

## THE GOSPEL OF MARK WITHIN JUDAISM

THE GOSPEL OF MARK WITHIN JUDAISM:  
READING THE SECOND GOSPEL IN ITS ETHNIC LANDSCAPE

By JOHN R. VAN MAAREN, B.A., M.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2019) Hamilton, Ontario (Religious  
Studies)

TITLE: The Gospel of Mark within Judaism: Reading the Second Gospel in Its Ethnic  
Landscape

AUTHOR: John R. Van Maaren, B. A. (Trinity International University), M.A. (Trinity  
Evangelical Divinity School)

CO-SUPERVISORS: Anders Runesson and Matthew Thiessen

NUMBER OF PAGES: xix, 337

## LAY ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the Gospel of Mark should be read as Jewish literature and examines how Mark configures Jewishness. Part one provides a flexible definition of Jewishness in the Southern Levant during the Hasmonean and Early Roman periods (129 BCE–132 CE). Part two shows that the categorical boundaries in the Gospel of Mark reflect a common Jewish way of categorizing and ranking people groups. It then examines how Mark uses the concepts of the kingdom of God and Torah observance to overturn the hierarchical Roman/Jew boundary and limit kingdom membership to the righteous ones among the Jewish people. While Mark may assume that non-Jews participate in the expected kingdom, the absence of direct evidence highlights the Jewish-centric perspective of Mark's Gospel.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the Gospel of Mark reflects a social location within the social boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos* and outlines relevant features of Mark's configuration of Jewishness. It is divided into two parts. Part one provides a flexible definition of Jewishness in antiquity in order to assess what it meant to be Jewish and what characterized the boundaries between Jews and non-Jews. It makes an independent contribution to the study of Jewishness in antiquity by using a recent sociological model that explains how and why ethnicity matters in certain societies and contexts to map changes and features of Jewishness during the Hasmonean and Early Roman periods (129 BCE–132 CE) in the Southern Levant. It also addresses the relevant methodological issues for locating texts in relation to a social category such as "Jewish."

Part two addresses the Gospel of Mark through the same methodological lens and in light of the re-conceptualization of Jewishness. It both argues that Mark should be read as a Jewish text and addresses how Mark configures Jewishness. It shows that the categorical boundaries in the text reflect a common Jewish way of categorizing and ranking people. In particular, Mark's narrative assumes a hierarchical relation between the Jews and other people groups (i.e., "gentiles" or "the nations") in which Jews are to the nations as children are to dogs. In addition, Mark's narrative employs the concept of the kingdom of God to remake the boundary system of Roman Judea in two ways. First, Mark attempts to overturn the hierarchical Roman/Jew boundary by presenting the kingdom of God as imminent, earthly, and entailing the end of Roman power. Second, Mark subdivides the Jewish *ethnos* by limiting kingdom membership to "righteous" members of the Jewish *ethnos*, a strategy shared with the majority of Jewish texts examined in part one. The concluding section addresses the configuration of Jewishness in Mark's narrative in terms of six common features of ethnic identity.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the support of family, friends, and colleagues. My thesis committee members selflessly gave of their time throughout the project, providing constructive feedback and timely encouragement, and enabling me to work with a helpful degree of autonomy. Anders Runesson—my initial supervisor at McMaster University—provided the vision, enthusiasm, and guidance necessary for conceiving of this project and for bringing it to completion. I am especially grateful for his willingness to continue co-supervising this project while transitioning to a new position at the University of Oslo. His constant comparison of my reading of Mark with the text of Matthew led to new insights and pushed me to think beyond the Gospel of Mark. Matthew Thiessen’s willingness to join my committee as co-supervisor after joining the Religious Studies faculty at McMaster University in 2016 improved this project at every point through his attention to detail, deep knowledge of the sources, and willingness to talk through various aspects of the thesis. Eileen Schuller was a very attentive third committee member. Her encouragement, especially during periods of transition, detailed knowledge of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and comments on the thesis structure proved invaluable. I could not have asked for a more supportive, constructive, and collegial committee.

I am especially grateful to the University of Notre Dame and Tantur Ecumenical Institute for Theological Studies for allowing me to spend my final two academic years of thesis writing in Jerusalem. Their generous Residential Doctoral Student Fellowship provided the needed time and financial support to complete this project and a community that provided invigorating discussion and support for our young family living abroad. I especially thank Russell McDougal, rector, for facilitating my family’s time at Tantur.

I have benefited much from friends and colleagues at McMaster, Tantur, and elsewhere. While all those whose feedback challenged my thinking are too many to list, those from whom I've learned the most include (in alphabetical order by last name), Wally Cirafesi, Ryann Craig, Steve Geertz, Michael Johnson, Robert Jones, Josh McManaway, Anthony Meyer, Jacob Mortensen, Matthew Pawlak, David Sloan, David Smith, and Eric Wyckoff. Specific scholars who have commented on or discussed parts of this work, and from whom I have learned much, include Steve Fine, Paula Fredriksen, Todd Hibbard, Judith Lieu, Hector Patmore, Adele Reinhartz, Serge Rutzer, and Gregory Tatum.

Parts of this research have benefited from feedback from various research groups and seminars. These include the Authoritative Texts and Their Reception Research School, funded by the Norwegian Research Council, the McMaster Ancient Judaism Ancient Christianity Seminar, the Early Christianity, Early Judaism, and the Study of Religion Seminar at the *Canadian Society of Biblical Studies*, the Jewish Christianity/Christian Judaism program unit of the *Society of Biblical Literature*, a faculty seminar at the University of Oslo, the Early Christian Judaism research group at the *Institute for Biblical Research*, and the Tantur Ecumenical Institute fellows seminar.

My family deserves a special thanks. Allyson, my wife, has provided unwavering support through her encouragement, love, and gentle prodding. It is to her that I dedicate this project. Our two daughters, Amanda and Emory, have been an endless source of amazement and a pleasant distraction from writing. My parents, from whom I first gained an interest in the Gospel of Mark, have been a constant support, as have been my siblings Dan, Marisa, Elisa, and Rosanna. One of the disadvantages of undertaking PhD studies is that it has kept me from living near you. I cherish the time I have been able to spend with each of you.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Preliminary Questions .....</b>	<b>4</b>
What is Jewishness in Antiquity? .....	5
What are the Main Causes of Variation in Jewishness? .....	9
What Would Constitute a Break with the Jewish <i>Ethnos</i> ? .....	14
How Can Textual Remains Inform Social Location? .....	19
<b>The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: Preliminary Remarks .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries .....</b>	<b>27</b>
Typology of Boundary Strategies Part I: Modes of Boundary Making .....	28
Typology of Boundary Strategies Part II: Means of Boundary Making .....	35
Boundary Characteristics.....	39
Field Characteristics .....	41
Cultural Consensus: The Struggle over Boundaries.....	44
A Process Model of the Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries .....	45
Dynamics of Change .....	47
<b>CHAPTER 2: JEWISHNESS UNDER THE HASMONEANS (129–63 BCE).....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Expanding Hasmonian Political Boundaries .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Ethnic Demographic Changes in and around Hasmonian Territory .....</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Field Characteristics: Institutions, Power, Networks .....</b>	<b>61</b>
Institutional Frameworks .....	61
Distribution of Power .....	65
Networks of Alliances .....	67
<b>Dynamics of Change.....</b>	<b>70</b>
Exogenous Shift: Alexander Jannaeus’s allowance of Minority Ethnic Groups within the Hasmonian State in 103 BCE .....	70
<b>Strategies of Boundary Making .....</b>	<b>72</b>
Eupolemus’s Concerning the Kings in Judea .....	74
1 Maccabees .....	82
Jubilees .....	93
The Damascus Document.....	109



The Rule of the Community .....	117
Strategies of Boundary Making: Summary .....	123
<b>Conclusions: Jewishness under the Hasmoneans .....</b>	<b>125</b>
The Nature of the Consensus.....	126
Boundary Characteristics.....	128
Ethnic Configuration of Jewishness .....	130
<b>CHAPTER 3: JEWISHNESS UNDER THE ROMANS (63 BCE–132 CE) .....</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>Shifting Political Boundaries in and around Roman Judea .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>Ethnic Demographic Changes in and around Roman Judea .....</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>Field Characteristics: Institutions, Power, Networks .....</b>	<b>145</b>
Institutional Frameworks.....	146
Distribution of Power .....	147
Networks of Personal Alliances .....	148
<b>Dynamics of Change.....</b>	<b>150</b>
Exogenous Shift: Julius Caesar’s Restoration of Jewish Land and Privileges (47 BCE) ...	150
Exogenous Shift: The Reign of King Herod (37–4 BCE).....	152
Excursus: Stable <i>Field Characteristics</i> amidst Changing Politics 4 BCE–66 CE .....	155
Exogenous Shift: The First Jewish War (66–70 CE) .....	156
<b>Strategies of Boundary Making .....</b>	<b>157</b>
The Psalms of Solomon.....	157
The War Scroll.....	164
Habakkuk Peshet .....	172
Nahum Peshet.....	176
The Testament of Moses.....	182
The Similitudes of Enoch .....	188
Second Baruch.....	197
4 Ezra.....	208
Strategies of Boundary Making: Summary .....	216
<b>Conclusions: Jewishness under the Romans (63 BCE–132 CE) .....</b>	<b>218</b>
The Nature of the Consensus.....	219
Boundary Characteristics.....	221
Ethnic Configuration of Jewishness .....	224

<b>CHAPTER 4: THE GOSPEL OF MARK WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF JEWISHNESS: RESITUATING THE SECOND GOSPEL .....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>Date, Provenance, Genre, and Social Location .....</b>	<b>236</b>
Date: Not Long after the Jewish War .....	236
Provenance: In or Around Roman Judea.....	239
Genre: Elements of History and Biography with a Didactic Purpose .....	244
Social Location: Some Experience of Recent Persecution.....	245
<b>Field Characteristics and Jewishness of the Compositional Setting of the Gospel of Mark .....</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>Boundaries in the Gospel of Mark.....</b>	<b>250</b>
Ethnic Categorization and Group Boundaries .....	250
Non-ethnic Categorization and Group Boundaries .....	261
<b>Strategies of Boundary Making .....</b>	<b>268</b>
The Future, Earthly, and Imminent Kingdom of God in Mark .....	269
Righteousness, Understood as Torah Observance, as Kingdom Membership Criterion.....	278
<b>Jewishness as Configured in the Narrative of Mark.....</b>	<b>282</b>
Summary of Common Elements of Jewishness in Texts written by Jews during the Hasmonean and Early Roman Periods .....	283
No Common Proper Name Replaces Israel.....	284
The Assumed Importance of Common Ancestry .....	285
All Shared Historical Memories Are from the Literary Heritage of the Jewish <i>Ethnos</i> .....	285
The Continuing Relevance of Temple and Torah As Elements of Common Culture.....	290
Excursus: The Defiling Force of Sin in the Biblical Purity System .....	310
The Assumed Importance of a Common Homeland .....	316
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>317</b>
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>Review of the Argument .....</b>	<b>319</b>
Jewishness during the Hasmonean and Early Roman Periods .....	319
The Ethnic Landscape during the Compositional Setting of the Gospel of Mark.....	324
The Gospel of Mark as Jewish Literature.....	325
<b>Implications.....</b>	<b>326</b>
Ethnicity Theory and Identity in Early Judaism and the Jesus Movement .....	326
Mark within the Boundaries of Jewishness .....	335

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>338</b>
<b>Primary Sources and Translations .....</b>	<b>338</b>
<b>Secondary Sources.....</b>	<b>341</b>

## FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Modes of boundary making

Figure 1.2: Means of boundary making

Figure 1.3: A processual model of the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries

## ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. Ancient Authors and Works

Augustine

*Civ.*                      *De civitate Dei*

Cicero

*Flac.*                      *Pro Flacco*

Clement of Alexandria

*Strom.*                      *Stromateis*

Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

*1QM*                      *War Scroll*

*1QpHab*                      *Pesher Habakkuk*

*1QS*                      *Rule of the Community*

*4Q216*                      *Jub<sup>a</sup>*

*4Q266–273*                      *D<sup>a-h</sup>*

*4Q285*                      *Sefer ha-Milḥamah*

*4Q372*                      *apocrJoseph<sup>b</sup>*

*4Q471*                      *War Scroll-like Text B*

*4Q491–496*                      *M<sup>a-f</sup>*

*4Q497*                      *papWar Scroll-like Text A*

*4QMMT*                      *Miqṣat Ma‘asê ha-Torah*

*4QpNah*                      *Pesher Nahum*

*11Q14*                      *Sefer ha-Milḥamah*

*11QT<sup>a</sup>*                      *Temple Scroll<sup>a</sup>*

*CD*                      *Cairo Genizah Copy of the Damascus Document*

*D*                      *Damascus Document*

Eusebius of Caesarea

*Hist. Eccl.*                      *Historia ecclesiastica*

*Praep. ev.*                      *Praeparatio evangelica*

Gregory of Nazianzus

*Carm.*                      *Carmina dogmatica*

Irenaeus

*Haer.*                      *Adversus haereses*

Jos.	Josephus
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Against Apion</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Life</i>	<i>Life</i>
Justin	
<i>1 Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia i</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>
Juvenal	
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i>
Origen	
<i>Comm. Matt.</i>	<i>Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei</i>
Philo	
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>
<i>QG 4</i>	<i>Quaestiones et solutions in Genesin IV</i>
Pliny the Elder	
<i>Nat.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plutarch	
<i>Cic.</i>	<i>Cicero</i>
Pseudepigrapha and Related Texts	
<i>1 En.</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
<i>2 Bar.</i>	<i>2 Baruch</i>
<i>4 Ezra</i>	<i>4 Ezra</i>
<i>Apoc. Ab.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
<i>Gos. Naz.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Nazarenes</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Similitudes</i>	<i>Similitudes of Enoch</i>
<i>T. Benj.</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>T. Gad</i>	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
<i>T. Iss.</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>T. Mos.</i>	<i>Testament of Moses</i>
<i>T. Reub.</i>	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>

## Rabbinic Literature

<i>b. Ber.</i>	<i>Talmud Bavli, Tractate Berakot</i>
<i>b. Mak.</i>	<i>Talmud Bavli, Tractate Makkot</i>
<i>b. Menah.</i>	<i>Talmud Bavli, Tractate Menahot</i>
<i>b. Šabb.</i>	<i>Talmud Bavli, Tractate Šhabbat</i>
<i>Yal.</i>	<i>Yalquṭ</i>

## Strabo

<i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geography</i>
---------------	------------------

## Suetonius

<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Domitianus</i>
-------------	-------------------

## 2. Journals, Major Reference Works, and Series

AASF	<i>Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AGLB	Vetus Latina; die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 1885–1887. 10 vols. Repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>Atiqot</i>	<i>‘Atiqot</i>
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAGD	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Edited by Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>

<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRLJ	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BSGRT	Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theological Bulletin</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CPJ	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> , Edited by Victor A. Tcherikover, 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Etudes bibliques</i>
ECL	Early Christian Literature
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GTR	Gender, Theory, and Religion
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
<i>Hermeneia</i>	<i>Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible</i>
HNT	Handbuch Zum Neuen Testament
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>



HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
<i>HvTSt</i>	<i>Hervormde theologiese studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JAJSup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
<i>JJMJS</i>	<i>Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish setting</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRASup</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Ephraim Stern. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993, 2008.
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NRTh</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
NSKAT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>

NTL	New Testament Library
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
OGIS	<i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . Edited by Wilhelm Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–1905.
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca</i> . Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886.
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Edited by Theodor Klauser, Georg Schöllgen, and Franz Joseph Dölger. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SC	Sources Crétiennes
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
SP	Sacra Pagina
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Stuttgart, 1932–70

VL	Vetus Latina
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	<i>Word and World</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

## DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

I, John R. Van Maaren, declare that this thesis has been researched and written by myself and myself alone.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Two questions shape the topic of this investigation: Should the Gospel of Mark be read as Jewish literature? And, if so, how precisely does Mark<sup>1</sup> configure Jewishness?<sup>2</sup> The debate over whether (and which) texts that make up what is now called the New Testament constitute Jewish literature has attracted significant scholarly activity over the past decades. Various studies have argued that Matthew, Luke-Acts, John, the letters of Paul, James, and Revelation should be read “within Judaism.”<sup>3</sup> However, no study has systematically argued that the Gospel of Mark should also be read “within Judaism.”<sup>4</sup> In a recent essay summarizing the state of the question on

---

<sup>1</sup> I designate the author as “Mark” for the sake of convenience without assuming the traditional authorship.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the intentionally vague Jewishness, rather than Judaism, is meant to disassociate the study from modern connotations of “Judaism,” which is sometimes understood in too strictly “religious” terms. Here I follow Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*, HCS 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7–8.

<sup>3</sup> For an early example of the study of Matthew within Judaism see J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990). For the current discussion, see especially Anders Runesson and Daniel M. Gurtner, eds., *Matthew within Judaism: Israel and the Nations in the First Gospel*, ECL (Atlanta: SBL, 2019). Albert Schweitzer was a forerunner of reading Paul within Judaism. *Geschichte der paulinischen Forschung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911), 185. For an early example see Lloyd Gaston’s, *Paul and the Torah* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987). For the current discussion, see especially Gabrielle Boccaccini and Carlos A. Segovia, eds., *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016); Mark D. Nanos and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle*, Engagements with Abrahamic Religions (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015). Other New Testament texts have received comparatively less focus: Luke-Acts: Isaac Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 2/355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013). John: Wally Cirafesi, “John within Judaism: Ethnicity, Religion, and the Shaping of Jesus-Oriented Jewishness in the Fourth Gospel” (PhD Diss., University of Oslo, 2019). James: Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of James*, ICC (New York: T&T Clark, 2013). Revelation: esp. John W. Marshall, *Parables of War: Reading John’s Jewish Apocalypse*, SCJ 10 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001); Cf. Sarah Emanuel, “Roasting Rome: Humor, Resistance, and Jewish Cultural Persistence in the Book of Revelation” (PhD Diss., Drew University, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> The closest is Daniel Boyarin’s popular-level book *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2012), which limits its analysis to a few points about Torah and Christology. Three earlier unconvincing studies reached similar conclusions: Dean W. Chapman, *The Orphan Gospel: Mark’s Perspective on Jesus*, BibSem 16 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993); Wolfgang Roth, *Hebrew Gospel: Cracking the Code of Mark* (Oak Brook, IL: Meyer-Stone, 1988); Johannes Majoros-Danowski, *Elija im Markusevangelium: Ein Buch im Kontext des Judentums* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008).

Mark’s Jewishness, Lawrence Wills writes, “while a great continuity with Judaism was found in one New Testament text after another, there was one very important exception: the Gospel of Mark. The earliest of the gospels—and therefore the closest in time to Jesus—and the gospel that many now count as the boldest theologically, seemed to remain in the ‘gentile’ fold.”<sup>5</sup> The present study seeks to fill this lacuna.<sup>6</sup>

It is now commonplace to acknowledge that members of the early Jesus-movement employed ethnic-reasoning to construct their identity.<sup>7</sup> The evidence indicates that this was not done in a unified way by the entire early Jesus-movement. Rather, the ways that Jesus-followers conceptualized their relation to the Jewish *ethnos*<sup>8</sup> differed by time, place, and purpose. So, for

---

<sup>5</sup> “The Jewishness of the Gospel of Mark,” in *Bridging between Sister Religions: Studies in Jewish and Christian Scriptures Offered in Honor of Prof. John T. Townsend*, ed. Isaac Kalimi, BRLJ 51 (Boston: Brill, 2016), 69–86, esp. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Scholars who have stated that Mark should be read as Jewish literature include John G. Gager, *Who Made Early Christianity? The Jewish Lives of the Apostle Paul*, American Lectures on the History or Religions 18 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 95. Cf. John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), viii; Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Markus-Evangelium,” *RAC* 24:173–207, esp. 180. Isaac Oliver explains his rationale for not including Mark in his study of Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish texts: “the gospel of Mark, so I firmly believed, announces the abrogation of the ritual aspects of the Jewish law, including kashrut.” By the time he encountered alternative ways of reading Mark 7, “too much work had already been done to turn back and include a thorough analysis of Mark in this monograph.” *Torah-praxis after 70 CE*, 32.

<sup>7</sup> Todd S. Berzon summarizes the state of the question: “scholars now focus not on *whether* early Christians thought in ethnic terms (or used ethnic reasoning), but rather on how and to what ends they engaged in this rhetorical strategy.” “Ethnicity and Early Christianity: New Approaches to Religious Kinship and Community,” *CurBR* 16 (2018): 191–227, esp. 221. See especially the foundational work by Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*, GTR (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005). For the use of ethnic reasoning in intra-Christian polemics, see Todd S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

<sup>8</sup> I use the term Jewish *ethnos* to refer to the imagined community shared by many persons in the ancient Mediterranean who would identify themselves variously as יהודי, Ἰουδαῖος, *Iudaeus*, ישראל, ’Ισραήλ, *Israhel*, עברי, Ἑβραῖος, and *Hebraeus*. I choose Jew rather than Israelite for convenience, and am aware of the multivalent and contested nature of these terms, and the preference for ישראל/’Ισραήλ over יהודי/Ἰουδαῖος in most of the sources written by members of the Jewish *ethnos* that the following chapters address. I include the (transliterated) Greek term *ethnos* (the most common term for an ethnic group in the *lingua franca* during the spatial and temporal scope of this study) because ancient writers consistently designate Jews as one *ethnos* among many *ethnē* (discussed in more detail below). Finally, I adopt the translations “Jew” and “Judaism” for Ἰουδαῖος/Ἰουδαῖσμός and Ἰουδαίος/Iūdaea rather than the increasingly popular “Judean” and “Judeanism.” Many adopt the latter to distinguish ancient Judaism from the modern conception of religion. However, those characteristics of ancient Judaism that distinguish it from religion also characterize modern forms of Judaism and therefore “Judean/Judeanism” merely introduces unneeded discontinuity. Scholars who adopt similar positions include Anders Runesson, “Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodosius I,” in *Exploring Early Christian Identity*, ed. Bengt Holmberg, WUNT 226 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 59–92, esp. 64–70; Caroline E. Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 13; Paula

example, Clement of Alexandria situates Christians (Χριστιανοί) as a third people, made out of Greeks and Jews;<sup>9</sup> Justin describes Christians, like Jews, as a γένος (“race”, “nation”, “people”) in order to make the common claim that Christians are the true Israel;<sup>10</sup> the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* present Torah-observance and Christ-following as two equally effective paths to salvation which are, in fact, the same.<sup>11</sup> A bit closer to Mark’s time, Paul uses the imagery of adoption to conceptualize the inclusion of Jesus-followers from among the nations<sup>12</sup> with the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>13</sup> The Gospel of John may object to a strictly genealogical definition of Jewishness in favor of a cultural definition of Jewishness as “the children of God”<sup>14</sup> and

---

Fredriksen, “How Later Contexts Affect Pauline Content, or: Retrospect Is the Mother of Anachronism,” in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write Their History*, ed. Peter J. Tomson and Joshua Schwartz, CRINT 13 (Boston: Brill, 2013), 17–51, esp. 17 n. 1; David M. Miller, “Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of Ioudaios in Ancient ‘Judaism,’” *CurBR* 12 (2014): 216–65, esp. 258; Seth Schwartz, “How Many Judaisms Were There?: A Critique of Neusner and Smith on Definition and Mason and Boyarin on Categorization,” *JAJ* 2 (2011): 208–38, esp. 223.

<sup>9</sup> “He made a new covenant with us; for what belonged to the Greeks (Ἑλλήνων) and Jews (Ἰουδαίων) is old. But we, who worship him in a new way, in the third form (γενεῖ), are Christians (Χριστιανοί).” Strom. 6.5.41.6. (ANF 2:488).

<sup>10</sup> “We, hewn out of the side of Christ, are the true people (γένος) of Israel. ... there were two seeds of Judah, and two races (γένη), as there are two houses of Jacob: the one born of the flesh and blood, and the other of faith and the Spirit” (*Dial.* 135.3, 6). Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, ed. Michael Slusser, trans. Thomas B. Falls and Thomas P. Halton, Selections from the Fathers of the Church 3 (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003). The critical edition consulted is Martyr Justin, *Justin Martyr, Dialogue avec le Tryphon: édition critique*, ed. Philippe Bobichon, 2 vols., *Paradosis* 47 (Fribourg: Academic, 2003). For Justin’s various and contrasting use of ethnic reasoning to situate Christians in relation to Jews see Buell, *Why This New Race*, 95–99.

<sup>11</sup> “Neither, therefore, are the Hebrews condemned on account of their ignorance of Jesus, by reason of Him who has concealed Him, if, doing the things commanded by Moses, they do not hate Him whom they do not know. Neither are those from among the gentiles condemned, who know not Moses on account of Him who hath concealed him, provided that these also, doing the things spoken by Jesus, do not hate Him whom they do not know. ... Moreover, if any one has been thought worthy to recognise both as preaching one doctrine, that man has been counted rich in God, understanding both the old things as new in time, and the new things as old.” 8.7 (ANF 17:140). The critical edition consulted is Bernhard Rehm, ed., *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien*, GCS 42 (Berlin: Akademie, 1965). Cf. Annette Yoshiko Reed, “‘Jewish Christianity’ after the ‘Parting of the Ways’: Approaches to Historiography and Self-Definition in the Pseudo-Clementines,” in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 189–231.

<sup>12</sup> In general, I refer to the boundary between Jews and all others as the Jew/nations boundary and prefer, when possible the English word “nations” for non-Jews, but sometimes use non-Jew(s) and gentile(s) when convenient.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Gal 4:1–7; Rom 8:14–17. See especially, Johnson Hodge, *If Sons, Then Heirs*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> John 1:12–13. Cirafesi, “John within Judaism,” 106.

Matthew appears to understand Jesus-followers from the nations as converts to Judaism.<sup>15</sup> In each of these instances of ethnic reasoning, ethnicity still matters.

Like the above texts, the Gospel of Mark provides evidence for the way that some early Jesus-followers understood themselves in relation to the Jewish *ethnos*. In order to address the location of Mark vis-à-vis the Jewish *ethnos*, this study focuses on the collective identity shared by the writer and intended audience.<sup>16</sup> Of particular interest is the relationship of this collective identity to the Jewish *ethnos*. That is, does Mark portray his shared identity with the intended audience as (1) equivalent to the Jewish *ethnos* so that the primary ingroup is all members of the Jewish *ethnos*; (2) incompatible with Jewishness as Ignatius argues;<sup>17</sup> (3) a subgroup of the Jewish *ethnos* like the Yahad of the Dead Sea Scrolls; (4) trans-ethnic but with a central and privileged place for the Jewish *ethnos* as Paul's adoption imagery suggests; or (5) non-ethnic with a full dissolution of the Jew/nations boundary?

### Preliminary Questions

Four preliminary questions shape the approach of this study: (1) What is Jewishness in antiquity? (2) What are the main causes of variation in Jewishness? (3) What would constitute a

---

<sup>15</sup> Matt 5:17–20; 28:19–20. Anders Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation in Matthew: The Narrative World of the First Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), 373–88.

<sup>16</sup> This study uses the term intended audience, which can be distinguished from the implied audience and the real audience. The intended audience refers to an idea that exists in the real author's mind and which corresponds, to a greater or lesser extent, to some specific and intended real audience existing in the writer's present. As an idea that exists in the author's mind, the intended audience cannot be directly accessed through the text. The implied audience refers to the image of the audience as fixed in the text. Cf. Ann M. Gill and Karen Whedbee, "Rhetoric," in *Discourse as Structure and Process*, ed. Teun A. van Dijk (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 157–84, esp. 167. Insofar as the implied audience is the presumed addressee, it provides the best indication of the intended audience. Jaap Lintvelt, *Essai de Typologie Narrative: Le "Point de Vue" Théorie et Analyse* (Paris: José Corti, 1989), 28. Therefore, the intended audience is constructed primarily on the basis of the implied audience. Because this study is interested in locating Mark's Gospel in relation to the social boundary distinguishing Jews from the nations, I will use intended audience rather than implied audience. The real audience is all those have read or heard the Gospel of Mark (or watched Mark performed) from the early 70s CE through today.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., "It is outlandish to proclaim Jesus Christ and practice Judaism (ἰουδαΐζειν). For Christianity (Χριστιανισμὸς) did not believe in Judaism (Ἰουδαϊσμόν), but Judaism (Ἰουδαϊσμός) in Christianity (Χριστιανισμόν)" (*Magn.* 10.3 [Ehrman, LCL]).



break with Jewishness? And (4) how can textual remains (e.g., Mark’s Gospel or the Rule of the Community) inform social location (e.g., are Mark and his intended audience inside or outside of Jewishness). We will now consider each of these four preliminary questions.

### **What is Jewishness in Antiquity?**

First, it is important to define Jewishness in order to understand what, precisely, it may mean that the Gospel of Mark is inside or outside of Jewishness. This study approaches ancient Jews as an ethnic group whose various manifestations include characteristics often exhibited by ethnic groups.<sup>18</sup> Greek, Roman, and Jewish authors consistently designate the Jewish people as one *ethnos* among the many *ethnē* residing in the Hellenistic and Roman Empires.<sup>19</sup> While various ways of belonging to the Jewish *ethnos* were emphasized by different persons at distinct times and in separate places, these differences do not change the basic designation of Judaism as an *ethnos*.<sup>20</sup> The ancient emic term ἔθνος (*ethnos*) is broader than the modern etic category “ethnic group”<sup>21</sup> and can refer to groups of nearly any sort (e.g., bees, doctors, or males).<sup>22</sup> While not all people groups described as ἔθνη (*ethnē*) represent ethnic groups by all definitions of

---

<sup>18</sup> For a recent summary of evidence for Jewishness as an ethnicity, see Steve Mason and Philip F. Esler, “Judaean and Christ-Follower Identities: Grounds for a Distinction,” *NTS* 63 (2017): 493–515, esp. 496–504.

<sup>19</sup> Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457–512, esp. 489–510; Benedikt Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft: Politische Figurationen Jüdischer Identität von Antiochos III. bis Herodes I.*, SJ 72 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 4.

<sup>20</sup> According to the model of ethnicity adopted in this study (outlined later in this chapter under the two subheadings “The Ethnic Boundary Making Model”), designations such as “race” (Buell, *Why This New Race*, 2005), “nation” (David M. Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006]), and “ethnoreligion” (Cohen, *Beginnings*, 1999) are subtypes of ethnicity.

<sup>21</sup> The English word “ethnicity” was first used in the modern sense around 1942. W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 73. Noted by Irad Malkin, “Introduction,” in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, ed. Irad Malkin, Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1–28, esp. 15.

<sup>22</sup> Herodotus’s influence on ancient ethnography caused ἔθνος to become the preferred designation for ancient ethnic groups, yet other terms are used, including γένος, λαός, φυλή, *natio*, and *genus*. Peter M. Fraser, *Greek Ethnic Terminology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1–35; Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 34–35.

ethnicity (e.g., Syrians),<sup>23</sup> many, including the ancient Jews, are accurately described by this modern category.<sup>24</sup>

In order to use the concept of ethnicity to discuss Jewishness, this study adopts a polythetic definition of ethnicity defined by a collection of shared characteristics, none of which is the defining element of Jewishness. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith outline six features commonly shared by co-ethnics.<sup>25</sup> I quote their definitions here with brief explanation of how these relate to the Jewish *ethnos*. Throughout the study I italicize references to the names of these six common features.

(1) A common *proper name*, to identify and express the “essence” of its community.

In antiquity, three *proper names* are associated with members of the Jewish *ethnos*: “Jew” (יהודי, Ἰουδαῖος, *Iudaeus*), “Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ἰσραήλ, *Israhel*) and “Hebrew” (עִבְרִי, Ἑβραῖος, *Hebraeus*).<sup>26</sup> In the second-temple period the term “Jew” often designates members of the present-day *ethnos*, but sometimes it designates a geographically-defined subgroup, or specifically descendants of the southern kingdom of Judah. “Israel,” in second-temple texts can designate members of the united monarchy, northern kingdom, eschatological Israel, or “the

---

<sup>23</sup> The Seleucids defined a Syrian *ethnos* that included various people groups who did not share a *common ancestry* or culture, many of whom would likely not share a sense of solidarity. Nathanael J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, Greek Culture in the Roman Empire (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 10, 14–15.

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan M. Hall writes of Greek ethnographers: “in attributing the social solidarity of an *ethnos* to *genos* (birth) and *syngeneia* (kinship) the Greeks came about as close as they could to our concept of ethnicity.” *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 18. See also Malkin, “Introduction,” 16. These characteristics are sufficiently present in most ancient conceptions of the Jewish *ethnos*.

<sup>25</sup> John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, “Introduction,” in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, Oxford Readers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1–14, esp. 6–7. For a recent discussion of the usefulness of these six categories in relation to the Jewish *ethnos*, see Mason and Esler, “Judaean and Christ-Follower Identities,” 496–97.

<sup>26</sup> Karl Georg Kuhn, “Ἰσραήλ, Ἰουδαῖος, Ἑβραῖος in der Nach-at.lichen Jüdischen Literatur,” *TWNT* 3:360–70.

suprahistorical/supratemporal people of YHWH” while “Hebrew” primarily designates a person from the pre-monarchic period of Jewish history.<sup>27</sup>

(2) A myth of *common ancestry*, a myth rather than a fact, a myth that includes the idea of a common origin in time and place and that gives an *ethnē* a sense of fictive kinship.

The eponymous ancestor Jacob/Israel is of central importance for Jewish ancestry. As we will see, putative descent from Abraham was employed to expand definitions of Jewishness by the Hasmoneans and contested by others.

(3) Shared *historical memories*, or better, shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration.

The events narrated in Jewish sacred texts provide the Jewish *ethnos* with a foundational collection of *historical memories*. The weekly reading of these sacred texts in synagogues, a practice apparently unique to the Jews in antiquity, further engrained these narratives in collective Jewish identity. Prominent figures include, for example, the Patriarchs, Moses, David, and Ezra. Formative events include the call of Abraham, the exodus from Egypt, the constitution of a covenant people at Mt. Sinai, the golden age of the united monarchy, the exile and deportation to Babylon, the Antiochene persecution, and Hasmonean rebellion.

(4) One or more elements of *common culture*, which need not be specified but normally include religion, customs, or language.

Religion, customs, language, and other cultural aspects shared by some Jews overlap significantly, but for our purposes can be usefully distinguished. Religion refers most immediately to the Jewish deity and his cultic veneration, both in Jerusalem and at other

---

<sup>27</sup> Jason A. Staples, “Reconstructing Israel: Restoration Eschatology in Early Judaism and Paul’s Gentile Mission” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016), 480, 483. Staples demonstrates that Kuhn’s influential thesis (that “Israel” is an insider designation and “Jew” is an outsider designation) is untenable.

temples.<sup>28</sup> The observance of specific Jewish customs (e.g., dietary laws, Sabbath observance) is closely associated with Jewish law and with obedience to their deity. While there was no single language that was spoken by all Jews, the Hebrew language, as the original language of their sacred texts, at times functioned symbolically for non-Hebrew speaking Jews.

(5) A link with a *homeland*, not necessarily its physical occupation by the *ethnē*, only its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples.

This is, of course, the land of Israel, or *Judea/Palestina*. The land had symbolic importance for Jews living in the *homeland* as well as for those in the diaspora. The symbolic importance of land persists in spite of the constantly changing, and sometimes disappearing, borders.

(6) A *sense of solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the *ethnē*'s population.

This sense of solidarity is often shared by part, but not all, of the ethnic group and the strength of this sentiment varies.<sup>29</sup> This was certainly the case for members of the Jewish *ethnos* in the ancient Mediterranean world. For example, at the outbreak of the first Jewish revolt, Josephus relates that the Jewish residents of Scythopolis sided with the city rather than the revolt, and “regarding their own security as more important than kinship (τὴν συγγένειαν), met their own countrymen (τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις) in battle.”<sup>30</sup> That is, according to Josephus’s description, the Jews

---

<sup>28</sup> On the problems of using “religion” as a category in antiquity, see especially Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016). Cf. Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). Here I use the term loosely to refer to elements of Jewishness immediately associated with their deity and his worship, especially the temple cult.

<sup>29</sup> This *sense of solidarity* is what Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz label “primordial attachments” (also primordial ties/sentiments) and that they use to explain the persistence of ethnic distinctiveness. Edward Shils, “Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 8 (1957): 130–45; Clifford Geertz, “The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Politics in the New States,” in *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 105–57. However, the sense of solidarity does not explain the persistence of ethnic boundaries because it is often not shared by all co-ethnics.

<sup>30</sup> *J.W.* 2.465 (cf. *Life* 26). τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἐν δευτέρῳ θέμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν, ὁμόσε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἐχώρου. Translation adapted from Thackeray, LCL.

of Scythopolis had a weaker sense of solidarity with the Jewish *ethnos* than those of other cities drawn into the revolt, leading them to side with the city against the Jewish rebels.

Not all ethnic groups exhibit all of these features, nor are all features necessarily ascribed the same importance. In contrast to monothetic approaches that make one of the above features (most often *common ancestry*)<sup>31</sup> the defining element of ethnic identity, this study adopts a polythetic approach that understands ethnicity as made up of “maps of characteristics that may or may not be shared by members of a group.”<sup>32</sup> It is not the focus of this study to outline these maps of characteristics. Rather, these features are important for how they are used by persons to attempt various strategic *modes* of boundary making by different *means* in the struggle over boundaries.

### **What are the Main Causes of Variation in Jewishness?**

A second question concerns the causes of variation in ethnic-configurations of Jewishness—that is, the different ways that the above six common features of ethnicity are configured by different persons. The forces shaping Jewishness in antiquity are, of course,

---

<sup>31</sup> Hall’s study makes the myth of *common ancestry* the defining element of ethnic identity. *Hellenicity*, 10. Cf. Hall, *Ethnic Identity*, 32. In the study of the Jewish *ethnos*, Cohen does the same. *Beginnings*, 136. Erich Gruen’s argument to dispense with ethnicity in the study of antiquity is based on a monothetic definition of ethnicity in terms of *common ancestry*, as seen by his synonymous use of ethnicity and race throughout the essay. He also acknowledges that the term ethnicity can be used heuristically with an agreed-upon definition that differs from *common ancestry*, as is done in this study. Erich Gruen, “Did Ancient Identity Depend on Ethnicity? A Preliminary Probe,” *Phoenix* 67 (2013): 1–22, esp. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Michael L. Satlow, “Defining Judaism: Accounting for ‘Religions’ in the Study of Religion,” *JAAR* 74 (2006): 837–60, esp. 845. Satlow approaches Judaism as a religion, but the point is relevant for Judaism as an ethnic group. Especially influential has been the work of Jonathan Z. Smith, “Fences and Neighbors: Some Contours of Early Judaism,” in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*, CSHJ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1–18. Similar to my approach, John M. G. Barclay adopts a polythetic definition of ethnicity and acknowledges this is a heuristic choice when he writes “Can we speak of shared ‘ethnicity’ even when there is no claim to shared ancestry, or is that a contradiction in terms? That is a definitional decision we have to make, and we must be clear that that is our decision.”, “Ἰουδαϊσμός: Ethnicity and Translation,” in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 46–58, esp. 49.

complex, multidirectional, and not fully recoverable. However, a few points are helpful for understanding Jewish ethnic-configurations as contingent and contextually fashioned.

Most importantly, the influence of power on ethnic-configurations is well attested.<sup>33</sup> Benedict Eckhardt has done important work examining the role of political power on the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness. In his 2013 monograph *Ethnos und Herrschaft: Politische Figurationen Jüdischer Identität von Antiochos III. bis Herodes I*, Eckhardt examines how different ethnic-configurations of Jewishness select specific aspects as characteristic of the *ethnos*. These ethnic-configurations are developed for specific purposes, and are always a simplification.<sup>34</sup> In particular, Eckhardt is interested in the interplay between official configurations of Jewishness by the ruling power (esp. Seleucids, Hasmoneans, and Herod) and the configurations of Jewishness by (other) members of the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>35</sup> For example, Eckhardt categorizes elements of the Hasmonean ethnic-configuration based on their relation to official Seleucid configurations of Jewishness. Some elements of the Hasmonean configuration, such as the designation “*ethnos* of the Jews”, mimicked the Seleucid configuration. Other elements, such as the use of Hebrew rather than Greek as an official language, reacted against the Seleucid configuration. Still others, such as the inauguration of new festivals, originated independently of Seleucid influence.<sup>36</sup> In reaction against the Hasmonean official configuration, the Yahad of 1QS positions itself as a new Israel.<sup>37</sup>

The importance of Eckhardt’s approach is that it acknowledges changing configurations of Jewishness, and the prominent role of official ethnic configurations in reshaping Jewishness.

---

<sup>33</sup> “It is power that defines ethnicity, and not vice versa.” Ton Derks and Nico Roymans, “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, ed. Ton Derks and Nico Roymans, Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 13 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 1–10, esp. 1.

<sup>34</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 11.

<sup>36</sup> For summary of these points, see Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 126.

<sup>37</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 113–19, 127.

In chapters two and three I attempt to build on Eckhardt’s work by employing an empirically tested model for *how* elements of Jewishness are deployed toward specific ends in an ethnic landscape marked by struggle over the meaning and function of ethnic categorization. This model, which I refer to as the *ethnic boundary making model*, was developed by the anthropologist-turned-sociologist Andreas Wimmer as a comparative analytic of “how and why ethnicity matters in certain societies and contexts.”<sup>38</sup> Rather than simply identifying different forms and functions of ethnicity, it explains changes in both form and function of ethnicity by “a cycle of reproduction and transformation composed of various stabilizing and transformative feedbacks.”<sup>39</sup> This comparative, multilevel, processual model represents an advance beyond current approaches to ethnicity in ancient Judaism and the early Jesus movement and, as “the only attempt at systematically explaining the varying character and consequences of ethnic boundaries,”<sup>40</sup> is also, in my opinion, the best available sociological model.

The usefulness of the ethnic boundary making model can be seen by comparison with Eckhardt’s conclusions about Jewishness under the Hasmoneans. Eckhardt identifies the self-designation of the Yahad (יהאד) as a new Israel as a reaction against Hasmonean claims to

---

<sup>38</sup> Andreas Wimmer does not name his model. I refer to it as the *ethnic boundary making model* because it is part of a paradigm in ethnic and racial studies called ethnic boundary making and within this paradigm, it is the first model that purports to systematically explain the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 111. The need for this type of integrating mechanism is noted (in relation to early Christianity) by Todd Berzon: “Insofar as ethnic reasoning was not an end in itself but rather a discursive operation driven toward a particular end, it is incumbent on scholars to develop models that attend to ethnicity as an epistemological and organizational technology. It is these issues, looking beyond the framework of identity, that demand further attention from scholars interested in early Christian notions of race and ethnicity. “Ethnicity and Early Christianity,” 221. Cf. Teresa Morgan, “Society, Identity and Ethnicity in the Hellenic World,” in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 38–80, esp. 46.

<sup>40</sup> Wimmer’s work is part of an emphasis, since the late 1990s, on the properties and mechanisms of boundary processes. Michèle Lamont, “Reflections Inspired by Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks by Andreas Wimmer,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 814–19, esp. 815. Andreas Wimmer, “The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (2008): 970–1022, esp. 973.

represent the Jewish *ethnos*. This study depicts the Hasmoneans engaged in a strategic *mode of equalization* in which 1 Maccabees presents the Jewish *ethnos* as one *ethnos* like the other *ethnē* of the ancient Mediterranean world and elevates law observance to the status of a defining element of Jewishness in order to include Idumeans in their definition of Jewishness.<sup>41</sup> The emphasis on law observance also allows the Hasmoneans to exclude “Jewish” opponents from their configuration of the Jewish *ethnos* by accusations of lawlessness (a *strategic mode of nation-building*, and a form of ethnicity that can be subcategorized as a nationality).<sup>42</sup> In contrast, the Rule of the Community (1QS), divides the Jewish *ethnos* into members of the Yahad and non-members (a *strategic mode of contraction through fission*) by claiming exclusive adherence to the covenant for the Yahad, as correctly interpreted by the Sons of Zadok. For 1QS, other members of the Hasmonean official configuration of Jewishness are, like the nations, controlled by Belial. This strategy places members of the Yahad in a privileged place to all others, and makes membership in the Jewish *ethnos* insignificant in comparison to the ingroup of the Yahad. Below, I outline the components of Wimmer’s model, and how to use them for conceptualizing Jewishness.

The impact of the struggle over power and ethnic boundaries on the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness is nicely illustrated by the competing use of *common ancestry* during the Hasmonean period. In the following chapter I argue that the Hasmonean rulers attempted to shift the basis for *common ancestry* from Jacob to Abraham in order to expand the boundaries of Jewishness to include Idumeans, Arabs, and quite possibly Samaritans.<sup>43</sup> In terms of the *ethnic*

---

<sup>41</sup> I use italics for technical terms used by Andreas Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*. Each term is discussed under the subheading “The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries” later in this chapter.

<sup>42</sup> This is a complementary aspect to the emphasis on Abraham as common ancestor in the Hasmonean nation-building project.

<sup>43</sup> The appeal to Abraham also helped form kinship ties with Spartans (1 Macc 12:7, 20–23).



*boundary making model* (discussed below in the section “The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries”), this emphasis shift represents a strategic *mode of boundary expansion* that is subcategorized as *nation building*. In apparent objection, the book of Jubilees, most likely composed during the height of the Hasmonean *nation building* project, states, “for the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham’s children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people” (Jub. 15.29–30). Jubilees not only limits *common ancestry* to descendants of Jacob, but also adopts Ezra’s “holy seed” ideology, excluding the descendants of exogamy from the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>44</sup> Jubilees extends the prohibition of intermarriage with Canaanites (Exod 34:11–16) to all non-Jews: “Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and testify to them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they are not to marry any foreign women because it is despicable before the Lord.”<sup>45</sup> In this way, Jubilees uses a strictly genealogical definition of Jewishness that makes (putative) descent from Jacob and (putative) blood purity defining features of Jewishness in order to contest the Hasmonean boundary expansion. In terms of the *ethnic boundary making model*, this represents a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* that places children of exogamous marriages outside Jewishness. The struggle over boundaries therefore influences common features of the Jewish *ethnos* by both raising their prominence and contesting their meaning. Common features of the Jewish *ethnos* are in this way tools in the struggle over ethnic boundaries.

---

<sup>44</sup> Christine Elizabeth Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73–81; Cana Werman, “Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage,” *HTR* 90 (1997): 1–22.

<sup>45</sup> Jub. 30.11. The noun translated as ‘foreigners’/‘foreign’ (גוים) is the same noun translated as “nations” elsewhere in James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translated*, CSCO 511 (Lovanii: Peeters, 1989).

### **What Would Constitute a Break with the Jewish *Ethnos*?**

Ethnic configurations of Jewishness concern the inner make-up of Jewishness,<sup>46</sup> and variations of these configurations still purport to depict Jewishness (whether depicted by insiders or outsiders). A third related question concerns criteria for what would constitute a break with the Jewish *ethnos*, or more simply a social location outside of the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>47</sup> The answer to this question is closely tied with the changing sociological and anthropological theory of ethnicity. Therefore, it is helpful to trace the basic lines of development in the social-scientific understanding of ethnicity.<sup>48</sup>

The classical debate was between primordialism and circumstantialism.<sup>49</sup> The former emphasized the strong primordial bonds that form between co-ethnics, often due to (putative) common descent, and the perceived immutability of ethnic identity. The latter emphasized the way that individuals employ ethnic categorization toward practical ends and the mutability of ethnic identity in changing circumstances. Both acknowledged that ethnic identity is an ascribed characteristic that exists in the mind rather than an ontological reality.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> That is, Fredrik Barth's "cultural stuff." "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), 9–38, esp. 15.

