it has much to commend itself as an unlikely but possible solution to the Galilean Passover traditions. Without wishing to beg the question or prejudge what will be discussed below, it may be noted that the Galileans would not have had as many qualms about leaving their sacrifices twenty four hours before eating them, from the point of view of adherence to the levitical law. Secondly Pickl appeals to the eight day ἄζυμα in Josephus, and the rabbis considered the Galileans as part of the diaspora, although the same criticism made of Mann stands here. Therefore Pickl's solution is a weak but possible explanation of the Galilean Passover traditions.

In conclusion to this discussion there seems little gained in using the Galilean tradition to try and solve the dating of the Last Supper in the Gospels. This does not negate any attempt to explain the gospels in the light of the Galilean traditions.

(d) Galilean Tithing

As with other matters referring to the Galilean traditions in the rabbinic writings, very little is preserved on the subject of tithes in Galilee. The only explicit reference which can be found is in yDem. I:I (21d top). The passage refers to certain distinctions that are to be detected between Galilee and Judaea in respect to the tithing of certain herbs. Once again we find that the reason for the difference is local usage, in this instance the use of proverbs (אֶתְכִילִי) in respect to dill, late grapes and coriander. The whole passage is full of puns, for example in reference to coriander כִּוְסֵבְרָה כִּוְסֵבְרָה³⁷,

Why is there a distinction between Judaea and Galilee? It is established with respect to the proverbs [in Judaea in comparison] to the proverb in Galilee: He who preserves dill from bitter herbs, the [Judaeans] proverb applies. If it is mixed with spices, they say in Galilee that it is exempted from the tithe [whereas in Judaea] tithe is required.

This discrepancy between the Judaeans and the Galileans led the rabbis to regard Galilean tithing as doubtful³⁸. There is ^{also} a story told about Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa in yDem. 1:3, referring to the tithing of herbs.

In this context Matthew xxiii 23 is relevant. Jesus here condemns the scribes and the Pharisees for tithing mint, dill and cummin while neglecting their social duties, thereby illustrating the Galilean proverb referred to in the yTalmud³⁹. The Galileans as very practical people considered their social duties as more important than such restrictions as tithing.

Finally reference may be made to mSheb. 9:2 ff. This refers to the three countries rule and its application to the eating of "seventh-year produce"⁴⁰; the person who gathered seventh-year produce was only allowed to eat it so long as it was flourishing in his country. If it withered it (the produce) had to be "removed", i.e. eaten or dumped in the sea⁴¹.

(e) The Half Shekel and Terumah

The half-shekel was paid to the Temple until its destruction, and thereafter to the Roman Imperium in order to pay for the upkeep of Jupiter Capitolinus⁴². According to Dalman, it was not known in Galilee⁴³. Further,^m_k Ned. 2:4 states explicitly that the vow of terumah was not used in Galilee. However, it is clear that there was some confusion as to what was being placed under the religious ban, and it was not until the distinction of vows was made by Judah ben Ilai (c. 170 A.D.) that it was cleared up.

Finkelstein points out that the law of terumah must be interpreted on the basis of local usage. Any gift dedicated to the Temple could not be used for secular purposes; in the same way gifts dedicated to priests could be used for secular purposes. Thus he argues that the terumah in Judaea was the half shekel, but in Galilee it meant nothing more than the priests' heave-offering. Further complicating the issue was the fact that if herem was used in the ban in Judaea then the offering was for the priests; whereas if it was for the Temple then the word gedes would have been used. In Galilee the herem vow was for the Temple⁴⁴. Neubauer on this topic regards this as indicative that the Galileans had little regard for the priesthood⁴⁵.

It has been conjectured already that in Masada the bowls with the "ן" inscribed upon them were for the priests' offering. Thus, so far as the Galileans were concerned, it shows that they placed a great deal of importance on the cultus.

(f) Offerings from Galilee to the Temple

From earliest times Galilee had been separated from Jerusalem by Samaritan territory, and the journey to Jerusalem necessitated passing through Samaria, which from time to time led to disturbances⁴⁶. This

separation led the rabbis to regard the Galilean offerings in Jerusalem as unclean⁴⁷. The best indication of this is given in bHag. 25a on mHag. 3:4⁴⁸. The gemara is worth reproducing as it gives an indication of the lengths that the rabbis expected pilgrims to go to in order to present their offerings untainted by the Samaritans.

In Judaea but not in Galilee: what is the reason? Resh Lakish said: because a strip of [land inhabited by] Cutheans⁴⁹ separates them. Let it be brought in a box, chest or turret! - This according to Rabbi, who said: A tent in motion is not to be considered a tent. For it is taught: One who enters Gentile territory in a box, chest or turret, Rabbi declares to be unclean, and Rabbi Jose b. Judah to be clean. - But let it be brought in an earthenware vessel fitted with a close bound covering! Rabbi Eliezer said: They teach: Hallowed things are not protected by a close bound covering. But it is taught: [The water] of purification is not protected by a close bound covering. Surely this implies that hallowed things are protected! - No, it implies that water which is not yet sanctified is protected by a close bound covering. - But Ulla said: The Associates prepare [their hallowed things] in purity in Galilee! - They let them remain; and when Elijah comes he will purify them.

This gemara is late⁵⁰ as it refers to the "Associates" in Galilee, and there is no evidence that there were any in Galilee during the first century⁵⁰. The first part of the gemara may reflect the methods used by the Galileans in bringing their gifts to the Temple.

The reference to Elijah at the end is taken by Abrahams to mean that he would show the "Associates" the path through Samaria avoiding all unmarked graves⁵¹. It is especially significant that it is used in connection with Galileans, as it will be seen below that the Galileans held Elijah in high esteem.

The lateness of this gemara is illustrated by the y. gemara; in this there is no mention of the "Associates" or Elijah; only a discussion upon the cleanness or uncleanness of Galilean oil or wine.

The importance is that along with the lack of cultic exactness the Galilean offerings were regarded with some scepticism.

(g) The Purity of Olives in Galilee

Olives were by far the most important product of Galilean agriculture. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is in the talmud a special halaka concerning them. The halaka rests upon a dispute between Hillel and Shammai.

The problem was presented by the harvesting of the olives as in Lev. xi 38 it states, "but if water is put on the seed ... it is unclean to you", i.e. if the fruit became wet it was impure. This law fell heavily upon the Galilean oil producers and the Judaeans wine producers. Shammai thus issued a "law" which exempted the olive from this impurity:

When one vintages [grapes] for the vat [i.e. to manufacture wine] Shammai maintains: It is made fit [to become unclean]; while Hillel ruled, it is not made fit. Said Hillel to Shammai: Why must one vintage grapes in purity, yet not gather [olives] in purity? If you provoke me, he replied, I will decree uncleanness in the case of olive gathering too. A sword was planted in the Beth ha-Midrash and it was proclaimed, He who would enter, let him enter, but he who would depart, let him not depart! And on that day Hillel sat submissive before Shammai, like one of his disciples, and it was grievous to Israel as the day when the [golden] calf was made⁵².

There is here a remarkable inconsistency on the part of Shammai; Hillel was questioning the apparently illogical statement of Shammai. Finkelstein maintains that the ruling was based upon necessity, not on reason. In Judaea levitically pure workers could bring in the harvest, whereas in Galilee this was not so⁵³. However Finkelstein misses the question that gives rise to the statement: it is not a question of the workers being levitically pure, rather the fruit. The clue to this is given later in the passage:

"Now what is the reason? Said Ze'uri in R. Hanina's name: for fear lest he vintages it into unclean baskets."

Here is a further example of the Shammaites taking the part of the Galileans and the Hillelites that of the Judaeans. This brings into question, along with the Passover tradition, the relationship between the

Galileans and Shammai/the Shammaites.

In 1867 Derenbourg pointed out that the Shammaites had influence in Galilee and went so far as to postulate that Zadok the Pharisee was a Shammaite⁵⁴. A. Büchler postulated that Shammai was a Galilean⁵⁵. This was accepted later by I Abrahams⁵⁶ in principle, and most recently by A. Finkel⁵⁷. G. Vermes points out, however, that there is no concrete proof to show that Shammai was a Galilean⁵⁸. Nevertheless this influence in Galilee does stress the fact that the Pharisees were not totally devoid of influence in Galilee, and although most certainly not in the mainstream of Pharisaic influence, the Galileans are not to be regarded as אֲרָמִי in any complete sense.

(h) Dairy Law

It was forbidden on grounds of ritual purity to eat a meal containing a dairy product within six hours of eating meat. Nevertheless the halachic problem arose of whether it was possible to serve dairy products and meat at the same time. mHul. 8:1 informs us:

A fowl may be served up on the table together with cheese, but it may not be eaten with it. So the School of Shammai. And the School of Hillel say: It may neither be served up nor eaten with it⁵⁹.

This must be taken with the eminently practical statement of Rabbi Jose in mHul. 8:4 that a bird is excluded from the law of seething in its mother's milk, as a bird has no milk⁶⁰. Therefore, although his colleagues forbade it, Rabbi Jose did allow the two, i.e, bird and dairy products, to be served together⁶¹.

These are the principal halachot referring to the Galileans and the following trends may be detected:

- (i) in many cases the Galilean local tradition is allowed by the rabbis to continue unchallenged;
- (ii) in respect to the cultic elements of Judaism the Galileans were as

strict, if not more strict, than the Judaeans;

(iii) in matters of ritual purity the Galileans, away from Jerusalem and the strict mainstream Pharisaism, were lax, as will be seen also in the discussions on the life of Hanina ben Dosa.

COMMON LAW

The distinction between Halacha and Common Law within the rabbinic writings is tenuous, however for ease of presentation, this section concerns matters that do not necessarily have a strictly religious or purificatory basis. To be considered with respect to the Galileans are land law, marriage, funerals, and Sabbath Mourning.

(a) Land Law

mB.B. 3:2 refers to some of the details of the land law of Israel:

Three countries are to be distinguished in what concerns usucaption⁶²: Judaea, beyond Jordan, and Galilee. If the owner was in Judaea another took possession [of his property] in Galilee; or if he was in Galilee and another took possession [of his property] in Judaea, such usucaption is not valid: he must be with him together in the same country. Rabbi Judah said: They have prescribed a limit of three years only that if the owner was in Spain and another took possession [of his property] during one year, they could make it known to the owner during the next year and he could return in the third year.

"Usucaption" ($\text{ז} \text{ל} \text{ז} \text{ל}$) was a fundamental concept of Jewish Law in the first century A.D.⁶³ The standard introduction to this mishna probably reveals that it reflects a first century practice, or even earlier. The importance of this particular ruling is preserved in the gemara of the bTalmud:

What is the reason of the first Tanna [on which he bases his ruling]? If he holds that a protest raised by the owner not in the presence of the occupier is a valid protest, [then it should be valid] even [if the owner is] in Judaea and [the occupier] in Galilee. If, however, he holds that a protest [raised by the owner] not in the presence of the occupier is not a valid protest, then [it should be equally invalid] if both are in Judaea? Rabbi Abba b. Memel replied in the name of Rab: The first Tanna is indeed of the opinion that a protest raised [by the owner] not in the presence of the occupier is a valid protest,

and our mishna was formulated at a time when there were hostilities between Judaea and Galilee⁶⁴. Why then are Judaea and Galilee particularly specified? To show that Judaea and Galilee are normally reckoned to be on hostile terms.

This lengthy gemara serves to show the complex nature of the ruling, but also of more importance is the statement that there were difficulties between Galilee and Judaea.

In the variant version of this in bKeth 17b/18a the word "אִרְוָה" is used to describe the time of "lawlessness". Jastrow states that it reflects commercial disassociation⁶⁵, and this is implied in the mishna in giving the different weights and exchange rates between Galilee and Judaea⁶⁶.

If this law is early, as the discussion would indicate, then it was amended by the "Sicaricon Law" which was enacted after the destruction of the Second Temple. The extraordinary ferocity of the First Jewish Revolt led some Jews to give their fields and orchards to Roman legionaries, in order to save the lives of themselves and their families. When the war was over the Romans sold the land to other Jews. The previous owners, however, then came armed with Jewish law, and claimed the land from the purchasers. The danger of this was immediately seen; the people refused to buy the land from the Romans, and a considerable proportion of land was thereby in danger of remaining in enemy hands. Therefore to remedy this state of affairs the authorities enacted a law which decreed that the original owner could not retrieve his land once lost in the way stated above⁶⁷.

The interest of this study in the "Sicaricon Law" is in the name sicaricon. The word used is "אִרְוָה", which Danby translates as "usurping occupant"⁶⁸, Jastrow using the Roman element in the formation of the law translates it as a disguise of the word *καυσαρικόον* 69. Krauss

derives it from *σικαρίων, and translates it "Raüberwesen"⁷⁰, linking it with σικάρως (sicarius)⁷¹. Using the same derivation that Jastrow used, Klausner⁷² followed by Hengel⁷³ identified the קוֹרְרִים here with the קוֹרְרִים of the prophecy of Johanan ben Zakkai⁷⁴. It has been shown that the sicarii are to be identified with the Fourth Philosophy; if the contention of Krauss is thus correct, the law was passed not as a result of the Romans, but rather as a result of the activities of the sicarii in terrorising the nation. It is further significant that Derenbourg asserts that the law was never repealed in Galilee⁷⁵. Thus there is reason to suspect that it was as a result of the activities of the sicarii that the law was enacted.

However it is unlikely that this is the case; although the sicarii played an important part in the mid-century terrorism, it was in no way linked to the taking of land. Secondly, during the war the sicarii withdrew to Masada under the leadership of Eleazer ben Jair, and apart from occasional raids in the En Gedi area took little active part in the war. Therefore although Jastrow's contention is unproven, the general meaning of "Roman usurping occupant" must be the meaning of the word קוֹרְרִים⁷⁶.

In conclusion, therefore, the law of usucaption was important in Galilee but the later amendment to it was not as a result of Galilean extremist action in the first century.

(b) Marriage Regulations

Of all the traditions preserved of the Galileans in the rabbinic tradition, those referring to their marriage customs illustrate that they did differ quite considerably from the rest of Palestine. From betrothal to widowhood the traditions illustrate Galilean practicality.

(i) Betrothal and Marriage

In early Hebrew society betrothal was regarded as the most important element in the formation of a marriage; and in rabbinic writings it is also

important. In the Mishna there is a whole tractate, Kiddushin, devoted to it, and in Tannaitic times the betrothal formula gives some idea of its importance,

הרי נתן אקוד שת לי הרי נתן
אמורסת לי הרי נתן למנתו tKid. 1:1.

mKet. 1:5 states,

If in Judaea a man ate in the house of his father in law and had no witnesses he may not lodge a virginity suit against her, since he had already remained alone with her.

This gives some idea of the importance of the betrothal period, and it may be noted that a betrothal once completed was almost unbreakable⁷⁷.

In the b. gemarra to this passage (Ket 12a) we read:

... the places differ in their custom, as it was taught: Rabbi Judah said: in Judaea they used formerly to leave the bridegroom and the bride alone one hour before their entry into the bridal chamber, so that he may become intimate with her, but in Galilee they did not do so. In Judaea they used formerly to put up two best men, one for him and one for her, in order to examine the bride and bridegroom when they enter the bridal chamber, and in Galilee they did not do so. In Judaea formerly, the best men used to sleep in the house in which the bridegroom and the bride slept, and in Galilee they did not do so. And he who did not act according to this custom could not raise the charge of non-virginity.

This is a further acknowledgement to the importance of local tradition on the part of rabbinic writers. These detailed rules are not mentioned in the yTalmud, but are found in tKeth. 1:4.

Finkelstein remarks on this passage, "The exhibition of delicacy on the part of the Galileans is especially remarkable because in general they were far less refined than the Judaeans"⁷⁸. This has not so far been proved, and the fact that they were less interested in the levitical laws of purity does not support such a statement.

Other aspects of the Galilean marriage ceremony may be mentioned here. tShab. 7(8):16 refers to the practice of two cups being poured out before the bride and the bridegroom, one of wine, the other of oil. The following verse relates that this was done before the children of Rabbi

Gamaliel in Cabul, very near Galilee. This indicates that although it was considered Amoritic and pagan by many scholars, the majority refused to forbid it⁷⁹.

(ii) Married Life

The climatic and traditional differences between Galilee and Judaea, (and Trans-Jordan), led the rabbis to enact certain laws regarding the movement of certain possessions between the different areas, e.g. animals⁸⁰. In the same way the rabbis refused to allow a husband to move his wife:⁸¹

Three countries [are to be distinguished] in what concerns marriage: Judaea, beyond Jordan and Galilee. None may take forth [his wife against her will] from one town to another or from one city to another [in another country] ...

An example of the differences that would have applied to a wife between Galilee and Judaea was that in Galilee they wove wool and in Judaea flax⁸².

(iii) Divorce

Although there is no evidence that divorce was treated differently in Galilee than elsewhere it is included for the sake of completeness. bGit. 34b asserts:⁸³

It has been taught in agreement with Rabbi Ashi: If a man has two wives, one in Judaea and the other in Galilee, and he has two names by one of which he is known in Judaea and by the other in Galilee, and he divorces his wife in Judaea under the name which he bears in Judaea and his wife in Galilee under the name which he bears in Galilee, the divorce is not effective: it does not become so until he divorces his wife in Judaea under the name he bears in Judaea with the addition of the name he bears in Galilee, and his wife in Galilee under the name he bears in Galilee with the addition of the name he bears in Judaea.

This passage requires little comment except to note the comparative use of Galilee and Judaea.

(iv) Widowhood

It has been noticed that the Judaeen marriage traditions differed from those in Galilee. In the question of widowhood we have a parallel

between the "men of Jerusalem" and the "men of Galilee", which Finkelstein uses to argue that there was patrician influence in Galilee causing this occurrence.

... [if he had not written it for her] 'Thou shalt dwell in my house and receive maintenance from my goods so long as thou remainest a widow in my house', he is still liable [thereto] since this is a condition enjoined by the court. This used the people of Jerusalem to write; and the people of Galilee used to write after the same fashion as the people of Jerusalem. But the people of Judaea used to write '...⁸⁴; until such time as heirs are minded to give thee thy ketubah; therefore if the heirs were so minded they could pay her her Ketubah and let her go.

The אנשי ירושלים (men of Jerusalem), according to Finkelstein are the patricians. However, Jastrow translates this phrase as a "native or citizen of Jerusalem"⁸⁵. Certainly within the context of this verse the phrase is parallel to אנשי גליל, and unless it is to be argued that this means the "patricians of Galilee" it is unlikely that אנשי ירושלים means "patricians of Jerusalem". Further, the writer of the mishna in question was able to compile a truly comparative statement on the contents of the ketubah, thus it is quite likely that this represents a very early practice, therefore any argument resting upon the possible influence of Jerusalem patricians in Galilee is weakened by the fact that it could be separate development brought together by the author of the mishna. In view of the other separate developments in Galilee this is more likely.

(c) Funeral Rites and Sabbath Mourning

The burial of the dead in Palestine had to be strictly controlled from the point of view of hygiene; further, the rabbinic laws of the uncleanness of the dead played an important part in the development of the traditions concerning burial. However, it is not with these that we are concerned at the moment, rather with the traditions concerning the liturgical aspect of the burial of the dead. There are here further

parallels between Galilee and Jerusalem, and as usual differences between them and the Judaeans.

(i) The use of Eulogies

The eulogy was an important part of Jewish burial procedure; paid mourners would wail the dead person into the afterlife⁸⁶. We learn from the rabbinic writings that the Galileans preceded the bier with their eulogies, whereas the Judaeans had their eulogies behind:

And the mourners go about the streets (Eccl. xii 5). The Galileans said: Perform actions [which shall be lamented] in front of thy bier; the Judaeans said: Perform actions [to be lamented] behind thy bier. But they do not differ: each [spoke] in accordance with [the usage in] his locality⁸⁷.

In Jerusalem there was a saying⁸⁸ 'Perform actions [which can be lamented] in front of thy bier'.

Finkelstein on this particular tradition states, "The fact that the Galileans accepted this particular custom of Jerusalem shows how thoroughly they were dominated by the culture of the Jerusalem nobility. Their own needs in this instance definitely coincided with those of the Judaeans villages, where cemeteries were located within easy approach and the funeral services were most naturally conducted at the grave"⁸⁹. In this statement Finkelstein does not allow for the fact that the tradition of eulogies was probably settled long before the second century A.D. (the time he is writing about), and further tacitly assumes on the basis of two separate references that the Galileans were under Jerusalemite influence. This is not proven and the generalisation is inadmissible.

(ii) Sabbath Mourning

In Galilee the Sabbath did not interrupt the mourning period; "The Judaeans and the Galileans [differed in regard to this mishna] the one party saying that [some] mourning is to be observed on the Sabbath and the others saying that there is no [observance of] mourning on the Sabbath"⁹⁰.

