

MEANING AND USAGE OF THE TERMS "JEW" AND "JUDAISM"
IN SELECTED TEXTS OF ANTIQUITY

by

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DIGEST

This thesis examines selected texts of antiquity in an attempt to discover the meanings and uses of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." The goal of the thesis is to discern how these terms are employed in the texts under consideration. It is to learn who uses the terms and in what context the terms are found. This examination is conducted on the following texts: Bible, Elephantine Papyri, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, works by Philo, writings of Josephus, New Testament, and the Talmud.

In order to achieve this goal, the thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter One, the introduction, describes the methodology for the thesis. There it is explained that each of the following chapters, excluding the conclusion, are divided into two major sections, the analysis and the compendium. In the analysis, the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," as found in the text under consideration, are scrutinized. In this section, the context in which the term occurs and the frequency of the term in the text is discussed. At times, it is necessary to contrast the term "Jew" or "Judaism" to other ethnic, national or religious terms that are also found in the work under examination. Terms that are most often examined include Israel, Israelite and Hebrew. Also included is a discussion concerning the correct translation of the term "Jew" from the original language of the text into English. The two choices are Jew or Judean, which are defined in Chapter One. Each chapter also includes a compendium of those verses or sections of text, in translation, in which the

terms "Jew" or "Judaism" occur. The compendium enables the reader to have access to all the sources upon which this thesis bases its conclusions. It also allows the reader to see how the term "Jew" should correctly be translated into English. This structure, of analysis and compendium, is found in Chapters Two through Nine. In Chapter Ten, the conclusion, there is a comparison of the findings of the individual chapters and a short developmental history of the terms.

It is clear that the term "Jew" has different meanings in the various texts under examination. In some of the texts, the Bible, Elephantine Papyri, and some works of the Apocrypha, the term "Jew" is a term of national identification. While in latter works, the term "Jew" is employed to connote a religious identification. It is also apparent that the term "Jew" is not indigenous to the people to whom it refers. The term is first used by non-Jews to refer to the Jews. Quickly, Jews begin to use the term when communicating to non-Jews either in spoken or written form. Eventually, the Jews use the term frequently even among themselves. However, the term which is both indigenous to the Jews and the one which they use primarily for self-identification is the term Israel. Even when the term "Jew" is used extensively in the text, the term Israel is found in the prayers of the Jews. The examination also highlights that the use of the term "Judaism" is limited. The term is found only in a minority of the texts examined. It is clear that the meanings and uses of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" undergo significant changes in the texts under consideration.

To my favorite Jew -- Terri -- for her
patience, understanding and love.

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Last and by no means least, I want to express my gratitude to my parents. There is no way that I can express in a few short sentences all they have done for me. To them I can only say, "Thanks for being there."

AUTHOR'S NOTE

In this thesis the words Jew and Judaism are used in two separate and distinct contexts. In one context the terms are intended to refer to those words in the original language of the text under consideration which are commonly translated today as Jew or Judaism. The terms for Jew most commonly being referred to are Yehudi in Hebrew language texts and Ioudaios in Greek language texts. In order to identify this particular usage the thesis will read "the terms 'Jew' and 'Judaism'." In the second context, Jew and Judaism should be understood as they are employed in modern day usage. When the words are being used in this fashion they will not appear within quotation marks. Whenever the terms Israel, Israelite, or Hebrew occur, never within quotation marks, they will be referring to their respective terms in the original language of the text under consideration.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the meanings and uses of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" in basic Jewish and non-Jewish texts of antiquity. These texts have been studied to discover whether the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" have retained the same meaning during the period of time that these texts represent, or whether the terms changed their meanings in different contexts and uses.

It is apparent from common usage and ordinary dictionary definitions that the words Jew and Judaism as employed today have a wide range of meanings; these include ethnic, national, religious or racial connotations. Since the words Jew and Judaism have no single or absolute meanings, in order to understand in any given use the words Jew and Judaism, one must look at the context, speaker and setting. This thesis attempts to discover the meanings of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" in significant texts of antiquity.

METHOD

The procedure followed in carrying out this thesis' purpose has been to examine directly the texts involved. This procedure, although desirable in any case, is necessary here for three reasons. First, very few scholars have written about the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." One receives the impression that many may not have written because their notion is that the terms have had a constant meaning, and therefore

there is no reason to research their usage. Second, of the work that has appeared on the meanings of the terms, much is of little help. Some modern scholars who have written about the terms have merely imposed their own meanings on them. Instead of allowing the text and context in which the words appear to speak for themselves, they simply brought to their research preconceived notions about the meanings of the terms. Finally, of those scholars whose research has been objective, they have often failed to communicate their findings clearly. They often used imprecise language to discuss what they had found. For example, in their writings, they employed terms like Israelite and Jew interchangeably without regard for the significant differences that the terms can imply. Although original sources have been primary, when necessary, secondary sources have been considered.

Because the purpose of the research is to discern the meanings of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," it is necessary to go directly to the relevant texts. Therefore, incorporated into this thesis, is a compendium of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." This compendium is as complete as possible a collection of verses, sections or complete documents where the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" are employed. This compendium will allow the reader access to all the sources upon which this thesis bases its conclusions. Thus a reader will be able to clearly see why and how the thesis' conclusions were formulated. For the most part, the English for the verse, section or document is based upon the best available scholarly translation. However, because those who trans-

lated these works were not clearly aware of the problem in translating the term "Jew," there were mistranslations. Where the term "Jew" is mistranslated, these mistakes have been corrected. Also, where appropriate and helpful, the verse, section or document will appear with accompanying notes. These notes are designed to give the reader a more enlightened understanding of the material presented.

In order to glean the most information about the meanings and uses of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," it will at times be necessary to contrast these terms to other national, ethnic, religious or racial terms. Of course, when this is done, the comparison will be confined to the terms found in the text under consideration. Thus, in analyzing the term "Jew" as used in the Gospel of Mark, it will probably be necessary to consider the uses of the word Israelite as well. This type of comparison, though not to be used extensively, should produce insights into the use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism."

LIMITS

Realizing that it would be almost impossible to cover the entire history of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," certain limits were set restricting this thesis. Obviously, it was only proper to begin the research with the earliest Jewish materials available. After studying these early Jewish texts, it became clear that to better understand the terms under consideration it was necessary to go to non-Jewish sources as well. However, it was not possible to study all non-Jewish texts, so only those that were the product of people who were intimately involved with the

Jews, were sought. After setting the upper limit, the completion of the Talmud, the limits were determined. This thesis examines the following works; collections of works and collections of documents: Bible, Elephantine Text, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, works by Philo, writings of Josephus, New Testament, and the Talmud. Background for each of these sources will be given later in the thesis.

FORMAT

This thesis deals with a large collection of diverse material. Therefore, in order to make the material and information generated from it manageable, this thesis will be divided into chapters. Each chapter, excluding this one and the conclusion, will deal separately with one of the sources mentioned above. This means that Chapter Two will deal strictly with the use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" in the Bible. Chapter Three will be limited to these terms in the Elephantine Text, and this will continue throughout the thesis. Where and if necessary, some chapters may be divided up into smaller sections in order to further elucidate the area of concern. Each chapter or section will contain an analysis of how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" function in the source being discussed. This analysis will be concerned at times with the date of the verses, the speaker or addressee, frequency and, of course, the meaning. Also included in each chapter will be a compendium of the verses, sections or documents in which the terms "Jew" or "Judaism" appear. However, for the works of Josephus only a selection of verses could be presented. This is due to the extensive use of the term "Jew"

in Josephus' writings. An explanation of how the verses were chosen will be presented in the chapter dealing with the works of Josephus.

The final chapter will attempt to draw together the individual conclusions presented in each of the earlier chapters. In the final chapter, a comparison will be made as to how the terms were used in the different works. Also, conclusions will be presented as to how one use of the term "Jew" in a particular text may have influenced the use of the term in another text. This final chapter will develop a possible history for the development of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism."

TERMINOLOGY

The task of this thesis is made difficult because of the complexities of language. One of the first problems encountered in researching this thesis was discerning what the author of the original text was trying to convey. Then, once that was discerned, the next problem was how to translate the original into English that would be representative of it. An example of this problem would be selecting between translating a word as Jew or as Judean. There are clearly different connotations for each of these words. However, it seems that some translators did not deal with this problem and therefore their translations failed to represent the original text correctly. A second problem encountered with terminology was using words which best described the connotations of certain proper names. Therefore, in order to make this thesis clear and precise, the following are definitions for words which will be important in this thesis. It should be noted that these definitions are given for the

purpose of this thesis and are not necessarily applicable in more philosophic discussions of religion.

Nation --

... a group of people who have similar institutions and customs and a sense of social homogeneity and mutual interests. Coupled with the fact that these people are members of a country united under an independent government.¹

Religion -- "the service or adoration of God or a god, as expressed in forms of worship."²

Judean -- a person who is a member of the nation of Judea, either living in that country or not. It is essential to realize that though the term Judean expresses a national affiliation it also expresses a religious identity as well. During the periods under study, religion and national identity were closely linked. It was almost impossible to separate national identity from religion.

Jew -- a person who is committed or identified with a particular set of religious practices, beliefs and behaviors, as well as a person who is identified with a particular group of people because of certain ethnic characteristics.

Judaism -- the abstract term for those religious practices, beliefs or behaviors with which those known as Jews are identified.

These definitions will be further elucidated as they are used in context.

1. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition, s.v. "Nation."

2. Ibid., s.v. "Religion."

Now that there is some clarity as to the use of terms, it is possible to proceed to the analysis itself.

CHAPTER TWO

BIBLE

INTRODUCTION

This examination of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" begins with the Bible. This text is recognized by Jews as the primary work about their ancestors. Therefore, it is only logical to begin with that work which is traditionally considered the foundation upon which all other Jewish works rest. The Bible will be analyzed at the start according to its three major divisions. Traditionally, Jews understood the Bible to be divided into three parts, Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa. By analyzing the Bible in this fashion one will see more clearly the occasions when the term "Jew" occurred. After that first analysis those findings will be more closely examined. First, there will be a dating of the verses in which the terms "Jew" or "Judaism" are found. Then there will be a discussion concerning the speaker or speakers. Finally, there will be an analysis of the meanings of the terms in the Biblical text.

OCCURRENCES OF THE TERM "JEW" OR "JUDAISM" IN THE BIBLE

PENTATEUCH

The term "Jew" is not found in the first major section of the Bible, the Pentateuch. The individuals mentioned in this division that are traditionally referred to as Jews, e.g., Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, etc., are not identified by the term "Jew." Abraham, then Abram, in Genesis 14:13 is called a Hebrew. While he is in Egypt, Joseph is called

a Hebrew by Potiphar's wife.¹ The other term that is found in the Pentateuch is Yisrael. This term is used extensively throughout the text to refer to a particular group of people. However, the examination of these other terms are not the major focus of this thesis. These terms will be discussed as it becomes necessary.

Also it should be noted that the term "Judaism" is not found in the Pentateuch. One would not expect to find the term "Judaism" if the term "Jew" has not yet been used. In fact, there does not seem to be any term to describe the abstract concept of religion. This is most likely due to the ancients understanding that religion and nationality are intimately connected.

PROPHETS

The term "Jew" does occur in the section known as Prophets. It appears, however, in only seventeen verses. It appears in Second Kings (4), Isaiah (2), Jeremiah (1), and Zechariah (1). Considering that there are twenty-one books, if one counts First and Second Samuel, and First and Second Kings plus the twelve minor prophets separately, this is not a very large number of occurrences. It is also possible that this number is inflated by the two verses that appear in Isaiah. These two verses

1. See Mary P. Gary, "The Habiru-Hebrew Problem," H. U. C. A., (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1958) and Moshe Greenberg, The Hab/piru, (New Haven, 1955).

appear to be lifted directly from Second Kings.² If this is the case, then it is reasonable to assume that the author of Isaiah did not use the term "Jew" naturally or it would have appeared elsewhere. Therefore, the use of the term "Jew" in the Prophets is infrequent.

The term Hebrew can still be found in use in First Samuel as well as in Jeremiah. However, it is not used with much frequency. In fact, it is used less than the term Yehudi. The term Yisrael is still found in frequent use in the Prophets.

As in the Pentateuch, the term "Judaism" is not used. The phrase "the religions of the Jews" cannot be found either.

HAGIOGRAPHHA

It is only in the Hagiographa that the term "Jew" is used with any frequency. There are over eighty verses in which the term Yehudi appears. The majority of these verses occur in the Book of Esther. The term "Jew" also appears in verse in Daniel (2), Ezra (7), Nehemiah (11), and Second Chronicles (1). As before, the term "Judaism" does not occur.

The word Hebrew does occur in the Book of Jonah, while the term Israel is still used throughout the Hagiographa. The term Israel, however, does not appear in the Book of Esther. It is difficult to determine what the significance of this fact could be. Particularly, in light of the fact

2. George Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, trans. by David Green (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 370; Robert Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers Pub., 1941), p. 421.

that the Book of Esther is the one book in the Bible in which God is not mentioned. The concern of this thesis, however, is with the term "Jew" and its usage, not the term Israel.

DATE

The earliest use of the term "Jew" can be found in Second Kings. This is the book in which the term "Jew" first appears in the Bible. Fohrer dates Second Kings approximately 622 B. C. E. He explains the dating this way,

...the "author" wrote the major portion of the book soon after 622 and is the real creator of the work. Since he is unfamiliar with the Babylonian Exile and Josiah's death in battle, he must have completed his work before 609. The supplementor extended and finished it during the exile.³

All other uses of the term "Jew" are dated after that occurrence. The next usage of the term which is close in date to that of Second Kings is the Book of Jeremiah. Pfeiffer explains that,

...although Jeremiah began to prophesy in 626, he did not commit his words and deeds to writing until he dictated to Baruch, late in 605, ...⁴

Following the use in Jeremiah comes that one in Zechariah. Isaiah will be ignored in this dating process, because as shown earlier, the use of the term "Jew" in Isaiah comes originally from Second Kings.

The rest of the uses of the term "Jew" occur in the Hagiographa. By necessity of canonization, these works are of a later date. Therefore,

3. Fohrer, p. 236.

4. Pfeiffer, p. 500.

from this dating of the works, it has been shown that the term "Jew" is used more frequently in the later books.

WHO USES THE TERM JEW

The major reason why the frequency of the term "Jew" occurs more in the later books, is due to the increased interaction between the Judean and the non-Judean. It is clear from the dating and simply by reading the texts cited, that the places where the term "Jew" occurs is where there was or had been an interaction between the Judean and the non-Judean. One can readily see that the term Judean was often found in the mouth of the foreigner. One need only look at Second Kings to see that the interaction with the foreigner influenced the Judeans' use of the term. Because the Judeans had come into contact with the foreigners, they had to adopt the foreign usage of the term if they were to be understood.

It is after interacting with the non-Judean world and adopting its usage, that the Judeans begin to use the term among themselves. This is most noticeable in the Book of Esther. Here it is possible to see the exclusive use of the term Judean; it is used as if by a non-Judean. It is logical to assume that the increased use of the term Judean is a result of the increased interaction between the Judean and the non-Judean world.

MEANING OF THE TERM IN THE BIBLICAL TEXT

There are a number of verses one can look at which indicate the meaning of the term "Jew." Verses to be examined include Second Kings 18:26, 28, Isaiah 36:11, 13 and Second Chronicles 32:18. In all of these verses the term "Jew" is used as an adjective to modify the word language.

Therefore, the meaning of the phrase is "Judean language." It is only natural that a language is a national term and not a religious term. Only in recent times has the term "speaking Jewish" come to have a meaning. When these texts were being written, the term "Judean language" was a national term.

Another indication that the term "Jew" is being used as a national term can be derived by examining Second Kings 25:25 and Jeremiah 38:19. In these verses Judean is used alongside other national terms. It only makes sense to include Judean with these other terms if it too is a national term. Otherwise the verse becomes meaningless. The nationalistic connotation of the term "Jew" is reinforced because it never seems to be associated with any religious uses, behaviors, practices or ideas. One cannot find in the Bible a place where the term "Jew" is in direct association with a religious practice or idea. The majority of the times when the term "Jew" is used, it is simply used to describe a group of people. It is not used to describe their religious affiliation. In almost every place in the Bible where the term "Jew" is found, it is possible to replace the term with any other national term and the inherent logic of the sentence remains.

In Jeremiah 34:9 the term "Jew" is also being used in a national sense. This verse strengthens the theory that the term Yehudi in the Bible is a national term. In this verse the term Hebrew is used as a sub-group of the term Judean. If one understands the term Hebrew, in this case, to be a social, not religious class, describing a particular group of people.

Then it is necessary from this, to understand Judean as being a larger more general group or nation in which Hebrews constitute a less privileged social class.

In order to fully understand the use of the term Judean in the Bible it is necessary to examine the Book of Esther. As indicated earlier, this is where the majority of the uses of the term "Jew" occur. As noted previously, this is also the only book in the Bible that does not mention God. In fact this book is obviously devoid of any religious aspect. It appears as if religion has been deliberately avoided in the writing of this work. This point is made in Pfeiffer when he states,

...the author was an ardent Jew writing for the glorification of his race -- not of his religion.

and later he continues

his chauvinistic loyalty to his race, as in the case of some Zionists, has no relation to religion.⁵

Pfeiffer assumes that the author of this book perceived the Judeans as a race, but nowhere does Pfeiffer explain how he arrived at his conclusion. The author of this thesis believes that the writer of Esther understood the term in a national sense rather than as a race.

Some scholars may say that both Pfeiffer and this thesis are incorrect. They would argue that Esther 8:17 indicates that the term "Jew" is a religious term. In 8:17 the people who are afraid decide to convert to Judaism. Though this may seem initially to be correct, it is not.

5. Ibid., p. 743.

S. Zeitlin has made a very important point in his article "Who is a Jew?"⁶ There he states the hit-pa'el form can be used not only as a reflexive, but can also be used in the sense of "to feign." Therefore, Zeitlin postulates that the people did not convert, they merely pretended to be Jewish. This explanation certainly makes sense in the context of the story. Zeitlin in his article gives a complete explanation of the term and its usage. He also gives an example of the same form occurring in another place in the Bible, First Kings 14:5. Thus, it still remains established that the use of the term "Jew" in Esther is a national and perhaps to some degree an ethnic term.

There is one more problem involving the term "Jew" which needs to be discussed. The problem arises out of Zechariah 8:23. In this verse the term "Jew" and God are used together in the same verse. One may argue from this verse that the term Yehudi should be understood as strictly a religious term. This would be a mistake. The verse indicates that the nation and its religion are bound to one another, that the religion and national identities are intertwined, each complementing the other. In this verse, those of other nations are going to take hold of those of one special nation. From this verse, the connection between nation and religion is shown. Therefore, one should realize that Judean is primarily a national identity with the religion playing a role within it. The religious role is a product of the ancients understanding of nationhood.

6. Solomon Zeitlin, "Who is a Jew? A Halachic-Historic Study," The Jewish Quarterly Review, 49 (1958-1959):241.

Clearly, from what has been shown, one can recognize the main connotation of the term "Jew" in the Bible to be a national term, with religious and ethnic identities incorporated into that.

Based upon the usage of the term in the Bible and the definitions presented in Chapter One, it is correct to translate Yehudi as Judean. In fact, this is also recognized by the translators of the Jewish Publication Society who produced The Torah and The Prophets. In both of these works, the translators change Jew, found in the nineteen hundred and fifty-five edition of the Jewish Publication Society Bible, to Judean. In their new translation of the Book of Esther, however, they continue to use Jew. Based upon the research presented here the new translation of the Book of Esther is incorrect. Every usage of the term "Jew" in the Bible should be translated as Judean.

II KINGS

- 16:6 At that time King Rezin of Aram recovered Elath for Aram; he drove out the Judeans from Elath, and Edomites came to Elath and settled there, as is still the case.
- 18:26 Eliakim son of Hilkiah, Shebna, and Joah replied to the Rabshakeh, "Please, speak to your servants in Aramaic, for we understand it; do not speak to us in Judean in the hearing of the people on the wall."
- 18:28 And the Rabshakeh stood and called out in a loud voice in Judean: "Hear the words of the Great King, the King of Assyria."
- 25:25 In the seventh month, Ishmael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama, who was of royal descent, came with ten men and they struck down Gedaliah and he died, (they also killed) the Judeans and the Chaldeans who were present with him at Mizpah.

ISAIAH

- 36:11 Eliakim, Shebna, and Hoah replied to the Rabshakeh, "Please, speak to your servants in Aramaic, since we understand it; do not speak to us in Judean in the hearing of the people on the wall."
- 36:13 And the Rabshakeh stood and called out in a loud voice in Judean:

JEREMIAH

- 32:12 (11) I took the deed of purchase, the sealed text and the open one according to rule and law, (12) and gave the deed to Baruch son of Meriah son of Mahseiah in the presence of my kinsman Hanamel, of the witnesses who were names in the deed, and all the Judeans who were sitting in the prison compound.
- 34:9 (8) The word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord after King Zedekah had made a covenant with all the people in Jerusalem to proclaim a release among them -- (9) that everyone should set free his Hebrew slave, both male and female, and that no one should keep his fellow Judean enslaved.
- 38:19 King Zedekah said to Jeremiah, "I am worried about the Judeans who have defected to the Chaldeans; that they (the Chaldeans) might hand me over to them to abuse me."

Jeremiah cont.

40:11 Likewise, all the Judeans who were in Moab, Ammon, and Edom, or who were in other lands, heard that the king of Babylon had let a remnant stay in Judah, and that he had put Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan in charge of them.

40:12 All these Judeans returned from all the places to which they had scattered. They came to Judah, to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and they gathered large quantities of wine and figs.

41:3 Ishmael also killed all the Judeans who were with him -- with Gedaliah in Mizpah -- and the Chaldean soldiers who were stationed there.

NOTE: This is the word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah in Tahpanhes.

43:9 Get yourself large stones, and embed them in mortar in the brick structure at the entrance of Pharaoh's palace in Tahpanhes, with some Judeans looking on.

44:1 The word which came to Jeremiah for all the Judeans living in the land of Egypt, living in Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph, and in the land of Pathros.

52:28 This is the number of those whom Nebuchadrezzar exiled in the 7th year: 3,023 Judeans. (29) In the eighteen year of Nebuchadrezzar, 832 persons (were exiled) from Jerusalem.

52:29 And in the 23rd year of Nebuchadrezzar, Nebuzaradan, the chief of the guards, exiled 745 Judeans. The total came to 4,600 persons.

ZECHARIAH

8:23 Thus said the Lord of Hosts: In those days, ten men from nations of every tongue will take hold -- they will take hold of every Judean by a corner of his cloak and say, "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you."

ESTHER

2:5 There was a certain Judean in Shushan the castle, whose name was Mordecai the son of Jair the son of Shimei the son of Kish, a Benjamite.

Esther cont.

- 3:4 Now it came to pass, when they spoke daily unto him, and he hearkened not unto them, that they told Haman, to see whether Mordecai's words would stand; for he had told them that he was a Judean.
- 3:6 But it seemed contemptible in his eyes to lay hands on Mordecai alone; for they had made known to him the people of Mordecai, herefrom Haman sought to destroy all the Judeans that were throughout the whole kingdom of Ahaserus, even the people of Mordecai.
- 3:10 And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Judean's enemy.
- 3:13 And the letters were sent by posts into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all Judeans, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even upon the 13th day of the 12th month, which is the month of Adar, and to take the spoil of them for a prey.
- 4:3 And in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Judeans, and fasting, and weeping and wailing; and many lay in sackcloth and ashes.
- 4:7 And Mordecai told him of all that had happened unto him, and the exact sum of the money that Haman had promised to pay to the king's treasuries for the Judeans, to destroy them.
- 4:13 Then Mordecai bade them return answer unto Esther; 'Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Judeans.'
- 4:14 For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then will relief and deliverance arise to the Judeans from another place, but thou and thy father's house will perish; and who knoweth whether thou art not come to royal estate for such a time as this?
- 4:16 Then Esther bade them return answer unto Mordecai; 'Go, gather together all the Judeans that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maidens will fast in like manner; and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law; and if I perish, I perish.'

Esther cont.

- 5:13 Yet all that availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Judean sitting at the king's gate.
- 6:10 Then the king said to Haman: 'Make haste, and take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said, and do even so to Mordecai the Judean, that sitteth at the king's gate; let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken.'
- 6:13 And Haman recounted unto Zeresh his wife and all his friends everything that had befallen him. Then said his wise men and Zeresh his wife unto him, 'If Mordecai, before who thou hast begun to fall, be of the seed of the Judeans, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him.'
- 8:1 On that day did the king Ahasuerus give the house of Haman the Judeans' enemy unto Esther the queen. And Mordecai came before the king; for Esther had told what he was unto her.
- 8:3 And Esther spoke yet again before the king, and fell down at his feet, and besought him with tears to put away the mischief of Haman the Agagite, and his device that he had devised against the Judeans.
- 8:5 And she said: 'If it please the king, and if I have found favour in his, and the thing seem right before the king, and I be pleasing in his eyes, let it be written to reverse the letters devised by Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, which he wrote to destroy the Judeans that are in all the king's provinces;
- 8:7 Then the king Ahasuerus said unto Esther the queen and to Mordecai the Judean: 'Behold, I have given Esther the house of Haman, and him they have hanged upon the gallows, because he laid his hand upon the Jews.
- 8:8 Write ye also concerning the Judeans, as it liketh you, in the king's name, and seal it with the king's ring; for the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, may no man reverse.'
- 8:9 Then were the king's scribes called at that time, in the third month, which is the month Sivan, on the three and twentieth day thereof; and it was written according to all that Mordecai commanded concerning the Judeans, even to the satraps, and the governors and princes of the provinces which are from India unto Ethiopia, a hundred twenty and seven provinces, unto every province

Esther cont.

according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their language, and to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language.

8:11 That the king had granted the Judeans that were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, and to slay, and to cause to perish, all the forces of the people and province that would assault them, their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey.

8:16 The Judeans had light and gladness, and joy and honour.

8:17 And in every province, and in every city, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came, the Judeans had gladness and joy, a feast and a good day. And many from among the peoples of the land pretended to be Judeans; for the fear of the Judeans was fallen upon them.

9:1 Now in the twelfth month, which is the month Adar, on the 13th day of the same, when the king's commandment and his decree drew near to be put in execution, in the day that the enemies of the Judeans hoped to have rule over them; whereas it was turned to the contrary, that the Judeans had rule over them that hated them;

9:2 the Judeans gathered themselves together in their cities throughout all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, to lay hand on such as sought their hurt; and no man could withstand them; for the fear of them was fallen upon all the peoples.

9:3 And all the princes of the provinces, and the satraps, and the governors, and they that did the king's business, helped the Judeans; because the fear of Mordecai was fallen upon them.

9:5 And the Judeans smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and with slaughter and destruction, and did what they would unto them that hated them.

9:6 And in Shushan the castle the Judeans slew and destroyed five hundred men.

9:12 And the king said unto Esther the queen: The Judeans have slain and destroyed five hundred men in Shushan the castle, and the ten sons of Haman; what then have they done in the rest of the king's provinces!

Esther cont.

- 9:13 Then said Esther: 'If it please the king, let it be granted to the Judeans that are in Shushan to do to-morrow also according unto this day's decree, and let Haman's ten sons be hanged upon the gallows.'
- 9:15 And the Judeans that were in Shushan gathered themselves together on the 14th day also of the month of Adar, and slew three hundred men in Shushan; but on the spoil they laid not their hand.
- 9:16 And the other Judeans that were in the king's provinces gathered themselves together, and stood for their lives, and had rest from their enemies, and slew of them that hated them seventy and five thousand -- but on the spoil they laid not their hand.
- 9:18 But the Judeans that were in Shushan assembled together on the 13th day thereof, and on the 14th thereof; and on the 15th day of the same they rested, and made it a day of feasting and gladness.
- 9:19 Therefore do the Judeans of the villages, that dwell in the unwalled towns, make the fourteenth day of the month Adar a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another.
- 9:20 And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Judeans that were in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both nigh and far,
- 9:22 the days wherein the Judeans had rest from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning into a good day; that they should make them days of feasting and gladness, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor.
- 9:23 And the Judeans took upon them to do as they had begun, and as Mordecai had written unto them;
- 9:24 because Haman the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the enemy of all the Judeans, had devised against the Judeans to destroy them, and had cast pur, that is, the lot, to discomfit them, and to destroy them;
- 9:27 the Judeans ordained, and took upon them, and upon their seed, and upon all such as joined themselves unto them, so as it should not fail, that they would keep these two days according to the writing thereof, and according to the appointed time thereof, every year;

Esther cont.

- 9:28 and that these days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Judeans, nor the memorial of them perish from their seed.
- 9:29 Then Esther the queen, the daughter of Abihail, and Mordecai the Judean, wrote down all the acts of power, to confirm this second letter of Purim.
- 9:30 And he sent letters unto all the Judeans, to the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus, with words of peace and truth,
- 9:31 to confirm these days of Purim in their appointed times according as Mordecai the Judean and Esther the queen had enjoined them, and as they had ordained for themselves and for their seed, the matters of the fastings and their cry.
- 10:3 For Mordecai the Judean was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Judeans, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren; seeking the good of his people and speaking peace to all his seed.

DANIEL

- 3:8 Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and brought accusation against Judeans.
- NOTE: In this section the Chaldeans are speaking to Nebuchadnezzar.
- 3:12 There are certain Judeans whom thou hast appointed over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee; they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou set up.