<sup>47</sup> The language of 'break' assumes original union, which may not have been the case for all Jesus followers and Jews. Magnus Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity*, Early Church Monographs (New York: Routledge, 2003), 17 n. 21.

<sup>48</sup> It is not my purpose to give a comprehensive treatment of ethnic theory. An outline of the basic lines of development can be found in Stephen Cornell and Douglass Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*, Sociology for a New Century Series (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 1998), 39–101. Recent summaries of ethnicity theory and the ancient Mediterranean world can be found in Morgan, "Society, Identity and Ethnicity," 38–80; Berzon, "Ethnicity and Early Christianity, 191–227; and Stewart Alden Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt: With Walls of Iron?*, JSJSup 171 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 7–44.

<sup>49</sup> A term closely related to primordialism is "essentialism." Both emphasize the givenness of ethnic ties. Whereas primordialism emphasizes the emotional ties binding members from birth and rooted in the ancient past (hence, "primordialism"), essentialism more generally approaches ethnicity as an ontological given. A term closely related to circumstantialism is "instrumentalism." Both emphasize ethnicity as something used by ethnic actors towards particular means. Whereas circumstantialism emphasizes the contextual factors influencing ethnic actors' use of ethnicity, instrumentalism places the focus on the goal to which ethnicity is utilized. Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 59.

<sup>50</sup> This was famously termed an "imagined community" by Benedict Anderson. Anderson speaks of nations, but the same expression is often repeated for the closely related concept ethnicity. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 6.

The emphasis on primordial attachments, formed among individuals in primary groups (e.g., neighbourhoods, families, or play groups of children), came to prominence as an explanation for the persistence of ethnic categorization within multiethnic societies.<sup>51</sup> Whereas previous scholarship had assumed that contact between different ethnic groups would naturally lead distinct ethnic groups to assimilate to a common group identity and culture, primordial attachments provided an explanation for the persistence of these ethnic differences. Edward Shils (1957) first outlined the basic primordialist position,<sup>52</sup> but Clifford Geertz (1963) provided the classic formulation.<sup>53</sup> He defined a primordial attachment as

one that stems from ... the assumed “givens” ... of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born in a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves.<sup>54</sup>

Geertz, in contrast to some later primordialists, was careful to point out that the “givens” are assumed rather than real, thus avoiding an essentializing definition of ethnicity and making allowance for shifting ethnic identities over time. The emphasis for primordialists, however, is on the resistance to change, and the focus of observation was the ethnic group as a self-evident unit, defined especially by *common ancestry* and *common culture*.

Circumstantialism can be traced to anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969).<sup>55</sup> It provided an alternative explanation for the resilience of ethnic identity in ethnically diverse cultures: The persistence of ethnic groups is not due to close emotional bonds between co-ethnics, but to the

---

<sup>51</sup> The most notable examples are the persistence of ethnic difference in the so-called “melting pot” of the United States and the re-emergence of ethnic categorization in the former European colonies in Asia and Africa. Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 44–45.

<sup>52</sup> Shils, “Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties,” 133.

<sup>53</sup> Geertz, “The Integrative Revolution,” 105–57.

<sup>54</sup> Geertz, “The Integrative Revolution,” 109.

<sup>55</sup> Barth, “Introduction,” 9–38.

ability of ethnic identity to adapt to changing circumstances.<sup>56</sup> Barth formulated the basic approach of circumstantialism on the basis of two empirical observations. First, “boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them.” That is, boundaries can be both stable and porous. Second, “stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic status.”<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, the persistence of ethnic difference is not based on the lack of interaction across ethnic boundaries. Rather, contact with the other is an essential component in defining ethnic difference.

Barth’s identification of boundaries as the (metaphorical) place where ethnic actors develop an agreed upon criterion of determining membership and a structure of interaction meant that the focus was no longer ethnic groups as self-contained units. Rather, the basic unit of observation became a physical space (with the chosen level of abstraction determined geographically or politically) and the boundary system operating in that area.<sup>58</sup>

Circumstantialism won the day over primordialism by integrating the basic primordial observation into a circumstantialist approach to ethnicity. That is, while ethnicity adapts fluidly to changing circumstances, ethnic actors often experience it as primordial and fixed.<sup>59</sup> Scholarship on ethnicity therefore began to focus on how ethnic identity is constructed and how it takes on the appearance of an immutable given. This emphasis on the construction of the perceived fixity of ethnic boundaries became known as constructivism. These constructivist

---

<sup>56</sup> Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 48.

<sup>57</sup> Barth, “Introduction,” 9–10.

<sup>58</sup> Barth, “Introduction,” 17.

<sup>59</sup> Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 71.

assumptions now represent a consensus among sociological and anthropological approaches to ethnicity.<sup>60</sup>

The importance of the shift from a primordial to a circumstantial understanding of ethnicity for our purpose is that membership in an ethnic group cannot be gauged by a checklist of features, or an ideal type (e.g., a Hebrew speaking, Torah-observant descendant of Jacob).<sup>61</sup> Rather, the critical feature of ethnic identity became self-ascription and ascription by others.<sup>62</sup> That is, a Jew is someone who self-identifies as a Jew and whom others identify as a Jew.<sup>63</sup>

This separation of ethnicity and culture does not deny the importance of cultural difference, but redefines its role in the investigation of ethnicity. For example, in John Barclay's scale of levels of assimilation among Egyptian Jews, the highest level of Jewish cultural assimilation involves abandoning "key Jewish social distinctives" such as allegiance to a single deity, Levitical dietary laws, sabbath, and male circumcision.<sup>64</sup> Barclay's concept of assimilation—defined as social integration marked by social contracts, social interaction, and social practices—corresponds to an abandonment of shared culture by members of the Jewish *ethnos*. According to circumstantial and constructivist approaches to ethnicity, which separate ethnicity from shared culture, the abandonment of shared culture does not in itself constitute a

---

<sup>60</sup> Rogers Brubaker states "Today, few if any scholars would argue that ethnic groups ... are fixed or given; ... This holds even for those who ... have sought to revive and re-specify the primordialist position by explaining the deep roots of essentialist or primordialist thinking in everyday life. In this sense, we are all constructivists now." "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009): 21–42, esp. 28. Summarizing studies of ethnicity in antiquity, Todd Berzon writes "scholars of the ancient Mediterranean have shifted their discussions of ethnicity away from essentialist, instrumentalist and primordialist conceptualizations of the category and instead have moved toward an understanding of the ideological, historical and discursive processes by which notions of national or ethnic kinship were constructed, maintained, altered and refashioned." "Ethnicity and Early Christianity," 192.

<sup>61</sup> Barth, "Introduction," 11.

<sup>62</sup> Barth, "Introduction," 13.

<sup>63</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith advocates a similar approach to religious identity. "Fences and Neighbours," 1–18. Cf. Satlow, "Defining Judaism," 837–60.

<sup>64</sup> John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)*, HCS 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 93–94.

break with the *ethnos*. Rather, according to the constructivist consensus, the key element of ethnicity is ascription. Barclay notes that Jews who abandoned ancestral practices tended to incur criticism from other Jews and are sometimes depicted as apostate. In other words, there is a correlation between abandonment of shared culture and a break with the *ethnos*.<sup>65</sup>

For example, the writer of 3 Maccabees characterizes a certain Dositheos as “a Jew by birth (τὸ γένος Ἰουδαῖος) who later changed his customs (τὰ νόμιμα) and apostatized (ἀπηλλοτριωμένος) from the ancestral traditions (τῶν πατρίων δογμάτων).”<sup>66</sup> In the case of Dositheos, his abandonment of Jewish culture was met with a repudiation of his Jewishness by the writer of 3 Macc. However, our extant sources still provide no indication of Dositheos’s self-ascription—that is, did Dositheos understand his own abandonment of Jewish culture to constitute a repudiation of his Jewishness? In the case of Jews from antiquity who purportedly abandoned the ancestral customs, we have no indication of their own self-ascription as Jewish or otherwise, because they are always mediated through hostile sources.<sup>67</sup> In the case of the Gospel of Mark, we have the opposite situation. Mark may provide information about the collective identity of the writer and intended readers and particularly its relationship to the first-century Jewish *ethnos*, but we have no evidence for what other members of the Jewish *ethnos* may have thought. This means that the primary criterion of whether Mark is within the boundaries of Jewishness is whether the collective identity of Mark and his intended audience, as reconstructed from the text, is within the boundaries of Jewishness. The six common features of ethnicity do not directly impact the question of whether Mark and his intended readers are within Judaism,

---

<sup>65</sup> Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 103, 106, 107.

<sup>66</sup> 3 Macc 1:3. Translation adapted from the New Revised Standard Version.

<sup>67</sup> Stephen Wilson’s study examines individuals labeled as apostates or defectors by others and notes that “those so labeled ... may not see themselves in the same light at all.” *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 12.

but they do enable us to compare Mark's configuration of Jewishness with that of other members of the Jewish *ethnos*. These six common features relate to Mark's social situation vis-à-vis the Jewish *ethnos* insofar as there is a correlation between *common culture* and ethnic identity.

In attempting a study of Jewishness that considers change and variation over time with the help of the *ethnic boundary making model*, the following two chapters also provide the context for addressing Mark's relationship to the Jewish *ethnos*. First, the treatment of individual Jewish texts considers how diverse Jewish writers attempt to rework ethnic boundaries. This enables Mark's boundary making strategies to be compared with those of other members of the Jewish *ethnos*. Second, the *ethnic boundary making model* also addresses features of the ethnic boundaries, especially political salience, social closure, cultural differentiation, stability, and degree of power inequality across the boundary. A mapping of these features allows Mark's Gospel and its boundary making strategies to be situated in the boundary system of first-century Roman Judea. In accordance with a constructivist approach to ethnicity, the study of Jewishness focuses on a chosen physical space—the Southern Levant. Accordingly, only textual and material remains that can be assigned to this area during the chronological limits of the study (129 BCE–132 CE) constitute evidence for Jewishness within these temporal and spatial limits.<sup>68</sup>

### **How Can Textual Remains Inform Social Location?**

Finally, it is necessary to consider strategic ways of moving from textual artifact (e.g., War Scroll, Gospel of Mark) to social location. For this, the sociological metaphor of a

---

<sup>68</sup> An implication of making the basic unit of observation a physical space means that the conclusions about Jewishness in the Southern Levant cannot be extrapolated to Jewishness in Rome, or elsewhere, where the different field characteristics impact the boundary system in different ways. While common sense may dictate that there were almost certainly shared characteristics by persons in Rome and Jerusalem who self-identified as members of a Jewish *ethnos* and who, when meeting for the first time, would share a sense of solidarity, circumstantialism's emphasis on boundaries implies that this sense of solidarity, and the identification of *common culture* must be a conclusion about Jewishness, based on the extant evidence, and not an *a priori* part of the definition of Jewishness.

“boundary” is especially helpful. Among sociologists, a social boundary has two dimensions: categorical and behavioral.<sup>69</sup> Categorical boundaries refer to manners of classification (e.g., the statement “Jews do not share things in common with Samaritans”),<sup>70</sup> while behavioral boundaries refer to everyday lived networks of relations (e.g., individual Jews and how they interacted with individual Samaritans in actual practice). Behavioral boundaries are not concerned with *whether* actors interact across boundaries; they must in order to mark boundaries. Rather, behavioral boundaries are concerned with *how* actors interact: whether ethnic difference is marked by patterns of differentiation in everyday lived interactions. For example, while epigraphic evidence confirms *that* non-Jews participated in diaspora synagogues, it provides little information about *how* Jews interacted with non-Jews in synagogue settings. Only when categorical and behavioral boundaries coincide can one speak of a social boundary.<sup>71</sup> In the case of the ancient Jewish *ethnos*, we often lack sufficient data to verify social boundaries, since behavioral boundaries are more difficult to recover. While the consistent categorical boundaries between Jews and others strongly suggest social boundaries, we should not equate categorical boundaries with social boundaries.

The Gospel of Mark provides evidence for the categorical boundaries that form part of the writer’s ideal vision of the boundary system—a vision that the writer would like the intended audience to share. Insofar as Mark’s Jewishness is a matter of ascription, the location of Mark and his intended audience in relationship to the categorical boundaries in his narrative provide the best evidence for situating the Gospel of Mark in relationship to the Jew/nations boundary.

---

<sup>69</sup> Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 167–95. Alternatively, the categorical boundary can be designated “symbolic,” or “structural” and the behavioral boundary called “cultural.” See J. Clyde Mitchell, “Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behaviour: An Empirical Exploration,” in *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. Abner Cohen (London: Tavistock, 1974), 1–35, esp. 15.

<sup>70</sup> John 4:9. All English translations, unless otherwise noted, are from the New Revised Standard Version.

<sup>71</sup> See especially J. Clyde Mitchell, “Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behaviour,” 1–35.



Therefore, in the study of Mark's Gospel, the categorization, including how members are identified, ranked, and characterized, will provide the primary data for answering the question of the relation of Mark's Gospel to the social boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos*.

### **The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: Preliminary Remarks**

These final two sections introduce Andreas Wimmer's *ethnic boundary making model*, the theoretical model that this study uses to conceptualize Jewishness and examine whether Mark is best read within the boundaries of Jewishness.<sup>72</sup> Scholars continue to grapple with understanding Jewishness. Shaye Cohen succinctly summarizes the undertaking: "I am attempting to understand how the Jews of antiquity drew the boundary between themselves and the gentiles, and thus to understand their conceptions of 'Jewishness.'"<sup>73</sup> Reviews of work on the ancient Jews predictably complain of oversimplification and call for more attention to social, political, and cultural factors. Seth Schwartz, for example, critiques Cohen, along with Steve Mason<sup>74</sup> and Daniel Boyarin,<sup>75</sup> for working in binary categories and calls for more attention to complex social realities:

the tendency to think in binaries too often seems not an explanatory strategy but an intellectual style; its proponents seem to forget what they may claim to take for granted – that social realities were more complex – and they are too quick to relieve themselves of the responsibility to make sense of the social, political, and cultural dynamics of change.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making* (2013).

<sup>73</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 8.

<sup>74</sup> Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism," 457–512.

<sup>75</sup> Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Divinations (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>76</sup> Schwartz, "How Many Judaisms Were There?," 231. Cf. Adi Ophir and Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Goy: Israel's Others and the Birth of the Gentile*, Oxford Studies in the Abrahamic Religions (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

David Goodblatt critiques Schwartz’s own work,<sup>77</sup> along with that of Doron Mendels,<sup>78</sup> stating, “I believe that narratives of ‘rise and fall’ [Mendels] or ‘collapse and rejudaization’ [Schwartz] can be misleading. Instead the historical picture seems to be more usefully described as one of modification and change ....”<sup>79</sup> While Goodblatt’s study makes several important contributions to the study of these modifications and changes, like other studies, it lacks a theoretical model to integrate individual insights into a comprehensive picture of developing Jewish identity. The *ethnic boundary making model* is part of the current constructivist<sup>80</sup> consensus in the sociology of ethnicity.<sup>81</sup> Within the constructivist consensus, it also represents an important development by offering the only attempt at “systematically explaining the varying character and consequences of ethnic boundaries.”<sup>82</sup> As a comparative, multilevel, processual model, it represents, in my opinion, the best current model for mapping the evolving ancient Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>83</sup>

As noted above, a consensus exists among sociologists that ethnic identity is constructed.

A prominent emphasis among constructivists, since the late 1990s, has been the properties and

---

<sup>77</sup> Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>78</sup> Doron Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

<sup>79</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 210.

<sup>80</sup> A synonymous term is “constructionist.”

<sup>81</sup> Lamont, “Reflections Inspired by Ethnic Boundary Making, 815.

<sup>82</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 80.

<sup>83</sup> The model has received high praise from reviewers. Rogers Brubaker writes, “The multilevel theory of the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries developed in *Ethnic Boundary Making* represents the most theoretically sophisticated synthesis of constructivist scholarship on ethnicity.” “Beyond Ethnicity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 804–8, esp. 804–5. Michèle Lamont summarizes, “[it] has the makings of a classic ... the theoretical generativity of the analysis, and its wide applicability to fundamental sociological questions, are simply remarkable.” “Reflections,” 814. Vivian Louie states that “Wimmer’s stunning breadth of analyses across the globe makes a strong case for this approach and is especially timely ...” “Ethnicity Everywhere and Nowhere: A Critical Approach towards Parsing Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Processes,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 820–28, esp. 821. Miri Song concludes, “This book raises the bar for how researchers should conceptualize their objects of study, for how they should (more imaginatively) analyse their data and push for more layers of analysis, specificity and depth.” “Raising the Bar in Analysis: Wimmer’s *Ethnic Boundary Making*,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 829–33, esp. 832.

mechanisms of boundary processes.<sup>84</sup> The *ethnic boundary making model* attempts to systematize the advances in understanding boundary making processes by developing a comparative analytic that explains how and why ethnicity matters.<sup>85</sup>

Before outlining the model, several features of the *ethnic boundary making model* must be noted. First, the theory adopts a broad definition of ethnicity. Ethnicity is “a subjectively felt belonging” that is most often distinguished by a *common culture* and *common ancestry* and that “rests on cultural practices perceived as ‘typical’ for the community, or on myths of a common historical origin, or on phenotypical similarities indicating common descent.”<sup>86</sup> However, not all co-ethnics necessarily share a *common culture*<sup>87</sup> and ethnic groups that make genealogical descent the defining feature of group membership are subcategorized as ethnosomatic groups.<sup>88</sup> This broad definition of ethnicity also treats race, nationality, and ethnoreligion as subtypes of ethnicity and therefore differs from approaches to the Jewish *ethnos* that equate either race (Buell)<sup>89</sup> or nationality (Goodblatt)<sup>90</sup> with ethnicity. It allows, however, that at times the Jewish *ethnos* may represent a nationality (e.g., when they have national aspirations such as during the Maccabean revolt and Hasmonean dynasty), that some may conceive of Judaism as a race (e.g., the authors of Jubilees, 4QMMT, the Animal Apocalypse, and 1 Esdras for whom genealogy is the *sine qua non* of ethnic inclusion),<sup>91</sup> and that a shift towards an ethnoreligion could occur

---

<sup>84</sup> Michèle Lamont, “Reflections,” 815. For a nice summary of these developments see Brubaker, “Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism,” 28–34. For an early survey of sociology of ethnic boundary making see Lamont and Molnár, “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences,” 167–95.

<sup>85</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 2.

<sup>86</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 7. This definition follows Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 5th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 237.

<sup>87</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 22, 26.

<sup>88</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 7–8.

<sup>89</sup> Buell, *Why This New Race*, 13–21; Cf. Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*, WUNT 2/294 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 21–22.

<sup>90</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 1–27.

<sup>91</sup> Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 89–95; Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 68–91, esp. 69.

(e.g., Shaye Cohen’s argument that the conversion of the Idumeans under John Hyrcanus marks such a shift).<sup>92</sup>

Second, the model does not assume that members of an ethnic group share a *common culture*.<sup>93</sup> This shifts the focus of investigation from the “cultural stuff” to the boundaries between ethnic groups.<sup>94</sup> Here Wimmer follows Fredrick Barth, whose seminal essay is often cited as a landmark in the sociology of ethnicity.<sup>95</sup> This means that our focus is not the Jewish *ethnos* as a self-evident unit, nor global diacritics marking all Jews,<sup>96</sup> but the various boundaries between Jews and other *ethnē* (e.g., Jews and Samaritans, Jews and Egyptians, Jews and Greeks) and specific diacritics that mark these individual boundaries (e.g., circumcision as a boundary marker between male Jews and Greeks, but not Jews and Idumeans).<sup>97</sup> Some cultural diacritics may mark Jews from all other *ethnē*, but this can only be a conclusion from an examination of the individual boundaries.

Third, the *ethnic boundary making model* focuses on the struggle over boundaries rather than simply their meaning and location.<sup>98</sup> Accordingly, boundary markers are significant not merely as such, but for their function in the struggle over the location, relevance, and

---

<sup>92</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 118.

<sup>93</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 22. Cohen objects to the separation of ethnic group and culture. *Beginnings*, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 3.

<sup>95</sup> Barth, “Introduction,” 1–38.

<sup>96</sup> Pace Markus Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals: A Guide to First-Century Israelite Ethnic Identity* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010), 63. Cohen dismisses Barth and the majority of sociologists by appealing to common sense. “Surely the boundary erected by a group to maintain and protect its identity is an expression of that group’s culture.” *Beginnings*, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Moore takes this approach in his study of Jewish ethnic identity in Egypt, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 43–44.

<sup>98</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 4. In relation to Jewishness, John Barclay writes “at the very least, different elements of this complex compound could be foregrounded or downplayed for social purposes,” and “no doubt that association could be played up or down for political and polemical purposes.” “Ἰουδαϊσμός: Ethnicity and Translation,” 49, 52.

consequences of boundaries.<sup>99</sup> Various strategic *modes*<sup>100</sup> of boundary renegotiation may be employed by actors according to different *means*.<sup>101</sup> I will discuss these later in this chapter in the two subsections “Typology of Boundary Strategies.” Actors’ choices of strategies and means are motivated by a variety of incentives<sup>102</sup> and restricted by various constraints.<sup>103</sup> This focus on struggle results in a more dynamic analysis of boundaries that enables our investigation to move beyond identifying, for example, circumcision as a marker of Jewish identity, to addressing how it is employed in boundary struggles by, for example, the Maccabees during the revolt against Seleucid rule, or by Roman imperial power as the *sine qua non* of Jewish identity.

Fourth, the *ethnic boundary making model* acknowledges that individuals possess multiple ethnic identities and that these are arranged in a “hierarchy of nested segments.”<sup>104</sup> This insight was developed by the situationalist school<sup>105</sup> and goes back to Michael Moerman.<sup>106</sup> Different incentives and contexts will lead individuals to emphasize higher or lower levels of ethnic identity in different situations. A Jew from Galilee may emphasize her (lower level) Galilean ethnicity while interacting with Judean Jews in Galilee.<sup>107</sup> The same person may

---

<sup>99</sup> This emphasis goes beyond Barth. Moore, whose analysis of Jewish ethnicity in Egypt is highly dependent on Barth, limits his analysis to the identification of boundary markers. Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 43–44.

<sup>100</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 49–63.

<sup>101</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 63–71.

<sup>102</sup> These are not limited to power and economic resources, but include honor, dignity, or identity, etc. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 5.

<sup>103</sup> Major constraints include one’s position in relation to the hierarchies of power, the institutional environment, and the strategies of other actors in the social field. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 78.

<sup>104</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 23–25, also 139–173. In relation to ancient ethnicity, Teresa Morgan writes “it is often—perhaps typically—accretive.” Teresa Morgan, “Society, Identity and Ethnicity,” 38–80, esp. 60. Cf. David G. Horrell, “Judaean Ethnicity and Christ-Following Voluntarism? A Reply to Steve Mason and Philip Esler,” *NTS* 65 (2019): 1–20, esp. 7–8; Joseph Geiger, “Language, Culture and Identity in Ancient Palestine,” in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks*, ed. Erik N. Ostenfeld, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 3 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002), 233–46.

<sup>105</sup> See especially: Judith Nagata, “What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society,” *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 331–50; Jonathan Okamura, “Situational Ethnicity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 452–65.

<sup>106</sup> Michael Moerman, “Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?,” *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 1215–30.

<sup>107</sup> The theoretical perspective of the *ethnic boundary making model* allows Galilean (e.g. Mark 14:70) to be examined as an ethnic designation, defined geographically (*ethno-regional* designation). Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary*

emphasize her (higher level) Jewish ethnicity while interacting with Jews from both Judea and Asia Minor in Jerusalem during Succoth.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, evidence for multiple ethnic identities (e.g., Atamos, whom Josephus identifies as a Ἰουδαῖος and a Cyprian by birth [τό γενός]) does not indicate that Ἰουδαῖος functioned as a religious rather than ethnic designation,<sup>109</sup> or differentiate the Jewish *ethnos* from other *ethnē* in the Roman Empire,<sup>110</sup> but is a typical feature of individual identity. We are interested in Jewish ethnicity, but it will be important to remember that emphasizing the Jewish level of ethnic identity is a strategic choice.

Fifth, the *ethnic boundary making model* notes that ethnic actors may disagree about the most relevant and meaningful ethnic categories.<sup>111</sup> Herod's contested ethnicity is perhaps the most obvious example, if also anomalous.<sup>112</sup> More generally, ethnic boundaries themselves are contested (e.g., are Idumeans Jews?) and therefore boundaries exhibit varying features (discussed later in this chapter in the subsection "Boundary Characteristics"). Accordingly, it is important to distinguish between insider and outsider perspectives, as well as the power differentials between individual actors.

---

*Making*, 8. As noted above, the question of what counts as an ethnicity must be decided on heuristic grounds. The broad definition adopted in this study, in accordance with the *ethnic boundary making model*, has the advantage of including a greater number of types of categorization.

<sup>108</sup> This agrees with Philip Esler's emphasis on multiple ethnicities. *Conflict and Identity*, 2003; Philip F. Esler, "From Ioudaioi to Children of God: The Development of a Non-Ethnic Group Identity in the Gospel of John," in *Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods & The New Testament in Honor of Jerome H. Neyrey.*, ed. Anselm C. Hagedorn, Zeba A. Crook, and Eric Stewart, SWBA 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2007), 106–37.

<sup>109</sup> Pace Cohen, *Beginnings*, 79.

<sup>110</sup> Pace Cynthia M. Baker, "'From Every Nation Under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World," in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies*, ed. Laura Nasrallah and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009): 77–99, esp. 98.

<sup>111</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 25.

<sup>112</sup> Cohen, taking into account later traditions, concludes his discussion of Herod, "[D]epending on whom you ask, Herod was either a *Ioudaios* (that is, a Judaeans and Jew), a blue-blooded Judean, an Idumaeans and therefore not a Judaeans, an Idumaeans and therefore also a Judaeans, an Idumaeans and therefore a half-Judaeans, an Ascalonite, a gentile slave, an Arab, or—the Messiah!" *Beginnings*, 23. Cf. Benedikt Eckhardt, "'An Idumean, That Is, a Half-Jew': Hasmoneans and Herodians Between Ancestry and Merit," in *Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt, JSJSup 155 (Boston: Brill, 2012), 91–115.

A final characteristic of the *ethnic boundary making model* affects not our use of the model, but its applicability to ethnicity in antiquity. The paradigm is the first comparative analytic model that attempts systematically to explain the character and consequences of ethnic boundaries. Therefore the model maintains a broad and encompassing perspective,<sup>113</sup> integrating empirical data from the widest possible range of cultures and historical time periods in order to avoid equating features of a particular culture with dynamics of ethnicity more generally.<sup>114</sup> Accordingly, as a cross-culturally comparative model that purports to describe ethnic dynamics in antiquity as well as today, the *ethnic boundary making model* is safely applied to the boundaries distinguishing ancient Jews from members of other ethnicities in the Hellenistic and Roman empires. At present, several parts of the model await additional case studies to provide further empirical verification. The eventual goal is “a systematically comparative, long-term, dynamic analysis of boundary-making processes.”<sup>115</sup> In lieu of this ambitious goal, the *ethnic boundary making model* is arguably the best analytic tool available for approaching ancient Jewish ethnicity.

### **The Ethnic Boundary Making Model: The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries**

The *ethnic boundary making model* explains the role and function of ethnicity as the outcome of a cyclical process involving the interplay between macro-level phenomena and micro-level behavior. The components, discussed in more detail below, are the following. Ethnic actors employ various strategies (*modes*) to change the meaning or location of already-existing ethnic boundaries through a variety of strategic *means* in order to make their preferred social

---

<sup>113</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 6.

<sup>114</sup> In the taxonomy of boundary strategies modes, Wimmer attempts to identify “universal forms” that exhaust all logical possibilities. *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 45, 76.

<sup>115</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 210.

classification relevant in pursuit of recognition, power, or access to resources within constraints created by the structures of the social field (*field characteristics*). A *consensus* emerges when the strategies pursued by different actors converge on a shared boundary. The *nature of consensus* and the degree of power inequality between actors produce the *boundary characteristics*. A stable boundary creates *path dependency* which further constrains the range of strategies available to ethnic actors. Finally, three *dynamics of change* disturb the exchange equilibrium of stable boundaries. This models both the initial formation of ethnic boundaries and their continual maintenance by a cycle of reproduction and transformation. Each of the above components is outlined below.

### **Typology of Boundary Strategies Part I: Modes of Boundary Making**

First, the *ethnic boundary making model* develops a typology of strategies that ethnic actors employ to change the meaning or location of already-existing ethnic boundaries (*modes*).<sup>116</sup> In contrast to earlier typologies this typology accounts for all logical possibilities in all boundary systems.<sup>117</sup> Each strategic mode is illustrated by an example from the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>118</sup>

The typology of strategic *modes* of boundary making contains three major levels with additional subdivisions. It makes a basic (level 1) distinction between strategies that attempt to change the boundary topography (*boundary shift*) and strategies that seek to alter the significance

---

<sup>116</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 49–63. This taxonomy is also outlined in an earlier article. Andreas Wimmer, “Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (2008): 1025–55.

<sup>117</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 76. Early typologies include Esp. Michèle Lamont and Christopher A. Bail, “Sur les frontières de la reconnaissance,” *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 21 (2005): 61–90. Cf. Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon, “Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States,” *Politics & Society* 27 (1999): 5–38; Donald L. Horowitz, “Ethnic Identity,” in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Maynihan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 110–40.

<sup>118</sup> Not all examples come from the spacial and temporal scope of chapters two and three because not all strategic *means* of boundary making are attested by Jews in the Southern Levant between 129 BCE and 132 CE. Some are taken from the diaspora, and from texts and historical characters from the preceding centuries.



of the boundary for oneself or one's collective (*boundary modification*). On the one hand, a Jew who designates Samaritans as non-Jews seeks to make the Jew/nations boundary (an emic Jewish categorization) run between Jews and Samaritans and engages in a strategy of boundary shifting. On the other hand, the Samaritan contention that Mt. Gerizim, rather than Jerusalem, is where God is to be worshipped contests the Jewish *meaning* of the Jewish/Samaritan boundary by positioning Samaritans above Jews as faithful worshippers of God. Finally, an individual on either side of the Jewish/Samaritan boundary might attempt to cross the boundary, perhaps by marriage or genealogical manipulation, and thereby change her *relationship* to the boundary, modifying the boundary meaning for her own life chances. These latter two examples represent boundary modification.

A *boundary shift* may attempt to make the boundary more inclusive by *expanding* the boundary topography, or more exclusive by *contracting* the boundary topography (level 2 strategies). Boundary expansion is further subdivided into *nation-building* and *ethnogenesis* (level 3 strategies), which differ by their relationship to the political power. *Nation-building* is a strategy pursued by the state, or by state elites, who seek to expand ethnic categories to more closely mirror political boundaries. The forced circumcision of the Idumeans by John Hyrcanus and the Itureans by Aristobulus, their acceptance of the God and laws of the Jews, and their incorporation into the Hasmonean state represents this type of boundary expansion.<sup>119</sup>

*Nation-building* creates a national majority, but is usually unable to integrate all ethnic actors into the preferred ethnic designation. In the case of the Hasmonean expansion, the citizens of Pella refused to be circumcised (Jos., *Ant.* 13.397). *Ethnogenesis*, then, is the process of

---

<sup>119</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 13.257–258, 318. This differs from Cohen's reconstruction accordingly to which the Idumeans and Itureans did not become Jews. For Cohen, they cannot become Jews because he understands ethnicity as immutable, based on genealogy. *Beginnings*, 118.

creating new ethnic designations for minority groups who are not part of the national majority. Like *nation-building*, it is pursued by the state or state elites. A good example of this is the Seleucid Empire's creation of a Syrian *ethnos* from the different people groups of the region of Syria who were not otherwise linked by *common ancestry* and did not share *historical memories* or a *common culture*.<sup>120</sup> On the one hand, both *nation-building* and *ethnogenesis* can be pursued by reducing the number of ethnic categories (*fusion*). *Fusion* can occur by either redefining an existing category as the new more inclusive category (*incorporation*;  $a + b \rightarrow a$ ) as in the case of the Hasmonean incorporation of the Idumeans and Itureans, or by creating a new ethnic category out of existing groups (*amalgamation*;  $a + b \rightarrow c$ ). On the other hand, because ethnic actors can possess multiple nested ethnic identities (discussed above), both strategies of boundary expansion can be pursued by emphasizing different levels of ethnic categorization (*emphasis shift*). This involves emphasizing a higher level of ethnic identity in the case of *nation-building* and a lower level in the case of *ethnogenesis*.

Boundary *contraction* involves drawing narrower boundaries by disidentifying with outsider ethnic classification. Unlike boundary *expansion*, it does not further subdivide into different level three strategies. *Contraction* can be pursued by either splitting one ethnic designation into two (*fission*) as in the above example of Jewish designation of Samaritans as non-Jews, or, like ethnogenesis, by an *emphasis shift* to a lower level of ethnic classification. Boundary contraction is not limited to the state or state elites, but can be pursued by minority group members, such as, for example, a Jew who insists she is not a Syrian.

There are, then, three possible modes of boundary *shifting* that ethnic actors can pursue: Boundaries may be *expanded* through either (1) *nation-building* or (2) *ethnogenesis*; they may

---

<sup>120</sup> Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 10.

also be (3) *contracted*. In addition to shifting the topography of ethnic boundaries, ethnic actors may attempt to modify a given boundary.

Strategies of boundary *modification* are subdivided into three level two strategies: *Transvaluation*, *Positional Move*, and *Blurring*. These are further subdivided into seven level three strategies. First, ethnic actors may attempt to change the hierarchical relation across ethnic boundaries (*transvaluation*) by either reversing the existing order (*normative inversion*), or leveling the boundary stratification (*equalization*). For example, when the Egyptian Jewish writer Artapanus attributes the foundation of astrology, the political division of lands, and the Egyptian animal cult to Abraham, David, and Moses respectively, he means to reverse rather than level out the existing order stratification.<sup>121</sup> In contrast, when the writer of 1 Maccabees depicts the Hasmoneans engaged as coequals in diplomatic relations of friendship and alliance with claimants to the Seleucid throne (10:6, 16, 47, 65, 89; 12:26), Rome (8:17–32; 12:1–4; 14:17–19, 24–26), and “other places” (12:2), he is not seeking to place Jews above Greeks and Romans, but to make those on either side of the boundary equal.<sup>122</sup> As seen in the examples provided here, strategies of *transvaluation* are usually pursued by intellectual or political entrepreneurs. It would also include the scribes responsible for embedding the Samaritan/Jewish conflict into the textual tradition.<sup>123</sup>

Second, ethnic actors may attempt a *positional move* either as an individual (*individual boundary crossing*) or by resituating a lower-level ethnic collective in relation to a higher-level ethnic category (*collective repositioning*). Like *transvaluation*, the location of the boundary is

---

<sup>121</sup> John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 41. Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 9.18, 23, 27.

<sup>122</sup> “[T]his Judean account, regards the Judeans and Romans as equals.” Kevin Lee Osterloh, “The Reinvention of Judean Collective Identity in a Hellenistic World Contending with Rome” (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2007), 67.

<sup>123</sup> Most notably, the presence of a command to worship at Mt. Gerizim in the Samaritan Torah version of the Decalogue (Exod 20:17).

accepted, but, unlike *transvaluation*, the meaning of the hierarchy is also accepted. A *positional move* is a common strategy of subordinate or minority groups and is made in the upward direction in hierarchical boundary systems. *Individual crossing* is further subdivided into *reclassification* and *assimilation*, distinguished by whether the individual possesses an already-acknowledged ethnic identity. Reclassification is common among persons whose parents are situated in different ethnic categories such as Paul's companion Timothy, who according to Acts 16:1 was the son of a Greek father and a Jewish mother. That he remained uncircumcised until he met Paul suggests he identified as Greek rather than Jewish.<sup>124</sup> *Collective repositioning* can be seen in the attempt to make Jerusalem a Greek *polis* by the elite Jewish Tobiad family, and the high priest Jason. According to Seleucid policy, status as a Greek *polis* included the recognition of citizens as ethnic Greeks and putative kinship ties with Sparta and Thessaly were invented to support the Jewish identification with Greeks.<sup>125</sup> If this policy of Hellenization had been successful, it would not likely have entailed the dissolution of the category "Jewish" but repositioned it within the higher-level category "Greek."

Third, and lastly, ethnic actors may attempt to reduce the significance of ethnic categorization by emphasizing other, non-ethnic ways of grouping persons (*boundary blurring*). This second level strategy can be further subdivided based on the scope of the non-ethnic category. On one end of the spectrum, *boundary blurring* can emphasize a local community (*localism*). The emperor Claudius, for example, in response to the unrest in the years following the Alexandrian pogrom of 38 CE, reduces the significance of ethnic boundaries by emphasizing the common identity of the Greek and Jewish factions as fellow inhabitants of Alexandria and

---

<sup>124</sup> Acts 16:2; Cohen, *Beginnings*, 363–71.

<sup>125</sup> Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 42, 59.

criticizes the inhabitants of one city for sending two separate delegations.<sup>126</sup> On the other end of the spectrum, *boundary blurring* can emphasize global human characteristics (*universalism*).<sup>127</sup> The most stigmatized groups often emphasize global characteristics. Situated between *localism* and *universalism*, individuals may blur ethnic boundaries by emphasizing supra-ethnic commonalities (*civilizationism*).

Each of the above *modes* of ethnic boundary making strategies can be pursued by either individuals or collectives,<sup>128</sup> and always relate to an already existing ethnic boundary system. Strategies, of course, are not always successful (e.g., a *positional move* requires recognition by members of the new ethnic category) and not all strategies can be pursued by every ethnic actor (e.g., *expansion* cannot be pursued by ethnic actors who lack political power). Further, some strategies are unlikely to be pursued by certain actors (e.g., few actors pursue downward mobility). In general, strategies of *boundary modification* are more likely to be pursued by subordinate ethnic actors in ranked boundary systems seeking upward mobility (e.g., it is unlikely that a dominant ethnic actor would pursue a strategy of *normative inversion*). The choice of boundary strategies, then, is limited and driven by the structures of the social field. I will discuss these under in the subsection “Field Characteristics” later in this chapter. Successful strategies will further transform boundaries and field characteristics which will in turn influence

---

<sup>126</sup> Tcherikover, *CPJ* 2:36–37.

<sup>127</sup> The term universalism, especially when used as part of the binary universalism/particularism to characterize Christianity (as universal) and Judaism (as particular) obscures more than it explains. Christianity does not fully include all others and Judaism does not exclude all others. Rather, the binary serves a polemical purpose of elevating Christianity above Judaism. Ellen Birnbaum, “Some Particulars about Universalism,” in *Crossing Boundaries in Early Judaism and Christianity: Ambiguities, Complexities, and Half-Forgotten Adversaries: Essays in Honor of Alan F. Segal*, ed. Kimberly B. Stratton and Andrea Lieber, JSJSup 177 (Boston: Brill, 2016), 117–37, 117; Anders Runesson, “Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity?: Some Critical Remarks on Terminology and Theology,” *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000): 120–44. However, the term universalism does accurately describe strategies that emphasize characteristics shared by all humans as in Wimmer’s *ethnic boundary making model*.

<sup>128</sup> The two exceptions, of course, are *individual boundary crossing* and *collective repositioning* which are distinguished by whether the boundary crossing is attempted by an individual or a group.

the type of strategies pursued by ethnic actors, creating a cyclical pattern of reproduction and transformation. Figure 1.1 below illustrates the three main levels of boundary making strategies with additional subdivisions.

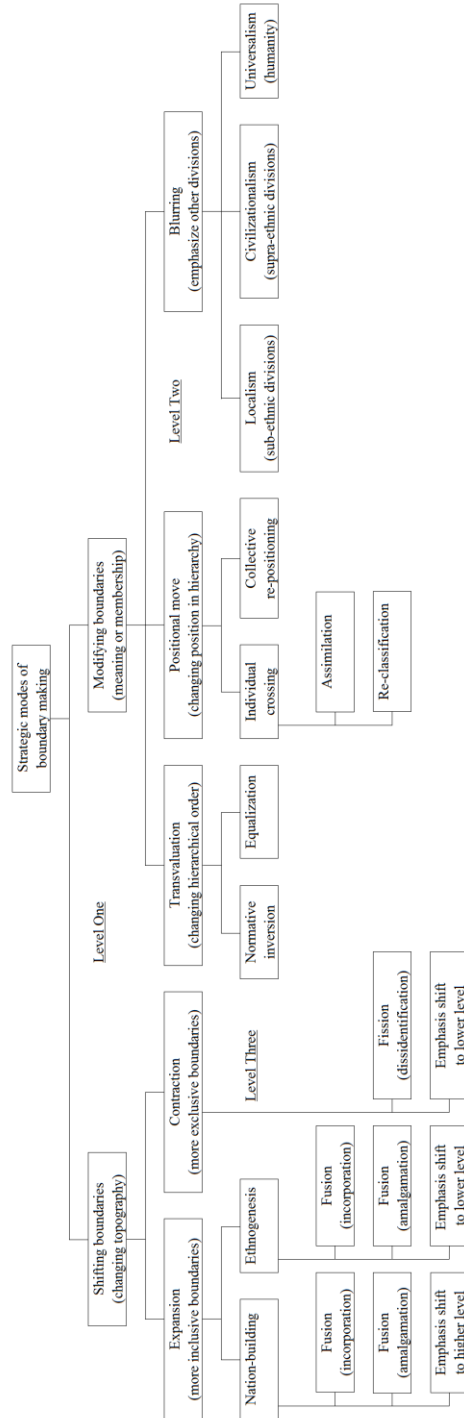


Figure 1.1 Modes of boundary making

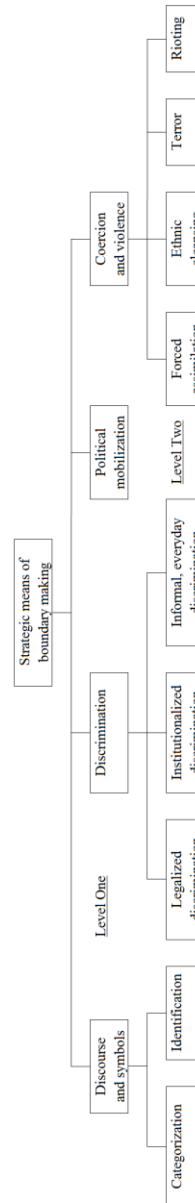


Figure 1.2 Means of boundary making

## **Typology of Boundary Strategies Part II: Means of Boundary Making**

The *ethnic boundary making model* includes a second typology of boundary making strategies. This typology concerns the *means* by which ethnic actors seek to impose their preferred ethnic boundaries upon others.<sup>129</sup> Whereas the typology of *modes* concerns the relation of the actor to the formal features of the boundary (i.e., their location and significance), the typology of *means* are distinguished by the types of resources deployed by ethnic actors to enforce their vision of society upon others.<sup>130</sup> An ethnic actor, therefore, can pursue a strategic *mode* of boundary making by a variety of *means*. Like *modes* of boundary making, the *means* can be used to modify existing boundaries or introduce new ethnic categories (e.g., *ethnogenesis*). Unlike *modes*, however, *means* are also used to reinforce current boundaries. This typology distinguishes four main *means* which are further subdivided into second-level strategies. These strategic *means* are also illustrated with examples from the Jewish *ethnos* in the ancient Mediterranean world.

First, ethnic actors may promote their preferred vision of society through narratives that seek to foster group solidarity, or by symbolic markers that identify group members (*discourse and symbols*). This first-level strategy distinguishes *categorization* from *identification* (level 2). The process of *categorization* involves defining relevant groups while *identification* involves determining individual membership in a group. *Categorization* strategies tend to use discourse while *identification* strategies tend to use symbolic markers.

Discourse includes narrative commemorations such as 1 and 2 Maccabees, which seek to reinforce Jewish ethnic solidarity by retelling the story of the Maccabean revolt. In addition,

---

<sup>129</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 63–72.

<sup>130</sup> Unlike the typology of modes, the typology of means is not exhaustive, but only represents the most important strategies. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 63.

commemorative holidays, such as Hanukkah, Purim, or the annual celebration of the Septuagint in Egypt, further discursively reinforce the public relevance of ethnic categorization. Those in political power, such as the Hasmonean dynasty in the above example, are in the best position to write group histories and institute commemorative holidays to impose their programs of boundary reinforcement upon society.

Symbolic markers include visible and behavioral markers and can be used by both dominant and subordinate groups to reinforce boundaries. Interestingly, no Greco-Roman author distinguishes Jews by their physical appearance.<sup>131</sup> Circumcision is the well-known (though hidden) bodily marker among male Jews, and yet in the eastern Mediterranean Jews were far from the only *ethnos* that practiced circumcision.<sup>132</sup> Dress patterns are a more prominent way to mark ethnic membership, but are also more easily changed. The *tzitzit* and *tefilin* would have marked out Jews who wore them, yet the silence of Greco-Roman authors about these symbolic markers suggest they were not worn in the diaspora.<sup>133</sup> Behavioral patterns could also be designated as “typical,” marking a person’s membership by their actions. The most prominent Jewish examples are Sabbath rest and unique dietary practices. These clearly functioned as “typical” Jewish behavioral markers for Greek and Roman writers like Cicero or Juvenal,<sup>134</sup> who satirize and puzzle over these behaviors. At the same time, the attraction of Jewish customs for Greeks and Romans meant that some non-Jews also practiced these typically Jewish behavioral markers.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> This was a common way of distinguishing people groups among Greco-Roman authors. Cohen, *Beginnings*, 28.

<sup>132</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 28.

<sup>133</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 33.

<sup>134</sup> Juvenal equated Sabbath observance with laziness, and joked about the long life of pigs in Judea. *Sat.* 6.159–160, 14.105–106; Plutarch, *Cic.* 7.

<sup>135</sup> See especially Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.100–102; Seneca, *apud* Augustine, *Civ.* 6.11.



Second, ethnic actors may promote their preferred vision of society by withholding access to goods, positions, spaces, or relationships from certain individuals (*discrimination*). Three second-level subdivisions differ by the extent to which the discrimination is formalized in law. At one extreme, law institutionalizes ethnic divisions and denies minority ethnic groups access to certain resources (*legalized discrimination*). Citizenship is the most prominent form of legalized discrimination. In Alexandria, for example, citizenship was open to Jews, but not to Egyptians, reinforcing the Jew/Egyptian boundary, as well as boundaries between other Greek-speaking peoples and the Egyptians.<sup>136</sup> Discrimination can also be institutionalized within the state without formal legislation (*Institutionalized discrimination*). Though Jews were not excluded from Alexandrian citizenship, the escalating tensions between Jews and Greeks in the city suggest such institutional discrimination. The outcome of institutionalized discrimination is often violence, as seen later in the case of the diaspora revolt of 115–117 CE. At the other end is discrimination that receives no institutional support, but is reinforced at the level of personal interaction (*informal, everyday discrimination*).