This slightly ambiguous statement is clarified by Sem. 10:13⁹¹: "In Judaea they greeted mourners on the Sabbath on entry and departure to indicate that there is no mourning on the Sabbath."

Dalman has misinterpreted M.Q.23a as he states that in Galilee there was no mourning on the Sabbath⁹². Finkelstein argues that Galilean rural reserve and shyness led to the fact that they did not offer comfort on the Sabbath Day⁹³.

A possible conclusion from this is that the Galileans did not observe the Sabbath strictly. However, on the evidence given below in the discussion on Johanan ben Zakkai's Galilean period and Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa, this is not the case. Both the cases brought to Johanan ben Zakkai were connected with Sabbath rules, and Hanina was proverbial for his Sabbath observance.

THE GALILEAN CHARACTER

Finally in this survey of the Galileans in the rabbinic literature it is necessary to discuss the actual comments upon the Galileans themselves.

(a) Their Quarrelsomeness

bNed. 48a based upon mNed 5:5⁹⁴ informs us that:

the Galileans were quarrelsome and wont to make vows not to benefit from each other: so their fathers arose and assigned their portions to the Nasi.

The mishna explains that this refers to the fact that in Galilee the public places and properties (i.e. the bath-house, the books of scripture etc.) were assigned to the charge of the President of the town.

This reference is the only clear parallel that exists between the description of the Galileans in Josephus⁹⁵ and the rabbinic writings. Neubauer thus states that Galilee was always thought of as a place of war⁹⁶.

(b) Galilean Charity

Although the Galileans were perhaps regarded as somewhat of a hasty people, there is one story in the Talmud which tells of Galilean charity. The story is told of a village in Upper Galilee in order to illustrate the maxim "sufficient for his need"⁹⁷.

People of Upper Galilee bought for a poor member of a good family of Sepphoris a pound of meat every day. A 'pound of meat!' What is the greatness of this. Rabbi Huna replied it was a pound of fowls meat. And if you prefer I might say they purchased ordinary meat for a pound of money. Rabbi Ashi replied: The place was a small village and every day a beast had to be spoiled for his sake.

(Translated Danby)

This example of Galilean charity may give a clue to the social conscience of Jesus, and further a reason for the rejection of the Pharisaic insistence upon the minute details of the law in Galilee. Also to be linked with this is a reference in yKeth. 4:14 (29b) which states that the Galileans placed more store on honour than they did on wealth.

(c) Their Aversion to Study

At this stage reference will be made to the comment of Johanan ben Zakkai, although detailed discussion of it will be made below. In the yTalmud only there is preserved the condemnation of Galilee by the only important Pharisee to have resided in Galilee during the first century⁹⁸:

"Eighteen years Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai lived in Arab, and only two cases came before him. At the end he said: Galilee, Galilee, you hate the Torah, your end will be besieged!"⁹⁹

By this remark Johanan ben Zakkai is condemning the Galileans for their lack of interest in the levitical law, and the Pharisaic rulings upon it.

Within this section reference must be made to the Galilean dialect of Aramaic, which was in the second century, if not earlier, a source of great amusement to the rabbis as well as an object of condemnation, or so some scholars would have us believe.

(d) The Galilean Dialect

With reference to the Galilean dialect of the first century there are four specific problems stemming primarily from the fact that there are no literary remains that can be ascribed with certainty to have been written in a Galilean dialect¹⁰⁰.

- (i) The rabbinic tradition of the confounding of the gutturals;
- (ii) Whether the Galileans were bilingual Hebrew/Aramaic;
- (iii) Whether the Galileans were bilingual Aramaic/Greek;
- (iv) Whether the Galileans were trilingual.

(i) The Confounding of the Gutturals

This is best illustrated from a rabbinic story told in bEr.53b¹⁰¹:

The Galileans who are not exact in their language, for instance? A certain Galilean once went about saying, 'Who has $\aleph \aleph$?' 'Foolish Galilean,' they replied, 'do you mean $\aleph \aleph$ (an ass) for riding; $\aleph \aleph$ (wine) for drinking; $\aleph \aleph$ (wool) for clothing; or $\aleph \aleph$ (a lamb) for killing?'

Dalman does not believe that this story (or the allied ones) gives a true picture of the Galilean dialect in the first century, asserting that they are "a caricature of the truth". This confounding of the gutturals in fact was at least a third or fourth century practice.¹⁰²

Confounding of the gutturals is evident in other late Semitic languages, notably Samaritan Hebrew¹⁰³; Babylonian Hebrew¹⁰⁴; Phœnician¹⁰⁵; Neo-Syriac¹⁰⁶ and Mandaic¹⁰⁷. These do not allow the conclusion that this confounding was a first century practice.

It may be noted that there are but two references to the Galilean dialect in the New Testament: the first, Peter's denial to the maid in the forecourt of the High Priest's house¹⁰⁸; the second, on the Day of Pentecost¹⁰⁹. However there is no reason to suspect that there was any sense of ridicule on the part of the maid or the crowd as illustrated above; nor is there any reference to the Pharisees taking Jesus or his disciples to task for their accents or dialects¹¹⁰.

(ii) Bilingual Aramaic/Hebrew

There is no doubt that the Galileans spoke Aramaic¹¹¹; however what of the importance of Hebrew? It is commonly held that Hebrew was the language of scholarship and literature in the first century A.D., and this is confirmed by the extensive Hebrew writings of the Qumran Community. There have been attempts, however, to show that Hebrew was in fact a living spoken language in the first century. A recent example of this thought is found in M. Wilcox's book Semitisms of Acts¹¹²:

The non Biblical texts show us a free, living language, and attest the fact that in New Testament times, and for some considerable time previously, Hebrew was not confined to Rabbinical circles by any means, but appeared as a normal vehicle of expression.

H. Birkeland about the same time as Wilcox was writing also took this view¹¹³. Hebrew was

the language of the common people in Palestine in the time of Jesus.

While the latter view has been found to be too extreme for other authorities¹¹⁴, the question of spoken Hebrew must be looked into.

Segal, writing many years before these writers¹¹⁵, argued that the language of Palestine was in fact the Mischsprache of Mishnaic Hebrew, and he is followed by Chomsky¹¹⁶, Grintz¹¹⁷, and most recently by RÜger¹¹⁸, who argues that Jesus's halacha was given in Mishnaic Hebrew and his haggada in Aramaic. It will be noted below that Jesus is not a good example upon which to base Galilean characteristics; in this case, however, there may not be a discrepancy. It is not unlikely that many Galileans were bilingual Hebrew/Aramaic; Aramaic as the every day speech, and Hebrew as the language of the religion, or in particular the scriptures. It may further be noted that many of the 'sayings' in the tradition concerning Hanina ben Dosa are preserved in Hebrew.

One point that must be made on the methodology of trying to argue on the basis of the Qumran material that Hebrew was a "living language ...

a normal vehicle of expression", is that the argument rests upon literature, and it has been pointed out that Hebrew was reserved for literature, despite the fact that the Qumran material is not rabbinic. Further, it is assumed that the abundance of Hebrew in the scrolls meant it was the language of the community; but in line with the esoteric nature of some of the teachings, and the rigid hierarchy of the community, is it not possible that the writings were in Hebrew so that only the trained, initiated members would have access to the teachings contained in them? Therefore the Qumran scrolls may not be evidence of spoken Hebrew in the first century.

(iii) Bilingual Aramaic/Greek

It has long been recognised that Greek played an important part in the day to day affairs in Galilee¹¹⁹. It was the language of business and administration, and the Hellenistic cities of Tiberias, Sepphoris and Philoteria dominated Galilean urban life. The question remains, however, were the Galileans conversant with Greek? On the one hand G.F. Moore has argued that they were not¹²⁰, whereas Moulton thought they were¹²¹. There has been a veritable flood of material on the subject of whether or not Jesus was likely to have spoken Greek¹²²; but Jesus cannot be regarded as typical of the Galileans in general. In the first place he was, if the Gospel account is to be believed, something of a trained scholar¹²³; secondly, if his father was a carpenter in Nazareth it is highly likely that Jesus was not unfamiliar with the market place, perhaps that of Sepphoris; thirdly, as a peripatetic he spent some time in Greek-speaking areas, e.g. Decapolis. The average Galilean on the other hand did not require a knowledge of Greek, indeed a pointer to this may be the fact that Josephus, an educated man, wrote his B.J. in Aramaic first¹²⁴, and he himself admits to a poor knowledge of Greek¹²⁵. This is not to detract

from the findings of Sevenster, but on the whole the only Galileans who were bilingual Aramaic/Greek were the businessmen and the Jewish leaders.

(iv) Trilingual

Dalman asserted with some force that Jesus was trilingual¹²⁶; but it was left to Grundy to state that the Galileans were trilingual¹²⁷. He bases this view on the archaeological evidence of Palestine in the first century, and does not really justify such a claim. It is possible that some of the Galileans were trilingual, but by no means all.

In conclusion I would offer the following analysis:

<u>The Intelligentsia</u>	:-	Trilingual
<u>Jewish Rulers</u>		
<u>The Businessmen</u>	:-	Bilingual Aramaic/Greek
<u>Gentile Rulers</u>		
<u>The Peasantry</u>	:-	Predominantly Aramaic, possibly some Hebrew.

This is a broad generalisation resting upon the principal social classes and therefore is not final and exceptions would be common, but in general is justified. It does not take into account Latin; the evidence as it stands does not indicate that Latin was important in Palestine during the first century.

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent from the rabbinic evidence so far discussed that the Galileans preserved their own quite distinct traditions. These traditions may well have developed during the period of the foreign domination of Galilee, which explains why many of them resemble the O.T. version of the practices. J. Morgenstern noted this in his monograph Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity¹²⁸. He noticed that there were several traits in early Christianity which were similar to pre-Solomonic and even Canaanite traditions. He admits that "the author's knowledge in the field

of New Testament criticism is somewhat limited"¹²⁹. Nevertheless he has produced a stimulating book, although his thesis is by no means proven¹³⁰. In the course of his argumentation he makes reference to the Galileans, and in his conclusions he writes¹³¹:

Jesus and his earliest immediate followers were Galileans, natives of the northernmost section of Palestine, comparatively remote from Jerusalem and the immediate religious influence of the Temple there ... its people ... have always been predominantly farmers. And like farmers everywhere, remote from the mainstreams of cultural development, their progress, economic, social and religious, was relatively slow. Their way of life and thought, and with this their religious belief and manner of worship, changed little from generation to generation.

Thus¹³²:

... the Galileans ... quite certainly held fast persistently and devotedly, though undoubtedly in varying manner and degree, to the ancient doctrine tradition and ritual practice.

This has been the case in this examination also, although we cannot agree with Morgenstern's statement that the Galileans were "a distinct sect within Judaism"¹³³; we are not dealing with a religious group, but a people, so they can never be referred to as a "sect". However, the traditionalism of the people does indicate that it is not unlikely that they would have preserved a pro-Hasmonaean tradition among their many other traditions.

We have noted that the Shammaites had influence in Galilee. This is probably due to the fact that one of the principles governing the School of Shammai in their disputes with the School of Hillel was that the letter of the law was to be the basis of any ruling, not the spirit of the law¹³⁴.

Therefore we may state that the picture of the Galileans as it emerges from the rabbinic traditions so far considered is one of a people who had little time for the minutiae of the Pharisees. This is complemented by the evidence relating to the Teachers in Galilee up to 70 A.D. After 70 A.D. Galilee became the centre of rabbinic learning in Palestine,

especially in the second and third centuries A.D.¹³⁵.

NOTES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. Vermes J.J.S. 13 (1972) p. 28; Neusner Development of a Legend pp. 8 f.
2. On the date of the compilation of the Mishna, Schürer (1973) pp. 76 ff.
3. Strack Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash pp. 6 f.; Meilziner Introduction to the Talmud pp. 56 ff.; Bowker The Targums and Rabbinic Literature pp. 43-45, 48; Schürer Geschichte II pp. 390-414; Schürer (1973) pp. 69 ff.
4. (1973) pp. 7f.
5. mB.B. 3:2; mShebi. 9:2; mPes. 4:5; bSanh. 11b; mKet. 13:10; bKeth. 12a; bKeth. 110a/b; bGit. 34b; bPes. 54b; bShabb. 153a; tSheb. 7:10; tKeth. 13:2.
6. mB.B. 3:2; mSheb. 9:2; mKeth. 13:10; L. Löw Ben Chananya 7 (1864) col. 20-22; A. Neubauer Géographie du Talmud pp. 178 f.
7. mSheb. 9:2.
8. Cf. Josephus B.J. iii 35, where he divides Galilee into two.
9. The Pharisees p. 41, he further states that the settlements in Galilee became mini Jerusalems.
10. Fiebig Mischna R.H. pp. 39 ff.
11. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 7; Neubauer Géographie p. 182.
12. mR.H. 3:5. On the sounding of the shofar see S.B. Finesinger H.U.C.A. 8-9 (1931/2) pp. 193 ff.
13. ySheb. 10:2.
14. Meilziner Introduction pp. 28-30; Danby Mishnah App. 3, p. 779; Strack Introduction p. 113 places them in the younger generation of the second generation; Albeck Einführung in die Mischna p. 404. On Jose the Galilean see Bacher Tannaiten 1 pp. 358-72; Büchler Der Galilaische Am ha-Ares pp. 300-12. On Johanan ben Nouri Bacher Tannaiten 1 pp. 372-4.
15. mHul. 4:3; Danby Mishnah p. 521 n. 6.
16. The Pharisees p. 54, based upon mTa'an 4:8 which states, "Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel said: There were no happier days for Israel than the 15th Ab and the Day of Atonement, for on them the daughters of Jerusalem used to go forth in white raiments; and these were borrowed, that none should be abashed which had them not; hence all the raiments required immersion. And the daughters of Jerusalem went to dance in the vineyards".
17. Cf. bNaz. 31b. As there was not much wine in Galilee it was regarded as superior to oil.
18. bPes. 54b; yPes 4:5. On $\text{לִּבְּנֵי אֵלֶּיךָ}$ see F. Rosenthal H.U.C.A. 18 (1944) pp. 157-176.

19. Neusner The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70 2 p. 141 for an analysis.
20. ibid. 1 pp. 372 ff. for the identity of Gamaliel.
21. Moore Judaism II pp. 65 ff., 262. Cf. mTa'an. 4:6; bTa'an 29a, which gives five reasons for its remembrance.
22. See the discussion in Schürer (1973) pp. 506 f. n.115.
23. The Pharisees pp. 50 ff.
24. See Strack-Bill. II p. 149; mM.Sh. 5:2; Mek. Ex. 16:13; yBer. 1:1 bPes. 93b.
25. The Hebrew Passover from Earliest Times to A.D. 70 p. 261 n.3.
26. ibid. p. 201 refers to the complex preparation on the eve of Passover, bPes. 5a.
27. See J. Jeremias Eucharistic Words of Jesus; J.T.S. 1 (1949) pp. 1-10; Segal op. cit. (n.25); A.J.B. Higgins The Lord's Supper in the New Testament (S.B.T. I,6).
28. Kiddush: a meal for sanctification on the eve of Sabbath or a Feast Day. Moore Judaism II p. 36; Elbogen J.E. 7 pp. 483 ff; Jeremias Eucharistic Words p. 26; Bowman St. Mark pp. 272 ff.
29. H.U.C.A. 1 (1924) pp. 344 f; but cf. Thackeray Josephus LCL 4 p. 304 n.a; Oesterly-Box Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (2nd ed.) p. 385; Jeremias Eucharistic Words p. 17 n.2; Strack-Bill. II. pp. 812-5.
30. pp. 326 ff.
31. In this he is followed by I. Zolli Il Nazareno pp. 207-0; M.-J. Lagrange L'Evangile de Jesus-Christ pp. 495-7.
32. He cites⁹ⁿ this the practice of the Samaritans, Passahfier pp. 83 ff.
33. Jub. 49:10, 19; Philo De Spec. Leg. 2:145.
34. Eucharistic Words pp. 22 ff.; see further the discussion of Dalman in Jesus-Jeshua pp. 88 ff.
35. Messiaskönig Jesus pp. 247 ff.
36. Eucharistic Words p. 24.
37. Jastrow Dictionary p. 623a, read "chew the daughter who classed thee among the spices".
38. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 7; tDem. 5:16.
39. Strack-Bill. I p. 933 makes no reference to this parallel.
40. Also tSheb. 7:10; ySheb. 9:2.
41. Danby Mishnah p. 49 n.4.

42. Schürer (1973) p. 528. On the tradition concerning the half-shekel see J. Liver H.T.R. 56 (1953) pp. 174-198.
43. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 7.
44. The Pharisees pp. 660 f. n.49.
45. Geographie p. 183.
46. A. xx 118; B.J. ii 232.
47. Cf. the declaration made by Jose b. Johanan and Jose b. Jozer in bShabb. 14b; yShabb 1:4; yKeth 8:11, "Jose b. Joezer of Zeredah and Jose b. Johanan of Jerusalem decreed uncleanness in respect of the country of the heathens (א"י הַיָּרֵךְ) and glassware". Freedman Shabbat 1 (Soncino) p. 59 n.5 believes that it was to stop Jews coming to Palestine during the Maccabaeen Revolt. It indicates that the Galileans were regarded as unclean in rabbinic tradition, as the chain of tradition in this case is linked with Hillel and Shammai, J. Neusner Traditions I pp. 104, 110 f. Albeck Mischna p. 392.
48. yHag. 3:4 (79b).
49. Samaritans, cf. II Ki. xvii 24, 29.
50. The אַבְרָהָם were members of a אַבְרָהָם. The term אַבְרָהָם originally meant "friend", Ps cxix 63; mAb. 2:9, 10; bB.B. 38b; b'Ar. 16a. It then came to mean a companion in study, bTa'an. 7a; bB.B. 158b; yShek. 47b; and ultimately one who was a scholar. Nevertheless they were not all Pharisees, nor were all Pharisees members of the אַבְרָהָם. The society was pledged to keep themselves absolutely levitically clean. They were strongly critical of the אַבְרָהָם Geiger, Urschrift und Uebersetzung p. 124, suggests that they are to be identified with the אַבְרָהָם of I Macc. xiv 28, (אֲנֹשֵׁי כְנֶסֶת הַגְּדֹלָה). This is opposed by Mendelsohn, J.E. 6 p. 124, who dates the formation of the אַבְרָהָם to the last decades of the second century B.C. See Montefiore Hibbert Lectures (1892) p. 498; Schürer Geschichte II p. 471; Hamburger R.E. II pp. 126-9; Buechler Am ha-ares. passim Neusner H.T.R. 53 (1960) pp. 125-42, the most recent and erudite discussion of the group. In 1952 S. Lieberman pointed out the similarities between the אַבְרָהָם and the members of the Qumran sect, and while he conceded that the Essene theory was the most attractive, scholars must be careful in ascribing the scrolls to Essene authorship. J.B.L. 71 (1952) pp. 109-206.
51. Hagigah p. 163 n.11.
52. bShabb. 17a; it is alluded to in bA.Z. 39b; bHull. 36b; bShabb. 15a; bPes 3b.
53. The Pharisees p. 53; on the form of this dispute see Neusner Traditions 3 p. 31.
54. Histoire p. 195 n.2.
55. According to Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels I p. 15

55. (cont'd.)
in Bloch Festschrift pp. 21-30.
56. Studies I p. 15.
57. The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth p. 129 n.3.
58. Jesus the Jew p. 56 and p. 238 n.79
59. bHul. 104b; bShabb. 13a. On the form of the mishna Neusner Traditions 2 p. 243. m'Ed. 5:2. In tHul 8:2-3 Eleazar does not phrase his ruling in the statement, "the school of Shammai".
60. Ex. xxiii 19, xxxiv 26; Deut. xiv 21.
61. The Pharisees p. 59.
62. yB.B. 3:3 (14a); bKeth 17b/18a; bB.B. 28a. Spain here א'א צון (איטאליע), K. Windfuhr Mischna B.B. p. 31; Albeck Mischna p. 638. Spain was regarded as the end of the world.
63. Herzog The Main Institutions of Jewish Law (2nd ed.) 1 pp. 59 ff. J.H. Greenstone J.E. 6 pp. 280-82. For a discussion of usucapio in Roman law see A. Watson The Law of Property in the Later Roman Republic passim.
64. M. Simon Baba Bathra (Soncino) 1 p. 168 n.4, a time when there were no caravans between Galilee and Jerusalem.
65. Dictionary p. 460a.
66. mKeth. 5:9; mTer. 10:8.
67. mGit. 5:6; yGit. 5:6 (47b) tGit. 5:1 ff. Herzog Institutions 1 p. 105; Krauss J.E. 9 pp. 232 ff.; Derenbourg Histoire pp. 475 ff.; Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 52 ff.
68. Danby Mishnah p. 313.
69. Dictionary, ad loc.
70. Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud 1 p. 200; 2 pp. 392 f.; Albeck Mischna pp. 380 f.
71. 1 p. 231; following Derenbourg Histoire p. 476.
72. Jesus of Nazareth p. 173 n.103.
73. Die Zeloten p. 54.
74. yShabb. 16:8 (15d).
75. Histoire p. 476.
76. For the problem of the word א'א צון see below p. 217.
77. On Betrothal in Jewish law, and for a comparison between Roman and

77. (cont'd.)
Talmudic rulings on betrothal see B. Cohen P.A.A.J.R. 18 (1948/9)
pp. 67-135.
78. The Pharisees p. 47.
79. ibid. p. 192.
80. mKeth. 13:10.
81. ibid.; bKeth. 110 a/b; yKeth. 13:10.
82. mB.Q. 10:9.
83. mGit. 4:2; tGit. 6:5; yGit. 4:2.
84. Ketubah: (a) a document by which the bridegroom pledges himself to
assign to his wife a sum of money in the event of his
death, or divorce.
(b) the sum of money so assigned.
85. Dictionary p. 60b.
86. Mk. v 38.
87. bShab. 153a.
88. Sem. 3:6.
89. The Pharisees p. 50.
90. bM.K.23a; mM.K. 3:5.
91. Zlotnic The Tractate Mourning 10:15.
92. Sacred Sites and Ways p. 7.
93. The Pharisees p. 50; also see Zlotnic Mourning p. 154.
94. yNed. 5:8(6)(37c).
95. B.J. iii 41 ff.
96. Geographie p. 193.
97. bKeth. 67b.
98. yShabb. 16:8 (15d).
99. On the last phrase more will be said below.
100. Dalman used the Aramaic portions of the yTalmud and the Targums to
reconstruct the Galilean dialect of Aramaic, although he conceded
that the Targumic writings were of less value than the Talmudic.
He was followed by Jeremias T.L.Z. 74 (1949) col. 528. This was
criticised by Black, J.T.S. 1 (1949) p. 60. The whole discussion of upon

100. (cont'd.)

which text to base a grammar of Galilean Aramaic has been reopened with the publication of Codex Neophiti 1 by A. Diez Macho, see Black N.T.S. 3 (1956/7) pp. 306 ff.; and the discovery of the so-called Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran, N. Avigad and Y. Yadin. See Black The Scrolls and Christian Origins App. C, pp. 192 ff.; J. Fitzmyer The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (2nd edn.). Fitzmyer states "the recovery of Qumran Aramaic, and in particular the Aramaic of this text, brings us closer to the kind of Aramaic used in Palestine in the time of Jesus and the Apostles." (op. cit. p. 25).