EZRA

- 4:12 (11) And now - this is the copy of the letter that they sent unto him, even unto Artaxerxes the king -- thy servants the men beyond the River -- and now (12) be it known unto the king, that the Judeans that came up from thee are come to us unto Jerusalem, they are building the rebellious and the bad city, and have finished the walls, and are digging out the foundations.
- 4:23 Then when the copy of King Artaxerxes; letter was read before

Ezra cont.

Rehum, and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went in haste to Jerusalem unto the Judeans, and made them to cease by force and power.

5:1 Now the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied unto the Judeans that were in Judah and Jerusalem; in the name of the God of Israel prophesied they unto them.

5:5 But the eye of their God was upon the elders of the Judeans and they did not make them cease, till the matter should come to Darius, and then answer should be returned by letter concerning it.

NOTE: This is part of a decree made by Cyrus that had been left in the archives.

6:7 let the work of this house of God alone; let the governor of the Judeans and the elders of the Judeans build this house of God in its place.

6:8 Moreover I make a decree concerning what ye shall do to these elders of the Judeans for the building of this house of God; that of the king's good, even of the tribute beyond the River, expenses be given with all diligence unto these men, that they be not hindered.

6:14 And the elders of the Judeans builded and prospered, through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they builded and finished it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the decree of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artexerxes king of Persia.

NEHEMIAH

1:2 Now it came to pass...that Hani, one of my brethren, came out of Judah, he and certain men; and I asked them concerning the Judeans that had escaped, that were left of the captivity, and concerning Jerusalem.

2:16 And the rulers know not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I as yet told it to the Judeans, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the rulers, nor to the rest that did work.

3:33 But it came to pass that, when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Judeans.

Nehemiah cont.

- 3:34 And he (Sanballat) spoke before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said: "What of these feeble Judeans? will they restore at will? will they sacrifice? will they make an end this day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish, seeing they are burned?"
- 4:6 And it came to pass that, when the Judeans that dwelt by them came, they said unto us ten times: 'Ye must return unto us from all places.'
- 5:1 Then there arose a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Judeans.
- 5:8 And I said unto them: 'We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Judeans, that sold themselves unto the heathen; and would ye nevertheless sell your brethren, and should they sell themselves unto us?' Then held they their peace, and found never a word.
- 5:17 Moreover there were at my table of the Judeans and the rulers a hundred and fifty men, beside those that came unto us from among the nations that were round about us.
- 6:6 NOTE: This was written to Nehemiah in a letter from Sanballat. where in was written: 'It is reported among the nations, and Geshem saith it, that thou and the Judeans think to rebel; for which cause thou buildest the wall; and thou wouldest be their king, even according to these words
- 13:23 In those days also saw I the Judeans that had married women of Ashdod, of Amon, and of Moab;
- 13:24 and their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Judean's language, but according to the language of each person.

II CHRONICLES

- 32:18 And they cried with a loud voice in the Judean's language unto the people of Jerusalem that were on the wall, to terrify them, and to affright them; that they might take the city.

CHAPTER THREE

ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI

INTRODUCTION

The next texts to be examined are the Elephantine Papyri. Analysis of these documents logically follows the study of the Bible because this collection represents "the earliest Jewish documents in existence (except one or two inscriptions) outside the Bible."¹ This collection of 83 letters, legal documents, lists of names, accounts and three literary pieces are brought together by A. Cowley in his book, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C. Though other documents have since been discovered, this collection gives a broad and clear picture of the most important texts that have been found. For the purpose of this study, therefore, this collection is the primary source.

The text contained in this work covers a period of time from approximately 494 B. C. E. to 400 B. C. E. This is the period during which Egypt was under Persian rule.² A most important feature of these documents is that they are contemporary with the events about which they were written. This most probably presents a more accurate picture of that period than texts written later about the same period. They also present an accurate picture of how the term "Jew" was used during that period of time.

1. Arthur Cowley, Jewish Documents of the Time of Ezra (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), p. x.

2. Ibid., p. x.

In order to utilize these texts most effectively, it is necessary to have some basic background concerning the environment of which they were a product. The Elephantine colony was located on the southern portion of an island situated in the Nile River. This island was part of Egypt's southern border during the period of Persian rule. Located in Elephantine was a military fortress, referred to in the texts as Yeb. This military site was manned primarily by mercenaries. These men were in the employ of the Persian government that ruled Egypt. The mercenaries stationed there represented many nationalities including Persian, Babylonian, and Egyptian.³ One of the larger segments of the mercenary population was Judeans. These individuals were referred to in the texts as Yehudi, while their community was called the "Judean garrison." The appropriate translations for their terms will be discussed later.

The Judean mercenaries that lived in Elephantine are not only spoken of in the texts under consideration, but they are also referred to in the Letter of Aristeas. One must also realize the mercenaries that lived in the Elephantine colony brought family with them. Therefore, in the texts, references are made to Judean mercenaries as well as to their family. From texts collected, it appears that the Judeans lived on equal terms with the Egyptians and the other nationalities. The Judeans had business dealings not only among themselves, but with other peoples as well. It

3. Ibid., p. xi.

also becomes clear that some of the Judeans intermarried, while some even adopted foreign names.⁴ Even though it seems that the Judeans were treated as equals, Cowley states that the texts also indicate anti-Judean feelings. In fact, he shows in the texts where there are indications of violence directed against the Judean population in Elephantine. Cowley feels that the anti-Judean feelings were a product of the non-Judean hatred of the Judean religion. More will be said about the Judean religion as the discussion of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" proceeds.

ANALYSIS

A collection of texts presents special challenges and problems which a canonized work does not. The first and most obvious problems when working with a collection is that the texts under scrutiny represent only a portion of the texts written in a given community. There is little doubt that other texts will be found in future excavations in Elephantine, and these new finds may provide new and different insights into the use of the term "Jew." Secondly, because there is no canonized or complete authorized version of the text available, only a selection of the extant texts will be analyzed. But, as it has been mentioned earlier in this section, A. Cowley's work provides the most significant texts to date. A third factor in analyzing these texts is that they were brought together by a modern scholar and were not systematized by an original editor. Therefore, in examining the texts, one must develop a format which is different

4. Arthur Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), p. xvii.

from that of a canonized work. Because of the unique problems a collection presents, the analysis of the Elephantine texts will be divided into two parts. One part of the analysis will examine texts that pertain to legal or business affairs. The other sections of the analysis will focus on documents that present information pertaining to the religious life of the Elephantine Colony.

Before the analysis begins, it is important to emphasize a point that was alluded to earlier. This is the fact that these texts are the writings of a group of people who existed outside their homeland. Those people who produced the materials to be examined were foreigners. This fact is essential in understanding how they used the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." As has already been shown, this foreign interaction affected the Biblical ways and frequency of the terms under study. There is some reason to believe that living outside of their land and experiencing a higher rate of interaction, their usage of the terms would be affected even more. It is with this awareness that it is possible to proceed with the analysis of these texts.

A. Legal/Business Documents

Among the legal and business documents found, there are examples of legal transactions which occurred between Judean and Judean as well as between Judean and non-Judean. Document 8 is an example of a business transaction between two Judeans, while document 6 represents one between a Judean and a non-Judean. In both of these documents, as well as others presented in the compendium to this chapter, the term Yehudi

is employed. In the two examples cited, the term Yehudi is employed to more accurately identify one of the parties involved in the business transaction. It is logical that when writing a contract, deed, or letter of agreement that the parties involved be clearly identified to avoid any confusion at some later date. Therefore the term Yehudi is used as a method of further identification. The term Yehudi here is being used primarily as a national identification. It is being used to identify those mercenaries who now living in Elephantine were originally from or ancestors of people who came from Judea. Not only are national terms used for identification, but in some documents, the garrison to which an individual was attributed to is also indicated. Both national identity and military affiliation are used in writing the contract clearly identifying the parties involved.

The identification process, however, is not strictly for the two individuals making the agreement. A contract is also written so that others, government in particular, if there is cause for their involvement, will know what has transpired and between whom. Therefore, it might be thought that in a contract or deed between two Judeans there would be no need to indicate nationality. Certainly the parties involved would not need such information. However, if at some later date, there was some question of property ownership, and the deed needed to be examined, clarity of identification would result in fewer problems.

Another usage of the term Yehudi can be seen in document 27. This

document is a letter sent to a government official,⁵ discussing problems that had occurred in the Elephantine Colony. In this document the person writing refers to himself and his companions as the "Judean garrison." There are two facts that can be learned from this usage. The first is that he used the terms as a form of identification. He was trying to make sure that the official knew exactly to whom the injury was done. Secondly, he chose a term, "Judean garrison" because it was known to the government official.

In all the cases cited above, the term Yehudi is being used primarily as a national identification. In a community of mercenaries, it is logical that individuals are labeled by their place of origin. This means that the individuals might not refer to themselves as Yehudi, except where non-Judeans are involved. However, this is mere speculation and cannot be proven either way on this basis of the documents available.

B. Religious Documents

Perhaps the most interesting of the Elephantine Papyri are those that pertain to the religious life of the community. Of all the texts of a religious concern in Cowley's, only three of them contain the term "Jew." Because there are only three, each are examined concerning the context followed by a discussion of how Yehudi is employed. The first to be

5. Because the text is damaged it is not clear to whom this document was sent. A. Cowley in Aramaic Papyri on page 98 has a discussion of the problem and possible solutions.

considered is text 22. This document is a list of individuals who contributed money to the Temple of Ya'u, the God. Ya'u was the Judean God which the mercenaries brought with them to Elephantine. Cowley explains that Ya'u is the original form of YHWH and not the shorter form as some may think.⁶ Ya'u is the national God of the Judean mercenaries. It is to him that the temple is built and to no other deity, though it appears that other deities were worshipped along with Ya'u. At the end of the list of contributors, it states how the money is to be divided. There it explains,

The money which was paid on that day into the hands of Yedoniah b. Gemariah in the month of Phamenoth (was) the sum of 31 Kerashim 8 shekels, of which 12 Kerashim 6 shekels for Ya'u, 7 Kerashim for Ishumbethel, the sum of 12 Kerashim for 'Anethbethel.⁷

This clearly shows that, along with Ya'u, the national and the central God, other lesser Gods were worshipped as well.⁸ Document 21, also a text in which the term Yehudi is employed, supports the theory that the community worshipped more than one God. In that text the term God is found in the plural form, **אלהיא**. There are still other indications that the community worshipped more than one God. However, these texts are outside the limits of this thesis.⁹ There seems to be reasonable evi-

6. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, p. xviii. And Bezalel Porten, Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 105.

7. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, doc. 22.

8. Not all scholars agree with this explanation, see Porten for alternative explanation, p. 124.

9. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri, doc. 14:5.

dence to support the theory that the Judeans of Elephantine worshipped more than one God.

The next religious text to be considered is document 21. In this text King Darius orders the Judeans of Elephantine to observe the holiday of Unleaven Bread. There are a variety of theories that have been given to explain the contents of this letter. The major issue raised by the latter is why Hannaniah would have had to give basic instructions for the celebration. The thrust of this thesis does not, however, deal with the contents of the letter or the questions which it raises, but to understand the context in which Yehudi is being used. The king directed the letter toward those who have particular national ties. This holiday is part of the national religious observance, as is Ya'u a part of the national religious observance.¹⁰ Therefore, although it refers to a religious observance, the term is employed as a form of national identification.

The last document is #30. This is a petition to Bigvai the Persian viceroy of Judea, to allow the community to rebuild its temple that was destroyed. This raises questions about the Elephantine community's understanding of Judean religious life and to allowances of a temple outside of Jerusalem. But, the document does show that the community still recognized that it had to have a temple for its national God, Ya'u and that it should be based upon the one in Jerusalem. Along with showing

10. It is important to note that in this collection there is no other mention of other festivals. In Kraeling's collection there are a few minor references to the Shabbat, but no explanation of the term. It is usual to refer to a specific day, not a day on which work cannot be done.

this the document also confirms that the community in Elephantine had attachments with Jerusalem though they appeared to have been infrequent.

The use of the term "Jew" in these three letters parallels its usage in the legal/business text. It is used here as a form of identification, a way of stating clearly the parties involved. Here as with the legal documents the term is primarily a national term, though these documents deal with the religious life of the people. The term is employed as a national term with its religious implications clearly understood.

Based upon the discussion above, and the explanation of the terms in Chapter One, it is proper to translate the term Yehudi as Judean. This means that most classic translations of the Elephantine text need to be revised to accommodate the fact. The term Judean accurately reflects the attitudes of the original authors.

No. 6 line 3--456 B. C. E. --Document discussing land boundaries.

King Artaxerxes sat on his throne, said Dargman b. Harshin the Khorasmian whose station is fixed in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Artabanu, to Mahseiah b. Yedoniah a Judean who (lives) in the fortress of Yeb, of the detachment of Warizath, saying: You have sworn to me by the God, Ya'u in Yeb the fortress, you and your wife and your son, thru in all, about my land in regard to which I lodged a complaint against you before Damidata and his colleagues the judges,...

No. 6 line 9 and 10

..., and the house of Koniya b. Zadok, Judean of the detachment of Athropan, to the west of it, and the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah, Judean, of the detachment of Warizath, at the lower end of it, and the house of Espement b Peft'onith, boatman of the cataract, at the upper end of it.

No. 8 line 2--460 B. C. E. --Discussion of land.

Artaxerxes, the king, said Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, a Judean holding property in Yeb the fortress of the detachment of Haumadata, to Mibtahiah, spinster (?), his daughter,...

No. 9 line 2--460 B. C. E. --Discussion of land.

Artaxerxes, the king, said Mahseiah b. Yedoniah Judean, of Yeb, of the detachment of Haumadata, to Jezariah b. Uria, of the same detachment,...

No. 10 line 3--456 B. C. E. --Contract for a loan.

...said Ya'uhan daughter of Meshullak, spinster (?), of Yeb the fortress, to Meshullam b. Zaccur, Judean, of the fortress, as follows,...

No. 20 line 2-3--420 B. C. E. --A claim settlement.

...said Menahem and Araniah both sons of Meshullam b. Shelomem, Judeans of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Iddinnabu, to Yedoniah and Mehseiah, both sons of Ashor b. Zeho by Mibtahiah daughter of Mehseiah, Judeans of the same detachment, as follows:

No. 21 line 3(4) and 11--419 B. C. E. --Document which orders the observance of Passover and instructions on how to do so.

To my brethren, Yedoniah and his colleagues the Judean garrison, your brother Hannaniah. The welfare of my brethren may the gods seek. Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsames, saying: In the month of Tybi (?) let there be a Passover for the Judean garrison. Now you accordingly count fourteen days of the month Nisan and keep the Passover, and from the 15th day to the 21st day of Nisan (are) seven days of Unleavened bread. Be clean and take heed. Do no work on the 15th day and on the 21st day. Also drink no beer, and anything at all in which there is leaven

do not eat, from the 15th day from sunset till the 21st day of Nisan, seven days, let it not be seen among you; do not bring (it) into your dwellings, but seal (it) into your dwellings, but seal (it) up during those days. Let this be done as Darius the king commanded (Address.) To my brethren Yedoniah and his colleagues the Judean garrison, your brother Hananiah.

No. 22 line 1--419 B. C. E. --List of Contributors to funds of temple.

On the 3rd of Phamenoth, 5th year. This is (a list of) the names of the Judean garrison who gave money for Ya'u the God, man by man the sum of 2 shekels:...

No. 27 line 20--410 B. C. E. --Deals with some of the problems of the Jewish garrison. text incomplete

Now if it please you lordship, let the injury be very much remembered which was done to us, us of the Judean garrison.

No. 30--408 B. C. E. --Petition

To our lord Bigvai, governor of Judea, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. The health of your lordship may the god of Heaven seek after exceedingly at all times, and give you favour before Darius the king and the princes of the palace more than now a thousand times, and may he grant you long life, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times. Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Yeb, (were) in league with Waidrang who was governor here, saying: The temple of Ya'u the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang, the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan who was commander of the garrison in the fortress of Syene saying: The temple which is in Yeb the fortress let them destroy. Then Nephayan bed out the Egyptians with the other forces. They came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons, they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, 5 gateways of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple they destroyed, and their doors they lifted off (?), and the hinges of those doors were bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there, all of it they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and silver and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took and made their own. Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all of them they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple. When this was done, we with our wives and our children put on sack-cloth

and fasted and prayed to Ya'u the Lord of Heaven, who let us see (our desire) upon the Waidrang. The dogs tore off the anklet from his legs, and all the riches he had gained were destroyed, and all the men who had sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also before this, at the time when this evil was done to us, we sent a letter to your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanēs the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Judeans. They have not sent any letter to us. Also since the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king till this day we wear sack-cloth and fast. Our wives are made widow-like, we do not anoint ourselves with oil and we drink no wine. Also from that (time) till (the present) day in the 17th year of Darius the king, neither meal-offering, incense, nor sacrifice do they offer in that temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Judeans, all of them inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows: If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build (it), since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt, (and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Ya'u to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice on the altar of the God Ya'u on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Judeans, all who are here, if they do so that that temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before Ya'u the God of Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sun of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria. Also of all this which was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marheshwan the 17th year of Darius the king.

No. 31--This is a duplicate of the one above, therefore it will not be given here.

No. 38 line 12--A document recommending to persons coming to Yeb. This is the last line of letter.

To my lords Yedoniah, Uriah and the priests, and the Judeans of the army, Ma'urziah b. Zeho.

No. 42 line 12--A business letter.

When the Judeans bring them before Arsames... say...you renounce your claim on me...and after their words do not delay.

No. 43 line 1--Very fragmented text, perhaps deed.

On the 25th day of Paophi that is...year...of king...at that time in Yeb, said Miphtahia daughter of Gemariah, a Judean of Yeb the fortress.

CHAPTER FOUR

APOCRYPHA

INTRODUCTION

Continuing chronologically the next text to be studied is the Apocrypha. This collection, like the Book of Esther, includes works dated to the time of the Hasmonean Revolution. Some of these works are significant in understanding the development of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." Because of the nature of the works included in the Apocrypha, not all of them contain the terms "Jew" or "Judaism." Some of those that do, are not necessarily helpful for the purpose of this thesis. However, there are two works in the Apocrypha which when analyzed provide a clear understanding of how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" were used during the period they were written. In order to best understand the terms in the Apocrypha, it is necessary to examine closely First and Second Maccabees. These two works represent two very different approaches to the use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." The examination of the Apocrypha will focus on First and Second Maccabees, with only a minor examination of the other works.

ANALYSIS

A. First Maccabees

There is discussion as to the exact date of the writing of First Maccabees. But, there seems to be a consensus that it was composed during

the second half of the second century B. C. E.¹ Most scholars suggest that the author of the work lived in Palestine. Some have been more precise, stating that the author of the work lived in Jerusalem.² Not only is the author of this work presumably a Palestinian, but he also appears to have been aligned with the Sadducees. In his writings he tended to emphasize the national and political affairs of his day. This is in contrast to the author of Second Maccabees who stressed cultic matters and superstition.³ For the sake of this thesis it is not essential whether the author of this text was a Sadducee or not. It may, however, shed some light as to why the author wrote as he did and why he emphasized national matters over cultic matters. Another point to be considered is who the author intended as his readership. It is likely that the author was writing this work for a Judean readership, thus effecting the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." This work, given all that has been said thus far about it, should give an accurate and interesting account of how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" were employed in Palestine during the second century B. C. E.

The first and most easily ascertainable fact concerns the frequency of the term "Jew" in First Maccabees. In this work the term "Jew"

1. Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, trans. P. R. Ackroyd (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965) p. 579.

2. Ibid., p. 579.

3. Ibid., p. 579.

occurs thirty-three times. This is in contrast to the terms Israel/Israelite which occur over fifty times. The differences between the terms "Jew" and Israel/Israelite become more apparent as this analysis continues. As has been the pattern thus far, the term "Judaism" does not occur in this work.

When analyzing those verses in which the term "Jew" occurs a pattern begins to emerge. It becomes apparent that the term "Jew" is used in two contexts. It is first used in a situation where a non-Judean is speaking or writing. Examples of this can be found in verses 11:3 and 11:30. In each of these verses King Demetrius used the term "Jew" to refer to a particular group of people. This type of usage, where a non-Judean uses the term, occurs approximately seventeen times.

The other times the term "Jew" is used occur when a Judean has to communicate with a non-Judean, either in spoken or written form. Therefore, it states in 13:41 that the people begin their diplomatic documents with the phrase "leader of the Judeans." Also when an emissary was sent to Rome he introduced himself to the Senate as representing the nation of the Judeans, 12:3. It may be argued that the term "Jew," engraved on the memorial tablets that were erected in the temple in honor of Simon, does not follow the pattern that has been articulated above. However, it should be realized that those tablets were not only erected for the benefit of the Judeans, but they were also intended for non-Judeans. Thus using the term "Jew" in those tablets complies with the pattern that has been described.

It is clear from these two contexts that the non-Judean world referred to the people in question as Judeans. However, it is equally clear that the Judeans did not refer to themselves in that same fashion. They only used the term "Jew" to identify themselves when they were interacting with the non-Judean world. When these people were referring to themselves among themselves, they would employ the term Israel/Israelite. This can be derived from the fact that only the term Israel is used in their prayers, examples of this are 4:30 and 9:21. It should be understood that prayer is that moment when individuals are most alone. Thus an individual uses that term which is most comfortable and natural for self-identification. Nowhere does one find the term "Jew" used in the Judeans' prayers. This would seem to indicate that the term "Jew" was not natural for them, but that the term Israel was their own term. Also it is clear that for the author of the text, the term Israel was his regular term, for it is employed throughout the narrative of his work. As stated earlier, the author of this text was writing for his own people, thus he used that term which the Judeans used among themselves, namely Israel. When a Judean was speaking to other Judeans in First Maccabees, the term used was Israel not "Jew," thus confirming that the term Israel was used among Judeans. It should be obvious that for the author of First Maccabees the term Israel was the term he used for self-identification. He employed the term "Jew" in order to accurately record and describe the events he was concerned about. Thus, at this time the terms "Jew" and Israel/Israelite were employed in different

contexts to identify the same people. It is probably that those using the different terms recognized different aspects of the group they were identifying. Thus the non-Judean world saw the group more as a nationality, while the people themselves had a religious identity which they affirmed by the term Israel.

When the term "Jew" is used in First Maccabees it not only is used in a particular context, but it is also used with a particular meaning. By examining closely those verses where the term "Jew" occurs, a basic meaning for the term develops. When King Demetrius addressed a correspondence, he addressed it to the nation of the Judeans. When the Judeans began a diplomatic letter they began it with "in the first year of Simon the great and high priest and captain and leader of the Judeans." In almost every place where the term "Jew" is found it is used as a national term. It is used to indicate a particular group of people. There does not appear any case where the term "Jew" is used as a religious/ethnic term. When a religious/ethnic connotation is intended, as in a prayer or when speaking to one another, the term Israel is used. It seems clear that the term "Jew" in First Maccabees is used primarily as a national term and secondarily as a religious/ethnic term. This connection between nationhood and religion has already been explained in Chapter One of this thesis. The type of usage found in First Maccabees is the same as was found in the Bible and the Elephantine Texts.

As was discussed in reference to the Bible and the Elephantine Texts the translation of the term "Jew" has also been a problem in First

Maccabees. The classic English translation of First Maccabees renders the Greek term Ioudaios as Jew. However, as has been discussed in the introduction, Jew has as its primary meaning a religious/ethnic identity. But, in First Maccabees the author used the term Ioudaios to emphasize national identity. Therefore, in order to more accurately reflect the intention of the author, it is necessary to translate the Greek term as Judean.

B. Second Maccabees

It is stated at the beginning of Second Maccabees that the text is based upon an early history. The five volume work upon which the author of Second Maccabees based his work was written by Jason of Cyrene. Some scholars think that Second Maccabees is also based upon First Maccabees. This they explain, is why there are similarities between the two. Others feel that Second Maccabees is not based upon First Maccabees, but the similarities arise because both First Maccabees and Jason's history are based upon the same materials. Goodspeed explains that Second Maccabees was completed some time between 76 and 63 B. C. E.⁴ He also states that the author of the work was sympathetic to the Pharisaic philosophy.⁵ As was mentioned earlier, Second Maccabees stresses cultic matters and superstition more than is found in First

4. Edgar J. Goodspeed, The Story of the Apocrypha (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939) p. 87.

5. Ibid., p. 87.

Maccabees. This can be attributed to the fact that one author was a Sadducee while the other author was a Pharisee. Each of these authors was attempting to stress the philosophy to which they adhered. The most important difference though between First and Second Maccabees for the purpose of this thesis is that Second Maccabees was written in Alexandria.⁶ This means that Second Maccabees is a reflection of Alexandrian usage of the term "Jew," as compared to the Palestinian usage found in First Maccabees. The difference in location has a great influence upon the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism."

The first difference that exists between First and Second Maccabees has to deal with the frequency of occurrences of the term "Jew." As stated earlier, the term "Jew" occurs over thirty-three times and Israel over fifty times in First Maccabees. This is not the case in Second Maccabees, though the works are approximately the same length. In Second Maccabees the term "Jew" occurs fifty-six times, while the term Israel appears only five times. This change in frequency, as will be shown shortly, is related directly to a non-Palestinian understanding of the terms "Jew" and Israel. This is not the only significant change that is found in Second Maccabees. This is the first work in which the term "Judaism" or the phrase "religion of the Jews" occurs.⁷ This indicates that the author of the work understood the term "Jew" and the

6. Eissfeldt, p. 580.

7. Zeitlin, "Who is a Jew?", p. 258.

"religion of the Jews" differently than those who wrote before him.

Based on the foregoing, it seems that in Second Maccabees, the term "Jew" is undergoing a metamorphosis.

In order to clarify the usage of the term "Jew," it is most useful to look first at those places where it is not used. In First Maccabees it has been shown that the term Israel was used in prayers, by the narrator when he was writing for his Judean readership, and when a Judean was speaking or corresponding with another Judean. However, in Second Maccabees the term Israel is used much less frequently and in a far more specific manner. Of the five occurrences of the term Israel, four of them are found in prayers. For the author of Second Maccabees, the term Israel is obviously a strongly religious term.⁸ This can be seen by the fact that in every other context where the word Israel has been found in First Maccabees, in Second Maccabees the term "Jew" is used, except in two instances where the term Hebrew appears. The term "Jew" in Second Maccabees is used with greater frequency, but the meaning has been altered.

By closely examining the verses in which the term "Jew" occurs, it can be seen that many of the verses have religious overtones, something which has not appeared prior to this work. Thus in 3:30 one reads that "the Jews blessed the Lord who had done marvellous honour to his own place." If this verse had occurred in First Maccabees, one would have

8. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. 1964, s.v. "Jew."

expected the term Israel to appear and not the term "Jew." Another clear example of the term "Jew" having a strongly religious/ethnic usage is 6:1. In this verse the king wanted the Jews to depart from the "laws of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God." Certainly this usage in Second Maccabees has a religious/ethnic connotation which cannot be found associated with the term "Jew" in First Maccabees.

It is possible to cite other examples where the term "Jew" is used with emphasis on the religious/ethnic aspects. However, the best evidence that the term "Jew" in Second Maccabees is now primarily a religious/ethnic identification, is the fact that the term "Judaism" and the phrase "religion of the Jews" occur for the first time in this work. Both of these emphasize the more abstract religious/ethnic identification, rather than the more concrete national aspect. When in 8:1 the author wrote of those that adhered to Judaism, he was trying to indicate a particular group of people with specific religious beliefs and practices. This is different than identifying a group of people by a common nationality. In Second Maccabees, the use of the term "Jew" has been altered and no longer has the strict connotation of national identification. The author has changed the term's usage to reflect a religious/ethnic connotation.

Another important change that has taken place in Second Maccabees is who uses the term "Jew." In First Maccabees it is shown that the term "Jew" is used by non-Judeans, as well as by Judeans speaking to non-Judeans. It is a term used by the non-Judean community to identify

a group of people. But this is no longer the case in Second Maccabees, the term "Jew" is not just used by the non-Jewish community. It seems to have been adopted by the Jews as a term of self-identification. This is seen in 1:1 where the Jews in Jerusalem write to the Jews in Egypt. This verse would not have appeared in this form in First Maccabees. The usage found here is foreign to that found in First Maccabees. In Second Maccabees the term "Jew" is used by Jews and non-Jews alike. The Jews no longer make a distinction between what they call themselves and what others call them. However, when the Jews are praying, their most private and sacred time, they continue to use the term Israel not the term "Jew." This seems to indicate that although the term "Jew" is used more readily than before, the most significant term for self-identification still remains the term Israel.

Second Maccabees is a watershed in the use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." In this text the term "Jew" is no longer a term primarily of national identification. It is here a term used primarily for religious/ethnic identification. This does not mean that the national connotation of the word is totally lost. It means that the national connotation of the term is now of secondary importance. This is not only a shift in usage. It is a change in the philosophic understanding of what is the common bond between those who are identified by the term "Jew." In First Maccabees the common bond is the national identity. For the author of Second Maccabees, it is the religious/ethnic identity. Along with this shift, there is, as has been shown, a change in who uses the term. No

longer is the term "Jew" being employed only in the presence of non-Jews. Now, Jews seem to be using the term among themselves. Perhaps this adoption of the term hints that the Jews living outside of Palestine were seeing their common bond to be a religious one, not one of nationality. This is also supported by the retention of the term Israel, which clearly was and always had been a religious term. It may be that the Jews always considered their primary bond that of religion which accounts for the use of the term Israel in their prayers. Finally, when the term "Jew" began to take on a religious meaning, the Jews understood that they could employ the term more accurately, continuing to affirm their religious bond.