Third, ethnic actors may promote their preferred vision of society by mobilizing a part of the population that can take their vision of the world into the public arena and make it more salient (*political mobilization*). Political mobilization can be attempted by either subordinate or dominant actors and can be used to either reinforce or contest current ethnic categories. For example, when the Jews of Asia Minor were engaged in a dispute over legislation hindering the sending of the temple tax to Jerusalem, the show of solidarity by Roman Jews who gathered in front of the Aurelian steps in Rome to support the Jews of Asia Minor functioned to make the

---

<sup>136</sup> Bradley Ritter, *Judeans in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire: Rights, Citizenship and Civil Discord*, JSJSup 170 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 173.

designation “Jew” more consequential, reinforcing the political saliency of the Jewish ethnicity in Rome.<sup>137</sup>

Fourth, ethnic actors may promote their preferred vision of society by the use of physical force (*coercion and violence*). Four subdivisions distinguish between the types of actors and the extent of the violence. *Forced assimilation* and *ethnic cleansing*, on the one hand, are undertaken by state elites. They can be distinguished by the degree of violence involved. *Forced assimilation* can be seen in the Hasmonean incorporation of the citizens of Adora and Marisa at the threat of expulsion, as well as the compulsory assimilation of the Itureans and Idumeans, if Josephus is to be trusted.<sup>138</sup> *Ethnic Cleansing*, as a strategic means, pursued by state elites, to create an ethnically homogenous society, is not limited to the modern period.<sup>139</sup> The targeting of Jews in the Alexandria pogroms in 38 CE fits this description. *Terror* and *rioting*, on the other hand, can be undertaken by both majority or minority ethnic groups.

The typology of strategic *means* of ethnic boundary making can be used not only to change but also to reinforce current boundary locations and meanings. Figure 1.2 (above) illustrates the relation between these means of boundary making. Unlike the typology of modes of boundary making, the typology of means is not exhaustive but represents the most common strategies.

---

<sup>137</sup> Cicero, *Flac.*, 66–67.

<sup>138</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 13.257–258, 318–319; 15.253–255. Strabo, in contrast, depicts the incorporation of the Idumeans and Itureans as voluntary. *Geogr.* 16.2.34. Cohen, *Beginnings*, 112, 114.

<sup>139</sup> Pace Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 71. See also Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2.

### **Boundary Characteristics**

The choice of particular *modes* and *means* of ethnic boundary making result in varying characteristics of ethnic boundaries. The *ethnic boundary making model* identifies four primary boundary characteristics: *Political saliency*, *social closure*, *cultural differentiation* and long-term *stability*.<sup>140</sup>

First, some ethnic boundaries are politically relevant while others are not. Some political powers emphasize ethnic distinctions while others do not. The *ethnic boundary making model* derives the degree of *political saliency* from the extent that the boundary compromise is encompassing (discussed later in this chapter in the subsection “Cultural Consensus: The Struggle over Boundaries”). For our purposes, the boundary between Jews and many of their neighbors was already politically salient well before the beginning of the Hasmonean period (129 BCE). Therefore, the category of a Jewish *ethnos* was a given of the social field and Antiochus III’s bestowal of privileges on the Jews acknowledged this ethnic categorization and served to solidify the Jewish *ethnos* and its relevance for Mediterranean politics.<sup>141</sup> The continuing saliency of the Jewish *ethnos* throughout the Roman empire is easily seen by Roman legislation concerning the Jews. This is most notable in the case of the Roman institutionalization of circumcision as the official marker of Jewish identity and the imposition of a tax exclusively on members of the Jewish *ethnos* (*fiscus Iudaicus*).<sup>142</sup>

Second, some ethnic boundaries are mirrored in the day-to-day interactions of ethnic actors. The degree of *social closure* concerns the extent to which members of one ethnic group form relationships with members from other ethnic groups. On the one hand, the widely attested

---

<sup>140</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 81–89, 101–5.

<sup>141</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 12.138–144. Laurent Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir Séleucide: Territoire, administration, finances d’un royaume hellénistique, 312–129 avant J.-C.*, Collection “Histoire” (Rennes: Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 98.

<sup>142</sup> Suetonius, *Dom.* 12.2.

presence of non-Jews in diaspora synagogues indicates that many of these locales are not marked by a high degree of *social closure*. On the other hand, the tendency of Jews (like other *ethnē*) to live in ethnic neighborhoods increased *social closure*.<sup>143</sup> Violent *means* of boundary making (esp. *ethnic cleansing, terror, and rioting*) lead to higher degrees of *social closure*. Further, hierarchical boundary systems are more likely to produce higher degrees of *social closure* because ethnic categorization is more significant for determining access to resources. The deteriorating relationship between Jews and both Greeks and Egyptians in Alexandria, marked by violence in a hierarchical boundary system, is a social field likely marked by high degrees of *social closure*.

A sub-category of social closure is “groupness.” “Groupness” occurs in boundary systems marked by high degrees of *social closure* in which there is widespread agreement of who belongs to which ethnic category. In this context members of a common ethnic category may form groups that have some degree of social cohesion and are able to act collectively. Again, the case of Jews in Alexandria is representative of this type of “groupness.” The existence of a Jewish *politeia* with some administrative functions for members of the Jewish *ethnos* implies this “groupness” and further legitimizes the validity of Judaism as a meaningful ethnic category.<sup>144</sup> This “groupness” is often attributed to Judaism generally, but less often demonstrated.

Third, ethnic boundaries may, but need not, be marked by cultural difference.<sup>145</sup> While social closure concerns interpersonal relations, *cultural differentiation* focuses upon

---

<sup>143</sup> Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 117–18, 331–32.

<sup>144</sup> E.g., Philo, *Flacc.*, 53; Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 77–78.

<sup>145</sup> This distinction between ethnicity and culture, as noted above, stems from Barth, “Introduction,” 9–38. Earlier, essentializing approaches to Judaism assumed the Jewish *ethnos* was a self-evident unit defined by a distinct culture. This failure to distinguish culture from ethnicity leads to conclusions that find varying degrees of Jewishness, based on “assimilation” with non-Jewish culture. E.g., Elias. J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge:

distinguishing cultural diacritics. Certain cultural peculiarities, especially food laws and Sabbath rest, marked Jews for Greek and Roman writers. Other aspects of culture, such as dress, seem not to have distinguished Jews from non-Jews, at least in diaspora settings.<sup>146</sup> When a boundary is characterized by high degrees of *social closure*, processes of further *cultural differentiation* are able to advance more smoothly. The greater the correspondence between *cultural differentiation* and ethnic boundaries, the more the boundary will appear quasi-natural.

Fourth, ethnic boundaries that are *politically salient* and marked by high degrees of *social closure* and *cultural differentiation* change more slowly, and are marked by greater *stability* over time. This fourth boundary characteristic, then, derives from the other three. When boundaries are stable, boundary transformation becomes more difficult and ethnic actors experience greater *path dependency*. Some boundaries may be stable and yet easily crossed (porous). The persistence of Jewish ethnic identity over the past two millennia is, for sociologists, the best example of long-term boundary stability.<sup>147</sup> And yet the acceptance of converts also indicates that this stable boundary between Jews and non-Jews is semi-porous.<sup>148</sup>

### **Field Characteristics**

As noted above, not all strategic *modes* and *means* of boundary making are available to all ethnic actors; nor are all strategies useful for every ethnic actor's interests. The *ethnic boundary making model* derives the constraints and incentives influencing the micro-level choice

---

Harvard University Press, 1988); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palastinas bis zur mitte des 2. Jh v. Chr.*, WUNT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1969); Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 3rd ed. (New York: Atheneum, 1975); Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>146</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 30.

<sup>147</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 88.

<sup>148</sup> E.g., Francisco J. Gil-White, "How Thick Is Blood? The Plot Thickens . . . : If Ethnic Actors Are Primordialists, What Remains of the Circumstantialist / Primordialist Controversy?," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 789–820, esp. 814.

of strategies from three macro-level characteristics of the social field: *Institutional frameworks*, *distribution of power*, and *networks of alliances*.<sup>149</sup>

The formal policies and the informal conventions of the institutional environment (*institutional frameworks*) provide incentives for actors to make and to emphasize certain types of boundaries (e.g., ethnic rather than gender, class above ethnic). The institutional framework, whether in the form of modern nation-states, premodern territorial states, or empires, then, primarily influences *whether* ethnicity matters. Empires, based on principles of universal rule, however, differ from the modern nation-state and its ideal that like should rule like. The principle of universal rule does not offer state elites the same incentives to homogenize their population along ethnic lines by pursuing strategies of boundary expansion.<sup>150</sup> In the case of empires, the relevance of a given ethnic identity is secured by imperial acknowledgement, especially through legislation directed toward specific ethnic groups. In the case of the Jews, there is a continual imperial acknowledgement of the Jewish *ethnos*, whether the Seleucid charter of Jewish law under Antiochus III, the existence of Jewish privileges in diaspora settings, or the imposition of the *fiscus Iudaicus* after 70 CE. *Institutional frameworks*, then, are an important factor for the continuing relevance of Jewish ethnicity, but for our period are not a major cause for change in Jewish ethnicity.

The institutional order establishes the hierarchies of power in the boundary system. This *distribution of power* determines actor interests and thereby influences the choice of strategies and the level of the (nested) ethnic identity. As noted in the discussion of strategies of boundary making, the *distribution of power* influences the choice of strategies in two ways. On the one hand, actors will pursue strategies that further their interests, whether political, social, moral or

---

<sup>149</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 89–97.

<sup>150</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 90–91.

other. In general, actors pursue strategies that enhance their standing in relation to the hierarchies of power. On the other hand, an actor's relationship to the *distribution of power* determines which strategies are at her disposal. These constraints primarily restrict members of subordinate ethnic groups. For example, subordinate ethnic actors, excluded from political power, cannot employ strategic *modes* of boundary *expansion* or strategic *means* that are limited to state elites such as *legalized discrimination* or *ethnic cleansing*. Changes in *institutional order* (discussed later in this chapter in the subsection "Dynamics of Change") like the transition from Seleucid to Hasmonean Rule often include shifts in the distribution of power. The new hierarchies of power provide different incentives which lead to actors employing new strategies of boundary making, along with the ensuing transformation of *boundary characteristics*. To account for the role of the *distribution of power*, the following historical survey will be divided by the major shift in *institutional orders* between the period of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmoneans (chapter two) and the imposition of foreign Roman rule (chapter three).

Elite members of the ruling political power are in an advantageous position for making their preferred vision of society relevant. The reach of elite members' *network of alliances* into the segmented ethnic subgroups within their domain of power impacts their ethnic vision and the types of strategies they pursue. These elite networks of personal relationships, therefore, play a large role in determining where ethnic boundaries will be drawn. This is nicely illustrated by the contrast between Seleucid imperial policy toward Jews and the various people groups of Syria (the period just prior to the scope of this study). When Antiochus III took Judea from the Ptolemies in the fifth Syrian war, the High Priest Simon II sided early on with the Seleucids. This contact helped to mark out the Jews as a distinct *ethnos* in the eyes of Seleucid imperial rule and resulted in specific rights given to the Jews. In contrast, the Seleucid empire created one

Syrian *ethnos* out of the various distinct non-Greek people groups inhabiting the province of Syria.<sup>151</sup> This homogenizing ethnic categorization combined distinct groups that did not share *historical memories* or putative genealogies.<sup>152</sup>

### **Cultural Consensus: The Struggle over Boundaries**

Institutional powers are in a privileged position to impose their preferred vision of the ethnic landscape on others. Subordinate actors, however, do not simply adopt their vision. Rather, a process of conflict and contestation occurs between the various members of the social field. According to the *ethnic boundary making model*, a consensus over boundary location and meaning emerges only when there is a partial overlap in interests through the exchange of different types of resources (e.g., economic, political, or symbolic).<sup>153</sup> In a social field where the compromise is contested, it is possible that not all will accept the consensus. A boundary is *asymmetrical* when only members on one side of the boundary agree on its location. In addition, actors on each side of a boundary may agree on the boundary location, but not on its meaning (*partial*). A boundary that is both *symmetrical* and *complete* is *encompassing*.

On the one hand, the emergence of a consensus primarily concerns the initial making of an ethnic boundary. The Jews in Judea at the beginning of the Seleucid period already made up a recognized ethnic group with already existing boundaries between themselves and, among others, Greeks, Itureans or Egyptians. This process of the initial emergence of an ethnic boundary would have occurred when the first Jews immigrated to Rome. Before Romans

---

<sup>151</sup> Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 6–7.

<sup>152</sup> Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 11.

<sup>153</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 97–101. This theory of cultural compromise is outlined more fully in Andreas Wimmer, *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity* (New York: Cambridge, 2002).



encountered Jews, no Roman/Jew boundary existed and its emergence as a publicly recognized boundary would have involved a process of contestation, exchange, and compromise.

On the other hand, the continued existence of any given ethnic boundary at any given time requires the maintenance of this consensus. The *ethnic boundary making model* understands ethnic actors to be continually trying to strategically enhance their position in relation to the boundary system. When changes occur in the *social field*, actors adopt new strategies of boundary renegotiation, resulting in shifts in boundary features, meaning and location. These shifts are discussed in the following section.

### **A Process Model of the Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries**

The above components are integrated into a multi-level processual model by specifying the mechanisms that link the micro-level strategies with the macro-level institutional and boundary characteristics. Three macro-level social structures constrain ethnic actors' choices of strategic *modes* and *means* of boundary renegotiation and provide incentives for actors to pursue certain types of strategies rather than others.

First, the *institutional frameworks* influence whether ethnicity matters by providing incentives for actors to draw certain types of boundaries (e.g., ethnic rather than class). The influence of the *institutional frameworks* is greater in modern nation-states than empires. For the Roman empires, the ethnic category “Jew” was an acknowledged category and this secured the continued relevance of Jewish ethnicity as a social categorization.

Second, the *distribution of power* influences the choice of strategies and the level of ethnic identity that actors emphasize. On the one hand, the hierarchies of power limit the types of strategies ethnic actors have at their disposal. On the other hand, the power relations determine actor interests which in turn influence choice of strategies. The *distribution of power*

between Jews and other ethnic groups varies at different times (Hasmonean vs. Roman rule), in separate places (Judea vs. Alexandria) and in relation to specific boundaries (Jew/Greek vs. Jew/Egyptian). These distributions of power will form an important part of our discussion in which the specific strategies that are discernible in texts can be correlated with the distribution of power to suggest boundary features of the social field.

Third, the *networks of alliances* determine the location of boundaries. The location of boundaries is most vulnerable to change when new institutional orders come into power with different networks of alliances. These new visions of ethnic boundaries are not arbitrary or uninfluenced by the prior ethnic boundary system. Rather, they enter the process of conflict and exchange that may lead to a new boundary consensus.

The micro-level strategic *modes* and *means* of boundary making influence the type of consensus that is reached (*asymmetrical/symmetrical, partial/complete*). The type of *consensus* and the degree of *power inequality* produce the *boundary features*. On the one hand, the more the consensus is *encompassing (symmetrical and complete)*, the more easily actors can struggle over its meaning in the public realm and therefore the more *politically salient* the boundary will be. On the other hand, the greater the degree of *inequality* across the boundary, the greater the extent of *social closure and groupness*. Processes of further *cultural differentiation* proceed more freely when there is an *encompassing* consensus and when the boundary is marked by greater *social closure*. Greater *cultural differentiation* makes the boundary appear quasi-natural. Boundary *stability*, the fourth feature of ethnic boundaries, is a result of the other three: A boundary with high degrees of *political saliency, cultural differentiation, and social closure* will have higher degrees of *stability*. The greater the boundary *stability*, the greater *path dependency* ethnic actors will experience, further constraining their ability to renegotiate boundaries.

### **Dynamics of Change**

The above model explains the process of the initial formation of ethnic boundaries as well as their continual maintenance. If ethnic actors adopt new strategies, the nature of the consensus may change, causing boundary characteristics also to shift or change location. The *ethnic boundary making model* identifies three *dynamics of change* that destabilize boundary systems: *Exogenous shift*, *endogenous shift*, and *exogenous drift*.

First, changes in the institutional order may modify the *field characteristics* (*Institutional frameworks*, *distribution of power*, and *networks of alliances*). Such an *exogenous shift* provides new incentives and constraints that influence ethnic actors' choice of strategies and the ensuing ripple effect in the ethnic boundaries. The most prominent *exogenous shifts* occur when a new political power enters the social field. For Judea in the beginning of our period, these are the shifts from Seleucid to Hasmonean rule, and from Hasmonean to Roman rule and, as mentioned, the following historical survey will be divided according to these political periods. At the same time, smaller scale political changes, such as the economic policies of Herod or the loss of the temple, can also cause changes in the *field characteristics* and these will also inform our discussion of Jewish boundaries.

Second, if enough individual actors successfully pursue a particular strategy of ethnic boundary making, this may shift the boundary topography (*endogenous shift*). For example, if enough subordinate ethnic actors successfully pursue a strategy of boundary crossing, the old ethnic category may disappear, eliminating one ethnic boundary within the boundary system. In addition, this *endogenous shift* may destabilize field characteristics, further transforming boundary characteristics.

Third, ethnic actors may adopt new types of strategies as new *means* and *modes* enter the social field from outside (*exogenous drift*). For example, Cohen argues that the possibility of conversion to Judaism that occurred during the early Hasmonean period was influenced by the Greek idea of Greekness as a culture that one could adopt rather than an ethnicity based on genealogy.<sup>154</sup> This enabled Jews to pursue similar strategies of ethnic boundary making, most notably the expansionist policies of the Hasmonean ruling power in the incorporation of the Idumeans and Itureans.

The *ethnic boundary making model*, outlined above, links micro-level boundary making strategies with macro-level field characteristics and boundary features. The model is thereby able to account for variation in the function and meaning of ethnicity. This emphasis on ethnic *boundaries* shifts the focus away from ethnic *groups* and the features that are shared by many co-ethnics.<sup>155</sup> The model does, however, explain the conditions under which co-ethnics develop bonds of solidarity: when a cultural consensus is *encompassing* and the boundary is *stable* actors experience greater *path dependency*.<sup>156</sup> In contexts marked by high degrees of *path dependency* ethnic groups more easily accumulate additional cultural diacritics that further mark them apart from other *ethnē* and make the border appear quasi-natural.

The Jewish *ethnos* does seem to be marked by high degrees of *path dependency* in many places and at most times during our period of interest. While this study doubts that one can

---

<sup>154</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 136.

<sup>155</sup> Philip Jenkins critiques Wimmer for neglecting this ethnic solidarity. “Time to Move beyond Boundary Making?,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 809–13, esp. 810. Wimmer responds by pointing out that the model does not focus on ethnic solidarity, but does explain the conditions under which solidarity develops. “Ethnic Boundary Making as Strategic Action: Reply to My Critics,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 834–42, esp. 834–35.

<sup>156</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 104–105.

outline the “cultural stuff” of the Jewish *ethnos* without smuggling in essentialist assumptions,<sup>157</sup> it does acknowledge that certain features tend to be part of Jewish ethnic identity.

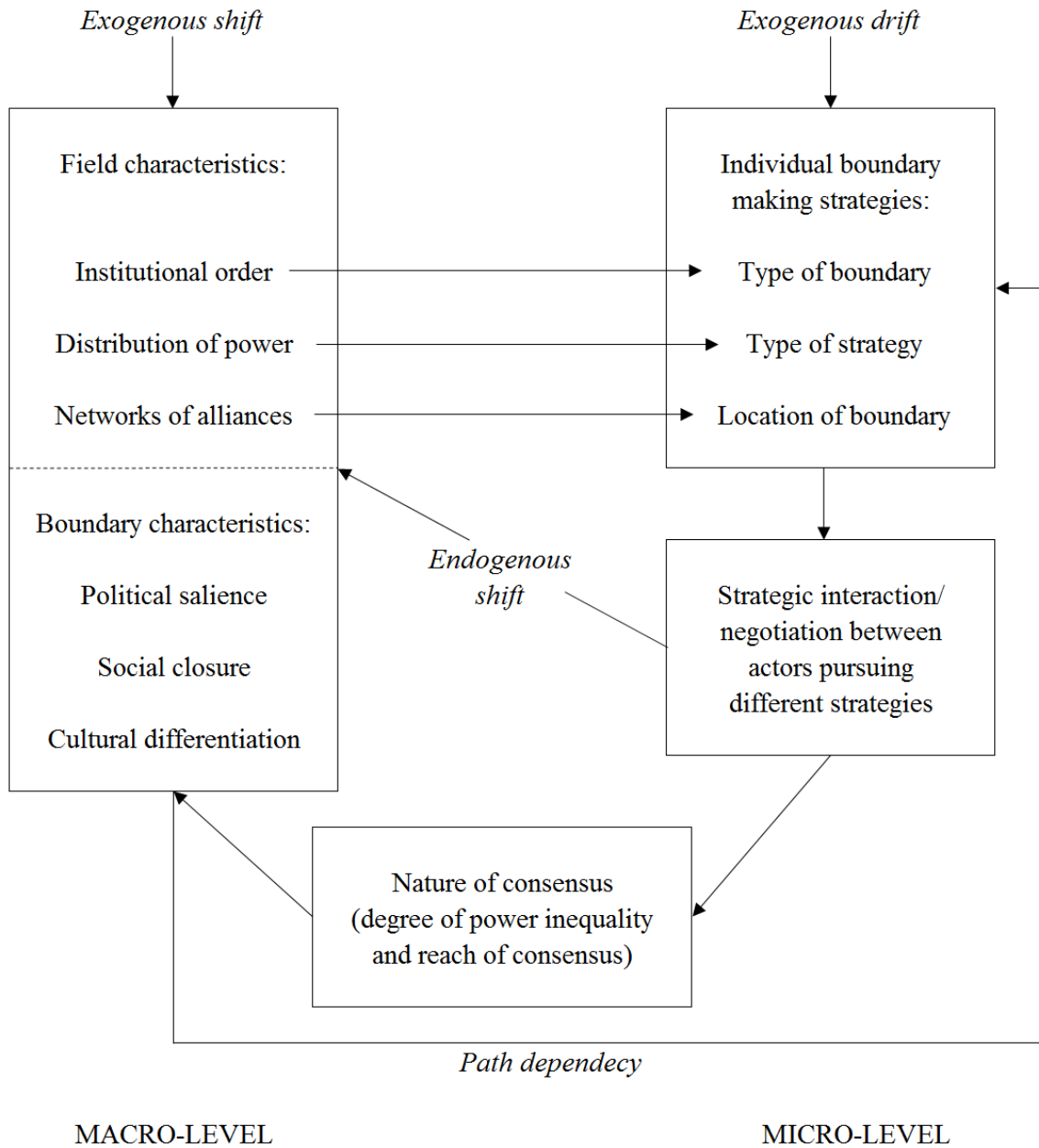


Figure 1.3 A processual model of the making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries

<sup>157</sup> This has been attempted most comprehensively by Markus Cromhout (compared with the *ethnic boundary making model* in the conclusion to this study), *Walking in Their Sandals*. The model is also outlined in Markus Cromhout and Andries G. Van Aarde, “A Socio-Cultural Model of Judean Ethnicity: A Proposal,” *HvTS* 62 (2006): 69–101.

In the following two chapters I undertake a study of Jewishness during the Hasmonean (129–63 BCE) and early Roman (63 BCE–132 CE) periods that accounts for change and variation over time. The inclusion of the Hasmonean period, even though a considerable distance removed from Mark's *milieu*, enables the impact of politics on Jewishness to be illustrated by expanding the temporal scope of this study to encompass the significant shift from the autonomous Jewish Hasmonean state to the period of indirect and direct Roman rule. These two chapters map various features of the ethnic boundary landscape in the Southern Levant with a special focus on the Jewish *ethnos*. Conclusions include characteristics of the boundaries distinguishing Jews from others, types of strategies used by Jewish writers in an attempt to rework the ethnic boundary system, and ways that these writers configure Jewishness, especially the way that the struggle over ethnic boundaries impacts ethnic configuration. The fourth chapter integrates the Gospel of Mark into this study of ethnic boundaries in the Southern Levant. It argues that the collective identity shared by Mark and his intended audience is within the social boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos*. It then identifies how Mark engages in the struggle over boundaries and how this impacts the configuration of Jewishness in Mark's Gospel.

## CHAPTER 2: JEWISHNESS UNDER THE HASMONEANS (129–63 BCE)

In this chapter I address configurations of Jewishness amidst the field characteristics of the period of Hasmonean independence between the death of Antiochus VII in 129 BCE and the invasion of Pompey in 63 BCE. During the latter part of the second century BCE, the declining Seleucid empire, especially after the death of Antiochus VII, enabled greater autonomy for various entities around Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Many of the Phoenician coastal cities gained independence,<sup>1</sup> the Itureans moved into the Golan,<sup>2</sup> and the Nabateans expanded their domain in the Negev and southern Transjordan.<sup>3</sup> The death of Antiochus VII also freed John Hyrcanus I (r. 135–104 BCE) from Seleucid hegemony and marks the beginning of a functionally autonomous Jewish political entity.<sup>4</sup> This transition from Greek rule to Jewish autonomy provided new incentives and strictures for persons interacting in Hasmonean Judea.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tyre (125 BCE), Sidon (111 BCE), Akko-Ptolemais (107/6), and Ashkelon (104 BCE) all began minting their own coins, while Dor and Strato's Tower were controlled by a local strongman. Andrea M. Berlin, "Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," *BA* 60 (1997): 2–51, esp. 24, 26. The other coastal cities were successively incorporated into the expanding Hasmonean kingdom under Simon, John Hyrcanus I and Alexander Jannaeus.

<sup>2</sup> Shim'on Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, BARIS 589 (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Stephan Schmidt, "The Hellenistic Period and the Nabateans," in *Jordan: An Archaeological Reader*, ed. Russell Adams (London: Equinox, 2008), 353–412, esp. 362–64; Berlin, "Large Forces," 24.

<sup>4</sup> Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 1:300. The development of autonomy was gradual. 1 Maccabees dates Jewish autonomy from 143–142 BCE when Simon gained freedom from taxation (1 Macc 13.39–40). Simon may also have minted his own coins (1 Macc 15.6), yet his position as στρατηγός and ἐθνάρχης (1 Macc 14.47) was still granted by the Seleucids. Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*, SFSHJ 6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 119–27. The Seleucid intervention on behalf of the city of Samaria during John Hyrcanus I's siege (Jos., *J.W.* 1.65; *Ant.* 13.277) indicates that they still exerted some influence, but now as a rival power. Benedikt Eckhardt states "there can be no doubt that the Seleucids up to Antiochus VII, and perhaps even later, saw the territory as their own and the Hasmoneans as their officials." "The Hasmoneans and Their Rivals in Seleucid and Post-Seleucid Judea," *JSJ* 47 (2016): 55–70, esp. 58.

I first summarize the changing political boundaries and ethnic demographics of Hasmonean Judea which include expanding boundaries and an increasingly Jewish demographic. I then outline the new *field characteristics* of Hasmonean Judea. Most significantly, Jewish autonomy altered the *distribution of power*, relocating the Jewish *ethnos*, aligned with the Hasmonean rulers, atop the ranked boundary system. This simultaneously dislodged Greeks as the privileged people group and increased the degree of inequality between Jews and other *ethnē* (e.g., Idumeans, Phoenicians, Nabateans). Only one *dynamic of change* altered the *field characteristics* during the Hasmonean period: While John Hyrcanus forced non-Jews in newly conquered territory to assimilate to the Jewish *ethnos* or face expulsion, Alexander Jannaeus allowed these minority ethnic groups to remain as non-Jews within Hasmonean political boundaries.

After outlining the changing *field characteristics*, I examine the extant evidence for strategies of boundary making. I address five texts that can safely be located in Hasmonean Judea and dated between 129 and 63 BCE: Eupolemus's *Concerning the Kings in Judea*, Jubilees, 1 Maccabees, the Damascus Document, and the Rule of the Community.<sup>5</sup> These texts

---

<sup>5</sup> Other texts that may present data on Jewishness are too difficult to date or locate. A few scholars suggest a Judean provenance for 2 Maccabees. Robert Doran has argued that the focus on the temple fits best with a Judean provenance and that there is no reason why a writing of the quality Greek of 2 Maccabees could not have originated in Judea. *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*, CBQMS 12 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 113. However, in Doran's recent commentary he also adopts a diaspora provenance, primarily because the writer's view of the gymnasium fits best in a diaspora setting. Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 16. Jan W. van Henten states simply, "It is obvious that 2 Maccabees is of Judean origin." "2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation," in *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud*, ed. Aharon Oppenheimer et al. (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003), 63–86, esp. 63. Cf. Jan W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, SJSJ 57 (Boston: Brill, 1997), 50. For a diaspora setting see especially Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL (New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 45–55. Pss. Sol. 1 and 7 predate 63 BCE. However, they are written in the context of Rome's impending invasion, and so will be addressed in the following chapter. A letter from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews in Egypt is preserved in 2 Macc 1.1–10a and is widely regarded as authentic. However, it evinces no ethnic boundaries, or strategies, and so provides nothing helpful for this study. In addition, numerous writings among the Dead Sea Scrolls likely date to the Hasmonean period. However, these are difficult to date, and provide diminishing returns. Therefore, only the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community are addressed here. The most promising candidate among the Dead Sea Scrolls for our period is the Genesis Apocryphon. However, the assigned dates range anywhere from the



represent two strategic *means* of boundary making (*discursive* and *legalized discrimination*) and show a diversity of strategic modes including *normative inversion*, *equalization*, and *contraction* through *fission*. Non-textual strategies of boundary making include *boundary expansion* through *nation-building* on the part of the Hasmoneans and *boundary crossing* by non-Jews into the Jewish national *ethnos*. Unfortunately, no non-Jewish sources for boundary making are extant.

After identifying strategies of boundary making, I link these strategies with the field characteristics to identify features of Jewishness under the Hasmoneans. While the limited evidence for strategies makes conclusions about the consensus and boundary characteristics tentative, the extant evidence suggests a couple of conclusions. First, there is a consensus regarding the *relevance* and *meaning* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries, but not the boundary *location*. Therefore, the consensus is *symmetrical*, but *partial*, and nearly, but not fully, *encompassing*. The *political saliency*, *social closure*, and *cultural differentiation*, which the *ethnic boundary making model* derives from the *field characteristics* and *nature of the consensus*, are all present in relatively greater degrees during the Hasmonean period, suggesting this is a time when Jew/non-Jew boundaries in and around Hasmonean Judea are solidified (greater *stability*). I conclude this chapter by outlining the ways that the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness differs among the extant texts written by Jews.

### **Expanding Hasmonean Political Boundaries**

Changes to the political boundaries impact the ethnic boundary system by altering the ethnic demographic makeup within the political boundaries, and by extending (or retracting) the

---

third to first century BCE. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd ed., BibOr 18b (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2004), 26–27. Daniel A. Machiela dates it to the early second century BCE. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Boston: Brill, 2009), 142.

reach of the new *field characteristics* over persons or groups now located within the sphere of hegemony of the ruling power. Small-scale expansion of Judea took place prior to 129 BCE while Jonathan (161–143 BCE) and Simon (143–135 BCE) were στρατηγοί of the Seleucid province of Judea.<sup>6</sup> However, Hasmonean territorial conquest began in earnest after the death of Antiochus VII when John Hyrcanus I began a successful expansion of Hasmonean hegemony into Idumea, Samaria, and southern Transjordan.<sup>7</sup> Josephus relates that news of Antiochus VII's death led John Hyrcanus I to immediately invade Syria before successfully taking the cities of Madeba and Samega<sup>8</sup> directly east of Jerusalem in Transjordan (*Ant.* 13.255). He later expanded

---

<sup>6</sup> After Alexander Balas made Jonathan στρατηγός and μεριδάρχης of Judea around 150 BCE, Jonathan temporarily took control of the coastal cities. 1 Maccabees notes Jonathan took Joppa (10:76), burned Azotus (10:84), was welcomed by the inhabitants of Ashkelon (10:86) and was gifted Ekron (10:89) before Ptolemy IV Philometor captured these coastal cities (11:1–8). Aryeh Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 BCE–70 CE)*, TSAJ 21 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1990), 93, 95. While Jonathan was στρατηγός of Judea, Simon was made στρατηγός of Paralia (1 Macc 11:59), extending Hasmonean political influence to the coast. Most of the cities submitted willingly, but when the citizens of Gaza resisted, Jonathan burned the city (1 Macc 11:61). Demetrius also ceded Aphairema, Lydda and Rathamin to Jonathan and made them part of Judea (1 Macc 11:34, cf. 10:30, 38). Katell Berthelot, “Reclaiming the Land (1 Maccabees 15:28-36): Hasmonean Discourse between Biblical Tradition and Seleucid Rhetoric,” *JBL* 133 (2014): 539–59, esp. 544; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 97. After Jonathan was killed at Ptolemais, Simon replaced his brother and immediately took Beth-Zur (1 Macc 11:66) Joppa (1 Macc 13:11) and later Gezer (1 Macc 13:43), adding them to Judea. Berthelot, “Reclaiming the Land,” 544. Josephus claims that Simon also took Yavneh (*J.W.* 1.50), but this is not corroborated by 1 Maccabees or the archaeological record.

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, no material corroboration of John Hyrcanus I's campaign in Transjordan has been discovered. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 31.

<sup>8</sup> The location of Samega is uncertain and has been identified with modern-day Es-Samik and Mount Nebo. Jonathan Bourgel, “The Destruction of the Samaritan Temple by John Hyrcanus: A Reconsideration,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 505–23, esp. 507 n. 5.

Hasmonean hegemony over Idumea and Samaria.<sup>9</sup> There is also evidence that he took control of several coastal cities and substantial parts of Galilee.<sup>10</sup>

There is no certain evidence Judas Aristobulus I (104–103 BCE) expanded Hasmonean territory. While Josephus reports that Aristobulus conquered part of the Itureans, the material evidence suggests he is mistaken.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 13.257, 13.275–283; *J.W.* 1.64. While Josephus places the conquests of Idumea and Samaria early in the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus I, archaeological evidence indicates later dates. In the Idumean city of Maresha, a destruction layer in the Idumean city of Maresha contained coins dating as late as 112 and the latest tomb inscription is also dated to 112 BCE. Amos Kloner et al., *Maresha Excavations Final Report III: Epigraphic Finds from the 1989-2000 Seasons*, IAA Reports 45 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2010), 205. Cf. Dan Barag, “New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus I,” *INJ* 12 (1992): 1–12.

The campaign in Samaria occurred shortly after John Hyrcanus I took Idumea. The temple city on Mount Gerizim was destroyed in 112–111 BCE. Yitzhak Magen, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations I: The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions*, Judea and Samaria Publications 2 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004), 13. The city of Samaria was taken sometime between 111 and 107 BCE. John Winter Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon, and Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria*, Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935 1 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942), 30; Nahman Avigad, “Samaria (City),” *NEAEHL* 4:1300–310.

<sup>10</sup> Between 133 and 125 BCE the Phoenician settlement at Shiqmona, on the coast between Akko-Ptolemais and Dor, was destroyed. A stamped amphora is dated to 133/132 and the absence of coins from Ptolemais suggests the destruction occurred before minting began in Ptolemais in 126/125 BCE. Joseph Elgavish, “Pottery from the Hellenistic Stratum at Shiqmona,” *IEJ* 26 (1976): 65–76, esp. 67. Azotus was destroyed just before 114 BCE. Moshe Dothan, *Ashdod II-III: The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations, 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967, Atiqot* 9–10 (Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums in the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1971), 64. The town of Yavneh-Yam at the harbor of Yavneh as well as a farmstead at Mazor were destroyed around 114 BCE. Moshe Fischer, “Yavneh-Yam,” *NEAEHL*, 5:2075. David Amit and Irina Zilberbod, “Mazor: 1994–1995,” *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 18 (1998): 61–63, esp. 63.

A large number of coins minted by John Hyrcanus I have been found in lower Galilee. While their presence may simply indicate later circulation, the inordinate number suggest Hasmonean occupation during the later years of his reign. Danny Syon, *Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee: The Evidence from Numismatic Site Finds as a Tool for Historical Reconstruction*, Numismatic Studies and Researches 11 (Jerusalem: Israel Numismatic Society, 2015), 164–65. Additional evidence for Hasmonean control is found in the addition of a *miqveh* to a hellenistic fortress near Kedesh, and a Phoenician temple at Mizpe Yammim that was desecrated in the final decades of the second century BCE. Andrea M. Berlin and Rafael Frankel, “The Sanctuary at Mizpe Yammim: Phoenician Cult and Territory in the Upper Galilee during the Persian Period,” *BASOR* 366 (2012): 25–78. At Khirbet el-Tufaniyah a new fortress was constructed. Israel Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks*, TSAJ 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 186. Josephus also might refer obliquely to a Galilean conquest by John Hyrcanus I. After John Hyrcanus I takes Samaria and Scythopolis, Josephus says that he went as far as Mount Carmel and took all the land around it: τὴν ἐντὸς Καρμήλου τοῦ ὄρους χώραν ἅπασαν κατενεύμαυτο (*J.W.* 1.66). Cf. Mordechai Aviam, “The Transformation from Galil Ha-Goyim to Jewish Galilee: The Archaeological Testimony of an Ethnic Change,” in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods 2: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, ed. David A. Fiensy and James R. Strange (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014) 9–21, esp. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Josephus states that Aristobulus “made war on the Itureans and acquired a good part of their territory for Judea” (*Ant.* 13.318). Josephus’s source is the first-century historian Timagenes, whom Josephus quotes from Strabo as stating that Aristobulus “acquired additional territory for [the Jews], and brought over to them a portion of the Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision” (*Ant.* 13.319). Interestingly, the element of force is absent in Josephus’s source. Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, Meqorot le-

During the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) Hasmonean territory reached its greatest extent. Within the first four years of his reign he took control of the coastal plain from Raphia to Mount Carmel.<sup>12</sup> His Transjordan expansions reached from Amathus east of Samaria to Tel Anafa in northern Galilee,<sup>13</sup> but Hasmonean territorial expansion ceased upon his death.<sup>14</sup>

### **Ethnic Demographic Changes in and around Hasmonean Territory**

The ethnic demographics impact the ethnic boundary system by indicating which ethnic categories are part of the boundary system. The relative size of each ethnic category also impacts, but does not determine, the category's relevance for the boundary system and its location in the boundary hierarchy. An increased Jewish presence in the newly conquered

---

toldot 'am Yiśra'el. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 224. By the late second century BCE the Itureans had expanded south from Lebanon to the area surrounding Mt. Hermon and the Golan Heights, though there is no evidence they ever moved into Galilee. Uzi Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee: An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee*, TSAJ 127 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 321. If Josephus is correct, then, at the time of Aristobulus, Jewish hegemony extended north of Galilee. However, archaeological surveys of Iturean territory have shown that the settlement patterns and cultic sites continued, and have uncovered no evidence of destruction or evidence of Jewish culture or practice. Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon*, 20. Therefore, it is most likely that Josephus is incorrect about Aristobulus's incursion into Iturea. So Eric M. Meyers, *Alexander to Constantine: Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, AYBRL 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 34; Berlin, "Large Forces," 37.

The evidence for the Itureans' southward expansion is the presence of Golan Ware pottery around Mt. Hermon and the Golan Heights. However, this identification has been challenged by Elaine A. Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East: Reassessing the Sources* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 52.

<sup>12</sup> The only exception was Ascalon. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 141. Josephus reports that after an aborted attempt to take Akko-Ptolemais (*Ant.* 13.324–333), Jannaeus purchased Dor and Strato's Tower from Ptolemy IX (*Ant.* 13.335). The appearance of Jannaeus's coins confirms his control of these coastal cities. Ephraim Stern, *Dor, Ruler of the Seas: Nineteen Years of Excavations at the Israelite-Phoenician Harbor Town on the Carmel Coast* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 260; Berlin, "Large Forces," 37. By 99 BCE Alexander Jannaeus had also taken Anthedon, Raphia and Gaza (*Ant.* 13.357), leaving Ascalon as the only Phoenician coastal city not under Hasmonean control.

<sup>13</sup> Meyers, *Alexander to Constantine*, 36. Josephus reports that Alexander Jannaeus took the Amathus fortress and Gadara along with their hinterlands in the first years of his reign (*Ant.* 13.356). In his final conquests (80–83 BCE), Alexander Jannaeus took Gerasa without a fight (*Ant.* 13.393; *J.W.* 1.104), destroyed a tower at Gamla (*Ant.* 13.394; *J.W.* 1.105), and also took Pella when the citizens refused to cooperate (*Ant.* 13.397). Josephus also lists the cities of Dium, Golan, and Seleucia (*Ant.* 13.393; *J.W.* 1.104). The account of Syncellus adds Abila, Philoteria, and Hippus (1.558–559). Alden A. Mosshammer, ed., *Georgius Syncellus: Ecloga chronographica*, BSGRT (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), 354–55. The profusion of coins in these areas corroborates Josephus's report. Syon, *Small Change*, 155–61.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Jannaeus's widow Alexandra (76–67 BCE) increased the Hasmonean army (*Ant.* 13.409), but never attempted territorial expansion. The looming threat of Rome and additional conflicts at home prevented any expansion by her sons in the final years before Pompey arrived at Jerusalem in 63 BCE.

territories quickly followed their annexation, leading to an increasingly dominant Jewish majority within Hasmonean political boundaries. John Hyrcanus I and Alexander Jannaeus seem to have pursued two different policies in relation to non-Jews living within the Hasmonean borders.

John Hyrcanus I sought to create a mono-ethnic Jewish demographic inside Hasmonean borders.<sup>15</sup> This is the impression given by Josephus’s narrative, and confirmed by evidence of destruction and abandonment in the regions of Idumea,<sup>16</sup> Samaria,<sup>17</sup> and among the coastal

---

<sup>15</sup> Hyrcanus’s policy represents continuity with the policies of Jonathan and Simon. Berlin, “Large Forces, 28–29. According to 1 Maccabees, most likely a piece of Hasmonean propaganda under John Hyrcanus (discussed under the treatment of 1 Maccabees in chapter two), Simon expelled the non-Jewish inhabitants of Joppa and Gezer and resettled Jews there. “He (Simon) sent Jonathan son of Absalom to Joppa, and with him a considerable army; he drove out its occupants and remained there” (1 Macc 13:11); “He (Simon) expelled them (citizens of Gezer) from the city... and settled in it those who observed the law” (1 Macc 13:47–48). Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, WUNT 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 38–39; Berlin, “Large Forces,” 30–31. At Gezer, a destruction layer in the archaeological remains confirms Simon’s conquest and the presence of Miqva’oth in the resettlement layer corroborates 1 Maccabees’s claim that the new inhabitants were Jews. Ronny Reich, “Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer,” *IEJ* 31 (1981): 48–52, esp. 49–51. Further confirmation is provided by thirteen boundary stones, demarcating Gezer’s agricultural land (written in Hebrew) from those of the surrounding areas (written in Greek). Ben-Zion Rosenfeld, “The ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions and the History of Gezer at the End of the Second Temple Period,” *IEJ* 38 (1988): 235–45; Joshua Schwartz, “Once More on the ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions and the History of Gezer and Lydda at the End of the Second Temple Period,” *IEJ* 40 (1990): 47–57; Ronny Reich and Zvi Greenhut, “Another ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscription Found Recently,” *IEJ* 52 (2002): 58–63; Eric Alan Mitchell, R. Adam Dodd, and S. Cameron Coyle, “More ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions: One New and Another Rediscovered,” *IEJ* 64 (2014): 191–207. That under Jonathan and Simon the repopulation of Gezer was part of a wider policy of expelling non-Jews from Hasmonean territory and resettling them with Jews is confirmed by the destruction and abandonment of non-Jewish settlements within the province of Judea, the settlement of new sites, and the disappearance of pottery produced outside of Judea. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 28–29; Shim’on Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria (800 BCE–636 CE)*, 2 vols., BARIS 308 (Oxford: B.A.R., 1986); Avi Ofer, *NEAEHL*, “Judea,” 3:816.

<sup>16</sup> Many Idumean sites show destruction and abandonment. A destruction layer at Maresha around 112 BCE and the abandonment of its lower city indicate that at least some of the inhabitants left. Amos Kloner, “Mareshah (Marisa),” *NEAEHL* 3:948–57, esp. 953. Tel Beer-Sheva was abandoned soon after John Hyrcanus I’s campaign. Barag, “New Evidence,” 6. Other sites show evidence of destruction and abandonment including Khirbet er-Rasm, Tel Arad, Khirbet ‘Uza, and possibly Lachish. Avraham Faust, Oren Ackerman, and Adi Erlich, *The Excavations of Khirbet Er-Rasm, Israel: The Changing Faces of the Countryside*, BARIS 2187 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 208, 252; Moshe Fisher and Oren Tal, “The Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” in *Horvat ‘Uza and Horvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*, ed. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 25 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), 335–49, esp. 335. Evidence for an increased Idumean presence in Egypt suggests some immigrated to Egypt. Uriel Rappaport, “Jewish Religious Propaganda and Proselytism in the Period of the Second Commonwealth” (Hebrew) (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1965), 79–80, 82.

<sup>17</sup> Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus I completely destroyed the *πολις* of Samaria and enslaved its inhabitants (*Ant.* 13.281). The destruction of the recently-constructed fort wall confirms this destruction. Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik, *Buildings at Samaria*, 30. Josephus reports that Epicrates betrayed the Greek *πολις* of Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth-Shean) to John Hyrcanus I (*Ant.* 13.280). Gabi Mazor, “Beth-Shean” *NEAEHL* 5:1628. Limited evidence of destruction atop Tel Beth-Shean fits the picture of betrayal rather than outright siege, though a fire

cities.<sup>18</sup> Much of the evidence for subsequent resettlement and increased population density is attributable to the resettlement of Jews in the annexed territories.<sup>19</sup> However, there is also evidence that some of the non-Jewish inhabitants remained.<sup>20</sup> The best explanation for continued occupation is that John Hyrcanus I permitted some non-Jewish inhabitants to remain if they

---

destroyed the nearby Tel Istabah, likely at the hands of John Hyrcanus I. Amihay Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean, 1989-1996 I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period*, Beth-Shean Valley Archaeological Project Publication (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 1.39. Additional evidence for destruction in Samaria is from the city of Shechem. George Ernest Wright, “The Samaritans at Shechem,” *HTR* 55 (1962): 357–66, esp. 359–60, 365; Edward Fay Campbell and George Ernest Wright, *Shechem III the Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem/Tell Balatah*, ASOR Archaeological Reports 6 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002), 311. Regional surveys show a significant decline in population around the Greek cities where only seven of the twenty-six Hellenistic sites in the surrounding area continued into the Roman period. Adam Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey: Volume 1 The Shechem Syncline*, CHANE 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 63; Bourgel, “Samaritan Temple,” 513.

<sup>18</sup> The predominance of Phoenician pottery not found at known Jewish sites indicates that the earlier inhabitants of Shiqmona were almost certainly non-Jews, and after the town’s destruction it was not immediately reoccupied. Elgavish, “Pottery,” 65.

<sup>19</sup> New settlements in Idumea are attested at Tel Sera’ and Horvat Rimmon, which were most likely settled by Jews. Eliezer Oren, “Ziglag: A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev,” *BA* 45 (1982): 155–66, esp. 158; Amos Kloner, “Horvat Rimmon,” *NEAEHL* 4:1284–85.