It would appear therefore that any attempt to write the grammar of Galilean Aramaic will have to take into account the PT, especially now Neophiti 1, see G. Cowling A.J.B.A. 2 (1972) p. 35; the Genesis Apocryphon; the yTalmud, and the Aramaic portions of Bereshit Rabbah, see Odeberg L.U.A. 36 (1940).

101. See also Gen.r 26; Eccl.r 2:2; bBer. 32a; yBer. 4d; bMeg. 24b. Strack-Bill. I p. 157; Dalman Grammatik pp. 56-61; Neubauer Geographie p. 184; Bacher Amoraim 2 pp. 465, 508; Meyer Jesu Muttersprache p. 59; G.A. Smith Hist. Geog. (25th edn.) p. 276 n.1; Graetz Geschichte III p. 298; Hausrath N.T. Times 1 pp. 13 f.; Edersheim Life and Times II pp. 225f.; Elliot-Binns Galilean Christianity p. 21.
102. Words of Jesus pp. 81 ff.; Grammatik p. 59; Meyer Muttersprache p. 59.
103. R. Macuch Grammatik des Sam. Heb. pp. 29-33, 83, 133.
104. Levias A.J.S.L. (Hebraica) 13 (1896) pp. 29 ff. bMeg. 24b; bM.K. 16b; bKet. 8a; Dalman Grammatik p. 59.
105. Schröder Die Phönizische Sprache pp. 79 ff.
106. Nöldeke Neo. Syr. Gramm. p. 56.
107. Nöldeke Mandäische Gramm. p. 58 esp. n.2. See generally O'Leary A Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages pp. 30 ff.; Odeberg L.U.A. 36 (1940) pp. 158 ff.
108. Matt. xxvi 73; Mk. xiv 70; Lk. xxii 59. Only Matthew records the fact that Peter was recognised by his accent.
109. Acts ii 7.
110. H. Hoehner Herod Antipas pp. 63 ff.; although there is no reason to suspect that Jesus changed his dialect in order to preach.
111. Despite an apparent recession in the use of Aramaic generally between the third century B.C. and the second century A.D., see Fitzmyer C.B.Q. 32 (1970) pp. 518 ff. It is almost universally accepted that it was spoken in Palestine in the first century A.D., ibid. p. 531; Dalman Grammatik pp. 43 ff.; Words of Jesus pp. 1 ff.; Jesus-Jeshua pp. 1-36; Black Aramaic Approach (3rd edn.) pp. 19 ff.; Manson Teaching (2nd edn.) p. 46; Sevenster Do You Know Greek? pp. 26 ff.; Black N.T.S. 3

111. (cont'd.)
(1956/7) p. 305. J.T.S. 1 (1950) p. 60; H.P. Rügger A.N.W. 59 (1968) p. 113; Jeremias T.L.Z. 74 (1949) col. 527; Kahle Opera Minora pp. 79-95; Ott N.T. 9 (1967) p. 1; Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 61; Fitzmyer The Genesis Apocryphon p. 24, note especially n.61 for further bibliography.
112. p. 14.
113. A.N.V.A.O. 1 (1954) p. 39.
114. Cf. Black Aramaic Approach p. 48; Fitzmyer C.B.Q. 32 (1970) p. 530.
115. A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew p. 17; also J.Q.R. 20 (1907/8) pp. 647-737.
116. J.Q.R. 42 (1951/2) pp. 193 ff.
117. J.B.L. 79 (1960) p. 47.
118. Z.N.W. 59 (1968) p. 122; see against these views Emerton J.T.S. 12 (1961) pp. 189-202; Barr B.J.R.L. 53 (1970) pp. 9-29.
119. Dalman Words pp. 1 ff.; Jesus-Jeshua pp. 1 ff.; Fitzmyer C.B.Q. 32 (1970) pp. 507-518; Sevenster Do You Know Greek? pp. 189 f.
120. Judaism 1 p. 184 n.2, he acknowledges the fact that they may have known Greek for the market place, 3 pp. 53 ff.
121. Grammar p. 8 and esp. n.1.
122. A typical dispute on this subject may be read in E.T. 67 (1955/6) between Argyle, pp. 92 f., and Draper p. 317. Cf. p. 383; 68 (1956/7) pp. 121-22.
123. bSot. 49b. See now S. Lieberman "How Much Greek in Palestine?", in Biblical and Other Essays (Ed. A. Altmann) pp. 123-35; see R.O.P. Taylor E.T. 56 (1945) pp. 95-97; and the criticisms made by Abbott E.T. 56 (1945) p. 305; J.G. Griffiths ibid. pp. 327 f.; F.F. Bruce ibid. p. 328. See recently Argyle N.T.S. 19 (1972/3) pp. 87-89. For a review of the state of the question see Ott N.T. 9 (1967) pp. 1-27.
124. B.J. i 1-3.
125. c. Ap. 150
126. Jesus-Jeshua pp. 36 ff.; Manson Teaching p. 46.
127. J.B.L. 83 (1964) pp. 404-8.
128. SPB. 9.
129. Antecedents Preface.
130. See R. le Déaut Biblica 40 (1967) pp. 458-62.

131. Antecedents p. 97
132. ibid. p. 103.
133. ibid. p. 104.
134. See S. Zeitlin R.E.J. 93 (1932) p. 64.
135. See A. Büchler Der galiläische Am ha-ares; idem The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sephoris in the Second and Third Centuries.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRINCIPAL TEACHERS IN GALILEE
BEFORE 70 A.D.

Chapter V

THE PRINCIPAL TEACHERS IN GALILEE BEFORE 70 A.D.

There are four teachers whom we can associate with Galilee before 70A.D. After that date Galilee rapidly became one of the major centres of rabbinic learning. The four are Nittai of Arbel, Abba Jose Cholikofri, Johanan ben Zakkai and Hanina ben Dosa. Of the four, Hanina ben Dosa is the best attested, and several important Galilean traits are exemplified in him.

NITTAI OF ARBEL

Nittai¹ was the vice president of the rabbis in Jerusalem in the time of John Hyrcanus I, and is linked in the lists of the Zugoth (pairs) with Judah ben Peradiah. In the traditions preserved of him he is almost totally eclipsed by the latter, and Neusner states that there are no independent traditions preserved of him². The only teachings ascribed to him are preserved in mAb. 1:7³:

Nittai the Arbelite said: Keep far from an evil neighbour and consort not with the wicked and lose not belief in retribution.

Several scholars have suggested that this statement reflects Nittai's attitude to the fact that John Hyrcanus had rejected the Pharisees in preference to the Sadducees⁴.

The second teaching we have of his is that he allowed hands to be laid on the head of the sacrifice⁵.

Arbel was a town in lower Galilee⁶, but so little is known of Nittai that it is impossible to assess any relationship or influence he may have had in Galilee.

ABBA JOSE CHOLIKOFRI

Jose flourished in Tab'un⁷; however, little is known of him. There

exists only one statement of his in mMak. 1:3:

If he shook a tree and the drops of rain fell on another tree; or bush, and the drops of rain fell on another bush, and beneath them there were seeds or unplucked vegetables, the school of Shammai say: The law If water be put on applies. And the School of Hillel say: It does not apply. R. Joshua said in the name of Abba Jose Cholikofri of Tab'un: Marvel at thyself if anywhere the law prescribes that a liquid can render aught susceptible to uncleanness unless it was applied of set purpose, for it is written, But if water be put on the seed.

It is assumed by scholars that the name Cholikofri (׳גאק׳בן) is the name of his place of origin, as yet unidentified⁸, although Schürer has suggested that the name reflects the Greek $\chiαακοπωδης$ meaning a dealer in copper or bronze⁹.

He is not mentioned in tMak. 1:1-4 which deals with this dispute.

JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI

Johanán ben Zakkai was not a Galilean, yet he taught in Galilee and so must be included¹⁰. The sources for his Galilean period are bShabb. 146a; mShabb 16:7, 22:3; yShabb. 16:8 (15d), 22:3; bBer 34b (the healing of his son by Hanina ben Dosa) and ARN A 22.

Sometime after the death of Hillel, Johanán ben Zakkai left Jerusalem for Galilee, where he settled in Arab, a town near Sepphoris. Neusner dates the Galilean period as falling somewhere between 20 A.D. and 40 A.D.¹¹. He adduces four reasons for this. First, the period was early in his life and he had a young son; secondly, he was not all that well known as only two cases came before him; thirdly, Hanina ben Dosa was his disciple; and finally he returned to Jerusalem while Gamaliel I was still the leader of the Pharisees.

It would appear that Johanán acted as teacher and Magistrate in the eighteen years he was in Galilee, and it is true he had little success. There were only two cases he had to deal with, and as a result a tradition grew up of his curse on Galilee.

A. The Cases

mShabb. 16:7: One may on the Sabbath cover a lamp with a dish so that it will not scorch a rafter, and cover animal droppings to protect a child, or a scorpion so that it shall not bite. Rabbi Judah said: Such a case once came before Johanan ben Zakkai in Arab, and he said, "I doubt whether one who does so is not liable to a sin offering."

mShabb. 22:3: A man may broach a jar to eat dried figs therefrom provided he does not intend to make a utensil of it. One may not pierce the plug of a jar on the Sabbath. So Rabbi Judah. But the sages or Rabbi Yosi permit it. One may not pierce it at the side; and if it was pierced already, a man may not put wax on it on the Sabbath since he would need to smooth it over. Rabbi Judah said: Such a case came before Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai in Arab and he said, "I doubt whether he is not liable to a sin offering."¹²

The almost negative statements of Johanan in both these cases reflect the young rabbi not sure of himself. Also worthy of note is that the subject in both instances is sabbath observance which, as has been noted in connection with sabbath mourning, had different rules in Galilee from those in Judaea. It may also reflect the fact that there was Hasidic influence in Galilee, as it will be seen that they were extremely fastidious in observing the sabbath.

Of rather more importance is the curse of Johanan ben Zakkai upon Galilee.

B. The Curse

This is found only in the Yerushalami Talmud (yShabb. 16:8 (15d)). Neusner has shown fairly conclusively that the attribution of the curse to Johanan was much later, and was probably done by Ulla. He points out that the language of the curse is Aramaic, while other sayings of ben Zakkai are usually cast in good mishnaic Hebrew. Thus the saying may have been pseud-epigraphic placed in the mouth of Johanan ben Zakkai, as it was most relevant to him.

The problem rests not in the implications of the curse, but in what

is actually being said. The text of the curse is:

אָזר גביל גביל שנתת תורה סופך לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּאַסְיֵיךְ

Attempts at solving the meaning of the word אַסְיֵיךְ have followed three major trends:

- (1) The word means "brigands"¹³.
- (2) That it refers to Roman tax assessors (conductores)¹⁴.
- (3) The word implies that the Galileans will end their lives as slaves¹⁵.

However, one solution that has not had much following is that of Applebaum¹⁶. The word may well be a transliteration of the Latin messicius, a soldier discharged from the army and settled in a "colony". Therefore the phrase becomes a prophecy of that which was to happen at the end of the 66-74 war¹⁷.

Whichever solution is accepted, the general tone of the curse is clear, and affirms that which was argued above. The Galileans on the whole were not interested in the Pharisaic laws and regulations, and the Pharisees thus had little influence in Galilee. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Galileans were not religious: there is evidence to suggest that there was strong Hasidic influence in Galilee during the first century A.D., primarily tied in with the life of Hanina ben Dosa.

HANINA BEN DOSA

Among the characters preserved in the traditions of the rabbis, Hanina ben Dosa stands out in an unusual way. His life, which was spent for the most part in Galilee, was one not of learning, but one famed for its miracles and religious observance. His life offers many remarkable parallels with the life of Jesus.

A. The Sources

The major source for the study of the life and activities of Hanina ben Dosa is the bTalmud. Although there are references to him in the

yTalmud, a cursory glance at the sources indicates that the lack of interest in miracle stories on the part of the Palestinian rabbis had led to omissions. Also there may be deliberate excision due to the threat of the claims of the early church. Nevertheless Vermes writes:¹⁸

In spite of the scarcity of such miracle stories in the Palestinian tradition there existed a local Galilean tradition perpetuating the memory of Hanina's wonder working activities.

It may be stated that miracles do not play such an important part in the rabbinic writings as they did in the N.T.¹⁹

Further light is thrown on Hanina by the Midrash Rabba; and in later tradition ARN, A, P.R.E., Mek.de R. Ishmael, Mid. Mishle and the extremely late Ma'aseh Book.

Discussions of the material have been made most recently by G. Vermes²⁰ and J. Neusner²¹. These supplement and correct the earlier work done by A. Büchler²², P. Fiebig²³ and G. Friedländer²⁴.

B. Hanina ben Dosa - The Man

Hanina's family background is somewhat obscure. The name Dosa is probably an example of the influence of Greek in Galilee, but certainly does not indicate that Hanina was a Hellenist. He lived in Arab²⁵, and was a disciple of Johanan ben Zakkai²⁶. Opinions differ as to the exact dating of Hanina ben Dosa. Danby²⁷ and Büchler²⁸ list him as being one of the second generation of the Ta'anim, thereby dating him late in the first century. Nevertheless, if Neusner is correct in dating Johanan ben Zakkai's Galilean period to between 20 and 40 A.D.²⁹, then we may concur with Vermes who writes³⁰:

- ... two facts militate in favour of an essentially pre-70 thesis,
1. The certain and positive associations contained in the rabbinic tradition are with persons or institutions of the Second Temple period. Conversely, Hanina never appears in any episode dated to the post-Destruction era.
 2. The picture of an unorthodox Galilean saint conveyed by the sources makes better sense against the background of the last half century of the Second Temple than against that of the Yavnean

restoration under Johanan ben Zakkai and Gamaliel II. All in all the most likely reading of the evidence points to a person active in the middle of the first century.

This makes him active a little after Jesus, which may be a significant factor in the traditions ascribed to him.

We know that he was married, with a daughter³¹, and later tradition holds that he had a son³².

Thus we may consider the traditions about Hanina ben Dosa to assess any Galilean traditions within them, his relationship and influence in Galilee, and the relationship of the traditions about Jesus with those of Hanina. In doing this we will follow the order of Vermes and consider Hanina as Healer, Miracle Worker, Teacher and his Functional Identity.

(a) Hanina ben Dosa as Healer

mBer. 5:5 "They tell of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa that he used to pray over the sick and say, 'this one will live', or, 'this one will die'. They said to him, 'How knowest thou?' He replied, 'If my prayer is fluent in my mouth I know that he is accepted, and if it is not I know that he is rejected'.

It has been maintained that Chapter 5 of mBer. can be attributed to Hasidic teaching³³. Hanina's inclusionⁱⁿ it therefore points out an important aspect of his life: that he was a Hasid, which indicates that there was Hasidic influence in Galilee.

The logion illustrates the superstitious belief that an error in the recital of a fixed prayer is a bad omen for the individual reciting it or, if he was acting as an agent for a congregation, for them. If this is the case, then Hanina's statement refers to the recitation of the standard prayer in the Shemonē Esre³⁴, and, within that set, number eight known as Rephua or Birkath Holim³⁵.

Scrutiny of this mishna, however, shows that the illustration does not fit the principle proclaimed:

"If he that says Tephilla falls into error it is a bad omen for

for him; and if he was the agent of the congregation it is a bad omen for them ... "

Vermes points out that the principle is correctness in the recitation of a set prayer, whereas Hanina speaks of fluency, or the lack of it³⁶. Hanina is not referring to the set prayer, therefore, but to an improvisation. This is emphasised by the use of the verb $\gamma\lambda\psi$ (in this case in the Hi.³⁷). Thus Hanina is ascribing the power to God, God has placed the prayer in his mouth, therefore the cure is not a sign of accepted prayer, rather a sign of God's acceptance of Hanina as his agent³⁸. The mishna is well fitted to the healing of Gamaliel's son³⁹.

bBer. 34b (yBer 5:5(6) 9d). The Healing of Gamaliel's Son

Our Rabbis taught: Once the son of Rabbi Gamaliel fell ill. He sent two scholars to Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa to ask him to pray for him. When he saw them he went up to an upper chamber and prayed for him. When he came down he said to them: Go, the fever has left him. They said to him: Are you a prophet? He replied: I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I learnt this from my experience. If my prayer is fluent in my mouth I know that he is accepted; but if not, I know that he is rejected. They sat down and made a note of the exact moment. When they came to Rabbi Gamaliel he said to them: By the Temple service! You have not been a moment too soon or late, but so it happened: at that very moment the fever left him and he asked for water to drink.

The parallel text in yBer. is employed as a supplement to the mishna:

It happened that Rabban Gamaliel's son fell ill; and he sent two pupils to Hanina ben Dosa in his town. He said to them: Wait until I go to the upper room. He went to the upper room, then came down. He said to them: I am assured that Rabban Gamaliel's son has now recovered from his illness. They noted (the time): in that hour he asked for food.

The Palestinian version here is probably the older, as the more developed Babylonian version incorporates the mishna⁴⁰. From this story it is quite clear that Hanina's fame had spread beyond Galilee⁴¹.

Fiebig⁴² has drawn attention to the parallel that exists between this story and that recounted in John iv 46-53⁴³; agreement between the

stories rests upon the following points: (1) it is a distance cure; (2) the cure is suddenly successful; (3) the agreement on the time the miracle was effective; (4) in John iv 54 the child is sick with fever; (5) John iv 50 $\delta \psi \acute{\iota} \omicron \varsigma \sigma \upsilon \varsigma \eta$, recalls the words of Hanina in the mishna text. The question of dependence is now raised, especially as both cures are effected in Galilee⁴⁴.

Fiebig does not think that the Jewish version of the story is dependent upon John iv, as it is more natural and understandable; for example, Jesus does not pray, whereas Hanina does⁴⁵. Further, he does not think that dependence was vice versa; rather he believes that it was a Jewish story in oral tradition which was petrified in Christian tradition⁴⁶.

Mir scheint, daß beide Geschichten völlig unabhängig von einander sind, resp. nur insofern zusammenhängen, als sie denselben Milieu entstammen.