It is important, in the context of this thesis, to determine how the Greek term for "Jew" should be translated into English. Based upon the discussion above and the definition of Jew in Chapter One, it is only logical that to best reflect the intent of the author it is correct to use the Jew.

C. Other Texts

So far in this discussion of the Apocrypha, the focus has been placed upon First and Second Maccabees. The reason for this limited examination is that those two works show how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," as well as Israel, were being employed at the period of time under study. But, only to speak of these two works would be negligent. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly comment on those other works in the Apocrypha that employ the terms "Jew" or "Judaism."

First Esdras and Third Maccabees⁸ are the two other texts in the Apocrypha which employ the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" more than once each. Just as First and Second Maccabees represent two different and distinct styles for using the terms "Jew" and "Judaism," so do First Esdras and Third Maccabees. Just as First Maccabees is a reflection of Palestinian Jews literature in which the term "Jew" occurs as a national term, so is First Esdras. It should be understood that First Esdras "does not really represent a new book, but only a translation of the conclusion of Chronicles, of the canonical book of Ezra and of a small part of Nehemiah, enlarged by the addition of one longer passage and two smaller passages."⁹ So naturally First Esdras' employment of the term "Jew" is the same as has been found in the later books of the Bible and First Maccabees.

Third Maccabees, as is Second Maccabees, is a product of a non-Palestinian. It too, was most likely written in Alexandria. The author composed the work near the end of the first century B. C. E.¹⁰ Third Maccabees and Second Maccabees were written in basically the same environment and at approximately the same time. It is natural therefore

8. Though Third Maccabees is not usually considered as part of the Apocrypha, it has been included here to correspond to the Apocrypha edited by Charles. Though this work is included here, it does not change the analysis of the work or the understanding of the term "Jew."

9. Eissfeldt, p. 574.

10. Ibid., p. 582.

that the usage of the term "Jew" would be similar in the two works.¹¹

The final four texts to be examined are Tobit, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and Additions to Esther. These four texts present a problem because the term "Jew" occurs only seven times in these books. In fact in Tobit, Susanna and Bel and the Dragon the term occurs only once per book. Therefore, the task of this thesis is made all the more difficult. In order to determine how these terms should be interpreted, it is necessary to discover when and where the works were composed, as well as how the term Israel is used in each. As has been shown earlier, non-Palestinian works found in the Apocrypha, tend to use the term "Jew" as a religious/ethnic term and infrequently use the term Israel. Whereas, Palestinian texts use the term "Jew" as a national term and use the term Israel regularly. Based on these facts it is possible to determine the usage of the term "Jew" in Susanna, Bel and the Dragon and Additions to Esther with a fair amount of certainty. Susanna¹² is a product of a Pharisee of Jerusalem states Goodspeed.¹³ It is postulated that the work was composed in the first century B. C. E.¹⁴ Coupled with this assumption

11. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "Jew."

12. Ibid., s.v. "Jew." There the author states that Susanna uses "Jew" in a Hellenistic fashion. However, the author of that article fails to consider where the work was composed or the use of the term Israel.

13. Goodspeed, p. 65.

14. R.H. Charles, ed. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912), vol. 1, Apocrypha p. 644.

is the fact that the term Israel is found relatively frequently in this work. Therefore, based upon this information it would be logical to conclude that Susanna uses the term "Jew," to be translated as Judean, as it is used in First Maccabees and First Esdras. It is used primarily as a national term.

Bel and the Dragon and Additions to Esther, however, do not fall into the same category. Both of these works are the product of non-Palestinian authors.¹⁵ Also, Charles dates these works to approximately the same time. By examining Bel and the Dragon it becomes obvious that the term Israel does not occur at all. The term Israel, however, does occur in Additions to Esther, almost exclusively in section C. This section is one of the sections in which the term Jew does not occur. It may be possible that section C was not composed by the same author or at the same time as the rest of the work.¹⁶ If these facts are true concerning Additions to Esther, then the rest of the work and Bel and the Dragon are products of the same environment in which Second Maccabees was composed. All of these works employ the term "Jew" in a religious/ethnic usage. Therefore, as is done in Second and Third Maccabees, the term "Jew" is to be translated from Greek to English as Jew in Bel and the Dragon and Additions to Esther.

The final work to be considered is Tobit. This text is made all the

15. Goodspeed, pp. 57 and 71.

16. Charles, ed., vol. 1, p. 668.

more difficult because the term "Jew" is used only once and there is no clear consensus as to where the work was composed. Some say the work was composed in Palestine while others say the work was composed outside of Palestine. Because of this controversy, it is more productive to look just at the term Israel. In Tobit the term Israel is employed with regularity and in the same fashion as it was in First Maccabees. Therefore, it is possible and logical to assume that the term "Jew," to be translated as Judean, also follows the same pattern as discussed in First Maccabees.

Certainly it is clear that the Apocrypha represents a period of time in which the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" are undergoing significant changes. The usage of the term "Jew" was moving away from the national identification to a religious/ethnic identification.

I ESDRAS

1:21 Yea, all the kings of Israel held not such a passover as Josias, and the priests, and the Levites, and the Judeans held with all Israel that were present in their dwelling place at Jerusalem.

2:18 (17) To king Artaxerxes our Lord, Thy servants, Rathmus the storywriter, and Samellius the scribe, and the rest of their council, and the judges that are in Coelesyria and Phoenicia. Be it now known to our lord the king, that the Judeans that are come up from you to us, being come unto Jerusalem, do build that rebellious and wicked city, and do repair the marketplaces and the walls of it, and do lay the foundation of a temple.

NOTE: This is the continuation of the letter from Rathmus and Samellius to King Artaxerxes.

2:23 and that the Judeans were rebellious; and raised always wars therein of old time; for the which cause even this city was laid waste.

4:49-50 Moreover he wrote for all the Judeans that should go out of his realm up into Judea concerning their freedom, that no officer, no governor, no satrap, nor treasurer, should forcibly enter into their doors; and that all the country which they occupied should be free to them without tribute; and that the Edomites should give over the villages of the Judeans which then they held.

6:1 Now in the 2nd year of the reign of Darius, Aggaeus the son of Addo the prophets, prophesied unto the Judeans in Judea and Jerusalem, in the name of the Lord, the God of Israel.

6:5 Nevertheless the elders of the Judeans obtained favor, because the Lord had visited the captivity; and they were not hindered from building, until such time as communication was made unto Darius concerning them, and his answer signified.

6:7-10 The copy of the letter which Sisinnes, governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, which their companions, the rulers in Syria and Phoenicia, wrote and sent unto Darius; To king Darius, greeting: Let all things be known unto our lord the king, that being come into the country of Judea, and entered into the city of Jerusalem, we found in the city of Jerusalem the elders of the Judeans that were of the captivity building a house unto the Lord, great and new, of hewn and costly stones, with timber laid in the walls.

6:27 And also he (Cyrus) commanded that Sisinnes the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, and their companions,

I Esdras cont.

and those which were appointed rulers in Syria and Phoenicia, should be careful not to meddle with the place, but suffer Zorobabel, the servant of the Lord, and governor of Judea, and the elders of the Judeans to build that house of the Lord in its place.

7:1-2 Then Sisinnus the governor of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with their companions, following the commandments of King Darius, did very carefully oversee the holy works, assisting the elders of the Judeans and rulers of the temple.

8:9 King Artaxerxes unto Esdras the priest and reader of the law of the Lord greeting: Having determined to deal graciously, I have given order, that such of the nation of the Judeans, and of the priests and Levites, and of those within our realm, as are willing and desirous, should go with thee unto Jerusalem.

I MACCABEES

2:23 And as he (Mattathias) ceased speaking these words (about not transgressing the Law), a Judean came forward in the sight of all to sacrifice upon the altar in Modin in accordance with the king's command.

4:1-2 And Gorgias took five thousand (foot-) men, and a thousand chosen horse; and the army moved by night so that it might fall upon the army of the Judeans and smite them suddenly; and (certain) men from the citadel were his guides.

8:19-20 And they went to Rome and the way was exceedingly long; and they entered into the Senate house, and answered and said; Judas, who is also (called) Maccabaeus, and his brethren, and the whole people of the Judeans, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered (as) your confederates and friends.

8:22-25 And this is the copy of the writing which they wrote back again on tablets of brass sent to Jerusalem, that it might be with them there for a memorial of peace and confederacy: 'Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the Judeans, by sea and by land forever; the sword also and the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome first, or for any of their confederates in all their dominions, the nation of the Judeans shall help them as confederates as the occasion shall prescribe to them, with all their heart;

I Maccabees cont.

NOTE: This is a continuation from brass tablets described in 8:22.

8:27 In the same manner, moreover if war comes first upon the nation of the Judeans, the Romans shall help them as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall prescribe to them;

NOTE: This is the conclusion of the brass tablets.

8:29 According to these words have the Romans made (a treaty) with the Judeans.

8:31- And as touching the evils which king Demetrius doeth unto you, we
32 have written to him saying: 'Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends (and) confederates the Judeans? If, therefore, they plead any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight thee by sea and by land.

10:22- And (when) Demetrius heard these things, he grieved, and said:
23 'Why have we permitted this to be done, that Alexander hath been before hand with us in establishing friendship with the Judeans, to strengthen himself?'

10:25- And He (Demetrius) sent unto them according to these words:
26 'King Demetrius unto the nation of Judeans, greeting! Forasmuch as ye have kept covenant with us, and have continued in our friendship, and have not joined yourselves to our enemies, we, (who) have heard (hereof) rejoice.'

10:29 And now I (Demetrius) (herewith) free you, and release all the Judeans from the tributes, and from the custom on salt, and from (the presenting of) the crowns.

10:33- And every soul of the Judeans that hath been carried away captive
34 from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom I (Demetrius) set at liberty without price; and let all remit the tributes of their cattle also. And all feasts, and the Sabbath, and new moons, and appointed days, and three days before a feast, and three days after a feast, let them be days of immunity and release for all the Judeans that are in my kingdom.

10:36 And let them be enrolled among the king's forces about 30,000 men of the Judeans, and pay shall be given unto them, as belongeth to all the king's forces.

11:30 And the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan concerning all these things after this manner: 'King Demetrius unto (his) brother Jonathan and unto the nation of the Judeans, greetings:

11:33 King Demetrius unto Lasthenes (his) father, greetings; We have determined to do good to the nation of the Judeans, who are our

I Maccabees cont.

friends, and observe what is just toward us, because of their good will toward us.

11:47- And the king called the Judeans to (his) aid, and they were gathered
51 together unto him all at once; and they dispersed themselves in the city; and they slew that day to the number of a hundred thousand. And they set the city on fire, and got many spoils that day, and saved the king. And (when) they of the city saw that the Judeans had made themselves masters of the city as they would they waxed faint in their hearts, and cried out to the king with supplication, saying: 'Give us (thy) right hand, and let the Judeans cease from fighting against us and the city.' And they cast away their arms, and made peace. And the Judeans were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that were in his kingdom.

12:3 And they went unto Rome and entered into the senate house, and said: 'Jonathan the high-priest, and the nation of the Judeans, have sent us, to renew for them the friendship and the confederacy, as in former time.'

12:6 And this is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans: 'Jonathan the high-priest, and the Council of the nation, and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Judeans, unto their brethren the Spartans, greetings!'

12:21 And this is the copy of the letters which they sent to Onias: 'Areios, king of the Spartans to Onias, the chief priest, greeting! It hath been found in writing, concerning the Spartans and Judeans, that they are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham; and now, since these things have come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity.'

13:35- And king Demetrius sent unto him according to these words, and
36 answered him, and wrote a letter unto him after this manner: 'King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest and Friend of Kings, and unto the elders and nation of the Judeans greeting!'

13:41- In the 170th year (therefore) was the yoke of heathen taken away
42 from Israel. And the people of Israel began to write their instruments and contracts: In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Judeans.

14:20 And this is the copy of the letter which the Spartans sent: 'The rulers and city of the Spartans, unto Simon the high-priest, and unto the elders, and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Judeans, (who are) brethren, greeting;'

I Maccabees cont.

NOTE: This is part of a memorial tablet to Simon and the Maccabaeans that was set up in the Temple.

- 14:33- And he fortified the cities of Judea, and Bethsura (that lieth) upon
34 the borders of Judea, where the arms of the enemies were afore-
time, and set there a garrison of Judeans. And he fortified
Joppa which is by the sea, and Gazara which is upon the borders
of Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime; and he placed
Judeans there, and whatsoever things were needful for the sus-
tenance of these he put in them.
- 14:37- and he made Judeans to dwell therein, and fortified it for the
41 safety of the country and of the city; and he made high the walls
of Jerusalem. And king Demetrius confirmed him in the high-
priesthood in consequence of these things, and made him one of
his Friends, and honoured him with great honour. For he had
heard that the Judeans had been proclaimed by the Romans
friends, and confederates, and brethren, and that they had met
the ambassadors of Simon honourably. And the Judeans and the
priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and
high-priest forever, until a faithful prophet should arise;
- 14:47 And Simon accepted (thereof), and consented to fill the office of
high-priest, and to be captain and governor of the Judeans and of
the priests, and to preside over all matters.
- 15:1-2 And Antiochus, son of Demetrius the king, sent letters from the
isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and governor of the Judeans,
and to all the nation; and the contents thereof were after this man-
ner: 'King Antiochus to Simon the high-priest and governor, and
to the nation of the Judeans, greeting:'
- 15:16- 'Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemy, greeting:
18 The Judeans' ambassadors came unto us (as) our friends and con-
federates, to renew the old friendship and confederacy, being sent
from Simon the high-priest, and from the people of the Judeans;

II MACCABEES

- 1:1 To the brethren, the Jews in Egypt, greeting. The brethren, the
Jews in Jerusalem and throughout the land of Judea, wish you
peace.
- 1:7 In the reign of Demetrius in the hundred threescore and 9th year,
we the Jews have already written unto you in the extreme tribu-
lation that came upon us during these years.

II Maccabees cont.

- 1:10 They that are in Jerusalem and they that are in Judea and the senate and Judas, unto Aristobulus, king Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the priest, unto the Jews that are in Egypt, send greeting and health.
- 1:19- Now the things concerning Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, and
21 the purification of the great temple, and the dedication of the altar, and further the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and Eupator his son, and the heavenly apparitions vouchsafed to those that vied with one another in manful deeds for the religion of the Jews -- so that inspite of their small numbers, they plundered the whole country.
- 3:30 But the Jews blessed the Lord who had done marvelous honour to his own place; and the temple, which a little before had been full of terror and alarm, was filled with joy and gladness, thanks to the manifestation of the all-powerful Lord.
- 3:32 The high-priest suspected that the king might imagine the Jews had perpetrated some foul play against Heliodorus, and he offered a sacrifice for the recovery of the man.
- 4:11 Setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews, obtained by John the father of Eupolemus who had gone as envoy to the Romans to secure their friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he (Jason) introduced new customs forbidden by the law:
- 4:35- This made not only the Jews but many people of other nationali-
36 ties indignant and angry over the unjust murder of the man. So when the king returned from the regions of Cilicia, the Jews of the capital (with the support of the Greeks who also detested the crime) complained to him about the illegal murder of Onias.
- 5:21- Antiochus, then, carried off from the temple eighteen hundred
25 talents and hurried away to Antioch, thinking in his arrogance to make the land navigable and the sea passable by foot -- so uplifted was he in heart. He also left governors behind him to ill-treat the Jewish people: at Jerusalem, Philip, a Phrygian by race, whose disposition was more barbarous than that of his master; at Gerizim, Andronicus; and, besides these, Menelaus, who lorded it worst of them all over the citizens. And in malice against the Jews he sent the Mysain commander Apollonius with an army of two and twenty thousand, under orders to slay all those that were of full age and to sell the women and the younger men. This fellow, on reaching Jerusalem, played the role of a man of peace, waiting till the holy day of the sabbath; then finding the Jews at rest from work, he commanded his men to parade in arms, put

II Maccabees cont.

to the sword all who came to see what was going on,

- 6:1 Shortly after this the king sent an old Athenian to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God;
- 6:6 And a man could neither keep the sabbath, nor celebrate the feasts of the fathers, nor so much as confess himself to be a Jew.
- 6:8-9 On the suggestion of Ptolemy, an edict was also issued to the neighbouring Greek cities, ordering them to treat the Jews in the same way and force them to share in the sacrifices, slaying any who refused to adopt Greek ways.
- 8:1 But Judas, who is called Maccabaeus, together with his companions, went round the villages by stealth, summoning their kinsfolk and mustering those who had adhered to Judaism, till they collected as many as six thousand.
- 8:10-11 Nicanor, however, determined to sell the Jews into slavery, and so to make up the sum of two thousand talents which the king owed by way of tribute to the Romans. He therefore sent at once to the maritime towns, inviting them to purchase Jewish slaves, whom he promised to sell at the rate of ninety a talent -- little imagining the judgement that was to overtake him from the Almighty.
- 8:32 They also slew Phylarches, who belonged to Timotheus' forces, a most impious scoundrel who had inflicted serious injuries on the Jews.
- 8:35-36 As for the thrice-accursed Nicanor, who had brought the thousand merchants to buy the Jews for slaves, those whom he reckoned of no account humbled him by the help of the Lord; doffing his splendid uniform, he had to make his way alone, like a runaway slave, straight across country to Antioch, having fared disastrously in his expedition and having left his army annihilated. So the man who undertook to secure tribute for the Romans by selling the Jerusalemites into captivity, proved the means of showing that the Jews had a Champion and that they were invulnerable since they followed the laws which He enacted.
- 9:4 So, in a transport of rage, he (Antiochus) determined to wreak vengeance on the Jews for the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of those who had forced him to fly, and ordered his charioteer to drive on without halting till the journey was ended. Verily the judgement of heaven upon him was imminent! For thus he spoke in his arrogance: When I reach Jerusalem, I will make

II Maccabees cont.

it a common sepulchre of Jews.

- 9:7 He (Antiochus) did not cease for his wild insolence, however, but waxed more arrogant than ever, breathing fire and fury against the Jews, and giving orders to hurry on with the journey.
- 9:11-19 For, as he suffered more and more anguish under the scourge of God, unable even to bear his own stench, he said: Right is it that mortal man should be subject to God, and not deem himself God's equal. The vile wretch also made a vow to the Lord (who would not now have pity on him), promising that he would proclaim the holy city free -- the city which he was hurrying to lay level with the ground and to make a common sepulchre -- that he would make all the Jews equal to citizens of Athens -- the Jews whom he had determined to throw out with their children to the beasts, for the birds to devour, as unworthy even to be buried -- that he would adorn with magnificent offerings the holy sanctuary which he had formerly rifled, restoring all the sacred vessels many times over, and defraying from his own revenue the expense of the sacrifice; furthermore, that he would even become a Jew and travel over the inhabited world to publish abroad the might of God. But when his sufferings did not cease by any means (for God's judgement had justly come upon him), he gave all hope of himself and wrote the following letter, with its humble supplication, to the Jews: To his citizens, the loyal Jews, Antiochus their king and general wisheth great joy and health and prosperity.

NOTE: This is at the rededication of the Temple.

- 10:8 So, bearing wreathed with leaves and fair boughs and palms, they offered hymns of praise to him who had prospered the cleansing of his own place, and also passed a public order and decree that all the Jewish nation should keep these ten days every year.
- 10:12 For Ptolemy, who was called Macron, had set an example of just to the Jews in righting wrongs done to them, and had endeavoured to deal amicably with them.
- 10:14-15 But when Gorgias became governor of this district, he maintained a force of mercenaries and kept up war with the Jews at every turn. Besides that, the Idumaeans, who were in possession of important strongholds, harassed the Jews and did their utmost to keep the feud going by welcoming refugees from Jerusalem.
- 10:24 Now Timotheus, who had been previously defeated by the Jews, mustered a foreign force of vast size, and raised a large detachment of Asiatic cavalry, and arrived in Judea as though he had meant to capture it by force of arms.

II Maccabees cont.

- 10:29- And as the fight waxed fierce, the enemy saw five resplendent
30 men from heaven on horses with golden bridles, who led on the Jews and took Maccabaeus between them, sheltering him with their armour and preserving him scatheless;
- 11:1-2 Quite soon after this, Lysias, the king's guardian and kinsman and chancellor, who was seriously annoyed at what had taken place, collected about eighty thousand infantry with all his cavalry and marched against the Jews, intending to make the city a residence for Greeks,
- 11:15- Maccabaeus agreed to all the terms proposed by Lysias, thereby
16 showing a sagacious regard for the interests of the people, since the king did grant all the written demands which Maccabaeus made to Lysias on behalf of the Jews. Now the letter addressed by Lysias to the Jews was to this effect: Lysias to the people of the Jews, greeting.
- 11:23- King Antiochus to his brother Lysias, greeting. Now that our
24 father hath passed over to the gods, it is our pleasure that the subjects of the realm should live undisturbed and attend to their own concerns. As for our Jewish subjects, we understand that they object to our father's project of bringing them over to Hellenism, preferring their own ways of life and asking permission to follow their own customs.
- 11:28- King Antiochus to the senate of the Jews and to the rest of the
30 Jews, greeting. If you fare well, it is as we wish; we too are in good health. Menelaus has informed us of your desire to return home and attend to your own affairs. Those Jews then who return home up to the thirtieth day of Xanthicus shall have our friendship, with full permission to use their own food and to observe their own laws as of yore;
- 11:34 Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, to the nation of the Jews, greeting.
- 12:1 After these agreements had been concluded, Lysias went away to the king, while the Jews devoted themselves to husbandry.
- 12:4 The Jews agreed to go, since they wished to be peaceable and had no suspicions; but, when they were out at sea, the men of Joppa drowned no fewer than two hundred of them.
- 12:8-9 And on learning that the inhabitants of Jamnia meant to carry out the same kind of plot against the local Jews, he (Judas) attacked them also by night, and set fire to the haven and the fleet, so that

II Maccabees cont.

the glare of the light was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs distant.

12:17 Drawing off seven hundred and fifty furlongs from thence, they made their way to Charax, to the Jews who are styled Tubieni.

12:27- Stalwart young men drawn up in front of the walls offered a resolute defense, and the place held ample stores of military engines and darts, but the Jews invoked the sovereign who crusheth forcibly the strength of his enemies, and got the city into their hands,

12:29- Setting out from thence they marched in haste against Scythopolis, which is six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem, but since the local Jews testified to the goodwill shown them by the Scythopolitans and to their humane conduct during periods of misfortune, they simply thanked them and enjoined them to continue well-disposed to their race in future.

12:34 And when they (Judas and his army) joined in battle, it came to pass that a few of the Jews fell.

12:39- Next day, when the troops of Judas went -- as it was high time they did -- to pick up the corpses of the slain, in order to bring them home to lie with their kinsfolk in their father's sepulchres, they discovered under the shirts of every one of the dead men amulets of the idols of Jamnia -- a practice forbidden the Jews by law.

13:9 Now the king was coming in hot indignation to inflict on the Jews the very sorest of the sufferings that had befallen them in his father's time.

13:18 After this taste of the Jews' prowess the king used stratagem in attacking their positions.

13:21 But Rhodocus, a Jewish soldier, betrayed the secrets of the Jews to the enemy; search was made for him, he was arrested and imprisoned.

12:22- Again the king made overtures to the residents in Beth-sura, pledged his right hand, took theirs, departed, attacked the forces of Judas, was defeated, heard that Philip who had been left as chancellor in Antioch had become desperate, was confounded by the news, proposed peace to the Jews, submitted with an oath to all their equitable conditions, came to terms with them and offered sacrifice, honoured the sanctuary and the sacred Place, behaved humanely, took gracious farewell of Maccabaeus, left

II Maccabees cont.

Hegemonides in command from Ptolemais to Gerar, went to Ptolemais. The men of Ptolemais felt sore over the treaty; they were excessively indignant with the Jews and wanted to annul the articles of the agreement.

14:5-6 But when he did get a chance of furthering his infatuated enterprise on being summoned to confer with Demetrius and being asked about the temper and aims of the Jews, he replied: It is the Jews called Hasidaeans, led by Judas Maccabaeus, who are keeping up feud and stirring sedition; they will not let the kingdom settle down in peace.

14:14- Now all the heathen throughout Judea, who Judas had driven to
15 flight, flocked to join Nicanor, anticipating that the misfortunes and calamities of the Jews would mean gain to them. But when the Jews heard of Nicanor's inroad and the onset of the heathen, they sprinkled earth upon their heads and solemnly invoked Him who had established his own people to all eternity and who ever upholds those who are his Portion with visible aid.

14:37- Now information was laid before Nicanor against a Jerusalemite
40 elder called Razis, a patriot who was very highly esteemed, and addressed as Father of the Jews on account of his benevolence. For in bygone days, when there was no trafficking (with the Gentiles), he had been accused of Judaism, and had most resolutely risked body and life for Judaism. So Nicanor, with the intention of showing his hostility to the Jews sent over five hundred soldiers to arrest him. For he meant to strike a blow at the Jews by this arrest.

15:1-2 Now, learning that Judas and his men were in the region of Samaria, Nicanor determined to attack them without any risk upon the day of rest. And when the Jews who were forced to accompany him said, Destroy them not so savagely and barbarously, but show honour to the day which He who beholdeth all things hath allowed in his holiness, the thrice-accursed wretch asked them if there was a Sovereign in heaven who had ordered the observance of the sabbath day.

15:12 Onias with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the whole body of the Jews;

III MACCABEES

1:3 But Dositheus, called the son of Drimylus, who was by birth a Jew, but had subsequently abandoned the observance of the law,

III Maccabees cont.

and renounced his ancestral faith, had conveyed Ptolemy away, and put some obscure person to sleep in the tent;

- 1:8 And when the Jews had sent to him (Ptolemy) some of the senate and elders to greet him, and bring him gifts, and congratulate him on what had happened, he became the more eager to visit them as quickly as possible.
- 2:27- He purposed publicly to inflict disgrace upon the Jewish nation
28 and erect a pillar on the tower in the palace with the inscription, That none who did not sacrifice should be allowed to enter their temples; and that all Jews should be degraded to the rank of natives and the conditions of serfs,
- 3:2-3 While this was being arranged a malicious report was noised abroad against the Jewish nation on the part of men who agreed together to do them hurt, an occasion being afforded for representing that they hindered them from the observance of the laws. But the Jews continued to maintain their goodwill towards the kings and their unswerving fidelity.
- 3:10 And already some of their neighbours and friends and business associates, taking aside some of the Jews secretly, gave pledges of their protection and earnest endeavours for their assistance.

NOTE: This is a portion of a letter from King Ptolemy Philopator to his generals and soldiers.

- 3:27- And whoever shall harbour any Jew, old man or child or very
29 suckling, shall with all his house be tortured to death with the most horrible torments. Information may be given by any one; the informer to receive the estate of the guilty party, with two thousand drachmae from the royal treasury, and to be honoured with freedom. And every place where a Jew shall be detected at all in concealment shall be made a waste and burnt with fire, and shall become entirely useless to any mortal creature for all time.
- 4:1-2 In every place where this decree reached, a feast at the public charges was made for the heathen with exultation and joy, the hatred which had long before become inveterated in their hearts being now freely displayed. But among the Jews there was unceasing grief and a lamentable crying with tears, their heart being all aflame with their groanings, as they bewailed the unlooked-for-destruction which had been suddenly decreed against them.

III Maccabees cont.

- 4:18 But after the aforesaid space of time the scribes reported to the king that they were no longer able to continue the registration of the Jews on account of their incalculable number;
- 4:21 But this was the working of the invincible providence of him who was aiding the Jews from heaven.
- 5:1-6 Then he called Hermon who was in charge of the elephants, and filled with bitter anger and wrath, and altogether inflexible, ordered him for the next day to drug all the elephants -- in number five hundred -- with copious handfuls of frankincense, and abundance of unmixed wine, and then when they were maddened by the plentiful supply of drink to bring them in to compass the fate of the Jews. And giving this order he turned to his feasting, having gathered together those of friends and army who were most hostile to the Jews, while (Hermon) the ruler of the elephants attended to the injunction with all care. And the servants who were in charge of the Jews went out in the evening and bound the hands of the hapless wretches, taking all other precautions to keep them safe through the night, imagining that that the nation would at one blow meet its final destruction. But the Jews who seemed to the heathen to be destitute of all protection, on account of the constraint and bonds which encompassed them on every side, with crying that would not be silenced, all called with tears on the almighty Lord and ruler of all power,
- 5:13 But the Jews having escaped the appointed hour praised their holy God, and again besought him who is ready to forgive to manifest the might of his all-powerful hand before the proud eyes of the heathen.
- 5:19-20 And when the entertainment had gone on for some time, the king called Hermon and asked with fierce threats why the Jews had been allowed to survive that day. But when he pointed out that he had completely carried out the order overnight, and his friends confirmed him, the king with a rage more fierce than Phalaris, said that the Jews might thank his sleep for the respite of the day; but, he added, make ready the elephants in the same manner without further delay for the following day to destroy utterly the accursed Jews.
- 5:25 But the Jews drawing their last breath for but a brief moment more, with tearful supplications and strains of woe, raising their hands to heaven, besought the most high God again to help them speedily.

III Maccabees cont.