In the *πολις* of Samaria, the presence of coins from Alexander Jannaeus (r. 103–76 BCE) suggests that some reoccupation took place. John W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and Kathleen M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria*, Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935 3 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), 48. In Nysa-Scythopolis, the presence of amphora handles dated from 108–80 BCE indicates continued occupation. Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean*, 1:39–40.

After the destruction of Azotus, it was immediately reoccupied and during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus it is listed among the cities of his possession (Jos., *Ant.* 13.395), making it likely that these new inhabitants were Jews. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 30–31.

Settlement patterns in John Hyrcanus I’s Transjordan conquests indicate an increase in settlements starting in the late second century BCE after a period of decline. Jong-Keun Lee and Chang-Ho Ji, “From the Tobiads to the Hasmoneans: The Hellenistic Pottery, Coins, and History in the Regions of Iraq Al-Amir and the Wadi Hisban,” *SHAJ* 8 (2004): 177–88, esp. 183. In the context of John Hyrcanus I’s conquests, the new inhabitants were likely other Jews. Bourgel, “Samaritan Temple,” 507.

<sup>20</sup> Continued occupation is attested at the Idumean sites of Tel Ḥalif and Tel ‘Ira. Joe D. Seger, “Tel Ḥalif,” *NEAEHL* 2:553–60, esp. 559; Itzhaq Beith-Arieh, “Tel ‘Ira,” *NEAEHL* 2:642–46, esp. 645. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 31. Regional surveys of the valley surrounding Shechem, southern Samaria, and the areas of the Shechem Syncline, indicate no decline in population. Shechem: Edward F. Campbell, *Shechem II: Portrait of a Hill Country Vale: The Shechem Regional Survey*, ed. Karen I. Summers, ASOR Archaeological Reports 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 97. Southern Samaria: Israel L. Finkelstein et al., *Highlands of Many Cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey: The Sites*, 2 vols., Tel Aviv University, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 14 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University Publications Section, 1997), 2:907–19, 953–54. Shechem Syncline: Zertal, *Shechem Syncline*, 63.

would assimilate into the national Jewish *ethnos* by adopting Jewish practices and beliefs,<sup>21</sup> as confirmed by Josephus’s account of Hyrcanus’s conquest of Idumea.<sup>22</sup>

The conquests of Alexander Jannaeus also led to an increase in the Jewish population in some of the conquered territories,<sup>23</sup> but not all.<sup>24</sup> However, unlike John Hyrcanus I, Alexander Jannaeus seems not to have compelled non-Jews to assimilate to the national Jewish *ethnos*.

Rather he permitted minority *ethnē* to exist within the Hasmonean state,<sup>25</sup> forcing many cities to

---

<sup>21</sup> Michael Avi-Yonah, “Scythopolis,” *IEJ* 12 (1962): 123–34; Bourgel finds such a policy “not unlikely” but ultimately adopts an alternative. “Samaritan Temple,” 514. Martha Himmelfarb finds it likely that many non-Jews found assimilating to the Jewish *ethnos* attractive: “Jewish ascendancy encouraged Idumeans and perhaps other gentiles living under Hasmonean rule or at the edges of their kingdom to identify as Jews.” *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). 80.

<sup>22</sup> “Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaeae cities of Adora and Marisa, and after subduing all the Idumeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws of the Jews” (Jos., *Ant.* 13.257). Strabo, writing earlier (c. 27 CE), states that the Idumeans joined the Jews by choice (*Geogr.* 15.2, 34) but this is inconsistent with the destruction at Maresha.

<sup>23</sup> By the end of Alexander Jannaeus’s reign Galilee was predominantly Jewish. The disappearance of sites that contain Galilean Course Ware, a pottery type associated with pagan shrines, in eastern Galilee attests to non-Jewish emigration from Galilee, as does the disappearance of Phoenician jugs in western Galilee. Rafi Frankel, *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*, IAA Reports 14 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001), 109–10. In their place new settlements appeared that included Hasmonean coins. Aviam, “Galil Ha-Goyim,” 11. The survey done by Uzi Leiber indicated a 50% increase in the size of the settlement areas. This extent of population increase can only be explained by immigration, almost certainly of Jews from Judea. *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee*, 322. The other city that attests an influx of Jewish inhabitants in the territories taken by Alexander Jannaeus is Gamla. Here the early Hellenistic layer includes Eastern Sigillata A course ware and a few Phoenician Jars, while the subsequent layer attested only the undecorated pottery found at sites in Judea. Andrea Berlin and Shemaryah Gutman, *Gamla I: The Pottery of the Second Temple Period: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1989*, IAA Reports 29 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006), 143–44, 151. A mikveh was also found, and the profusion of Alexander Jannaeus’s coins provides corroborative evidence for Gamla’s inclusion within Hasmonean territory. However, Gamla likely had a significant Jewish population before Alexander Jannaeus’s annexation. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 38. The unusual number of coins of John Hyrcanus I cannot be explained as due to their continued use twenty-five years later. 316 bronze coins of John Hyrcanus I were found at Gamla, by far the most for any location in Galilee or the Golan. Syon, *Small Change*, 162, 165. Berlin and Gutman, “Gamla I,” 133.

<sup>24</sup> At Philotera, the settlement excavated ceased to be inhabited in the middle of the second century BCE, indicating the later settlement was located elsewhere from Bet Yerah. Nimrod Getzov, *The Tel Bet Yerah Excavations, 1994–1995*, IAA reports 28 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006), 155. Gaza and Pella, the cities that Alexander Jannaeus reportedly destroyed, were unoccupied in the period following their conquest. Anthony McNicoll, Robert H. Smith, and Basil Hennessy, *Pella in Jordan I: An Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1979–1981*, Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2 (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1982), 77.

<sup>25</sup> In general, Josephus gives the impression that, in contrast to John Hyrcanus I, Alexander Jannaeus did not expel or forcibly convert non-Jewish inhabitants. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 142; Berlin, “Large Forces,” 37. The one exception could be the citizens of Pella, whose city Alexander Jannaeus destroyed because they would not adopt the customs of the Jews (discussed later in this chapter under “Dynamics of Change”). At Strato’s Tower and Dor, the appearance of Alexander Jannaeus’s coins is likely due to his takeover. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 37. The lack of a

pay tribute.<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, the only exceptions are the Phoenician coastal cities whom Josephus claims Alexander Jannaeus enslaved.<sup>27</sup>

The final years of Hasmonean rule involved a population decline along the borders of the Hasmonean state. As noted above, in the Hula valley on the northern border of Hasmonean territory, Tel Anafa was abandoned by 75 BCE. Azotus, Dor, and Stratos Tower were abandoned during the first century BCE,<sup>28</sup> and numerous small farms lay abandoned just north in the Akko plain.<sup>29</sup> In the south, Gezer, Beth-Zur, and Maresha were deserted.<sup>30</sup> The general picture is of demographic shifts reoriented toward Jerusalem.

---

destruction layer, or evidence for ethnic demographic shifts, fits with Josephus's account of acquisition through payment (*Ant.* 13.326, 334). Stern notes that the lack of remains from Dor during Hasmonean rule indicate that Alexander Jannaeus "contributed nothing to the glory and upbuilding of the city." *Dor*, 260. A survey showed that Abila was occupied during the period. John Dennis Wineland, *Ancient Abila: An Archeological History*, BARIS 988 (Oxford: Archeopress, 2001), 103–5. Hippus also indicates continued occupation and evinces no destruction layer. Arthur Segal et al., *Hippos-Sussita of the Decapolis: The First Twelve Seasons of Excavations 2000–2011* (Haifa: The Zinman Institute of Archaeology, University of Haifa, 2013), 143.

North and North-East of Galilee the continuation of Iturean settlements around Mt. Hermon may indicate the limits of Alexander Jannaeus's territory. The non-Jewish settlement at Tel Anafa, south of Mt. Hermon was completely abandoned by 75 BCE. The lack of destruction layer suggests that the abandonment was due to emigration rather than conquest, likely due to new unfavorable conditions either within or near Hasmonean territory. Sharon Herbert, *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*, JRASup 10 (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, 1994), 19. Excavations at other sites of Alexander Jannaeus's conquests are equivocal.

<sup>26</sup> Tribute is mentioned in relation to Arabia, the Gileadites, and Moabites (*J.W.* 1.89)

<sup>27</sup> *J.W.* 1.87–88; *Ant.* 13.356–364. In addition, at Pella two burned houses provide corroboration for Josephus's report of destruction. McNicoll, Smith, and Hennessy, *Pella in Jordan 1*, 66; Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*, SNTSMS 118 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 139. Achim Lichtenberger writes "Die Zerstörung ist anscheinend im archaologischen Befund nachweisbar." *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis: Untersuchungen zu numismatischen, archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen*, ADPV 29 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 171. However, Pella attests no widespread destruction layer, casting doubt on Josephus's testimony. Anthony McNicoll, Robert H. Smith, and Basil Hennessy, *Pella in Jordan 2: The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1982–1985*, Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2 (Sydney: Meditarch, 1992), 105–7, 114; Robert H. Smith, "Some Pre-Christian Religions at Pella of the Decapolis," *ARAM* 4 (1992): 197–214, esp. 199–200.

<sup>28</sup> Azotus: Moshe Dothan and David Noel Freedman, *Ashdod I: The First Season of Excavations, 1962*, Atiqot 7 (Jerusalem: Dept. of Antiquities and Museums in the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1967), 27. The abandonment of Dor is suggested by the almost complete lack of material remains from the period of Hasmonean rule, and perhaps by Herod's choice to build a new port city, Caesarea, at Stratos Tower. Stern, *Dor*, 201, 261. Josephus reports that Strato's Tower was "much decayed" (*J.W.* 1.408). The dearth of pottery from the first century confirms this. Kenneth G. Holum et al., "Caesarea," *NEAEHL*, 1:270–90, esp. 283.

<sup>29</sup> Berlin, "Large Forces," 42–43.

<sup>30</sup> William G. Dever, H. Darrell Lance, and G. Ernest Wright, *Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons*, Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School, 1970), 6. Ovid R. Sellers and William F. Albright, "The First Campaign of Excavation at



In summary, during the reign of John Hyrcanus I, the increasingly Jewish demographic within territory conquered by the Hasmoneans widened the inequality between the Jewish *ethnos* and any non-Jews who remained. While Alexander Jannaeus's policy allowed members of non-Jewish cities to remain in newly conquered areas, the policy of taxation (a strategic *means* of *legalized discrimination*) reinforced the ranked difference between the Jewish majority of the Hasmonean state and the non-Jewish minorities. This increasing inequality parallels and reinforces the Hasmonean *field characteristics* which are outlined in the following section.

### **Field Characteristics: Institutions, Power, Networks**

The death of Antiochus VII in 129 BCE effectively ended the Seleucid empire's hegemony over the various people groups of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia and enabled the nascent Hasmonean state to operate independently. This *exogenous shift* marked the end of Seleucid control of the *field characteristics* of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia and enabled the emerging Hasmonean dynasty to enforce its preferred ethnic vision on its expanding territory. The following discussion outlines the field characteristics at the beginning of Hasmonean independence (129 BCE). These *field characteristics* impact the relevance and location of ethnic boundaries as well as the types of boundary-making strategies that persons and groups pursue. Changes to the field characteristics during the Hasmonean period are addressed in the next section that addresses *dynamics of change*.

### **Institutional Frameworks**

The formal policies and the informal conventions of the institutional environment influence whether ethnicity matters (i.e., its *relevance*) by providing incentives for persons to

---

Beth-zur," *BASOR* 43 (1931): 2–13, esp. 12. Amos Kloner, *Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70*, IAA Reports 17 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2003), 5–6.

make and to emphasize certain types of social categorization rather than others (i.e., ethnic rather than class, gender, or occupation).<sup>31</sup> The Hasmonean dynasty based its legitimacy on its successful defense of the threatened Jewish *ethnos* at the time of Antiochus IV. Therefore, from its beginning, the Hasmonean state was intimately linked with the interests of the Jewish *ethnos* and promoted a particular vision of national Jewish identity within its expanding political boundaries.

The Hasmonean coins and their commemorative holidays demonstrate how the Hasmonean rulers aligned themselves with the Jewish *ethnos*. The legends on all coins issued by John Hyrcanus I (as well as coins of all subsequent Hasmonean rulers) combine the name of the Hasmonean high priest with a reference to the Jews as a people group (חבר היהודים).<sup>32</sup> While some have suggested חבר referred to a council that ruled jointly with John Hyrcanus I,<sup>33</sup> parallels with coins from Greek, Roman, and Phoenician cities, which often refer to citizens but never a ruling council, suggest that חבר refers to the Jewish people collectively and not a specific council or delegation.<sup>34</sup> The Hasmonean choice of this joint designation, then, is meant to communicate that they ruled “for and with the Jewish people.”<sup>35</sup> Second, the Hasmoneans reinforced their legitimacy as rulers of the Jewish *ethnos* by the establishment of Ḥannukah.<sup>36</sup> This yearly

---

<sup>31</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 90–92.

<sup>32</sup> John Hyrcanus I’s coins explicitly associate him with the Jewish *ethnos*: יהוחנן כהן גדל וחבר היהודים. Some also describe him as the “head” (ראש) of the Jewish people. יהוחנן כהן גדל ראש חבר היהודים. George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea)*, A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum 1 (Bologna: A. Forni, 1965), 188–96.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., Daniel Sperber, “A Note on Hasmonean Coin-Legends: Heber and Roš Heber,” *PEQ* 97 (1965): 85–93; Baruch Kanael, “Ancient Jewish Coins and Their Historical Importance,” *BA* 26 (1963): 38–62, esp. 43–44; Shmuel Safrai, “Jewish Self-Governance,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical, Geographical, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Menahem Stern and Shmuel Safrai, CRINT 1.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 377–419, esp. 389.

<sup>34</sup> In addition, חבר more often refers to a general association rather than a council of delegates. Eyal Regev, *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*, JAJSup 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 188–89, 193–96; Eckardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 62–63.

<sup>35</sup> Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 199.

<sup>36</sup> Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 54–57, 279.

commemoration of the Hasmonean's successful defense of the Jewish *ethnos* (a strategic means of discourse and symbols)<sup>37</sup> both legitimized Hasmonean rule, and reinforced the association between the Hasmoneans and the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>38</sup> It is also possible that the Hasmoneans instituted the practice of sabbath Torah reading in public synagogues.<sup>39</sup> If this theory is correct, it represents another means by which the Hasmoneans *institutional frameworks* promoted and privileged Jewishness.

The creation of a national Jewish majority encouraged persons to emphasize their Jewishness in order to identify with the privileged majority, thereby making ethnic identity more important in the every-day interactions of people. The creation of a national ethnic identity also provides incentives for those considered too alien and excluded from the national majority to organize around a collective minority ethnic identity and thereby gain official recognition as an ethnic group.<sup>40</sup> However, as discussed above, the forced expulsion of non-Jews by John Hyrcanus I that sought to eliminate minority ethnic groups denied official recognition to non-Jews within Hasmonean territory.

While John Hyrcanus I prohibited the formation of minority ethnic groups within Hasmonean territory, he also enabled non-Jews to assimilate to the national Jewish *ethnos* rather than leave (a strategic mode of boundary crossing). As noted above, Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus I permitted the Idumeans to remain in their land as long as they were circumcised and

---

<sup>37</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 64.

<sup>38</sup> The association of the Hasmoneans with the Jewish *ethnos* was also likely reinforced by the reading of Torah in public assemblies/synagogues. For the distinction between public and semi-private synagogues, see Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*, ConBNT 37 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001), 237–400.

<sup>39</sup> 2 Macc 6:11 depicts persecution against Jews who are associated with the Maccabean rebels for subversive, communal activity. The symbolic importance of the Torah for the Maccabean rebels (1 Macc 2:46) and Antiochus IV's official action against law observance makes it likely that these subversive, communal activities included sabbath Torah reading. Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 322–28, esp. 324.

<sup>40</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 91.

adopted the customs of the Jews “and from that time on they have continued to be Jews” (ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους; *Ant.* 13.258). The archaeological record suggests some stayed, while others left.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there is good reason to understand John Hyrcanus I’s destruction of the Samaritan temple and adjoining city as an attempt to reorient the Samaritans to the Jerusalem temple, Hasmonean high priest, and the Hasmonean Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>42</sup> In contrast to the population decline around the Greek cities of Scythopolis and Samaria, the settlement patterns around Shechem and Mt. Gerizim show no decline in population.<sup>43</sup> The destruction of what Yohanan Aharoni identified as Jewish temples at Beersheva and Lachish at the time of Hyrcanus provides additional evidence of a Hasmonean policy of centralization.<sup>44</sup>

The picture that emerges is of Hasmonean policies that sought to expand the boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos* by enabling non-Jews to assimilate to the national Jewish *ethnos*. This redefinition of an existing ethnic group as the nation into which anyone who wished to remain must assimilate represents a strategic *mode of nation-building* through *fusion*.<sup>45</sup> The expulsion of any who refused to assimilate represents a strategic *means of coercion and violence* through *forced assimilation*.<sup>46</sup> The institutional frameworks in the early years of Hasmonean independence made Jewishness a national identity. This both ensured the continued relevance of

---

<sup>41</sup> Berlin, “Large Forces,” 31.

<sup>42</sup> This is argued by Bourgel, “Samaritan Temple,” 505–23. Cf. Edward Dąbrowa, “The Hasmoneans and the Religious Homogeneity of Their State,” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 8 (2010): 7–14, esp. 10; Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 393; Seth Schwartz, “The ‘Judaism’ of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus’s Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (Antiquities 13:38–57),” *HTR* 82 (1989): 377–91, esp. 385.

<sup>43</sup> Shechem: Campbell, *Shechem II*, 97. Southern Samaria: Finkelstein et al., *Highlands of Many Cultures*, 2:907–19, 953–54. Shechem Syncline: Zertal, *Shechem Syncline*, 63.

<sup>44</sup> Ze’ev Herzog summarizes Yohanan Aharoni’s unpublished view after Aharoni’s death. “Israelite Sanctuaries at Arad and Beer-Sheba,” in *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times*, ed. Avraham Biran (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1981), 120–22, esp. 122. Cf. Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book*, *AJEC* 72 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 287–88; Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 423–26; Steven Lee Derfler, *The Hellenistic Temple at Tel Beersheva* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1993); Yohanan Aharoni, *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and Residency*, *Lachish* 5 (Tel Aviv: Gateway, 1975), 3–11.

<sup>45</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 50–52.

<sup>46</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 70–72.

ethnic classification in and around Judea and elevated the significance of ethnic boundaries as a manner of social grouping.

### **Distribution of Power**

The *distribution of power* determines which strategies of boundary making ethnic actors will attempt by providing incentives to pursue certain strategies and by restricting access to the strategies at one's disposal.<sup>47</sup> With the independence of the Hasmonean dynasty, the *distribution of power* in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia changed both inside and outside the borders of Hasmonean control.

Inside the borders of the expanding Hasmonean territory the Jews formed a privileged majority which was aligned with the Hasmonean rulers and whose ancestral customs were the official law of the land.<sup>48</sup> The shifting ethnic demographics, outlined above, contributed to the power imbalance as Jews made up an increasingly large portion of the inhabitants that verged on creating an exclusive Jewish national demographic inside Hasmonean territory.

Outside the borders of Hasmonean control, the *distribution of power* also shifted. On the international level, the Maccabean revolt transformed the Jews from a subjugated *ethnos* that was ruled by the Seleucid Greeks, to an autonomous *ethnos* that engaged in diplomatic relations with the Seleucid Greeks. The eventual success of the Maccabean revolt, then, represents a strategic *mode of equalization* of the Jew-Greek boundary achieved by a strategic *means of political mobilization*.<sup>49</sup> This new place of the Jews was buttressed by the Hasmonean alliance with

---

<sup>47</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 93–94.

<sup>48</sup> The role of officials of the king as teachers of the law (1 Chr 17:7–8), something reserved for priests in Torah, and which included Levites in, for example, Neh 8:1–8, provides evidence for the official status of Torah legislation. Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 307–8, 324.

<sup>49</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 69, 91.

Rome.<sup>50</sup> The Jews were not the only people group in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to escape Seleucid hegemony: The Phoenician coastal cities gained independence,<sup>51</sup> the Itureans moved into the Golan, and the Nabateans expanded their domain in the Negev and southern Transjordan.<sup>52</sup> During the period of Hasmonean expansion, many of these areas were added to the Jewish state, indicating an increasingly unequal power distribution that marked the ethnic boundaries between Jews and their immediate neighbors.<sup>53</sup>

The transformed distribution of power, then, after the death of Antiochus VII in the early years of John Hyrcanus I, elevated the Jewish *ethnos* to the status of diplomatic peers with Greeks (Seleucid and Ptolemaic) and Romans. It also positioned the Jewish *ethnos* above the other *ethnē* of what had been Seleucid Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. These new power dynamics provided incentives for Jews to reify the Jew/non-Jew boundary and to police this boundary against boundary crossing in order to retain privileged status. While some elite members of the Jewish *ethnos* had access to official means of boundary making, others, while still privileged, lacked these most effective means of boundary making and needed to resort to alternative ways of making or remaking boundaries.

---

<sup>50</sup> Jewish embassies had been sent to the Romans under Judas (1 Macc 8:17–32), Jonathan (1 Macc 12:1–4, 16), Simon (1 Macc 14:16–19, 24), and John Hyrcanus I (Jos., *Ant.* 13.259–66; 14.247–55). Kevin Lee Osterloh, “Judea, Rome and the Hellenistic *Oikoumenē*: Emulation and the Reinvention of Communal Identity,” in *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin, TSAJ 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 168–206, esp. 174, n. 21.

<sup>51</sup> Tyre (125 BCE), Sidon (111 BCE), Akko-Ptolemais (107/6), and Ashkelon (104 BCE) all began minting their own coins, while Dor and Strato’s Tower were controlled by a local strongman. Berlin, “Large Forces,” 24, 26.

<sup>52</sup> Berlin, “Large Forces,” 24.

<sup>53</sup> The gradual capitulation of the Phoenician coastal cities to Hasmonean hegemony indicates that the distribution of power tipped in favor of the Jews. In the case of the Nabateans, this period represents the beginning of a sustained period of conflict with the Jews. Aryeh Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert during the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE–70 CE)*, TSAJ 18 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988). 44–45.

### Networks of Alliances

The reach of the already established networks of personal relationships that state elites maintained with their segmented population determines where state elites seek to draw the boundary between the privileged nation majority and marginalized ethnic groups.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, the networks of personal relationships between the Hasmonean leaders and the diverse people groups of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia are largely unknown.<sup>55</sup> Therefore it is not possible to correlate the Hasmonean *networks of alliances* with the location of the boundary that distinguished the nation from those excluded from incorporation into the Jewish *ethnos*. However, textual and archaeological evidence suggest that John Hyrcanus I used a criterion of kinship through Abraham to expand the boundaries of Jewishness and incorporate Idumeans, Samaritans, and perhaps Arab peoples, but exclude Greeks and Phoenicians from the national Jewish *ethnos*.

As discussed above, both the Idumeans and Samaritans were included in John Hyrcanus I's nation-building project: Idumeans were permitted to remain in their land on the condition that they adopt Jewish customs,<sup>56</sup> while the continued presence of the Samaritans in Samaria suggests the destruction of the Samaritan temple was meant to reorient the Israelites who worship on Mount Gerizim toward the Jerusalem temple. The incorporation of Idumeans, identified as

---

<sup>54</sup> Wimmer emphasizes that the *networks of alliances* are most consequential for the location of boundaries at the early stages of nation formation, which is precisely the situation during the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus I and the newly-found autonomy of the Hasmonean state. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 95–97.

<sup>55</sup> Eyal Regev nicely summarizes the state of our sources: “a detailed history of the Hasmoneans’ internal affairs, namely, their political institutions and their relationships with the people, cannot be written; the sources are too scarce, and are highly biased either for or against the Hasmoneans.” *Hasmoneans*, 12.

<sup>56</sup>With two centuries of perspective, Josephus is still able to claim that “from that time on they have continued to be Jews;” ὥστε εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰουδαίους (*Ant.* 13.258).

descendants of Esau, and Samaritans, claiming descent from Jacob,<sup>57</sup> fits with a redefinition of Jewishness based on kinship through Abraham.

In addition, the contrasting treatment of Samaritans and Greeks in Samaria suggests John Hyrcanus I excluded Seleucid Greeks from his nation-building project. Apart from Shechem,<sup>58</sup> the destruction of the Samaritan temple and adjoining city are the only evidence of destruction in non-Greek Samaria.<sup>59</sup> In sharp contrast, the violent destruction of the Greek *πολείς* of Samaria<sup>60</sup> and Nysa-Scythopolis,<sup>61</sup> and the population decline in their hinterlands<sup>62</sup> suggest that John Hyrcanus I expelled the Greek inhabitants of these cities and the surrounding countryside.<sup>63</sup> While Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus I enslaved the citizens of the *πολίς* of Samaria (*Ant.* 13.281), he never hints that the Samaritans were expelled or enslaved.

The limited evidence for John Hyrcanus I's activity among the Phoenician coastal cities is ambiguous, but fits with a policy of expulsion of the "non-Abrahamic" peoples. Azotus was destroyed and abandoned and Shiqmona was destroyed and reoccupied most likely by Jews.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Two honorary inscriptions at Delos, dated to the second century BCE, nicely illustrate Samaritan ancestral claims. Each identifies the originator as an "Israelite" (ΙΣΡΑΕΛΕΙΤΑΙ/ΙΣΡΑΗΛΙΤΑΙ) who is distinguished from other Israelites by sending the temple tax to Mount Gerizim (ΑΓΓΑΡΙΖΕΙΝ). Philippe Bruneau, "Les Israélites de Délos' et La Juiverie Délienne," *BCH* 106 (1982): 465–504, esp. 484; Magnar Kartveit, "Samaritan Self-Consciousness in the First Half of the Second Century BCE in Light of the Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim and Delos," *JSJ* 45 (2014): 449–70, esp. 466–68.

<sup>58</sup> Wright, "Samaritans at Shechem," 359–60, 65; Campbell and Wright, *Shechem III*, 311.

<sup>59</sup> Yitzhak Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations 2: The Temple City*, Judea and Samaria Publications 8 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2008), 178.

<sup>60</sup> Josephus reports that John Hyrcanus I completely destroyed the *πολίς* of Samaria and enslaved its inhabitants (*Ant.* 13.281). The destruction of the recently-constructed fort wall confirms this destruction. Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik, *Buildings at Samaria*, 30.

<sup>61</sup> Josephus reports that Epicrates betrayed the Greek *πολίς* of Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth-Shean) to John Hyrcanus I (*Ant.* 13.280). Gabi Mazar, "Beth-Shean" *NEAEHL* 5:1628. Limited evidence of destruction atop Tel Beth-Shean fits the picture of betrayal rather than outright siege, though a fire destroyed the nearby Tel Istabah, likely at the hands of John Hyrcanus I. Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean*, 1:39.

<sup>62</sup> Regional surveys show a significant decline in population around the Greek cities where only seven of the twenty-six Hellenistic sites in the surrounding area continued into the Roman period. Zertal, *Shechem Syncline*, 63; Bourgel, "Samaritan Temple," 513.

<sup>63</sup> Bourgel, "Samaritan Temple," 516. The Hasmonean self-definition over and against Greekness is seen most clearly in the Judea-Rome dichotomy in 1 Maccabees. Osterloh, "Judea, Rome and the Hellenistic *Oikoumenê*," 185.

<sup>64</sup> Elgavish, "Pottery," 65; Berlin, "Large Forces," 30–31.



Evidence from Alexander Jannaeus’s more extensive campaigns along the coastal cities provides corroborating evidence: Rather than allowing the cities to pay tribute like other conquered cities, Josephus reports that Jannaeus enslaved the inhabitants of the Phoenician coastal cities (*J.W.* 1.87–88; *Ant.* 13.357–364).

Two additional factors suggest the Hasmoneans employed a criterion of kinship through Abraham for the expansion of the Jewish *ethnos*. First, Josephus’s account of the incorporation of the Itureans under Aristobulus fits with a Hasmonean policy of incorporation through an Abrahamic kinship criterion: The Itureans were most likely an Arab people group,<sup>65</sup> and Jubilees attests that at least some Jews in the second century BCE identified the Arab people groups as kin through Abraham.<sup>66</sup> While the accuracy of Josephus’s account is rightly questioned, it is plausible that the event contains some vestige of a real event. Second, the establishment of kinship ties with the Spartans (also through Abraham) attests to Hasmonean willingness to employ the criteria of kinship in a broad sense in kinship diplomacy: According to 1 Maccabees, kinship ties with the Spartans were first “rediscovered” in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE by the high priest Onias II (12:7, 20–23), but then renewed under Jonathan (12:1–23) and Simon (14:16–23).<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> See however, Eliane Myers (*Ituraeans*, 52) who makes the case that they are related to the Arameans and not the Arabs.

<sup>66</sup> Jub. 20.12–13 “Ishmael, his sons, Keturah’s sons, and their sons went together and settled from Paran as far as the entrance of Babylon—In all the land toward the east opposite the desert. They mixed with one another and were called Arabs and Ishmaelites”

<sup>67</sup> Osterloh, “Judea, Rome and the Hellenistic *Oikoumenê*,” 200–201. The Onias, whether fictitious or real, could possibly be a reference to Onias I, but Onias II is more likely. Erich S. Gruen, “The Purported Jewish-Spartan Affiliation,” in *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C., in Honor of E. Badian*, ed. Robert W. Wallace and Edward M. Harris (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 254–72, esp. 255, 261–62, 265 n.3. For a discussion of kinship diplomacy in the ancient Mediterranean world, see Christopher P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, *Revealing Antiquity* 12 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

In summary, the *field characteristics* at the beginning of Hasmonean rule interacted with the ethnic boundary system under Seleucid rule in the following ways. First, Jewishness became the new national *ethnos* of the Hasmonean state (*institutional frameworks*), taking the superior place that “Greekness” possessed under Seleucid rule. This provided incentives for Jews to emphasize their Jewish ethnicity and for non-Jews to pursue Jewish ethnic identification, when accessible, ensuring that ethnic classification remained a relevant method of classification under Hasmonean rule. Second, the hierarchical ranking of the ethnic boundary system (*distribution of power*) in and around the expanding Hasmonean state privileged Jews above non-Jews. In addition, the Hasmonean state seems to have taken different approaches to people groups who could claim kinship through Abraham (i.e., Idumeans and Samaritans, but also possibly Arabs), and those who could not (especially Greeks and perhaps Phoenicians). This suggests a ranked boundary system in which the basic distinction is Jew/non-Jew, but among non-Jews those with kinship relations to the Jews through Abraham were able to assimilate into the expanding Jewish *ethnos*. However, *field characteristics* can change without a change in the ruling power. During the Hasmonean period, one significant change occurred during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus as outlined below.

### **Dynamics of Change**

#### **Exogenous Shift: Alexander Jannaeus’s allowance of Minority Ethnic Groups within the**

#### **Hasmonean State in 103 BCE**

Only one significant shift in the *field characteristics* occurred during the Hasmonean period: Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), unlike his predecessors, seems to have allowed non-

Jews, as non-Jews, to remain within newly conquered areas.<sup>68</sup> Evidence for this *exogenous shift* comes from both texts and archaeology. The narrative of Josephus gives the impression that citizens of conquered cities were not expelled.<sup>69</sup> The archaeological record corroborates Josephus's account and attests to numerous cities where Alexander Jannaeus's coins have been found alongside continuous occupation.<sup>70</sup> Josephus also never mentions the successful integration of a conquered people into the Jewish *ethnos* under Jannaeus.

One possible exception to Alexander Jannaeus's policy is Josephus's statement that Alexander Jannaeus's army destroyed Pella "because the inhabitants would not agree to adopt the national customs (ἔθη) of the Jews."<sup>71</sup> There are reasons, however, to consider this statement inaccurate.<sup>72</sup> First, in the *Jewish War*, Josephus mentions the conquest of Pella, but not its destruction or adoption of Jewish practice (1.104). Second, Josephus uses ἔθη to refer to Jewish law rather than νόμος, the term he uses in relation to the Idumeans and Itureans. Third, the implication of the Pella account is that the integration of the non-Jews into the Jewish *ethnos* seems to be that this was standard practice for Alexander Jannaeus's conquests, but nothing in Josephus or the material remains provides any evidence for this practice elsewhere. Fourth, the mention of Pella in the list of conquered cities is out of order. These anomalies suggest that the Pella anecdote is either carelessly adopted from a source or a later addition.<sup>73</sup>

The significance of this *exogenous shift* is that it allowed the formation of minority ethnic groups within the borders of the Hasmonean state. While the Hasmonean dynasty remained

---

<sup>68</sup> Here I follow the argument of Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, 38–39. Pace Dąbrowa, "Religious Homogeneity," 9.

<sup>69</sup> Berlin, "Large Forces," 37; Daniel R. Schwartz, "Yannai and Pella, Josephus and Circumcision," *DSD* 18 (2011): 339–59, esp. 346.

<sup>70</sup> See discussion above. Cities where Alexander Jannaeus's coins are attested alongside continued occupation include Stratos Tower, Dor, Azotus, and Gerasa. Berlin, "Large Forces," 37.

<sup>71</sup> ὑποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐς πατρίαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι (*Ant.* 13.397).

<sup>72</sup> The argument outlined here follows Schwartz, "Yannai and Pella," 341–47.

<sup>73</sup> Schwartz concludes Josephus is following Strabo here. "Yannai and Pella," 347.

aligned with the Jewish *ethnos*, and Jewish law was likely still the law of the land, the acceptance of minority *ethnē* enabled non-Jewish minority ethnic groups to gain official recognition in exchange for tribute within the expanding Hasmonean state, leading to a more ethnically diverse demographic within Hasmonean territory.

In summary, the only significant change to the new *field characteristics* introduced at the beginning of Hasmonean independence was the official recognition of minority ethnic groups within Hasmonean territory during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. In the following section, the extant textual evidence for strategies of boundary making is examined. Each text engages the *field characteristics* as outlined above. The only significant temporal distinction is the beginning of Alexander Jannaeus's reign (103 BCE) with his changed policy toward non-Jews within Hasmonean territory.

### **Strategies of Boundary Making**

The following treatment of each document will first address the introductory issues of genre, date, provenance, social location, and manuscript evidence. The genre of a text is closely related to its function and purpose. The primary purpose for most of these texts is not to rework the ethnic boundary system of Hasmonean Judea. However, aspects of each writer's preferred visions of Jewishness and the relation of Jewishness to the other *ethnē* in and around Hasmonean Judea are embedded in each text. A consideration of genre provides a check to finding ethnicity everywhere and allows the ethnic elements of the text to be situated in relation to the purpose and function of each text.

The criteria for inclusion in this chapter are a date between 129 and 63 BCE and provenance within Hasmonean Judea.<sup>74</sup> A more specific date is also important because it allows the text to be situated in relation to the shifting *field characteristics* (outlined above) that influence the hierarchies of power between ethnic groups and the location of boundaries during the Hasmonean period. The order in which the texts are addressed follows their proposed dates. After addressing introductory issues, the relevant boundaries embedded in each text are identified. The absence of explicit mention of a particular boundary (e.g., Jew/Nabataean), of course, does not mean that the writer does not acknowledge the boundary. However, it does mean that any strategy of boundary making in relation to the unmentioned boundary is not explicit and can only be identified by inference from other evidence.

The identification of ethnic and non-ethnic boundaries forms the basis for identifying strategic *modes* of boundary renegotiation. Each text represents strategic *modes* of boundary renegotiation that (re-)configures Jewishness. This study only addresses those common elements of Jewishness that the writer(s) employs in the strategic renegotiation of boundaries. That is, if a text does not mention, for example, Torah, and provides no indirect evidence for the writer's understanding of Torah, this will not be taken as evidence that the writer is anti-Torah, or uninterested in Torah, but it does preclude any treatment of the text's position vis-à-vis Torah. Therefore, a comprehensive characterization of Jewishness for each text is not attempted because the texts do not purport to outline one. Instead, this study has the more modest goal of identifying ways in which common elements are strategically employed by ethnic actors. In this way, ethnic configuration is linked with strategies of boundary making.

---

<sup>74</sup> The Jewish historian Eupolemus, for example, is included here because in contrast with the majority view which dates his writing to 158/157 BCE, this study adopts a date sometime during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 BCE).

### Eupolemus's Concerning the Kings in Judea

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location and Manuscript Evidence*

Five fragments of a work, most likely titled *Concerning the Kings in Judea*,<sup>75</sup> by the Jewish historian Eupolemus have been preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica*<sup>76</sup> and Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*.<sup>77</sup>

Eupolemus's *Concerning the Kings in Judea* is part of the ancient genre of apologetic historiography which flourished in antiquity among elite writers of various *ethnē*, who sought to provide alternative characterizations of their own *ethnos* to those of the Greek ethnographers.<sup>78</sup>

The fragmentary extant text precludes any certainty about the scope of Eupolemus's work, but it

---

<sup>75</sup> Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων. For a discussion of the debated title of Eupolemus's work, see Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*, NovTSup 64 (Boston: Brill, 1992), 212–13; Ben Zion Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*, HUCM 3 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1975), 21–26.

<sup>76</sup> Frag. 1: 9.26.1; Frag. 2: 9.30.1–34.18; Frag. 3: 9.34.20; Frag. 4: 9.39.2–5. Eusebius attributes another statement to Eupolemus (9.17.2–9) that is unanimously identified as a mistaken attribution. The critical edition used is Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, Texts and Translations: Pseudepigrapha Series 10 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1983), 157–87.

<sup>77</sup> Fragment five (1.141.4–5) is attested only in the *Strom*. The two other fragments contained in *Strom*. (1.23.153.4; 1.21.130.3) parallel fragments one and two from *Prae. Ev.* respectively. Clement of Alexandria's quotations are generally inferior to Eusebius's, and so Clement's parallel fragments are only valuable as "corroborative evidence." Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 66. Neither Eusebius nor Clement quote Eupolemus directly, but rather transmit Eupolemus through Alexander Polyhistor's (105–30 BCE) now-lost work *Concerning the Jews* (Περὶ Ἰουδαίῳ). Although the sources for Eupolemus are two degrees removed from his own writing, scholars have been generally optimistic about the accuracy of the transmitted fragments. John Strugnell's evaluation of Alexander Polyhistor is representative: "no bias in doctoring his sources, or historiographical tendency in abbreviating them can be detected." "General Introduction, with a Note on Alexander Polyhistor," *OTP* 2:777–79, esp. 2:778. Wacholder's evaluation is perhaps overly optimistic, but also indicative of the general confidence in the accurate transmission of Eupolemus's fragments when he writes "both Alexander Polyhistor and his copyist Eusebius quoted their sources verbatim ..." *Eupolemus*, 48.

<sup>78</sup> That is, the genre was modeled on Greek ethnography and also a reaction against it. Gregory Sterling defines apologetic historiography as "the story of a subgroup of people in an extended prose narrative written by a member of the group who follows the group's own traditions but Hellenizes them in an effort to establish the identity of the group within the setting of the larger world." *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 18. Numerous works of apologetic historiography were written by Jews in the third and second century BCE, including Demetrius, Artapanus, and Pseudo-Eupolemus, yet among these only Eupolemus can reliably be located in Judea.

began no later than Moses and most likely ended with Hasmonean release from Seleucid taxation under Simon in 141 BCE.<sup>79</sup>

While Josephus identifies Eupolemus as a Greek,<sup>80</sup> the consensus is that he was a Jew and that he wrote in or around Judea.<sup>81</sup> As a historian, Eupolemus is an elite Jew. His political and geographical perspective (outlined in the discussion of boundaries in Eupolemus's work) indicates that he is aligned with the Hasmoneans<sup>82</sup> and his emphasis on the temple suggests he might be a priest.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> The history may have begun with Adam, since fragment five addresses chronology from Adam to the Seleucid ruler Demetrius II (r. 145–139/138 BCE). Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.141.4–5. Fragment one relates an anecdote about Moses. Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 9.26.1; also quoted by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* 1.23.153.4. Fragment two narrates from Moses through Solomon with an extended discussion of Solomon's temple. Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.*, 9.30.1–34.18. A short overlapping excerpt is found in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.21.130.3. Fragment three also concerns Solomon. Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 9.34.20. Fragment four relates to Jeremiah and the destruction of Jerusalem. Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 9.39.2–5. Frank Clancy, "Eupolemus the Chronographer and 141 BCE," *SJOT* 23 (2009): 274–81, esp. 280; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 213; Thomas Naef, "L'histoire d'Israël dans les fragments d'Eupolème," in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural historiography/L'histiographie biblique, ancienne et moderne*, ed. George J. Brooke and Thomas Römer (Louvain: Peeters, 2007), 203–9, esp. 204.

<sup>80</sup> Josephus associates Eupolemus with two Greek writers and excuses him for inaccuracies because he is not a Jew. "Demetrius Palereus, the elder Philo, and Eupolemus are exceptional in their approximation to the truth, and [their errors] may be excused on the ground of their inability to follow quite accurately the meaning of our records." (*Ag. Ap.* 1.218).

<sup>81</sup> His Jewish identity is indicated by his emphasis and elevation of things Jewish (especially the temple, Moses, David, and Solomon) and a knowledge of Jewish scriptures that is unparalleled among non-Jewish writers prior to the Common Era. David A. Creech, "The Lawless Pride: Jewish Identity in the Fragments of Eupolemus," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 29 (2012): 29–51, esp. 29–30. In addition, Eupolemus's knowledge of Hebrew is indicated by his transliteration of Hebrew names, translations of Hebrew words that are transliterated in the Old Greek, and chronological calculations at least partly dependent on the Masoretic Text. Holladay, *Fragments*, 101. n. 15. His location in or around Judea is further suggested by his use of Seleucid regnal years for his chronology. Holladay, *Fragments* 99. n. 3. Additional evidence has been found by identifying Eupolemus with one Eupolemus sent as an ambassador by Judas Maccabeus to Rome (1 Macc 8.17–21; 2 Macc. 4.11; *Jos., Ant.* 12.415, 419.). However this identification is not adopted in this study.

<sup>82</sup> Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 207.

<sup>83</sup> Holladay, *Fragments*, 7. Those who identify Eupolemus with the ambassador at the time of Judas Maccabeus, of course, are able to appeal to external evidence for his social location. However, the above two points hold irrespective of this identification.

There is a near consensus that Eupolemus's work dates to 157/158 BCE.<sup>84</sup> However, this has recently been questioned, in favor of a date a decade or two after 141/140 BCE.<sup>85</sup> A precise dating is made possible by the scope of Eupolemus's writing "from Adam until the fifth year of the reign of Demetrius."<sup>86</sup> The different dates hinge on whether Demetrius is Demetrius II Nicator (r. 145–139/138 BCE) or Demetrius I Soter (r. 162–150 BCE) and while either identification is possible, a number of factors suggest Demetrius II.<sup>87</sup>

Two non-chronological factors support a date sometime after 141/140 BCE. First, the choice to end the history in 141/140 BCE corresponds with the (nominal) independence of Judea from Seleucid control.<sup>88</sup> This suggests that Eupolemus ended his history with Hasmonean independence and did not necessarily end his history at his present.<sup>89</sup> Second, the rewriting of Jewish history reflects the interests of the Hasmonean expansionist strategy (discussed below

---

<sup>84</sup> A date of 158/157 was most influentially argued by Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste Judäischer und Samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Hellenistische Studien 1–2 (Breslau: Skutsch, 1875). It has more recently been adopted by Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 5–7, and Holladay, *Fragments*, 93. It has been defended recently on onomastic grounds: Søren Lund Sørensen, "Identifying the Jewish Eupolemoi: An Onomastic Approach," *JJS* 66 (2015): 24–35. Also, Lester L. Grabbe, "Jewish Identity and Hellenism in the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek," in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*, ed. Patrick Gay and Gail O'Day, NovTSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 21–32, esp. 26; Naef, "L'histoire d'Israël," 209.

<sup>85</sup> Clancy, "Eupolemus the Chronographer," 274–81. G. Anthony Keddie dates it to the late second century BCE. "Solomon to His Friends: The Role of Epistolarity in Eupolemos," *JSP* 22 (2013): 201–37, esp. 204. In the nineteenth century, a date just after 141/140 BCE was common. Marcus von Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assur's und Babel's seit Phul: aus der Concordanz des Alten Testaments, des Berossos, des Kanons der Könige und der griechischen Schriftsteller: nebst Versuchen über die vorgeschichtliche Zeit* (Berlin: Hertz, 1857), 354.

<sup>86</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.141.4. Translations, unless noted, are from Holladay, *Fragments*, 135.

<sup>87</sup> First, the text identifies the fifth year of Demetrius with "the twelfth year that Ptolemy ruled Egypt." Clem. Al., *Strom.* 1.141.4. Ptolemy VIII Euergetes began his reign in 170 BCE, and so the twelfth year corresponds to 158/157 BCE. This has been the major reason for the consensus date. For example, Ben Zion Wacholder states "There is no Ptolemy whose twelfth year of reign would fall in the year 141/140. Therefore scholarly opinion, ... now believes that Eupolemus was dating his chronology during the reign of Demetrius I Soter (162–150), whose fifth year occurred in 158/157 BCE." *Eupolemus*, 6. However, Ptolemy VIII was not ruling Egypt in 158/157, but exiled in Cyrene from 164–146 BCE. Clancy, "Eupolemus," 276. Ptolemy VIII returned to rule Egypt from 146–116 BCE and the twelfth year that Ptolemy VIII was in fact ruling Egypt then corresponds to 141 BCE. Clancy, "Eupolemus," 277. The chronology, then, fits better with a date of 141/140 BCE. For a discussion of how this chronology fits with the chronology of Genesis and the reference to Demetrius see Frank Clancy, "Demetrius the Chronographer and 141 BCE," *SJOT* 19 (2005): 143–45.

<sup>88</sup> 1 Macc 14.35–37; Jos., *Ant.* 13.213–17; *J.W.* 1.50, 53.

<sup>89</sup> Keddie, "Epistolarity," 227.



under “Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation”) and therefore likely dates to the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE).<sup>90</sup>

*Boundaries in Eupolemus’s Concerning the Kings in Judea*

Eupolemus’s *Concerning the Kings in Judea* does not make a binary distinction between the Jews and all other *ethnē*. Only once are “the nations” juxtaposed with “the Jews”: When Eupolemus discusses the provisions for Solomon’s temple he writes: “The aforementioned nations (ἔθνη) supplied the labor and the twelve tribes of the Jews also supplied the 160,000 men ...” (Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 34.4). Even here the emphasis is on solidarity, and “the nations” are not an undifferentiated category, but a collective referring to the previously mentioned Egyptians and Phoenicians (*Prae. Ev.* 32.1; 34.2). Accordingly, for the writer the Jews are one *ethnos* among many *ethnē* of the Hellenistic world.<sup>91</sup>

Eupolemus modifies the political and ethnic categories in his historical narrative to reflect the contemporary situation of the Hasmoneans and the greater Hellenistic world.<sup>92</sup> This is most obvious in his embellishment of David’s conquests (*Prae. Ev.* 30.3–4) which includes not only the Syrians (2 Sam 8:3–8; 10:6–19), Idumeans (2 Sam 8:13–14), Ammonites (2 Sam 10:1–19; 11:1–27; 12:26–31) and Moabites (2 Sam 8:2), as in the historical accounts of in the books of Samuel and Kings, but also the Assyrians, Phoenicians, Itureans, Nabateans and “Nabdeans”.<sup>93</sup> Eupolemus’s omission of the Philistines may reflect an identification of the Phoenicians and the Philistines.<sup>94</sup> This anachronistic update and expansion indicates that many of the ethnic/political

---

<sup>90</sup> Keddie, “Epistolarity,” 227–29.