He further suggests that the stories were made up out of thin air, and this is reflected in the statement of Bultmann: "Hardly anyone will support the historicity of a telepathic healing"⁴⁷. It may further be noted that this type of story is not only attested in a Jewish context⁴⁸.

Therefore the conclusion which may be drawn is that there probably existed (?in Galilee) a collection of stories concerned with these Hasidic types of miracle. Of this more will be said below.

Two further points of importance may be discussed at this point: the interpolation within the yTalmud תלמוד בבלי , and the fact that this story is omitted in Mark.

The statement תלמוד בבלי is made by the fourth century Amora Rabbi Aha b. Jacob. He is referring to the first of the "Eighteen Benedictions" named Avoth⁴⁹, in which God when implored as Saviour, is reminded of the merits of the Patriarchs. Rabbi Aha's comment assumes that Hanina

was reciting the "Eighteen Benedictions", but ascribes his smooth recall to the piety of the forefathers⁵⁰. This is an example of the later hostility of the doctrinaire rabbis towards Hanina, possibly because he was a miracle worker and popular with the people, and possibly because he was a Galilean. With this may be compared the criticism of the Pharisees towards Jesus⁵¹. It may also reflect a move among the later rabbis to weaken links between themselves and the early church.

This last point may provide the reason for the omission of this story in Mark. If at the time of Mark's writing, Hanina ben Dosa was well known, then the fact that this story was ascribed to him may have led the author to have left it out deliberately, and it was later taken up by Matthew and Luke; to appear in a variant form in John (possibly through the influence of the signs source). The alternative is that it was not embodied in the earliest traditions about Jesus, and Mark did not even know the story. If the scholars who hold that the Gospel of Mark was written with a Galilean bias⁵² are correct, then the omission of this most spectacular Galilean tradition seems strange.

Following this passage is the story of Hanina ben Dosa curing the son of Johanan ben Zakkai⁵³.

On another occasion it happened that Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa went to study Torah with Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai. The son of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai fell ill: he said to him: Hanina, my son, pray for him that he may live. He put his head between his knees and prayed for him and he lived. Said Johanan ben Zakkai: if ben Zakkai had stuck his head between his knees for the whole day, no notice would have been taken of him. Said his wife to him: Is Hanina greater than you are? He replied to her: No, but he is like a servant before a king, and I am like a nobleman before a king.

Unlike the healing of Gamaliel's son, this story is preserved in a single recension. Further, Hanina ben Dosa is present at the healing, and Johanan ben Zakkai witnesses the prayer, yet the healing is still as successful.

The comment of Johanan ben Zakkai's wife illustrates the fact that Hanina is regarded as one of God's favourite slaves⁵⁴, yet Johanan, as a prince, has to conform to court etiquette⁵⁵. It also emphasises the fact that no miracles are ascribed to Johanan ben Zakkai⁵⁶.

There is here the first major parallel between Hanina and Elijah. In I Ki. xvii 42 we read that Elijah put his head between his knees as he prayed for rain on Mount Carmel⁵⁷.

One further distance healing may be considered at this point: bB.K. 50a (bYeb. 121b) The Saving of Nehoniah's Daughter⁵⁸

Our masters have taught: it happened that the daughter of Nehonia, the ditch digger, fell into a big hole. They went to Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa. After one hour he said to them: Peace (וְשָׁלוֹם). After a second hour he said to them: Peace. After a third hour he said to them: She has now come up.

They said to her: Who brought you out of it?⁵⁹ She said to them: A ram joined me and an old man led it.

They said to him (Hanina): Are you a prophet? He said to them: I am no prophet, neither a prophet's son, but I say this: Should the offspring of this righteous man perish by the very thing he labours at? Rabbi Aha said: All the same his daughter⁶⁰ died of thirst.

In all the healing stories of Hanina's, prayer is the effective power. Indeed many of the stories preserved about him concern prayer. Whether he spent three hours in prayer is not clear; Vermes reckons that he did⁶¹.

Nehoniah was a digger of cisterns for visitors and pilgrims to Jerusalem⁶², which is one of the reasons for dating Hanina's activity to the pre-Destruction era. The issue at stake is whether a good deed can engender evil; according to Hanina it cannot. Nevertheless there is a disparaging comment from Rabbi Aha which destroys the logion of Hanina. The clear reference to the Akeda is paralleled by Vermes with the statement וְהָיָה בְּיָמָיו made by Rabbi Aha in the story of the healing of Gamaliel's son.

The fact that this story is not preserved in the yTalmud in Hanina's

name is illustrative of the possibility that many of these stories were in an oral tradition before being fixed to one person.

Reference has already been made to the parallels that exist between Hanina and Elijah, although Hanina is not able to raise the dead as Elijah is. A further parallel is to be found in the sending of Ahab's wife to Ahijah the Shilonite (I Ki. xiv 1-18)⁶³.

Another set of healing miracles is attributed to Hanina ben Dosa, all of them linked to mBer. 5:1, and involving snakes, and further examples of Hanina's prayer⁶⁴. The stories, although illustrative of the mishna, are apothegmatic in pattern, as they rely on the sayings contained in them to generate the narrative details⁶⁵.

mBer. 5:1 The ancient Hasidim used to pause and recite Tephilla when they had directed their hearts to their Father in Heaven. Even though the king salutes him, he shall not return his greeting; even though a snake is wound round his heel, he shall not interrupt (his prayer).

The mishna is illustrated in the yTalmud and Tosephta, with a variant story preserved in the bTalmud, and an allusion in the Midrash Rabba.

yBer. 5:1 It is told about Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa, that he was
(9a) bitten one day by a lizard (לַרְבֵּרֵב) while he was praying. He was not interrupted. They departed and found the same lizard dead at the opening of its hole. They said: Woe to the man bitten by a lizard, but woe to the lizard that has bitten Hanina ben Dosa!

tBer. 3:20 They said of Hanina ben Dosa that he was standing and praying and a lizard (לַרְבֵּרֵב)⁶⁶ bit him, and he did not stop. His disciples found it dead, and said, "Woe to the man whom a lizard bites, but woe to the lizard that bites Hanina ben Dosa!"

The translation of the words לַרְבֵּרֵב and לַרְבֵּרֵב as lizard/snake is based upon their use in bHul. 127a, where they mean a cross between a lizard and a snake. The important point is that it was a poisonous reptile. The issue at stake is that no evil can befall a holy man⁶⁷.

It is clear from the subsequent discussion in the Palestinian recension that the later rabbis were trying to weaken the power Hanina ben

Dosa was pictured as having.

"If a man reaches water first, the snake dies; but if the snake reaches water first, the man dies."

Thus Hanina's miraculous survival is not due to his piety, but to his speed: that this contradicts the story is clear.

Rabbi Isaac ben Eleazar said: The Holy One Blessed be He created for him a spring under the soles of his feet to fulfil that which is written: He implements the desire of those who fear him, he hears their cry and saves them (Ps. cxiv 19).

This last comment saves the difficulties encountered between the story and the first interpretation⁶⁸.

The role of Hanina's disciples here is important. In the Palestinian version we read:

His disciples (pupils) said to him: Rabbi, did you not feel it? He said to them: May evil befall me if in the concentration of my heart I even felt it.

This reflects the customary modesty attributed to holy men in miracle narratives, and especially Hanina ben Dosa as we have seen above.

Safrai discusses this episode in detail⁶⁹. He points out that the mishna is contradictory to the accepted halaka which does not require death rather than transgression of the commands. He then presents the story as it is preserved in the Midrash Yelammedenu⁷⁰. In this the "hissing snake" is identified with the government (Roman) and in the same way as the snake kills, so the government kills. However, we find that in this version the pupils ran away, and later returned to find the snake dead, and Hanina very much alive⁷¹.

The bTalmud version of the snake story is different and exists to preserve the logion of Hanina⁷².

Our Rabbis taught: In a certain place there once was a lizard (לָרָבִי) which used to injure people. They came and told Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa. He said to them: Show me its hole. They showed him its hole, and he put his heel over the hole, and the lizard came out and bit him, and it died. He put it on his

shoulder and brought it to the Beth ha-Midrash and said to them: See, my sons, it is not the lizard that kills, it is sin that kills! On that occasion they said: Woe to the man whom a lizard meets, but woe to the lizard which Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa meets!

These stories reveal certain aspects of the Galilean state of affairs in the first century. First, the lack of scruple shown by Hanina in bringing the carcass of the lizard to the Beth ha -Midrash. Secondly, the reference to a Beth ha-Midrash in Galilee. Although scholars have argued that there were no schools in Galilee before the second century A.D.⁷³, it must be noted that Johanan ben Zakkai had some kind of school, and it is probably the continuation of this that is referred to here. However, it is quite possible that the reference is an anachronism.

The story is used by Büchler⁷⁴, Safrai⁷⁵ and Vermes⁷⁶ to emphasise the Hasidic qualities of Hanina ben Dosa. This lends weight to Finkelstein's thesis that the Galileans were not interested in the scholarly urbane traditions of the Pharisees; rather they preferred to follow the Hasidic miracle workers. This is exemplified in the N.T., but has also been indicated in the rise of the Fourth Philosophy. Judas of Galilee was prepared to take action against the foreign rulers of Palestine, unlike the Sadducees and the majority of the Pharisees.

This tradition of Hanina ben Dosa was taken up in Ex.r 3:12 (on Ex. iv 3):

And Moses fled from before it, another reason of his flight is because he had sinned by his words. Had he not sinned he would not have fled, for it is not the serpent that brings death but sin, as it is written in the story of Hanina ben Dosa.

A variant of this logion is found in Mid. Mishle, from the eighth century⁷⁷:

Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa says: Nothing but righteousness in Torah delivers [a man] from the province of Gehenna, therefore it is written, But righteousness delivereth from death. Rejoice that righteousness delivers from the judgement day.

Several trends have emerged from the healing traditions of Hanina

ben Dosa. The traditions ascribe miraculous power to the lower rather than the higher, and secondly they indicate that the miracle is achieved through prayer, rather than through the person⁷⁸. This latter point is probably the most important distinction to be made between the miracles of Hanina ben Dosa and those of Jesus.

(b) Hanina ben Dosa as Miracle Worker

There are many miracles ascribed to Hanina ben Dosa in the rabbinic writings, and particular attention must be paid to the "Hanina Stratum" which is found in bTa'an. 24b-25a, which contains most of the Hanina materials⁷⁹.

The "tractate" has the following form:

- (i) The Rain Miracle (bYom, 53b).
- (ii) The Bath Kol and the saying of Rab (bHul 86a, bBer.17b).
- (iii) The Story of the Wicked Neighbour.
- (iv) The Golden Leg from Heaven.
- (v) The Vinegar in the Lamp.
- (vi) The Goats that brought home bears on their horns.
- (vii) Aiku's House.
- (viii) Halachic discussion on the keeping of Goats, and the miracle of the hens.

The importance of this tractate is that it contains the legends upon which the later character assessments of Hanina are based⁸⁰, for example these traditions:

"When Hanina ben Dosa died men of good deeds ceased." mSot 9:15;
and the variant reading in Mek. Amalek 4:67,

Rabbi Eleazer of Modi'im says ... men of truth like Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa and his companions⁸¹,

According to Rashi, and many of the nineteenth century writers, Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa got his name as an אנשי דעות because of his miracles⁸². This position was challenged by A. Büchler in his work Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety. His basic position is that the title

אנשי דעות (men of deed) does not denote "miracle workers"; rather that the term אנשי דעות without further definition did not denote

"miracle", but the practice of religious duties:

the word standing by itself without the addition of the essential qualifying noun $\square' \circ \square$ or a synonym of it never denotes a miracle⁸³.

Essentially the aim of Büchler, and later Safrai, is to counter a nineteenth century trend to equate the $\eta \omega \gamma \lambda \ ' \omega \square \eta$ with miracle working Essenes⁸⁴. Much of the work of the early scholars has been invalidated, however, by the recent work on the Essenes as a result of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus we may conclude that when the phrase

$\eta \omega \gamma \lambda \ ' \omega \square \eta$ is used of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa and his companions it is not exclusively in the sense of a miracle worker, but in the same sense as it would have been used of Jesus in the N.T. where we read $\alpha \nu \eta \rho$ $\mu \rho \phi \eta \tau \eta \varsigma$ $\delta \upsilon \nu \alpha \tau \acute{\omicron} \varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon} \nu$ $\acute{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \omega$ ⁸⁵. For several of the miracles of Jesus the word $\acute{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \alpha$ is used⁸⁶.

Vermes further points out that the statement, "When Rabbi X died, virtue A ceased", is stereotyped and must mean that Hanina was regarded as the greatest of the "Men of deed" rather than the last⁸⁷. One criticism of Büchler's theory is that Hanina ben Dosa does not emerge as a man of scrupulous religiosity in the Pharisaic sense, but in certain aspects of the religious life of the time Hanina emerges as more scrupulous than most.

(i) The Rain Miracle

Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa was journeying on the road when it began to rain. He exclaimed: Master of the Universe, the whole world is at ease, but Hanina is in distress; the rain then ceased. When he reached home he exclaimed: Master of the Universe the whole world is distressed and Hanina is at ease; whereupon rain fell. [With reference to this incident] Rabbi Joseph remarked: Of what avail was the prayer of the High Priest [on the Day of Atonement] against that of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa?

There are parallels in this story between Elijah, Hanina and Honi the Circler (another member of the Hasidic tradition). Before discussing

these it may be noted that there is here a further example of the power of Hanina's prayer; which Rabbi Joseph claimed was stronger than that of the High Priest.

There is also here a further link between Elijah and Hanina ben Dosa. We learn from I Ki. xviii 41-45⁸⁸ that it was through Elijah's prayer that rain came after the long drought. There is also a link between Hanina and another Hasid, Honi the Circler. Honi died in the civil war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus⁸⁹, but there exists a tradition which involves his control over rain. He prayed for rain, but when it did not come he drew a circle round himself and refused to leave until the rain fell in accordance with his wishes⁹⁰. However, there are certain differences. Elijah and Hanina needed nothing more than their prayer to bring about rain and the fact that Honi drew a circle may indicate underlying incantational practice⁹¹. J. Goldin has considered the act of drawing a circle, and states that it may not have incantational undertones, but is to be compared with the drawing of a circle round Antiochus IV Epiphanes by Popilius when presenting an ultimatum⁹²,

This link with Honi is very interesting because of the circumstances in which he died. According to Josephus he died because he refused to curse Aristobolus. If this is correct then it indicates that Hasidic tradition supported the Hasmonaeen rulers. As Hasidic tradition may be traced back to the Maccabees and the $\square\prime\tau\prime\omicron\eta$ ('Ασιδαίωρ),⁹³ then this too provides an important link between the Hasmonaeans and the Galileans, as it appears that Hasidic tradition was strong in Galilee. Although this is not^{to} go so far as to suggest that Galilee was the only place in Palestine that was influenced by the Hasidim.

(ii) The Bath Kol and the Saying of Rab

This is preserved in three almost identical recensions:

Rab Judah said in the name of Rab: Every day a heavenly voice is heard declaring, The whole world draws its sustenance because of the merit of Hanina my son, and Hanina my son suffices himself with a kab of carobs from one sabbath eve to another.

Although many of the traditions preserved in this "tractate" are Aramaic, this statement is preserved in Hebrew (with one minor Aramaism) in bBer 17b, and it probably goes back to Tana'itic times⁹⁴. It is an example of how cosmic events are able to take place as a result of religious merit, although Hanina is nowhere particularly designated as an ascetic; rather, his lack of acquisitiveness is taken by Vermes to indicate that he is a Hasid par excellence⁹⁵. The Mek. passage referred to above continues:

Men of Truth: such as Hanina ben Dosa and his companions.
Those who hate evil gain: since they hated their own property, all the more did they hate the property of others.

There is here a parallel between Hanina and Jesus, the latter being depicted in the Gospels with fearless honesty and a total lack of acquisitiveness, and a reliance upon God for everything⁹⁶, thus providing another important argument for Hasidic influence in Galilee. The insistence upon God as provider and saviour may have led in part to the fact that the Galileans became the leaders of the fight against Roman domination.

Of the saying itself certain important factors emerge. First, the saying is in the mouth of Rab who, according to Vermes, took a great interest in Galilean affairs of the Tanna'itic times, although he himself lived c. 200 A.D.⁹⁷

Secondly, the use of the Bath Kol here⁹⁸. In later Judaism the Bath Kol was a substitute for prophecy:

tSot. 12:2 When the latter prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi died, the Holy Spirit departed from Israel; nevertheless they were informed by means of a Bath Kol⁹⁹.

This is best paralleled by the $\phi\omega\nu\eta\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ which is manifested at the baptism of Jesus. It is noteworthy here that Jesus too is described as "my son". There are allied problems in the Baptismal narrative as to whether the voice was an epiphany, as Dibelius argues¹⁰⁰; or, as Barrett has argued, an adoption formula¹⁰¹. בְּרֵיתִי קוֹל (Aramaic בְּרֵיתִי קוֹל) means literally "daughter of a voice", and its meaning in use ranges from vox, verbum, to "echo", "heavenly voice"¹⁰². The phrase does not occur in the O.T.; the nearest equivalent is in Dan. iv 28 (LXX. iv 31) where we read

$\text{קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם} = \text{LXX } \phi\omega\nu\eta\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$

The קִלְיֹת הַתּוֹרָה which occurs many times in the O.T. is a terminus technicus almost equivalent to the law of God (תּוֹרַת הַתּוֹרָה), refusal to obey the קִלְיֹת הַתּוֹרָה will result in punishment¹⁰³. The only example of a

קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם typology occurs in connection with Elijah in I Ki. ix 12 where after the physical manifestations Elijah hears the קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם . This is assuming with Blau¹⁰⁴ that the קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם is not a psychological phenomenon, but is in fact a physical voice¹⁰⁵. It is not possible here to go into all the details of the קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם traditions, merely to note the important points for this study. First there is a further link in the chain of tradition linking Hanina ben Dosa and Jesus to Elijah, secondly, as the קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם soon lost favour among the rabbis¹⁰⁶ the continued association of Hanina ben Dosa with the קוֹלֵי שָׁמַיִם may have been another reason for the lack of interest of the later rabbis in him.

There is a further parallel between Hanina ben Dosa and Honi the Circler: they are both described as גִּבּוֹר , (although Honi is described as גִּבּוֹר גִּבּוֹר , which is a rare occurrence in rabbinic writings.

The connections between Elijah, Honi, Hanina and Jesus may now be discussed. Honi and Elijah are positively linked in Gen.r 13:7:

"There is no man like Elijah and Honi to bring mankind to the service of God."

By the same token, Jesus was linked with Elijah by some of his contemporaries¹⁰⁷. Another rabbinic dictum emphasises the links between Hanina and Elijah, as in bBer 61b we read:

Raba said: The world was created only either for the totally wicked or the totally righteous. Raba said: Let a man know concerning himself whether he is righteous or not! Rab said: The world was created only for Ahab, son of Omri and for Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa; for Ahab son of Omri this world and for Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa the future world.

The link is clear, Elijah's old protagonist is juxtaposed with Hanina.

Finally in this discussion the question to Hanina after his healing miracles, "Are you a prophet?", may be reflective of the link.

When it is considered that Elijah's most spectacular miracle was effected upon Mount Carmel, the place where the Galileans joined with Aristobulus against Herod, there is good reason to suppose that Elijah played an important part in Galilean traditions.

It is well known that Elijah in later tradition had an eschatological role as the forerunner of the Messiah, as the leaving of a spare place at the Passover Meal illustrates¹⁰⁸. However, certain tendencies would point towards the possibility that in Galilean tradition the Messiah was expected to be a second Elijah figure.

In Mal. 4:5 we read:

Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes.
6. And he will turn the hearts of children to their fathers lest I come and smite the land with a curse.

This tradition is taken up in Sir. xlviii 10¹⁰⁹:

You who are ready at the appointed time as it is written, to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the heart of the father toward the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob.

In Is. xlix 6 the task of restoring the "tribes of Jacob" is one belonging to the Servant of the Lord, thus it is quite likely that both Malachi and Sirach here envisage Elijah as the Messiah¹¹⁰. Now it may well be, therefore, that the Galileans had this view of Elijah. They did not necessarily expect the return of Elijah the Tishbite redivivus, rather one who was in the spirit and power of Elijah, for their Messiah¹¹¹.

This is not totally an argumentum ex silentio. The evidence for this view lies in the possible reason for the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth¹¹². Matt. xi 14 clearly states that Jesus regarded Elijah as a forerunner, and that he saw this forerunner as John the Baptist. Now if the Galileans were looking for an Elijah figure as their Messiah, then Jesus was not what they expected. He did not challenge the government of the day, as Elijah had done¹¹³. Nevertheless, the use of the word προεφητευσας may indicate that Jesus tried to show that he was the Messiah, but that the Galileans were looking for the wrong things¹¹⁴.