- 5:30- But he was filled with fierce anger at the words, because by the
31 providence of God he had entirely lost his wits on this matter,
and looking on him said threateningly, If thy parents or offspring
were here, I would have furnished them as this rich banquet for
the fierce beasts in place of the Jews against whom I have no
charge and who have shown in a pre-eminent degree a full and
unshaken loyalty to my ancestors.
- 5:35 And the Jews hearing the words of the king, praised the Lord
God who had manifested his glory, the king of kings, having ob-
tained ~~this help~~ also from him.
- 5:39 Even now make ready the elephants for the morrow to destroy the
Jews.
- 5:42 On this the king, a Phalaris in all things, was filled with madness,
and, reckoning nothing of the changes of mind which had been wrought
in him for the protection of the Jews, swore strongly a fruitless oath
that he would without delay send to the grave the Jews mangled by
the knees and feet of the beasts,
- 5:47 And he, his impious heart filled with fierce anger, started forth
with all his force with the beasts, determined with an unfeeling
heart and his own eyes to gaze on the grievous and pitious de-
struction of the afore-mentioned Jews.
- 6:17- And the Jews beholding it raised a great cry to heaven, so that
19 now the surrounding valleys re-echoed it, and caused in all the
hosts an incontrollable trembling. Then the greatly glorious, al-
mighty, and true God, making manifest his holy face, opened the
gates of heaven, from which two glorious angels of terrible as-
pect descended, visible to all but the Jews, and withstood them
and filled the army of the adversaries with confusion and terror,
and bound them with immovable fetters.
- 6:30 Then the king returning to the city called the officer who was over
the revenues, and ordered him to supply the Jews for a space of
seven days wines and all else necessary for a feast, decreeing
that they should keep a festival of deliverance.
- 6:35 And the Jews, as we have already said, formed the dance which
we have before described, and spent their time in feasting with
joyful thanksgiving and psalm.

III Maccabees cont.

NOTE: This is a letter from King Ptolomaeus Philopator to his
Generals.

- 7:3 Certain of our friends with evil hearts by frequently urging the matter upon us persuaded us to gather together in a body the Jews in the kingdom, and to inflict upon them extraordinary punishments as traitors,
- 7:6 But we severly threatened them for this, and of the clemency which we have to all men scarcely granted them their lives; knowing that the God of heaven surely protects the Jews, fighting on their side continually as a father for his children,
- 7:10 The Jews receiving this epistle did not at once make haste to prepare their departure, but desired further of the king that those of the Jewish race who had of their own will transgressed against the holy God (and the law of God) should receive at their hand fitting punishment;

TOBIT

- 11:17- And Tobit came near to Sarah the wife of Tobias his son, and he
18 blessed her, and said unto her, Welcome, daughter; and blessed is thy God which hath brought thee unto us, daughter, and blessed is thy father and blessed is Tobias my son and blessed art thou, daughter; welcome daughter, to thy home, with blessing and joy, welcome daughter. On this day there was joy to all Judeans which were in Nineveh.

SUSANNA

- 1:4 Now Joakim was a great rich man, and had a fair garden joining unto his house: and to him resorted the Judeans; because he was more honourable than all others.

BEL AND THE DRAGON

- 1:28 When they of Babylon heard that, they took great indignation, and conspired against the king, saying, The king is become a Jew, and he hath pulled down Bel, and slain the dragon, and put the priest to the sword.

ADDITIONS TO ESTHER

A:1 In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisa, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Kiseus, of the tribe of Benjamin, saw a dream. He was a Jew, dwelling in the city of Susa, the great man, serving the king's court; and he was of the captivity, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias, the king of Judaea.

NOTE: This is part of a letter Artaxerxes wrote.

E:15 But we find that the Jews whom this trebly-dyed villian had delivered to destruction are no evil doers, but govern themselves with the most righteous laws, and are sons of the Most High, Most Mighty, Living God, who ordereth the kingdom both for us and for our fathers with the most excellent governance.

E:19 Now therefore display the copy of this letter openly in every place, and suffer the Jews to obey their own laws, and reinforce them so that on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, on the self-same day, they may defend themselves against those who attacked them in the time of their affliction:

NOTE: This is the interpretation of the dream of Mordecai.

F:5 And the nations are those that were gathered together to destroy the name of the Jews. And my nation, this is Israel, which cried unto God and were saved.

CHAPTER FIVE

PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA

INTRODUCTION

The examination of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" is continued with the Pseudepigrapha.¹ The works contained in this collection date from approximately 200 B. C. E. to 100 A. D., the same period of time represented by the texts contained in the Apocrypha. The number of books comprising the Pseudepigrapha is uncertain.² This is because there has never been an official canon to determine which books are or are not part of the collection. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, this thesis uses the Pseudepigrapha as edited by R. H. Charles as the basis for its examination.

The use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" is limited in the Pseudepigrapha. In fact, out of sixteen works contained within the Pseudepigrapha, the terms "Jew" or "Judaism" occur in only three. In two of these three, the terms occur only once per work. Because of the limited use of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" in this collection, it is possible to examine each work separately.

1. As noted in Chapter Four, Third Maccabees was included with the Apocrypha and has already been examined.

2. In the Talmud both the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, are referred to as Sefarim Hozonim.

ANALYSIS

A. Letter of Aristeas

Dating this text with certainty is problematic. Scholars have yet to reach agreement concerning the dating of this work. In Charles' introduction to the Letter of Aristeas he presents the following three possibilities for the dating of the text.

1. Schurer holds that it was written about 200 B. C. E. ;
2. Wendland places it between 96-93 B. C. E. ;
3. Graetz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than 33 A. D.).³

Eissfeldt, in his book, states that Hadas postulates that the letter was composed in approximately 130 B. C. E. and that Orlinsky reasons that it was written in approximately 170 B. C. E. Recognizing that the opinions range greatly on this point, it is difficult to give even an approximate date for this work. However, based primarily on the usage of the term "Jew" in this text and the scholarship that has been done, it seems clear that the work was composed approximately the same time as was Second Maccabees or later. For the sake of this thesis, this is as accurate a dating as necessary.

The problem of authorship and intent is a far simpler question than that of dating. There seems to be general agreement that the Letter of Aristeas was the product of an Alexandrian Jew. This Alexandrian Jew seems to have been well educated and knowledgeable concerning the proceedings in the Egyptian Court.⁴ Charles states as well "that the author

3. Charles, ed., vol. 2, p. 85.

4. Eissfeldt, p. 604.

had leanings toward Pharisaism, though it must be admitted that his Pharisaism is not of a pronounced type."⁵ The author appears to have had multiple intentions in mind when creating this work. Certainly he has tried to establish the authority of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. He has also tried to show the wisdom of Judaism and how it was similar to Greek philosophy.⁶ Thus he primarily wrote this work for a non-Jewish readership. Therefore, his usage of language was intended primarily for this non-Jewish readership. With all of this in mind, it is now possible to examine the usage of the term "Jew" in this text.

The term "Jew" is used frequently in this text to the exclusion of the term Israel. The reason for this can be understood from the findings in Second Maccabees coupled with the information presented above. In Second Maccabees it has been shown that the term Israel is used almost exclusively in a worship format, and that it has a religious meaning. It has also been demonstrated that the term Israel had become a private term used primarily between Jews. However, the Letter of Aristeas was a work written primarily for a non-Jewish readership. Therefore, the author did not use a term which was private and thus used exclusively between Jews. He instead used the term which the non-Jews used, the term "Jew."

5. Charles, vol. 2, p. 87.

6. Eissfeldt, p. 604.

The term "Jew" in this work has been used primarily in a religious/ethnic sense. This can be seen most clearly in the verses where one speaks of "the laws of the Jews." Clearly, what is being referred to here is the religious law of the community. Another place it is obvious that the author is speaking of the Jews in a religious context is verse 305; here he speaks of "the customs of all Jews" and the prayers they offer to God. The term "Jew" in the Letter of Aristeas is usually used to identify a group as well as to identify individuals.

It is interesting to note that the term "Judaism" never occurs in this work. This can be attributed to one of two reasons. First, the author of this work had not yet come in contact with the term "Judaism," because at the time of his writing the term was still new and used infrequently. In the alternative, the author knew the term but felt no reason to use it. It seems reasonable to assume the latter. However, no matter which reason is correct, the usage of the term "Jew" has not been altered.

Based upon the definitions presented in Chapter One and the examination of the usage of the term "Jew" here, it is clear that the term should be translated as Jew. This work follows very closely the usage pattern of the term that has already been described in connection with Second Maccabees.

B. Fourth Maccabees

Fourth Maccabees was composed sometime between the later half of

the first century B. C. E. or the first half of the first century A. D.⁷ It was authored by a Jew who was living in Alexandria. The work is a lecture or sermon presented by a Jew to other Jews in order to help strengthen their resolve. The "preacher" apparently was trying to arouse his fellow Jews to respond to the world around them.⁸ It must be understood that this address was not intended for the non-Jewish listener. It was intended to fortify and excite the Jewish listener. Based upon earlier examinations, it can be assumed that, depending upon the intended audience, the usage of the term "Jew" is influenced.

The term "Jew" is not found in this text, but the term "Judaism" does appear; only once, however. The term "Jew" was not used because the lecture or sermon was "preached" to a Jewish audience and there was no reason to use that term for identification. Also, it seems that even though the Jews were by this time using the term "Jew" for self-identification, it still was not the term with which they were most comfortable. The author may have used the term Judaism because it affirms the religious bond of the community and from what has been seen, this bond was important to the Jews.

It is interesting to note that the term Hebrew is used about seven times in this text. On each occasion, it is used where a non-Jew is speaking. It is possible that the term Hebrew was then becoming a term

7. Eissfeldt, p. 615 and Charles, ed., vol. 2, p. 654.

8. Charles, ed., vol. 2, pp. 653-665.

non-Jews used to refer to Jews. However, this is outside the scope of this thesis.

C. The Sibylline Oracles

The Sibylline Oracles are a collection of books and fragments of books each with its own history. Because of this, only that book in which the term "Jew" occurs will be examined.

The term "Jew" occurs in Book IV. Eissfeldt and Charles postulate that the book was composed late in the first century A. D. The authorship of the book is in question. It cannot be known for certain if it was composed by a Jew or a non-Jew, or where the author composed the work. Realizing that little is known about the book, there is little that can be learned about the usage of the term "Jew" from it. Most probably the author was using the term primarily as a religious/ethnic term. In the work, he used the term in identifying the land from which the particular religious/ethnic group originated. It seems that his understanding of the term is compatible with what has already been shown as the "norm" for the usage of the term "Jew" in the Pseudepigrapha.

The pattern of usage which seems to have developed in Second Maccabees is carried on in the works of the Pseudepigrapha. This is particularly clear in the Letter of Aristeas. By the time of these texts, the term "Jew" has taken on primarily a religious/ethnic connotation and is being used by non-Jews as well as by Jews themselves. As has already been indicated concerning Second Maccabees, the term Israel is still reserved for religious usage. It is derived from this that the

Jews use the term "Jew" because of their interactions with the non-Jewish world, and through that usage they even begin to use the term among themselves. Since the term "Jew" has now become primarily a religious/ethnic term, the Jews feel more comfortable using it to identify themselves. Thus, even though the term "Jew" reflects their religious aspect, when they are most alone, in prayer, they continue to refer to themselves by the term Israel which is most meaningful and natural.

LETTER OF ARISTEAS

- 1 Since I have collected material for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the high priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission,
- 3-4 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession documents of the highest value to the Jews in his country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of divine law, for their laws are written leather parchment in Jewish characters. This embassy then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity of pleading with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's father,
- 6 On a former occasion, too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race -- the record which I had obtained from the most learned high priest of the most learned land of Egypt.
- 10 I (Demetrius of Phalerum) am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in your library.
- 11 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius, 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.
- 12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father -- for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful issue, in the process of terrorizing the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand.
- 15 Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to

Letter of Aristeeas cont.

translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom?

- 22 The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of Alexandria and the land of Egypt or sold them to others --
- 23 We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness.
- 24 Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations.'
- 28 When this had been done he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books.
- 30 The memorial of Demetrius to the great king....
The books of the law of the Jews are absent from the library. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am informed by those who know;
- 33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the Jewish captives.
- 35 'King Ptolemy sends greetings and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives --

NOTE: This is a portion of Ptolemy's letter.

- 38 Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come,

Letter of Aristeeas cont.

I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in amongst us into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library.

- 52-53 The king was anxious that this piece of work should be exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem. And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure. And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that here was nothing to prevent him.
- 56 He (the King) gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the Jewish Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible.
- 83 When we arrived in the land of the Jews we saw the city situated in the middle of the whole country
- 122 They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most carefully that of the Greeks as well.
- 176 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connection between the pages had been so effected as to be invisible,
- 182a And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after the Jews, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one.
- 182b The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after Jewish guests was a very conscientious man.
- 183 When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests
- 184 Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazer, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead.

Letter of Aristeas cont.

- 305 And as is the customs of all Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and translating the particular passage upon which they were engaged,
- 308 When the word was completed Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presences of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had conferred upon them.
- 310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no alteration should be made in it.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

- 4:127 And a Roman leader shall come to Syria who shall burn down Solyma's temple with fire, and therewith slay many men, and shall waste the great land of the Jews with its broad way.

IV MACCABEES

- 5:5 And Antiochus, looking on him, said:
'Before I allow the tortures to begin for you, O venerable man, I would give you this counsel, that you should eat of the flesh of the swine and save your life; for I respect your age and your grey hairs, although to have worn them so long a time and still to cling to the Jewish religion, makes me think you no philosopher.'

CHAPTER SIX

PHILO

INTRODUCTION

Philo lived from approximately 20 or 25 B. C. E. to 50 A. D. He resided and wrote in Alexandria, and was thus a part of the Jewish experience outside Palestine. Although his writings have been preserved by the Christians, not the Jews, his works are of importance for this thesis.¹ They provide an understanding of how the term "Jew" was being employed outside of Palestine during the period of time in which Philo was writing. It is reasonable to assume that Philo's usage of the term "Jew" reflects a usage which was common in his day. Based upon the assumption that in order for people to understand what he was trying to convey, it was necessary that he wrote in a style and form within their intellectual grasp.

In order to better understand how and why the term "Jew" is employed, it is preferable to have some background information concerning Philo and his writings. Philo was a member of one of the wealthiest noble families of Alexandria. While his brother rose to prominence as an official in the Rome administration, Philo chose to devote his time to education. This, however, did not prevent him from going to Rome as part of an official delegation to complain about the statues of the emperor which were being erected in Alexandrian synagogues. This event in his

1. Samuel Sandmel, Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 14.

life is recorded in his work "On the Embassy to Gaius." Philo was well educated in the Greek learning of his day. There is little doubt that he gained this through attendance at Greek schools. There is little certainty, however, as to where Philo received his knowledge of Judaism. It is clear from his writings that he did not have a knowledge of the Hebrew language. But, he did have knowledge of the Pentateuch as well as other portions of the Bible. He probably gained this knowledge through studying a Greek translation of the Bible. Philo seems to have grown up in a home which was committed to Judaism. In his writings, Philo tried to fuse his Judaism with the Hellenism of his day. His writings were intended for two distinct audiences:² (i) the Jewish audience, in order to strengthen the resolve of the Jews that their religion was a sound religion, reflecting the Hellenistic thinking that pervaded their everyday life; and (ii) the Greek audience, to show them that Judaism was not a simplistic religion, but one which had incorporated into it the wisdom of contemporary philosophy. Much of what he wrote was intended for the non-Jewish reader to show him the significance of Judaism. This no doubt influenced the usage of the term "Jew" in Philo's writings.

In earlier chapters the examinations dealt with sections of the work under consideration separately. But because Philo's usage of the term "Jew" is consistent throughout his writings, the examination will deal with all of Philo's works.

2. Three Jewish Philosophers, Philo ed. by Hans Lewy, (New York: A Temple Book, 1979), p. 14.

ANALYSIS

In Philo's writings the term "Jew" is found frequently. It is found primarily, however, in "Flaccus" and "On the Embassy to Gaius." Over half of the occurrences of the term "Jew" are located in these two works. Both of these works are of a historical nature, retelling events which occurred during the life of Philo. In these works the term "Jew" is used to describe the Jews of that earlier period. Philo uses the term to describe both the people living in Palestine as well as those living outside of Palestine. This is seen in "Flaccus" verse 43 where Philo speaks of "a million Jews resident in Alexandria." Also in "Flaccus," in verses 45 through 46 it is clear that for Philo the term "Jew" is not limited to those people who live in Palestine. The term is used to describe people who reside in many different nations. This is the first indication of how Philo understood the term. If it is used strictly as a national term to describe a specific group living in a certain nation, he certainly would have restricted its usage. This is particularly the case because the term "Jew" changes in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. It is clear that Philo employs the term in a broad context. It is a term which describes a group of people who have a common bond which is more than nationality.

One aspect of the term "Jew" that Philo expresses is the concept of a shared history and ancestry. The most obvious usage of this kind is found in "On the Virtues," verse 212, where Philo states "the most ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldean by birth." There

are other instances where this type of usage can be found. However, normally when Philo wrote of the history of the Jews he used either the term Israel or Hebrew. This will be discussed later. It is clear that even in these limited instances, Philo sees the term "Jew" as relating to a common history and ancestry.

The strongest emphasis found in Philo's usage of the term "Jew" is the religious one.³ There are numerous instances in his writings where the religious aspect of the term is made explicit. In more than one place Philo refers to the Jew's customs and laws. This can be seen in "On the Virtues" verse 65. In other places, Philo speaks of festivals and holidays that the Jews observe. In "On the Decalogue," verse 96, Philo speaks of the Jewish observance of the Sabbath. In "Embassy to Gaius" he refers to the laws of the Jews as being oracles from God. There are many places where the religious quality of the term "Jew" is made clear in Philo's writings. For Philo, the religious/ethnic meaning of the term is primary. A national connotation is clearly of secondary importance. This is reflective of what has already been discovered beginning in Second Maccabees, where the term "Jew" has a strong religious connotation and the national aspect is secondary. It should be noted, however, that the term "Judaism" does not occur in Philo. It is possible that the term had not yet come into general usage by the time of Philo's writings. Along with the fact that the term "Judaism" does

3. Solomon Zeitlin, "The Jews: Race, Nation or Religion -- Which?", Jewish Quarterly Review, 26 (December 1936): 331.

not occur in Philo there is another difference that exists between Second Maccabees, the pattern which began there, and the usage found in Philo. This difference, however, does not have to do with the term "Jew" but with the term Israel. In Second Maccabees and other works that follow that Second Maccabees' pattern, the term Israel is used as a term in worship and it is only used by Jews. However, in Philo this is not how it is used. It is used almost exclusively to refer to an ancient people, particularly, those who are mentioned in the Bible. When the term Israel does occur in Philo, it is most often found in a direct quote from the Bible. It seems that the term Israel is used to refer to the Jews of history. Philo also uses the term Hebrew in a similar fashion, when referring to those people who are ancestors of the Jews.⁴ The important thing to realize about Philo's use of the term Israel is that he never uses it to refer to Jews of his time. He uses the term primarily as part of the Biblical quotations. This pattern indicates that even for Philo the term Israel was a "special" term not to be used as loosely as the term "Jew." Perhaps the only reason Philo used the term Israel is because it appeared in the Bible. If it had not, he may not have utilized the term at all in his writings. It may be that the term Israel, as has been shown already, was strictly a religious as well as a private term, but because of the Biblical usage, Philo was compelled to use it. A second reason Philo used the term "Jew" and

4. Ibid., p. 327.

avoided the term Israel was because he was writing for a non-Jewish audience. As has been seen before, the term "Jew" was the term commonly used by non-Jews while the term Israel remained a private term utilized in prayers.

Based upon the above information it is possible to understand Philo's usage of the term "Jew." For Philo it is a term to refer to a group who lived contemporaneously with his own life. When referring to these people's history the term Israel or Hebrew is more appropriate. For Philo the term "Jew" is not primarily a national term. Its primary connotation is that of a religious bond that existed between a group of people. For Philo the Jews are a religious group who share a common ancestry. Based upon this understanding and the definitions developed in Chapter One, it is correct to translate the Greek term into English as Jew.

LIFE OF MOSES

- I:1 I purpose to write the life of Moses, whom some describe as the legislator of the Jews, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws.
- I:7 He (Moses) had for his father and mother the best of their contemporaries, members of the same tribe, though with them mutual affection was a stronger tie than family connexions. He was seventh in descent from the first settler, who became the founder of the whole Jewish nation.
- I:34 The Jews, as I have said before, were strangers, since famine had driven the founders of the nation, through lack of food, to migrate to Egypt from Babylon and the inland satrapies.
- II:17 There is something surely still more wonderful-even this: not only Jews but almost every other people, particularly those which take more account of virtue, have so far grown in holiness as to value and honour our laws. In this they have received a special distinction which belongs to no other code.
- II:25 That the sanctity of our legislation has been a source of wonder not only to the Jews but also to all other nations, is clear both from the facts already mentioned and those which I proceed to state.
- II:41 Therefore, even to the present day, there is held every year a feast and general assembly in the island of Pharos, whither not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for good gifts so old yet ever young.
- II:193 A certain base-born man, the child of an unequal marriage, his father an Egyptian, his mother a Jewess, had set at naught the ancestral customs of his mother and turned aside, as we are told, to the impiety of Egypt and embraced the atheism of that people.
- II:216 Even now this practice is retained, and the Jews every seventh day occupy themselves with the philosophy of their fathers, dedicating that time to the acquiring of knowledge and the study of the truths of nature.

ON THE DECALOGUE

- 96 The fourth commandment deals with the sacred seventh day, that it should be observed in a reverent and religious manner. While

On the Decalogue cont.

some states celebrate this day as a feast once a month, reckoning it from the commencement as shown by the moon, the Jewish nation never ceases to do so at continuous intervals with six days between each.

ON THE SPECIAL LAWS

- I:97 Among the other nations the priests are accustomed to offer prayers and sacrifices for their kinsmen and friends and fellow-countrymen only, but the high priest of the Jews makes prayers and gives thanks not only on behalf of the whole human race but also for the parts of nature, earth, water, air, fire.
- II:162- This is called the "sheaf," a name given to it from the ceremony
163 which consists in bringing to the altar a sheaf as a first-fruit, both of the land which has been given to the nation to dwell in and of the whole earth, so that it serves that purpose both to the nation in particular and for the whole human race in general. The reason for this is that the Jewish nation is to the whole inhabited world what the priest is to the state.
- II:166 When they went wrong in what was the most vital matter of all, it is the literal truth that the error which the rest committed was corrected by the Jewish nation which passed over all created objects because they were created and naturally liable to destruction and chose the service only of the Uncreated and Eternal, first because of its excellence, secondly because it is profitable to dedicate and attach ourselves to the elder rather than to the younger, to the ruler rather than to the subject, to the maker rather than to the thing created.
- III:46 Actually so great are the provisions made in the law to ensure that men should admit no unlawful matings, that it ordains that even cattle are not to be crossed with others of a different species. No Jewish shepherd will allow a he-goat to mount a ewe or a ram a she-goat, or a bull a mare, or if he does he will be punished as an offender against the decree of nature, who is careful to preserve the primary species without adulteration.
- IV:179 One may say that the whole Jewish race is in the position of an orphan compared with all the nations on every side. They when misfortunes fall upon them which are not by the direct intervention of heaven are never, owing to international intercourse, unprovided with helpers who join sides with them. But the Jewish

On the Special Laws cont.

nation has none to take its part, as it lives under exceptional laws which are necessarily grave and severe, because they inculcate the highest standard of virtue. But gravity is austere, and austerity is held in aversion by the great mass of men because they favour pleasure. Nevertheless as Moses tells us the orphan-like desolate state of his people is always an object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe whose portion it is, because it has been set apart out of the whole human race as a kind of first fruits to the Maker and Father.

- IV:223 But they must spare the women, married and unmarried, since
-224 these do not expect to experience at their hands any of the shocks of war as in virtue of their natural weakness they have the privilege of exemption from war service. All this shows clearly that the Jewish nation is ready for agreement and friendship with all like-minded nations whose intentions are peaceful, yet is not of the contemptible kind which surrenders through cowardice to wrongful aggression.

ON THE VIRTUES

- 65 For what the disciples of the most excellent philosophy gain from its teaching, the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is to know the highest, the most ancient Cause of all things and reject the delusion of created gods.
- 108 And if any of them (Egyptians) should wish to pass over into the Jewish community, they must not be spurned with an unconditional refusal as children of enemies, but be so far favoured that the third generation is invited to the congregation and made partakers in the divine revelations, to which also the native born, whose lineage is beyond reproach, and rightfully admitted.
- 206 These examples may serve as landmarks common to all mankind to remind them that those who have no true excellence of character should not pride themselves on the greatness of their race. But besides these common examples, the Jews have others peculiar to themselves. For among the founders of the race, there are some who profited nothing by the virtues of their ancestors, proved to be guilty of highly reprehensible conduct, convicted, if not by any other judge, at any rate by their conscience, the one and only court which is never misled by oratorical artifices.
- 212 The most ancient member of the Jewish nation was a Chaldaean

On the Virtues cont.

by birth, the son of an astrologer, one of those who study the lore of that science, and think that the stars and the whole heaven and universe are gods, the authors, they say, of the events which befall each man for good or for ill, and hold that there is no originating cause outside the things we perceive by our senses.

- 226 Must we not then absolutely reject the claims of those who assume as their own precious possession the nobility which belongs to others, who, different from those just mentioned, might well be considered enemies of the Jewish nation and of every person in every place? Enemies of our nation, because they give their compatriots license to put their trust in the virtue of their ancestors and despise the thought of living a sound and steadfast life. Enemies of people in general, who even if they reach the very summit of moral excellence, will not benefit thereby, if their parents and grandparents were not beyond reproach.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE

- 29 The law-giver of the Jews describes the wise man's hands as heavy, indicating by this figure that his actions are not superficial but firmly based, the outcome of a mind that never wavers.
- 43 The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit went to a further extreme and in the practice of his "naked" philosophy, as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the Self-existent only, as having passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods.
- 57 We may well suppose that the fountain from which Zeno drew this thought was the law-book of the Jews, which tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, who the father of them both prayed in pity for him who had not attained to virtue that he should be his brother's slave.
- 68 Yet what need is there of long journeying on the land or voyaging on the seas to seek and search for virtue, whose roots have been set by their Maker ever so near us, as the wise legislator of the Jews also says, "in thy mouth, in thy heart and in thy hand," thereby indicating in a figure, words, thoughts and actions? All these, indeed, need the cultivator's skill.

Every Good Man cont.

- 75 Palestinian Syria, too, has not failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it said, certain persons more than four thousand in number, called Essenes.

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD

- 19 But which ever of these is right Hesiod very clearly states the view that the world is created and long before Hesiod Moses the lawgiver of the Jews said in the Holy Books that it was created and imperishable.

FLACCUS

- 1 The policy of attacking the Jews begun by Sejanus was taken over by Flaccus Avillius. He had not like his predecessor the power to ill-treat out-right the whole nation, for he had less opportunities of doing so, but these whom he reached suffered the direct misery from the stabs which he dealt to them one and all.
- 21-24 All these combining concerted a plot of the most damaging kind against the Jews and coming to Flaccus privately said, "Lost are your prospects from boy Tiberius Nero, lost too the hope that you had next to him in your comrade Macro, and your expectations from the Emperor are anything but favourable. We must find you a really powerful intercessor to propitiate Gaius. Such an intercessor is the city of the Alexandrians which has been honoured from the first by all the Augustan house and especially by our present master; and intercede it will if it receives from you some boon, and you can give it no greater benefaction than by surrendering and sacrificing the Jews." Though on hearing these words it was his duty to repulse and frown upon the speakers as sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth he subscribed to their suggestions. At first he showed his hostile intentions in a somewhat less obvious way by refusing to give a fair and impartial hearing to the parties in disputes and leaning to one side only, while in all other matters he gave them no right of free speech, but whenever any Jew approached he turned away, while to all others he made himself easily accessible. But later he also showed his ill-will openly.
- 29 But jealousy is part of the Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others

Flaccus cont.

was misfortune to themselves, and in their ancient, and we might say innate hostility to the Jews, they resented a Jew having been made king just as much as if each of them had there by been deprived of an ancestral throne.

- 43 What then did the governor of the country do? He knew that both Alexandria and the whole of Egypt and two kinds of inhabitants, us and them, and that there were no less than a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia; also that this was an attack against them all, and that ancestral customs cannot be disturbed without harm, yet he disregarded all these facts and permitted the installation of the images though there were a host of considerations all tending to caution which he might have set before them either as orders from a ruler or advice from a friend.
- 45-46 For it was perfectly clear that the rumours of the overthrowing of the synagogues beginning at Alexandria would spread at once to the nomes of Egypt and speed from Egypt to the East and the nations of the East and from the Hypotaenia and Marea, which are the outskirts of Libya, to the West and the nations of the West. For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in very many of the most prosperous countries in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where stands the sacred temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their father-land in which they were born and reared, which to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders.
- 47-48 And it was to be feared that people everywhere might take their cue from Alexandria, and outrage their Jewish fellow-citizens by rioting against their synagogues and ancestral customs. Now the Jews though naturally well-disposed for peace would not be expected to remain quiet whatever happened, not only because with all men the determination to fight for their institutions outweighs even the danger to life, but also because they are the only people under the sun who by losing their meeting-houses were losing also what they would have valued as worth dying many thousand deaths, namely, their means of showing reverence to their benefactors, since they no longer had the sacred building where they could set forth their thankfulness. And they might have said to

Flaccus cont.

their enemies "you have failed to see that you are not adding to but taking from the honour given our masters, and you do not understand that everywhere in the habitable world the religious veneration of the Jews for the Augustan house has its basis as all may see in the meeting-houses, and if we have these destroyed no place, no method is left to us for paying this homage.