<sup>91</sup> Gregory Sterling writes “Eupolemos does not, however, have a parochial perspective. The Jews are part of a larger community. They can no longer define themselves in isolation, but must locate themselves within the Hellenistic world.” *Historiography*, 222.

<sup>92</sup> Holladay, *Fragments*, 103 n. 24, 104 n. 29; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 133.

<sup>93</sup> The mention of the otherwise-unattested Nabdeans is probably a doublet of Nabateans. Holladay, *Fragments*, 140 n. 20.

<sup>94</sup> For another slightly earlier equation of the Philistines and the Phoenicians see Sir 50:25–26.

boundaries in Eupolemus's text reflect the ethnic boundaries of the writer's present realities.

Ethnic groups that reflect contemporary groups include Jews,<sup>95</sup> Greeks,<sup>96</sup> Phoenicians,<sup>97</sup>

Egyptians,<sup>98</sup> Syrians, Idumeans, Itureans, Nabateans,<sup>99</sup> Ammonites, and Moabites,<sup>100</sup>

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

As an account of Jewish history, Eupolemus's *Concerning the Kings in Judea* represents a *discursive means* of boundary making. The extant fragments show no attempt to rework the way persons are categorized, or identified. However, the text does promote a particular hierarchical ranking of *ethnē* that, if adopted on a wide scale, would modify the boundary characteristics of the Hellenistic world, especially in the vicinity of the emerging Hasmonean state and its neighboring peoples.

First, Eupolemus reorders the Jew/Greek/Phoenician boundaries by making Moses the bearer of culture to Greeks through Phoenicians: "Moses was the first wise man and ... he gave the alphabet to the Jews first; then the Phoenicians received it from the Jews, and the Greeks received it from the Phoenicians. Also, Moses was the first to write down laws, and he did so for the Jews" (*Prae. Ev.* 25.4). On the scale of the *Oikoumenē*, Eupolemus promotes a ranked order of Jew-Phoenician-Greek in the important category of culture. This represents an ambitious

---

<sup>95</sup> Frag. 1: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 26.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.23.153.4; Frag. 2: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 30.4; 34.1, 4, 10; Frag. 4: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 9.39.2, 5; Frag. 5: Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.21.141.5.

<sup>96</sup> Frag. 1: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 26.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.23.153.4; Frag. 2: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 34.12.

<sup>97</sup> Frag. 1: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 26.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.23.153.4; Frag. 2: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 30.3–4; 33.1; 34.4, 17.

<sup>98</sup> Frag. 2: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 30.4, 8; 31.1; 32.2; 34.17.

<sup>99</sup> The Syrians, Idumeans, Itureans, and Nabateans are mentioned once. Frag. 2: Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 30.3. Ammonites, Moabites,

<sup>100</sup> The Ammonites and Moabites are mentioned twice. Frag. 2: *Prae. Ev.* 30.3; 33.1. Eupolemus also mentions Assyrians, Babylonians, and Medes, but these simply reflect historical memories and are not directly relevant for group boundaries in and around Hasmonean territory. Eupolemus locates the Assyrians in Gilead, suggesting he may identify them with some contemporary group. Frag. 2: *Prae. Ev.* 30.3. Later, Solomon tells Souron he will write to Gilead. Frag. 2: *Prae. Ev.* 33.1. Babylonians and Medes are mentioned in frag. 4: *Prae. Ev.* 9.39.3.

attempt to elevate Jewishness to a singular place of prestige in the Hellenistic world and a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Greek and Jew/Phoenician boundaries.

Second, on a more local scale, Eupolemus reworks the stories of David's conquests and Solomon's temple construction to enhance the prestige of these two heroes of Jewish collective memory in order to elevate the Jewish *ethnos* of his present to the top of the hierarchically ranked boundary system in and around the expanding Hasmonean state. It is clear that Eupolemus understands the stories of David and Solomon to function as a precedent for contemporary boundary characteristics.<sup>101</sup> This is indicated by the use of anachronistic appellations for places and people groups: The Babylonians capture Scythopolis rather than Beth-Shean (*Prae. Ev.* 9.39.4.); the Edomites are Idumeans (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.3); the Israelites are designated Jews (e.g., *Prae. Ev.*, 9.34.4); land is divided into Galilee (*Prae. Ev.* 33.1; 9.39.5), Samaria (*Prae. Ev.* 33.1; 9.39.5), and Judea (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.1; 9.33.1); and David and Solomon seem to be kings only of Judea.<sup>102</sup> Contemporary concerns are also indicated by the expansion of conquered people groups to include the Itureans, Nabateans, and Phoenicians (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.3), three first-century *ethnē* that post-date the united monarchy.

Eupolemus's reworking of David's conquests enhances Jewishness in two ways. First, the extent of David's conquest and diplomacy is expanded. David's territory reaches the Euphrates and includes Cammagene in northern Syria while his conquered people include, strangely, the Assyrians (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.3). Eupolemus also makes David initiate a friendship with the king of Egypt (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.4).<sup>103</sup> These modifications of the base text narrative elevate the prominence of the Jews in the *historical memories* related to the area. Second, and

---

<sup>101</sup> Grabbe, "Jewish Identity and Hellenism," 27.

<sup>102</sup> This is suggested by Solomon's statement that he will write diplomatic letters to Samaria and Galilee similar to those he wrote to Egypt and Souron. Frag 2: *Prae. Ev.* 9.33.1.

<sup>103</sup> Nothing of the sort is mentioned in Samuel or Chronicles. Holladay, *Fragments*, 140 n. 20.

related, David is said to have conquered each of the neighboring people groups who live on the borders of Hasmonean Judea: the Idumeans, Nabateans, Phoenicians, Itureans, and Syrians (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.3). This provides a historical precedent for Jewish dominance and Hasmonean expansion.

Eupolemus's account of Solomon's temple project includes four diplomatic letters between Solomon and the Egyptian king Vaphres,<sup>104</sup> and Souron, king of Tyre, Sidon and Phoenicia.<sup>105</sup> While the correspondence with Souron is modeled on a correspondence between Solomon and the king of Tyre in 1 Kgs 5:3–6, 8–9 and 1 Chr 2:3–16, the correspondence with Vaphnes, king of Egypt has no literary precedent.<sup>106</sup> Both, however, are wholly the creation of Eupolemus.<sup>107</sup> The letters portray a historical situation that is meant to serve as a precedent for diplomatic relations between the Hasmoneans and the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Phoenician coastal cities.<sup>108</sup> In particular, Eupolemus uses friendship language, a common feature of Hellenistic epistolography,<sup>109</sup> to portray Vaphres and Souron as at peace with Solomon, but more importantly, as his vassals.<sup>110</sup> Most significantly, Solomon refers to each king as the “friend of my father” (φίλος πατρικός, Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.* 9.31.1, 33.1) as he seeks to renew their diplomatic relations.<sup>111</sup> The system of friendship diplomacy (φιλία and *amicitia*) in which Solomon's language participates typically involved a superior ruler and inferior vassal(s).<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> The Egyptian king Vaphres reigned in the sixth century, while the Egyptian king at the time of Solomon was Shishak. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 135–136.

<sup>105</sup> *Prae. Ev.*, 9.31.1–34.3. In the Masoretic Text, the king of Tyre's name is Hiram (חִירָם, חִירָם, חִירָם). No ancient writer has the same spelling as Eupolemus, Σοάρων, however, Herodotus has Σαρῶμος (7.98).

<sup>106</sup> Holladay, *Fragments*, 143 n. 37.

<sup>107</sup> Keddie, “Epistolarity,” 202; Holladay, *Fragments*, 143 n. 37; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 155–58.

<sup>108</sup> Keddie, “Epistolarity,” 206.

<sup>109</sup> Stanley K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, LEC 5 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986), 58–70.

<sup>110</sup> Keddie, “Epistolarity,” 225.

<sup>111</sup> Holladay, *Fragments*, 145 n. 49.

<sup>112</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1:75

Solomon's initiative to renew the friendship portrays him as the superior and Vaphres and Souron as vassals.<sup>113</sup> The letters from Vaphres and Souron each refer to Solomon as "the great king" (βασιλεύς μέγας, *Prae. Ev.*, 9.33.1, 34.1), confirming their subordinate position.<sup>114</sup> In summary, Eupolemus attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion* by rewriting of the *historical memories* and elevates the profile and international status of heroes from Israel's past in order to provide a precedence for their singular status in late second-century BCE Mediterranean politics.

### *Jewishness as Configured by Eupolemus*

Unlike many Jewish writers from the Hasmonean and Early Roman periods, Eupolemus does not appeal to the theology of Deuteronomy or Ezra's holy seed ideology to elevate the Jews over the neighboring *ethnē*. In *Concerning the Kings in Judea*, God assists (*Prae. Ev.* 9.31.1), commands (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.6, 33.1), appoints kings and prophets (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.2, 32.1, 33.1, 39.2), and receives sacrifices (*Prae. Ev.* 9.34.16). God is also the creator of the world (*Prae. Ev.*, 9.33.1) and blessed by non-Jews (Eusebius, *Prae. Ev.*, 9.34.1), but his covenant relationship with the Jews is never employed to elevate Jews above other *ethnē*.

Instead, Eupolemus appeals to culture and power. Eupolemus attributes the invention of the alphabet and the introduction of law to Moses (*Prae. Ev.*, 9.26.1), enhances David's military exploits (*Prae. Ev.* 9.30.1–4), and embellishes Solomon's prestige among neighboring kings (9.30.8–34.4) and exaggerates the dimensions of Solomon's temple.<sup>115</sup> In the context of

---

<sup>113</sup> Keddie, "Epistolarity," 212.

<sup>114</sup> Holladay, *Fragments*, 146 n. 59.

<sup>115</sup> Mathias Delcor, "La description du temple de Salomon selon Eupolème et le problème de ses sources," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 251–71, esp. 254.

Eupolemus's other emphases, this is best understood as related to temple competition and prestige.

It is not possible to outline in full Eupolemus's configuration of Jewishness due to the fragmentary extant text. His emphasis on temple and neglect of the law could suggest an anti-Torah perspective.<sup>116</sup> However, Moses is accredited with instituting law (*Prae. Ev.* 9.26.1), and the lost portions of Eupolemus's history may show more interest in law. Like other texts written by Jews, the *historical memories* of the Jews are rewritten, but in contrast to many, it is elements of kingship and power that are emphasized, not covenant.

### **1 Maccabees**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

1 Maccabees narrates the successful revolt of Mattathias and his sons, Judas (r. 167–161 BCE), Jonathan (r. 161–143 BCE), and Simon (r. 142–134 BCE), against Seleucid rule in Judea. The text's overt pro-Hasmonean bias indicates that the writer is aligned with the Hasmoneans, and quite possibly employed by the royal court.<sup>117</sup> Formal similarities indicate that the writer modeled his work on the ancestral historical books (i.e., 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings), suggesting the writer meant his composition to be included among the Jewish sacred texts.<sup>118</sup> 1 Maccabees was almost certainly written in Hebrew, but is extant most importantly in Greek, as well as Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Creech, "The Lawless Pride," 29–51.

<sup>117</sup> Daniel Lanzinger, "Alcimus' Last Command: History and Propaganda in 1 Maccabees 9:54," *JSJ* 46 (2015): 86–102, esp. 87; Stephanie von Dobbeler, *Die Bücher 1–2 Makkabäer*, NSKAT 11 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997), 46; John R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, Guides to apocrypha and pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 33.

<sup>118</sup> Goldstein, *1 Macc*, 26.

<sup>119</sup> Origen and Jerome both knew of a Hebrew version. Eusebius relates Origen's list of Hebrew scriptures, which refers to 1 Maccabees by its Hebrew name, Σαρβηθσαβαναελ. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, 6.25.2; Jerome states in the preface to his translation of Samuel and Kings that *Machabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi*; Roger Gryson

Scholars date 1 Maccabees to either the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE)<sup>120</sup> or the kingship of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).<sup>121</sup> Earlier scholarship favored a date after 104 BCE because the final verses seem to indicate that John Hyrcanus I is dead.<sup>122</sup> However, this reference to John Hyrcanus I may be a biblicalizing phrase,<sup>123</sup> or the passage may be a later addition.<sup>124</sup> Other arguments for a late date are diverse and weak.<sup>125</sup> The Hasmonean propagandist purpose of the work makes the lack of apologetic for John Hyrcanus I's incorporationist policies or mention of the territorial expansions under John Hyrcanus I and Alexander Jannaeus inexplicable if 1 Maccabees was written after 112 BCE.<sup>126</sup>

---

and Robert Weber, eds., *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 2007), 364–66, esp. 364. The numerous Hebraisms in the Greek text and the poor quality of the Greek also attest to a Hebrew original. Jonathan A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees: A New Translation, with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 14; Paul Joüon, “Quelques Hebraïsmes de syntaxe dans le premier Livre des Maccabées,” *Bib* 3 (1922): 204–6. See also Uriel Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation and Commentary* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2004), 9–10; The critical edition is Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber I*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936). Cf. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 15–16.

<sup>120</sup> Katell Berthelot, “Reclaiming the Land,” 539–40 n. 1; Francis Borchardt, *The Torah in 1 Maccabees: A Literary Critical Approach to the Text*, DCLS 19 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 173; Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 13; Osterloh, “Judean Collective Identity,” 82; David S. Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, CBQMS 31 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1999), 122; Von Dobbeler, *1–2 Makkabäer*, 46; Seth Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion,” *JJS* 42 (1991): 16–38, esp. 17.

<sup>121</sup> The reference to John Hyrcanus I (16:23–24) places the *terminus post quem* in the early years of his high priesthood. The writer's favorable view of Rome suggests a date well before Pompey's invasion (63 BCE), when the looming presence of Rome was yet felt. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 63; John C. Dancy, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees*, Blackwell's Theological Texts (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), 8; F. M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées*, 2nd ed., EBib (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1949), xxviii–xxix.

<sup>122</sup> “The rest of the acts of John and his wars and the brave deeds that he did, and the building of the walls that he completed, and his achievements, are written in the annals of his high priesthood, from the time that he became high priest after his father” (16:23–24)

<sup>123</sup> Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 15 n. 32.

<sup>124</sup> Borchardt (*Torah*, 173–86) and Williams (*Structure*, 132) conclude that these verses are a later addition.

<sup>125</sup> See especially the discussion in Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations,” 16–38.

<sup>126</sup> Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations,” 36; Berthelot, “Reclaiming the Land,” 539–40 n. 1.

*Boundaries in 1 Maccabees*

The basic boundary in 1 Maccabees is between Israel/the Jews (Ἰσραήλ/Ἰουδαῖοι) and the “nations” (ἔθνη).<sup>127</sup> However, the Jews are also an *ethnos* like other *ethnē*. This is most clear when Simon addresses the people, saying “I will avenge my nation (τοῦ ἔθνου μου) ... for all the nations (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) have gathered together out of hatred to destroy us” (13:6; cf. 10:25).<sup>128</sup> When *ethnē* is juxtaposed with Ἰσραήλ/Ἰουδαῖοι it is not a generalized designation of all non-Jews, but a collective representing various non-Jewish people groups. The non-Jewish *ethnē* are most basically “foreigners.”<sup>129</sup>

Of the *ethnē* that are immediate neighbors of Judea, Idumeans and Arabs represent distinct *ethnē*, but Phoenicians do not. Members of an Arabic *ethnos* are most often identified by tribe in 1 Maccabees.<sup>130</sup> The Nabateans are portrayed as friends of Judas (5:25) and Jonathan (9:35), but smaller Arab tribes are only depicted in conflict with the Jews, and always end up defeated.<sup>131</sup> The Idumeans are consistently depicted as hostile to the Jews.<sup>132</sup> Judas successfully attacks the “sons of Esau” twice (5:3, 65) and Hebron requires a garrison to guard against Idumea (4:61).<sup>133</sup> The terms Φοινικῆος (“Phoenician”) and Φυλιστιμ (“Philistine”) never occur

<sup>127</sup> Judith Lieu, “Not Hellenes but Philistines?: The Maccabees and Josephus Defining the ‘Other,’” *JJS* 53 (2002): 246–63, esp. 250, 253. The writer uses “Jew” or “Israelite” interchangeably to designate members of the Jewish *ethnos*. Ἰσραήλ and cognates occur 63 times. Ἰουδαῖος (37) and Ἰουδα/Ἰουδαία (27) together are used 64 times. Τα ἔθνη occurs roughly 50 times in 1 Maccabees. Cf. Staples, “Reconstructing Israel,” 221.

<sup>128</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 96. English translations of 1 Maccabees are from the New Revised Standard Version, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>129</sup> This is seen by the writer’s predilection for the prefix ἄλλο “foreign, other.” ἀλλόφυλος (10x; 3:41; 4:22; 5:66, 68; 4:12, 26; 11:68; 11:74; 4:30; 5:15) ἀλλογενής (3x; 3:36, 45; 10:12) ἀλλότριος (6x; 1:38, 44; 2:7; 3:36; 6:13; 15:33) ἀλλοτριοῦν (3x; 6:24; 11:53; 15:27). Lieu, “Not Hellenes but Philistines?” 249, 263.

<sup>130</sup> Ἄραβ (‘‘Arab’’) occurs in 5:39; 11:17, 39; and 12:31.

<sup>131</sup> 5:4; 9:36–40; 12:31. In addition, individual Arabs are mentioned twice (11:17, 31).

<sup>132</sup> Schwartz, “Israel and the Nations,” 25.

<sup>133</sup> The μερίς of Idumea is mentioned in 4:15, 29, 61; 5:3; 6:31.



in 1 Maccabees, and therefore the Phoenicians are not present as a distinct *ethnos* in the narrative.<sup>134</sup>

The writer of 1 Maccabees has an overwhelmingly favorable view of the Romans.<sup>135</sup> Judas established an alliance with the Romans (8:17–32) which was renewed under Jonathan (12:1–4) and Simon (14:17–19, 24–26), primarily as a counter to Seleucid power (8:31–32; 15:17–18). The writer composes an encomium to the Romans which emphasizes their superiority to Greek kings (8:1–16). Throughout 1 Maccabees, the Jew/Roman boundary is limited to diplomatic relations, and the Roman *ethnos* is not marked by direct contact in or around Judea.

Surprisingly, the Jew/Greek boundary is not a focus.<sup>136</sup> Of the five occurrences of Ἑλλάην (“Greek”; 1:10; 6:2; 8:18) and Ἑλλάς (“Greece”; 1:1; 8:10), three are neutral.<sup>137</sup> Once the attacking army is designated οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος (“the ones from Greece,” 8:10) and the Greeks are said to be enslaving Israel (8:18). Other *ethnē* that are mentioned either refer to the distant past, or are neutral and peripheral.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> However, γῆ ἀλλοφύλων (“land of foreigners”) consistently designates the Phoenician coastal plain.<sup>134</sup> In the LXX, ἀλλόφυλος often translates תְּשֻׁלִּי (“Philistine”) and תְּשֻׁלִּיָּה (“Philistia”). Roland de Vaux, “Les Philistins dans la Septante,” in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*, ed. Josef Schreiner (Wurzburg: Echter, 1972), 185–94, esp. 185. Twice in 1 Maccabees ἀλλόφυλος reflects historical references to the Philistines: In 4:30 it refers to Philistines whom David defeated; in 5:15 the writer lumps the inhabitants of “Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon” with Galilee ἀλλόφυλων (“of the foreigners”). This phrase is taken verbatim from LXX Joel 4:4 which in the MT reads גִּלְיִן פְּלִשְׁתִּים (“district of the Philistines”). The Phoenician identity of the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon, and their penetration into Galilee, suggest that the reference here is to Phoenicians, and that, like other Jewish texts of the period, the Philistines are elided with the writer’s present-day enemies, in this case most immediately Phoenicians. Lieu, “Not Hellenes but Philistines?,” 253. The four other uses of ἀλλόφυλος refer to foreigners who are not distinctly Phoenician (4:12, 26; 11:68, 74), indicating that the writer does not directly address Phoenicians as a distinct *ethnos*.

<sup>135</sup> Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 63.

<sup>136</sup> Lieu, “Not Hellenes but Philistines?” 252.

<sup>137</sup> Alexander the great is the king of the Greeks (6:2) and of Greece (1:1) and Antiochus IV becomes king of the Greeks (1:10).

<sup>138</sup> The land of Egypt is mentioned (1:16–20; 2:53; 3:32; 10:51, 57; 11:1, 13, 59), but an Egyptian *ethnos* is not part of the narrative. Persians (1:1; 3:31; 6:1) and Medes (1:1) are mentioned, and the writer notes that Alexander was a Macedonians (1:1; 6:2).

The one non-ethnic boundary that is prominent in 1 Maccabees is between lawless Jews and those eventually aligned with Mattathias and his sons.<sup>139</sup> The writer attributes the initial conflict to these lawless ones: “In those days certain lawless ones (παράνομοι) came out from Israel and misled many, saying, “Let us go and make a covenant with the nations (μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν) around us, for since we separated from them many disasters have come upon us.”<sup>140</sup> The lawless consistently side with the Hasmonean opponents. They “fled to the nations (τὰ ἔθνη) for safety” (2:44) and disappear from the narrative after Simon “drove out all the lawless and outlaws (ἐξάιρω πάντα ἄνομον καὶ πονηρόν).”<sup>141</sup>

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

1 Maccabees narrates the transformation of the Jews of Judea from a subjugated *ethnos*, oppressed by the Seleucid empire, to an autonomous *ethnos*, free to practice their ancestral customs and offer sacrifice at the Jerusalem cult. Accordingly, for the writer and his contemporaries, the narrative serves as a *discursive* strategic *means* of boundary making arguing that the Hasmonean Jewish state is a political entity coequal with the Roman and Greek empires.<sup>142</sup> This appears most clearly in the writer’s depiction of the Hasmoneans engaged as coequals in diplomatic relations of friendship and alliance with claimants to the Seleucid throne (10:6, 16, 47, 65, 89; 12:26), Rome (8:17–32; 12:1–4; 14:17–19, 24–26), and “other places”

---

<sup>139</sup> The “lawless” Jews are designated παράνομοι (“ones against the law,” 1:11, 34; 10:61; 11:21), ἄνομοι (“lawless ones,” 2:44; 3:4, 6, 20; 7:5; 9:23, 58, 69; 11:25; 14:14), and ἄσεβεῖς (“ungodly ones,” 3:8, 15; 6:21; 7:5, 9; 9:25, 73).

<sup>140</sup> 1:11. Translation adapted from NRSV.

<sup>141</sup> 14:14. My translations.

<sup>142</sup> 1 Maccabees informs us primarily about the types of arguments used at the time of writing, and not those that may have been used during the early stages of the revolt. Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 15.

(12:2).<sup>143</sup> The rediscovery of kinship relations with the Spartans (12:2, 5–23; 14:16, 20–23) also positions the Hasmoneans as equal to Spartans.<sup>144</sup>

By presenting the Hasmonean state, explicitly aligned with the Jewish *ethnos*, as coequal with the Roman and Greek empires, the writer of 1 Maccabees presents the Jewish *ethnos* as a dominant *ethnos* comparable to Romans and Greeks in the Mediterranean ethnic boundary system. This represents a strategic *mode of equalization* of the Jew/Greek and Jew/Roman boundaries.

The key, according to 1 Maccabees, that enabled the ascendancy of the inferior Jewish *ethnos* to international prominence was their God who would help the pious: On his death-bed, Mattathias programmatically commands his sons to “be courageous and grow strong in the law, for by it you will gain honor” (2:64). At numerous points in the narrative this connection between law observance and military success is demonstrated (2:64; 4:11; 11:70–72; 16:3). In fact, the narrative relativizes the importance of alliances. This is stated explicitly by the Jewish delegation to Sparta: “Therefore, though we have no need of these things, since we have as encouragement the holy books that are in our hands, we have undertaken to send to renew our family ties and friendship with you, so that we may not become estranged from you” (12:9–10, cf. 12:14–15).

While the God of the Jewish *ethnos* is used to portray the Jews as equal to, and independent of the Greek and Roman *ethnē*, there is no attempt to elevate the Jews above these *ethnē*: There is no eschatological vision of Jewish ascendancy, no indication that the Jewish

---

<sup>143</sup> “[T]his Judean account, regards the Judeans and Romans as equals.” Osterloh, “Judean Collective Identity,” 67.

<sup>144</sup> It is often pointed out that the alliance with Rome, as with various Seleucid rulers was not between equals. However, this only underlines the strategic nature of the writer’s attempt to portray them as equals. For a discussion of *φιλία καὶ συμμαχία* (“friendship and alliance”) in the eastern Mediterranean see Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir Séleucide*, 200–204.

*ethnos* might expand beyond “the inheritance of our ancestors,”<sup>145</sup> and no programmatic destruction of foreigners.<sup>146</sup> That is, they remain one *ethnos* among the dominant *ethnē* of the ancient Mediterranean, and there is no strategic *mode of normative inversion*.<sup>147</sup> The other neighboring nations (Idumeans, Arabs, Phoenicians) are depicted as inferior to the Hasmonean Jews. This simply reflects the existing power relations between the expanding Hasmonean state and these people groups, and thereby reifies the existing boundary features.

The writer also attempts a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* by disidentifying with the “lawless” members of the Jewish *ethnos* who “came out from Israel” (ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰσραηλ, 1:11) and “joined with the nations” (ἐζευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, 1:12).<sup>148</sup> These “lawless” ones reversed the sign of circumcision and “abandoned the holy covenant” (ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας, 1:15) and made a “covenant with the nations” (διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, 1:11).<sup>149</sup> When the writer acknowledges that the “lawless” were once part of the Jews he uses the preposition ἐκ, reflecting their initial “going out” (1:11).<sup>150</sup> In context, this preposition is understood to indicate source or separation and translated as “out from.” That is, the narrative of 1 Maccabees portrays

---

<sup>145</sup> In fact, Simon explicitly states that “We have neither taken foreign land nor seized foreign property, but only the inheritance of our ancestors” (15:33–34). This has almost always been understood as to indicate that the Hasmoneans attempted to retake the “promised land.” However, Katell Berthelot has recently argued that it refers to greater Judea. “Reclaiming the Land,” 559. See also Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 71.

<sup>146</sup> Doron Mendels, “Phases of Inscribed Memory Concerning the Land of Israel in Palestinian Judaism of the Second Century BCE: The Case of 1 Maccabees,” *TLZ* 138 (2013): 151–64, esp. 159.

<sup>147</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 96, 99.

<sup>148</sup> It is possible that the writer’s portrayal of the “lawless” as going out from Israel and joining the nations is simply rhetoric, and that in practice he would not deny their Jewishness. However, in the absence of empirical data that could verify the writer’s real evaluation of these “lawless” ones, this study finds it best to accept the literal meaning of the text.

<sup>149</sup> Benedict Eckhardt summarizes the meaning of this passage, “gesagt ist, dass mit der Aufgabe des Gesetzes die Mitgliedschaft im Volk Israel endet.” *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 88.

<sup>150</sup> The two references are 11:25: “the lawless of the ones who went out from the nation” (ἄνομοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, 11:25) and “some of the ungodly ones who went out from Israel” (τινες τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ Ἰσραηλ, 6:21). My translations. In addition, in 9:29, the NRSV translates ἐν τοῖς ἐχθραίνουσιν τοῦ ἔθνους as “those of our nation who hate us” but it is more naturally translated “those who hate our nation.” The referent is clearly the “lawless,” but the identification of them with the Jewish *ethnos* is not part of the Greek text. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 376–77.

these “lawless” ones as ceasing to be Jews.<sup>151</sup> In contrast to Romans, Spartans, and others who are friends or kin, these “lawless” ones “hated their nation” (μισοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν, 11:21).

In summary, the author of 1 Maccabees writes an account of the recent past (strategic *means of discourse and symbol*) to attempt a double strategy of boundary making that (1) presents Jews as co-equal to Romans and Greeks (strategic *mode of equalization*) while reinforcing the existing ranked difference between Jews and Arabs, Idumeans, and Phoenicians, and (2) presenting the lawless ones as no longer Jewish (strategic *mode of contraction*). This double strategy impacts the configuration of Jewishness in 1 Maccabees as discussed in the following section.

### *Jewishness as Configured by 1 Maccabees*

The narrative of 1 Maccabees presents an official account of Hasmonean ascendancy and so attempts to shape the shared *historical memories* of the recent past in order to buttress claims to power.<sup>152</sup> The initial crisis occurs when Antiochus IV<sup>153</sup> prohibits Jewish ancestral customs (νόμιμά), ordinances (δικαιώματα), and worship (λατρεία)<sup>154</sup> and forces the adoption of foreign

---

<sup>151</sup> It is quite possible that Jason and his followers did not understand themselves to cease being Jews. However, the focus here is the depiction by the writer of 1 Maccabees.

<sup>152</sup> The writer of 1 Maccabees employs the *historical memories* of the Jews on two levels to promote its preferred view of Jewishness and its place within the boundary system of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. On one level, the writer composes a narrative of the recent *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* in which Mattathias and his sons are presented as defenders of the Jewish *ethnos* and as their rightful rulers. On another level, heroes from the more distant *historical memories* provide a precedent for assurance of God’s deliverance in the narrative present. Mattathias is portrayed as zealous like Phineas (2:24–26); Judas appeals to David’s success against the Philistines as precedence for God’s deliverance against a superior force (4:29–30), and other heroes from Israel’s past illustrate that “none of those who put their trust in [God] will lack strength” (2:61). Therefore, the heroes of both 1 Maccabees and those of the more distant past model Jewishness for the intended readers of 1 Maccabees.

<sup>153</sup> The writer presents Antiochus’s reform as an empire-wide policy, though there is no corroborating evidence such as an empire-wide policy: “Then the king wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and that all should give up their particular customs (τὰ νόμιμα). All the gentiles accepted the command (λόγον) of the King. Many even from Israel gladly adopted his religion (τῇ λατρείᾳ); they sacrificed to idols and profaned the Sabbath” (1:41–43). Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 53.

<sup>154</sup> Νόμιμά is used of Jewish customs in 3:21, 29; 6:59. Interestingly, when νόμιμά refers to Jewish customs, the NRSV translates it as “law,” but when it refers to non-Jewish customs, the NRSV translates it as “customs.” Δικαιώματα is used of Jewish customs in 1:49; 2:21, 40. Λατρεία is used of Jewish cultic practice in 2:23.

customs, ordinances, and worship (i.e., elements of *common culture*).<sup>155</sup> Throughout the rest of the narrative, the heroes of 1 Maccabees defend the customs, ordinances, and worship of their ancestors, and reject those of foreigners. They are said to have zeal for the law (2:24, 26, 27, 50, 54, 58), and act “according with the law” (κατὰ τὸν νόμον; 3:56; 4:47, 53; 15:21). In contrast, the lawless ones (ἄνομοι) who “came out from Israel” (1:11), adopt foreign customs (1:14), ordinances (1:13), and worship (1:43). Therefore, Jewishness, according to the ethnic-configuration of 1 Maccabees, is first and foremost defined as faithfulness to the ancestral customs (i.e., elements of *common culture*) which are contained in the “book of the Law” (3:48).<sup>156</sup> Faithfulness to the ancestral customs is understood as incompatible with the adoption of foreign customs and those who adopt foreign customs are no longer Jews (as discussed above). Therefore, the writer makes adherence to ancestral customs, especially as understood in Torah, a defining element of Jewishness. This role for Torah observance as the defining criteria of Jewishness is not seen in earlier texts.<sup>157</sup>

One other aspect of *common culture* is likely part of the writer’s reaction against the Seleucid empire and Greekness: The choice to compose the history in the Hebrew *language*. This is probably meant to emulate the ancestral historical writings, and is part of an increased use of Hebrew by the Hasmoneans that represents a reversal of Seleucid policies.<sup>158</sup>

While elements of *common culture* are most prominent in the ethnic-configuration of 1 Maccabees, other aspects of Jewishness are also reworked. First, 1 Maccabees is unique among

---

<sup>155</sup> Νόμιμά refers to Seleucid customs in 1:14, 1:44. Further, all peoples have their own νόμιμά (1:42). Δικαιώματα is used of Antiochus IV’s ordinances in 1:13. Both Antiochus IV (1:43) and every people group (2:19) have their own λατρεία. While all peoples are said to have νόμιμά (“customs”), νόμος (“law”) is used exclusively of the Jewish law in 1 Maccabees.

<sup>156</sup> In addition, just as the Jewish ancestral customs are based on an ancestral covenant (διαθήκη, 2:20), the lawless ones have made a covenant (διαθήκη) with the nations (1:11).

<sup>157</sup> Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 88, 99.

<sup>158</sup> Eckhart, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 67–68.

Second Temple texts in its interchangeable use of Ἰσραήλ/Ἰουδαῖοι as the *proper name* of the Jewish *ethnos*. The significance of this is not clear, but Ἰουδαῖοι may reflect mimicry of Seleucid terminology and Ἰσραήλ the more common *proper name* among members of the Jewish *ethnos*, as seen by other texts written by Jews during this period.<sup>159</sup> Second, the writer does not address issues of intermarriage or genealogical purity (*common ancestry*), and there is no reason to believe that the writer adhered to a strict genealogical “holy-seed” ideology like the writer of Jubilees. However, faithfulness to the ancestors, as noted above, is repeatedly emphasized, and also used to distinguish those members of the Jewish *ethnos* who are faithful to their ancestral customs from all other *ethnē* who abandon their ancestral customs for those of the Greeks.<sup>160</sup> Finally, the common *homeland* is defended as the rightful possession of the Jewish *ethnos*, because it was also the land of their ancestors. This is stated most explicitly in Simon’s defense of his small-scale territorial expansions: “We have neither taken foreign land (γῆν ἄλλοτριάν) nor seized foreign property, but only the inheritance of our ancestors, which at one time had been unjustly taken by our enemies” (15:33). This statement is often taken as the Hasmonean rationale for extensive expansion to include the entire “promised land.” However, Katell Berthelot has shown that the more likely referent is a slightly expanded Judea: 1) The closest parallels to “the inheritance of our ancestors” from Second Temple literature and the Israelite sacred literature is individual tribal allotments, suggesting a reference to Judah; 2) Simon’s answer lacks any reference to ancient borders, the Abrahamic promises, the original conquest, or divine right, and

---

<sup>159</sup> Staples, “Reconstructing Israel,” 221; Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 126

<sup>160</sup> “But Mattathias answered and said in a loud voice: ‘Even if all the nations (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) that live under the rule of the king obey him, and have chosen to obey his commandments (ἐντολαῖς), every one of them abandoning the religion (λατρείας) of their ancestor, I and my sons and my brothers will continue to live by the covenant (διαθήκη) of our ancestors. Far be it from us to desert the law (νόμον) and the ordinances (δικαιώματα). We will not obey the king’s words by turning aside from our religion (λατρείας) to the right hand or to the left’ (2:19–22).

3) the diplomatic language fits Seleucid disputes about property rights.<sup>161</sup> Accepting Berthelot's conclusions, then, the figure of Simon, for the writer of 1 Maccabees, envisions no expansion on par with those undertaken during the reign of John Hyrcanus I and Alexander Jannaeus, but only a slightly expanded Judea.

In summary, the ethnic configuration in 1 Maccabees makes adherence to ancestral customs, especially Torah, the defining feature of Jewishness. This emphasis on shared customs represents a cultural definition of ethnicity and is buttressed by the use of the Hebrew language and attachment to a common *homeland*. The narration of kinship ties with Sparta, based on common descent from Abraham, coheres with the conclusion that the Hasmoneans expanded their definition of *common ancestry* from Jacob to Abraham, as argued at the beginning of this chapter.

---

<sup>161</sup> Katell Berthelot, *In Search of the Promised Land? The Hasmonean Dynasty between Biblical Models and Hellenistic Diplomacy*, trans. Margaret Rigaud, JAJSup 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 161–85. For a summary of Berthelot's conclusions, see "Reclaiming the Land," 559.



## Jubilees

### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location and Manuscript Evidence*

The book of Jubilees is a rewriting of the narrative of Genesis and Exodus 1–12.<sup>162</sup> Accordingly, by comparing the narrative of Jubilees with the base text narrative, the ideology and purposes of the writer may be discovered.<sup>163</sup> There is general agreement that the writer was part of priestly circles.<sup>164</sup> Anti-Hasmonean elements indicate the writer was not aligned with the Hasmonean rulers.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> This is sometimes designated a genre of “rewritten scripture,” of which Jubilees is perhaps the best example. Molly M. Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88, esp. 282.

<sup>163</sup> This has been the approach of nearly all scholarship. Recently Michael Segal has problematized this approach by suggesting that contradictions in the text provide evidence for multiple traditions. For Segal, a redactor wove existing sources together and is himself responsible for the chronological framework and the juxtaposition of legal passages with rewritten narratives. Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 34–35. A slightly modified version of Segal’s thesis is adopted by James Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Boston: Brill, 2012), 11–12; James Kugel, “The Compositional History of the Book of Jubilees,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 517–37.

Segal’s thesis would have significant consequences for understanding how the writer/redactor is engaging in boundary making strategies, which would need to be sought only in the redactional layer. This study, however, does not assume Segal’s thesis because (1) the features that are said to differentiate the redactional layer and sources is not consistently limited to their respective layers, (2) many of the sections that consist of different layers are well-organized passages suggesting that they were composed by a single writer, and (3) the rewritten passages are not random, but in line with the other emphases of the book. Jacques van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*, JSJSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 56, 136, 344; idem, “Some Questions with Regard to a Supposed Interpolator in the Book of Jubilees Focused on the Festival of Weeks (Jub. 6:1–22),” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 539–53. Instead, Jubilees will be approached as the work of a single writer. Differences from the base text narrative of Genesis and Exodus will be taken as evidence for the writer’s strategies of boundary negotiation. This approach, of course, does not deny that the writer used earlier traditions, especially those contained in the Aramaic Levi Document, but simply that he integrated existing texts into his composition. The only attempts to argue for layers within the text are Ernest Wiesenberg, “Jubilee of Jubilees,” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 3–40; Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, StPB 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

<sup>164</sup> The writer’s priestly identity is suggested by the elevation of the Levitical priesthood to an eternal priesthood (30–32), the portrayal of important ancestors as fulfilling priestly duties, and the focus on legislation related to priests. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 141.

<sup>165</sup> Himmelfarb, *Kingdom of Priests*, 76–77.

The current consensus is that Jubilees dates to the second century BCE.<sup>166</sup> Many follow James VanderKam<sup>167</sup> in dating Jubilees between 160 and 150 BCE.<sup>168</sup> However, the writer's focus on intermarriage, conversion, and especially the descendants of Esau, make a date during the time of John Hyrcanus I (134–103 BCE) most likely.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>166</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is set at the end of the second century BCE by 4Q216 which is dated to 100–125 BCE on paleographic grounds. VanderKam and Milik, “Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4: VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, Harold Attridge et al., eds., DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995): 1–186, esp. 2. If the Damascus Document's reference to “the Book of the Divisions of the Times in the Jubilees and in their Weeks” (ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם) (ובשבוועותיהם), designates the book of Jubilees (6.2–4) this would further support a *terminus ante quem* around the end of the second century BCE. However, Devorah Dimant has shown that this is unlikely. “What Is the ‘Book of the Divisions of the Times’?,” in *History, Ideology and Biblical Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 369–83, esp. 379–82. English translation and Hebrew transcription from Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds., “Damascus Document (CD),” in *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Texts*, PTSDSSP 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 4–57. The *terminus post quem* can be relatively securely set at the Maccabean revolt. First, Jub. 4.19 likely refers to the Enochic book of Dream Visions (1 En. 83–90): “While he slept he (Enoch) saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur – how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.” English translations, unless noted, are from VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translated*, 26–27. Not preserved in Hebrew or Latin. If so, Jubilees must postdate the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90), dated between 165 and 160 BCE (see above). VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 21. Second, the text seems to reflect an inner-Jewish halakhic dispute rather than polemics against Hellenization and hellenizers. See especially Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 229–46; Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 6, 15. This fits the period after Antiochus IV's edict had been repealed (163 BCE) better than the events of 175 BCE or 167 BCE.

Earlier scholarship suggested dates for Jubilees anywhere from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE. Fourth century BCE: Solomon Zeitlin, “The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance,” *JQR* 30 (1939): 1–31, esp. 29–31. First century CE: E.g. August Dillman, “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis,” *Jahrbuch der biblischen Wissenschaft* 3 (1951): 1–96, esp. 88–94.

<sup>167</sup> *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSM 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 214–85.

<sup>168</sup> Many simply cite VanderKam for the date. E.g., Josey B. Snyder, “Reading an Outsider: Lot in Jubilees,” *JSP* 24 (2015): 151–81, esp. 151 n. 1; Michael Francis, “Defining the Excluded Middle: The Case of Ishmael in Jubilees,” *JSP* 21 (2012): 259–83, esp. 261 n. 7.

<sup>169</sup> Himmelfarb, *Kingdom of Priests*, 55, 72, 75. In addition, the similarities between Jubilees and the Qumran community suggest it originated from a similar milieu, while the lack of an explicit sectarian perspective suggests it was not composed at Qumran. Eyal Regev, “Jubilees, Qumran, and the Essenes,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 426–41, esp. 435–40; Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 332. Isaac Oliver finds a date during the John Hyrcanus I attractive as well. “Forming Jewish Identity by Formulating Legislation for Gentiles,” *JAJ* 4 (2013): 105–32, esp. 119. Other scholars who assign Jubilees to the time of John Hyrcanus I include Doron Mendels, *Jewish Nationalism*, 44; Uriel Rappaport, “The Hellenistic Cities and the Judaization of the Land of Israel in the Hasmonean Period,” in *Doron; Eighteen Articles in Honor of the Sixtieth Birthday of Prof. Bentsiyon Kats*, ed. Shmuel Perlman and Binyamin Shimron (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv Press, 1967), 228–29; Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* (Paris: Minard, 1960), 25–39; Robert H. Charles, ed., *The Book of Jubilees; or The Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), lix.

The text of Jubilees, like that of 1 Enoch, is fully extant only in Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez),<sup>170</sup> which is a translation of a Greek translation of a Hebrew original.<sup>171</sup> Fragments of fourteen Hebrew manuscripts of Jubilees, found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, attest to the general reliability of the Ethiopic version.<sup>172</sup> Approximately half of Jubilees is attested in one Latin manuscript<sup>173</sup> which is especially valuable because it predates the Ethiopic manuscripts by nearly a millennium (5–6<sup>th</sup> century CE).<sup>174</sup>

### *Boundaries in Jubilees*

The most prominent boundary in Jubilees is the Jew/nations boundary. Among Jewish texts of this period, Jubilees advocates, perhaps, the most rigid separation between Jews and other nations.<sup>175</sup> This rigid separation is stated most clearly in Abraham's final instructions to Jacob: "Now you, my son Jacob, remember what I say and keep the commandments of your father Abraham. Separate from the nations (እምኣኣብ ፡), and do not eat with them. Do not act as they do, and do not become their companion, for their actions are something that is impure and all their ways are deviled and something abominable and detestable" (22:16). Jews are defined as

---

<sup>170</sup> Today, twenty-seven Ethiopic manuscripts are available that date from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries. James C. VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 3–21, esp. 18–20. The critical edition of Ethiopic book of Jubilees is James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510 (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989).

<sup>171</sup> Quotations and allusions to Jubilees attest to Greek and possibly Syriac translations, though no manuscripts are extant. Hermann Rönisch and August Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen; oder, die kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues, 1874), 251–382; Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca, una cum historicum et auctorum Iudaeorum Hellenistarum Fragmentis*, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102; Eugène Tisserant, "Fragments Syriaques du livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86.

<sup>172</sup> VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," 10.

<sup>173</sup> Portions of 13:10–49:22. Antonio M. Ceriani, "Fragmenta parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis ex veteri versione Latina," in *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 5 vols. (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861–1863), 1:9–64, esp. 1:15–54.

<sup>174</sup> The Greek translation served as the *Vorlage* of the Latin translation. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, xiv.

<sup>175</sup> Solomon Zeitlin wrote "The book is permeated by a chauvinistic spirit, and if it had been accepted in the Canon, it would have served to isolate Jews from the rest of humanity." "The Book of Jubilees," 30.

descendants of Jacob<sup>176</sup> who have been circumcised on the eighth day.<sup>177</sup> They alone imitate the angels.<sup>178</sup> Whereas the Jews are ruled by their God, the nations are ruled by evil spirits: “For there are many nations (አአዛብ ፡) and many peoples (አዝብ ፡) and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler” (15.31–32).<sup>179</sup> The nations’ sin guarantees their destruction (6.12).<sup>180</sup>

Three *ethnē* receive special attention in Jubilees, though interestingly the Greeks are not one of them.<sup>181</sup> First, the writer explicitly equates the descendants of Ishmael and the six sons of Keturah with the Arab peoples east and south of Judea: “Ishmael, his sons, Keturah’s sons, and their sons went together and settled from Paran as far as the entrance of Babylon – in all the land toward the east opposite the desert. They mixed with one another and were called Arabs and Ishmaelites” (20.12–13).<sup>182</sup> In Genesis, Ishmael is said to reside in the wilderness of Paran (Gen

---

<sup>176</sup> “For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. ... but he chose Israel to be his people (አዝብ ፡).” (15:30).

<sup>177</sup> “This law is for all history forever. There is no circumcising of days, nor omitting any day of the eight days because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets. Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the children (አምወሉድ ፡) of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the children (ወሉድ ፡) (meant for) destruction” (15:25–26).

Translation adapted from VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text* who translates the noun ወሉድ ፡ as ‘people’ rather than the much more common meaning of “child/children.”

<sup>178</sup> Like the two highest orders of angels, the Jews are circumcised, observe Sabbath, and celebrate Shavuoth (1:27, 2:17–21). Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Enoch and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees: The Evidence of Angelology and Demonology,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 353–68, esp. 356.

<sup>179</sup> At the time of Noah Shem alone received the divine instructions on how to avoid evil spirits: “Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah’s children. He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons” (10:13–14).

<sup>180</sup> The writer makes not eating blood (7:29) and the 364-day calendar (6:38) binding on the nations. Todd Hanneken, “The Sin of the Gentiles: The Prohibition of Eating Blood in the Book of Jubilees,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 1–27, esp. 8, 24.

<sup>181</sup> The only specific reference to the Greeks is in the table of nations where the writer designates Javan, the son of Japheth, as the rightful inhabitants of Greece and the Islands of the Aegean Sea (9:10). Philip S. Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi’ of the Book of Jubilees,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 197–213, esp. 209

<sup>182</sup> Latin includes “until the present” (*usque in diem hanc*) at the end. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 276.

21:21). The writer's extension "to the entrance to Babylon," encompasses the subsistence areas of the Nabateans, Itureans, and the other Arab tribes.<sup>183</sup>

Second, the writer of Jubilees demonstrates a clear interest in Judea's southern neighbors, the Idumeans, by several expansions of the Genesis narratives concerning Esau and his descendants.<sup>184</sup> The rewriting of the relationship of Jacob and Esau is meant to clarify and reinterpret the relations that exist between the Jews and Idumeans "for all time" and "until today" (38:12, 14).