The implication of this is that John the Baptist may have been regarded as the Messiah among certain Galileans (Matt. xi 9). This may well be the case, and could well underlie the fact that Antipas had him imprisoned.

Finally reference may be made to the traditional link between Phineas and Elijah. Phineas as a zealot par excellence was regarded as a forerunner to the zealots in the first century A.D. In later tradition he was linked from time to time with Elijah¹¹⁵.

Despite the numerous ideological links between Elijah and Hanina ben Dosa it does not finally prove that Galilean Messianic hope awaited a second Elijah figure, but in the light of the activities of the Galileans in the first century A.D. it may well be the case. Vermes does not go so far as to postulate that the Galileans were hoping for a second Elijah figure: he emphasises the fact that it was Elijah the

miracle worker that was associated in the minds of Hanina ben Dosa's contemporaries with the Galilean miracle worker¹¹⁶. Nevertheless, the numerous times he was asked, "Are you a prophet?" does indicate that some type of prophetic figure was expected.

If the above hypothesis is correct, it explains the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth, and accounts for the numerous Elijah traditions that were associated with Galilee.

(iii) The Bread Miracle¹¹⁷

Every Friday his wife would light the oven and throw twigs into it so as not to be put to shame. She had a bad neighbour who said: I know these people have nothing, what then is the meaning of all this [smoke]? She went and knocked at the door. [The wife of Rabbi Hanina] feeling humiliated [at this] retired into a room. A miracle happened and [her neighbour] saw the oven filled with loaves of bread, and the kneading trough full of dough; she called out to her: You, you bring your shovel for your bread is getting charred; and she replied: I just went to fetch it. A Tanna taught: She actually went to fetch the shovel because she was used to miracles.

As usual the Hebrew comment presupposes the story, and the baraita covers up the unworthy action of his wife¹¹⁸. Although a literary connection is out of the question, Fiebig parallels this story with the feeding of the five thousand, and with the story of Elisha in II Ki. iv 42 ff. Apart from the link between Elijah/Elisha and Hanina, the story does not have any significance for the study of the Galileans. Nevertheless, it shows the element of miracle played an important part in the life of Hanina.

These miracles to Hanina's wife led an independent tradition to be formed which described her as an inheritor in the world to come¹¹⁹.

(iv) The Golden Leg¹²⁰

Once his wife said to him: How long shall we go on suffering so much? He replied: What shall we do? - Pray that something may be given to you [she replied]. He prayed, and there emerged the figure of a hand reaching out to him a leg of a golden table. Thereupon he¹²¹ saw in a dream that the pious would one day eat at

a three legged table, but he would eat at a two legged table. Her husband said to her: Are you content that everybody shall eat at a perfect table and we at an imperfect table? [She replied]: What then shall we do? - Pray that the leg should be taken away from you [she replied]. He prayed and it was taken away. A Tanna taught: The latter miracle was greater than the former; for there is a tradition that a thing may be given, but once given it is never taken away again.

An addition in the Yel. Ex. 11b states that this gift is an instalment of Hanina's future reward¹²². Although Hanina was not an ascetic as such, it is clear that he and his family lived in poverty. This miracle is a further example of the power of Hanina's prayer, which he never used to benefit himself¹²³.

(v) The Miracle of the Lamp

One Friday eve he noticed that his daughter was sad and he said to her, My daughter, why are you sad? She replied: My oil can got mixed up with my vinegar can and I kindled of it the Sabbath Light. He said to her: My daughter, why should this trouble you? He who commanded the oil to burn will also command the vinegar to burn. A Tanna taught: The light continued to burn the whole day, until they took of it the light for the Habdalah¹²⁴.

The Tannaitic comment in this story would lend weight to the theory that these stories were preserved at an early stage in oral tradition. There is in this story a parallel with Elijah and the widow of Zar'epath (I Ki.17:8-16), and it may also be paralleled with the Hanukah Wonder narrated in bShab. 21b. Vermes has further suggested that there is a link between this miracle and the miracle of the Wedding Feast at Cana (John ii 1-10)¹²⁵. Although the parallels are weak there may be some connection, and it may be noted that this is the second parallel that has been made between the "Signs Source" in John, and the stories of Hanina ben Dosa.

(vi) The Goats that Brought Home Bears on Their Horns

R. Hanina ben Dosa had goats. On being told that they were doing damage he exclaimed: If they indeed do damage may bears devour them, but if not may each of them at evening-tide bring home a bear on their horns. In the evening each of them brought home a bear on their horns.

This story raises two interesting points: first Hanina's apparent indulgence in possessing goats, and secondly the obvious disregard of mB.K. 7:7:

"they may not rear small cattle in the land of Israel".

These are answered by the story which in the "tractate" follows the miracle of Aiku's house.

Whence did Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa have goats seeing that he was poor? And furthermore, did not the sages say: We may not rear small cattle in Palestine? Rabbi Phineas said: Once it happened that a man passed by his house and left there hens and the wife of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa found them. Her husband, however, forbade her to eat of their eggs. As the eggs and the chickens increased in number he was very troubled by them and he therefore sold them and with the proceeds he purchased goats. One day the man who lost the hens passed by the house again and said to his companions: Here I left my hens. Rabbi Hanina overhearing this asked him: Have you got any sign by which to identify them? He replied: Yes. He gave him the sign and took away the goats. These were the goats that brought bears on their horns.

The Rabbi Phineas referred to here is Rabbi Phineas bar Hama, a fourth century Amora¹²⁶. The implication made here by Vermes that the questioner is associating Hanina ben Dosa with the ר' חנינא בן דוסא since, according to mDem. 2:3 the Galilean ר' ר' ר' ר' kept this mishna, must be considered¹²⁷. If the question of Hanina's levitical purity is raised, then this reflects a typical rabbinic attempt to show that the Galileans were at all times unclean, and, moreover, appeared to make no effort to become so. However with Hanina this fails, although he was not as scrupulous as he could have been in certain matters, but in this instance he did not necessarily break any ordinance, as his act of keeping goats may be linked with the ordinance in tB.K. 8:14 which enacted that small cattle could be kept in Galilee, even if they had to cross arable land¹²⁸. It may further be questioned whether Hanina ben Dosa would have been admitted to the "Associates" in Galilee if there had been any groups in Galilee in the first century A.D.

(vii) Aiku's House

Once a woman neighbour of Rabbi Hanina was building a house but the beams would not reach the walls. She thereupon came to him and said: I have built a house but the beams will not reach the walls. He asked her: What is your name? She replied: Aiku. He thereupon exclaimed: Aiku, may your beams reach [the walls]. A Tanna taught: They projected one cubit on either side. Some say, new pieces joined themselves [miraculously] to the beams. It has been taught: Polemo says: I saw that house and its beams projected one cubit on either side, and the people told me: This is the house which Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa covered with beams, through his prayer.

Although this story has many anomalies¹²⁹, we have here a further example of the power of Hanina's prayer. The quasi-command of Hanina may have reflected the fact that he was God's agent as well as being an intercessor¹³⁰. There is a parallel here between the quasi-commands of Jesus and that of Hanina, especially those concerned with devils.

The two baraitas must now be considered. Vermes translates the first as, "Others say they made joins", which detracts from the miraculous power of Hanina, but the statement of Polemo¹³¹ more than compensates for this. There is here perhaps the best example of the possibility of a local Galilean tradition preserving the stories of Hanina ben Dosa. The statement by Polemo preserves the local tradition, and the fact that he was there at all may reflect some type of pilgrimage to the place of the miracle.

The Ta'anith "tractate" contains most of the Hanina materials but other stories are preserved elsewhere, and these will now be discussed.

bPes. 112b Igrath and Hanina

And do not go out at night alone, for it was taught: One should not go out alone at night i.e. on the nights of neither Wednesday nor Sabbaths, because of Igrath the daughter of Mahalath, she and one hundred and eighty thousand destroying angels go forth, and each has permission to wreak destruction independently. Originally they were about all day: On one occasion she met Hanina ben Dosa [and] said to him: Had they not made an announcement concerning you in Heaven, "Take heed, Hanina and his learning", I would have put you in danger. "If I am of account in Heaven", replied he, "I order you never to pass through settled

regions." "I beg you", she pleaded, "leave me a little room." So he left her the nights of Sabbaths and the nights of Wednesdays.

This story was popular among the rabbis¹³² and it is a further example of the attribution of tales in oral tradition to various rabbis. Apart from the moral precept of not going out at night, there are parallels between this story and that of the Gadarene swine in the Gospels¹³³. In the latter there is demonstrated the power of Jesus over evil spirits, the quasi-command, the appeal of the spirits to go elsewhere and the permission to do so given. These parallels, while they do not allow too much to be built upon them in the sense of literary dependence, indicate that the story of the Gadarene swine may have borrowed from the Jewish tradition certain elements of its structure¹³⁴. The parallels are weakened by the explicit references in the Gospels to the fact that Jesus was out of Galilee at the time; however, this may reflect editorial activity to weaken the links between Hanina and Jesus.

In the rabbis the doctrine of angels was a development of O.T. ideas and the concept of good and bad angels was strong in the second generation of the Tanna'im¹³⁵. Fiebig argues that the story here may be further paralleled to the temptation of Christ, where Jesus converses with the devil¹³⁶.

Finally in this section we are to discuss certain traditions concerning Hanina, which in particular refer to the levitical law and tithing. It has been seen that the Galileans were not as scrupulous as the Judaeans in their tithing, yet Hanina stands out among them as exemplifying a certain strictness in such matters, although in the eyes of many Pharisees he would have fallen far short of the required standard.

yDem. 1:3 (22a) The Miraculous Warning

One sabbath night, when Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa was sitting down to eat, his table collapsed. They said to him: What is this?

She (his wife) said to him: I have borrowed spices from my neighbour, but have not tithed them. He caused it to be remembered a second time and the table rose again.

Apart from the story of the healing of Gamaliel's son, this is the only miracle preserved in the yTalmud. Although as a Galilean his tithing would have been suspect, this may be an example of Hanina's followers preserving a story of his exactness in levitical matters. This is further developed in ARN.A¹³⁷ where we read that even his ass would not eat untithed fodder.

Once the ass of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa was stolen by brigands. They tied up the ass in a yard, and put before it straw and barley and water. But it would not eat or drink. They said: "Why should we let it die and befoul our yard?" So forthwith they opened the gate before it and drove it out. It walked along braying until it reached the house of Rabbi ben Dosa. When it reached his house his son heard its voice. "Father," he said, "this sounds like our beast." Said Rabbi ben Dosa to him: "My son, open the door for it, for it has almost died of hunger." He arose and opened the door, and put before it straw, barley and water, and it ate and drank. Therefore it was said: Even as the righteous of old were saintly so were their beasts saintly like their masters.

This is an old development and probably derives from a Hasidic saying preserved in bShab 112b¹³⁸:

Rabbi Zera said in Rabbi ben Zimina's name: If the earlier scholars were sons of angels, we are sons of men; and if the earlier scholars were sons of men, we are like asses; and not even like the asses of Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa and Rabbi Phineas ben Jair, but like other asses.

This scrupulous tithing on the part of Hanina may be further linked with his observance of the sabbath¹³⁹:

"The ass drivers going from Arab to Sepphoris said, Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa has already begun the sabbath in his town." The preservation of the Sabbath was a Hasidic principle and there is here further indication, therefore, that there was Hasidic influence in Galilee¹⁴⁰.

Finally in this section it is necessary to discuss a tradition of Hanina ben Dosa's preserved only in the Mishnah Rabbah. It is preserved

in two recensions¹⁴¹ and is based on Prov. xxii 29.

Seest thou a man diligent in his business: This applies to Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa. It is related that once seeing the men of his town taking burnt offerings and peace offerings to Jerusalem, he exclaimed: All of them take peace offerings up to Jerusalem, and I can take up nothing! What am I to do? Forthwith he went out to the desert land near his town (to the waste ground of his town)¹⁴² and found there a stone, which he went and chiselled and polished and painted, and then he said: I vow to take this up to Jerusalem. He wanted to engage some carriers, and said to them: Will you take this stone up to Jerusalem for me? They said: Pay us a hundred gold coins and we will take your stone up to Jerusalem for you. He replied, And whence am I to get a hundred gold coins, or even fifty, to give you? He could not raise the money just then, and they went away. Straightway the Holy One Blessed be He, placed in his way five angels in the form of men. They said to him: Master give us five Sela's and we will take your stone up to Jerusalem, only you must help us. He made ready to help them, and immediately they found themselves standing in Jerusalem. He wanted to pay them but could not find them. The incident was reported in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, and they said to him: It would appear, sir, that ministering angels brought up your stone to Jerusalem. Forthwith he gave the sages the sum which he had agreed to pay the angels.

This late tradition gives the best clue to the fact that Hanina flourished before the fall of the Second Temple, and also illustrates that the "ban formula" in Galilee was directed to the Temple, rather than the priests. The provision of the ministering angels (אלות כ"ה) is yet another parallel with Jesus¹⁴³.

In conclusion to this section on Hanina as miracle worker we may quote the words of J. Neusner¹⁴⁴:

We have (in rabbinic writings) remarkably few devotional legends, though the materials about Hanina ben Dosa's praying, eating and other habits ... may be compared to biblical "Stories with religious tendency and edifying form", about holy persons. Legends of the prophets may be compared as a type to biographical narratives about rabbis, but only in a general way. The forms are entirely unrelated ... the biblical stories which show heroes vis à vis the great events of history or in the process of working great wonders, or relate to their religious and spiritual life e.g. Elijah at Horeb, have no rabbinic-Pharisaic equivalent.

Thus from the point of view of form there may be no equivalence between Hanina and Elijah. However, Neusner clouds the issue by his methodology as he does not allow for all the possible influences upon the rabbinic

narratives. Thus even if the arguments about Elijah's influence and importance in local Galilean tradition are unproven, the parallels are too strong and numerous to be discounted on the grounds of "form".

(c) Hanina ben Dosa as Teacher

Hanina made no major contribution to the Jewish teaching of the period in which he lived¹⁴⁵, but it may be noted that Johanan ben Zakkai during his Galilean period made no major contributions either. These facts accord with Finkelstein's thesis and that which was argued above, that the Galileans had little time for the teaching of the Pharisees. There are extant five utterances of Hanina, two of them in mAb. and three elsewhere.

(i) mAb. 3:10 Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa said: He whose fear of sin comes before his wisdom, his wisdom endures; but he whose wisdom comes before his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure. He used to say: He whose works exceed his wisdom, his wisdom endures, but he whose wisdom exceeds his works, his wisdom does not endure.

In ARN.A 22 this is given alongside Ps. cxi 10, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"¹⁴⁶. This mishna shows the dominant aspect of the religion of Hanina, and it is typically Galilean in character, immensely practical. Vermes writes that it advocated "a positive performance of good deeds in such a way that even their potential content of sin is avoided"¹⁴⁷. In this context there is mention in the mishna (mShek 5:6) of a "Chamber of Secrets", where beneficiaries of charity could help themselves without having to face the donors; and the donors could not then be accused of vanity, or glory-seeking. This may have been a Galilean trait, and is reflected in the teaching of Jesus¹⁴⁸:

Beware of practising your piety before men in order to be seen by them; for then you will have no reward from your father in heaven.

The second part of the mishna concerns the traditional accent placed upon religious expertise being useless without practical actions; there is a

parallel here with the Epistle of James, that faith without works is dead¹⁴⁹.

This mishna is also preserved in ARN B (Schechter p. 35):

Any man whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom shall endure at the end; but if his wisdom precedes his fear of sin, he shall not endure at the end. If his deeds exceed his wisdom, he shall endure at the end; but if his wisdom exceeds his deeds, he shall not endure at the end.

The wisdom referred to here was taken by Friedländer to be $\pi\lambda\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$ in a Gnostic sense. This ^{is} far fetched, however¹⁵⁰. It is more likely to be $\aleph \lambda \omega \aleph$ in the sense of "Torah Piety", reflected in such statements as "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom". However, of more importance is the "works" used here. It has already been established that Hanina as one of the $\aleph \omega \gamma \lambda \omega \aleph$ was remembered for his $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha$. This being the case, it is possible that this logion of Hanina may underlie the logion of Jesus given in Matt. xi 19 $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta \eta \sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha \lambda\omicron\mu\omicron \tau\omega\nu \epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$. $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ is read by $\aleph B, W$ sy^P, whereas the version given in Luke is $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\nu$ and this is read by $D, \Theta, f1, f13, pl, latt, sy^{sc}, \zeta; R^m$. It is generally regarded by commentators that the Lukan version is correct as only \aleph reads $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ ¹⁵¹. However, if the underlying element of this logion is the statement by Hanina, then Q may have originally read $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ and Luke has altered it to fit in with the wisdom imagery. Jeremias contends that there may be an underlying Aramaism, and that the two versions go back to one Aramaic expression. $\tau\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ is in Aramaic $\aleph \omega \gamma \lambda \omega$, the pre-Lukan tradition mistakenly hearing $\aleph \omega \gamma \lambda \omega$ would have rendered this with $\omicron\iota \pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, which was later emended to $\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$.

This is a conceivable though complicated progress¹⁵². If the latter were the case, it emphasises that in the earliest tradition "works" was preserved.

mAb. 3:11 He used to say: He in whom the spirit of mankind finds pleasure, in him the spirit of God finds pleasure; but he in whom the spirit of mankind finds no pleasure, in him the spirit of God finds no pleasure.

ARN.A. adds, "as it is said 'We will do and study hereafter'. (Ex. xxiv 7). The phrase 'the spirit of mankind' (רוח פלובג' בוחת ה א'ני) is associated with morally good actions, thus R. Travers Herford is somewhat erroneous when he writes: "Hanina was a mystic and probably he is teaching here the doctrine of correspondence between things in heaven and the things on earth"¹⁵³. Rather, when all three sayings of Hanina are taken together they reveal a religion which is inspired by gentle devotion and kindness towards his fellows; as in the stories, he appears not as an austere ascetic, but as a true Hasid with a love for mankind¹⁵⁴.

Above we read of an example of the re-attributing of material concerned with Hanina; again in this instance in tBer. 3:3 the sayings are attributed to Rabbi Aquiba and Rabbi Judah ben Elai. In P.R.E. there are two examples of late and spurious biblical exegeses being attributed to Hanina. P.R.E. xxix reads:

Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa says: To all who are circumcised on the third day, he is like a Father (אב); as it is written, "On the third day when they were in pain (אב ים)" (Gen. xxxiv 25).

Friedman in his translation¹⁵⁵ missed the pun between אב and אב ים which was pointed out by Vermes¹⁵⁶, who goes on to suggest that this is a tacit approval of proselytism¹⁵⁷.

P.R.E. xxxi:

Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa says: Nothing proceeding from the ram was useless. The ashes of that ram constitute the foundation on which the innermost altar stands; for it is written, "On its horns Aaron shall atone once a year" (Ex. xxx 10). Its ten tendons correspond to the ten cords of the lyre on which David played. The skin of the ram girded the loins of Elijah; for it is written "And they said to him, a hairy man whose loins are girded with a girdle of skin." (I Ki. i 8). Of the two horns of the ram, the sound of the left one was heard on Mount Sinai; for it is written, "And there was the sound of the shofar." (Ex. ix 19). The right horn is greater than the left, and will be blown in the age to come when the exiles will be gathered in; for it is written, "On that day he will blow the great shofar." (Is. xxvii 13).

The messianic overtones of this passage are clear and it would be wrong to

make much of the specific mention of Elijah in connection with Hanina.

The final "utterance" of Hanina ben Dosa is in Midrash Mishle xi 3 (Buber ed. 34b):

Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa says: Nothing but righteousness in Torah delivers man from the province of Gehenna¹⁵⁸, therefore it was written: But righteousness delivereth from death. Rejoice that righteousness delivers from the judgement day.

Although this work is dated to the eighth century, two things may point to the fact that this saying may be genuine. First, the doctrine of Gehenna appears in Johanan ben Zakkai's teaching, and it is not unlikely then that Hanina as Johanan's disciple would have adopted such a teaching; secondly, the axiom here stated is not so unlike the teachings given in mAb. and that preserved in the Babylonian recension of the snake miracle¹⁵⁹.

(d) Hanina ben Dosa's Functional Identity

The traditions about Hanina having been presented, it is now necessary to assess the role Hanina played in Galilean affairs in the first century.

The first, and perhaps most important, is that Hanina's traditions have been Pharisaised. Although Büchler stated¹⁶⁰: "As he is invariably quoted with the title of Rabbi, he was a fully qualified scholar; ... he himself had a school and disciples," the more recent painstaking work of Neusner has shown¹⁶¹:

... if Hanina had appeared in non rabbinic sources, e.g. in Hellenistic Jewish writings or New Testament Apocryphal Gospels, we should not have called him a Pharisee, and none of the stories about him is quintessentially Pharisaic.