53-56 When then his attack against our laws by seizing the meeting-houses without even leaving them their name appeared to be successful, he proceeded to another scheme, namely, the destruction of our citizenship, so that when our ancestral customs and our participation in political rights, the sole mooring on which our life was secured, had been cut away, we might undergo the worst misfortunes with no cable to cling to for safety. For a few days afterwards he issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjudged. What stronger profession of tyranny could we have than this? He became everything himself, accuser, enemy, witness, judge and the agent of punishment, and then to the two first wrongs he added a third by permitting those who wished to pillage the Jews as at the sacking of a city. Having secured this immunity what did they do? The city has five quarters named after the first letters of the alphabet, two of these are called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabit them, though in the rest also there are not a few Jews scattered about. So then what did they do? From the four letters they ejected the Jews and drove them to herd in a very small part of one. The Jews were so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dunghills and tombs, robbed of all their belongings. Their enemies overran the houses now left empty and turned to pillaging them, distributing the contents like spoil of war, and as no one prevented them they broke open the workshops of the Jews which had been closed as a sign of mourning for Drusilla, carried out all the articles they found, which were very numerous, and bore them through the middle of the market-place, dealing with other people's property as freely as if it was their own.

66 Multitudes of others also were laid low and destroyed with manifold forms of maltreatment, put in practice to serve their bitter cruelty by those whom savagery had maddened and transformed into the nature of wild beasts; for any Jews who showed themselves anywhere, they stoned or knocked about with clubs, aiming their blows at first against the less vital parts for fear that a speedier death might give a speedier release from the consciousness of their anguish.

Flaccus cont.

- 73-74 Having broken into everything like a burglar and left no side of Jewish life untouched by a hostility carried to the highest pitch, Flaccus devised another monstrous and unparalleled line of attack worthy of this perpetrator of enormities and inventor of novel iniquities. Our Senate had been appointed to take charge of Jewish affairs by our savior and benefactor Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch, order to that effect having been given to Magius Maximus when he was about to take office for the second time as Governor of Alexandrian and the country.
- 80 Surely then it was the height of harshness that when commoners among the Alexandrian Jews, if they appeared to have done things worthy of stripes, were beaten with whips more suggestive of freemen and citizens, the magistrates, the Senate, whose very name implies age and honour, in this respect fared worse than their inferiors and were treated like Egyptians of the meanest rank and guilty of the greatest iniquities.
- 84-88 Flaccus gave no orders to take down those who had died on the cross. Instead he ordered the crucifixion of the living, to whom the season offered a short-lived though not permanent reprieve in order to postpone the punishment though not to remit it altogether. And he did this after maltreating them with the lash in the middle of the theatre and torturing them with fire and the sword. The show had been arranged in parts. The first spectacle lasting from dawn till the third or fourth hour consisted of Jews being scourged, hung up, bound to the wheel, brutally mauled and haled for their death march through the middle of the orchestra. After this splendid exhibition came dancers and mimes and flute players and all the other amusements of theatrical competitions. But why dwell on these things, for he had a second plan of spoliation hatching. He desired to use the large body of soldiers serving under him as a weapon against us, and to do this he invented a strange calumny to the effect that the Jews had stocks of every kind of arms in their houses. Accordingly having sent for a centurion named Castus, whom he especially trusted, he bade him take the most intrepid soldiers in the company under him and without loss of time and without giving notice enter and search the houses of the Jews to see whether they had any arms stored there. Castus hurried off to do what he was told. The Jews as they knew nothing of the scheme at first stood dumb-founded in consternation, while their women and children clung to them bathed in tears in the fear of being taken into captivity. For they lived in expectation of this which was the one thing left to complete the spoliation. When they heard one of the searching

Flaccus cont.

party say "Where do you stock your arms?" they revived somewhat and laid open everything, even the contents of the recesses.

- 94 But why should we have been subject to anything of the kind? When were we suspected of revolting? When were we not thought to be peacefully inclined to all? Were not our ways of living which we follow day by day blameless and conducive to good order and stability of the State? Indeed, if the Jews did have arms in their possession, they had been dispossessed from over four hundred houses from which they were driven to wander by those who seized their property.
- 96 Then, if they were recognized to be of another race, since many were arrested as Jewesses without any careful investigation of the truth, they were released. But if they were found to be of our nation then these onlookers at a show turned into despotic tyrants and gave orders to fetch swine's flesh and give it to the women.
- 116 Such was the unprecedented, blow which fell upon Flaccus, carried off like a prisoner in war in the country which he was governing. It was caused, I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews, when in his craving for aggrandisement he had resolved to exterminate utterly. We have a clear proof of this also in the time of his arrest, for the Jews were holding then the national feast of the autumn equinox, in which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents.
- 170 "King of Gods and men," he (Flaccus) cried, "so then thou dost not disregard the nation of the Jews, nor do they misreport Thy Providence, but all who say that they do not find in Thee a Champion and Defender, go astray from the time creed, I am clear proof of this, for all the acts which I have madly committed against the Jews I have suffered myself.
- 189- For, as he clutched hold of the slaughterers and was so entangled
191 in the scramble with them that they had no room to apply their swords directly but dealt their blows downwards and sideways, he caused himself to suffer more severely, and with hands, feet, head, breast and sides slashed and cut to bits, he lay carved like a sacrificial victim. For it was the will of justice that the butcheries which she wrought on his single body should be as numerous as the number of the Jews whom he unlawfully put to death. The whole place was flooded with the blood which poured out like a fountain from the many veins which one after the other

Flaccus cont.

were severed, while as his corpse was dragged into the pit which had been dug, most of the parts fell asunder as the ligaments which bind the whole body together in one had been rent. Such was the fate of Flaccus also, who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.

ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

115 For he (Gaius) looked with disfavour on the Jews alone because they alone apposed him on principle, trained as they were we may even from the cradle, by parents and tutors and instructors and by the far higher authority of the sacred laws and also the unwritten customs, to acknowledge one God who is the Father and Maker of the world.

117 One nation only standing apart, the nation of the Jew, was suspected of intending opposition, since it was accustomed to accept death as willingly as if it were immortality, to save them from submitting to the destruction of any of their ancestral traditions, even the smallest, because as with buildings if a single piece is taken from the base, the parts that up to then seemed firm are loosened and slip away and collapse into the void thus made.

129 There was another company who lay in waiting at the harbours of the river to rob the Jews who put there and seize the goods which they were bringing for trade.

133- I say nothing of the tributes to the emperors which were pulled
135 down or burnt at the same time, the shields and gilded crowns and the slabs and inscriptions, consideration for which should have made them spare the rest. But they were emboldened by having no fear of the vengeance of Gaius. They knew well that he had an indescribable hatred of the Jews, and so they surmised that nothing anyone could do would gratify him more than the infliction of the nation of every kind of ill-treatment. And as they wished to ingratiate themselves with him by further novelties in flattering and so secure complete immunity for their maltreatment of us, what do you suppose they did? The meeting-houses which they could not raze or burn out of existence, because so many Jews lived massed together in the neighbourhood, they outraged in another way, thereby overthrowing our laws and customs.

154- That he was never elated or puffed up by the vast honours given to

On the Embassy cont.

him is clearly shown by the fact that he never wished anyone to address him as a god but was annoyed if anyone used the word, and also by his approval of the Jews, who he knew full well regarded all such things with horror. How then did he show his approval? He was aware that the great section of Rome on the other side of the Tiber is occupied and inhabited by Jews, most of whom were Roman citizens emancipated.

- 157- Yet nevertheless he neither ejected them from Rome nor deprived
160 them of their Roman citizenship because they were careful to preserve their Jewish citizenship also, nor took any violent measures against the houses of prayer, nor prevented them from meeting to receive instructions in the laws, nor opposed their offerings of the first-fruits. Indeed so religiously did he respect our interests that supported by wellnigh his whole household he adorned our temple through the costliness of his dedications, and ordered that for all time continuous sacrifices of whole burnt offerings should be carried out every day at his own expense as a tribute to the most high God. And these sacrifices are maintained to the present day and will be maintained forever to tell the story of a character truly imperial. Yet more, in the monthly doles in his own city when all the people each in turn receive money or corn, he never put the Jews at a disadvantage in sharing the bounty, but even if the distributions happened to come during the sabbath when no one is permitted to receive or give anything or to transact any part of the business of ordinary life, particularly of a lucrative kind, he ordered the dispensers to reserve for the Jews till the morrow the charity which fell to all. Therefore everyone everywhere, even if he was not naturally well disposed to the Jews, was afraid to engage in destroying any of our institutions, and indeed it was the same under Tiberius though matters in Italy became troublesome when Sejanus was organizing his onslaughts.

NOTE: This is Helicon speaking to Gaius.

- 170 And do not seek for needless abundance of material. You have the obloquy cast upon the Jews and their customs; in this you were reared; right from the cradle you were taught it not by one person only but by the noisiest element in the city of Alexandrians. Display your learning.
- 178 In these straits and difficulties, since while leaving no stone unturned to propitiate Helicon we found no way open, as no one dared to address or approach him because of the arrogance and harshness he showed to all, and also we did not know whether in always

On the Embassy cont.

inciting and working up his master against the nation he was influenced by a personal dislike of the Jewish race, we ceased to exert ourselves in this direction and confined our efforts to the more pressing side.

- 182 But as I believe myself in virtue of my age and my good education otherwise to possess a greater amount of good sense, what gave joy to others rather alarmed me. Bestirring my thinking powers I said, "Why when so many envoys were present from almost the whole earth did he say that he would hear us only? What was his object? For he must have known that we were Jews who would be contented if they were not treated worse than others.
- 184 Thus thinking I was deeply disturbed and had no rest by day or night. But while in my despondency I kept my affliction concealed since it was not safe to let it appear, another very heavy calamity was suddenly and unexpectedly launched upon us, which endangered not one part only of the Jewish race but the whole body of the nation.
- 194 For what religion or righteousness is to be found in vainly striving to show that we are Alexandrians, when we are menaced by the danger which threatens a more universal interest, the corporate body of the Jews?
- 198 They replied, "you know the chief and primary cause which all men also know. He wishes to be thought a God and supposed the only dissentients will be the Jews on whom he could inflict no greater injury than the ruin of the sanctity of their temple."
- 200- It chanced that an opportunity for obtaining his object was given
202 by the following incident. Jamneia, one of the most populous cities of Judea, is inhabited by a mixture of people, the majority being Jews with some others of alien races, intruders for mischief from the dwellers in adjacent countries. These people being new settlers have made themselves a pest and a nuisance to those who are in a sense indigenous by perpetually subverting some part of the institutions of the Jews. Hearing from travellers visiting them how earnestly Gaius was pressing his deification and the extreme hostility which he felt towards the whole Jewish race, they thought that a fit opportunity of attacking them had fallen in their way.
- 205 So then Helicon, scorpion in form of a slave, vented his Egyptian venom on the Jews and so too Apelles with the venom of Ascalon.

On the Embassy cont.

For that was the place he came from, and the Ascalonites have a truceless and irreconcilable hostility to the Jewish inhabitants of the Holy land on whose borders they live.

- 210 For all men guard their own customs, but this is especially true of the Jewish nation. Holding that the laws are oracles vouchsafed by God and having been trained in this doctrine from their earliest years, they carry the likeness of the commandments enshrined in their souls.
- 216 He was frightened also by the forces beyond the Euphrates, since that Babylon and many others satrapies were occupied by Jews was known to him not only by report but by experience.
- 222 He also sent for the magnates of the Jews, priests and magistrates, partly to explain Gaius' intentions and partly to advise them to accept the orders of their lord and master and keep before their eyes the dire consequences of doing otherwise.
- 226 They had not finished their story and Petronius still remained unguarded, when the multitude of the Jews suddenly descended like a cloud and occupied the whole of Phoenicia to the profound astonishment of those who did not know how populous the nation was.
- 245 Indeed it appears that he himself had some rudiments of Jewish philosophy and religion acquired either in early lessons in the past through his zeal for culture or after his appointment as governor in the countries where the Jews are very numerous in every city, Asia and Syria, or else because his soul was so disposed, being drawn to things worthy of serious effort by a nature which listened to no voice nor dictation or teaching but its own.
- 248 He would send to Gaius a letter in which, without accusing the Jews or giving a candid account of their prayers and entreaties, he would charge the delay in the installation partly to the work requiring a definite allowance of time for the construction, partly to the season, which gave strong grounds for delay, the reasonableness of which Gaius himself not only might but necessarily must admit.
- 253 Supplies were needed calculated not merely for absolute necessities but for the excessive expenditure which Gaius demanded. If he reads this letter, thought Petronius, he will probably not merely refrain from anger but approve our forethought, recognizing that the postponement which we have made is not due to favouri-

On the Embassy cont.

tism to the Jews but in order to insure the carrying of the harvest.

256 You concern yourself with the institutions of the Jews, the nation which is my worst enemy; you disregard the imperial commands of your sovereign. You feared this great numbers.

278 I as you know am by birth a Jew, and my native city is Jerusalem in which is situated the sacred shrine of the most high God.

282 And not only are the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for except for a small part they all, Babylon and of the other satrapies those where the land within their confines is highly fertile, have Jewish inhabitants.

307 And if any priest, to say nothing of the other Jews, and not merely one of the lowest priests but of those who are ranked directly below the chief, goes in either by himself or with the High Priest, and further even if the High Priest enters on two days in the year or thrice or four times on the same day death without appeal is his doom.

311- While I have a great abundance of evidence to show the wishes of
313 your great-grandfather Augustus I will content myself with two examples. The first is a letter which he sent to the governors of the provinces in Asia, as he had learnt that the sacred first-fruits were treated with disrespect. He ordered that the Jews alone should be permitted by them to assemble in synagogues. Those gatherings, he said, were not based on drunkenness and carousing to promote conspiracy and so to do grave injury to the cause of peace, but were schools of temperance and justice where men while practicing virtue subscribed the annual first-fruits to pay for the sacrifices which they offer and commissioned sacred envoys to take them to the temple in Jerusalem. Then he commanded that no one should hinder the Jews from meeting or subscribing or sending envoys to Jerusalem according to their ancestral practice.

315- "Gaius Norbanus Flaccus proconsul to the magistrates of the
316 Ephesians, greeting. Caesar has written to me that the Jews, wherever they may be, regularly according to their old peculiar custom, make a rule of meeting together and subscribing money which they send to Jerusalem. He does not wish them to be hindered from doing this. I therefore write you to let you know that this is what he orders to be done." Is not this a clear proof,

On the Embassy cont.

my emperor, of the principles which he followed as to the honour due to our temple? He did not think that the form generally adopted about meetings should be applied to do away with the assemblages of the Jews to which they resort for collection of the first-fruits and their other religious observances.

- 330 Having written and sealed this letter he sent it to Gaius and shut himself up in his house where he remained greatly agitated and distraught, particularly by anxiety about the turn events might take. For the danger which had fallen upon him was no trifle but one which involved the expulsion, enslavement, and wholesale spoliation of the Jews who dwelt not only in the Holy Land but everywhere through the habitable world.
- 333 Thus to all appearance mollified he thought good to give kindly answers to Agrippa's request, granting him the chief and principal thing, that the installation should not now take place, and he ordered letters to be sent to Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, that he should forbear to take further steps to violate the tradition of the temple of the Jews.
- 335 Now this was nothing else than a starting point for seditions and civil conflicts and an indirect cancelling of what appeared to be a straightforward gift on his part. For it was to be expected that one party, through hostility to the Jews rather than reverence for Gaius, would fill the whole country with such installations, and the others seeing with their own eyes their ancestral institutions overthrown would not hold their hands even if they were the mildest of men.
- 346 This great inconstance of conduct affected all, but particularly the Jewish race.
- 350 For this is what a judge would do: he would sit with assessors selected for their high merit, as the case under examination was of the greatest importance, since nothing had been heard of it for four centuries and it was now for the first time brought up against the many myriads of the Alexandrian Jews: the opposing parties would stand on either side of him with the advocates who would speak for them and he would listen in turn to the accusation and the defense for the space of water-time allowed!
- 355 Seeing that he was delighted at being addressed as of more than human nature the virulent sycophant Isidorus said, "My lord, you will hate still more these people here present, and those of

On the Embassy cont.

whose nation they are, if you understand their malevolence and impiety towards you. For when all men were offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for your preservation they alone could not bear the thought of sacrificing. And when I say 'they' I include also the other Jews."

- 368 Such was this combination of a theatre and a prison in place of a tribunal, theatre-like in the crackling of their hisses, their mockery and unbounded jeering, prison-like in the strokes inflicted on our flesh, the torture, the racking of the whole soul through the blasphemies against God and menaces launched upon us by this mighty despot, who resented the affront not to another, since then he might easily have changed his mind, but to himself and his desire of the deification to which he supposed the Jews alone did not assent and could not pledge themselves to subscribe.
- 370- For the above reasons we were able to lift our heads above water
371 to some extent but the other circumstances alarmed us in our trepidation and suspense as to what he would decide, what verdict he would declare, on what grounds the judgement would be given. For had a hearing been given to our case by him who heard some points only to misunderstand? Surely it was a cruel situation that the fate of all the Jews everywhere should rest precariously on us five envoys. For if he should decide in favour of our enemies, what other city will keep tranquil or refrain from attacking its fellow inhabitants, what house of prayer will be left unscathed, what kind of civic rights will not be upset for those whose lot is cast under the ancient institutions of the Jews?
- 373 So now I have told in a summary way the cause of the enmity which Gaius had for the whole nation of the Jews, but I must also describe the palinode.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORKS OF JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS

INTRODUCTION

To continue in chronological sequence, the next texts to be examined are the works of Josephus Flavius. Josephus was born in approximately 38 C.E. and died shortly after 100 C.E. Even though he was born in Palestine, a substantial portion of his life was spent in Rome; this fact is reflected in his writings. By examining Josephus' works it is possible to see how a Jew, born in Palestine and living in Rome, employed the terms "Jew" and "Judaism." Based upon reasons to be stated later, it can be assumed that Josephus' use of the terms is reflective of the culture in which he found himself.

In order to better understand Josephus' use of the term "Jew," it is necessary to know a little of his history and why he came to compose his works. Josephus' personal history is one which is both confusing and fascinating. There is controversy among scholars as to various aspects of Josephus' life. However, this controversy will not be dealt with in this thesis. An examination of Josephus' works provides certain autobiographical insights. Josephus was born into an aristocratic family which traced its roots to priestly ancestry. During his teens and early twenties he spent his time studying and learning about the different philosophies of Judaism. Josephus, at age twenty-six, was sent on a mission to Rome in order to gain the release of priests who had

been jailed. This visit to Rome, Laquer states, was the beginning of Josephus' defection.¹ During the Jewish War Josephus was made commander of the Galilee forces during which time he surrendered to the "enemy."² This new association with the Romans continued throughout the rest of his lifetime. At first the Romans were distrustful of him and he remained chained as a prisoner. But in time, and after shrewd opportunism, Josephus came under the protection of Titus.³ At the seige of Jerusalem he was with Titus serving as a mediator. After the victory, Josephus went with Titus to Rome and remained there the rest of his life. In Rome he was awarded citizenship and was granted a pension by the emperor. Even after Titus' death, when Josephus no longer had an honored status, he remained in Rome. He was unable to return to his people, for they considered him a traitor. It was during his stay in Rome that he wrote his works. These works which he composed were written with the intent of providing information to the non-Jewish readership of his adopted culture. Therefore, in order to do this in the most effective manner his usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism"

1. Henry St. John Thackeray, Josephus: The Man and the Historian, with preface by George Foot Moore and intro. by Samuel Sandmel (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1967), p. 20.

2. Josephus' surrender to Rome is perhaps the single most controversial aspect of his life. Though this thesis does not deal with this in depth, the important aspect of it is Josephus' new alliance to Rome.

3. Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1972 ed., s.v. "Josephus Flavius," by Abraham Schalit and Thackeray, Josephus: The Man - The Historian, pp. 14-15.

would have to reflect the Roman usage of the terms. This is the only way that his readers would clearly understand his writings.

In prior chapters a complete collection of verses from the work under consideration is provided. However, due to Josephus' extensive use of the term "Jew," this is not possible for this chapter. However, a selection of verses from Josephus' writings is provided. The verses were selected in one of two methods. The first method used was to select verses that employed the term in a specific and clear fashion from which it is possible to draw conclusions. This enables the reader to gain an understanding of how Josephus intended the term to be understood. The second method was a random selection of verses. Random selection was to insure against a slanted sampling of verses. This incomplete compendium of verses from Josephus provides an accurate reflection of how Josephus employed the terms "Jew" and "Judaism."

As was the case with Philo, Josephus employs the term "Jew" and "Judaism" consistently. Therefore, it is not necessary and is not helpful to examine the usage in each of his works separately. Thus, for the purpose of this study, Josephus' works is considered as a whole.

ANALYSIS

To begin this examination of the term "Jew" as used by Josephus, it is best to begin with an awareness of where he employs the term. In order to do this it is necessary to consider how Josephus used the terms Israel and Hebrew. After this part of the examination has been completed, the use of the term "Jew" will be discussed. Before starting

the examination, it should be said that the term "Judaism" does not occur in Josephus. There are places in the text where the phrase "laws or customs of the Jews" is found. This might have been the common phrase used in place of the more abstract term "Judaism." The absence of the term "Judaism" does not alter how the term "Jew" appears to be employed.

Josephus uses the term "Jew" only to refer to a particular group of people after the restoration of the Temple. This means that the same group of people have different names for Josephus, depending on the period of time in which they existed. Josephus employed two names for these people prior to the restoration and one name for them after the restoration. This is the same pattern that has already been explained in reference to Philo's usage of the term. In Josephus' works, he uses the terms Israel and Hebrew to identify the people prior to the restoration, while he uses the term "Jew" after the restoration. This is most clearly seen in "Jewish Antiquities" where in the first twelve books he uses the terms Israel and Hebrew and after those books these terms are no longer used. In those books in which the terms Israel and Hebrew are not used, the term "Jew" is used extensively.⁴ Josephus also employs the term "Jew" to refer to people living both inside and outside of the land of Palestine. Examples of verses that clearly

4. Zeitlin, "Who is a Jew?", p. 246 and Zeitlin, "The Jews: Race, Nation, or Religion," p. 326.

use the term "Jew" in reference to Diaspora Jewry are "Jewish Antiquities" book 18 verse 257 and verses 378 through 379. In articles dealing with the question of how the term "Jew" is employed, Zeitlin suggests that the term Hebrew was used by Josephus to identify Jews living outside of Palestine. Perhaps in some cases this is correct, however, it is clear that Josephus uses the term "Jew" to refer to individuals living inside Palestine as well as outside Palestine.

For Josephus the term "Jew" is primarily a term with religious connotations. Of course, for Josephus, the national aspect of the term plays a part as well. However, it should be understood that the national connotations are subordinate to the religious connotations of the term. There are many sections in Josephus' writings where he speaks of the "laws or customs of the Jews." In other portions Josephus moves from generalities to specifics in talking about particular holidays and practices. Josephus, in discussing the capture of the Idumeans, explains that if they wished to remain in their country they would have to be circumcised and observe the laws of the Jews. Another clear indication that Josephus closely associates the term "Jew" with religion is in his discussions of the three philosophies subsumed under the term. This is found in Jewish War book 2 verse 119 and Jewish Antiquities book 13 verse 177. It is there that Josephus states "that there are three schools of thought among the Jews." It is easily seen that for Josephus the term "Jew" was first a religious term and secondly a term of national association.

Based upon the understanding of Josephus' use of the term "Jew" and the definitions developed in Chapter One of this thesis, it is appropriate to translate the original Greek term into English as Jew. In writing his articles on Josephus and the use of the term, Zeitlin is not aware of this fact. Thus, Zeitlin uses the incorrect translation, Judean, instead of the correct translation, Jew. In any translation of the works of Josephus Flavius the correct translation of the Greek term "Jew" is Jew.

THE LIFE

- 25-27 The inhabitants of the surrounding cities of Syria proceeded to lay hands on and kill, with their wives and children, the Jewish residents among them, without the slightest ground of complaint; for they had neither entertained any idea of revolt from Rome nor harboured any enmity or designs against the Syrians. The most outrageous and criminal action of all was that perpetrated by the natives of Scythopolis. Being attacked by hostile Jews from another quarter, they compelled their own Jewish residents to bear arms against their compatriots, which we are forbidden to do, and with their assistance engaged and defeated the invaders; and then, after the victory, with no thought of the allegiance due to fellow-citizens and confederates, put them all, to the number of many thousands, to the sword. The Jewish residents in Damascus met with a similar fate. I have given a more detailed account of these incidents in my volumes on the Jewish War; and I merely allude to them here from a desire to convince my readers that the war with the Romans was due not so much to the deliberate choice of the Jews as to necessity.
- 54 Inflated with these lofty ambitious Varus withheld the letters and contrived to prevent their perusal by the king; guards being posted at all the exits from the town, so that none should escape and report his proceedings to him. Moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Caesarea, he put many of the Jews to death.
- 112- About this time there came to me from the region of Trachonitis
113 two nobles, subjects of the king, bringing their horses, arms, and money which they had smuggled out of their country. The Jews would have compelled them to be circumcised as a condition of residence among them. I, however, would not allow any compulsion to be put upon them, declaring that every one should worship God in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience and not under constraints,
- 349 Your native city, Justus, on the contrary, situated on the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, one hundred and twenty, with no Jewish city in the vicinity, might easily, had it so desired, have kept faith with the Romans.

AGAINST APION

- I:1 In my history of our Antiquities, most excellent Epaphroditus, I

Against Apion cont.

have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race, the purity of the original stock, and the manner in which it established itself in the country we occupy to-day.

- I:42 We have given practical proof of our reverence for our own Scriptures. For, although such long ages have now passed, no one has ventured either to add, or to remove, or to alter a syllable; and it is an instinct with every Jew, from the day of his birth, to regard them as decrees of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to die for them.
- I:71 Of the Chaldaeans I could not say the same, because they are the original ancestors of our race, and this blood-relationship accounts for the mention which is made of the Jews in their annals.
- II:19 Evidence from those chronicles to this effect has been given earlier in this work, where I showed that Hirom was a friend of Solomon, who built the Temple at Jerusalem, and that he contributed largely towards its construction. But Solomon himself built the Temple 612 years after the departure of the Jews from Egypt.
- II:28 Such are some of the novel features which the Egyptian Apion, improving upon other authors, has introduced into the story of Moses and the departure of the Jews from Egypt.
- II:38 His astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians betrays similar stupidity. All persons invited to join a colony, however different their nationality, take the name of the founders. It is needless to go outside our race for instances. Our Jewish residents to Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenships by its founder, Seleucus.
- II:44 Alexander's opinion of the Jews of Alexandria was shared by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He entrusted the fortresses of Egypt to their keeping, confident of their loyalty and bravery as guards; and, when he was anxious to strengthen his hold upon Cyrene and the other cities of Libya, he sent out a party of Jews to settle there.
- II:68 He further accuses us of fomenting sedition. But, if it be granted that he is justified in bringing this accusation against the Jews of Alexandria, why then does he make a grievance against the Jews at large of the notorious concord of our race?

THE JEWISH WAR

- I:17 To narrate the ancient history of the Jews, the origin of the nation and the circumstances of their migration from Egypt, the countries which they traversed in their wanderings, the extent of the territory which they subsequently occupied, and the incidents which led to their deportation, would I considered, be not only here out of place, but superfluous; seeing that many Jews before me have accurately recorded the history of our ancestors,...
- I:34 Not content with his unlooked for success in capturing the city and with the plunder and wholesale carnage, Antiochus, carried away by his ungovernable passions and with the rankling memory of what he had suffered in the siege, put pressure upon the Jews to violate the code of their country by leaving their infants uncircumcised and sacrificing swine upon the altar.
- I:110 Beside Alexandra, and growing as she grew, arose the Pharisees, a body of Jews with reputation of excelling the rest of their nation in the observances of religion, and as exact exponents of the laws.
- I:146 Indeed, the labours of the Romans would have been endless, had not Pompey taken advantage of the seventh day of the week, on which the Jews, from religious scruples, refrain from all manual work, and then proceeded to raise the earthworks, while forbidding his troops to engage in hostilities; for on the sabbaths the Jews fight only in self-defense.
- I:282 Antony was moved with compassion at his reverse of fortune; and influenced by the recollection of Antipater's hospitality, but above all by the heroic qualities of the man in front of him, determined then and there to make him king of the Jews whom he had himself previously appointed tetrarch.
- II:10 And now the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews call Pass-over, came round; it is an occasion for the contribution of a multitude of sacrifices, and a vast crowd streamed in from the country for the ceremony.
- II:101 At this time a young man who, though by birth a Jew, had been brought up at Sidon at the house of a Roman freedman, on the strength of a certain physical resemblance passed himself off as the prince Alexander,...
- II:119 Jewish philosophy, in fact, takes three forms. The followers of the first school are called Pharisees, of the second Sadducees, of the third Essences.

The Jewish War cont.