Finally, the writer rewrites the story of Isaac's conflict with the Abimelech, king of the Philistines (Gen 26:1–31, esp. 26:28–29) to include a prophecy of eternal enmity between their descendants, and the eventual destruction of the Philistines at the hands of the nations and Kittim (24:27–33).<sup>185</sup> This rewriting is only relevant for the writer's present if the Philistines are associated with the Phoenician coastal cities, as they are in Ben Sira and the Animal Apocalypse.

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The writer of Jubilees clearly locates the descendants of Jacob at the top of the ranked boundary system in and around Hasmonean Judea: As God's covenant people, Israel has access to privileges from which other people groups are excluded. By rewriting the Genesis and Exodus narratives, Jubilees further widens the gap between Jews and the nations, thereby reifying the Jew/nations boundary and reinterpreting its practical significance. For Jubilees, the ancestral customs of the Jews did not originate when God gave them to Moses. Rather, they had existed from eternity, written on heavenly tablets.<sup>186</sup> In keeping with the permanent status of the Jewish

---

<sup>183</sup> Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs*, 10, 12.

<sup>184</sup> The name Idumea is simply the (latinized) Greek form of Edom.

<sup>185</sup> Lieu, "Not Hellenes but Philistines?," 254.

<sup>186</sup> E.g. "This law is (valid) for all history forever. ... for it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets" (15:25–26). The heavenly tablets are mentioned thirty-one times in Jubilees.

ancestral customs, the covenants with Moses and Abraham are not new covenants, but rather renewals of the Noahide covenant.<sup>187</sup> In each renewal of the covenant,<sup>188</sup> a man (Abraham, then Jacob) is chosen because he alone is sensitive to the covenant<sup>189</sup> and his descendants become the newly circumscribed covenant members marked by additional covenant practices: the heavenly mark of circumcision is to distinguish Abraham’s descendants<sup>190</sup> and the eternal practice of Sabbath rest is revealed to the descendants of Jacob.<sup>191</sup> The consequence of this reworked historical narrative is that the reason the non-Jews are not part of God’s covenant people is that they had failed to keep God’s ordinances. They are guilty not just of idolatry, but also of eating

---

<sup>187</sup> Betsy Halpern-Amaru, “The Metahistorical Covenant of Jubilees,” in *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature*, ed. Betsy Halpern-Amaru (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994), 25–54, esp. 28; Jacques van Ruiten, “The Covenant of Noah in Jubilees 6.1–38,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. De Roo, JSJSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 167–90, esp. 190. The Mosaic covenant is analogous to the Noachic covenant (6.11) and Jacob is told that God will renew his covenant with him: “May he renew his covenant with you so that you may be for him the people of his heritage throughout all ages” (22:15). Similarly, Abraham: “During this night we concluded a covenant with Abram like the covenant which we concluded during this month with Noah. Abram renewed the festival and the covenant for himself forever” (14:20). מִצְוָה : translates both חֻקָּה (“ordinance”) and בְּרִית (“covenant”) in Jubilees. VanderKam chooses “ordinance” in 14:20 but “covenant” in 1:5 and 23:16. *Jubilees*, 86. Here I adopt the suggestion of William Gilders that מִצְוָה : likely renders בְּרִית in 14:20 as well and should be translated “covenant.” “The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 178–93, esp. 184 n. 4, 189.

<sup>188</sup> Interestingly, the purpose of the festival of weeks which was first revealed to Noah (6:18) is “to renew the covenant each and every year” (6:17). Accordingly, renewals under Moses, Abraham and Jacob can be understood as part of this yearly pattern.

<sup>189</sup> Abraham alone turns from idols and prays to God in his youth (11:16–17) and then asks God for guidance (12:16–21), leading God to choose him (12:22–24). Van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*, 42–43. Further on, all Abraham’s descendants are commanded to circumcise their sons “in the covenant” (20:3). Oddly, the narrative never explains how Ishmael, the sons of Keturah, or their descendants disobeyed the covenant. Francis, “Defining the Excluded Middle,” 281. The text indicates they “mixed with one another” and designated them as “Arabs and Ishmaelites.” The narrative follows Isaac and then Jacob. Perhaps the reason is Ishmael’s Egyptian mother. This, however, still does not explain why Ishmael’s sons are told to circumcise his sons “in the covenant” (20:3). Throughout the narrative concerning Jacob and Esau, Jubilees portrays Jacob as “perfect and upright” (19:13) and the alternative, Esau, as “malicious from his youth” (35:9). Because of their contrasting behavior Abraham perceives that the promise will be fulfilled through Jacob (19:16). In his old age, Jacob celebrates the covenant festival (44:4, cf. 6:17).

<sup>190</sup> Gilders, “Covenant in Jubilees,” 185. “Then the Lord said to Abraham: ‘As for you, keep my covenant – you and your descendants after you. Circumcise all your males; circumcise your foreskins. It will be a sign of my eternal pact (which is) between me and you’ (15:11).

<sup>191</sup> Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 32. “The creator of all blessed but did not sanctify any people(s) and nations to keep Sabbath on it except Israel alone” (2:31)

blood and not observing the eternal feasts according to the 364-day calendar.<sup>192</sup> The consequence of this failure is national destruction.<sup>193</sup> All non-covenant persons (i.e., members of the nations), as covenant breakers, are destined for destruction. Jubilees attributes their failure to the work of evil spirits, stating, “For there are many nations (አሕዛብ ፡) and many peoples (ሕዝብ ፡) and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him. But over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler” (15:31–32). As destined for destruction and controlled by impure spirits, non-Jews are simply to be avoided by Jews: “Separate from the nations (እምአሕዛብ ፡), and do not eat with them. Do not act as they do, and do not become their companion, for their actions are something that is impure and all their ways are deviled and something abominable and detestable” (22:16).

The writer of Jubilees seeks to rework the existing ethnic boundary system in and around Hasmonean Judea in three ways. First, he attempts to elevate Jews over Greeks (a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Greek boundary). While he does not explicitly discuss the Jew/Greek boundary, God’s covenant with Israel and Israel’s semi-angelic status (15:27) clearly places the Jews in a superior position to the Greeks who, as non-Jews, are inescapably ruled by evil spirits (15:31–32). Further, Greek rule of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia is implicitly condemned in the rewritten table of nations (8:11–9:13; cf. Gen 10), which assigns this Seleucid province to Shem’s son Arpachshad<sup>194</sup> and has all Noah’s sons and grandsons take an oath not to transgress their assigned portions of the earth.<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>192</sup> “For this reason I am commanding you (Noah) and testifying to you so that you may testify to them because after your death your children will disturb (it) so that they do not make the year (consist of) 364 days only. Therefore, they will err regarding the first of the month, the season, the Sabbath, and the festivals” (6:38).

<sup>193</sup> Todd Hanneken, “The Sin of the Gentiles,” 14. “The person who has eaten the blood of an animal, of cattle, or of birds during all the days of the earth – he and his descendants will be uprooted from the earth” (6:12, cf. 7:26–33).

<sup>194</sup> 9.4. Alexander, “Imago Mundi,” 209.

<sup>195</sup> 9:14–15. James M. Scott suggests further polemics against Seleucid rule in the extent of the promised land to Abraham in 13:1–3; 14:18. *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 91 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 193, 197.

Second, the writer reinforces the Jew/Arab and Jew/Idumean boundaries by rewriting the *historical memories* of the descendants of Abraham to emphasize that God’s covenant was with Jacob and not with Abraham’s other sons or with Esau. The writer states this explicitly in 15:29–30: “For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham’s children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people (אֱלֹהִים :).”<sup>196</sup> The Jew/Arab and Jew/Idumean boundaries are further reified by reworking the stories of Ishmael and Esau.

The writer of Jubilees deliberately enhances the profile of Ishmael, the sons of Keturah, and their descendants (the Arab people groups for the writer) and associates them more closely with the promises made to their Father Abraham, while still making it unambiguously clear that Ishmael and the sons of Keturah are not chosen. In Abraham’s final testament addressed to Ishmael, Isaac, and the sons of Keturah (in that order), he commands them to worship the Lord, keep his commandments, circumcise their sons, and avoid exogamy (20:2–10). That is, Abraham commands all his sons to be law-observant.<sup>197</sup> Further, whereas in Genesis, Ishmael’s reward for being Abraham’s son is to become a great nation, but only Jacob’s descendants are a *blessing* to all nations,<sup>198</sup> in Jubilees, all Abraham’s descendants become a blessing to the nations.<sup>199</sup> At the

---

<sup>196</sup> Cf. “When he had given gifts to Ishmael, his sons, and Keturah’s sons and sent them away from his son Isaac, he gave everything to Isaac” (20:11).

<sup>197</sup> Doron Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B.C. Claims to the Holy Land*, TSAJ 15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), 149.

<sup>198</sup> “God said, ‘No, but your wife Sarah shall bear you a son, and you shall name him Isaac. I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his offspring after him. As for Ishmael, I have heard you; I will bless him and make him fruitful and exceedingly numerous; he shall be the father of twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation’” (Gen 17:19–20). “As for the son of the slave woman, I will make a nation of him also, because he is your offspring” (Gen 21:13). In a dream the Lord speaks to Jacob and affirms him as the recipient of the promises to Abraham (Gen. 12:2–3; 26:4): “and your offspring shall be like the dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and all the families of the earth shall be blessed in you and in your offspring” (Gen 28:14).

<sup>199</sup> Abraham addresses all his sons when he states “You will become a blessing on the earth, and all the nations (אֱלֹהִים :) of the earth will be delighted with you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am” (20:10).



end of Abraham's life he celebrates the festival of weeks with both Ishmael and Isaac (22:1–9).<sup>200</sup> The distinction between Isaac and the other sons of Abraham is that, whereas all the sons of Abraham were circumcised, only Isaac was circumcised on the eighth day: “Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction.”<sup>201</sup> For the writer of Jubilees, the neighboring Arab people groups possess a unique place among the non-Jews because they share partial kinship with the Jews through Abraham and a closer association with the promises made to Abraham.<sup>202</sup> Yet the writer also makes clear that they are not Israel and the practice that distinguishes the two is eighth-day circumcision.

In contrast to the enhanced profile of Ishmael and his descendants, Esau and the writer's contemporary Idumeans are denigrated by creating a precedent, and divine approval, for Jacob's dominance over his brother Esau.<sup>203</sup> From the moment of the twins' birth, Jacob is called “perfect and upright” while Esau was “a harsh, rustic, and hairy man” (19:13; cf. Gen 25:24–26). Jacob is not chosen arbitrarily, but because of his obedience and because of Esau's disobedience. The writer solves Isaac's inconvenient preference for Esau (Gen 25:28) by narrating how

---

<sup>200</sup> An additional way that the writer enhances the profile of Ishmael is by portraying him as always delighting Abraham, so much so that Abraham's pleasure with Ishmael becomes the reason Sarah asks Abraham to send Hagar and Ishmael away (17:2–4).

<sup>201</sup> The writer is at pains to differentiate Isaac's circumcision: “Abraham circumcised him (Isaac) when he was eight days old. He was the first to be circumcised according to the covenant which was ordained forever” (16:14). In addition, when the commandment of circumcision was given to Abraham, the importance of the eighth day is emphasized. “There is no circumcising of days, nor omitting any day of the eight days because it is an eternal ordinance ordained and written on the heavenly tablets” (15:25). Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 77. The tension between the descendants of Abraham as a blessing to all the nations (20:10) and the destruction of all nations (15:25) is not resolved in the text, and the author shows no awareness of it.

<sup>202</sup> Michael Francis describes the place of the descendants of Ishmael in Jubilees as “a circumcised non-Israelite whose behavior is such that his proximity to the chosen people, indeed his place within the covenant community, is both facilitated and maintained. He can never become a Jew; conversion is a contradiction in genealogical terms. Yet this does not mean he cannot inhabit the territory of the covenant people and share enjoyment of the same blessing.” “Defining the Excluded Middle,” 282.

<sup>203</sup> Roger Syrén, “Ishmael and Esau in the Book of Jubilees and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and Martin J. McNamara, JSOTSup 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 310–15, esp. 312–13.

Abraham came to prefer Jacob after seeing Esau's behavior: "As Abraham observed Esau's behavior, he realized that through Jacob he would have a reputation and descendants. He summoned Rebecca and gave her orders about Jacob because he saw that she loved Jacob much more than Esau" (19:16). Abraham then commended Rebecca's preference for Jacob, stating "My son Isaac now loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that you rightly love Jacob" (19:19). By the end of Isaac's life, he, like Rebecca and Abraham, has seen Esau's evil behavior and confesses, "At first I did love Esau more than Jacob, after he was born; but now I love Jacob more than Esau because he has done so many bad things and lacks (the ability to do) what is right" (35:13). When Jacob tricks Isaac and steals Esau's blessing, divine aid serves to guarantee the rightness of Jacob's deception.<sup>204</sup> In addition, the curse that Esau receives in place of a blessing guarantees not only his descendants' servitude to Israel as in Genesis,<sup>205</sup> but also promises destruction as a consequence for attempting to gain independence.<sup>206</sup> Finally, Esau himself acknowledges the rightness of Jacob's favored position<sup>207</sup> and agrees to live at peace with Jacob after Isaac's death.<sup>208</sup> However, Esau breaks this promise when his sons convince him to rebel against Jacob.<sup>209</sup> The ensuing conflict culminates with Jacob killing Esau,<sup>210</sup> symbolizing

---

<sup>204</sup> "He did not recognize him because there was a turn of affairs from heaven to distract his mind" (26:18).

<sup>205</sup> "Then his father Isaac answered him: 'See, away from the fatness of the earth shall your home be, and away from the dew of heaven on high. By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother; but when you break loose, you shall break his yoke from your neck'" (Gen 27:39–40).

<sup>206</sup> "Isaac said in reply to him: 'The place where you live is indeed to be (away) from the dew of the earth and from the dew of heaven above. You will live by your sword and will serve your brother. May it be that, if you become great and remove his yoke from your neck, then you will commit an offence fully worthy of death and your descendants will be eradicated from beneath the sky'" (26:33–34).

<sup>207</sup> "But Esau said: 'I sold (it) to Jacob; I gave my birthright to Jacob. It is to be given to him. I will say absolutely nothing about it because it belongs to him'" (36:14).

<sup>208</sup> "Now our father has made us—me and him—swear that we will not aim at what is bad, the one against his brother ..." (37:4). Syrén sees these passages of reconciliation as tempering the otherwise negative portrayal of Esau. "Ishmael and Esau," 312. However, the function of these passages is simply to prepare the scene for Esau's disregard of his oath.

<sup>209</sup> "But afterwards he remembered all the bad things that were in his mind against his brother Jacob, and he did not remember the oath he had sworn to his father and mother not to aim at anything bad against his brother Jacob throughout his entire life" (37:13).

<sup>210</sup> "Jacob then stretched his bow, shot an arrow, pierced his brother Esau and struck him down" (38:2).

Jacob's superiority over his brother and Esau's inability to keep the oath<sup>211</sup> demonstrating that Esau, like the nations (35:31), has an evil inclination ("He (Esau) has been malicious since his youth and ... he is devoid of virtue ..."; 35:9) and therefore unworthy of divine election. The narrative concludes by noting, "So they (Jacob's sons) made peace with them (Esau's sons) and placed the yoke of servitude on them so that they should pay tribute to Jacob and his sons for all time. ... The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the yoke of servitude which Jacob's sons imposed on them until today."<sup>212</sup>

Finally, Jubilees engages in a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* by stating explicitly that eighth-day circumcision is a defining criterion of Jewishness: "Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the children (אֱמִתִּי) of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the children (אֲרָמִי) (meant for) destruction."<sup>213</sup> This statement immediately follows God's covenant (renewal) with Abraham and the giving of the sign of circumcision (15:11; cf. Gen 17:1–2). Just as the criterion of eighth-day circumcision excludes Arabs and Idumeans from God's covenant with Abraham, it also excludes many descendants of Jacob. The writer clearly has contemporary concerns in mind when he has God foretell Moses that "the Israelites will prove false to this ordinance. They will not circumcise their sons in accordance with this entire law because they will leave some of the flesh of their circumcision when they circumcise their sons."<sup>214</sup> For the writer, this violation is eternal and their expulsion from the Abrahamic covenant is irreversible: "For they have made themselves like the nations so as to be removed and uprooted from the

---

<sup>211</sup> "You have violated the oath and were condemned in the hour when you swore (it) to your father" (37:17).

<sup>212</sup> 38:12–14. The statement that the Edomites (Idumeans) remain subject to Israel until the present fits best after John Hyrcanus I conquered Idumea and made them observe Jewish customs in 129 BCE. Therefore, 38:14 may have been a later addition. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 179.

<sup>213</sup> 15:26. Translation adapted from VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*.

<sup>214</sup> 15:33. Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 85.

earth. They will no longer have forgiveness or pardon so that they should be pardoned and forgiven for every sin, for (their) violation of this eternal (ordinance)” (15:34). The writer of Jubilees never denies that the descendants of Jacob who have not practiced eighth-day circumcision are not Jews, but rather subdivides Jewishness into covenant and non-covenant members. This strategic mode is an example of *boundary contraction* through *fission*.<sup>215</sup>

In summary, the writer of Jubilees rewrites the narratives of Genesis and Exodus 1–12 (a strategic *means of discourse and symbols*) in order to promote his preferred vision of the ethnic landscape. He locates the Jewish *ethnos* atop the ranked boundary system in and around Hasmonean Judea through a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Greek boundary. He reinforces the Jew/Arab and Jew/Idumean boundaries in an attempt to safeguard exclusive Jewish possession of divine privilege (through covenant possession), and further limits access to divine privilege by excluding any members of the Jewish *ethnos* who were not correctly circumcised (a strategic *mode of contraction* through *fission*). These boundary making strategies interact with common elements of Jewishness in a number of ways. Their impact on the configuration of Jewishness is discussed in the following section.

### *Jewishness as Configured by Jubilees*

The rewriting of the base text narrative in Jubilees involves a reconfiguration of Jewishness that influences almost all the common elements of ethnic identity. The only common

---

<sup>215</sup> Wimmer notes that strategies of *boundary contraction* through *fission* are usually attempted by those without access to official means of boundary making in order to disidentify with the stigmatization of other group members. *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 55–56. In the case of Jubilees, the claim to exclusive possession of the covenant avoids the stigmatization of corporate punishment for covenant disobedience.

element of Jewishness that is not reworked is the *proper name*: Throughout Jubilees, the standard name for the Jewish *ethnos* is “Israel.”<sup>216</sup>

As a rewriting of Jewish history from creation to Moses, Jubilees is substantially a rewriting of the *historical memories* of Israel. In general, this involves positively embellishing figures who are claimed as ancestors and neglecting or negatively embellishing figures not claimed as ancestors.<sup>217</sup> Accordingly, Enoch (10:17), Abraham (23:10), Isaac (27:27), Rebecca (36:23), and Jacob (35:12) are called “perfect” while Esau has an evil spirit (35:9). Lot’s rescue is neglected<sup>218</sup> and Haran dies because of his idolatry.<sup>219</sup> Stories that may reflect negatively on heroes of the past are either ignored or explained: God’s ambiguous attempt to kill Moses (Exod 4:24–26), which suggests some fault on Moses’s part, is rewritten as an attack by Mastema (17:15–18:2) and framed as a testing similar to the Akedah.<sup>220</sup> Likewise, Abraham did not try to save his life in Egypt through trickery and at the expense of Sarah, for it was only after five years that the Egyptians noticed Sarah’s beauty (13:11; cf. Gen 12:14–15).<sup>221</sup>

The rewriting of the *historical memories* reworks the significance of other aspects of Jewishness. First, genealogical purity (*common ancestry*) is made a defining element of Jewishness by adopting and developing the “holy seed” ideology of Ezra-Nehemiah.<sup>222</sup> The angel of Jubilees states “All the seed (*semen*; ἡσὴ) of his (Abraham’s) sons would become nations (*gentes*; ἁθῆ) and be numbered with the nations (*gentes*; ἁθῆ). But one of Isaac’s sons

---

<sup>216</sup> Eth. አስራኤል : The two uses of “Hebrew” (ἑβραῖοι) as a *proper name* simply reflect its use in Torah (39:10; 47:7; cf. Gen 39:17; Exod 2:7). The absence of “the Jews” may be due to the location of the narrator’s present as the giving of the law at Mt. Sinai.

<sup>217</sup> Snyder, “Lot in Jubilees,” 152

<sup>218</sup> 13:25; Gen 14:16. Snyder, “Reading an Outsider,” 173.

<sup>219</sup> 12:10–14; Gen 11:28. Van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*, 36–38.

<sup>220</sup> Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus*, JAJSup 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 62.

<sup>221</sup> Van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*, 77.

<sup>222</sup> See especially Ezra 9:2. This point is argued in most detail by Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 73–81.

would become a holy seed and would not be numbered among the nations (*gentes*; אַמְּוּנִים) ... that they would become a kingdom, a priesthood, and a holy people” (16:17–18). This holy-seed ideology is paralleled in the two-tier ranking of angels in heaven (2:18; cf. 2:2), and is further reified on earth by claiming that evil spirits rule over all the impure seed of the nations (15:31) so that “Israel is, in effect, wholly different, the earthly correspondent to God’s heavenly hosts.”<sup>223</sup> The holy-seed ideology also leads to an absolute ban on intermarriage. Whereas in Exodus, Israel is prohibited from intermarrying only with the Canaanites (Exod 34:11–16), Jubilees extends this to all non-Jews: “Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and testify to them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners (אֲלֹהֵי אֲרָם) and that they are not to marry any foreign (אֲלֹהֵי אֲרָם) women because it is despicable before the Lord.”<sup>224</sup>

Second, Jubilees reworks important narratives about the land of Israel (*homeland*) to (1) establish the Jews’ right to the land, (2) place Jerusalem and the temple at the center of the earth, and (3) foresee the eventual expansion of Jacob’s territory to include the whole earth. Jubilees’s reworking of the table of nations follows Genesis in apportioning the world to the three sons of Noah (8:11–30; cf. Gen 10), adding only an excursus about Noah’s happiness that the best portion that included Eden, Mt. Sinai, and Mt. Zion was allotted to Shem (8:17–21). However, Jubilees further subdivides the portions of Shem, Ham, and Japheth among their children (9:1–15). Contrary to Genesis, where the descendants of Canaan settle “from Sidon ... as far as Gaza” (Gen 10:19), in Jubilees the Canaanites’ portion is the westernmost portion of Northern Africa (9:1). The assigned portions are said to be eternal and each of Noah’s sons take an oath not to transgress the boundaries (9:14–15). However, Canaan settles in the land allotted to Shem in

---

<sup>223</sup> James Kugel, “The Holiness of Israel and the Land in Second Temple Times,” in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 21–32, esp. 27.

<sup>224</sup> 30:11. See especially Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 73–81; Werman, “Jubilees 30,” 1–22. The noun translated as ‘foreigners’/‘foreign’ (אֲלֹהֵי אֲרָם) is the same noun translated as “nations” elsewhere.

conscious opposition to his assigned portion in spite of warnings from his father and brothers that he will be “cursed more than all Noah’s children” (10:32) and his children “will fall and be uprooted forever.”<sup>225</sup> Accordingly, when Israel enters the land, they are not taking Canaan’s rightful inheritance, but reclaiming what the Canaanites had possessed unjustly.<sup>226</sup> In addition, the rewriting of the table of nations also includes an indication that Mt. Zion is the navel of the earth (8:19), making the temple of central significance not just for the Jews, but for all of creation. Further, and closely connected to the centrality of Mt. Zion, Jubilees includes a future expectation that the Jewish *ethnos* will expand until it possesses the whole earth.<sup>227</sup> At Bethel, the angel promises Jacob not only to become a great nation (Gen 35:11–12), but also to possess “all of the land that is beneath the sky” (32:19 cf. 19:21–22). Abraham also wishes that Jacob will “possess the entire earth.”<sup>228</sup>

Third, the writer reworks the ancestral customs (*common culture*) of the Jews by positing the existence of heavenly tablets. These tablets contain the Mosaic Torah (3:9–11; 33:10–12; 16:3–4; 4:5), but also additional prescriptions regarding the calendar and feasts (6:17, 28–35; 16:28–29; 18:19; 32:27–29; 49:8) and halakhah (3:31; 4:32; 15:25; 28:6; 30:9; 32:10).<sup>229</sup> As eternal tablets that exist in the heavens, they supersede the authority of the written Torah placing

---

<sup>225</sup> “When Canaan saw that the land of Lebanon as far as the stream of Egypt was very beautiful, he did not go to his hereditary land to the west of the sea. He settled in the land of Lebanon, on the east and west, from the border of Lebanon and on the seacoast. His father Ham and his brothers Cush and Mizraim said to him: ‘You have settled in a land which was not yours and did not emerge for us by lot. Do not act this way, for if you do act this way both you and your children will fall in the land and be cursed with rebellion, because you have settled in rebellion and in rebellion your children will fall and be uprooted forever’ (10.29–31).

<sup>226</sup> Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 35.

<sup>227</sup> Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 33.

<sup>228</sup> 22.14. The Ge’ez (ግድረ ገጽ) and Latin (*terram*) which are translated as “earth” by VanderKam can also mean “land.” Both also often translate ארץ in the Hebrew Bible. However, given the extent of Jacob’s inheritance in 32.19 (all of the land that is beneath the sky) the most likely meaning in 22.14 is “earth.”

<sup>229</sup> The heavenly tablets also include a register of human actions (19:9; 30:19–22) and future punishment and rewards (5:13–14; 16:9; 24:33; 23:32; 31:32; 32:21–22). For the taxonomy of references to the heavenly tablets in Jubilees see Florentino García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 245–60.

the prescriptions of Jubilees on the same level as Torah, substantiating the writer's understanding of Jewish ancestral customs.<sup>230</sup>

Finally, for Jubilees, the Hebrew language (*common customs*) is the “language of creation” (12:26) which had been the universal language until Babel and then lost until it was revealed to Abraham so that he could study and copy his father's books (12:27). Related to the elevation of the Hebrew language in the *narrative* of Jubilees is the choice of Hebrew for the *composition* of Jubilees. The writer's awareness of texts composed in Aramaic indicates that he could have composed the text in Aramaic, but chose to write in Hebrew.<sup>231</sup>

In summary, the configuration of Jewishness in Jubilees represents an absolutizing of Jewishness. Blood purity, guaranteed through *common ancestry* is made the defining feature of Jewishness, and any defilement through intermarriage or conversion is rejected. Elements of *common culture* are eternal, practiced by the angels and written in the heavenly tablets which include, among other things, the Hebrew language and Torah. Interestingly, positing heavenly tablets relativizes the status of Torah for, while the Torah is eternal, it is only one part of the heavenly tablets which include additional, non-Torah legislation. The Jewish common *homeland* is the center of the earth, and Jewish political hegemony will eventually extend throughout the earth.

---

<sup>230</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim of Authority of the Book of Jubilees,” in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*, ed. Benjamin G. Wright III, Homage 24 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 19–29, esp. 27; Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 90; Hindy Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410, esp. 410.

<sup>231</sup> Cana Werman, “Jubilees in the Hellenistic Context,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Lynn Lidonnici and Andrea Lieber, JSJSup 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 133–58, esp. 135.



## The Damascus Document

### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

The writing commonly called the Damascus Document (henceforth D) has been known since the discovery of two medieval manuscripts in a Genizah in Cairo at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>232</sup> This document consists of admonitions and laws that pertain to a covenant between God and a righteous remnant of Israel.<sup>233</sup> The discovery of ten further fragmentary manuscripts in the caves around the Dead Sea clarified the document's scope and order, provided portions of the text not preserved in the later manuscripts, showed the reliability of the medieval manuscripts, and the association of the document with the Qumran community.<sup>234</sup>

In spite of the late date of the Cairo manuscripts, their relative reliability enables this study to approach D as evidence for Jewishness at the time of its original composition, near the end of the second century BCE.<sup>235</sup> This study relies upon the arrangement and transcription of Joseph Baumgarten and Daniel Schwartz, and addresses the extant text of both the Cairo and Dead Sea manuscripts.<sup>236</sup>

---

<sup>232</sup> The longer of the manuscripts (CD A) consists of sixteen pages that nicely divides into admonitions (1–8) and laws (9–16). Two pages of CD B partially overlap with CD A. Both date to the eleventh or twelfth century. Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*, STDJ 56 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 2. Solomon Schechter dated CD A to the tenth century and CD B to the twelfth century. *Documents of Jewish Sectaries I. Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 41–42.

<sup>233</sup> Schechter, *Zadokite Work*, 44.

<sup>234</sup> Joseph Baumgarten notes thirty significant variants in approximately 326 overlapping lines between the cave four manuscripts and CD A. The lack of substantial overlap between the Qumran fragments and CD B prevents an evaluation of the reliability of CD B. “Introduction,” in *Qumran Cave 4: XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., eds. DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1–23, esp. 6.

<sup>235</sup> The *terminus post quem* is set by two references. The text assumes the death of the teacher of righteousness (19.35b–20.1a), who likely lived during the middle of the second century BCE. It may also refer to refer to Jubilees (16.2–4), composed sometime during the second half of the second century BCE. See, however, Dimant, “Book of the Divisions,” 379–82. The *terminus ante quem* is the date of the earliest cave four manuscript (4QD<sup>c</sup>), which dates paleographically to the middle of the first century CE. Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 22.

<sup>236</sup> English translations, unless noted, and references to CD A and CD B follow Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds., “The Damascus Document (CD),” in *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995); English translations, unless

*Boundaries in the Damascus Document*

There are two important boundaries in D. First, the Jew/nations boundary is more prominent in D than in the other major Dead Sea rule text, the Rule of the Community (discussed next). In D, the Jewish *ethnos* is designated ישראל (“Israel”) while the nations are גוֹאִים.<sup>237</sup> The writer mostly uses Israel to refer to his contemporaries, but also to their ancestors (cf. 7.12–13). The writer includes both the northern and southern kingdoms as part of Israel, but notes that the northern kingdom was apostate and subsequently destroyed.<sup>238</sup> Therefore the writer is able to designate his contemporaries also as the בית יהודה (“house of Judah,” 4.11). D makes no significant differentiation among the nations.<sup>239</sup>

A second boundary distinguishes between a remnant of Israel who alone possess the covenant (1.4–5; 3.12–14), and the rest of the Jewish *ethnos* who are a “congregation of traitors” (1.12) and transgressors of the covenant (1.20).<sup>240</sup> The writer depicts the remnant as a plant which grew out of Israel during the age of wrath: “And at the end of (his) wrath, three hundred and ninety years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he turned his attention to them and caused to grow out of Israel and Aaron a root for planting, to inherit his

---

noted, and references to the cave four manuscripts include the manuscript number and follow Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., eds., “Damascus Document 4Q266–273 (4QD<sup>a-h</sup>),” in *Damascus Document Fragments, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 24–27, 110–11.

<sup>237</sup> ישראל: e.g., 1.4, 8, 15; 3.13; 4.1, 2, 13, 17, 5.2, 19; 7.12, 17, 8.15; 16.1; 4QD<sup>e</sup> 3.2:19, 21; גוֹאִים: 9.1; 11.14; 12.7, 8. גוֹאִים: 4QD<sup>a</sup> 5.2:5; 4QD<sup>d</sup> 8.2:2; 4QD<sup>e</sup> 2.2:13;

<sup>238</sup> 7.12–13. “(This refers to) when the two houses of Israel split, Ephraim lorded over Judah, and all the backsliders were turned over to the sword. But those who held firmly (to the covenant) escaped to the land of the north.” Cf. 8.1, 13.23–14.1.

<sup>239</sup> The “head of the kings of Greece” is mentioned in 8.11 and “all the children of Seth” are mentioned in 7.21 in allusion to Numbers 24.17.

<sup>240</sup> E.g., “And whoever rejects these precepts, (which are) in accordance with all the statutes found in the law of Moses, shall not be reckoned among all the sons of his truth” (4QD<sup>a</sup> 11.5–7). Cf. John J. Collins, “The Construction of Israel in the Sectarian Rule Books,” in *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Alan Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce Chilton, *Judaism in Late Antiquity* 5 (Boston: Brill, 2001), 25–42, esp. 27–30.

land and grow fat in the goodness of his soil.”<sup>241</sup> Just as the northern kingdom departed from Judah and was destroyed, so the congregation of traitors has departed from the covenant and will be destroyed.<sup>242</sup>

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

D legislates community behavior and membership criteria and so represents a strategic *means of legalized discrimination*. *Discrimination* is an especially effective *means* of enforcing an ethnic vision on others when it uses the legal system to tie life chances to ethnic membership.<sup>243</sup> However, the rule text of D legislates for a Jewish subgroup and not for the Hasmonean state and so its direct influence is limited to members of the community.

The ethnic vision of D locates the Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the hierarchically ranked boundary system. This mirrors the distribution of power set up by the Hasmonean rulers and therefore simply reinforces existing boundary hierarchies within Hasmonean territory. Outside of Hasmonean hegemony, this at least symbolically challenges Roman and Greek privilege, and so represents a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman and Jew/Greek boundaries on the scale of the Mediterranean world. The privileged place of Jews in D is most clear in the concluding expulsion liturgy in which the priest declares “You established [peo]ples (ע[מ]ים) in accordance with their families and tongues for their nations (לאומותם), but made them go astray in trackless void. But our ancestors you did choose and to their descendant(s) you gave your

---

<sup>241</sup> 1.5–8. For the writer, the age of wrath began with the Babylonian exile and did not end with the return, but persisted into the writer’s present. Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Concept of Restoration in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. James M. Scott, JSJSup 72, (Boston: Brill, 2001), 203–22, esp. 220.

<sup>242</sup> “(This refers to) when the two houses of Israel split, Ephraim lorded over Judah, and all the backsliders were turned over to the sword.” (7.12–13). “But the backsliders were handed over to the sword” (8.1).

<sup>243</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 66–67.

truthful statutes and your holy precepts ...”<sup>244</sup> The ancestral covenant means that members of the Jewish *ethnos* have a holy spirit,<sup>245</sup> while all the nations are unclean.<sup>246</sup> The uncleanness of the nations and their idolatry requires Jews to maintain a degree of separation from them. For example, the Sabbath must be spent away from non-Jews (11.14) and animals that might be sacrificed to idols must not be sold to non-Jews (12.8).

However, not all members of the Jewish *ethnos* are part of the ancestral covenant for the writer. D understands the members of its community to alone keep the ancestral covenant (8.17–18). This separation between covenant keepers and breakers distinguishes members of the community who are covenant keepers, from all other Jews who are covenant breakers, and represents a second strategic mode of *boundary contraction* through *fission*.<sup>247</sup> The ingroup claim to be sole heirs to the covenant is buttressed by a corresponding claim to correctly observe the covenant stipulations.<sup>248</sup> In fact, for D it is only the community that can rightly observe the covenant because the correct understanding of covenant stipulations has been revealed to them: “The first ones who entered the covenant became guilty though it; and they were given up to the sword, having departed from God’s covenant and chosen their (own) will, straying after the wantonness of their heart, each doing his (own) will. But out of those who held fast to God’s ordinances, who remained of them, God established his covenant with Israel forever, revealing to

---

<sup>244</sup> 4QD<sup>a</sup> 11.9–11. Joseph M. Baumgarten, “4Q266–273: Introduction,” in *Qumran Cave 4: XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1–22, esp. 10.

<sup>245</sup> It is clear that even those outside of the community have a holy spirit (רוח קדשִׁיהֶם) that distinguishes them from non-Jews because when they disobey the covenant, “They also polluted their holy spirits, and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened (their) mouth against the statutes of God’s covenant ...” (5.11–12).

<sup>246</sup> 4QD<sup>a</sup> 5.2:4–7 “[...] of the sons of Aaron who was in captivity among the gentiles [...] to profane him with their uncleanness (להללה בטמאתם). He may not approach the [...] service [...] within the curtain.”

<sup>247</sup> John J. Collins rightly notes “We should not conclude that Jews outside the ‘plant root’ movement do not belong to Israel. The author uses the term ‘Israel’ in a wider sense to refer to the people that is still in error.” “Construction of Israel,” 28.

<sup>248</sup> 3.12; 6.19. John J. Collins summarizes “it appears here that the covenant which was originally made with all Israel is now transferred to an elite group.” “Construction of Israel,” 29.

them hidden things in which all Israel had strayed: his holy sabbaths, the glorious appointed times, his righteous testimonies, his true ways, and the desires of his will, which a person shall do and live by them” (3.12–16). The distinction between the righteous remnant and apostate Israel had been predetermined from eternity and those who disobey the covenant will be destroyed.<sup>249</sup>

While all members of the Jewish *ethnos*, as heirs of the ancestral covenant, possess a holy spirit, disregard for the covenant pollutes this holy spirit, placing those who break the covenant—that is non-community members in D—alongside members of the nations who never possessed a holy spirit: “They also polluted their holy spirits, and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened (their) mouth against the statutes of God’s covenant ...” (5.11–12). Therefore, in D, Jews who are not part of the community in D are equal to the nations, for both possess polluted spirits. Therefore, D rejects the existing status hierarchy between Jews outside the covenant as understood in D and the non-Jews in and around Hasmonean territory by attributing a corresponding polluted spirit to both. This represents a strategic *mode of equalization* of the Jew/non-Jew boundary, leaving community members alone atop the ranked boundary system in and around Hasmonean Judea.

The insiders of D are Jews and heirs to the Jewish ancestral covenant. Therefore, the text does not blur ethnic boundaries, but simply disidentifies the insiders from the majority of Jews by creating a new sub-group who claim exclusive possession of the ancestral covenant. However, D also includes members who cannot claim genealogical descent from Jacob, enabling non-Jews to cross the boundary and become Jews. The term נא occurs three times in D (6.21;

---

<sup>249</sup> Disobedient Israel “willfully depart from the way and despise the statute, leaving them neither remnant nor survivors. For God did not choose them primordially; before they were established he knew their works. And he despised the generations (in which) they s[t]ood ...” (2.6–8). 4QD<sup>a</sup> 2.1.2–3. “for they can neither [come b]efo[r]e or after their appointed times. [...] ordained a period of wrath for a people that does not know him ...”

14.4, 6): The גר is designated a brother (6.21), and is listed fourth after priests, Levites, and the sons of Israel as members of the community (14.3–6).<sup>250</sup> The meaning of the term גר in the post-exilic period is in flux between designating a “resident alien” and a “proselyte.”<sup>251</sup> The changing meaning of גר makes its use for a “proselyte” at least possible. Carmen Palmer’s broader study of גר in the D tradition concluded that “in the texts correlated with the D tradition, the *gēr* is always included and seems a full Judean member within the movement.”<sup>252</sup> D, then, is best understood to enable a third strategic *mode of boundary crossing* as some non-Jews became Jews.

In summary, as a text meant to regulate community behavior and membership, D represents a strategic *means of legalized discrimination* and primarily influences persons within the community. The ideal ethnic vision of D locates the Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the ranked boundary system. This reinforces the existing boundary hierarchy within Hasmonean territory but represents a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman and Jew/Greek boundaries outside Hasmonean hegemony. The text claims exclusive possession of the ancestral covenant for members of the community and so attempts a strategic *mode of contraction* through

---

<sup>250</sup> 6.21–7.1. “in accordance with their detailed requirements, to love each man his brother as himself, to support the poor, destitute, and proselyte (גר), and to seek each man the peace of his brother” (6.21–7.1). “They shall all be mustered by their names; the priest first, the Levites second, the sons of Israel third, and the proselyte (גר) fourth. And they shall be inscribed by their names, one after the other, the priests first, the Levites second, the sons of Israel (בני ישראל) third, and the proselyte (גר) fourth.” (14.3–6). Kengo Akiyama argues that the full integration of the גר is done by combining Lev 19:34 and Deut 24:14–15 with its allusion to Lev 19:18. “The גר and Interpretive Integration in the Damascus Document 6:20–21 and 14:3–6,” *JJS* 67 (2016): 249–66, esp. 261–65.

<sup>251</sup> In the holiness code it designates foreigners who seek integration into Israelite culture without becoming Israelites. Christophe Nihan, “Resident Aliens and Natives in the Holiness Legislation,” in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Reinhard Achenbach, Rainer Albertz, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZABR 16 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 111–34; Jan Joosten, *People and Land in the Holiness Code: An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17–26*, VTSup 67 (Boston: Brill, 1996), 154–58. For the argument that גר are full converts, see Hans-Peter Mathys, *Liebe deinen nächsten wie dich selbst: Untersuchungen zum Alttestamentlichen Gebot der Nächstenliebe (Lev 19,18)*, OBO 71 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1986), 40–45. The LXX often translates גר with προσήλυτος, which may designate a convert to Judaism. Carmen Palmer, *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Gēr and Mutable Ethnicity*, STDJ 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 10–12. Yet some LXX books use προσήλυτος in a way that clearly does not mean “proselyte” and some are ambiguous. Matthew Thiessen “Revisiting the Προσήλυτος in ‘the LXX,’” *JBL* 132 (2013): 333–50, esp. 344. It is especially in the early Rabbinic literature that the term comes to mean full proselyte or convert to Judaism.

<sup>252</sup> Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 189.

*fission*. This claim to exclusive covenant possession represents a corresponding strategic *mode* of *equalization* between Jews outside the covenant and the nations. By accepting proselytes the text enables *boundary crossing*. As with other texts, these boundary strategies deploy different features of Jewishness and so impact the writer's preferred ethnic configuration.

### *Jewishness as Configured in the Damascus Document*

As noted above, the writer appeals to elements of *common culture* to make the case that the majority of his co-ethnics have transgressed the covenant. Collective Israel has questioned God's law and covenant: "They also polluted their holy spirits, and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened (their) mouth against the statutes of God's covenant" (5.11–12). In contrast, the remnant has sought God's law and God has revealed it to them (3.12–16). Most prominently, Israel was arrogant, transgressed marriage laws, and polluted the temple.<sup>253</sup> In addition the stipulations of the legal section of D (15–16, 9–14) are polemical, and meant to ensure correct covenant observance on issues where D understands greater Israel to have erred.<sup>254</sup>

D appeals to the *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* to emphasize the connection between covenant disobedience and divine punishment. This is seen most clearly in the sketch of Israelite history in 2.14–3.12 which traces ancestral disobedience from the time of the watchers until the present, noting that the first members of the covenant along with their "sons and kings," forsook the covenant and were destroyed (3.9–13). In all of this history, only three ancestral heroes, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, are exempt. They are called "friends of God" and "party to the covenant forever."<sup>255</sup>

---

<sup>253</sup> D interprets Isaiah 24.17 to refer to three "nets of Belial": "the first is unchastity, the second is arrogance, and the third is defilement of the sanctuary" (4.13–18?).

<sup>254</sup> Baumgarten, "4Q266–273: Introduction," 12.

<sup>255</sup> 3.2–4. D also takes pains to exonerate David for transgressing the prohibition of kings taking multiple wives (Deut 17.17): "And David did not read the sealed book of the Torah which was in the Ark (of the Covenant), for it

For D, disobedience of covenant stipulations leads to expulsion from the *homeland*. The culmination of the review of ancestral disobedience was that “the land was ravished” and they were “delivered up to the sword” (3.10, 12). In fact, God knew their disobedience beforehand and “hid his face from the land until they were consumed” (2.13). The present also is part of the age of wickedness (6.15), but a remnant, raised by God, observes the covenant and therefore will inherit the land (1.7–8; cf. 2.13). Eventually, this remnant will expand to fill the entire earth (2.13).<sup>256</sup>

Perhaps most interestingly, *common ancestry* is not a defining criterion of Jewishness in D. In the ordered list of “the priest first, the Levites second, the sons of Israel third, and the proselyte (גר) fourth” (14.5–6), the distinction between גר, who are fully members of the community,<sup>257</sup> and the first three categories is genealogical descent. This explains the genealogical reference in the appellation “sons of Israel (בני ישראל) rather than simply “Israelites”.<sup>258</sup> *Common ancestry* is, however, valuable, as indicated by the inferior status of the גרים who ranked last, after the “sons of Israel” because of their lack of genealogy, but it is not determinative.

In summary, the configuration of Jewishness in D does not make any common element a defining feature of Jewishness: it acknowledges proselytes, accepts the Jewishness of those who

---

was not opened in Israel since the day of the death of Eleazar and Joshua and the elders. For (their successors) worshiped the Ashtoreth, and that which had been revealed was hidden until Zadok arose, so David’s works were accepted, with the exception of Uriah’s blood, and God forgave him for them” (5.2 –6).

<sup>256</sup> The legal section of D concludes with a warning that those who disobey the covenant stipulations will not be permitted to dwell in the land (13.20–21).

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Carmen Palmer who argues that the גר is a full convert: “The *gēr* is a brother, who is a Judean (Israelite), and therefore the *gēr* is also Judean, regardless of whether the *gēr* is still lower in the movement’s hierarchy.” *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 131, 157.

<sup>258</sup> This argument differs from that of Kengo Akiyama, who argues that D 14.3–6 includes the גר as covenant members, but as non-Jews. The difference is that Akiyama does not note the appeal to genealogy in the use of “sons of Israel” in 14.4.5, and the already overlapping categories of this list (priests and Levites are both sons of Israel). “The גר and Interpretive Integration,” 249–66.



disobey the covenant, but does limit covenant status to a remnant that is identified with the community for whom the text is meant. The importance of Torah obedience is emphasized with examples from the shared *historical memories* of expulsion from the land, while faithful Torah observance will eventually lead to expanded territorial boundaries and possession of the whole earth.

### **The Rule of the Community**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location and Manuscript Evidence*

At least twelve copies of a text titled the Rule of the Community (סרך היחד)<sup>259</sup> have been found in the caves around the Dead Sea.<sup>260</sup> These manuscripts primarily outline rules for various aspects of the life of the community (יחד), but also include theological, liturgical, hymnic, and calendrical material. The clearly composite nature of the texts and the presence of at least three different recensions suggest they are better read as community compositions than as the work of a single writer.<sup>261</sup> The scroll from cave one (1QS) is by far the best preserved of the twelve copies and will therefore be the focus of this study. By focusing on 1QS, it is not assumed that 1QS is in any way more representative of the community than other recensions. Rather, 1QS is addressed as one rule text that was regarded as a coherent whole by the redactor for use in some

---

<sup>259</sup> The title סרך היחד is attested in 4QS<sup>a</sup> and partially preserved in 1QS.

<sup>260</sup> One copy was found in cave one: Millar Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery: Vol II, Fasc. 2. Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950). Ten copies were found in cave four: Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). One copy was found in cave five: Józef T. Milik, "Règle de la Communauté," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 180–81, XXXVIII. A fragment from cave eleven may attest to a thirteenth copy: Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, "11QFragment Related to Serekh Ha-Yahad," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 433–34, pl. L.

<sup>261</sup> The three recensions are represented by 1QS, 4QS<sup>b,d</sup>, and 4QS<sup>e</sup>. The extant parts of other manuscripts are too fragmentary for further conclusions. The relationship between these different recensions is disputed. The different theories are summarized in Markus N. A. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QSa/4QS)," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541–60.

communities.<sup>262</sup> While the קהילה has at times been equated with the inhabitants of Qumran, 1QS states explicitly that its members exist in multiple communities.<sup>263</sup> These communities likely existed throughout the towns and villages of Judea, and possibly originated earlier than the community at Qumran.<sup>264</sup> Frank Moore Cross dated the semi-formal script of 1QS to 100–75 BCE.<sup>265</sup> Accordingly, 1QS provides evidence for Jewishness during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.