Vermes further has shown by paralleling the fact that Jesus is referred to in the Gospels as Rabbi or $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon$, that Hanina was not a Pharisee on the grounds Büchler suggested¹⁶²; elsewhere¹⁶³ he examines the relationship between the titles רַבִּי , רַבִּינָא and רַב (κύριος) and concludes that they are interchangeable, and that either designation could be used of the first century miracle workers.

Further to this, S. Safrai has shown¹⁶⁴ that Hanina was a member of the Hasidim of the first century and concludes:

As a rule those scholars who are termed Hasidim are not completely identical with the society of rabbis; despite their considerable affinity to the latter they possess characteristics individual to themselves.

Therefore, although he was a disciple of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, the traditions preserved of him are those of a "straightforward wonder worker, and even a quasi magician"¹⁶⁵; this in itself is an important pointer to the fact that the Pharisees had little following in Galilee; indeed, the Galileans preferred the simpler teaching of the Hasidim who, it appears, spoke from their own experience, hence the people of Galilee could say of Jesus: "Where does he get it from?" and "What wisdom is this that has been given to him?" (Mark vi 2 N.E.B.)

CONCLUSIONS

The whole of the rabbinic evidence has pointed to the fact that the Galileans were preservers of their own traditions, and had little time for the new and intricate regulations of the Pharisees. In this chapter we have seen this exemplified in several ways.

The very fact that there were only four teachers of any note in Galilee before the destruction of the Temple indicates that Pharisaic teaching was not carried out to any great extent. Indeed even Hanina ben Dosa was not a great proponent of Pharisaic teachings, and the ascription of the curse "Galilee, Galilee you hate the Torah, your end will be oppression by colonists", indicates this very well. Therefore it is not difficult to see that in the N.T. period the proverb could exist, "Can anything good come out of Galilee?"

The Galileans have emerged as followers of workers of wonders, and men who gave them practical advice, rather than religious philosophers.

They were interested in social duties, rather than in impractical religious rules. Nevertheless their devotion to the Temple cannot be questioned. They went to great lengths to attend the festivals, and the tradition about Hanina ben Dosa and his offering to the Temple, although late and legendary, must have historical truth behind it, i.e. that Hanina, along with other Galileans, attended the Temple for the major festivals.

The question of whether the Galileans conceived of the Messiah as a second Elijah type must be left open. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that many parallels exist in Galilean tradition between Elijah and later Galilean teachers. In the light of what has been said of the traditionalism of the Galileans, the fact that Elijah was a Northern prophet cannot be discounted when assessing Galilean affairs.

Thus the rabbinic evidence complements that of Josephus, and shows that there are good reasons to suspect that the Galileans were the leaders of the Jewish resistance against Rome because they preserved a pro-Hasmonaean tradition among their many others, and being an extremely practical people they did not stand by while the Romans wiped out the Hasmonaean throne.

NOTES - CHAPTER FIVE

1. Strack Introduction pp. 108, 300 n.6 states that Mattai is the better reading, based on yHag. 2:2 (76d). Albeck Mischna p. 392 gives both. Strack-Bill. 1 p. 536.
2. Rabbinic Traditions 3 p. 252; cf. p. 248.
3. See ARN A 8-9, Goldin pp. 49, 53.
4. Danby Mishna p. 446 n.8; Mielziner Introduction p. 22; Albeck Mischna p. 392; Lauterbach J.E. 9 p. 318a; following Frankel M.G.W.J. 1 (1852) pp. 410-13.
5. bHag. 16a; yHag. 2:2 (76d).
6. Abél Géographie II p. 249.
7. Klein suggests that it is a town near Bethlehem in Galilee, in the S.W., Jeschurun 14 (1927) p. 487. Horowitz on the other hand states that it was at the foot of Mt. Carmel, see Auerbach Mishnajot (Goldschmidt Verlag) 6 p. 562 n.23. Avi Jonah Q.D.A.P. 5 (1936) p. 145 follows Horowitz.
tMeg. 2:5 refers to אַתָּא הַכּוֹסְתָא in טיבערין
8. Avi Jonah Q.D.A.P. 5 (1936) p. 145.
9. Verzeichnis der Personnamen in der Mischna pp. 14 f.
10. Despite the assertion made by Bacher that Johanan was born in Arab, and went back to work and teach, J.E. 7 p. 214.
11. A Life of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai p. 27.
12. On the forms of the mishnot see Neusner Development of a Legend pp. 41 ff.
13. This is the traditional interpretation. Korban Adah on yDem. 6; Sifre Deut. 357, "that you will be troubled by brigands." Levy Wörterbuch 3 pp. 275 f., "Und so wirst du einst unter den Raubern Beschaeftigungsuchen" " Aruch Completum 5 p. 193 the root is le-hasik "one who steals a field" therefore "they end is to work among brigands."
14. Finkelstein Akiba p. 62, "Thine end will be seizure by the Romans." Baron Soc. and Relig. Hist. 1 p. 279, "Before long you will make common cause with the tax assessors." Allon History of the Jews, conductores.
15. Pne Moshe "that you will all be olive pickers and not masters of the Torah." J. Klausner Jesus of Nazareth "thou wilt in the end beget oppressors" (marauding Zealots in bB.Q. 116b) p. 173 n.6; Jastrow Dictionary p. 807 "one who levies contributions, oppressor" (tChol. 18:13; mB.Q. 10:5); Hengel Die Zeloten p. 56, "du wirst bald mit den Erpressen zu tun bekommen." Neusner Development of a Legend p. 133, "your end is to work in chains." H. Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 59 n.8 "thine end will be to be besieged."

16. Studies in Jewish History (ed. Oded et al.) p. VIII.
17. On mesicius, Seut. Nero 48; Thesaurus Lingua Latinae 7 col. 855; White and Riddle Dictionary 2 p. 1208.
18. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 41.
19. Neusner Rabbinic Traditions 3 p. 86.
20. J.J.S. 23 (1972) pp. 28-50; J.J.S. 24 (1973) pp. 51-64; Jesus the Jew pp. 72-78.
21. Rabbinic Traditions 1 pp. 394-6.
22. Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E. pp. 87-102.
23. Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp. 19-27. The texts he analyses are published in Rabbinische Wundergeschichten (K.T.f.V.U. 78).
24. Ben Dosa und Seine Zeit.
25. yBer. 4:1 (7c); bBer. 34b.
26. Neusner A Life of Johanan ben Zakkai pp. 27 ff.
27. Mishnah p. 799.
28. Palestinian Piety p. 8.
29. A Life of Johanan ben Zakkai p. 27.
30. J.J.S. 24 (1973) pp. 60 ff. Those who maintain a late date for Hanina ben Dosa state that the Rabbi Gamaliel referred to in the healing narrative is Gamaliel II, otherwise he would have been referred to as R. Gamaliel ha-Zaken. See further Strack-Bill. 1 p. 131, also Barrett St. John p. 208.
31. bTa'an. 24b/25a; yDem. 1:3.
32. ARN A, Goldin p. 53.
33. S. Safrai J.J.S. 16 (1965) p. 28.
34. Amidah. On the Eighteen Benedictions see Schechter Studies in Judaism II pp. 67 f.; K. Kohler H.U.C.A. 1 (1924) pp. 387 ff.; Finkelstein J.Q.R. 16 (1925/26) pp. 1-170.
35. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 29. On this benediction see I. Elbogen Der Jüdische Gottesdienst. pp. 48 f. This is the first benediction to ask for personal gain.
36. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 20.
37. Cf. its use in yBer. 5:5 (9c); Levy Wörterbuch 4 p. 509a; Jastrow Dictionary p. 1522b.
38. Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 94.

39. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 29; Strack-Bill. 1 p. 457. Bowman St. Mark p. 42 uses mBer 5:5 as a starting point to show that miracle stories occur in the haggadic portions of the Talmud.
40. Con. Vermes who states that the latter version is a remanipulated and abridged version of the baraita preserved in the Babylonian Talmud, J.J.S. 23, (1972) p. 31.
41. Cf. the spread of the fame of Jesus Mark i 28.
42. Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp. 21 ff; Strack-Bill. 2 pp. 10, 441.
43. Although the parallels between Matt. viii 5-13 and Luke vii 1-10 have been called into question by Catholic scholars, the modern trend is to accept them as being of the same origin. Bultmann St. John p. 104; R. Fortna The Gospel of Signs (S.N.T.S.M.S. 11) p. 38 n.3; and especially H. van der Loos The Miracles of Jesus (S.N.T. 9) pp. 530-32.
44. The parallel between "his town" in the y version of the Hanina story, and the emphasis on Cana in John, is indicative of the attempt to heighten the curative effect.
45. Although cf. John xi 41.
46. Jüdische Wundergeschichten p. 22.
47. Hist. of the Syn. Trad. p. 39.
48. See the story of Aesculapius at Epidaurus. Text in P. Fiebig Antike Wundergeschichten (K.T.f.V.U. 79); R. Herzog Die Wunderheilung von Epidaurus p. 17, No. 21. H. van der Loos The Miracles of Jesus (S.N.T. 9) p. 330.
49. I. Elbogen Der Jüdische Gottesdienst. p. 43.
50. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 31.
51. For example Mk. vii 1-23, but see in comparison to this Matt. v 18, where Jesus states that he has not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Neubauer Geographie p. 184 links this with the Galilean conservatism with regard to the law. See also Hoehner Herod Antipas p. 50.
52. For examples Carrington Primitive Christian Calender pp. 60 ff; W. Marxsen Mark the Evangelist p. 92, "Mark writes a Galilean Gospel." The question of the role of "Galilee" in the Gospel of Mark has been examined several times. Lohmeyer Galiläa und Jerusalem; Lightfoot Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels pp. 106-31; idem The Gospel Message of Mark App. A; G.H. Boobyer B.J.R.L. 35 (1952/3) pp. 334-348. Most recently an introduction to the problem was published by R.H. Stein N.T.S. 20 (1973/4) pp. 445-52. See now the excellent Appendix in W.D. Davies The Gospel and the Land by G. Stemberger. In this he analyses the views of Lohmeyer, Marxsen and Elliot-Binns and concludes that the supposition that "Gal^Zilee" in the Gospels had a theological connotation has no basis in fact. However he states that it was Galilean traditions of the life of Christ which dominated the early church in Jerusalem, hence the apparent importance of Galilee in the Gospels. See also Trocmé La Formation de l'Évangile p. 43.

53. Also in Gaster Ma'aseh Book No. 98; 1 p. 170.
54. Cf. bHag. 14a, "a man of influence."
55. Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 95; Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 32.
56. Dibelius From Tradition to Gospel p. 149.
57. Cf. R. Eliezer in Pesik, 192a; Bacher Tanaiten 1 pp. 150 n.4, 151 n.1; G. Scholem Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism pp. 49 f.
58. In yShek. 5:1 (48d) this story is ascribed to R. Phineas b. Jair.
59. Rashi: Abraham.
60. In the y version R. Aha refers to his son.
61. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 33.
62. mShek. 5:1.
63. S. Sarfatti Tarbiz 26 (1956/7) p. III; Bultman Hist. of the Syn. Trad. p. 316.
64. Mendelsohn J.E. 6 p. 215; Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten p. 25; Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 89; Strack-Bill. 1 pp. 399f.
65. Neusner Rabbinic Traditions 3 p. 117.
66. Liebermann Tosephta p. 46 read תורה.
67. Cf. Mk. xvi 18 (D); Luke x 19 (Strack-Bill. 2 p. 169); Acts xxvii 3-6.
68. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 36.
69. J.J.S. 16 (1965) pp. 28-32.
70. Yelammedenu (or Midrash Tanhuma). The name is derived from the opening remark by members of the synagogue to the teacher, and this remark was customary on the Sabbath. J. Mann The Bible as Read and Preached. Schürer (1973) p. 98; Finkel The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth p. 69 n.3.
71. J. Mann The Bible as Read and Preached p. 98 (98 at back of vol. 1).
72. bBer. 33a; mAb. 3:10. Schechter Aspects of Rabbinic Theology p. 247. Vermes has suggested that the story may ultimately be based on Gen. iii. In general on snake miracles see S.T. Lachs J. Soc. Stud. 27 (1965) pp. 168-84.
73. Neusner Rabbinic Traditions 3 p. 140 states that there were none before 140 A.D.; although in Development of a Legend p. 130 he makes clear reference to a school in Galilee before this date. See the story related by Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 90 n.4 which refers to a school.

74. Palestinian Piety p. 102.
75. J.J.S. 16 (1965) pp. 31f.
76. J.J.S. 23 (1972) pp. 36ff.
77. Ed. Buber xi 3 (34b).
78. Dibelius From Tradition to Gospel pp. 149 ff.
79. Neusner Rabbinic Traditions 1 p. 394.
80. mSot. 9:15; tSot. 15:15; bSot. 49b; Mek. Amal. iv 67; ySot. 9:16.
81. Neusner Development of a Legend pp. 50ff.
82. Geiger Urschrift und Uebersetzung p. 126; Levy Wörterbuch 3 p. 197; Blau Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen p. 149; Kohler J.E. 5 p. 227.
83. Pp. 83-87; S. Safrai J.J.S. 16 (1965) p. 16, follows this.
84. Friedländer Ben Dosa und Seine Zeit p. 24; Frankel M.G.W.J. 2 (1853) p. 70; Kohler Berliner Festschrift p. 199; idem J.Q.R. 11 (1920) pp. 145ff.
85. Luke xxiv 19. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 39.
86. Barrett St. John p. 63; L.S. p. 682 state that the word never carries the primary meaning "miracle". See also Bertram T.D.N.T. 2 pp. 635-655.
87. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 39.
88. I Ki. xvii 1; Sir. xlvi 3; Luke iv 25; Jam. v 17. Although Elliot-Binns wishes to argue that the Epistle of James was written in Galilee, he does not discuss this link, Galilean Christianity p. 49.
89. bTa'an 23a/b; Meg. Ta'an. end; bBer. 19a; yTa'an. 3:8. The passage in A. xiv 22-24 bears little resemblance to the Pharisaic traditions.
90. Lauterbach J.E. 9 pp. 404f; Vermes Jesus the Jew pp. 69-72; Büchler Palestinian Piety Chap. 4; Neusner Rabbinic Traditions 1 (pp. 176-82; idem A Life of Johanan ben Zakkai p. 31; Goldin H.T.R. 56 (1963) pp. 234-7.
91. As for e.g. J. Trachtenberg Jewish Magic and Superstitions p. 121.
92. Livy xlvi; H.T.R. 56 (1963) pp. 234ff.
93. J.J.S. 16 (1965) p. 33.
94. Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten p. 24.
95. J.J.S. 24 (1973) pp. 51f.

96. Mk. xii 14; Matt. xxii 16; Luke xx 21; Matt. vi 25-34; Luke xii 22-31; Matt. vii 19f.; Luke ix 58; Matt. x 21; Matt. xix 21; Luke xviii 22. This may be linked with the tradition that the Galileans were more concerned for their honour than for their wealth.
97. J.J.S. 24 (1973) p. 52; Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia 2 pp. 229 f. See for an excellent survey of his halachot, Bacher J.E. 1 pp. 29-30; idem Amoraim 1 pp. 1-33.
98. There is no monograph on Bath Kol in Jewish Tradition. See Betz T.D.N.T. 9 pp. 272 ff.; Strack-Bill. 1 pp. 125 f.; Lieberman Hellenism in Jewish Palestine App. A; Blau J.E. 2 pp. 588-92; Bacher Amoraim passim; Vermes Jesus the Jew passim; Dalman Words of Jesus pp. 205 f. Louis T.S.B.A. 9 (1885) pp. 183 f; Urbach Tarbiz 18 (1946/7) pp. 23-27 (Hebr.); Abrahams Studies in Pharisaism 1 pp. 47 f; Pressel PRE 2 coll. 130-32; A. Buttman H.U.C.A. 20 (1940) pp. 363 f., deals primarily with the Hillel-Shammai disputes; E.M. Pinner Berachot pp. 24 f., gives a list of all the rabbinic occurrences of the phrase; Barrett The Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition pp. 39-42; J.P. Schäfer V.T. 20 (1970) pp. 304-14; idem Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur passim; W. Weber Jüdische Theologie passim; Marmonstein A.R.W. 28 (1930) pp. 286 f.
99. bYom. 9b; bSanh. 11a; bSot. 48b; S.S.r 8:9:3; B.J. ii 159.
100. From Tradition to Gospel p. 213, "It is ... intended as an epiphany of Jesus, although not an epiphany to a world which was not yet capable of receiving it ... It is meant for Jesus himself." Bultmann Hist. of Syn. Trad. p. 248, "... the legend tells of Jesus's consideration of Messiah, and so is basically not biographical but a faith legend."
101. Holy Spirit in the Gospel Tradition p. 41. On the possibility that D in Luke refers explicitly to Ps. ii 7 making the reference an adoption formula, see Eissfeldt Introduction pp. 104, 449.
102. Blau J.E. 2 p. 588, "sound, resonance"; Jastrow Dictionary p. 200, "echo, reverberating sound, ii) divine voice"; Lieberman Hellenism in Jewish Palestine p. 194, "vox, verbum"; Strack-Bill. 1 p. 125, "Widerhall (Echo)"; Dalman Words of Jesus p. 205, "vox, verbum"; Louis T.S.B.A. 9 (1885) p. 183, "... vague idea of something possessed of voice"; Payne Smith Th. Syr. p. 596, "vox, verbum".
103. This is especially so in Deut. iv 12, 30, v 22-27, viii 20, ix 23, xiii 4, 18, xix 5, xx 18, xxx 2, 8, 20; Ps. cvi 25; Dan. ix 10; Josh. v 6; Judges ii 2, 20; I Sam. xii 14 ff., xv 19-22, xxviii 18; I Ki. xx 36. The siege of Jerusalem was regarded as a direct consequence of ignoring "the voice of the Lord", II Ki. xviii 12; Jer. xlii 21, xliiii 4, 7, xliv 23.
104. J.E. 2 p. 588.
105. bSot. 33a, it spoke Aramaic; bBer. 5a, R. Jose heard it murmuring like a dove (כְּדוֹב). Eccl. r 8:8, Elisha b Abayah heard a voice chirping behind the Temple.
106. bB.M. 58b; R. Joshua ruled the Bath Kol inadmissible as evidence.

107. Mk. viii 28; Matt. xvi 14; Luke ix 8. Vermes J.J.S. 24 (1974) p. 54; Jesus the Jew pp. 41, 77, 87, 95.
108. mSot. 9:9; bA.Z. 20b; Ex.r 18; Midr. Tann. on Deut. xxiii 15; yShek. 47c; yShabb. 3c. Moore Judaism 2 pp. 42, 272.
109. On the relationship of the Hebrew to the Greek of this verse see T. Middendorp, Die Stellung Jesus ben Siras pp. 134f. For texts see Cowley and Neubauer The Original Hebrew of ... Ecclesiasticus p. 36; Vattioni Ecclesiastico p. 263.
110. So Jeremias T.D.N.T. 2 p. 931.
111. So Keil Twelve Minor Prophets 2 p. 471. Chary Aggée-Zacharie Malachie p. 277 refers to the "rôle messianique indirect accordé par le texte à Elie." See also Elliger Zwölf Kleinen Propheten 2 (ATD 25) pp. 206 f.; Horst Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten (HAT 14) p. 275.
112. Mk. vi 1-6; Matt. xiii 53-58; Lk. iv 16-30. On this see E. Grässer N.T.S. 16 (1969/70) pp. 1-23 (German Tr. in BZNW 40 (1972) pp. 1-37).
113. Cf. for example I Ki. xviii 17 with Mk. xii 13-17; Matt. xxii 15-22; Lk. xx 20-26.
114. It is significant that the Lukan version of this story makes specific mention of Elijah. This is by no means the only solution to the problem, but it is one which takes into account the Galilean tendencies related to Elijah. D. Daube in The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism pp. 9-11 links the rejection with the Second Moses theme.
On the role of John the Baptist in the N.T. see W. Wink John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition (S.N.T.S.M.S. 7). A.S. van der Woude has suggested that the Messiah of Aaron expected by the Qumran Community is to be identified with the Elijah expected by Malachi, in La Secte de Qumran (Ed. van der Ploeg) pp. 121-34, esp. 131 ff. See also W. Brownlee in The Scrolls and the New Testament (Ed. K. Stendahl) pp. 33-64 on the fact that Elijah is to be seen as the Messiah, esp. pp. 46 ff. J.A.T. Robinson N.T.S. 4 (1957/58) pp. 263-281, does not think that there is any evidence for the fact that John the Baptist should be regarded as a forerunner, there is no "graduated messianic programme." He believes that the identification of the Baptist with Elijah is due to early Christological writing, and that Jesus was Messiah, first as Elijah, then as Christ.
115. See the treatment of this by M. Hengel Die Zeloten pp. 160-76; it is also noted by Farmer Maccabees Zealots and Josephus p. 49.
116. J.J.S. 24 (1973) p. 62.
117. Also in the Ma'aseh Book No. 35 (Gaster 1 p. 60); Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 98; Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten p. 24; Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 42.
118. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 42.