- II:266 Another disturbance occurred at Caesarea, where the Jewish portion of the population rose against the Syrian inhabitants. They claimed that the city was theirs on the ground that its founder, King Herod, was a Jew. Their opponents admitted the Jewish origin of its second founder, but maintained that the city itself belonged to the Greeks, since Herod would never have erected the statues and temples which he placed there had he destined it for Jews.
- II:289 On the following day, which was a sabbath, when the Jews assembled at the synagogue, they found that one of the Caesarean mischief-makers had placed beside the entrance a pot, turned bottom upwards, upon which he was sacrificing birds. This spectacle of what they considered an outrage upon their laws and a desecration of the spot enraged the Jews beyond endurance.
- II:308 For Florus ventured that day to do what none had ever done before, namely, to scourge before his tribunal and nail to the cross men of equestrian rank, men who, if Jews by birth, were at least invested with that Roman dignity.
- II:454 Thus, brutally butchered, perished all save Metilius; he alone saved his life by entreaties and promises to turn Jew, and even to be circumcised. To the Romans this injury -- this loss of a handful of men out of a boundless army -- was slight; but to the Jews it looked like the prelude to their ruin.
- II:463 For, though believing that they had rid themselves of the Jews, still each city had its Judaizers, who aroused suspicion; and while they shrunk from filling offhand this equivocal element in their midst, they feared these neutrals as much as pronounced aliens.
- II:487 At Alexandria there had been incessant strife between the native inhabitants and the Jewish settlers since the time when Alexander, having received from the Jews very active support against the Egyptians, granted them, as a reward for their assistance, permission to reside in the city on terms of equality with the Greeks.
- II:543 The rear ranks did not dare to round upon those who were wounding them from behind, supposing that they were pursued by an innumerable host; nor did the rest venture to beat off those who were pressing their flanks, being heavily armed themselves and afraid of opening out their ranks, while the Jews, as they saw, were light-armed and prepared to dash among them.

The Jewish War cont.

- II:561 As they had for a long time past kept them shut up in the gymnasium -- a precaution prompted by suspicion -- they considered that the execution of their plan would present no difficulty whatever; their only fear was of their own wives who, with few exceptions, had all become converts to the Jewish religion, and so their efforts were mainly directed to keeping the secret from them. In the end, they fell upon the Jews, cooped up as they were and unarmed, and within one hour slaughtered them all with impunity, to the number of ten thousand and five hundred.
- III:113 They killed no more than seven, because the Romans retired in good order and, their bodies being completely protected, received only superficial wounds, while their Jewish assailants, lightly equipped and opposed to heavy-armed regulars, kept their distance and did not venture to come to close quarters with them.
- III:277 The Jews, on their side, invented a second ruse to trip their assailants, by pouring over the gangway-planks boiled fenugreek, on which the Romans slipped and stumbled backward.
- IV:99 Titus must, however (he said), in deference to the Jewish law, allow them that day, being the seventh, on which they were forbidden alike to have resort to arms and to conclude a treaty of peace.
- IV:318 I should not be wrong in saying that the capture of the city began with the death of Ananus; and that the overthrow of the walls and the downfall of the Jewish state dated from the day on which the Jews beheld their high priest, the captain of their salvation, butchered in the heart of Jerusalem.
- IV:531 The further relate that it was there that Abraham, the progenitor of the Jews, took up his abode after his migration from Mesopotamia, and from here that his posterity went down into Egypt.
- V:99 When the day of unleavened bread came round on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, the reputed anniversary of the Jews' first liberation from Egypt, Eleazar and his men partly opened the gates and admitted citizens desiring to worship within the building.
- V:341 So Caesar stood his ground, incessantly shooting his arrows and stemming the advance of the Jews, until all his soldiers had retired.
- VI:82 But one Julianus, a centurion in the Bithynian contingent, a man of some mark, and distinguished above all whose acquaintance I

The Jewish War cont.

made during that war in the science of arms, strength of body and intrepidity of soul, seeing the Romans beginning to give way and offering but a sorry resistance, sprang forward -- he had been standing beside Titus on Antonia -- and single-handed drove back the Jews, already victorious, to the corner of the inner temple.

VI:143 The Jews had as arbiter of their own daring deeds their fear for themselves and for the temple and the looming presence of the tyrant, encouraging some, rousing others by the lash and by menaces into action.

VI:411 (Titus speaking.) "God it was who brought down the Jews from these strongholds; for what power have human hands or engines against these towers?"

VII:43 The Jewish race, densely interspersed among the native populations of every portion of the world, is particularly numerous in Syria, where intermingling is due to the proximity of the two countries.

VII:329 But did we forsooth hope that we alone of all the Jewish nation would survive and preserve our freedom, as persons guiltless towards God and without a hand in crime -- we who had even been the instructors of the rest?

VII:359 For long since, so it seems, God passed this decree against the whole Jewish race in common, that we must quit this life if we would not use it aright.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

I:6 I had indeed ere now, when writing the history of the war, already contemplated describing the origin of the Jews, the fortunes that befell them, the great lawgiver under whom they were trained in piety and the exercise of the other virtues, and all those wars waged by them through long ages before this last in which they were involuntarily engaged against the Romans.

I:146 Arphaxades was the father of Seles and he of Heber, after whom the Jews were originally called Hebrews.

VI:26 God's victim was still upon the altar and He had not yet wholly consumed it through the sacred flame, when the enemy's forces issued from their camp and drew up for battle, expectant victory,

Jewish Antiquities cont.

thinking to have caught the Jews in hopeless plight, seeing that they were without arms and had assembled there with no intention of battle.

VI:30 And so Samuel, taking the field against them, slew multitudes, utterly humbled their pride, and took from them the country which they had erstwhile torn from the Jews after their victory in battle, to wit the region extending from the borders of Gitta to the city of Akkaron. And at that time there was amity between the Israelites and the remnant of the Canaanites.

IX:291 These same rites have continued in use even to this day among those who are called Chuthaioi (Cuthim) in the Hebrew tongue, and Samareitai (Samaritans) by the Greeks; but they alter their attitude according to circumstance and, when they see the Jews prospering, call them their kinsmen, on the ground that they are descended from Joseph and are related to them through their origin from him, but, when they see them in trouble, they say that they have nothing whatever in common with them nor do these have any claim of friendship or race, and they declare themselves to be aliens of another race.

X:87 In the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, which was the eighth year of Joakeimos's rule over the Hebrews, the Babylonian king marched against the Jews with a large force, demanding tribute of Joakeimos under threat of war.

XI:74 Thus, then, did the priests and Levites and a portion of the entire Jewish people in Babylon emigrate to Jerusalem, while the rest of the people went off, each to his native place.

XI:288 And it so happened that at the same time when the king's letter reached the whole country ruled by him, the Jews in Susa killed about five hundred of their enemies.

XII:125 And we know that Marcus Agrippa had a similar view concerning
-126 the Jews, for when the Ionians agitated against them and petitioned Agrippa that they alone might enjoy the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called Theos by the Greeks, had given them, and claimed that, if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should worship the Ionians' gods, the matter was brought to trial and the Jews won the right to use their own customs, their advocate being Nicolas of Damascus; for Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule.

Jewish Antiquities cont.

XII:187 He once came to Alexandria with his brother as he was taking there his daughter, who was of marriageable age, in order that he might marry her to one of the Jews of high rank; and Joseph was dining with the king, a beautiful dancing-girl came into the banquet-room, and Joseph, having fallen in love with her, told his brother of this and begged him, since the Jews were prevented by law from having intercourse with a foreign woman, to aid in concealing his sin and do him a good service by making it possible for him to satisfy his desire.

XII:226 "Areios, king of Lacedaemonians, to Onias, greeting. We have come upon a certain document from which we have learned that the Jews and Lacedaemonians are of one race and are related by descent from Abraham."

XII:253 The king also built a pagan altar upon the temple-altar, and slaughtered swine thereon, thereby practicing a form of sacrifice neither lawful nor native to the religion of the Jews.

XII:289 He therefore gathered together whatever force he had, and having also enrolled the fugitives and irreligious men among the Jews, he came against Judas; and having advanced as far as the village of Baithoron in Judaea, he encamped there.

XIII:54 I also permit them to live in accordance with their country's laws and to observe them, it is my will that those living in the three districts added to Judea shall be subject to these laws, and that it shall be the concern of the high priest that not a single Jew shall have any temple worship other than that at Jerusalem.

XIII:171 Now at this time there were three schools of thought among the Jews, which held different opinions concerning human affairs; the first being that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes.

XIII;
257 Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaeen cities of Adora and Marisa, and after subduing all the Idumaeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws of the Jews.

XIII:
359 But Apollodotus, the general of the Gazaeans, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand slaves,...

XIV: There were four classes in the state of Cyrene; the first consisted

Jewish Antiquities cont.

of citizens, the second of farmers, the third of resident aliens (metic), and the fourth of Jews.

XIV: And if, during this period any question shall arise concerning the
195 Jews' manner of life, it is my pleasure that the decision shall rest with them.

XIV: Decree of the people of Sardis. "The following decree was passed
259 by the council and people on the motion of the magistrates. Where-
as the Jewish citizens living in our city have continually received many great privileges from the people and have now come before the council and the people and have pleaded that as their laws and freedom have been restored to them by the Roman Senate and people, they may, in accordance with their accepted customs, come together and have a communal life and adjudicate suits among themselves, and that a place be given them in which they may gather together with their wives and children and offer their ancestral prayers and sacrifices to God,...

XV:39 And so King Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananel, who was, as we said before, not a native (of Judea) but (was descended) from the Jews who had been transported beyond the Euphrates, for not a few tens of thousands of this people had been transported to Babylonia;

XV:259 Some time afterwards Salome had occasion to quarrel with Costobarus and soon sent him a document dissolving their marriage, which was not in accordance with Jewish law.

XV:409 At the time mentioned, however, Herod, the king of the Jews, made this baris stronger for the safety and protection of the temple, and to gratify Antony, who was his friend and at the same time ruler of the Romans, he called Antonia.

XVI: Now the Jews of Asia and those be found in Cyrenaeae Libya were
160 being mistreated by the cities there, although the kings had formerly granted them equality of civic status;

XVI: But Agrippa himself also wrote on behalf of the Jews in the follow-
167-168 ing manner. "Agrippa to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. It is my will that the care and custody of the sacred monies belonging to the account of the temple in Jerusalem shall be given to the Jews in Asia in accordance with their ancestral customs. And if any men steal the sacred monies of the Jews and take refuge in places of asylum, it is my will that they be

Jewish Antiquities cont.

dragged away from them and turned over to the Jews under the same law by which temple-robbers are dragged away from asylum. I have also written to the praetor Silanus that no one shall compel the Jews to give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath."

- XVI: As for the king of the Jews, he no longer felt toward Alexander
311 and Aristobulus as formerly when he merely listened to accusations against them.
- XVII: Meanwhile continuous and countless new tumults filled Judea, and
269 in many quarters many men rose in arms either in hope of personal gain or out of hatred for the Jews.
- XVIII: The offspring of Alexander abandoned from birth the observance
141 of the ways of the Jewish land and ranged themselves with the Greek tradition.
- XVIII: Meanwhile, there was civil strife in Alexandria between the Jew-
257 ish inhabitants and the Greeks. Three delegates were chosen by each of the factions and appeared before Gaius. One of the Alexandrian delegates was Apion, who scurrilously reviled the Jews, asserting, among other things, that they neglected to pay the honours due to the emperor.
- XVIII: Petronius, on his part, was struck with great amazement when he
286 saw unmistakable evidence that God's providence was over the Jews and that He had shown His presence so abundantly that not even those who actually proposed to take the opposite view had any heart left to dispute the fact.
- XVIII: The Jews of Mesopotamia and especially those inhabiting Baby-
310 lonia now met with a terrible and unparalleled disaster and were massacred in such numbers as never before in recorded history.
- XVIII: All the Jewish people in this region now became terrified of both
378- the Babylonians and the Seleucians since all the Syrians who were
379 citizens of these places fell in line with the Seleucians and made war against the Jews their policy. Most of the Jews flocked to Nearda and Nisibis, where they were safe because these cities were fortified and were furthermore populated by men who were valiant fighters every one. Such is the story of the Jewish inhabitants of Babylonia.
- XIX:1 Gaius not only exhibited the madness of his insolence in relation to the Jews who dwelt in Jerusalem and throughout Judea, but he

Jewish Antiquities cont.

also sent it forth to spread over every land and sea which was subject to the Romans, and infected the empire with countless ills, such as had never before been chronicled in history.

XIX: "Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, of tribunician
281- power, speaks. Having from the first known that the Jews in
285 Alexandria called Alexandrians were fellow colonizers from the very earliest times jointly with the Alexandrians and received equal civic rights from the kings, as is manifest from the documents in their possession and from the edicts; and that after Alexandria was made subject to our empire by Augustus their rights were preserved by the prefects sent time to time, and that these rights of theirs have never been disputed; moreover, that at the time when Aquila was at Alexandria, on the death of the ethnarch of the Jews, Augustus did not prevent the continued appointment of ethnarchs, desiring that the several subject nations should abide by their own customs and not be compelled to violate the religion of their fathers; and learning that the Alexandrians rose up in insurrection against the Jews in their midst in the time of Gaius Caesar, who through his great folly madness humiliated the Jews because they refused to transgress the religion of their fathers by addressing him as a god; I desire that none of their rights should be lost to the Jews on account of the madness of Gaius, but that their former privileges also be preserved to them, while they abide by their own customs; and I enjoin upon both parties to take the greatest precaution to prevent any disturbance arising after the posting of my edict."

XX:17 At the same time Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates became converts to Judaism under the following circumstances.

XX:38 When Izates had learned that his mother was very much pleased with the Jewish religion, he was zealous to convert to it himself; and since he considered that he would not be genuinely a Jew unless he was circumcised, he was ready to act accordingly.

XX:139 After receiving this gift from the emperor, Agrippa gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus king of Emesa, who had consented to be circumcised. Epiphanes, son of King Antiochus, had rejected the marriage since he was not willing to convert to the Jewish religion, although he had previously contracted with her father to do so.

XX: After a period of seventy years of captivity under the Babylonians,
233 Cyrus, king of the Persians, freed the Jews from Babylon and

Jewish Antiquities cont.

permitted them to return to their own land to rebuild the temple.

XX: Here will be the end of my "Antiquities," following which begins
259 my account of the war. The present work contains the recorded history, from man's original creation up to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, of the events that befell us Jews in Egypt, in Syria, and in Palestine.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

The next to be examined is the New Testament. This text is important because it provides insights into the development of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" during a crucial time in history. The New Testament reflects a usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" that is colored by the development of a new and rival religion, Christianity. Because of the development of Christianity as reflected in the New Testament, the usage of the terms differs from their usage in earlier periods. It must be recognized that the New Testament is a collection of works written at different times by different people and, therefore, the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" are not consistent throughout the entire collection. Therefore, in order to best understand how the terms are used, sections or works from the New Testament are examined individually. For the purpose of this thesis, the New Testament is divided into the following sections, each to be examined separately: the Synoptic Gospel, Gospel of John, Acts of the Apostles, Letters of Paul and works which do not fall under any of the already mentioned categories.

ANALYSIS

A. The Synoptic Gospels

The most striking aspect of the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" in the Synoptic Gospels is the infrequency with which they occur.

As has been the situation in most of the texts thus far examined, the term "Judaism" is not found at all. The term "Jew," although it does occur, is employed infrequently. In the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, the term "Jew" occurs only sixteen times. Of those sixteen occurrences, twelve of them, three-fourths, are employed in direct reference to Jesus. The phrase in which the term occurs in all twelve instances reads "King of the Jews." The four other usages of the term "Jew" do not occur as part of the phrase "King of the Jews." These occurrences do not apparently fit into the clear pattern that exists in the Synoptic Gospels.

In Matthew 28:15 the term "Jew" appears to be out of place. Based upon a complete reading of the Gospel of Matthew, one would not expect the author to employ the term in that verse as he does. It would be consistent with the author's previous usage if he had continued using the term "Jew" only in direct reference to Jesus. The way the term "Jew" is used in 28:15 is more similar to how the term is employed in the Gospel of John than it is in the Synoptic Gospels. Based upon the apparent inconsistency of this usage, some scholars suggest that this use of the term is a gloss from an early copyist.¹ This explains why this occurrence does not adhere to the obvious pattern that otherwise exists.

1. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. 1964, s.v. "Jew."

The occurrence of the term "Jew" in the Gospel of Mark 7:3 is very interesting. In verses 3 and 4, the author of the work is providing a parenthetical aside for the readers of the work. There are two facts that can be gleaned from this occurrence. First, it is obvious from the aside that for the author the term "Jew" is a religious term identifying a particular group of people. Second, the aside is intended for non-Jews who certainly would not know the information the author provides. This use of the term "Jew" probably reflects the author's normal usage of the term "Jew."² If scholars are correct, the Gospel of Mark was written by a Gentile Christian living in Rome in approximately 66-70 C.E.³ As already seen in Josephus, the term "Jew" is frequently used to describe a religious group. The author of this gospel chooses not to use his regular usage pattern but utilizes one which is contrary to his native usage. The reason that the author chooses to use a conflicting pattern may be linked to the question of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels. Alternatively, the change of patterns may be attributable to a conscious choice of the author, made for reasons yet to be discovered. However, to uncover the solution to this problem is not within the scope of this thesis. The previous discussion is also applicable for the occurrences of the term "Jew" as found in the Gospel of Luke 7:3 and

2. Ibid., s.v. "Jew."

3. Joseph Tyson, A Study of Early Christianity (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1973), p. 207.

23:51. These are the two instances where the author of the Gospel of Luke allows his actual usage of the term "Jew" to be included in his work.⁴ It appears as if the authors of the Gospel of Mark and Luke adopt a usage of the term "Jew" which is not native to them and thus inconsistencies slip through. The three occurrences discussed above are instances which reflect the authors' actual usage.

In the three gospels under examination, except for the four instances already cited, there is a clear and definite pattern. In the twelve instances where the phrase "King of the Jews" occurs it always emanates from a non-Jew. It is employed by Pilate, Herod, the soldiers, or on the inscription upon the cross which is authored by a non-Jew. Never is the term "Jew" used by a Jew in these gospels. It is made clear in the gospels themselves that a Jew is never to use the term. In both the Gospels of Matthew and Mark when a Jew, chief priest, refers to Jesus he uses the phrase "King of Israel." It is clear from this that the term "Jew" is used exclusively by non-Jews, whereas the term Israel is a term used primarily by Jews. It is interesting to note that in all three gospels Jesus always uses the term Israel when he is speaking to Jews. The pattern these gospels present is very similar to the pattern already seen in works which reflect the usage found in Palestine. The unusual thing about these gospels is that though they are not a product of Palestine, they parallel the usage so closely. If there is a relationship

4. Theological Dictionary of the N.T., s.v. "Jew."

between early Palestinian usage and that found in these gospels it may not be discovered until the origins of the Synoptic Gospels are understood. It may be suggested that the reason the authors of these gospels adopted a "foreign" usage pattern is related to who they intended as their readership. If their intended readership was to be Jews, it seems appropriate that they would adopt a Jewish/Palestinian pattern. A pattern of this sort would have Jews using the term Israel, while non-Jews would use the term "Jew." This of course raises the problem of why the author of the Gospel of Mark includes an aside to non-Jewish readers if his intended audience is Jews. The important thing to recognize is that the term "Jew" is used only by non-Jews, while Israel is primarily used by Jews.

There is one difference between the Palestinian usage discussed earlier and the usage found in the Synoptic Gospels. In earlier Palestinian usage the term "Jew" is used primarily as a national term with some religious connotations. But, it appears that the term "Jew" in these gospels emphasizes the religious aspect more than the national. The national aspect of the term is seen in the phrase "King of the Jews." The concept of king is integral to that of nationhood. Still, the religious concept is more important than that of the national one. The reason for the religious usage could be the result of two independent influences. The first reason why the term "Jew" in the Synoptic Gospels is seen as a more religious than national term is because the authors of these gospels understand the term that way. Therefore,

even though they try to hide their native usage, it is still apparent. The second reason is that the term "Jew," even in Palestine, was coming to have more of a religious meaning. It is possible that the non-Palestinian meaning, the religious one, had begun to influence the Palestinian meaning. The meaning of the term was also changing as a result of the internal changes that were occurring in Judaism, particularly the rise of Pharisaism. Of course, this is all connected to the question of how the Synoptic Gospels developed. However, independent of how or why it occurred, the term "Jew" in these gospels is used as a religious term exclusively by non-Jews. Based upon this understanding of the usage of the term "Jew" in the Synoptic Gospels, and the definitions given in Chapter One, it is correct to translate the original language term as Jew.

B. The Gospel of John

The occurrence of the term "Jew" in the Gospel of John is markedly different from its occurrences in the Synoptic Gospels. In the Gospel of John the term "Jew" occurs more than sixty times, four times more than in the first three gospels combined. However, as is the case in the Synoptic Gospels, the term "Judaism" does not appear in the Gospel of Mark. It is not clear why there exists such a difference between the usage in the Synoptic Gospels and the usage in the Gospel of John. This problem is made all the more complex when scholars suggest that the Gospel of John draws upon the Gospels of Mark or Luke for materials. The difference could be a result of different intentions by the authors.

Instead of writing for a Jewish readership, the author of the Gospel of John wrote for a non-Jewish readership. Therefore, the term is used in an entirely different fashion. Whatever the reason, it is clear that the term "Jew" in the Gospel of John occurs far more frequently than it does in the Synoptic Gospels. It has been suggested that the Gospel of John was written in Ephesus or Alexandria.⁵ If this is the case, perhaps the author employs the term "Jew" as commonly used in his environment. This is supported by the usage pattern found in other non-Palestinian works in which the term "Jew" is used frequently by both Jews and non-Jews.

In this gospel the term "Jew" is used to describe Jesus as it was in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke. The phrase "King of the Jews" occurs in the Gospel of John 19:19 through the mouth of Pilate. In 19:21 the chief priest of the Jews also refers to Jesus as the alleged "King of the Jews." Not only is Jesus referred to as the "King of the Jews" but he uses the term "Jew" himself. In a number of instances, Jesus employs the term when speaking to Jews as well as non-Jews. Of course, as would be expected, the term "Jew" is also employed by others besides Jesus and for reasons other than to describe Jesus.

It is clear from the usage of the term "Jew" that it is understood in a religious context by the author of the gospel. There are instances in the gospel where reference is made to a Jewish holiday or a particu-

5. Tyson, p. 220.

lar religious rite. There are also references to Jewish law which emphasize the religious nature of the term "Jew." When the term is used to describe a person, it is meant to include that person as part of a religious community. Secondly, there is a national component to it, particularly in light of the idea of Jesus as king. It should be understood that the term "Jew" is used basically as a form of religious identification in the Gospel of John.

The most important aspect of the term "Jew" in the Gospel of John is that it is a negative term. In the Synoptic Gospels and in other texts examined thus far, the term "Jew" is neither positive nor negative, it merely is a form of identification. However, in the Gospel of John the people identified by the term "Jew" are cast in an extremely bad light. They are the people who do not believe in Jesus; they are the ones who are trying to kill him. In fact, in 11:54, Jesus ceases walking openly among the Jews because of fear. It is clear that in this gospel the term "Jew" comes to be identified with those people who oppose Jesus. Because of this, the term "Jew" begins to develop a negative connotation. It should be noted that in translating the Gospel of John into English, Jew is the correct translation.

C. The Acts of the Apostles

Although it is believed that the author of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are the same person, the usage of the term "Jew" is not at all similar.⁶ This could be a result of the fact that the author's

6. Tyson, p. 204.

intended readership in the Gospel of Luke is different from the intended readership for Acts. The author shifts from a Jewish readership to a non-Jewish readership. The term "Jew" in Acts is employed in basically the same way as it is employed in the Gospel of John. It occurs approximately sixty-seven times and is used both by Jews and non-Jews. As is seen before, it is used primarily as a religious term of identification. In Acts those referred to by the term "Jew" are cast in a negative light, as is the case in the Gospel of John. Therefore, the term "Jew" comes to denote those who are against Jesus and, therefore, against God.

The term Israel on the other hand, is used approximately twenty times, and does not appear in a negative fashion. In Acts the term Israel is clearly the people who God loves and protects. It is to Israel that God sent Jesus as a savior. It is not always used in this fashion. At times it is used in strictly a neutral sense to describe a particular group. What appears to be happening in Acts is that those identified by the term "Jew" are becoming those opposed to Jesus, while Israel is the children of God to whom Jesus is sent. Thus, Israel is the children of God, while those identified by the term "Jew" are those who reject Jesus, and in doing so reject God. It is interesting to note the change that is occurring. At one point in time, the term "Jew" is used by Jews and non-Jews, while the term Israel is a private term that Jews use to identify themselves. It was uncommon to see the term Israel used by a non-Jew in the works previously discussed. But here, the term Israel

is being used by the non-Jews to describe those to whom Jesus is sent. This new usage is almost a complete reversal of what is seen earlier. As has been the case so far in the New Testament, the correct English translation for the term "Jew" is Jew.

D. Letters of Paul

Paul's use of the term "Jew" is somewhat different from that already discussed in this chapter. Paul does not usually use the term to refer to specific individuals, but generally he uses the term as an abstraction.⁷ This can be seen from the phrase which is frequently found in Paul's works, "Jew and Greek." In this phrase, Paul posits the abstract term "Jew" opposite the abstract term Greek. This abstract usage of the term "Jew" is quite common in Paul. However, it is not the only way he uses the term.

There are other usages of the term "Jew" in Paul. One usage is very similar to that found in the Gospel of John and Acts. This style of usage is where those identified by the term "Jew" are synonymous with those who reject or oppose Jesus. Paul also makes it clear that he receives his punishment from those identified by the term "Jew." At other times Paul talks of persons identified by the term "Jew" as those who follow the laws. Then at other times he speaks of being Jewish as something which is not an external act but an internal quality. In these two usages Paul seems to be using opposite aspects of the same term. Perhaps the

7. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, s.v. "Jew."

most interesting aspect of Paul's use of the term is that he identifies himself by it. In Romans 11:13, Paul refers to himself by the term "Jew." While at other times he separates himself from the term "Jew." It seems as if Paul has a geneological understanding of the term which enables him to be part of the group when he wishes to be.

It should be noted that twice in Galatians, Paul uses the term "Judaism." These are the only occurrences of the term "Judaism" in the New Testament. It is consistent, based upon Paul's use of the term "Jew," that he uses the term "Judaism." As already mentioned Paul generally uses the term "Jew" not as a term for a specific individual, but more in an abstract fashion. He also uses the term to refer to the laws of the religion. It is interesting that Paul uses the term "Judaism" while discussing his personal history. He states that in his early life he was involved in "Judaism," and he is no longer. This is intriguing because in Romans 11:13 Paul uses the phrase my "fellow Jews." It is as if Paul understands that it is possible to be a "Jew" without remaining within "Judaism." Of all that has been seen in the New Testament, Paul's use of the term appears to be the most diverse. It should be clear that in translating to English, Jew is the appropriate choice.

Paul uses the term Israel to refer to that community to which God has made a promise. It is clear in Romans 9:1-9 that the people see that the Israelites and those referred to by the term "Jew" are related to one another, yet they are definitely two distinct entities. Not only does Paul refer to himself by the term "Jew" but he also calls himself

an Israelite. Paul clearly understands that being an Israelite does have to do with ancestry. Yet, in Galatians 6:16 Paul seems to associate those who believe in Jesus with Israel.⁸ Paul's use of the term Israel is as diverse as his use of the term "Jew." Of all the works thus far examined, Paul's usage of these terms are the least consistent. This could be due to the fact that Paul speaks to different audiences, Jewish and non-Jewish, and in his effort to communicate effectively he uses the terms as he thinks they would best be understood. It could also be a result of Paul's personal history and the changes he is going through himself. He is initially an active member of the Jewish community and then leaves it. These reasons might explain his diverse usage of the terms.

E. Remaining Works

The only other works in which the term "Jew" occurs is the Letter of Paul to Titus⁹ and Revelation. In both of these texts the term is employed to a limited extent. In Titus the term occurs only once, while in Revelation it appears twice. In Revelation the two occurrences are similar to those found in Paul. The author of Revelation uses the term "Jew" as one who follows the law.¹⁰ In both Titus and Revelation it is appropriate to translate the term "Jew" into English as Jew.

8. Ibid.

9. Though Titus bears Paul's name, it in fact was not written by him. See Tyson, p. 141.

10. Theological Dictionary of the N. T., s.v. "Jew."

The term "Jew" in the New Testament is employed in a number of different ways. However, the most obvious change from the past usage is the term's association with those who reject Jesus. Continually, throughout the New Testament those who reject Jesus and thus ultimately reject God are those identified by the term "Jew." In the development of the term, this "new" usage is very significant. The other significant change that is observed in the New Testament is that the term Israel has gone from a term primarily used by Jews among themselves to a term that is used by non-Jews. From a term that has been almost exclusively used by Jews for self-identification, the term has become one used by, and with non-Jews to describe those people who follow God's will. Though nowhere is it explicit in the New Testament, the term Israel seems to have been usurped by the non-Jews for their own purposes. It is interesting to note that the term Israel remains a positive term. In all of the texts thus far examined, no matter what changes have taken place in the term "Jew," the term Israel has remained a spiritual/religious term describing a particular group of people. Even though the group of people shift in the New Testament, the term is used as a positive affirmation of them. It is apparent that the usage of both the terms "Jew" and Israel have undergone important changes in the New Testament.

MATTHEW

- 2:1-2 Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the King, behold, wise men from the East came to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is he who has been born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him."
- 27:11 Now Jesus stood before the governor; and the governor asked him, "Are you the King of the Jews?"
- 27:27- Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the praetorium,
29 and they gathered the whole battalion before him. And they stripped him and put a scarlet robe upon him, and plaiting a crown of thorns they put it on his head, and put a reed in his right hand. And kneeling before him they mocked him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!"
- 27:37 And over his head they put the charge against him, which read "This is Jesus the King of the Jews."
- 28:12- And when they had assembled with the elders and taken counsel,
15 they gave a sum of money to the soldiers and said, "Tell people, 'His disciples came by night and stole him away while we were asleep.' And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will satisfy him and keep you out of trouble." So they took the money and did as they were directed; and this story has been spread among the Jews to this day.