### *Boundaries in the Rule of the Community*

1QS concerns communal life inside the קהילה, a subgroup within the Jewish *ethnos*, and does not show any interest in the Jew/non-Jew boundary. While the redactor designates members of the Jewish *ethnos* as “Israel,” he does not refer to any non-Jewish *ethnē*.

The much more prominent boundary in 1QS distinguishes members of the קהילה from outsiders. The members of the community “shall separate themselves from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall form a community (קהילה)” (5.1–2). Throughout 1QS this boundary

---

<sup>262</sup> Carol A. Newsom notes “That the author/redactor did operate with a sense of the whole is indicated in the way in which the opening lines (1QS 1:1–15) foreshadow several of the parts to follow.” *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Boston: Brill, 2004), 107. Alison Schofield writes “One should not get wrapped up too much in atomizing the text ... and miss the fact that in the end version, the final redactor made specific choices, and that he saw the text as a meaningful whole, given his time and place.” *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Boston: Brill, 2009), 10–11.

<sup>263</sup> Esp. 6.1–3: “In these (ways) shall they walk in all their dwelling-places, each with his neighbor. ... In the place where there are ten men from the council of the community (קהילה), let there not be lacking among them a man who is a priest ...” Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are from Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>264</sup> John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 68; Regev Eyal, “The ‘Yahad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant’: Structure, Organization, and Relationship,” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 233–62; Torleif Elgvin, “The Yahad Is More than Qumran,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 273–79, esp. 275.

<sup>265</sup> Frank Moore Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of William Foxwell Albright* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1961), 198 n. 116. Cf. Philip S. Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56, esp. 442.

is designated with binary terms: “sons of light”/“sons of darkness,”<sup>266</sup> “sons of truth/righteousness”/“sons of injustice,”<sup>267</sup> and “men of the lot of God”/“men of the lot of Belial.”<sup>268</sup> This dichotomy does not simply distinguish two subgroups of the Jewish *ethnos*, but concerns “all the sons of men” (3.13).<sup>269</sup> The difference is eternal, and persons possess corresponding spirits: “the spirits of truth and of injustice” (3.19).

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

1QS legislates community behavior and membership criteria in the יִהָד and so represents a strategic *means of legalized discrimination*. Like D, the text lacks official means, and so its direct influence is limited to members of the יִהָד.

The redactor of 1QS attempts to remake the boundaries in and around Hasmonean Judea in two ways. First, the redactor splits the category “Jew” into members of the יִהָד and non-members of the יִהָד.<sup>270</sup> This strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission* uses the criteria of covenant loyalty to disidentify the יִהָד from other Jews and claim exclusive possession of any Jewish privilege for the יִהָד: “He shall undertake by the covenant to separate himself from all the men of injustice who walk in the way of wickedness. For they are not counted in his

<sup>266</sup> The introduction states that part of the purpose of the Rule of the Community is “so that they may love all the sons of light (בני אור) ... and may hate all the sons of darkness (בני חושך)” (1.9–10; cf. 2.16, 3.13; 4.5).

<sup>267</sup> “Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light; complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness” (3.20–21; cf. 3.24–25; 4.5, 6, 20–21; 5.2, 10; 8.13).

<sup>268</sup> “And the priests bless all the men of the lot of God (אנשי גורל אל) .... And the Levites curse all the men of the lot of Belial (אנשי גורל בליעל)” (2.2, 5).

<sup>269</sup> The universal scope of the boundary separating the יִהָד from others is also seen in the concluding hymn (9.26b–11.22) which petitions God to “Raise up the son of your handmaid, as you are pleased (to establish) those chosen from Adam to stand firmly before you forever” (11.16–17). Translation from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 49. The concluding hymn is not included in Knibb, *The Qumran Community*. Cf. Collins, “Construction of Israel,” 32.

<sup>270</sup> In 1QS, Jews who are outside the יִהָד are still designated as “Israel.” This indicates that the redactor does not attempt to limit Jewishness to members of the יִהָד but splits the category Jew into two subcategories. The distinction between Israel and the community is nicely illustrated in 6.13–14 “Anyone who willingly offers himself from Israel to join the council of the community ...” וכולה מתנדב מישראל להוסיף על עצת היחד ...

covenant because they have not sought or consulted him about his statutes ...” (5.10–11). These contracted boundaries persist into the eschaton, when God “has set an end to the existence of injustice” (4.18). At the end time, no renewal of Israel is foreseen. Rather, God will judge all humanity “according to a man’s inheritance in truth ... and according to his share in the lot of injustice” (4.24; cf. 4.20). The criterion of judgment at the end time remains what type of spirit each man possesses. This is the same criterion that distinguishes members of the  $\eta\eta$  from non-members, indicating that—for the redactor—Jewishness is a necessary but insufficient criterion for claiming a privileged status. Therefore, the importance of Jewish self-ascription (whether based on descent or other criterion) by itself is limited as the covenant privileges are restricted to the Jewish subgroup distinguished by membership in the  $\eta\eta$ .<sup>271</sup>

Second, the redactor’s denial of any real difference between Jews outside the community ( $\eta\eta$ ) and non-Jews levels the ranked difference between Jews and non-Jews in and around Hasmonean Judea (a strategic *mode of equalization*). The redactor claims that all Jews, unless they are members of the  $\eta\eta$ , like non-Jews, in this “reign of Belial” (1.18, 23–24) are excluded from the covenant,<sup>272</sup> controlled by the angel of darkness,<sup>273</sup> and destined for destruction.<sup>274</sup> This makes any Jewish privilege within the Hasmonean state negligible from the writer’s perspective. The only advantage that Jews have over members of other *ethnē* is that they are able to enter the

---

<sup>271</sup> John J. Collins writes “The covenant is subsumed into the dualistic worldview. But the distinction between light and darkness also provides a basis for distinguishing between the elect community and empirical Israel: not all Israelites are ‘Sons of Light.’” “Construction of Israel,” 35.

<sup>272</sup> “For they are not counted in his covenant because they have not sought or consulted him about his statutes ...” (5.11)

<sup>273</sup> “Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light; complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness” (3.20–21).

<sup>274</sup> “with regard to the things revealed they have acted presumptuously, arousing anger for judgment ... leading to eternal destruction without a remnant” (4.11–14)

יהד, for the members of the יהד are all Jews,<sup>275</sup> and they claim for themselves the God of Israel (3.24), his covenant (esp. 5.10–12), and revelation (5.9).

### *Jewishness as Configured in the Rule of the Community*

In order to understand the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness in 1QS, it is helpful to distinguish the redactor's idealized vision of Jewishness, represented by the יהד, from the redactor's portrayal of his Jewish contemporaries outside of the יהד. While all members of the Jewish *ethnos* in 1QS share the common *proper name* Israel,<sup>276</sup> members of the יהד are distinguished from non-members because they alone are faithful to the ancestral customs (i.e., elements of *common culture*). This distinction is nicely illustrated by the oath for new members who enter the יהד (5.7–11).<sup>277</sup> Those entering the יהד are entering the covenant and take an oath to return to the law of Moses.<sup>278</sup> In contrast, the “men of injustice” (i.e., Jews outside the יהד) have not sought God's statutes (חוקהי), and therefore cannot be considered part of the covenant.<sup>279</sup> However, the distinction is not simply a matter of will, but of correct interpretation. For the redactor, returning to the law of Moses is to interpret it “in accordance with all that has been revealed (הנגלה) from it to the Sons of Zadok.”<sup>280</sup> In contrast, the “men of injustice” have not known the hidden things (הנסתרות) or the things that have been revealed (הנגלות).<sup>281</sup>

<sup>275</sup> Those who join the יהד come “from Israel” (מישראל), 6.13. Unlike D, 1QS includes no mention of גר.

<sup>276</sup> ישראל, “Israel”, occurs fifteen times in 1QS: 1.22, 23; 2.22; 3.24; 5.5, 6, 22; 6.13; 8.4, 5, 9, 11, 12; 9.3, 6.

<sup>277</sup> Here I follow the discussion in Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Boston: Brill, 2013), 92–102.

<sup>278</sup> E.g., “Everyone who joins the council of the community, shall enter into the covenant of God in the presence of all those who willingly offer themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return to the law of Moses.” כול הבא לעצת היחד יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשור אל תורת מושה (5.7–8).

<sup>279</sup> “For they are not counted in his covenant because they have not sought or consulted him about his statutes” כיא לוא החשבו בבריתו כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו בחוקהי (5.11).

<sup>280</sup> (5.9) לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק.

<sup>281</sup> E.g., “since they neither sought nor inquired after him through his statutes, in order to know the hidden (ways) in which they erred, incurring guilt, nor the revealed (ways) ....” כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו בחוקהי לדעת הנסתרות אשר תעו בם לאשמה והנגלות (5.11–12).

The *יה*, as exclusive possessors of the covenant based on the correct reading of Torah that God revealed to the Sons of Zadok, represents in some ways a reconstituted Israel.<sup>282</sup> To conceptualize the significance of the *יה*, 1QS uses a temple metaphor (8.4–12) in which the *יה* is “a most holy assembly for Aaron” (8.5).<sup>283</sup> As a metaphor, the redactor does not make the *יה* a new temple that replaces the existing temple. Rather, the metaphor is used to convey the mediatorial role of the *יה*.<sup>284</sup> The *יה*, through perfect obedience to Torah,<sup>285</sup> offers up a sweet odor<sup>286</sup> and will atone for the land.<sup>287</sup>

Accordingly, for the redactor of 1QS, the Jewish *ethnos* risk forfeiting the advantages they possess as covenant members, for they have not observed the ancestral customs (*common culture*) and have polluted the *homeland*. They have an impure cult (*common culture*), which cannot atone for the land and are reckoned outside the covenant. The text does not indicate what it is that makes these persons “Israel,” but, in the absence of *common culture*, one suspects *common ancestry* plays an important role. Therefore, the redactor and the associated communities likely define Jewishness in terms of ancestry, but subordinate the importance of ethnic belonging to aspects of *common culture* not directly aligned with ethnic categories.

---

<sup>282</sup> Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 155.

<sup>283</sup> The allusions to the *יה* as a temple are subtle, but undeniable. While the only distinctive cultic language is the offering of a soothing odor (5.9), the architectural language reflects the temple structure and the echo of Isaiah 28:16 makes it undeniable. Bertil E. Gartner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*, SNTSMS 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 22–30.

<sup>284</sup> This point is made by Carol Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 157.

<sup>285</sup> The *יה* is “a house of perfection and truth in Israel that they may establish the covenant according to eternal statutes.” וּבֵית תְּמִים וְאֵמֶת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל תִּהְיֶה בְרִית לְחֻקֹּת עוֹלָם (8.9–10)

<sup>286</sup> וּלְקָרִיב גִּיחֹחַ (8.9)

<sup>287</sup> “they shall be accepted to make expiation for the land.” וְהָיוּ לְרִצּוֹן לְכַפֵּר בְּעַד הָאָרֶץ (8.10)

### **Strategies of Boundary Making: Summary**

#### *Strategic Means of Boundary Making*

The textual evidence from the period of Hasmonean independence includes two types of strategic means of boundary making. First, three texts, as narratives of Jewish history, represent discursive means of boundary making: Jubilees, 1 Maccabees, and Eupolemus's *Concerning the Kings in Judea*. Discursive strategies are common means of defining the relevant groups (categorization) and determining who belongs to which groups (identification).<sup>288</sup> The history of Eupolemus and 1 Maccabees represent strategies of the Hasmonean rulers, while Jubilees represents a counter-discourse. Interestingly, the two Hasmonean texts position the Jews as one *ethnos* among many *ethnē*, while Jubilees makes a basic distinction between Jews and the nations. Each text addresses the Jew/Idumean, Jew/Arab, and Jew/Greek (implicitly in Jubilees) boundaries. In addition, 1 Maccabees addresses the Jew/Roman boundary and the extant portions of Eupolemus's history address Jew/Phoenician, Jew/Syrian, and Jew/Egyptian boundaries.

Second, the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community represent strategic means of legalized discrimination. As rule texts that regulate the life of subgroups within the Jewish *ethnos*, these texts' primary influence is on group members and exert only limited influence on other Jews. D evinces a Jew/nations boundary, which is only implicit in the Rule of the Community. However, both texts are primarily interested in inner-Jewish difference and do not directly address specific ethnic boundaries.

In addition to the above textual evidence for strategic means, John Hyrcanus's attempt to integrate Idumeans, Samaritans, and perhaps Arab peoples into the national Jewish *ethnos* represents a strategic means of forced assimilation within the expanded Hasmonean boundaries.

---

<sup>288</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 64.

*Strategic Modes of Boundary Making*

Jewish political autonomy, finally attained in the early years of John Hyrcanus I, represents the culmination of a successful strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* of the Jew/Greek boundary in and around Judea. This strategy began with the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid revocation of Jewish privileges in 167 BCE and employed strategic *means* of *political mobilization* and *violence*. This *exogenous shift* altered the distribution of power in and around Judea where Jews replaced Greeks as the privileged people group. On the broader international scale, the Jews engaged in diplomatic relations with Greeks and Romans, indicating an aspiration for equal status, while remaining politically inferior to these dominant Mediterranean powers (a strategic *mode* of *equalization*). It is in the context of this new power distribution that the five texts attempt different *modes* of boundary renegotiation.

The textual evidence that is written by Jews—reflecting symbolic boundaries rather than social boundaries—largely mirrors the new distribution of power after the beginning of Hasmonean independence. However, some boundary renegotiation is also attempted. On the local scale in and around Judea, all texts reflect the new field characteristics: Eupolemus portrays Syrians, Idumeans, Itureans, Nabateans, Egyptians, Ammonites, and Moabites as subjugated to military heroes of the distant Jewish past; 1 Maccabees depicts Idumeans and Arab peoples as militarily inferior in the recent past; and Jubilees emphasizes that Idumeans and Arab peoples are unable to access the privileges of covenant membership. The Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community also reflect Jewish privilege, but counteract any attempt to elevate the entire Jewish *ethnos* above other *ethnē* through two strategic *modes* of boundary making. First, both texts split the ethnic category in two in order to exclude many members of the Jewish *ethnos* and claim exclusive access to the privileges of covenant membership (*mode* of *contraction* through



*fission*). Second, each text makes the state and destiny of Jews outside the covenant no different than non-Jews (*mode of equalization*). Both possess unclean spirits and both are destined for destruction. Similarly, 1 Maccabees portrays some Jews as having willfully left the covenant, and Jubilees denies covenant membership to some Jews. The writers of Jubilees, the Damascus Document, and the Rule of the Community do not reject the Jewishness of those whom they place outside the covenant, while the writer of 1 Maccabees rejects their Jewishness.

On an international scale, some Jewish writers attempt strategies of *normative inversion* and *equalization*. On the one hand, 1 Maccabees, through presenting the Hasmoneans in diplomatic relations with Greeks (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) and Romans portrays the Jews as independent equals and so attempts a *mode of equalization* of the boundaries between Jews and these two militarily superior people groups. On the other hand, Eupolemus and Jubilees each attempt a strategic *mode of normative inversion*. Eupolemus attempts to invert the Jew/Greek and Jew/Phoenician boundaries by portraying Moses as the bearer of culture to Phoenicians, and through Phoenicians, to Greeks. Jubilees depicts Jewish hegemony extending throughout the earth.

### **Conclusions: Jewishness under the Hasmoneans**

The *ethnic boundary making model* is a cyclical model of how ethnic boundaries are made, maintained, changed, and dissolve. In this model strategic *modes* of boundary making may result in a consensus about the location and meaning of ethnic boundaries. The *modes* of boundary making also impact the boundary features. While the limited extant data on boundary making strategies precludes strong conclusions, they do provide some indication of the characteristics of the boundary field in and around Hasmonean Judea.

### The Nature of the Consensus

As discussed above, a consensus over ethnic boundaries emerges in a social field when the strategies pursued by various actors converge on common boundary *locations* and *meanings* through the exchange of various resources (e.g., economic, political, symbolic). A consensus is said to be *encompassing* when the boundary is both *symmetrical* (persons on both sides agree on boundary *relevance*) and *complete* (persons agree on boundary *meaning* and *location*).<sup>289</sup>

In and around Hasmonean Judea, there is good reason to see the nature of the consensus as nearly *encompassing*. First, all Jewish sources agree on the *relevance* of the Jew/non-Jew boundary. The Damascus Document may blur the Jew/non-Jew boundaries if it acknowledges the presence of non-Jews among the covenantal subgroup. However, it is more likely that the Damascus Document understands the  $\gamma$  as having crossed the boundary into the Jewish *ethnos*, indicating the boundary is semi-porous, but stable. Further, the Damascus Document still posits a fundamental difference between Jews, who have a holy spirit (5.11–12) and non-Jews, who are impure (e.g. 4QD<sup>a</sup> 5.2:4–7), and so retains a basic distinction between Jews and other non-Jewish ethnic groups.

Unfortunately, the absence of relevant non-Jewish sources precludes definitive conclusions about the *relevance* of the category “Jew” among non-Jews. However, there is good reason to see Jewishness as a widely accepted ethnic category. On the one hand, Jewish diplomatic relations with Greeks and Romans indicates that, at least for these two political entities, “Jew” was a relevant category. More generally, Jewish autonomy would make it difficult for non-Jews around Judea to deny the relevance of Jewishness as they confronted Jewish military expansion. It is most often minority ethnic identities whose ethnic categorization

---

<sup>289</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 100.

is denied rather than dominant—and especially autonomous—ethnic groups. Therefore, the relevance of Jewishness was most likely widely acknowledged.

There is also widespread agreement on the *meaning* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries among Jews. The new location Jews occupied atop the hierarchically ranked boundary system of Hasmonean Judea mirrors the ranked boundaries between Jews and others in each of the relevant texts addressed above. The only evidence for dissent is the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community, both of which argue that covenant disobedience negates any real Jewish privilege. These two texts, as rule texts for only small subgroups of the Jewish *ethnos*, lacked significant influence on the boundary meaning for most Jews. Within the boundaries of the expanding Hasmonean state, the vast majority were Jews, and therefore the lack of non-Jewish evidence is not a major obstacle to the conclusion that there was widespread agreement on the *meaning* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries.

The one aspect of the boundary consensus that seems to be disputed is the *location* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries, especially in relation to other people groups who might trace their ancestry back to Abraham. In particular, John Hyrcanus I's strategic *mode of boundary expansion* through *nation-building* seems to have allowed Idumeans, Samaritans, and possibly Arab peoples to remain in Hasmonean territory as long as they assimilated to the national Jewish *ethnos*. The evidence that some did this (especially Idumeans) indicates that many (former) non-Jews accepted, perhaps reluctantly, these expanded boundary locations of Jewishness. The text of Jubilees, which objects to Idumean and Arab peoples crossing the boundary and becoming Jews, provides evidence that some Jews disagreed with this boundary expansion. During the later reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), non-Jewish inhabitants of newly conquered cities, including those without claims to Abrahamic descent, were no longer forced to assimilate to the

Jewish *ethnos*. This led to a mixed ethnic demographic inside Hasmonean boundaries, but also likely provided those who recently assimilated to the national Jewish *ethnos* at the time of John Hyrcanus the chance to disidentify with the national majority, leading to additional ambiguity about who was a Jew and what it meant to be one.

The extant evidence for boundary making indicates there is basic agreement on the *relevance* and *meaning* of Jewishness, but some disagreement and ambiguity on the boundary *location* separating Jews and non-Jews. Therefore, while Jewishness received enhanced *relevance* through political autonomy, the boundaries separating Jews from non-Jews also became more porous and at times ambiguous. Therefore, the consensus is *symmetrical*, but not fully *complete*, making the consensus nearly, but not fully, *encompassing*.

### **Boundary Characteristics**

The Jew/nations boundary characteristics, according to the *ethnic boundary making model*, vary according to (1) the reach of consensus and (2) the degree of power inequality that exists in the boundary system. For the Hasmonean period, this discussion relates to the boundaries inside the expanding Hasmonean political boundaries.

#### *Political Saliency*

The *ethnic boundary making model* links the nature of the consensus to the political saliency of ethnic boundaries: the more *encompassing* the consensus, the more *politically salient* the ethnic boundary.<sup>290</sup> The *ethnic boundary making model* also acknowledges three *dynamics of change* that may influence boundary characteristics. In the case of Hasmonean Judea, it was one of these *dynamics of change* (an *exogenous shift* of Hasmonean autonomy) that elevated the

---

<sup>290</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 102, cf. 81–83.

political saliency of the Jewish *ethnos* to a national identity. Therefore, while the *political saliency* of Jewishness is significantly increased, this is not attributable to the nature of the boundary consensus, but guaranteed by Jewish political autonomy.

### *Social Closure*

The *ethnic boundary making model* links the degree of social closure to the distribution of power: the greater the degree of power inequality between members of different ethnic groups, the greater the degree of social closure between those same groups.<sup>291</sup> In and around Hasmonean Judea, Jewish independence led to an increasingly unequal distribution of power that favored members of the Jewish *ethnos* and discriminated against members of other *ethnē*. This suggests that the Hasmonean period is also a time of greater social closure as Jews would have incentives to police against boundary crossing. This conclusion is supported by archaeological indications of economic segregation and independence, especially in Judea, but increasingly in the newly conquered areas as well.<sup>292</sup>

### *Cultural Differentiation*

According to the *ethnic boundary making model*, the more *encompassing* the consensus and the greater the degree of *social closure*, the more easily ethnic boundaries will be marked by additional *cultural differentiation*.<sup>293</sup> The nearly *encompassing* consensus of the Hasmonean period, and its greater degree of *social closure* indicate that this period is a time when additional boundary markers might develop, further distinguishing Jews from non-Jews and make the boundary appear quasi-natural.

---

<sup>291</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 103. Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 190.

<sup>292</sup> Berlin, "Large Forces," 29–30, 42–43.

<sup>293</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 102–3.

### *Stability*

The historical *stability* of the boundary system is derived from the other three boundary characteristics. Where boundaries are *politically salient*, where there are high degrees of *social closure*, and where extensive *cultural differentiation* makes the boundary appear quasi-natural, the boundary *meaning, location, and relevance* will be more resistant to change.<sup>294</sup> Accordingly, the higher degrees of the first three boundary characteristics during the Hasmonean period suggest enhanced *stability* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries. Where boundaries have high degrees of *stability*, the strategic options available for ethnic actors are restricted and one's ethnic identity and its meaning may seem an immutable part of the social landscape. In the case of Hasmonean Judea, these strategic options seem limited to boundary crossing by those who could claim Abrahamic descent, making the increasingly stable Jew/non-Jew boundary also porous along prescribed avenues for boundary crossing.

### **Ethnic Configuration of Jewishness**

The different ethnic configurations of Jewishness during the Hasmonean period, as seen from the extant texts written by Jews, show variation in terms of the common elements of Jewishness. First, both the *proper names* Ἰουδαῖος (“Jew”) and Ἰσραήλ (“Israel”) occur. Interestingly, the two texts that represent Hasmonean ethnic-configurations are also the only two that use Ἰουδαῖος: Eupolemus consistently designates the Jews as Ἰουδαῖοι, while 1 Maccabees uses it interchangeably with Ἰσραήλ (“Israel”).<sup>295</sup> Texts written by Jews who are not aligned with the Hasmonean leaders consistently use “Israel.” This suggests that the Hasmoneans use of

---

<sup>294</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 104.

<sup>295</sup> An additional source not addressed in this chapter, John Hyrcanus's Festal Letter of 124/125 BCE, also uses “Jew” rather than “Israel”: Ἰουδαῖοι occurs three times as the common *proper name* of the *ethnos* (2 Macc. 1:1 [2x], 1:7).

Ἰουδαῖοι to designate the Jewish *ethnos* is adopted from Seleucid terminology and in large part responsible for its eventual ascendancy as a preferred *proper name* of the Jews.<sup>296</sup>

Second, three of the examined texts from the Hasmonean period rewrite the shared *historical memories* of the Jews for contemporary purposes and so rework elements of *common culture, common ancestry, and homeland*: Eupolemus and Jubilees rewrite the ancient *historical memories*, while the narrative of 1 Maccabees provides a Hasmonean narrative of recent *historical memories*.

Third, the link to a *homeland* receives significant attention during the Hasmonean-period of Jewish autonomy. Jubilees and 1 Maccabees reinforce the Jewish right to the land, and Eupolemus rewrites the stories of David's conquests to legitimize Hasmonean expansion. The Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community both consider the land impure because of covenant disobedience. In addition, the Damascus Document and Jubilees foresee the eventual expansion of Jewish hegemony over the entire earth.

Fourth, aspects of *common ancestry* are rarely addressed. This may be due to assumptions about the givenness of Jewish identity based on genealogy. However, there are different understandings of *common ancestry* as well. Jubilees shows special interest in policing Jewish boundaries by banning intermarriage, emphasizing that Idumeans and Arab peoples are not part of the covenant, and highlighting the importance of eighth-day circumcision for Jewishness. Jubilees's interest in genealogical purity suggests elements of *common ancestry* were contested. The likely source was Hasmonean expansion of Jewish boundaries through Abrahamic descent (also a genealogical argument). For the ethnic-configuration of Jubilees, the

---

<sup>296</sup> So Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 62, 66. The significance of the Hasmonean use of Ἰουδαῖοι/יהודי has been much debated, and will not be solved definitively here. Esp. Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 142–60; Staples, “Reconstructing Israel,” 445–53.

Jewish *ethnos* can be subcategorized as a “race” while the Hasmonean configuration of Jewishness can be designated as “nationhood.”<sup>297</sup> While the Hasmonean appeal to Abrahamic descent to expand the boundaries of Jewishness has some similarities to a racial definition, this remains a secondary criterion, for not all descendants of Abraham were included (some Idumeans fled), and their definition of Jewishness required the adoption of Jewish ways of life. Interestingly, the Damascus Document provides evidence that some community members could not claim descent from Israel, indicating that for at least some Jews, *common ancestry* was not a defining criterion of Jewishness. It is not clear whether these new community members could claim descent from Abraham.

Fifth, three elements of *common culture* are addressed in texts from the Hasmonean period. The ancestral *customs* are elevated in importance. The writer of Jubilees posits the existence of heavenly tablets which include Torah, but also additional legislation. This both bolsters the writer’s vision of Jewish culture, and makes it eternal and universal. For the writer of 1 Maccabees, the Torah is not reworked, but functions as a symbolic resource for uniting Jews under Hasmonean rule. This coheres with the theory that the Hasmoneans instituted the weekly reading of Torah in public synagogues.<sup>298</sup> 1 Maccabees also elevates Torah observance to a defining element of Jewishness since Jews who forsake the law are no longer considered Jews. For both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community, faithful observance of ancestral *customs* is used to split the Jewish *ethnos* into two and claim exclusive access to the covenant through the revelation of correct Torah interpretation. The Hebrew *language* also receives

---

<sup>297</sup> The Hasmonean appeal to *common ancestry* appears to be a secondary criterion. The expanded criterion *enabled* persons who fit the criteria to cross the boundary and become Jews, but it didn’t claim *all* persons who fit the criterion were *automatically* Jews. That is, the Hasmoneans employed a kinship criterion in the service of *nation-building*.

<sup>298</sup> Runesson, *Origins of the Synagogue*, 324.



additional importance: Jubilees makes Hebrew the language of creation, and the composition of Jubilees and 1 Maccabees also attest to its greater importance. Finally, elements of “religion” have a unique role during the period of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmonean rulers. 1 Maccabees attributes much of the rebels’ success to God’s help, secured through the rebel’s obedience to God’s law. However, the covenant is not deployed to invert the Jew/nations boundary as it would have while the Jewish *ethnos* was under foreign political control, but rather reinforces Jewish autonomy in and around Judea. The temple receives significant attention, and the purity of the existing temple is disputed by the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.

The arrival of Pompey in 63 BCE signaled the end of Hasmonean independence and brought new *field characteristics* to the Southern Levant. These new *field characteristics* altered the systems of incentives for boundary making strategies, impacting the ways that Jews configured their Jewishness. The configurations of Jewishness in the new *field characteristics* of the early Roman period (63 BCE–132 CE) is the focus of the following chapter.

### CHAPTER 3: JEWISHNESS UNDER THE ROMANS (63 BCE–132 CE)

Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE represents an *exogenous shift* that altered the *field characteristics* into the Southern Levant, creating new incentives and strictures within which Jews constructed their identity. I first summarize the changing political boundaries and increasingly diverse ethnic demographics in and around Roman Judea. I then outline the new *field characteristics* and identify three *dynamics of change* in and around Roman Judea. While the new *institutional frameworks* continued to provide incentives to emphasize ethnic categorization until the reign of Herod, and then again after the Jewish War, the *distribution of power* consistently favored Romans, rather than Jews. Three *dynamics of change* altered the field characteristics during this period: the privileges granted to the Jews by Julius Caesar in 47 BCE, the new administrative policies of Herod (esp. 30–4 BCE), and the effects of the Jewish War (66–70 CE). Most significantly, from the reign of Herod until the Jewish War, the *institutional frameworks* provided no incentive to emphasize ethnic categorization, and, after the Jewish War, the members of the Jewish *ethnos* found themselves at the bottom of the ranked boundary system of Roman Judea.

The discussion of strategies of boundary making addresses eight texts whose composition can be safely located in or around Roman Judea and dated between 63 BCE and 132 CE: The Psalms of Solomon, the War Scroll, the Habakkuk Peshier, the Nahum Peshier, the Testament of Moses, the Similitudes of Enoch, 2 Baruch, and 4 Ezra. The choice of these eight texts is based on the degree of certainty with which they can be assigned to the geographical and temporal

boundaries of this chapter.<sup>1</sup> Other texts that may plausibly be assigned an early Roman Judean provenance are excluded due to later interpolations which make the use of these texts as evidence for Jewishness dependent on disputable source-critical distinctions between original text and scribal interpolation.<sup>2</sup> While many of the texts in the New Testament canon may be best characterized as Jewish texts,<sup>3</sup> I do not include any of these as *evidence* for Jewishness because the macro-level question of this study is *whether* texts later included in the New Testament, specifically the Gospel of Mark, are best characterized as Jewish texts.

These eight texts all represent *discursive means* of boundary making and attempt strategic *modes* that include *normative inversion*, *boundary contraction*, and *boundary blurring*. Unlike the evidence from the Hasmonean period (esp. 1 Maccabees), no textual evidence represents the ethnic-configuration of Jewish rulers from the Roman period, such as Herod or Agrippa I.<sup>4</sup> Further, no textual sources for boundary making by non-Jews are extant. This means that the extant evidence cannot be taken as representative of all Jews. Rather, these eight texts represent a sampling of ways that some Jews configured their Jewish ethnicity, and interacted with the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea. The limited, non-representative state of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The Bar Kokhba letters and the Babatha archive fall just outside of the temporal and geographical boundaries respectively. The geographical boundaries also exclude Josephus's writings (written in Rome), and early Rabbinic literature, which, while likely including material from the early Roman Judea, is codified later. Other texts which are excluded because of uncertain provenance or date include the Life of Adam and Eve and Pseudo-Philo.

<sup>2</sup> Texts written by Jews but extant only with Christian interpolations include 4 Baruch, Apocalypse of Abraham, and the Aramaic Song of the Lamb. Other writings whose textual history is too uncertain include the Lives of the Prophets, and the five 'fragments' of the first-century historian Justus of Tiberias. These are not direct quotes, and all deal only with chronology. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 373.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the study by Serge Ruzer, which uses the New Testament as evidence of Jewish biblical interpretation. *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis*, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 13 (Boston: Brill, 2007). Cf. Nanos and Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism*.

<sup>4</sup> The closest evidence for a ruling-class ethnic configuration of Jewishness is Nicolaus of Damascus's history of Herod, whose writing Josephus used. Unfortunately, it is not possible to separate Josephus from Nicolaus's history with any certainty. See, however, Benedikt Eckhardt's study of Nicholas of Damascus's ethnic configuration of Jewishness, *Ethnos und Herrschaft*, 21, 127–48.

extant evidence precludes conclusions about all Jews, but does enable conclusions about the range of diversity of boundary strategies, and ethnic-configurations of Jewishness.

While the limited evidence for strategies makes conclusions about the consensus and boundary characteristics tentative, the extant evidence suggests the following results. Like the Hasmonean period, the consensus is *symmetrical*, but *partial* (i.e., not *complete*), and therefore not fully *encompassing*. However, unlike the Hasmonean period when the *partial* consensus was due to the disputed *location* of the boundary between Jews and non-Jews, after Pompey's conquest and the imposition of Roman rule, it is the disputed *meaning* of the Jew/non-Jew boundary that made the consensus *partial*. In the period leading up to the Jewish War, the *political saliency*, *social closure*, and *cultural differentiation*, which the *ethnic boundary making model* derives from the *field characteristics* and the *nature of the consensus*, are all present in relatively lesser degrees during the Roman period than the Hasmonean period, suggesting this is a time when Jew/non-Jew boundaries in and around Hasmonean Judea are less stable than during Jewish autonomy under the Hasmoneans. However, the changes in the *field characteristics* that occurred during and as a result of the Jewish War influenced the boundary characteristics in opposing directions, confirming that the period after the war was a time of tumult and uncertainty. I conclude with a brief summary of ways in which the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness differs among the extant texts written by Jews.

### **Shifting Political Boundaries in and around Roman Judea**

Changes to the political boundaries impact the ethnic boundary system by altering the ethnic demographic makeup within the political boundaries, and by extending (or retracting) the reach of the new *field characteristics* over persons or groups now located within the sphere of hegemony of the ruling power. With Pompey's conquest of Judea in 63 BCE, the Hasmonean

state came under the *imperium populi Romani* (“power of the Roman people”)<sup>5</sup> and the period of Hasmonean independence came to an end. Josephus reports that Pompey “deprived the nation (τοῦ ἔθνους) of the cities which they had conquered ... and thus confined it within its own boundaries.”<sup>6</sup> These cities were annexed to the province of Syria (Jos., *J.W.* 1.157; *Ant.* 14.74) and included all of the coastal cities, the Decapolis, the city of Samaria, and Marisa in Idumea.<sup>7</sup> The newly circumscribed boundaries of Judea, still governed by Hasmoneans but without royal titles,<sup>8</sup> included Judea proper, eastern Idumea, Perea, Galilee, and possibly parts of Samaria.<sup>9</sup> After Julius Caesar’s victory over Pompey in 47 BCE, he returned to John Hyrcanus II the villages of the plain of Sharon,<sup>10</sup> the city of Lydda, and, most importantly, the city of Joppa, providing access to the sea (Jos., *Ant.* 14.205).

---

<sup>5</sup> For a succinct discussion of Roman ethnicity, see Louise Revell, *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses of Identity in the Roman West* (Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2016), esp. 19–60. Cf., Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Gary D. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Emma Dench, *Romulus’ Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ray Laurence, “Territory, Ethnonyms and Geography: The Construction of Identity in Roman Italy,” in *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, ed. Ray Laurence and Joanne Berry (London: Routledge, 1998), 95–110; Erich S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 52 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992).

<sup>6</sup> *J.W.* 1.155. Translation adapted from Thackeray, LCL.

<sup>7</sup> Josephus lists the cities of Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Dios, Samaria, Marisa, Ashdod, Yavneh, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Strato’s Tower (*Ant.* 14.75). The coins of many of these cities mark Pompey’s “liberation” as a new founding, and provide confirmation of Josephus’s account. Augustus Spijkerman, *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, Collectio Maior 25 (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1978), 15; Ze’ev Safrai, “The Gentile Cities of Judea: Between the Hasmonean Occupation and the Roman Liberation,” in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography: Presented to Zecharia Kallai*, ed. Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld, VTSup 81 (Boston: Brill, 2000), 63–90, esp. 78.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., John Hyrcanus II is the “high priest and ethnarch of the Jews” (Jos., *Ant.* 14.191, 211). John Hyrcanus II continued to be high priest, but most likely was only made *ethnarch* in 47 BCE by Julius Caesar. Nadav Sharon, “The Title Ethnarch in Second Temple Period Judea,” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 472–93, esp. 480–81.

<sup>9</sup> Hannah M. Cotton, “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina,” in *Lokale Autonomie und Römische Ordnungsmacht in den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1.–3. Jahrhundert.*, ed. Werner Eck (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999), 75–89, esp. 75. The retention of Eastern Idumea attests to the extent of Idumean assimilation to the Jewish *ethnos*.

<sup>10</sup> Josephus calls these villages the “villages of the great plain,” which is best identified with the valley of Sharon, just north of Joppa. So Fabian E. Udoh, *To Caesar What Is Caesar’s: Tribute, Taxes and Imperial Administration in Early Roman Palestine (63 B.C.E.–70 C.E.)*, BJS 343 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2005), 61–68. Josephus uses “the great plain” to refer to a number of locations, especially the Jezreel valley, which is often assumed to be meant here. For example, Michael Avi-Yonah, “Historical Geography of Palestine,” in *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Shemuel Safrai and Menahem Stern, CRINT 1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 78–116, esp. 90.

After being declared king of the Jews by the Roman Senate in 40 BCE (Jos., *J.W.* 1.282; *Ant.* 14.385), Herod succeeded in taking Jerusalem from Mattathias Antigonus in 37 BCE, marking the end of Hasmonean governance and the beginning of Judea as a client-kingdom of Rome.<sup>11</sup> During the reign of Herod (37–4 BCE), the boundaries of Judea expanded along the coast and into the Golan: After Herod surrendered his coastal possessions to Cleopatra VII for a brief period (*Ant.* 15.95), Octavian granted him full control of the coast from Gaza to Strato’s Tower in 30 BCE,<sup>12</sup> at which time Octavian also granted him the city of Samaria (but not Scythopolis), and the Decapolis cities of Gadara and Hippus (*Ant.* 15.217). Between 23 and 20 BCE, the possessions of the “tetrarch and high priest” Zenodorus (Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Gaulanitis) were ceded to Herod, expanding Herod’s kingdom north and east of Galilee into the Golan (*Ant.* 15.360).

In the aftermath of the revolts that followed Herod’s death in 4 BCE, three sons received most of the kingdom: Archelaus became *ethnarch* of Judea and Samaria; Antipas became *tetrarch* of Galilee and Perea; Philip became *tetrarch* of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Paneas.<sup>13</sup> The only change to the boundaries of Herodian control was the annexation of the Decapolis cities of Hippus and Gadara, and the coastal city of Gaza to the province of Syria.<sup>14</sup>

When Archelaus was exiled in 6 CE (Jos., *Ant.* 17.344), his territory came under direct Roman rule, governed from Caesarea by a Roman *praefectus*, and annexed to the province of

---

<sup>11</sup> Grabbe, *Judaism*, 2:349–51.

<sup>12</sup> The one exception was Ascalon, which remained independent. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 193.

<sup>13</sup> In addition, Herod’s sister, Salome, received Azotus and Yavneh along the sea, and Phasaelia along the Jordan (Jos., *Ant.* 11.321; *J.W.* 2.98).

<sup>14</sup> *Ant.* 17.320; *J.W.* 2.97. These had all been granted to Herod by Octavian in 30 BCE. Further, Josephus’s description of the territory given to Philip suggests slight border adjustments: “Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and a certain portion of what was called the domain of Zenonodorus” (*Ant.* 17.319).

Syria,<sup>15</sup> but the borders remained the same. Philip died in 34 CE and his *tetrarchy* was first annexed to Syria (*Ant.* 18.108) and subsequently granted to Agrippa I in 37 CE, who was given the title “king” by the newly crowned emperor Gaius Caligula (*Ant.* 18.237; *J.W.* 2.182). Gaius exiled Antipas in 39 CE and added his *tetrarchy* to Agrippa I’s kingdom (*Ant.* 18.252; *J.W.* 2.183). In 41 CE, in response to Agrippa I’s help securing the throne, the new emperor Claudius added what had been Archelaus’s territory to Agrippa I’s kingdom (*J.W.* 2.215), making Agrippa I’s kingdom equal to that of Herod for the few years until Agrippa I’s death in 44 CE.<sup>16</sup>

After the death of Agrippa I, his kingdom came under direct Roman rule. Most of the kingdom became a new imperial province of Judea,<sup>17</sup> which included Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea.<sup>18</sup> The only portion of Agrippa I’s kingdom separated from the new province was Philip’s former *tetrarchy* of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Paneas. Philip’s *tetrarchy* was most likely annexed to the province of Syria for the nine years before they were given to Agrippa II in 53 CE.<sup>19</sup> In 54 CE, the new Emperor Nero gave Agrippa II the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea in eastern Galilee, and the city of Julia with the surrounding villages in southern Perea (*Jos.*, *Ant.* 20.159; *J.W.* 2.252), separating these cities and their countryside from the province of Judea.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> *Jos.*, *Ant.* 17.354. The annexation of Judea to Syria is argued convincingly by Cotton, “Roman Administration,” 77–79. It is also possible that Judea became its own province in 6 CE. However, this is unlikely given the much smaller size of Judea than any other Roman provinces, the repeated intervention of the Syrian governor in military and non-military matters, and Josephus’s statement that Judea was added to the province of Syria (*Ant.* 18.1). Cf. Werner Eck, *Rom und Judaea: Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*, Tria Corda: Jenaer Vorlesungen zu Judentum, Antike und Christentum 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 24–27.

<sup>16</sup> *Ant.* 19.350. Claudius also granted Agrippa I areas around Mount Hermon, making his domain larger than Herod’s (*Ant.* 19.275).

<sup>17</sup> Dating the beginning of the Roman province of Judea to 44 CE rather than 6 CE is argued by Cotton, “Roman Administration,” 79.

<sup>18</sup> Josephus never delineates the boundaries of the new province, but the events of the years 44–66 CE make these quite clear (esp. *J.W.* 2.247). E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations*, SJLA 20 (Boston: Brill, 1981), 200.

<sup>19</sup> *Jos.*, *Ant.* 20.138; *J.W.* 2.247. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 200.

<sup>20</sup> Emil Schürer, Geza Vermes, and Fergus Millar, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, 3 vols., 5th ed. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973–1987), 1:472–73.

The first Jewish War (66–70 CE) led to no permanent border adjustments to Judea,<sup>21</sup> though the province was made a senatorial province, with a praetorian governor and a permanent legion (X Fretensis).<sup>22</sup> After the death of Agrippa II (92/93 CE), the cities of Tiberias, Taricheae, and Julias were returned to the province of Judea, while the rest of his kingdom was annexed to the province of Syria.<sup>23</sup> By the early years of Hadrian’s reign (117–138 CE), the province of Judea had become a consular province, with a second permanent legion.<sup>24</sup>

### **Ethnic Demographic Changes in and around Roman Judea**

The ethnic demographics impact the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea by indicating which ethnic categories are part of the boundary system. The relative size of each ethnic category also impacts, but does not determine, the category’s relevance for the boundary system and its location in the boundary hierarchy. After Pompey took away many of the conquered cities from Judea, these cities were “repopulated, colonists gladly flocking to each of them.”<sup>25</sup> These new persons likely included many of the earlier expelled Greek and Phoenician inhabitants, and quite possibly additional new Syrian settlers.<sup>26</sup> The majority of the Jewish inhabitants must have immigrated to Judea, Galilee, and Perea, leading to a population increase in the areas still governed by John Hyrcanus II and ethnic demographics that more closely paralleled the new political boundaries.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 339.

<sup>22</sup> Grabbe, *Judaism*, 2:566.

<sup>23</sup> Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 354.

<sup>24</sup> Werner Eck, “Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction,” in *Judäa-Syria Palästina: Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur*, ed. Werner Eck, TSAJ 157 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 186–203, esp. 188.

<sup>25</sup> Jos., *J.W.* 1.166; cf. *Ant.* 14.75. Pompey also stripped the Itureans of their conquests along the Phoenician coast and Mt. Lebanon, and halted the Nabatean push northward. Kasher, *Jews, Idumeans and Ancient Arabs*, 115.

<sup>26</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 177.

<sup>27</sup> Material evidence for an increased population in Judea includes evidence for soil erosion, cultivation of the poorest soils, and increased landholdings outside village centers. Shimon Applebaum, “Judaea as a Roman Province: The Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor,” in *ANRW* 2/8:355–96, esp. 8:361–67.



During the reign of Herod, the non-Jewish presence within his expanding borders increased through the annexation of non-Jewish territories, the establishment of Hellenistic cities, and the presence of mercenary troops throughout the kingdom. Octavian's land grant to Herod in 30 BCE brought the recently liberated cities (along with a few others noted above) and their Hellenistic inhabitants back under Jewish hegemony<sup>28</sup> and laid the groundwork for Herod to found two Hellenistic cities: Sebaste and Caesarea.<sup>29</sup> Herod rebuilt the city of Samaria as Sebaste in 27 BCE, and settled "in it many of those who had fought as his allies in war and many of the neighbouring populations."<sup>30</sup> Herod's army consisted of "foreigners" (ξένων) and "his countrymen" (ὁμοφύλων), most likely Idumeans,<sup>31</sup> while the neighboring peoples likely included Samaritans, making any Jewish inhabitants a small minority in the new city. Herod built Caesarea Maritima between 22 and 9 BCE on the site of Strato's Tower as a new port city, replete with the first Roman-style theater and temple to the imperial cult in the near-east.<sup>32</sup> The Roman-style architecture makes clear that the intended inhabitants were non-Jews,<sup>33</sup> most likely from the surrounding areas, but Jewish presence before and after the founding of Caesarea makes it at least likely that some Jews were part of the new city.<sup>34</sup> Herod's annexation of the "kingdom of Zenodorus" (20–23 BCE) further increased the non-Jewish demographic within Herod's

---

<sup>28</sup> The embassies sent by the inhabitants of Gadara to object to Herod's rule show that at least some of these cities resented Jewish subordination (*Ant.* 15.351, 354–359).

<sup>29</sup> Herod built two smaller new cities, Antipatris (*Jos.*, *Ant.* 16.145; *J.W.* 1.418) and Phasaelis (*Ant.* 16.142–43; *J.W.* 1.417), in his kingdom, but these did not alter the ethnic demographics in any discernible way. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 206–7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ant.* 15.296; cf. *J.W.* 1.403. Josephus states Herod settled 6,000 inhabitants in Sebaste, establishing it as the leading city of Samaria. Cf., Jürgen Zangenberg, "Between Jerusalem and the Galilee: Samaria in the Time of Jesus," in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James Charlesworth (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 393–432, 405.

<sup>31</sup> *Ant.* 14.394. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 190. David Fiensy estimated the land given to Herod's veterans around Sebaste to be ten percent of Samaria. *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land Is Mine*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 20 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1991), 43.

<sup>32</sup> *Jos.*, *Ant.* 15.331–341; 16.136–141; *J.W.* 1.408–414. Meyers, *Alexander to Constantine*, 164–67.

<sup>33</sup> Josephus never indicates who was settled in Caesarea.