119. bB.B. 74a/b.
120. See also Ma'aseh Book No. 35 (Gaster 1 pp. 60 f.) with certain variations. Strack-Bill. 3 p. 294 link this with Rom, xi 29.
121. Var. "She".
122. Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 98.
123. *ibid.* p. 95.
124. The ceremony that marks the end of the Sabbath or festival day, and the beginning of the ordinary day. On the lamp miracle see Strack-Bill. 4 p. 500.
125. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 42; Jesus the Jew p. 95; F. Hahn The Titles of Jesus in Christology p. 399 n.6.
126. Bacher Amoraim 3 p. 344; Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 44.
127. *ibid.*; M. Avi Jonah Geschichte pp. 30f.
128. Dalman Sacred Sites and Ways p. 7; Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 88 n.6.
129. Why were the beams short, and Polemo's statement?
130. Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 41. On the command see D. Daube The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism p. 233.
131. Or Pelimo. He may be the Philemon of bMen. 372, in the second generation of the Tannaim.
132. bBer. 43b; bHul. 91a for parallels to the axiom. bPes. 112b tells us of similar happenings to Abbaye. bKid. 81a applied to R. Meir and R. Akiba.
133. Mk. v 1-20; Lk. viii 26-39; Matt. viii 28-34.
134. This has been noted by Fiebig Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp. 23f.
135. Bowman St. Mark pp. 51ff; Kittel T.D.N.T.1 pp. 80-82. Stories of this nature do not often appear in the mishna due to the halachic character of the work, but cf. tShabb. 17:23; bBer. 5a; bSot. 21a Num. r 11; Mid. Teh. on Ps. xci 4. Strack-Bill. 4 pp. 501-535. Also see J. Fitzmyer N.T.S. 4 (1957/8) pp. 48-58 on Qumran angelology.
136. Jüdische Wundergeschichten pp. 23f. Fiebig further contends that the passage rests upon Persian demonology; cf. Strack Bill. 4 p. 514.
137. Chapter 8 (Goldin p. 53).
138. There are allusions to this in bHul. 7a; Gen r 68:8, where the ass

138. (cont'd.)
belonged to R. Phineas. See Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 89.
The story in the Ma'aseh Book, No. 41 (Gaster 1 pp. 70f.) refers to
R. Jose's ass.
139. yBer. 4:1 (7c). Pesik. R. 23:2 states, "The men who travelled up
from Sepphoris to spend the Sabbath would remark, In the village of
Arab whence they had just come R. Hanina ben Dosa had already recited
the Sabbath eve prayers." (Zlotnik 1 pp. 476f.)
140. Safrai J.J.S. 16 (1965) pp. 23-5.
141. Eccl. r 1:1; Cant r 1:1:4; the latter is the one quoted as it is
more logical.
142. Not in all mss. Strack-Bill. 1 494.
143. Matt. iv 6 (quoting Ps. xci 11 f.); Mk. iv 13; Lk. iv 9. Cf.
I Ki. xvii 6, God provides for Elijah by means of ravens.
144. Rabbinic Traditions 3 p. 71.
145. Schechter Aspects of Rabbinic Theology p. 7; Vermes J.J.S. 23
(1972) p. 46; Büchler Palestinian Piety p. 7; Friedländer Ben Dosa
und Seine Zeit pp. 35 ff; Vermes Jesus the Jew pp. 77 ff.
146. In ARN A 8 it is paralleled with the statement made by Johanan ben
Zakkai, that a wise man who fears sin is like a craftsman with the
tools of his craft in his hand.
147. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 47.
148. Matt. vi 1-4; Col. iii 23-4.
149. James II 17; Rom. ii 13; Strack-Bill. 3 p. 86.
150. Ben Dosa und Seine Zeit
151. J. Suggs Wisdom, Law and Christology in Matthew's Gospel p. 23.
152. The Parables of Jesus p. 162 n.44. See also Wellhausen Matthaei
p. 55; McNeile St. Matthew p. 159; M.-J. Lagrange St. Matthieu
p. 223; W.C. Allen St. Matthew asserts that ἔργων may be a
late conjectural emendation, without putting forward any good evi-
dence. The suggestion made by A.T. Burbridge, J.T.S. 5 (1904)
pp. 455-8 that the reading καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν τέκνων
αὐτοῦ, is the original reading has not found much favour. Most
recently see D. Hill The Gospel of Matthew (NCB) p. 202, "'works'
is the original reading with Peshitta."
153. mSheb. 10:9; tHag. 2:9; tSanh. 7:1. Herford APOT 2 p. 700.
Also see Marti Mischna Aboth p. 74; Neusner A Life of Johanan ben
Zakkai p. 30. Strack-Bill. link this with Lk. ii 52, "As Jesus
grew up he advanced in wisdom and in favour with God and men."
154. Friedländer Ben Dosa und Seine Zeit p. 77; Vermes J.J.S. 23 (1972)
p. 48. Nevertheless, see Strack-Bill. 4 p. 111 "ein wundertätiger

154. (cont'd.)
Asket um 70 n. Chr.", also 3 pp. 403, 486, where it is linked to I Cor. xvi 8.
155. P.R.E. ad loc.
156. J.J.S. 23 (1972) p. 49.
157. ibid. n.67.
158. Gehenna features in the teaching of Johanan ben Zakkai, ARN A 25.
159. Vermes does not include this teaching in his survey. A reference in the Mek. de Simeon b. Yohai reads, "Rabbi Hanina ben Nekhosa says: The Holy One Blessed be He said to Moses, I have already written, 'and the brother is born for distress' (Prov. xxx 30). I am a brother for Israel in their hour of distress. Only the Israelites are my brothers, as it is written, 'On account of my brother my friend.' (Ps. cxxii8)." There is no good reason why this should be ascribed to Hanina ben Dosa, even though the Rabbi referred to is unknown elsewhere.
- Two medieval references are given by Vermes. In the twelfth century Abraham ibn David claimed that Saadiah Gaon, one of the luminaries of early mediaeval Jewry, counted among his ancestors Rabbi Hanina ben Dosa. (Sefer ha Qabbalah ed. G.D. Cohen (1969) pp. 41-2, ll. 96-7). There is a rejection of the deeds of Hanina and Honi in the Dialogue composed by the Spanish-Jewish convert to Christianity, Moses of Huesa (Peter Alphonsi 1062 A.D.-1110A.D.); Migne P.L. 157 col. 569.
160. Palestinian Piety p. 89.
161. Rabbinic Traditions 1 pp. 395 ff.; cf. Development of a Legend p. 81.
162. J.J.S. 24 (1973) p. 61.
163. Jesus the Jew pp. 111 ff. See also J. Donaldson J.Q.R. 63 (1972/3) pp. 287-01.
164. J.J.S. 16 (1965) p. 18.
165. Vermes J.J.S. 24 (1973) p. 62.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS.

This thesis has attempted to present the relevant evidence preserved in the writings of Josephus, Rabbinic Literature and other sources regarding the Galileans. This has been done in order to account for the accepted fact that the Galileans emerged as the leaders of the anti-Roman revolts in the first century B.C. and first century A.D. In the course of the study the following major conclusions have emerged.

1. Throughout the period 733 B.C. to 63 A.D. the historical evidence points clearly to the fact that the Galileans preserved their own traditions while under foreign domination. Recent work on the Assyrians has shown that they did not totally destroy the cultures of the peoples they conquered. This was true of the Galileans. Further, the biblical evidence suggests that the Israelites in Galilee were regarded as a "Remnant", (II Chron. xxx 1-18).

It was not until the beginning of the Hellenistic period that the Galileans were once more able to travel easily to Jerusalem in order to worship at the Temple, yet they were not under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. In this period the Samaritan Schism provides some evidence for the fact that Israelite culture in Galilee was not totally destroyed. It may be that, from the time of the conquests of Tiglath Pileser III to 332 B.C., the Galileans and the Samaritans felt some common bond through their religion but, when the Samaritans broke with Jerusalem and founded their own cult on Mt. Gerizim, the Galileans played no part, and continued to travel to Jerusalem.

After the Maccabaeen Revolt the ties between Galilee and the South were further strengthened; especially after the punitive expedition into Galilee led by Simon Maccabaeus. However, it was not until 103 B.C. that Galilee was brought into the Hasmonaeen State, with the conquests of Aristobulus I.

Thus from 733 B.C. to 103 B.C. the Galileans were under foreign domination, and the title "Galilee of the Gentiles" from Is. viii 23 was well established. Nevertheless there was a strong religious feeling in Galilee which was very traditionalist. These traditions led to many variations in custom between the North and the South, illustrated in the rabbinic writings. Among these traditions there was almost certainly one which was very pro-Hasmonaeen, as it was the Hasmonaeans who had at last brought Galilee back under Jerusalem rule.

2. The evidence for this latter assertion is found in Josephus. The study of the references to the Galileans in Josephus led us to conclude that there were four major periods of Galilean opposition to the Romans. First, opposition to Herod the Great, opposition to the census of Quirinius, opposition to the procurators and finally the First Jewish Revolt, 66-74 A.D.

The opposition to Herod was due to a hatred of him by the Galileans as a result of his activities in Galilee while he was Governor there. His general pro-Roman attitude was exemplified in his dealings with Cassius, Governor of Syria, and in his execution of Ezekias. Ezekias was almost certainly a Hasmonaeen aristocrat who may well have been preparing for a bid to take the throne, in order to prevent Herod from seizing it. The reaction to his death indicates that he was more than a "Brigand-chief", and, it was his

descendants who were to emerge as the prime leaders of the anti-Roman resistance movements.

That the Galileans supported the Hasmonaeans is best evidenced in the rising of Antigonus in 40 B.C. While the Romans supported Herod, the Galileans and Parthians supported Antigonus. Herod had great difficulty in quelling Galilean resistance, even after the death of Antigonus. One story connected with these difficulties is that of the troglodytes in the Caves of Arbella, where Galilean rebels nearly always fled, and which later became the centre of operations of *ἡ Γαλιλαία*. This story tells of the death of an old man, his wife and seven sons; and is probably a literary creation of Josephus, based upon a folk legend stemming from Jer. xv 9, which was also utilised by II Macc. and IV Macc. The figure of the old man in Josephus may well be modelled on the figure of Taxo in the Assumption of Moses ix, although there can be no doubt that there were deaths in the caves at that time. The story illustrates the willingness of the Galilean freedom fighters to commit suicide rather than submit to foreign rule. This was not a new phenomenon, as the Maccabees had long before asserted that it was desirable in their fight for the freedom of the Jews. Nevertheless the trait is well illustrated in the stories of the fall of Gamala, Jotapata and in the mass suicide at Masada, even though suicide was contrary to the Jewish Law.

Probably the most important rising against Herod which took place in Galilee was in 4 B.C. This was led by Judas of Galilee, the son of Ezekias. In this rebellion Judas is clearly depicted as aspiring to the throne, which supports the general thesis that the Galileans who joined forces against the Romans were doing so because they wished to re-establish the Hasmonaean State. At the same time

Galilean pilgrims in Jerusalem were playing an important role in a rebellion taking place there.

3. In 6 A.D. Judas re-emerged as the leader of the Fourth Philosophy. This indicates that Judas was prepared to go to any lengths in order to achieve his aims. The Fourth Philosophy filled a gap which appeared in the teaching of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. None of these sects was prepared to offer any direct teaching on the political questions of the day, whereas the Fourth Philosophy did. While Josephus presents Judas's group as an organised sect, it is not unlikely that it did not have the coherent form he indicates until later in the first Century. Yet the fact that he understood their beliefs is clear, as subsequent references to it show. In particular the first speech of Eleazar b. Jair in Masada recalls the original teachings of Judas of Galilee. Despite the fact that the co-founder of the Fourth Philosophy was Zadok the Pharisee, there is no reference to this group in rabbinic literature, nor are there any certain references to Zadok or Judas in rabbinic tradition.

The implication here that there was a connection between the Fourth Philosophy and the Pharisees supports Graetz's position that the zealots were connected with the Shammaite school of Pharisaism. This connection is quite plausible, as it has been seen in rabbinic tradition that Shammai was prepared to be illogical in order to support the Galilean tradition.

It is more than likely that some sort of distinction is to be made between the Fourth Philosophy-sicarii and the Zealots. It has been noted that the word sicarii originally designated the method of attack rather than a particular group of zealots. Thus,

while the group that Judas founded was the basis of all the other rebel groups in the first century A.D., they are not all to be identified together. There is good reason to suspect that the followers of the Fourth Philosophy were known as sicarii throughout the first century A.D. Despite this the attempts of scholars such as Baumbach and Zeitlin to draw the lines between the rebel groups accurately have failed, as it is not possible from the evidence of Josephus to do this, because his nomenclature is too lax.

With reference to the death of Judas, the D text in Acts v 34-9 is given somewhat more credence than is commonly ascribed to it, as it could give evidence that Judas committed suicide, in the tradition of Galilean freedom fighters.

4. Opposition to the Roman Procurators was sporadic, and reveals that the Galileans were unlikely to revolt unless there were leaders to follow. Nevertheless the action of Pontius Pilate against the Galilean pilgrims (Lk. xiii 1ff.) indicates that the reputation of the Galileans in the first century was not good. ~~Cum~~manus had little scruple about exploiting the old hatreds that existed between the Galileans and the Samaritans. Under the procuratorship of Tiberius Julius Alexander the two sons of Judas, James and Simon, were executed, emphasising the dynastic nature of the leadership of the revolts.

5. When the First Jewish War broke out in 66 A.D. the reputation of the Galileans was such that a separate group of rebels known as οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι emerged. Although many of the original members of this group would have been Galileans, it is clear that later in the revolt the members of οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι were not. (B.J. iv 533).

One of the most important leaders at the beginning of the

revolt was Menahem. He was the grandson of Judas of Galilee and after he had achieved great power actually went to the Temple dressed as a king. This illustrates graphically that which has been argued, that the family of Ezekias was concerned with re-establishing the Hasmonaean state with themselves on the throne, and in this they were supported by the Galilean people.

Despite the welter of apologetic in the writings of Josephus, there can be little doubt that he was appointed Commander in Chief of Galilee. This was due to several factors: he was well known in aristocratic circles in Jerusalem after his trip to Rome in 64 A.D. and the fact that he was of Hasmonaean background would have attracted local support. He was well supported in Galilee, although his motivation left much to be desired. The possibility that he was a Sadducee cannot be dismissed.

Josephus was not a trained commander and his aims in being appointed to Galilee were either to lead a successful Jewish revolt, or to go over to the Romans early in the revolt. He was supported by the Galileans, even though John of Gischala - not without good reason - had tried to turn the Galileans against Josephus. John was to emerge as possibly the best leader the rebels had, yet the nature of the times did not allow him to demonstrate his abilities. He was to be the only Galilean commander in Jerusalem when it fell in 70 A.D. It is also significant that he was one of the few rebel leaders of any note in Galilee who was not of the family of Ezekias.

At the end of the revolt the only surviving member of the dynasty founded by Ezekias was Eleazar b. Jair. He, along with the followers of Menahem, had fled to Masada in 66 A.D. They appeared to withdraw from the conflict, apart from occasional raids in the

local area. Eleazar became primus inter pares in the fortress, and led a group of people who appear to have been very religious. Recent archaeological findings have supported the historicity of the story of the mass suicide related by Josephus, and also indicate that they were joined by some of the Essenes from Qumran in 68 A.D.

Thus the evidence of Josephus points to the fact that the Galileans were strong supporters of the Hasmonaean State, and that it was this support which led to the formation of a dynasty of Galilean rebel leaders, many of whom were intent on becoming king.

This tradition of the Galileans as freedom fighters is not lost after the close of the writings of Josephus. The letter written by Bar Cochba (Mur. 43) which refers to the "Galileans" in the fortress of Kephbar Baruk led us to conclude that certain Galileans were fighting for Bar Cochba in the Second Jewish Revolt, 132-135 A.D.

6. C. Roth, G.R. Driver and H.E. del Medico all ascribe the authorship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Fourth Philosophy of Judas of Galilee and Zadok the Pharisee. However their position is untenable as it rests on pure supposition with regard to the history of the Fourth Philosophy after the death of Judas. This leads them to faulty interpretation of the scrolls, in particular with reference to the phrase אֵלֵּי הַרְעִיף and "the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh". Further, much of C. Roth's argument rests on his identification of Menahem as the Teacher of Righteousness, for which he has no evidence. Their dismissal of the archaeological evidence and palaeographical evidence is also unacceptable.

Rather than ascribe the authorship of the scrolls to the zealots, it is far better to account for the fact that the Essenes

were under the influence of the zealotic Zeitgeist, and it is wrong to overemphasise one aspect of the movement.

7. The rabbinic evidence adds very little insofar as the political activities of the Galileans are concerned. Yet the rabbis do provide important information on the question of whether the Galileans were traditionalists or not. In many cases Galilean custom differed from that in Judaea, indicating that at some time they had had a period when they had the opportunity to develop their own practices, which they retained throughout the first century A.D. The systematic presentation of the traditions led us to question Finkelstein's thesis that the Galileans were necessarily under the influence of the Jerusalemite patricians, yet it has supported his view that the Galileans were not prepared to accept the minutiae of the Pharisees.

This is best evidenced by the fact that there were only four recorded teachers in Galilee from the time of John Hyrcanus I to 70 A.D. Among these four we know so little about Nittai of Arbella and Abba Jose Cholikofri that no major conclusions can be drawn as to their relationship with or influence in Galilee. Further, although Johanan ben Zakkai spent some eighteen years in Galilee, he was presented with only two cases, which led later tradition to ascribe to him the saying, "Galilee, Galilee you hate the Torah, your end will be oppression by colonists!" Finally, Hanina ben Dosa was not a Pharisee in the sense of a Teacher, rather he was a miracle working Hasid. It was noted that Hasidic influence in Galilee was strong, and that their more practical approach to religious affairs was more acceptable to the Galileans.

One point of some importance to emerge was that of the Elijah traditions in Galilee. Probably based on a literal interpretation of

Mal. iii 22-24 and Sir. xlvi 10, the Galileans may have regarded Elijah not as the forerunner of the Messiah but rather as the type of the Messiah himself. The reasons for this are that Elijah was a Northern Prophet, whose most spectacular miracle was effected upon Mt. Carmel - the place where many years later Antigonus rallied troops from Galilee. If we are correct in assuming Elijah to be the type of the Messiah in Galilee, then this provides a possible reason for the rejection of Jesus in Nazareth; Jesus did not challenge the wicked government of the day as Elijah had done. Therefore he could not have been the Messiah.

So all the evidence points towards the fact that the Galileans were traditionalists, and among their many traditions peculiar to themselves they preserved one which was pro-Hasmonaeans. This then led to their becoming strong opponents of the Romans in the first century A.D. Thus the ideals expounded by the Maccabees were preserved most strongly in Galilee, where the political and religious changes which took place as a result of the Roman invasion had less effect than in Judaea.

8. Finally a word must be said about the implications of this study for the "Jesus was a Zealot" school of thought.

Among the many attempts that have been made to describe Jesus as a Zealot,¹ the work of two twentieth century scholars stands out as the most important. These are R. Eisler and S.G.F. Brandon.

R. Eisler has been the most influential scholar in this field. His two volume work ИЗЛОЖЕ БАЗИЛЕЯ ОУ БАЗИЛЕЯС builds up a complex picture of the relationships between Jesus, John the Baptist and the zealots. Yet his authority for all this is the late Slavonic version of Josephus's B.J., which he regards as a translation of the original Aramaic. The work stimulated much

discussion among scholars, primarily on the subject of the Testimonium Flavium. Eisler's conclusions were on the whole rejected.

Nevertheless S.G.F. Brandon took Eisler's position on the question of whether Jesus was a zealot, but his presupposition was different. He regarded the evidence of the N.T. as suspect, in that the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome in 71 A.D. deliberately to break any possible connections that may have apparently existed between the zealots and the early Christians. Therefore any concept of Christ as a pacifist was the creation of the early church. He has argued his position in several books and articles² and has had many critics.³

With these presuppositions it is impossible to argue with the interpretation of the texts Brandon deals with. However, the evidence of this thesis is that Jesus could not have been a zealot in the Galilean tradition. His whole way of life was not conducive to being a rebel, and further, his willingness to speak with Samaritans indicates that he did not stand in the tradition of the Galilean rebels. The fact that he had followers who may have been political activists does not indicate that he himself was a political activist. Nevertheless there is no conclusive answer to the problem. M. Hengel writes:⁴

Was Jesus a revolutionist ? That was our question. We can answer it only with a sic et non, with yes and no. He cannot be party to those who - then as now - seek to improve the world by violence...Jesus pointed a quite different way with agape ; the way of nonviolent protest and willingness to suffer, a way which deserves more fully the designation "revolutionary" than does the old, primitive way of violence.