MARK

- 7:3 (For the Pharisees, and all the Jews do not eat unless they wash their hands, observing the tradition of the elders; and when they come from the market place, they do not eat unless they purify themselves; and there are many other traditions which they observe, the washing of cups and pots and vessels of bronze.)
- 15:2 And Pilate asked him, "Are you the King of the Jews?"
- 15:9 And he (Pilate) answered them, "Do you want me to release for you the King of the Jews?"
- 15:12 And Pilate again said to them, "Then what shall I do with the man whom you call the King of the Jews?"
- 15:18 And they (the soldiers) began to salute him, "Hail, King of the

Mark cont.

Jews!"

15:26 And the inscription of the charge against him read, "The King of the Jews."

LUKE

7:1-3 After he had ended all his sayings in the hearing of the people he entered Caper'na-um. Now a centurion had a slave who was dear to him, who was sick and at the point of death. When he heard of Jesus, he sent to him elders of the Jews, asking him to come and heal his slave.

23:3 And Pilate asked him, "Are you the King of the Jews?"

23:36 The soldiers also mocked him, coming up and offering him vinegar, and saying, "If you are the King of the Jews, save yourself!"

23:38 There was also an inscription over him, "This is the King of the Jews."

23:50 Now there was a man named Joseph from the Jewish town of Arimathe'a.

JOHN

1:19 And this is the testimony of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, "Who are you?"

2:6 Now six stone jars were standing there, for the Jewish rites of purification,

2:13 The Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

2:18 The Jews then said to him (Jesus), "What sign have you to show us for doing this?"

2:20 The Jews then said, "It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?"

3:1 Now there was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicode'mus, a ruler of the Jews.

John cont.

- 3:25 Now a discussion arose between John's disciples and a Jew over purifying.
- 4:9 The Samaritan woman said to him (Jesus), "How is it that you a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of Sama'ria?" For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans.
- 4:22 NOTE: In this verse Jesus is speaking to the Samaritan woman. You worship what you do not know, we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews.
- 5:1 After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.
- 5:10 So the Jews said to the man who was cured, "It is the sabbath, it is not lawful for you to carry your pallet."
- 5:15- The man went away and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had
16 healed him. And this was why the Jews persecuted Jesus, because he did this on the sabbath.
- 5:18 This was why the Jews sought all the more to kill him (Jesus), because he not only broke the sabbath but also called God his own Father, making himself equal with God.
- 6:4 Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand.
- 6:41 The Jews then disputed among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"
- 7:1 After this Jesus went about in Galilee; he would not go about in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.
- 7:2 Now the Jews' feast of Tabernacles was at hand.
- 7:10- But after his brothers had gone up to the feast, then he also went
11 up, not publicly but in private. The Jews were looking for him at the feast, and saying, "Where is he?"
- 7:13 Yet for fear of the Jews no one spoke openly of him.
- 7:14- About the middle of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and
15 taught. The Jews marveled at it, saying, "How is it that this man had learning, when he has never studied?"

John cont.

- 7:35 The Jews said one to another, "Where does this man intend to go that we shall not find him? Does he intend to go to the Dispersion among the Greeks and teach the Greeks?"
- 8:22 Then said the Jews, "Will he kill himself, since he says, 'Where I am going, you cannot come'?"
- 8:31- Jesus then said to the Jews who had believed in him, "If you continue in my words, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free."
32
- 8:48 The Jews answered him, "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?"
- 8:52 The Jews said to him, "Now we know that you have a demon. Abraham died, as did the prophets; and you say, 'If anyone keeps my word, he will never taste death.' Are you greater than our father Abraham, who died?"
- 8:57- The Jews then said to him, "You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?" Jesus said to them, "Truly, truly I say to you before Abraham was, I am," So they took up stones to throw at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple.
59
- 9:18 The Jews did not believe that he had been blind and had received his sight, until they called the parents of the man who had received his sight,
- 9:22- His parents (of the blind man) said this because they feared the Jews, for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone should confess him to be Christ, he was to be put out of the synagogue. Therefore his parents said, "He is of age ask him."
23
- 10:19- There was again a division among the Jews because of these words. Many of them said, "He has a demon, and he is mad; why listen to him?" Others said, "These are not the sayings of one who has a demon. Can a demon open the eyes of the blind?"
21
- 10:22- It was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem; it was winter, and Jesus was walking in the temple, in the portico of Solomon. So the Jews gathered round him and said to him, "How long will you keep us in suspense? If you are the Christ, tell us plainly."
24
- 10:31- The Jews took up stones again to stone him. Jesus answered
33

John cont.

them, "I have shown you many good works from the Father; for which of these do you stone me?" The Jews answered him, "It is not for a good work that we stone you but for blasphemy; because you, being a man, make yourself God."

11:8 The disciples said to him, "Rabbi, the Jews were but now seeking to stone you, and are you going there again?"

11:19 And many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary to console them concerning their brother.

11:31 When the Jews who were with her in the house, consoling her, saw Mary rise quickly and go out, they followed her, supposing that she was going to the tomb to weep there.

11:33- When Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who came with her
37 also weeping, he was deeply moved in spirit and troubled; and he said, "Where have you laid him (Laz'arus)?" They said to him, "Lord, come and see." Jesus wept. So the Jews said, "See how he loved him!" But some of them said, "Could not he who opened the eyes of the blind man have kept this man from dying?"

11:45- Many of the Jews therefore who had come with Mary and had
48 seen what he did, believed in him; but some of them went to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus had done. So the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered the council, and said, "What are we to do? For this man performs many signs. If we let him go on thus, everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation."

11:54 Jesus therefore no longer went about openly among the Jews, but went from there to the country near the wilderness, to a town called E'phraim: and there he stayed with the disciples.

11:55 Now the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up from the country to Jerusalem before the Passover, to purify themselves.

12:9- When the great crowd of the Jews learned that he (Jesus) was
11 there, they came, not only on account of Jesus but also to see Laz'arus, whom he had raised from the dead. So the chief priests planned to put Laz'arus also to death, because on account of him many of the Jews were going away and believing in Jesus.

John cont.

13:33 Little children, yet a little while I (Jesus) am with you. You will seek me; and as I said to the Jews so now I say to you, 'Where I am going you cannot come.'

18:12 So the band of soldiers and their captain and the officers of the Jews seized Jesus and bound him.

18:13- First they led him to Annas; for he was the father-in-law of
14 Ca'iaphas, who was high priest that year. It was Ca'iaphas who had given counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.

18:19- The high priest then questioned Jesus about his disciples and
20 his teachings. Jesus answered him, "I have spoken openly to the world; I have always taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all Jews come together; I have said nothing secretly."

18:31- Pilate said to them, "Take him yourselves and judge him by your
32 own law." The Jews said to him, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death."

18:33- Pilate entered the praetorium again and called Jesus and said to
36 him, "Are you the King of the Jews?" Jesus answered, "Do you say this of your own accord or did others say it to you about me?" Pilate answered "Am I a Jew? Your own nation and the chief priest have handed you over to me; what have you done?" Jesus answered, "My kingship is not of this world, if my kingship were of this world, my servants would fight, that I might not be handed over to the Jews; but my kingship is not from the world."

18:38 After he had said this, he went out to the Jews again and told them, "I find no crime in him. But you have a custom that I should release one man for you at Passover; will you have me release for you the King of the Jews?"

19:3 they (the soldiers) came up to him, saying, "Hail, King of the Jews!" and struck him with their hands.

19:7 The Jews answered him, "We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he has made himself the Son of God."

19:12 Upon this Pilate sought to release him, but the Jews cried out, "If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend, everyone who makes himself a king sets himself against Caesar."

John cont.

- 19:14 Now it was the day of Preparation of the Passover; it was about the sixth hour. He (Pilate) said to the Jews, "Behold your King!"
- 19:19 Pilate also wrote a title and put it on the cross; it read, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews."
- 19:20 Many of the Jews read the title, for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city;
- 19:21- The chief priest of the Jews then said to Pilate, "Do not write,
22 'The King of the Jews,' but, 'This man said, I am King of the Jews.'" Pilate answered, "What I have written I have written."
- 19:31 Since it was the day of Preparation, in order to prevent the bodies from remaining on the cross on the sabbath (for the sabbath was a high day), the Jews asked Pilate that their legs may be broken, and that they might be taken away.
- 19:38 After this Joseph of Arimathe'a, who was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews, asked Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus, and Pilate gave him leave.
- 19:40 They took the body of Jesus, and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as is the burial custom of the Jews.
- 19:42 So because of the Jewish day of Preparation, as the tomb was close at hand, they laid Jesus there.
- 20:19 On the evening of that day, the first day of the week, the doors being shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews. Jesus came and stood among them and said to them, "Peace be with you."

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

- 2:5 Now there were dwelling in Jerusalem Jews, devout men from every nation under heaven.
- 2:9-11 "Par'thians and Medes and E'lamites and residents of Mesopota'mia, Judea and Cappado'cia, Pontus, and Asia, Phryg'ia and Pamphyl'ia, Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyre'ne, and visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we hear them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God."

Acts cont.

- 9:22- But Saul increased all the more in strength, and confounded the
23 Jews who lived in Damascus by proving that Jesus was Christ.
When many days had passed, the Jews plotted to kill him,...
- 10:22 And they said, "Cornelius, a centurion, an upright and God-fearing man, who is well spoken of by the whole Jewish nation, was directed by a holy angel to send for you to come to his house, and to hear what you have to say."
- 10:28 and he (Peter) said to them, "You yourselves know how unlawful it is for a Jew to associate with or to visit anyone of another nation; but God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean.
- 10:39 And we are witnesses to all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem.
- 11:19- Now those who were scattered because of the persecution that
20 arose over Stephen traveled as far as Phoeni'cia and Cyprus and Antioch, speaking the word to none except Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyre'ne, who on coming to Antioch spoke to the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus.
- 12:1-3 About that time Herod the king laid violent hands upon some who belonged to the church. He killed James the brother of John with the sword; and when he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to arrest Peter also.
- 12:11 And Peter came to himself and said, "Now I am sure that the Lord has sent his angel and rescued me from the hand of Herod and from all that the Jewish people were expecting."
- 13:5-6 When they arrived at Sal'amis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews. And they had John to assist them. When they had gone through the whole island as far as Paphos, they came upon a certain magician, a Jewish false prophet, named Bar-Jesus.
- 13:42- As they went out, the people begged that these things might be
43 told them the next sabbath. And when the meeting of the synagogue broke up, many Jews and devout converts to Judaism followed Paul and Barnabas, who spoke to them and urged them to continue in the grace of God.
- 13:45 But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with

Acts cont.

jealousy, and contradicted what was spoken by Paul, and reviled him.

13:50 But the Jews incited the devout women of high standing and the leading men of the city, and stirred up persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them out of their district.

14:1-6 Now at Ico'mium they entered together into the Jewish synagogue, and so spoke that a great company believed, both of Jews and Greeks. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles and poisoned their minds against the brethren. So they remained for a long time, speaking boldly for the Lord, who bore witness to the work of his grace, granting signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the people of the city were divided; some sided with the Jews, and some with the apostles. When an attempt was made by both Gentiles and Jews, with their rulers, to molest them and to stone them, they learned of it and fled to Lystra and Derbe,...

14:19 But Jews came there from Antioch and Ico'nium; and having persuaded the people, they stoned Paul and dragged him out of the city, supposing he was dead.

16:1 A disciple was there named Timothy, the son of a Jewish woman who was a believer, but his father was a Greek.

16:3 Paul wanted Timothy to accompany him, and he took him and circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those places, for they all knew that his father was a Greek.

16:19- But when her owners saw that their hope of gain was gone, they
20 seized Paul and Silas and dragged them into the market place before the rulers; and when they had brought them to the magistrates they said, "These men are Jews and they are disturbing our city."

17:1 Now when they had passed through Amphip'olis and Apollo'nia, they came to Thessaloni'ca, where there was a synagogue of the Jews.

17:4-5 And some of them were persuaded, and joined Paul and Silas; as did a great many of the devout Greeks and not a few of the leading women. But the Jews were jealous, and taking some wicked fellows of the rabble, they gathered a crowd, set the city in an uproar, and attacked the house of Jason, seeking to

Acts cont.

bring them out to the people.

- 17:10- The brethren immediately sent Paul and Silas away by night to
11 Beroe'a; and when they arrived they went into the Jewish synagogue. Now these Jews were more noble than those in Thessaloni'ca, for they received the word with all eagerness, examining the scriptures daily to see if these things were so.
- 17:13 But when the Jews of Thessaloni'ca learned that the word of God was proclaimed by Paul at Beroe'a also, they came there too, stirring up and inciting the crowds.
- 17:17 So he (Paul) argued in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons, and in the market place every day with those who chanced to be there.
- 18:2 And he (Paul) found a Jew named Aq'uila, a native of Pontus, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all Jews to leave Rome.
- 18:4 And he argued in the synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded Jews and Greeks.
- 18:5-6 When Silas and Timothy arrived in Macedo'nia, Paul was occupied with preaching, testifying to the Jews that the Christ was Jesus. And when they opposed and reviled him, he shook out his garments and said to them, "Your blood be upon your heads! I am innocent. From now on I will go to the Gentiles."
- 18:12 But when Gallio was proconsul of Acha'ia, the Jews made a united attack upon Paul and brought him before the tribunal.
- 18:14- But when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said to the
15 Jews, "If it were a matter of wrong-doing or vicious crime, I should have reason to bear with you, O Jews; but since it is a matter of questions about words and names and your own law, see to it yourselves; I refuse to be a judge of these things."
- 18:19 And they came to Ephesus, and he left them there; but he himself went into the synagogue and argued with the Jews.
- 18:24 Now a Jew named Apol'los, a native of Alexandria, came to Ephesus. He was an eloquent man, well versed in the scriptures.
- 18:28 for he (Apol'los) powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing

Acts cont.

by the scriptures that the Christ was Jesus.

19:10 This continued for two years, so that all the residents of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks.

19:13- Then some of the itinerant Jewish exorcists undertook to pronounce the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, "I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches." Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva was doing this. But the evil spirit answered them, "Jesus I know; and Paul I know; but who are you?"

19:17 And this became known to all residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks; and fear fell upon them all; and the name of the Lord Jesus was extolled.

19:33- Some of the crowd prompted Alexander, whom the Jews had put forward. And Alexander motioned with his hand, wishing to make a defense to the people. But when they recognized that he was a Jew, for about two hours they all with one voice cried out, "Great is Ar'temis, of the Ephesians!"

20:3 There he spent three months, and when a plot was made against him by the Jews as he was about to set sail for Syria, he determined to return through Macedo'nia.

20:18- And when they came to him, he (Paul) said to them: "You yourselves know how I lived among you all the time from the first day I set foot in Asia, serving the Lord with all humility and with tears and with trials which befell me through the plots of the Jews; how I did not shrink from declaring to you anything that was profitable, and teaching you in public and from house to house testifying both to Jews and to Greeks of repentance to God and of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

21:10- While we were staying for some days, a prophet named Ag'abus came down from Judea. And coming to us he took Paul's girdle and bound his own feet and hands and said, "Thus says the Holy Spirit, 'So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man who owns this girdle and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.'"

21:20- And when they heard it, they glorified God. And they said to him, "You see, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed; they are all zealots for the law, and they have been told about you that you teach all the Jews

Acts cont.

who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children or observe the customs.

- 21:27- When the seven days were almost completed, the Jews from
28 Asia, who had seen him in the temple, stirred up the crowd, and laid hands on him, crying out, "Men of Israel, help! This is the man who is teaching men everywhere against the people and the law and this place; moreover he also brought Greeks into the temple, and he has defiled this holy place."
- 21:39 Paul replied, "I am a Jew, from Tarsus in Cili'cia, a citizen of no mean city; I beg you, let me speak to the people."
- 22:3 And he (Paul) said: "I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cili'cia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gama'liel, educated according the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God as you all are this day.
- 22:12- "And one Anani'as, a devout man according to the law, well
13 spoken of by all the Jews who lived there, came to me, and standing by me said to me, 'Brother Saul, receive your sight.' And in that very hour I received my sight and saw him.
- 22:30 But on the morrow, desiring to know the real reason why the Jews accused him, he unbound him (Paul), and commanded the chief priests and all the council to meet, and he brought Paul down and set before them.
- 23:12 When it was day, the Jews made a plot and bound themselves by an oath neither to eat nor drink till they had killed Paul.
- 23:20 And he (son of Paul's sister) said, "The Jews have agreed to ask you to bring Paul down to the council tomorrow, as though they were going to inquire somewhat more closely about him.
- 23:26- "Claudius Lys'ias to his Excellency to the governor Felix,
27 greeting. This man was seized by the Jews, and was about to be killed by them, when I came upon them with the soldiers and rescued him, having learned that he was a Roman citizen."
- 24:5 For we have found this man (Paul) a pestilent fellow, an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes.
- 24:9 The Jews also joined in the charge affirming that all this was so.

Acts cont.

- 24:18 As I (Paul) was doing this, they found me purified in the temple, without any crowd or tumult. But some Jews from Asia -- they ought to be here before you and to make an accusation, if they have anything against me.
- 24:24 After some days Felix came with his wife Drusilla, who was a Jewess; and he sent for Paul and heard him speak upon faith in Jesus Christ.
- 24:27 But when two years had elapsed Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus; and desiring to do the Jews a favor, Felix left Paul in prison.
- 25:2-3 And the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews informed him (Festus) against Paul; and they urged him, asking as a favor to have the man sent to Jerusalem, planning an ambush to kill him on the way.
- 25:7- And when he (Paul) had come, the Jews who had gone down from
10 Jerusalem stood against him many serious charges which they could not prove. Paul said in his defense, "Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Caesar have I offended at all." But Festus, wishing to do the Jews a favor, said to Paul, "Do you wish to go up to Jerusalem, and there be tried in these charges before me?" But Paul said, "I am standing before Caesar's tribunal, where I ought to be tried, to the Jews I have done no wrong, as you know very well."
- 25:14- And as they stayed there many days, Festus laid Paul's case be-
15 fore the king, saying, "There is a man left prisoner by Felix; and when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews gave information about him, asking for sentence against him.
- 25:24 And Festus said, "King Agrippa and all who are present with us, you see this man (Paul) about whom the whole Jewish people petitioned me, both at Jerusalem and here, shouting that he ought not to live any longer."
- 26:2-3 Then Paul stretched out his hand and made his defense: "I think myself fortunate that it is before you, King Agrippa, I am to make my defense today against all the accusation of the Jews, because you are especially familiar with all customs and controversies of the Jews; therefore I beg you to listen to me patiently. "My manner of life from my youth, spent from the be-

Acts cont.

ginning among my own nation and at Jerusalem, is known by all the Jews. They have known for a long time if they are willing to testify, that according to the strictest party of our religion I have lived as a Pharisee. And now I stand here on trial for hope in the promise made by God to our fathers, to which our twelve tribes hope to attain, as they earnestly worship night and day. And for this hope I am accused by the Jews, O king!"

26:19- "Wherefore, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heav-
21 enly vision, but declared first at those at Damascus, then at Jerusalem and throughout all the country of Judea, and also to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God and perform deeds worthy of their repentance. For this reason the Jews seized me in the temple and tried to kill me."

28:17- After three days he (Paul) called together the local leaders of
20 the Jews; and when they had gathered he said to them, "Brethren, though I had done nothing against the people of the customs of our fathers, yet I was deliverd prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans. When they had examined me, they wished to set me at liberty, because there was no reason for the death penalty in my case. But when the Jews objected I was compelled to appeal to Caesar -- though I had no charge to bring against my nation. For this reason therefore I have asked to see you and speak with you, since it is because of the hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain."

THE LETTER OF PAUL TO THE ROMANS

1:16 For I (Paul) am not ashamed of the gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek.

2:9-10 There will be tribulation and distress for every human being who does evil, the Jew first and also the Greek, but glory and honor and peace for everyone who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek.

2:17- But if you call yourself a Jew and rely upon the law and boast
24 of your relation to God and know his will and approve what is excellent, because you are instructed in the law, and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children, having the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth - you then

Romans cont.

who teach others, will you not teach yourself? While you preach against stealing, do you steal? You who say that one must not commit adultery, do you commit adultery? You who abhor idols, do you rob temples? You who boast in the law, do you dishonor God by breaking the law? For, as it is written, "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you."

2:28- For he is not a real Jew who is one outwardly, nor is true cir-
29 cumcision something external and physical. He is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart, spiritual and not literal. His praise is not from men but from God.

3:1-4 Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of cir-
cumcision? Much in every way. To begin with, the Jews are entrusted with the oracles of God. What if some were unfaithful? Does their faithlessness nullify the faithfulness of God? By no means! Let God be true though every man be false, as it is written. "That thou mayest be justified in thy words, and prevail when thou art judged."

3:9 What then? Are we Jews any better off? No, not at all; for I have already charged that all men both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin,...

3:27- Then what becomes of our boasting? It is excluded. On what
31 principle? On the principle of works? No, but on the principle of faith. For we hold that a man is justified by faith apart from works of law. Or is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also, since God is one; and he will justify the circumcised on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised through their faith. Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law.

9:24 ...even us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles?

10:12 For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him.

11:13- Now I am speaking to you Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an
14 apostle to the Gentiles, I magnify my ministry in order to make my fellow Jews jealous, and thus save some of them.

THE FIRST LETTER OF PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS

- 1:22- For Jews demand signs and Greeks seek wisdom, but we preach
24 Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles,
but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the
power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God
is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.
- 9:19- For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave
21 to all, that I might win the more. To the Jews I became as a
Jew, in order to win Jews; to those under the law I became as
one under the law - though not being myself under the law - that
I might win those under the law. To those outside the law I be-
came as one outside the law - not being without law toward God
but under the law of Christ - that I might win those outside the
law.
- 10:31- So, whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the
32 glory of God. Give no offense to Jew or to Greeks or to the
church of God, just as I try to please all men in everything I do,
not seeking my own advantage, but that of many, that they may
be saved.
- 12:13 For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews or
Greeks, slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one
Spirit.

THE SECOND LETTER OF PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS

- 11:24 Five times I (Paul) have received at the hands of Jews the forty
lashes less one.

THE LETTER OF PAUL TO THE GALATIANS

- 1:13- For you have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I (Paul)
14 persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it;
and I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among
my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my
fathers.
- 2:13- And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely, so that even
16 Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity. But when I saw
that they were not straightforward about the truth of the gospel,
I said to Cephas before them all, "If you, though a Jew live like
a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to

Galatians cont.

live like Jews?" We ourselves, who are Jews by birth and not Gentile sinners, yet who know that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law, because by works of law shall no one be justified.

- 3:28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.

THE LETTER OF PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS

- 3:11 Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scyth'ian, slave, free man but Christ is all, and in all.

THE FIRST LETTER OF PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS

- 2:14- For you, brethren became imitators of the churches of God in
16 Christ Jesus which are in Judea; for you suffered the same things from your own countrymen as they did from the Jews, who kill both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all men by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they may be saved - so as always to fill up the measure of their sins. But God's wrath has come upon them at last!

THE LETTER OF PAUL TO TITUS

- 1:12- One of themselves, a prophet of their own said, "Cretans are
14 always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons." This testimony is true. Therefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in faith, instead of giving heed to Jewish myths or to commands of men who reject the truth.

REVELATION

- 2:8-9 "And to the angel of the church in Smyrna write: 'The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life.'" I know your tribulation and your poverty (but you are rich) and the slander

Revelation cont.

of those who say that they are Jews are not, but are a synagogue of Satan.

3:9 And the angel of the church in Philadelphia write:... Behold, I will make those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but lie - behold, I will make them come and bow down before your feet, and learn that I have loved you.

CHAPTER NINE

TALMUD

INTRODUCTION

The last work to be included in this examination of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" is the Talmud. It is appropriate that the thesis should conclude with this work. The Bible was the first text examined. As is well known, Jews traditionally consider the Bible the foundation of all later Jewish works. Progressing chronologically from the Bible, this thesis has examined a variety of texts, both Jewish and non-Jewish in origin. However, it is not until the Talmud that a major Jewish work appeared which was written for a Jewish readership, and in which the usage of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" had stabilized. The Talmud reflects the way in which the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" were understood during the time of its writing, as well as providing the Jewish usage pattern until the Middle Ages and later. Therefore, it is not only fitting but essential that the Talmud should be the final text examined in order to have a proper and clear understanding of how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" developed.

To best understand how the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" are employed in the Talmud, the work will be examined in its entirety. The reason for this is that the usage of the terms in the Talmud is primarily consistent. The instances in which the usage of the terms does not follow the general pattern will be examined separately.

ANALYSIS

To begin this examination the general pattern of usage should be understood before dealing with the exceptions to the rule. The first item to be noted concerning the use of the term "Jew" in the Talmud is how infrequently it occurs. For a work as large as the Talmud, it is striking that the term "Jew" occurs less than eighty times. The phrase "law of the Jews" occurs only twice, but both times in the same portion. A discussion of the phrase "law of the Jews" occurs later in this chapter. It should be noted that the term Israel occurs ten to fifteen times more often than does the term "Jew." This simple ratio indicates that for the "editors" of the Talmud, the term Israel was a more integral part of their vocabulary. Before making any further statements concerning the use of the term Israel, it is necessary to examine how the term "Jew" is employed.

The term "Jew" in the Talmud is employed in primarily two contexts. In the first context, the term "Jew" is spoken by a non-Jew. This type of usage can be seen in a number of sections where a non-Jew is speaking either to another non-Jew or to a Jew, and while doing so employs the term "Jew." This usage is a relatively common occurrence in the Talmud. The other common situation in which the term "Jew" is used is when a Jew is speaking to a non-Jew. In a situation of this type the term "Jew" is employed by the Jewish speaker. The term "Jew" is employed most frequently in these two types of situations. It seems clear that in the Talmud the term "Jew" is primarily a term of identifi-

cation used by non-Jews, or by Jews speaking to non-Jews. This is supported by sections of the Talmud where the term Israelite is used by a Jew or by the narrator of the story to refer to an individual. Then, in the very same story, a non-Jew refers to the same individual by using the term "Jew." This type of situation is clearly illustrated in Yebamoth 122a, where the non-Jew uses the term "Jew" and the Jew or narrator uses the term Israel. This type of pattern has already been seen in this thesis. Perhaps the most similar case occurs in First Maccabees. The difference, however, between First Maccabees and the Talmud is the different connotations that the term "Jew" has in the two different works. As has already been shown, the term "Jew" in First Maccabees is primarily a term of national identification, while the term "Jew" in the Talmud should be understood as a religious term. It should be understood as a religious term because of how the term was employed prior to the Talmud. The last text in which the term "Jew" is employed primarily as a national term is in the Apocrypha. Since the writing of that text, the term "Jew" has been shown to have undergone significant change. This has been seen in the chapters which examine the Pseudepigrapha, the writings, Philo, and the works of Josephus. It is unlikely that the "editors" of the Talmud would have been unaware of those changes and reverted to a connotation of the term which had not been employed in centuries. Examples of the term "Jew" being used for religious identification can be seen in Ta'anith 18a and Sanhedrin 106a. It should be understood that in its most common occurrences in the

Talmud, the term "Jew" is employed by a non-Jew or a Jew speaking to a non-Jew and that in these occasions it is used as a religious term. It is now necessary to examine some of those instances where the term does not fall into the pattern described above. By examining those occasions in which the term "Jew" is used in a manner different than the pattern described, the examination will, in fact, serve to reinforce that very same pattern.

When the usage of the term "Jew" does not comply with the pattern described above, there exists a complementary pattern. When the term "Jew" occurs in those "abnormal" instances, it usually occurs because the Talmud includes materials from an earlier period. Therefore, instead of following the pattern that was contemporary with the final editing of the Talmud, the materials being discussed, which were from an earlier date, followed a different pattern of language usage.

The first and most obvious place where the term "Jew" is used outside of the dominant Talmudic pattern is in Megillah. It is in Megillah that the term "Jew" occurs more frequently than any other place in the Talmud. When examining this section, it becomes apparent that the term "Jew" is used almost exclusively as part of Biblical quotations. Realizing that this portion of the Talmud concerns itself with the Book of Esther, it is natural that the majority of the texts discussed are from that Biblical work. As has been already discussed, the term "Jew" occurs more frequently in the Book of Esther than in any other book of the Bible. Therefore, in quoting from Esther, verses which include the

term "Jew" are quoted frequently. In one or two instances the term "Jew" is used outside of a quotation, while in the remaining instances the term Israel is employed outside the quotations. The fact is that though the term "Jew" occurs frequently in this section, it is employed only because it was used during an earlier period and not because the "editors" of the Talmud used it regularly. This section of Talmud reinforces the idea that the term "Jew" is not employed by Jews at that period of time. One interesting aspect in Megillah is that the topic under consideration is why Mordecai is called a Jew. This section is concerned with the same question with which this thesis is concerned, how the term "Jew" is employed at different periods of time.

In both Nedarim 82a and Yebamoth 112a the term "Jew" occurs. The term is found in these sections because it is utilized in earlier material. Both of these sections are concerned with a mishnah found in Nedarim, in which the term "Jew" occurs. It appears that the term "Jew" is being used in a manner that does not correspond to the dominant pattern already discussed. However, the use of the term "Jew" here does not contradict the pattern originally discussed, it supports it. The only reason the term "Jew" is found in these sections is because it is part of material from an earlier period. If this were not the case, the term "Jew" should occur more often in the Talmud.

The only occurrence of the phrase "law of the Jews" is found in a mishnah. In Kethuboth 72a the mishnah deals with the question of a

woman transgressing "the laws of Moses or the Jews." This is the closest thing to the term "Judaism" found in the Talmud. As has been pointed out in similar uses of the term "Jew," this phrase is introduced by materials from an earlier period. It is clear, that the phrase is not a natural part of vocabulary of the person who later edited the Talmud. If this were not the case, the phrase would occur in other portions of the Talmud. There are two aspects of the phrase "laws of the Jews" that should be discussed. The first aspect is the difference between terms "the laws of Moses" and the "laws of the Jews" which occur in the same mishnah. Upon close examination of those items associated with the "laws of Moses" it becomes apparent that all three of them are ritual law. However, the items associated with the "laws of the Jews" are in fact not laws at all but customs. Basically, the customs spoken of in this mishnah deal with the sexual conduct of women. Another aspect of these Jewish customs is the terms by which they are identified. It is possible that the phrase "law of the Jews" or "Jewish customs" derived its name because certain practices or behaviors were common to Palestinian culture during earlier periods when the Jews lived in Palestine. Thus, through association or because the practices were common to the Jews, the customs derived their name. This section of Talmud, where the phrase "the laws of the Jews" occurs, once again reinforces the fact that the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" were not native to the "editors" of the Talmud. Though there are some cases of the term "Jew" which have yet to be examined separately, there is really

no need to do so, because they too follow the pattern presented above.

It is clear that in the Talmud the principle term is not "Jew" but Israel. When the term "Jew" is used, it is used by a non-Jew or a Jew speaking to a non-Jew, or it is part of earlier materials that are under consideration. The major connotation of the term "Jew" in the Talmud is religious. Therefore, the correct translation of the Hebrew term is Jew.

It should be noted that the term Israel in the Talmud is also a religious term. Zeitlin makes this point in his article "Judaism as Religion."¹ It is interesting to note that through the texts examined in this thesis the term Israel has remained a theological term. Though its usage is limited in some places or it has been spoken by various people, the intent of the term remains basically the same.

The infrequent use of the term "Jew" in the Talmud needs to be discussed. Zeitlin states that the Jews stopped using the term after the destruction of the temple. Therefore, it is not used frequently in the Talmud.² This, however, ignores two factors that have influenced the use of the term "Jew." First, it is obvious that the term "Jew" was never really native to Jews themselves. It was a term thrust upon them from the outside, which they adopted when talking to the non-Jewish

1. Solomon Zeitlin, "Judaism as Religion: An Historical Study," Jewish Quarterly Review, 34 (July 1943): 21.

2. Ibid., p. 20.

world. Only in limited works does it appear that Jews used the term "Jew" among themselves and even when they did, they still used the term Israel in their prayers. It seems the term Israel is the "true" term for self-identification as well as their private term. It is the term that was used among Jews themselves. Therefore, in compiling the Talmud, the "editors" naturally use that term which traditionally had been used by Jews to identify themselves privately. Also, it should be noted that the "editors" of the Talmud were creating a legal document. Therefore, they needed to employ the correct technical terms rather than popular or slang terms. The choice of the term Israel for use in the Talmud is the appropriate technical term. Yet, there is a second factor that also must have influenced the "editors" of the Talmud to some degree, that being the New Testament. As was shown in the chapter on the New Testament, the term "Jew" is a pejorative for those who rejected Jesus, while the term Israel continues to be used as a positive term for those who follow God's will. Therefore, the effect is as if the authors of the New Testament made Israel those who accepted Jesus. This then altered totally the way Jews had used and understood the term for centuries. Thus, in order to try and counteract the effects of the New Testament, the term Israel in the Talmud is emphasized while the term "Jew" is ignored. The combination of these two factors accounts for the very limited use of the term "Jew" in the Talmud.

BERAKOTH

- 5b They (Athenian sages) asked him 'What are you doing here?' He replied to them: 'I am a sage of the Jews. I wish to learn wisdom from you.'
- 58a The man (a Jew) went and informed against him (R. Shila) to the government saying: There is a man among the Jews who passes judgement without permission of the government.

SHABBAT

- 129a Ablat found Samuel sleeping in the Sun. Said he to him O Jewish Sage! can that which is injurious be beneficial? It is a day of bleeding, replied he.
- 139a As for a corpse he (R. Menashia) sent (word to them [citizens of Beshkar]): Neither Jews nor Syrians (non-Jews) may occupy themselves with a corpse, neither on the first day of a Festival nor on the second.

PESAHIM

- 8b For it was taught: (in the case of) a hole between a Jew and a Syrian (i. e., a Gentile), he must search for as his hand reaches, and the rest he annuls in his heart.
- 94b But it surely was taught: An uncircumcised Jew who did not circumcise himself is punished by Kareth: this is the opinion of R. Eliazer?
- 114b Seven are banned by Heaven: these are they: A Jew who has no wife; he who has a wife but no children, and he who has children but does not bring them up to the study of the Torah: and he who has no phylacteries on his hand and on his arm, no fringes on his garment and no mezzuzah on his door, and he who denies his feet shoes. And some say: Also he who never sits in a company assembled for a religious purpose.

MO'ED KATAN

- 26a For when they informed Samuel that King Shapur had slain 12,000 Jews of Caesarea-Mozaca, he did not (then) rend his clothes? They (the Sages) did not say (it should be done) save where mis-

Mo'ed Katan cont.

fortune involves the larger part of the community resembling the typical instance. And is it a fact that King Shapur slew Jews? For (it is reported) that King Shapur said to Samuel, May (ill) befall me if I ever slain a Jew! - For there, it was they (the Jews) that have brought it on themselves, a R. Ammi said, that the noise of the harp-strings about Caesarea-Mozaca burst the wall of Laodicea.

HAGIGAH

- 9b What is the meaning of the verse: Behold I have refined thee but not as silver: I have tried thee in the furnace of affliction? It teaches that the Holy One, blessed be he, went through all the good qualities in order to give (Them) to Israel, and He found only poverty. Samuel said, and others say, R. Joseph: This accords with the popular saying: Poverty befits Jews like a red trapping a white horse.

ROSH HASHANAH

- 4a Alternatively, I (R. Kahana) may say that we know he (Darius) deteriorated because it is written, With three rows of great stores and a row of new timber, and let the expenses be given out of the king's house! Why did he make these conditions? He thought to himself, If the Jews revolt against me, I will burn it with fire.

YOMA

- 69a The twenty-fifth of Tebeth is the day of Mount Gerizim, on which no mourning is permitted. It is the day on which the Cutheans demanded the House of our God from Alexander the Macedonian so as to destroy it, and he had given them the permission, whereupon some people came and informed Simeon the Just. What did the latter do? He put on his priestly garments, robed himself in priestly garments, some of the noblemen of Israel went with him carrying fiery torches in their hands, they walked all the night, some walking on one side and others on the other side, until the dawn rose. When the dawn rose he (Alexander) said to them: Who are these (the Samaritans)? They answered: The Jews who rebelled against you. As he reached Antipatris, the sun having shone forth, they met. When he saw Simeon the Just,

Yoma cont.

he descended from his carriage and bowed down before him. They said to him: A great king like yourself should bow down before this Jew? He answered: His image it is which wins for me in all my battles. He said to them: What have you come for? They said: Is it possible that star-worshippers should mislead you to destroy the House wherein prayers are said for you and your kingdom that it be never destroyed! He said to them: Who are these? They said to him: These are Cutheans who stand before you. He said: They are delivered into your hand.

TA'ANITH

- 18a On the 28th of the month (Adar) the good news reached the Jews that they were no longer to be kept back from the study of the Torah. For once it was decreed that Israel should not occupy themselves with the study of the Torah nor circumcise their children and that they should desecrate the Shabbat.
- 21a Once Israel desired to send to the Emperor a gift and after discussing who should go they decided that Nahum of Gemzo should go because he had experienced many miracles. They sent with him a bag full of precious stones and pearls. He went and spent the night in a certain inn and during the night people in the inn arose and emptied the bag and filled it with earth. When he discovered the next morning he exclaimed, This is for the best. When he arrived at his destination and they undid his bag, they found it was full of earth. The king thereupon desired to put them all to death saying, The Jews are mocking me. Nahum then explained, This also is for the best.
- 22a R. Beroka Hoza'ah used to frequent the market at Be Lapat where Elijah often appeared to him. Once he asked (the prophet), Is there anyone in this market who has a share in the world to come? He replied, No. Meanwhile he caught sight of a man wearing black shoes and who had no thread of blue on the corners of his garments and he exclaimed, This man has a share in the world to come. He (R. Beroka) ran after him and asked him, What is your occupation? And he replied: I am a jailor and I keep men and women separate and I place my beds between them so that they may not come to sin: When I see a Jewish girl upon whom the Gentiles cast their eyes I risk my life and save her. Once there were amongst us a betrothed girl upon whom the Gentiles cast their eyes. I therefore took lees of (red) wine and put them in her skirt and I told them that she was unclean. (R.

Ta'anith cont.

Berika further) asked the men, Why have you no fringes and why do you wear black shoes? He replied: that the Gentiles amongst whom I constantly move may not know that I am a Jew, so that when a harsh decree is made (against Jews) I inform the rabbis and they pray (to God) and the decree is annulled. He further asked him, when I asked you, What is your occupation, why did you say to me, Go away now and come back tomorrow? He answered They had just issued a harsh decree and I said I would first go and acquaint the rabbis of it so that they might pray to God.

- 24b Once a certain man was sentenced by the Court of Raba to receive corporal punishment because he had intercourse with a Gentile woman. Raba had the man punished and he died. The matter reached the ears of King Shapur and he sought to punish Raba. Whereupon Ifra Hormuz, the mother of King Shapur, said to her son, Do not interfere with the Jews because whatever they ask of their God he grants them.

MEGILLAH

- 9b They also wrote for him 'the beast with small legs' and they did not write 'the hare,' because the name of Ptolemy's wife was hare, lest he should say, The Jews have jibed at me and put the name of my wife in the Torah.
- 12b There was a certain Jew in Shushan the castle, etc. a Benjamite (Est. 2:5) What is the point of this verse? If it is to give the pedigree of Mordecai, it should trace it right back to Benjamin! (Why there were only these specified?) - A Tanna taught: All of them are designations (of Mordecai). "The son of Jair" means, the son who enlightened the eyes of Israel by his prayer. 'The son of Shimei' means the son to whose prayer God hearkened. 'The son of Kish' indicates that he knocked at the gates of mercy and they were open to him. He is called 'a Jew' which implies that he came from (the tribe of) Judah, and he is called 'a Benjamite,' which implies that he came from Benjamin. (How is this?) R. Nahman said: He was a man of distinguished character. Rabbah b. Bar Hannah said in the name of R. Joshua b. Levi. His father was from Benjamin and his mother from Judah. The Rabbis, however, said: The tribes competed with one another (for him). The tribe of Judah said: I am responsible for the birth of Mordecai, because David did not kill Shimei the son of Gera, and the tribe of Benjamin said: He is actually descended

Megillah cont.

from me. Raba said: The community of Israel explained (the two designations) in the opposite sense: 'See what a Judean did to me and how a Benjamite repaid me' 'What a Judean did to me' viz, that David did not kill Shimei from whom was descended Mordecai who provoked Haman. 'And how a Benjamite repaid me' viz, that Saul did not stay Agog from whom descended Haman who oppressed Israel. R. Johanan said: He did indeed come from Benjamin. Why then was he called 'a Jew?' Because he repudiated idolatry. For anyone who repudiated idolatry is called a 'Jew,' as it is written, There are certain Jews etc. (Dan 4:12).

- 13a R. Simm b. Pazzi once introduced an exposition of the Book of Chronicles as follows: 'All thy words are one, and we know how to find their inner meaning.' (It is written.) And his wife the Jewess bore Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Socho, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah: and these are the sons of Bithya the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered took. (I Chron. 4:18) Why was (the daughter of Pharaoh) called a Jewess? Because she repudiated idolatry, as it is written, And the daughter of Pharaoh went down to bathe in the river (Ex. 2:5) and R. Johanan (commenting on this) said that she went down to cleanse herself from the idols of her father's house.
- 13a And he changed her and her maidens (Est. 2:9) Rab said: (This means that) he gave her Jewish food to eat. Samuel, however, said, it means that he gave her chine of pork, while R. Johanan said that he gave her pulse, and so it says, so the steward took away their food and gave them pulse (Dan. 1, 16)
- 13b But it seemed contemptible in his eyes to lay hands of Mordecai alone. At first he aimed at 'Mordecai alone,' then at 'the people of Mordecai' - and who are these? The Rabbis, and finally at "all the Jews."
- 15b If thine enemy be hungry give him bread to eat, etc. R. Meir said, so that he should not form a conspiracy and rebel. R. Judah said, so that they should not discover that she was a Jewess.
- 16a And do even so to Mordecai, etc. Haman said to him: Who is Mordecai? He said to him: 'The Jew' He said: There are many Mordecais among the Jews. He replied: 'The one who sits in the King's gate'
- 16a If Mordecai be of the seed of the Jews. They said to him: If he

Megillah cont.

comes from other tribes, you can prevail over him, but if he is from the tribe of Judah or of Benjamin, Ephraim, or Manasseh, you will not prevail over him. 'Judah,' as it is written, Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies. The others, because it is written of them, Before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh stir up they might.

- 26b There was a synagogue of the Roman Jews which opened out into a room where a dead body was deposited.

YEBAMOTH

- 112a If a woman vowed to have no benefit, etc. We learned elsewhere: At first it was held that (the following) three (classes) women must be divorced and they also receive their kethuboth: One who declares, 'I am unclean to you': or 'heaven is between men and you' or 'May I be kept away from the Jews.' This ruling was afterwards withdrawn in order that a wife might not cast eyes upon another man and thus disgrace her husband; but (instead it was ordained that) one who declared. 'I am unclean for you' must bring evidence in support of her statement; (in respect of a woman who tells her husband) heaven is between men and you, (peace) is made between them by way of a request (addresses to the husband); (and if a woman vowed), 'May I be kept away from the Jews (the husband) invalidates his past (of the vows and she may continue connubial intercourse with him, though she remains removed from (other) Jews. The question was raised: What (is her relation) to the levir (if a woman had vowed) 'May I be kept from the Jews?' Is (it assumed that) it occurred to her that her husband may possibly die and that she might become subject to the levir or not? Reb replied: The levir has the same status as the husband.

- 122a Abba Judah of Zaiden related: It once happened that an Israelite and an idolator went on a journey together and when the idolator returned he said, 'Alas for the Jew who was with me on the journey, for he died on the way and I buried him: and (the Israelite's) wife (on this evidence) was allowed to marry again.

KETHUBOTH

- 72a MISHNAH: These are to be divorced without receiving their Kethubah: A wife who transgresses the law of Moses or (one who transgresses) Jewish practice. And what is (regarded as a wife's transgression against) the law of Moses? Feeding her

Kethuboth cont.

husband with untithed food, having intercourse with him during the period of her menstruation). Not setting apart her dough offering, or making vows and not fulfilling them. And what (is deemed to be a wife's transgression against) Jewish practice? Going out with uncovered head, spinning in the street? or conversing with every man. Abba Saul said: (Such transgressions include) also that of a wife who curses her husband's parents in his presence. R. Tarfon said: Also one who screams. And who is regarded a screamer? A woman whose voice can be heard by her neighbors when she speaks inside her house.

72a And what (is deemed to be a wife's transgression against) Jewish practice? Going out with uncovered head. (Is not the prohibition against going out with) an uncovered head Pentateuchal; for it is written, And he shall uncover the woman's head, and this, it was taught at the school of R. Ishmael, was a warning to the daughters of Israel that they should not go out with uncovered head? - Pentateuchally (72b) it is quite satisfactory (if her head is covered by) her work-basket; according to traditional Jewish practice, however, she is forbidden (to go out uncovered) even with her basket (on her head).

72b R. Assi stated in the name of R. Johanan: With a basket (on her head a woman is not guilty of (going about with) an uncovered head. In considering this statement, R. Zera pointed out this difficulty: Where (is the woman assumed to be)? If it be suggested, 'In the street,' (it may be objected that this is already forbidden by) Jewish practice; but (if she is) in a court-yard (the objection may be made that) if that were so you will not leave our father Abraham a (single) daughter who could remain with her husband! - Abaye, or it might be said, R. Kahana, replied: (The statement refers to one who walks) from one courtyard into another by way of an alley.

GITTIN

56a He went and he told the Emperor, The Jews are rebelling against you.

57a So they went and reported to the Emperor that the Jews were rebelling.

57a Are the Jews making merry over me?

Gittin cont.

57a They reported to the Emperor that the Jews were rebelling.

NEDARIM

- 49b A Min said to R. Judah, 'Your face is like that of a money-lender or a pigbreeder' He replied, 'Both of these are forbidden to Jews; but there are twenty-four conveniences (bathrooms) between my house and the school, and every hour I visit one of them.
- 82a Raba asked R. Nahman: In the Rabbis' view is (a vow to refrain from) cohabitation (a vow of) self-denial or a matter affecting their mutual relationship? - He replied, We have learnt this: (if she vows,) 'May I be removed from all Jews, he must annul his own part, and she shall minister to him, whilst remaining removed from all Jews. But if you say that this is a vow of self-denial, why does she remain forbidden to all Jews? This proves that it is (only) a matter affecting their mutual relationship! - (No) This is asked according to the Rabbis, whereon 'May I be removed from the Jews is the teaching of R. Jose (only). For R. Huna said: This entire chapter states the ruling of R. Jose. Whence is this deduced? Since the Mishnah teaches, R. Jose said: These are not vows of self-denial, why state again. He can annul: This is R. Jose's opinion? It therefore follows that from this onward (the author) is R. Jose.
- 89b It was taught: (If she vows,) that I benefit not from my father or your father, if I prepare aught for you - R. Natham said: He cannot annul: The Sages maintain: He can annul. May I be removed from the Jews if I minister to You: R. Natham said: He cannot annul: The Sages rule: He can annul.
- 90b Mishnah: At first it was ruled that three women must be divorced and receive their kethubah: she who declares: 'I am defiled to you;' or 'Heaven is between you and me;' and 'may I be removed from Jews.' But subsequently, to prevent her from conceiving a passion for another to the injury of her husband, the ruling was amended thus: she who declared, 'I am defiled unto you,' must bring proof: 'Heaven is between me and you' - they should engage in prayer, and 'may I be removed from Jews' - he (the husband) must annul his portion, and she shall minister to him, whilst remaining removed from Jews.

BABA MEZI'A

- 86a Said they (the informers): There is a Jew who keeps back 12,000 Israelites from the payment of the royal poll-tax one month in summer and one month in winter.

BABA BATHRA

- 21a Come and hear: If a man has a room in a courtyard which he shares with another, he must not let it either to a Mohel or blood-letter, or a tanner, or a Jewish teacher or a non-Jewish teacher! - The reference here is to the head teacher of the town (who superintends the others).
- 58a They then went and slandered him before the king, saying: There is a man among the Jews who extorts money from people without witnesses or anything else. So they took him and threw him in prison. His wife came (to the Court) and said: I had a slave, and some men have cut off his head, skinned him, eaten the flesh and filled the skin with water and given students to drink from it, and they have not paid me either its price or its hire. They did not know what to make of her tale, so they said: Let us fetch the wise man of the Jews and he will tell us. So they called R. Bana'ah, and he said to them: She means a goat-skin bottle. They said: Since he is so wise, let him sit in the gate and act as judge. He saw that there was an inscription over the gateway, 'Any judge who is sued in court is not worthy of the name of judge.' He said: If that is so, any man from the street can come and sue the judge and so disqualify him. What it should say is, 'Any judge who is sued in court and against whom judgement is given is no true judge.' They therefore wrote: But the elders of the Jews say, 'Any judge who is sued in court and against whom judgement is given is no true judge.' He saw another inscription which ran, 'At the head of all death am I, Blood: At the head of all life am I, Wine.' (How can that be? he said.) If a man falls from a roof or a date-tree and kills himself, does he die from excess of blood? And again, if a man is on the point of death, do they give him wine to drink? No. What should be written is this: 'At the head of all sickness am I, Blood, At the head of all medicine am I, Wine.' They therefore wrote: 'But the elders of the Jews say, At the head of all sickness am I, Blood, At the head of all medicine am I, Wine; only where there is no wine are drugs required.'

Over the gateway of Kaputkia there was an inscription, Anpak, anbag, antal. And what is an 'antal'? It is the same as the 'fourth part' in Jewish ritual measurements.

ABODEH ZAREH

- 8a It has been taught: R. Ishmael says, Israelites who reside outside Palestine serve idols though in pure innocence. If, for example, an idolator gives a banquet for his sons and invites all the Jews in his town, then even though they eat of their own and drink of their own, and their own attendants wait on them, Scripture regards them as if they had eaten of the sacrifices to dead idols, as it is said, 'And he will call thee and thou wilt eat of his sacrifice.'
- 10b What about this Ketiah b. Shalom? - There was once a Caesar who hated the Jews. One day he said to the prominent members of the government, 'If one has a wart on his foot, shall he cut it away and live (in comfort) or leave it on and suffer discomfort?' To which they replied: 'He should cut it away and live in comfort.' Then Ketiah b. Shalom addressed them thus: 'In the first place, you cannot do away with all of them, for it is written, For I have spread you abroad as the four winds of the heaven. Now, what does this verse indicate? Were it to mean that (Israel) was to be scattered to the four corners of the world, then instead of saying, as the four winds, the verse would have said, to the four winds? It can only mean that just as the world cannot exist without winds, so the world cannot exist without Israel.'
- 13a The following question was then asked: R. Nathan says: On the day when remission is made of the usual tax towards idolatrous purpose, the proclamation is made: 'Whosoever will take a wreath and put it on his head and on the head of his ass in honour of the idols, his tax will be remitted; otherwise his tax will not be remitted!' How should the Jew act who is present there? Shall he put it on? That means that he is enjoying (the odour of idolatrous articles)! Shall he not put it on? Then he confers a benefit (of paying tax towards idolatry)! Hence it was said: If one buys aught in a market of idolaters, if it be cattle it should be disabled, if fruit, clothes or utensils, they should be allowed to rot, if money or metal vessels he should carry them to the Salt Sea.
- 26a The following was cited in contradiction: A Jewish woman may act as midwife to a heathen woman for payment, but not gratuitously! - Answered R. Joseph: Payment is permitted to prevent ill feeling.'
- 26a Our Rabbis taught: An Israelite woman should not act as midwife to heathen, because she delivers a child to idolatry; nor may a heathen woman (be allowed to) act as midwife to an Israelite

Abodeh Zareh cont.

woman because heathens are suspected of murder. This is the opinion of R. Meir. The Sages, however, say: A heathen may act as midwife to an Israelite woman so long as there are others standing by, but not if she is acting on her own. But R. Meir holds: Not even if others are standing by her, for she may find an opportunity of pressing her hand on the (infant's) temples and kill it without being observed; witness the incident of that woman who, on being called by a neighbour 'Jewish midwife, the daughter of a Jewish midwife!' retorted, 'May as many evils befall that woman, as I have dropped (Jewish children) like lumps of wood into the river.' Our Rabbis, however, say: No; she may have merely given her some kind of retort.

- 70a Issur the proselyte once told me, 'When we were still Gentiles we declared that Jews do not observe the Shabbat, because if they did observe it how many purses would be found in the streets! I did not then know that we follow the view of R. Issac who said: If a person finds a purse on the Shabbat he may carry it for distances less than four cubits.

SANHEDRIN

- 64a Our Rabbis taught: Sabta, a townsman of Avlas, once hired an ass to a gentile woman. When she came to Peor, she said to him, 'Wait till I enter and come out again.' On her issuing, he said to her, 'Now do you wait for me too until I go in and come out again.' 'But,' said she, 'are you not a Jew?' He replied, 'What does it concern thee?' He then entered, uncovered himself before it, and wiped himself on the idol's nose, whilst the acolytes praised him, saying, 'No man has ever served this idol thus.' He that uncovers himself before Baal Peor thereby serves it, even if his intention was to degrade it. He who casts a stone at Mercuris thereby serves it, even if his intention was to bruise it.
- 106a Said she to him, 'Wouldst thou like to drink a glass of wine?' Having drunk, (his passion) was inflamed, and he exclaimed to her, 'Yield to me!' Thereupon she brought forth an idol from her bosom and said to him, 'Worship this!' 'But I am a Jew,' he protested. 'What does that concern thee?' She rejoined, 'nothing is required but that thou should uncover thyself' - whilst he did not know that such was its worship. 'Nay' (said she) 'I will not leave the ere thou hast denied the Torah of Moses thy teacher.' As it is written. They went into Baal-peor, and

Sanhedrin cont.

separated themselves into that shame, and their abominations were according as they loved.'

109a This is identical to the passage in Ta'anith 21a.

MENAHOTH

85b I (agent for the people of Laodicea) see that the Jews have merely made a game of me.

ME'ILAH

17a Later they (the Roman government) came to know he (R. Reuben son of Istroboli) was a Jew, and (the decrees) were reinstated.

NIDDAH

20b Ifra Hormiz, the mother of King Shapur, once sent some blood to Raba when R. Obadiah was sitting in his presence. Having smelt it he said to him, 'This is blood of lust.' 'Come and see,' she remarked to her son, 'how wise the Jews are.' 'It is quite possible,' he replied, 'that he hit upon it like a blind man on a window.' Thereupon she sent to him sixty different kinds of blood and he identified them all but the last one which was lice blood with which he was not acquainted. Luckily, however, he sent her a comb that exterminates lice. 'O, you Jews,' she exclaimed, 'you seem to live in the inner chamber of one's heart.'

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

As seen from the texts examined in this thesis, the meaning and usage of the term "Jew" has not remained static. The term has undergone significant changes from its first appearance in Second Kings to its inclusion in the Talmud. As has been noted, the term "Jew" in the Bible and the Elephantine Papyri is a term of national identification. It, however, is not a term indigenous to the Jews, but is a term which originated within the non-Jewish world. When it became necessary, the Jews themselves used the term in order to communicate with the non-Jewish world in which they lived.

As time progressed the term "Jew" began to undergo a metamorphosis. This can be seen clearly in the comparison of First to Second Maccabees. In the former work the term is employed as it has been in the Bible and the Elephantine Papyri. But, in Second Maccabees the term shifts in meaning from being a national term to one which is primarily a religious term. Along with this change of meaning comes a change of usage. Not only do non-Jews use the term "Jew," but Jews themselves begin to use the term for self-identification. As is mentioned in the chapter on the Apocrypha and will be discussed later, although the Jews begin to use the term "Jew" they still continue to employ the term Israel in their prayers. In their most private moments, during prayer, the term with which they feel most comfortable and natural is not "Jew" but Israel. In the works examined after Second Maccabees, the term "Jew" con-

tinues to be employed according to the same basic pattern, as a religious term employed by both non-Jews and Jews. However, in Philo's writings the term takes on qualities which have not previously been highlighted. Philo emphasizes the shared ancestry and common history of the people to whom the term "Jew" refers. He seems to stress the ethnic quality of the term more than just employing it as a term for religious identification. Although we cannot be sure, one may speculate that even though Philo used the term "Jew" extensively, he probably employed the term Israel in his prayers. Both Philo and Josephus use the term "Jew" extensively in their writings. However, they use the term only in reference to people who are their contemporaries. For the Jews of history, both Philo and Josephus employ the terms Israel and Hebrew.

The next major change in the use and meaning of the term "Jew" comes about in the New Testament. In this work the term takes on a pejorative quality, while at the same time continues to identify a religious group. Although not every instance of the term "Jew" is deprecatory, the cumulative effect is to give the term a negative connotation.

This thesis concludes with the examination of the Talmud, and finds that the term "Jew" has retained a religious meaning. However, once again the term is primarily being used by non-Jews or Jews speaking to non-Jews. It is as if in this one respect, the term "Jew" has completed a full cycle. In addition, the term is now used in its religious/ethnic sense.

There is little doubt that the different stages of development of the term "Jew" influenced future usage. Perhaps the most striking and clear example is the influence of the New Testament's usage of the term "Jew" in later works. Certainly, after the negative connotations are infused into the term, no Jew, even if he has used the term before, would continue to employ the term. Until the New Testament, it appears that Jews use the term to a limited degree for self-identification. After the New Testament, even this limited usage is halted.

The term "Judaism" is never used as extensively as is the term "Jew." Certainly in the early works when the term "Jew" still had primarily a national connotation, there was no place for the term "Judaism." Yet, even after the religious connotation of the term "Jew" developed, the term "Judaism" was used only to a limited extent. Of course there are instances where the phrase "law of the Jews" does occur. The limited use of this term could be the result of lack of necessity for its usage. Perhaps at that period of time it was of little consequence to employ a term which expressed the abstract idea of religion. It was more important to identify those that adhered to a particular philosophy, rather than to name the philosophy itself.

Throughout the whole saga of the development of the terms "Jew" and "Judaism" the term Israel plays an important part. Most of the time Israel serves as that term which Jews use for self-identification. Though at times they use the term "Jew" for this purpose, the term Israel is used in prayers throughout the literature examined. With the

composition of the New Testament, the term Israel begins to be used by non-Jews for their own purposes. Yet, its basic religious meaning remains unchanged. As a result of the New Testament, Jews and non-Jews vie for the term Israel. No doubt, this is one of the reasons why the term Israel is used almost exclusively in the Talmud. Certainly, the term Israel is used in the Talmud anyway, because it is the Jew's term for self-identification. Perhaps it might not have been used to such a great degree if the New Testament had employed the term differently.

Within the period of time reflected in the texts examined in this thesis, the term "Jew" develops and changes. The changes that take place are products of influences both external and internal to the people identified as Jews. There is little doubt that the term will continue to develop and change, as the people who use it and are identified by it continue to grow and change.

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