To fit Jesus into the picture of Galilee as it emerges in this

study is to see in him the Galilean tradition of miracle working Hasidim, yet he was more than that as he had a message to preach as well, and it was this message that the Galileans were not able to understand. Yet Jesus's whole life reveals his Galilean background. He was extremely determined, and was prepared to die for what he believed in. It has been noted that martyrdom was a common trait in Galilee, primarily in this context, political martyrdom. Jesus stood in this tradition, and he too was martyred for that which he believed to be true.

Notes.

1. For earlier views see the survey by Hengel, Was Jesus a Revolutionist? pp. 3-5.
2. The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church; A.L.U.O.S. 2 (1959/60) pp. 1-25; N.T.S. 7 (1960/1) pp. 126-41; T.U. 87 Studia Evangelica II (1964) pp. 8-20; Jesus and the Zealots; T.U. 102 (1968) Studia Evangelica IV pp. 8-20; B.J.R.L. 54 (1971/2) pp. 47-66; The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth; Judaism 20 (1971) pp. 43-8.
Brandon is not the only follower of Eisler. See for example Schonfield The Pentecost Revolution.
3. See the lengthy reviews of M. Hengel J.S.S. 14 (1969) pp. 231-40; W. Wink U.S.Q.R. 25 (1969) pp. 37-59; W. Klassen C.J.T. 16 (1970) pp. 12-21; E.M. Yamauchi C.T. 14 (1971) pp. 634-39.
4. Was Jesus a Revolutionist? pp. 31f.

APPENDIX ONE

THE TRADITION OF THE MARTYRDOM
OF A MOTHER AND HER SEVEN SONS
IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS AND RABBINIC LITERATURE

Appendix I

The Tradition of the Martyrdom of a Mother and her Seven Sons in Early Christian Writings and Rabbinic Literature.

As has been noted in the text of the thesis, the tradition of the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons was utilised after the writings of Josephus (A. written ca. 95-100 A.D.). However, it is clear that when the image occurs it is always connected with the Maccabaeen martyrdoms. This does not indicate that the Galilean rebel in the cave is to be considered any the less a martyr, but his martyrdom was for a political goal, not solely a religious one. It further does not indicate that Josephus adapted II Macc. for his own use.

A. The New Testament.

There is no reference to the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons in the N.T.; but it is worth noting that there is an allusion to it in Heb. xi 35:

Women received their dead by resurrection. Some were tortured, refusing to accept release that they might rise again to a better life.

Commentators on Hebrews always divide this verse into two parts; 35a referring to Elijah, II Ki. xxxvi, and 35b referring to II Macc. vii.

Westcott pp. 380f.; Montefiore p. 208; Bruce p. 337; Wickam p. 106; Hewitt pp. 380f.; Moffatt p. 186; Robinson p. 174; Jeremias p. 146; Michel p. 417; Kuss p. 179; Windisch p. 96. See also Rendell, Harris E.T. 32 (1920/21) pp. 183-5.

B. Rabbinic Literature.

There are three quite long references to the martyrdom of the Maccabees in rabbinic literature, Lam.r 1:50 (on 1:16); bGit. 57b; Seder Elyahu R. 28 (30). A shorter recension occurs in Pesikta R. 43. In this tradition there are some changes. The mother is called Miriam,

daughter of Tanhum, and she and her sons are brought before the Roman Emperor Hadrian, not Antiochus Epiphanes. They were probably remembered on the 9th Ab, bTa'an. 30a.

For further references see Zunz Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden p. 131 n.a. See I. Levi R.E.J. 54 (1907) pp. 138-141; M. Simon R.H.Ph.R. 34 (1954) pp. 98-127.

C. Early Christian Tradition.

One of the traits of early Christian writings on martyrdom, usually written at a time of persecution, was to list examples of previous martyrdoms. While many examples of martyrdom were to be found in the O.T., the image of a mother and her seven sons being martyred was popular among the authors. The references almost always refer to the Maccabean sagas.

Origen in his Exhortation to Martyrdom 23-27 recounts the story of the Maccabees, and concludes:

I think that in view of our present purpose it was most useful to give here this story from the Scriptures. Thus we can see what piety and the love of God... can achieve against the most cruel sufferings.

(tr. J.J. O'Meara A.C.W. 19)

Cyprian also wrote an Exhortation to Martyrdom, in Chapter II he points out, at some length, that the number "seven" is perfect, and states of the martyrs:

For martyrs who witness themselves as the sons of God in suffering are now no more counted as of any father but God.

(A.N.F. 5 pp. 502ff)

He then tells the story of the seven brothers of the Maccabees followed by the story of Eleazar.

That the martyrs were preserved in Christian tradition as holy cannot be doubted, Cyprian Epistle LV (LVIII) states:

6. What shall we say of the cruel tortures of the blessed martyrs of the Maccabees, and the multiform sufferings of the seven brethren, and the mother comforting her children in their agonies, and herself dying also with her children? Do they not witness the proofs of great courage and faith and exhort us by their sufferings to the triumphs of martyrdom?

(A.N.F. 5 p. 348)

Chrysostom has three homilies on "The Holy Maccabaeans and their Mother" (Εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Μακκαβαίους καὶ εἰς τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν P.G. 50 cols. 617-28), and Gregory of Nazianzen writes, Orat. xliii, "Panegyric on St. Basil":

...and in the struggle of the seven Maccabees, who were perfected with their father and mother in blood, and in all kinds of tortures. Their endurance he (Jesus) rivalled and won their glory.

(N.P.N.F. 7 p. 420)

Augustine refers to the seven martyrs many times, but always to the seven martyrs of the Maccabees, Tractate xi 14 (N.P.N.F. I, 7 p. 80); Epistle lxxv (from Jerome) IV 15 (N.P.N.F. I, 7 pp. 339f.); Epistle cxi (to Victorinus) 5 (N.P.N.F. I, 1 p. 533); Epistle of Petilian II 8 17 (N.P.N.F. I, 4 p. 533), II 93 202 (N.P.N.F. I, 4 p. 577); On the Soul 23 (N.P.N.F. I, 5 p. 324); On Rebuke and Grace 41 (N.P.N.F. I, 5 p. 488). In his Sermon ccc 6 (P.L. 38 col 1379) he writes, "Machabaei ergo martyres Christi sunt."

Other references to the tradition are all likewise concerned with the example the Maccabees set to the later Christians, Prudentius Peristephanon Liber V (P.L. 90 col 1021); St. Ambrose Duties of the Clergy I 212 (N.P.N.F. II p. 34); Leo Sermon 82 (P.L. 54 col. 937); Valeriani Sermon 18 (P.L. 52 col. 746); Fulgentius (attributed) Sermon lxxix (P.L. 65 coll. 941f.); Malalas Chronology (P.L. 97 coll. 321, 324).

They were remembered in the early church on the 1st. August, and there is a reference to them in the Syriac Horologion (Berlin Ms. Or.

Oct. 1019) f.87a (M. Black tr. p. 89). In this the mother is named Samone.

Finally mention must be made of the Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum, (ed. H. Dörrie A.G.W.G. III 22), which was a Latin revision of the Greek IV Macc.; of which the earliest extant text is from the eighth century A.D.

There is a tradition that there is a synagogue in Antioch which is supposed to be the tomb of the martyrs.

See J. Obermann J.B.L. 50 (1934) pp. 250-65; W. Bacher J.J.G.L. 4 (1901) pp. 70-85; M. Maas M.G.W.J. 44 (1900) pp. 145-56; M. Schatkin V.C. 28 (1974) pp. 97-113.

The Maccabaeon martyrs are also remembered in the Hebrew Josippon, and in some Arabic legends.

APPENDIX TWO

THE LISTS OF TOWNS FORTIFIED BY JOSEPHUS

Appendix II

The Lists of towns Fortified by Josephus

B.J. ii 572-4; Vita 188.

There are many problems associated with these lists, as they are not the same, indicating that Josephus was not copying from one to the other. The list in the B.J. is better preserved, and slightly longer than that in the Vita.

B.J.	Vita	Citation Form	English Name	Note
Ἰωτάπατα Βηρσαβέ Σελάμην Καφαρεκχώ	Ἰωτάπατα Βηρσουβαί Σελάμην Καφαρθ'	Ἰωτάπατα Βηρσουβαί Σελάμην Καφαρεκχώ	Jotapata Beer Sheba Selame	1
Ἰαφα Σιγώφ	Παφα Σωγανάλ [Κωμός]	Ἰαφα Σιγάνην	Japha Sogane	2 3 4
Ἰταβύριον Ταρχέας Τιβεριάδα [σπηλαία] Ἀκχαβάρων Σέπφ	Ἰταβύριον Ταρχέας Τιβεριάδα Ἀρβηλων Ἀχαράβην	Ἰταβύριον Ταρχαίαι Τιβοριάς Ἀρβηλα Ἀκχαβάρων Σέπφ	mt. Tabor Tarichaea Tiberias Arbela Achbari Seph.	5
Ἰαμνείθ Μηρώ Σελεύκειον Σωγανάλειον Γάμαλαν Σεπφωρίταις	Ἰάμνια Ἀμηνώθ Σελευκία Σωγάνην Σέπφωριον	Ἰαμνείθ Μηνώθ Σελεύκειον Σωγάνην Γάμαλα Σέπφωρις	Jamnith Meroth Seleucia Sogana Gamala Sepphoris.	6

This arrangement follows the order of the B.J.

Notes

1. In B.J. ii 573 Niese reads, καφαρεκχώ .

The mss. versions are as follows:

καὶ φαρεκχῶ	PAL
καὶ περεκχῶ	MRC
καὶ παρεκχῶ	V
καμφαρεκχῶ	margin m.1 L
Capharecho	Lat.

In the Vita:

καφαρθα	R
καφαρθ'	A
καθαρθά	L
καὶ φραθα κομος	MV

This is the so called "missing fortress" of Josephus, and was identified for many years with Kephar 'Akko of tKel. 1:2., recently preferred by B. Bar-Kochva (I.E.J. 24 (1975) p. 110). However, M. Avi Jonah, (I.E.J. 3 (1953) p. 97), has argued that the MV group of mss. is to be followed, and that the name of the place is Αφραθα (Semitic ʕṯṯ ʕ). He thereby identifies the place with Khirbet et-Tayyibe, a village between Jotapata and Sepphoris. Against this view stands M. Har-El, (I.E.J. 22 (1972) p. 129); he criticises Avi Jonah's position on three grounds. He states that if Khirbet et-Tayyibe is to be identified as the fortress referred to, then it places it on the W. side of the watershed, not on the E. side, which was usual for the zealot fortresses. Secondly the village is in a region of low lying hills, which would have made it extremely vulnerable to attack; and thirdly it has no visible communications with Acre or Mt. Asamon. He suggests that it is to be identified with another et-Tayyibe, named Afrabala in Crusader times.

See also Schalit Concordance Supp. I p. 73a; Schlatter Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus p. 68.

2.3.4. All the names in the Vita here are subject to debate.

Niese reads κωμος (sic) σωσαναι παφα
 Thackeray reads †κωμὸς Σωσαναι Παφά†
 Dindorf reads καὶ Σιγῶ καὶ Ἰαφά

2. It is not difficult to see that a scribal error may be responsible for the transition between Ἰαφά and Παφά .

Schalit Concordance Supp. I p. 57a.

3. Abél, Geographie II p. 461; and Avi Jonah op. cit. p. 95 n.4 are both agreed that Σιγώφ and Σωγανάλ are to be identified. This is opposed by B. Bar-Kochva (I.E.J. 24 (1975) pp. 113f.) who can suggest no satisfactory alternative.

See also Schalit Concordance Supp. I p. 117b; Boettger Topographisch-Historisches Lexicon p. 231.

4. Κωμός is identified by Schalit with κεφαρεκχώ; Concordance Supp. I p. 77c, he prefers the reading κώμη.

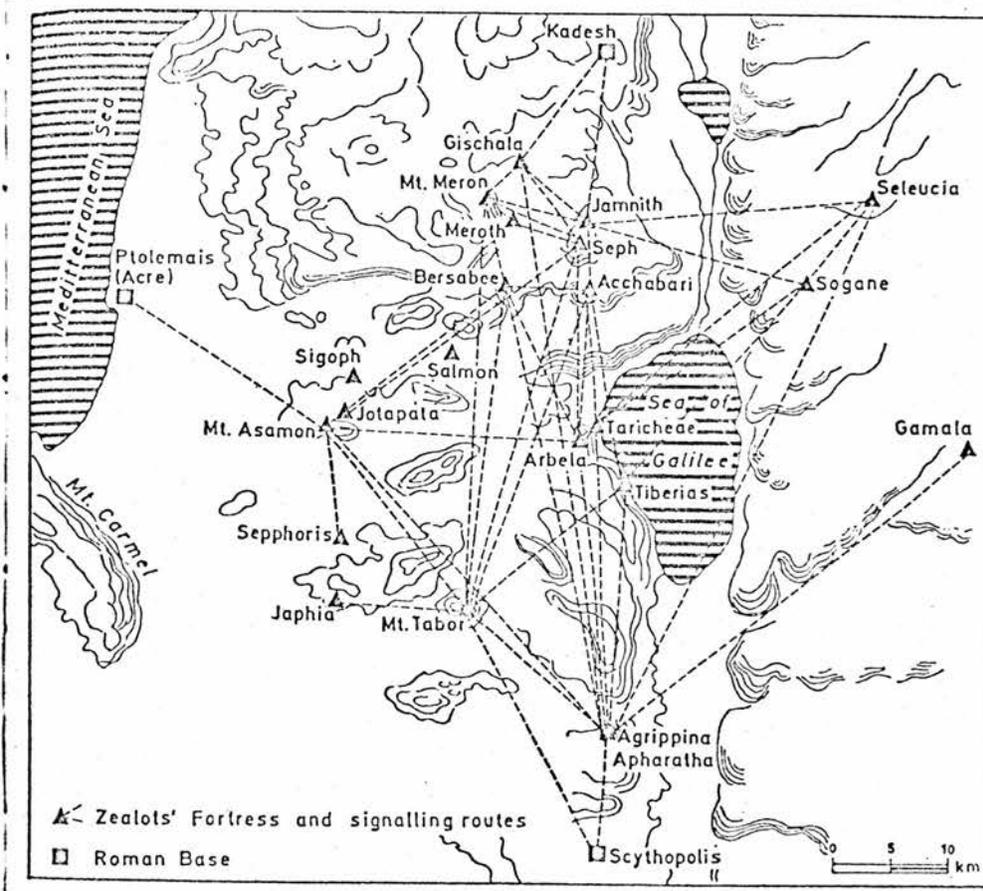
5.6. It will be noted that Σέπφ and Γάμαλα are only referred to in the B.J. list, indicating that Josephus was not copying the lists, or if he was, he deliberately shortened the list in the Vita. The list does not even appear in the Slavonic Version.

Σέπφ is Safed, situated between Acchbari and Jammith.

Avi Jonah op. cit. p. 94; Boettger op. cit. p. 228.

Map of the Zealot Fortresses in Galilee

Prepared by Y. Ben-Arieh.
Adapted and Revised by M. Har-El.
I.E.J. 3 (1953) p. 125.



ABBREVIATIONS and BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Biblical

Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis	Ez.	Ezekiel
Ex.	Exodus	Hab.	Habakkuk
Lev.	Leviticus	Hag.	Haggai
Num.	Numbers	Zech.	Zechariah
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Mal.	Malachi
Jos.	Joshua	Ps.	Psalms
Jud.	Judges	Prov.	Proverbs
I Sam.	I Samuel	S.S.	Song of Songs
II Sam.	II Samuel	Eccl.	Ecclesiastes (Qohelet)
I Ki.	I Kings	Dan.	Daniel
II Ki.	II Kings	Neh.	Nehemiah
Is.	Isaiah	I Chron.	I Chronicles
Jer.	Jeremiah	II Chron.	II Chronicles

Apocrypha/Pseudepigrapha

Sir.	The Wisdom of Jesus b. Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)		
I Macc.	I Maccabees		
II Macc.	II Maccabees	Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
III Macc.	III Maccabees		
IV Macc.	IV Maccabees		
Jub.	Jubilees		

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew	I Cor.	I Corinthians
Mk.	Mark	II Cor.	II Corinthians
Lk.	Luke	Heb.	Hebrews
Jn.	John	Jam.	James
Rom.	Romans	Rev.	Revelation

B. Rabbinic

b	Talmud Babli	t	Tosephta
m	Mishnah	y	Talmud Yerushalami
r	Midrash Rabbah		
Mek.	Mekilta	Meg. Ta'an.	Megillath Ta'anith
P.R.E.	Pirke de Rabbi Eleazar		
ARN A	Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, Text A		
ARN B	Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, Text B	Mid. Mishle	Midrash Mishle
Pesik. R.	Pesikta Rabbati		
Ab.	Aboth	Git.	Gittin
A.Z.	Abodah Zarah	Hag.	Hagigah
Arak	Arakin	Hall.	Hallah
B.B.	Baba Bathra	Hor.	Horayoth
Bekh.	Bekhoroth	Hull	Hullin
Ber.	Berachoth	Kel.	Kelim
B.K.	Baba Kamma	Ker.	Kerithoth
B.M.	Baba Metzia	Ket.	Ketuboth
Dem.	Demai	Kidd.	Kiddushin
Erub.	Erubin	Kil	Kilaim
		Maas.	Maaseroth
		Makk.	Makkoth
		Maksh.	Makshirin
		Meg.	Megilla
		Men.	Menahoth
		Midd.	Middoth
		M.Q.	Moed Qatan
		M. Sh.	Maaser Sheni
		Naz.	Nazir
		Neg.	Negaim
		Ned	Nedarim

Nidd.	Niddah	Shab.	Shabbath	Ter.	Terumah
Ohol.	Oholoth	Sheb.	Shebiith	Toh.	Tohoroth
Pes.	Pesahim	Shek.	Shekalim	Yad.	Yadaim
R.H.	Rosh ha-Shanna	Sot.	Sotah	Yeb.	Yebamoth
San.	Sanhedrin	Sukk.	Sukkah	Yom.	Yoma
Sem.	Semahoth	Taan.	Taanith	Y.T.	Yom Tob

C. Josephus

- A. The Antiquities of the Jews.
- B.J. The Jewish Wars.
- c.Ap. Against Apion.
- Vita The Autobiography of Josephus.

D. Qumran

- CD. The Zadokite Documents
- IQIsa The Isaiah Commentary
- IQS. The Rule of the Community
- IQM. The Scroll of the War between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness
- IQpHab. The Habakkuk Commentary
- IIIQ15 The Copper Scroll
- IVQpHos. The Hosea Commentary
- IVQpPs. The Psalms Commentary
- IVQpIs c. The Isaiah Commentary
- IVQpNah. The Nahum Commentary
- IVQFlor. Florilegium from cave 4.
- IVQSe. Variant on the Rule of the Community

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- A.G.W.G. Abhandlung der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen.
- A.H.R. American Historical Review.
- A.J.B.A. Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology.
- A.J.Ph. American Journal of Philology.
- A.J.S.L. American Journal of Semitic Languages.
- Alt K.S. A. Alt Kleine Schriften.
- A.L.U.O.S. Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society.

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- A.P.O.T. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Ed. R.H. Charles.
- A.R.W. Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
- A.S.T.I. Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem.
- A.T.D. Das Alte Testament Deutsch.
- B.A.S.O.R. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- B.F.C.T. Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie.
- Bib.Or. Bibliotheca Orientalis.
- B.J.R.L. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
- B.S. Bibliotheca Sacra.
- B.W.A.(N.)T. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament.
- B.Z. Biblische Zeitschrift.
- B.Z.A.W. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- B.Z.N.W. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
- C.A.H. The Cambridge Ancient History.
- C.B. Cultura Bíblica.
- C.B.Q. Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
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- E.E. Estudios Ecclesiásticos.
- E.G.T. Expositor's Greek Testament.
- E.J. Encyclopaedia Judaica.
- E.T. Expository Times.
- Ev. Komm. Evangelische Kommentar.
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 Neuen Testaments.
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- H.J. Hibbert Journal.
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- H.T.R. Harvard Theological Review.
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- I.C.C. The International Critical Commentary.
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- I.E.J. Israel Exploration Journal.
- I.L.N. Illustrated London News.
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- J. des S. Journal des Savants.
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