<sup>34</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 202.

kingdom. The majority of these inhabitants were Itureans, but included a strong Jewish minority since the time of Alexander Jannaeus.<sup>35</sup>

An important demographic factor in Herod's kingdom was the presence of a largely non-Jewish military.<sup>36</sup> Thracian, Galatian, and Germanic mercenary units are attested in Herod's army (Jos., *Ant.* 17.198), which also likely included local Syrians.<sup>37</sup> Between forty and fifty garrisons were stationed throughout Herod's kingdom.<sup>38</sup> Josephus reports that Herod established military colonies at Gaba at the edge of the Jezreel valley (*Ant.* 16.294), and at Heshbon in Transjordan (*Ant.* 13.294), and settled 3,000 Idumeans in Trachonitis (*Ant.* 16.285) and 500 Jewish archers from Babylon in Batanea (*Ant.* 17.24).<sup>39</sup> Military settlers also appear in Idumea, though their ethnic composition is unknown (*J.W.* 2.55, 76–77; *Ant.* 17.270, 297).

The tetrarch Philip founded two urban centers, Caesarea Philippi in 1 CE and Julias most likely in 30 CE.<sup>40</sup> The inhabitants of both seem to have come from the surrounding areas and neither caused any discernible shift in the ethnic demographics.<sup>41</sup> Philip's tetrarchy continued to be inhabited by a mix of Nabateans, Itureans, Syrians, and a sizeable Jewish minority.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Mark A. Chancey and Adam Porter, "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine," *NEA* 64 (2001): 164–203, esp. 183; Kasher, *Jews, Idumeans, and Ancient Arabs*, 160.

<sup>36</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 209–11. Pace Israel Shatzman who argues most of the army was Jewish. *Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*, 185.

<sup>37</sup> Israel Shatzman suggests the army also included some Nabateans and Itureans. *Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*, 184.

<sup>38</sup> Shatzman, *Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*, 266.

<sup>39</sup> For a study of the Babylonian Jewish settlers, see Getzel M. Cohen, "The Hellenistic Military Colony: A Herodian Example," *TAPA* 103 (1972): 83–95.

<sup>40</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 18.28. This dating for Julias follows Frederick M. Strickert, "The Founding of the City of Julias by the Tetrarch Philip in 30 CE," *JJS* 61 (2010): 220–33. Cf. Ya 'akov Meshorer, "The Coins of Caesarea Paneas," *INJ* 8 (1984): 37–58, esp. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Zeev Weiss, "Sepphoris: From Galilean Town to Roman City, 100 BCE–200 CE," in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, ed. David A. Fiensy and James R. Strange (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 53–75, esp. 53; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 220.

<sup>42</sup> Meyers, *Alexander to Constantine*, 123.

The tetrarch Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris (Jos., *Ant.* 18.27), which had been destroyed after Herod's death, but with no discernible change in the ethnic demographic.<sup>43</sup> In 20 CE, Antipas built a new capital, Tiberias, along the Sea of Galilee (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.36–38). According to Josephus, the new inhabitants consisted of “rabble” (σύγκλυδες), Galileans (Γαλιλαίαις), and persons from Antipas's own country (ἐκ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆς; *Ant.* 18.37). This suggests that the majority of the new inhabitants were Jewish with a non-Jewish minority.<sup>44</sup>

Little is known about the ethnarch Archelaus's short rule, during which he founded a single village, Archelais (*Ant.* 17.340). Josephus's description of Archelaus's “barbarous and tyrannical” rule, which led to a joint Judean/Samaritan embassy to Rome (*Ant.* 17.342), likely required an increased foreign military presence in his ethnarchy.<sup>45</sup> The annexation of Archelaus's ethnarchy to the province of Syria in 6 CE and the imposition of direct Roman rule until 41 CE had little effect on ethnic demographics. The foreign military presence in Jerusalem and throughout the region continued. The location of the Roman procurator in Caesarea Maritima led to an increased Roman presence,<sup>46</sup> and there are indications of a Roman cohort in Judea as well (cf. Acts 10:1).

No discernible demographic shifts occurred during the short kingship of Agrippa I (41–44 CE).<sup>47</sup> Josephus portrays the period between the death of Agrippa I and the first revolt (44–66 CE) as a period of increased hostility and conflict between Jews and non-Jews within the province of Judea. This led to some population decrease, and greater social closure between

---

<sup>43</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 221.

<sup>44</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 223.

<sup>45</sup> These would be especially drawn from Sebaste. Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 218.

<sup>46</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 225.

<sup>47</sup> The auxiliary military units remained in Judea, as evidenced by their attacking the Jews after Agrippa I's death. The only possible shift is a greater Jewish urban concentration in Jerusalem due to Agrippa I's choice to move the capital from Caesarea Maritima to Jerusalem and double the size of Jerusalem by constructing the third wall.

these two population segments. Beyond this, only small-scale and local demographic shifts may be discerned.<sup>48</sup>

The first great revolt (66–73/74 CE) led to greater social closure between Jews and non-Jews, a general population decrease, and a greater Roman presence in the province of Judea. At the beginning of the war, Josephus depicts open hostilities between Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants in many of the Hellenistic cities.<sup>49</sup> In most cases, this resulted in the Jewish inhabitants fleeing to Jewish cities,<sup>50</sup> resulting in greater population density in Jewish areas, and significantly fewer Jewish inhabitants in Hellenistic cities.<sup>51</sup> The loss of life in the war led to a significant population decrease, with estimates suggesting as much as one third of the population.<sup>52</sup>

After the war, a permanent Roman Legion (X Fretensis), made up of persons with Roman citizenship, was stationed in Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> Vespasian made Caesarea Maritima a Roman colony in 70/71 CE,<sup>54</sup> and built Neapolis (“new city”) just west of Shechem in Samaria in 72/73

---

<sup>48</sup> During the procuratorship of Florus (64–66 CE), the Jews of Caesarea moved to nearby Nabata (Jos., *J.W.* 2.291). Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 264.

<sup>49</sup> Josephus depicts initial Jewish offensives followed by Syrian responses. Within the province of Judea, Josephus reports that the Jews attacked Caesarea, Anthedon, Gaza, and Sebaste. In the Decapolis, Josephus lists Heshbon, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, Gadara, and Hippos. In southern Syria, Josephus includes Tyre, Ptolemais, and Gaba (*J.W.* 2.458–460). Conflict also occurred in Tiberias (*Life*, 67) and the district of Gaulanitis (*J.W.* 2.459).

<sup>50</sup> The inhabitants of Scythopolis slaughtered the Jewish minority; the inhabitants of Gadara, Hippos, and Gerasa deported some Jews and killed others, “as did the rest of the cities of Syria” (*J.W.* 2.478, 480).

<sup>51</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 268–87.

<sup>52</sup> Meyer, *Alexander to Constantine*, 164.

<sup>53</sup> See especially Jodi Magness, “In the Footsteps of the Tenth Roman Legion,” in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, ed. Andrea Berlin and J. Andrew Overman (New York: Routledge, 2002), 189–212.

<sup>54</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.14.69. Chancey and Porter, “The Archaeology of Roman Palestine,” 185. Cf. Werner Eck, “Caesarea Maritima—Eine römische Stadt?,” in *Judäa-Syria Palästina: Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur*, ed. Werner Eck, TSAJ 157 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 150–62.

CE and settled it with military veterans.<sup>55</sup> By the early years of Hadrian's reign, a second Roman legion was stationed in the north of the province, further increasing Roman presence in Judea.<sup>56</sup>

In summary, a clear demographic shift occurred during the early Roman period from a nearly-homogenous Jewish demographic shortly after 63 BCE toward increasingly diverse ethnic makeup. The introduction of Roman rule in 63 BCE and the reduced size of Hasmonean control led to a denser Jewish population in Hasmonean-governed territory and a return of displaced Greeks and Phoenicians from the newly 'liberated' cities. The reign of Herod (37–4 BCE) saw a noticeable increase of non-Jewish presence throughout his kingdom due to the annexation of non-Jewish territories, the establishment of Hellenistic cities, and the presence of mercenary troops throughout his domain. No significant demographic shifts may be discerned from the extant evidence until the first great revolt (66–73/74 CE) which led a general population decrease, and a greater Roman presence in the province of Judea. The Roman presence increased again in the early second century CE when Hadrian stationed a second legion in the northern part of Roman Judea.

### **Field Characteristics: Institutions, Power, Networks**

The arrival of Pompey in 63 BCE effectively ended Hasmonean independence and Jewish autonomy in the Southern Levant. This *exogenous shift* marked the end of Hasmonean control of the *field characteristics* as Rome exerted its influence by appointing and deposing various client kings, procurators, and prefects between 63 BCE and 132 CE. The following discussion outlines the field characteristics at the beginning of Roman rule (63 BCE). These *field*

---

<sup>55</sup> Jürgen Zangenberg, *Frühes Christentum in Samarien: Topographische und traditions-geschichtliche Studien zu den Samaritentexten im Johannes-Evangelium*, Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 27 (Tübingen: Francke, 1998), 30–35; Yitzhak Magen, *Flavia Neapolis: Shekhem in the Roman Period* (Hebrew), Judea and Samaria Publications 6 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2005).

<sup>56</sup> A plausible pre-Hadrian date is 107/108 CE. Cotton, "Roman Administration," 80.

*characteristics* impact the relevance and location of ethnic boundaries as well as the types of boundary making strategies that persons and groups pursue. The section that follows discusses changes to the field characteristics during the Early Roman period (*dynamics of change*).

### **Institutional Frameworks**

The formal policies and the informal conventions of the institutional environment influence whether ethnicity matters by providing incentives for persons to make and to emphasize certain types of social categorization rather than others (i.e., ethnic rather than class, gender, or occupation).<sup>57</sup> The precise political status of the newly reduced Judea and its relationship to the province of Syria after Pompey's invasion is not certain.<sup>58</sup> However, Pompey's decision to remove the recently-conquered cities from the Jewish nation (τοῦ ἔθνους, Jos., *J.W.* 1.55) and resettle them with non-Jews indicates Pompey's acknowledgement of the importance of the existing ethnic categories as a meaningful manner of social classification and criteria for adjusting political boundaries. These new political boundaries, which more closely mirrored ethnic demographics, reaffirmed the importance of ethnicity for social categorization in and around Roman Judea and Syria. Therefore, the new Roman administrative policies continued to provide persons incentives to emphasize ethnic categories as a meaningful way of social categorization and ensured the continued relevance of ethnic classification.

---

<sup>57</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 90–92.

<sup>58</sup> Josephus gives the impression that, while Judea was under the authority of Scaurus, the governor of Syria, it was not part of the province of Syria (*J.W.* 1.157). Nadav Sharon argues that the Idumean Antipater was the political authority in Judea, while John Hyrcanus II was only the high priest. "The Title Ethnarch," 483. Cf. Schürer, Vermes, and Millar, *History of the Jewish People*, 1:334, n. 12. Alternatively, John Hyrcanus II may have had both the high priesthood and political authority in Judea. E.g., Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 27; David M. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*, TSAJ 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 26.

### **Distribution of Power**

After Pompey's conquest of the Hasmonean kingdom, Romanness replaced Jewishness at the top of the hierarchical ethnic boundary system in and around Judea. While the shift to Roman political hegemony necessarily entailed an increased Roman presence, Pompey did not establish any Roman colonies in and around Judea,<sup>59</sup> and only one individual grant of Roman citizenship to a non-Roman is attested during Pompey's six years in the east.<sup>60</sup> The greatest Roman presence was the Roman army in Syria, which by 4 BC consisted of three legions.<sup>61</sup> While the Roman *ethnos* remained a numerically insignificant demographic until after the Jewish War, persons who might claim membership in the Roman *ethnos* remained atop the ethnic hierarchy in and around Roman Judea.

The distribution of power between Jews and other inhabitants of southern Syria also shifted under Roman hegemony. Most significantly, Pompey's "liberation" of the Hellenistic cities signaled a new pro-Hellenistic policy which represented a clear reversal of the earlier Roman-Hasmonean alliance.<sup>62</sup> These cities could now appeal to the protection of Syria against Jewish aggression. Further, the annexation of the Hellenistic cities cut Judea off from the Mediterranean Sea, and separated Judea from Galilee, the other main Jewish population center, further subordinating the Jewish *ethnos* to those who could claim a Hellenistic *ethnos* (Greeks, Phoenicians, and likely some Greek-speaking Syrians).<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> The closest Roman settlement was Beirut, which only became a *colonia* in the time of Herod (14 BCE). Nigel Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 114.

<sup>60</sup> Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 308.

<sup>61</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 17.286; *J.W.* 2.40. The precise size of the Roman army in Syria after Pompey's conquest is not known. Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*, 22.

<sup>62</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 172–73. Alexander Jannaeus never renewed this Roman-Hasmonean alliance which had been maintained since the time of Jonathan (161–43 BCE).

<sup>63</sup> Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 29; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 178–79.

Other inhabitants of southern Syria, especially Arab tribes, but also what remained of an Idumean identity, lacked the size and organization of the Jewish *ethnos*, and therefore remained subordinate to Jews in the ranked boundary system. These non-Hellenized persons were categorized by Greeks as “Syrians,” while also maintaining their lower-level ethnic identities.<sup>64</sup> At the beginning of the Roman period, the Romans occupied the privileged place atop the ranked boundary system in and around Roman Judea while remaining a numerically insignificant ethnic group. Those subordinate *ethnē* included first Greeks, then Jews, followed by other “Syrians” at the bottom.

### **Networks of Personal Alliances**

The reach of the already established networks of personal relationships that state elites maintained with their segmented population determine where state elites seek to draw the boundary between the privileged nation majority and marginalized ethnic groups.<sup>65</sup> Roman attempts to integrate subjected people groups into a national Roman majority through grants of Roman citizenship (a strategic *mode of boundary expansion* through *nation-building*) began only in the time of Julius Caesar (49–44 BCE) and Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE).<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the reach of networks of personal alliances of Roman elites into the subjected people groups did not result

---

<sup>64</sup> Josephus, while discussing the ancient Arameans states that the Greeks called them “Syrians” *Ant.* 1.144. Josephus also attests to Greek cities which simultaneously maintained a demographic with a consciously non-Greek Syrian identity. *Ant.* 18.374. Fergus Millar, “Empire, Community, and Culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews, and Arabs,” *JJS* 38 (1987): 143–64, esp. 144–45.

<sup>65</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 95–97.

<sup>66</sup> Like citizenship under Seleucid Greek rule, Roman citizenship included, among other things, a strong emphasis on common descent, and so should be understood in ethnic terms. See especially, Daniel S. Richter, *Cosmopolis: Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Dench, *Romulus’ Asylum* (2005). This nation-building strategy comes to completion in 212 CE when all freemen in the Roman Empire are made Roman citizens through the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 224, 237. Individual grants of Roman citizenship are attested, but these are limited to elites, and were bestowed for services rendered to the empire (e.g., Antipater, father of Herod; Jos., *Ant.* 14.137). Cf. Frank W. Walbank, “Nationality as a Factor in Roman History,” *HSCP* 76 (1972): 145–68.



in expanded boundaries of the national Roman majority. Rather, when Pompey received delegations “from all Syria and Egypt, and out of Judea also” (Jos., *Ant.* 14.37), he made no attempt to create a national majority out of these people groups.

The Roman alliance with the Jews of Judea, which had been established by Jonathan (161–143 BCE) and renewed by Simon (143–135 BCE) and John Hyrcanus I (135–104 BCE), was not renewed by Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), who rather made an alliance with the Parthians.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, when the various delegations from John Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus II, Antipater, and the people met the advancing Romans they did not meet Pompey as allies, and hence not as part of his network of personal relationships. This lack of a Roman-Jewish alliance did not affect assimilation into a Roman majority, but it did mean that Pompey had no pro-Jewish policy, which affected the Roman *distribution of power* (above). Further, contact with delegates ensured that Jewishness remained a relevant ethnic category for the new Roman rulers within the eastern parts of the expanding empire (above).

In summary, the *field characteristics* at the beginning of Roman rule interacted with the existing ethnic boundary system under Hasmonean rule in the following ways. First, Pompey’s acknowledgement of the importance of the existing ethnic categories as a meaningful manner of social classification meant that the new Roman administrative policies—that is the *institutional frameworks*—continued to provide persons incentives to emphasize ethnic categories and ensured the continued relevance of ethnic classification. Second, the hierarchical ranking of the ethnic boundary system—the *distribution of power*—in and around the newly circumscribed Judean territory place the Roman *ethnos* atop the hierarchical boundary system and flipped the ranked boundary between Jews and Greeks, so that Jews were subordinated to both Romans and

---

<sup>67</sup> Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities*, 172. There is also no evidence Aristobulus I (104–103) renewed the Hasmonean alliance with Rome during his short reign.

Greeks, yet still numerically privileged over Syrians. Further, the lapsed Jewish-Roman alliance meant that Pompey had no network of personal alliances to compel him to privilege the Jews or to expand Romanness to include members of the Jewish *ethnos* in and around Roman Judea. However, these *field characteristics* quickly changed. The first of three significant *dynamics of change* occurred during the Early Roman period just fifteen years after the arrival of Pompey.

### **Dynamics of Change**

#### **Exogenous Shift: Julius Caesar's Restoration of Jewish Land and Privileges (47 BCE)**

In response to John Hyrcanus II and Antipater's military aid in Egypt in 47 CE, Julius Caesar decreed new privileges for the Jews (Jos., *Ant.* 14.190–210). This exogenous shift altered the *institutional frameworks* and *power distribution* in and around Roman Judea. First, Caesar's decree altered the *institutional frameworks* by giving the high priest John Hyrcanus II the additional title of *ethnarch* of the Jews (ἐθνάρχης Ἰουδαίων; Jos., *Ant.* 14.194), most likely the first member of the Jewish *ethnos* designated as *ethnarch*.<sup>68</sup> Nadav Sharon has made a strong case that the title *ethnarch* was non-territorial, and designated a protector of members of the Jewish *ethnos* living throughout the Roman empire.<sup>69</sup> This Roman designation of a “ruler of the

---

<sup>68</sup> Three other Jewish leaders are designated *ethnarch* in the sources. The attestations for both Simon and John Hyrcanus I, which if authentic would predate John Hyrcanus II, are dubious. The title is well attested for Archelaus, but nothing can be discerned about its meaning for his governance. Nadav Sharon, “The Title Ethnarch,” 474–79. The term *ethnarch* is also attested outside Jewish leadership. The earliest attestation is an inscription from Antiochus I of Commagene dated to 66/64 BCE, where the meaning remains obscure. All other non-Jewish instances are later than John Hyrcanus II. Jörg Wagner, and Georg Petzl, “Eine neue Temenos-Stele des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene,” *ZPE* 20 (1976): 201–23.

<sup>69</sup> “The Title Ethnarch,” 482. Cf. Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Joseph Flavius*, TSAJ 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 65–66, 137–49. In two separate decrees, when Caesar designates John Hyrcanus II *ethnarch*, he connects it with protecting a Jewish way of life: “And if ... any question shall arise concerning the Jews' manner of life ... the decision shall rest with them;” and “the high priest, being also ethnarch, shall be protector of those Jews who are unjustly treated” (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.195, 196). This is redundant if the title *ethnarch* merely indicates governance of Judea. In addition, John Hyrcanus II exercises this role numerous times when he intervenes on behalf of Jews living in the diaspora (*Ant.* 14.223–227, 241–243).

*ethnos*” (ἔθνάρχη) linked claims to protection with ethnic categorization for persons who might claim Jewish ethnicity, thereby elevating the importance of ethnic classification for Jews throughout the Roman Empire (which is not the focus here) and especially in and around Roman Judea.

Second, Caesar’s decree altered the *distribution of power* in Judea and southern Syria by elevating the Jewish *ethnos* to a privileged status in relation to the now subordinate Hellenistic inhabitants of the surrounding cities. The adjustment in the *distribution of power* had both symbolic and administrative aspects. First, Caesar granted Antipater Roman citizenship, personal exemption from taxation (Jos., *Ant.* 14.137) and, a little later in 47 BCE, formed an alliance with the Jewish *ethnos*, designating them “friends and allies” of the Roman people.<sup>70</sup> These demonstrations of Caesar’s favor directed toward the Jews served to reestablish them as a privileged *ethnos*. Second, Caesar’s decree provided new economic advantages to the Jewish *ethnos*. Most significantly, Caesar returned some of the land that Pompey had taken from the Jews. Joppa was the most important land annexed to Judea, providing access to the sea (*Ant.* 14.205). In addition, Josephus reports that Caesar annexed to Judea the Hasmonean estate in the plain of Esdraelon, the toparchies of Lydda, Ephraim and Ramathaim, and some unknown former Seleucid territory (*Ant.* 14.207–209). Besides these land grants, Caesar gave Judea exemption from quartering soldiers and from providing auxiliary troops (*Ant.* 14.195, 204). Therefore, less than two decades after the demotion of the Jewish *ethnos* that accompanied the arrival of Pompey, the Jews of Judea regained a privileged place in the hierarchically ranked ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea, while still remaining subordinate to the

---

<sup>70</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 14.185, 196–198. This new alliance is best understood as a renewal of the Hasmonean alliance with Rome. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 42.

Roman *ethnos*. The new hierarchy ranked Romans first, then Jews, followed by Greeks, and finally Syrians.

### **Exogenous Shift: The Reign of King Herod (37–4 BCE)**

Antony and the Senate crowned Herod king of Judea in 40 BCE (*Ant.* 14.385; *J.W.* 1.284). Herod finally gained control of his new kingdom in 37 BCE, but only solidified his power in 30 BCE after his transfer of allegiance from the defeated Antony to Octavian after the Battle of Actium (*Ant.* 15.193–195; *J.W.*, 1.387). Herod’s reign introduced new *institutional frameworks* and adjusted the *distribution of power* in and around Judea. These resulted from the kingdom’s increasingly diverse ethnic demographics that accompanied territorial expansion in 30 BCE, and again between 23 and 20 BCE. Herod’s status as “ally and friend of the Roman people” (*socius et amicus populi Romani*),<sup>71</sup> entailed no more specific duties than keeping order in his kingdom and guarding the frontier.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, no Herodian administrative principles may be derived from this flexible arrangement with Rome. Instead, the changes brought to the *field characteristics* in and around Judea during the reign of Herod must be gleaned from the specific actions of Herod during his reign.

Herod’s kingship depended on Rome, and not directly on presenting himself as protector of the Jewish *ethnos*. As Herod’s kingdom expanded and the Jewish *ethnos* formed a less dominant majority, Herod had less and less incentive to align himself with the Jewish *ethnos*.

---

<sup>71</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 17.246. Scholars often designate Herod as a client-king. However, this designation was rarely used by the Romans. Erich S. Gruen, “Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora,” in *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st–23rd June 2005*, ed. David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos, *IJS Studies in Judaica* 6 (Boston: Brill, 2009), 13–27, esp. 14.

<sup>72</sup> For a flexible understanding of the allied king see David Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1984), esp. 69–78. Cf. David M. Jacobson, “Three Roman Client Kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania,” *PEQ* 133 (2001): 22–38.

There is in fact no evidence that Herod defined his kingship in *ethnic terms* as king of the Jews.<sup>73</sup> The non-ethnic character of Herod's kingdom may be illustrated by contrasting Hasmonean coins with those of Herod. Unlike the Hasmonean coins, which explicitly link the rulers with the Jewish *ethnos* (discussed above), Herod's coins bear only the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ “belonging to King Herod.”<sup>74</sup> Further, the iconography of the coins appears to be intentionally ambiguous, depicting, for example, palm branches, anchors, cornucopias, and helmets, “symbols neither clearly Jewish or non-Jewish.”<sup>75</sup> In fact, the extant sources designate Herod “king of the Jews” only once (Jos., *J.W.* 1.282; βασιλέα καθιστᾶν Ἰουδαίων). The absence of this title in Josephus's parallel account in the *Antiquities*, and its lack of attestation elsewhere, suggests it was not a standard designation of Herod.<sup>76</sup>

Instead, Herod portrayed himself as a Hellenistic king, engaged in a process of Romanization of his expanding kingdom.<sup>77</sup> The best evidence for this is his well-known extensive building projects which utilized Greco-Roman architectural patterns, many of which were dedicated to Caesar or Greco-Roman deities.<sup>78</sup> Other evidence comes from the Greek structure of Herod's court,<sup>79</sup> and an increasing presence of Greeks in this court.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> While there is no evidence Herod defined his kingship in ethnic terms, he apparently had Nicholas of Damascus invent a Jewish genealogy for himself (*Ant.* 14.9). In light of the non-ethnic character of his kingship, this is best understood as a strategy to solidify Jewish support for his kingship.

<sup>74</sup> In addition, Herod's coins include no Hebrew or Aramaic inscriptions. Donald T. Ariel and Jean-Philippe Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod: A Modern Analysis and Die Classification*, AJEC 79 (Boston: Brill, 2012), 121.

<sup>75</sup> Kanael, “Ancient Jewish Coins,” 49.

<sup>76</sup> Alternatively, the term Ἰουδαίων may have a geographical reference here, and simply designate the inhabitants of Herod's kingdom, both Jews and others. Pace Adam Marshak, who argues Herod portrayed himself in numerous ways as the “King of the Jews.” *The Many Faces of Herod the Great* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 278–311.

<sup>77</sup> Herod is designated a *Philorōmaion* in an inscription in Athens (OGIS 414).

<sup>78</sup> See the catalogue of Herod's building projects in the first edition of Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 197–202. Cf. Peter Richardson and Amy M. Fisher, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*, 2nd ed., Routledge Ancient Biographies (New York: Routledge, 2017), 235–89.

<sup>79</sup> Michael Grant, *Herod the Great* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 117.

<sup>80</sup> For a nice discussion of the changing face of Herod's court see Menahem Stern, “Social and Political Realignment in Herodian Judaea,” in *Jerusalem Cathedral: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 2:40–62, esp. 2:46–47.

However, just as Herod did not align himself with the Jews, neither did he discriminate against the Jews. There is no evidence he transferred other *ethnē* into Jewish territories,<sup>81</sup> and in many ways he sought to present himself as an observant Jew.<sup>82</sup> There is also no evidence that Herod attempted to assimilate the Jews with the Hellenistic inhabitants of his kingdom.<sup>83</sup> The extent to which Herodian policy distinguished Jewish areas of his kingdom (Jos., *Ant.* 15.328–30) seems to be due to the already existing ethnic differences, and not an intentional policy to differentiate these groups.<sup>84</sup> In other words, Herod seems to have adopted a *laissez faire* approach to the ethnic groups within his kingdom.<sup>85</sup>

These new *institutional frameworks* no longer linked ethnic classification with access to any resources, removing incentives for persons to emphasize their ethnicity rather than other modes of classification. The persistence of ethnic difference during Herod's reign may be attributed to already stable Roman/Jew/Greek/Syrian boundaries that were marked by at least some measure of social closure. The *distribution of power* also shifted so that Jews were no longer a privileged *ethnos* in the Herodian kingdom. The new ranked boundary system of Herodian Judea, then, placed Romans at the top, followed by Jews and Greeks with no discernible power imbalance between them, while "Syrians" remained a subordinate conglomerate *ethnos*.

---

<sup>81</sup> Jack Pastor, "Herod, King of Jews and Gentiles: Economic Policy as a Measure of Evenhandedness," in *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple and Mishnah and the Talmud*, ed. Menachem Mor et al. (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2003), 152–64, esp. 157.

<sup>82</sup> Stone vessels were discovered in many of Herod's palaces, along with forty-one miqva'ot. Yitzhak Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount*, Judea and Samaria Publications 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002), 154, 157, 158, 171, 173; Eyal Regev, "Herod's Jewish Ideology Facing Romanization: On Intermarriage, Ritual Baths, and Speeches," *JQR* 100 (2010): 197–222, esp. 210.

<sup>83</sup> Stern, "Social and Political Realignment in Herodian Judaea," 47.

<sup>84</sup> Herod's aid to the Ionian Jews (Jos., *Ant.* 16.27–65), often seen as evidence for a pro-Jewish policy in the diaspora, is anomalous. When seen in light of his aid provided to non-Jews outside of his kingdom, it is insignificant. Gruen, "Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora," 20–24.

<sup>85</sup> Dan Barag describes the opportunist rule of Herod as characterized by "ambiguity and double meaning." "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *PEQ* 125 (1993): 3–18, esp. 16.

**Excursus: Stable Field Characteristics amidst Changing Politics 4 BCE–66 CE**

The numerous political changes between Herod and the first revolt do not seem to have altered the *field characteristics* in significant ways. (1) The division of Herod’s kingdom that created political separation between Jews living in the three areas did not result in a “Jewish territory.” Even Archelaus’s territory included numerous Greek cities and Syrians in Samaria. Further, there is no evidence that Archelaus had unique policies discriminating between Jews and others.<sup>86</sup> (2) When Archelaus’s territory was annexed to Syria in 6 CE and came under direct Roman rule,<sup>87</sup> any empire-wide “Jewish charter” guaranteeing Jewish privileges would have applied to the Jews of Judea.<sup>88</sup> However, no such “Jewish Charter” seems to have existed.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the transition to direct Roman rule did not place the Judean Jews under the protection of a Roman policy of Jewish privilege. (3) The kingship of Agrippa I from 41–44 also involved no unique pro- or anti-Jewish policies, and the inhabitants of his kingdom remained ethnically diverse.<sup>90</sup> (4) The creation of a new Roman province of Judea after Agrippa I’s death was a territorial designation, with no implications for the Jewish *ethnos* and the expanded borders of this new province increased the ethnic diversity. Accordingly, between Herod’s death and the first Jewish revolt, the rapidly changing political status of Judea seems not to have created changes to the *institutional frameworks, distribution of power, or networks of personal alliances*. Therefore, throughout this period, the *field characteristics* remained stable: there were no institutional incentives to emphasize ethnic identity; Romans remained at the top of the ethnic boundary system in and around Judea and those grouped as “Syrians” were at the bottom. Jews and Greek occupied the middle, with no discernible power imbalance between them.

---

<sup>86</sup> The joint Judean/Samaritan embassy to Rome suggests Archelaus was equally tyrannical to all (Jos., *Ant.* 17.342).

<sup>87</sup> For the view that Archelaus’s territory was annexed to Syria rather than made its own province, see Eck, *Rom und Judaea*, 24–35; Cotton, “Some aspects of Roman Administration,” 77.

<sup>88</sup> An earlier generation of scholarship constructed Judaism as a *religio licita* (permitted religion) in the Roman Empire from the time of Julius Caesar for three hundred years. E.g., Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule*, 136.

<sup>89</sup> The evidence for an empire-wide policy comes from the three dossiers preserved in Josephus. However, these documents are local and specific and cannot be used to argue for an empire-wide policy in relation to the Jews. See especially, Karl Leo Noethlichs, “Der rechtliche Status der Juden im römischen Reich: Tradition und Wandel in der römischen Judengesetzgebung vom 2. Jahrhundert v.u.Z. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert u.Z. mit einem Exkurs zur These von Doron Mendels und Arye Edrei über ‘Zweierlei Diaspora’,” in “*Religio licita?*”: *Rom und die Juden*, ed. Görge K. Hasselhoff and Meret Strothmann, SJ 84 (Boston: de Gruyter, 2017), 55–84; Karl Leo Noethlichs, *Das Judentum und der Römische Staat: Minderheitenpolitik im antiken Rom* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996); Tessa Rajak, “Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?,” *JRS* 74 (1984): 107–23.

<sup>90</sup> Daniel Schwartz states “Agrippa’s practice was thus that of the Roman governors before and after him” *Agrippa I*, TSAJ 23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 131.

**Exogenous Shift: The First Jewish War (66–70 CE)**

The first Jewish War altered both the *institutional framework* and the *distribution of power* in the province of Judea. First, after the war, Vespasian introduced the *fiscus Judaicus*, or Jewish tax, payable to the temple of Jupiter Capitolina at Rome. This new policy, administered along ethnic lines, elevated the importance of ethnic identity in Judea, altering the *institutional frameworks* and ensuring the continued relevance of Jewishness in the period after 70 CE. This formal policy remained in place, and enforced to varying degrees, beyond the early Roman period.<sup>91</sup> Second, the Jewish War also altered the *distribution of power* in the province of Judea. The humiliation of defeat, the institution of the *fiscus Judaicus*, and the shifting ethnic demographics in Judea<sup>92</sup> resulting in making the Jewish *ethnos* a disadvantaged ethnic group now at the bottom of the ranked boundary system of Roman Judea.

In summary, the *field characteristics* at the beginning of Roman rule in 63 BCE provided incentive to emphasize ethnic identity (*institutional framework*) and inaugurated a new ranked boundary system that privileged Romans, followed by Greeks, then Jews, and finally those grouped as Syrians. Caesar's decree in 47 BCE elevated Jews over Greeks. The reign of Herod balanced the power distribution between Jews and Greeks, and also eliminated incentives to emphasize ethnic identity. These *field characteristics* persisted until the outbreak of the Jewish revolt. After the revolt in 70 CE, the *field characteristics* changed again, as Vespasian reinstated a formal policy tied to Jewish ethnic identity (*fiscus Judaicus*), guaranteeing the continued

---

<sup>91</sup> For a summary, see Marius Heemstra, *The Fiscus Judaicus and the Parting of the Ways*, WUNT 2/277 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 9–23.

<sup>92</sup> As discussed above, the war resulted in a shift in the ethnic demographics of the region as the Jewish population decreased by as much as a third due to the war, and the placement of a permanent Roman legion in Jerusalem made the Roman presence much more substantial.



relevance of Jewishness, and demoting Jews to the bottom of the ranked boundary system of the Roman province of Judea.

### **Strategies of Boundary Making**

In the social field of Roman Judea, ethnic actors attempted various strategies of boundary making within the constraints and incentives set up by the above *field characteristics*. As with the Hasmonean period, most of the extant evidence for boundary making strategies is textual.<sup>93</sup>

### **The Psalms of Solomon**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

A collection of eighteen psalms with superscriptions attributing them to Solomon have been known to scholars since the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>94</sup> The text of these psalms is extant in twelve Greek and four Syriac manuscripts. The consensus is that the Syriac is a translation of a Greek translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>95</sup> However, the possibility that the Syriac is a direct translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* or that Greek was the original language, have

---

<sup>93</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the approach to identifying strategies of boundary making, see the corresponding section in chapter one in relation to the Hasmonean period.

<sup>94</sup> Robert B. Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1 (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

<sup>95</sup> The argument for a Hebrew original is based on Hebraisms in the Greek text, and indications of mistranslations. Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the Original Language of the Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle, EJL 40 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 31–47, esp. 31.

both found recent advocates.<sup>96</sup> This study will focus on the Greek text<sup>97</sup> and assume a Hebrew original, but not rule out the possibility of the Syriac as an independent witness.<sup>98</sup>

Historical references to events in Jerusalem, and the unusual prominence of Jerusalem (2.3, 13, 19, 22; 8.4, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22; 11.1, 2, 7, 8; 17.14, 15, 22, 30), make a provenance in or near Jerusalem almost certain.<sup>99</sup> The prominence of the temple, purity concerns, and indications that the writers were expelled from the temple suggest the writers may be dissident priests or Pharisees.<sup>100</sup> In either case, the writers and final redactor lack official means of boundary making. The genre of the Psalms of Solomon (Pss. Sol.) is best described as didactic hymns.<sup>101</sup> While some have suggested the Pss. Sol. were written for a synagogue setting,<sup>102</sup> recent research

---

<sup>96</sup> The basic arguments that the Syriac version is a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* are a few passages where the Syriac provides a clearer reading than the Greek, and a few others where it may preserve a Hebrew idiom not present in the Greek. Joseph L. Trafton, “The Psalms of Solomon: New Light from the Syriac Version?,” *JBL* 105 (1986): 227–37, esp. 234; Grant Ward, “The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation” (PhD Diss., Temple University, 1996). The argument for a Greek original is based on allusions to the Septuagint and linguistic features difficult to explain by assuming a Hebrew *Vorlage* (i.e., the presence of successive nouns governing a single genitive, and discontinuous nominal phrases). Joosten, “Original Language,” 41.

<sup>97</sup> The Greek text, and English translations are those of Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>98</sup> The importance of the Syriac text, even if translated from Greek, was emphasized by Joachim Begrich, “Der Text der Psalmen Salomos,” *ZNW* 38 (1939): 131–64, esp. 162. It was also advocated by Joseph L. Trafton, *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation*, SCS 11 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 215.

<sup>99</sup> Joosten concludes “the Jerusalemite origin of the Psalms of Solomon should not be doubted.” “Original Language,” 42.

<sup>100</sup> For the argument that the writers are dissident priests see Kenneth Atkinson, “Perceptions of the Temple Priests in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle, EJJ 40 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 79–96, esp. 93; Kenneth Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2001), 419–24; Jerry O’Dell, “Religious Background of the Psalms of Solomon (Reevaluated in the Light of the Qumran Texts),” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 241–57. For the argument that they are Pharisees see especially Mikael Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul’s Letters*, ConBNT 26 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995). Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity International; London: SCM, 1992), 453–55.

<sup>101</sup> The literary similarities to the canonical Psalms is quite clear, but these also have a clear didactic purpose by emphasizing the need for righteousness, reaffirming that God is in control and better days are ahead. Matthew E. Gordley, *Teaching through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians*, WUNT 2/302 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), esp. 187–94; Rodney Alan Werline, “The Psalms of Solomon and the Ideology of Rule,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 69–87, esp. 83. Other suggested genres include apocalyptic, Deuteronomic, and prophetic. See the survey by Bradley Embry, “Some Thoughts on and Implications from Genre Categorization in the Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle, EJJ 40. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 59–78, esp. 59–67.

<sup>102</sup> Psalm of Solomon 17.16 (cf. 10.7) refers to the “Synagogues (συναγωγὰς) of the pious.” The community replaced temple sacrifice with prayer (outlined in discussion of Jewishness in Pss. Sol.). Rubrics for musical settings (17.29, 18.9) could suggest they were used in synagogue settings. Their association with the Odes of Solomon in

disputes whether liturgy or prayer occurred in early synagogues.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, this study will not assume a specific institutional function other than their role as didactic hymns.

Vivid, apparently eye-witness, references to the sieges of Jerusalem by Pompey (Pss. Sol. 2, 8),<sup>104</sup> and possibly Herod (Ps. Sol. 17),<sup>105</sup> indicate that at least these three Psalms were composed between 65 and 30 BCE. Less clear allusions in other psalms lead most to date the entire collection between 65 and 30 BCE.<sup>106</sup> This range of dates, when combined with the differences in style, language, and content, suggests multiple authors. A redactor, most likely working in the middle or late Herodian period (30–4 BCE), collected the psalms, added the superscriptions and the first and last psalms as an introduction and a conclusion, and attributed the collection to Solomon.<sup>107</sup> This study addresses the Pss. Sol. as an expression of the redacted form, because this is the state in which they are extant. Therefore, for this study, the Pss. Sol. provide evidence for ways of configuring Jewishness during the second half of the first century BCE.<sup>108</sup>

---

two manuscripts indicate their liturgical use by later Christian communities, also suggesting an earlier Jewish liturgical setting. Atkinson, “Temple Priests,” 94; Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 10.

<sup>103</sup> Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson write “The public reading of Torah is well attested, but was prayer also included in early synagogue worship?” *Ancient Synagogue*, 8. Lee I. Levine summarizes the state of the sources “No pre-70 source addresses the nature or function of the Judean synagogue in any systematic way” *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*, (New Haven, : Yale University Press, 2000), 42. Anders Runesson writes “a closer look at the sources reveals that the concept of ‘synagogue’ was rather ambiguous . . . ” *The Origins of the Synagogue*, 190. Cf. Andrew R. Krause, *Synagogues in the Works of Flavius Josephus: Rhetoric, Spatiality, and First-Century Jewish Institutions*, AJEC 97 (Boston: Brill, 2017), 195–96.

<sup>104</sup> 2.26 is likely a reference to Pompey’s death in Egypt. “Stabbed on the sand dunes of Egypt, he was more despised than anything in the whole world.” 8.18 closely parallels Josephus’s description of Pompey’s invasion. “He pulled down her battlements and the wall of Jerusalem, for God led him in unscathed in their confusion.” Cf. *Ant.* 14.1–79.

<sup>105</sup> For the argument that Psalm 17 refers to Herod, see Kenneth Atkinson, “Toward a Redating of the Psalms of Solomon: Implications for Understanding the Sitz Im Leben of an Unknown Jewish Sect,” *JSP* 17 (1998): 95–112, esp. 106–7; Kenneth Atkinson, “Herod the Great, Socius, and the Siege of Jerusalem,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 313–22. Kenneth Atkinson later argued that Psalm 17 also refers to Pompey’s invasion. *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon’s Historical Background and Social Setting*, JSJSup 84 (Boston: Brill, 2004), 134–36.

<sup>106</sup> E.g., Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 6.

<sup>107</sup> Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 6.

<sup>108</sup> The approach of this study is nicely summarized by Matthew E. Gordley: “These unique features combine to mark the *Psalms of Solomon* as a composition that addresses the specific concerns of a particular Jewish community (devout Jews living in Jerusalem) in a definite period of time (late first century B. C. E.) through a particular type of

*Boundaries in the Psalms of Solomon*

The basic ethnic boundary in the Pss. Sol. is between Israel (Ἰσραήλ) and the nations (ἔθνη).<sup>109</sup> Ἐθνη sometimes designates Romans,<sup>110</sup> and sometimes all non-Jews,<sup>111</sup> but the writers' categorization makes no distinctions between types of *ethnē*. The nations are “lawbreakers” (ἔθνη παράνομα, 17.24), while Israel is God's covenant people.<sup>112</sup>

A non-ethnic boundary between the sinners and the righteous is more prominent: “for he will separate the righteous from the sinner ...” (2.34). While 9.6 may imply that the *ethnē* can be righteous if they confess,<sup>113</sup> and Ps. Sol. 17 foresees the *ethnē* praising the messiah,<sup>114</sup> no contemporary *ethnē* are designated righteous. Among Israel, some are righteous,<sup>115</sup> while many are worse sinners than the nations.<sup>116</sup> What distinguishes sinful Israel from righteous Israel is intentional sin, and unwillingness to repent (3.7–8; 13.7, 10; 18.4). The righteous are designated “pure” (ὄσιος, 4.8; 5.11; 8.23; 12.6; 14.3, 10) but also “poor” (πτωχός, 5.2, 11; 10.6; 15.1; 18.2) while sinners are “lawless” (ἀνομία, 1.8; 15.10) and wealthy (1.6).

---

writing (psalmody) preserved in a specific context (a psalm collection).” “Creating Meaning in the Present by Reviewing the Past: Communal Memory in the Psalms of Solomon,” *JAJ* 5 (2014): 368–92, esp. 370.

<sup>109</sup> Ἰσραήλ occurs thirty times in the Pss. Sol. Other designations of Israel include the “house of Jacob” (7.10; 15.1), “the seed of Abraham” (9.9; 18.2), and “children of the covenant” (17.15). Ἐθνη occurs twenty times in the Pss. Sol. Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 128, 131.

<sup>110</sup> E.g., “nations (ἔθνη) who worship other gods went up to your altar; they brazenly trampled around with their sandals on” (2.2).

<sup>111</sup> E.g., “Their crimes were worse than the nations (ἔθνη) before them; they repeatedly profaned the Lord's Sanctuary” (1.8).

<sup>112</sup> “Because you have chosen the descendants of Abraham over all other nations; you put your name upon us, O Lord, ... May the Lord's mercy be upon the house of Israel forever and ever” (9.9–11). Atkinson, “Temple Priests,” 81–82.

<sup>113</sup> “He will cleanse from sin the person who both confesses and publicly acknowledges it.” Atkinson, “Temple Priests,” 82.

<sup>114</sup> “He (the messiah) will have nations (ἔθνη) come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, ... there will be no unrighteousness among them during his reign, because everyone will be holy, and their king will be the lord messiah” (17.31–32).

<sup>115</sup> E.g., “He will have mercy on the righteous, keeping them from the humiliation of sinners” (2.35).

<sup>116</sup> E. g., “Their crimes were worse than the nations (ἔθνη) before them” (1.8; cf. 8.13; 17.15).

*Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The Pss. Sol., as didactic hymns collected and edited during the middle or late Herodian period, represent a *discursive means* of boundary making. The psalms' sphere of influence was limited to those who participated in their communal practice, but repeated singing and hearing of these hymns reinforced their *categorization* and *identification*.

First, for the redactor living under Roman domination since Pompey's siege in 63 BCE, the Pss. Sol. represent a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Roman/Jew boundary. This reversal of the *power distribution* between Romans and Jews is attempted by employing an ideology that explains foreign domination as God's punishment for Israel's sin,<sup>117</sup> asserting that while appearances suggest Rome is in power, the reality is that the God of Israel controls Rome. For example, Ps. Sol. 2.29 contextualizes Pompey's ambitious claim that "I will be lord of the whole world" by noting "he failed to recognize that it is God who is great, who is mighty in his great strength." Therefore the Jewish *ethnos* is the truly privileged *ethnos* because their God is the king (2.32; 17.1, 34, 46) and savior (8.33; 17. 3) of the whole world.<sup>118</sup> The presently-disguised reality that God and not Pompey is the great king—with the correspondingly hidden reality that the Jews and not the Romans are the privileged *ethnos*—will be manifest when the messiah reestablishes the centrality of Jerusalem, and institutes Jewish dominance throughout the world, for "he (the messiah) will have gentile peoples (λαοὺς ἔθνῶν) serving him under his yoke ... He will pronounce Jerusalem clean ... He will have nations (ἔθνη) come from the ends of the earth to see his glory ... He will be a righteous king over them, taught by God" (17.30–2).

---

<sup>117</sup> E.g., "There was no sin that was not worse than the nations (ἔθνη). On account of this God confused their minds ... He brought the one from the end of the earth, the mighty warrior, he declared war against Jerusalem, and against her land" (8.13–15).

<sup>118</sup> Rodney Alan Werline, "The Psalms of Solomon and the Ideology of Rule," 72–81.

Second, the redactor attempts a strategic *mode* of boundary *contraction* through *fission*. The Jews' place at the top of the hierarchical boundary system of Herod's Judea (and the entire world) is guaranteed by the "eternal covenant" (10.4; cf. 7.8; 9.8–11; 11.7; 14.5; 17.4). However, those who do not atone for their sins correctly are not forgiven.<sup>119</sup> These sinners have abandoned the Lord (4.1, 21; 14.7) by sinning worse than the *ethnē* (1.8; 8.13; 17.15), and are destined for destruction.<sup>120</sup> These "sons of the covenant" (οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς διαθήκης, 17.15) have become "lawless ones" (ἀνόμων) and are no longer part of God's inheritance.<sup>121</sup> Accordingly, for the redactor, it is only the righteous members of the Jewish *ethnos* who are at the top of the hierarchically ranked boundary system of Herodian Judea, while the sinners will be destroyed. There is no indication in the Pss. Sol. that the "sinners" are regarded as non-Jews and so the Jew/nation boundary location does not change. However, the emphasis shift to the "righteous" subcategory of the Jewish *ethnos* limits the strategy of *normative inversion* to these "righteous" ones and dissolves any meaningful difference between the Jewish "sinners" and members of the other *ethnē*.

This dual strategy of *normative inversion* and *boundary contraction* through *fission* is mirrored in many texts from the Hasmonean period. Jewishness is reworked in ways that react to the new *field characteristics* of the Early Roman Period as discussed in the following section.

### *Jewishness as Configured by the Psalms of Solomon*

The *proper name* for members of the Jewish *ethnos* throughout the Pss. Sol. is Ἰσραήλ (Israel).<sup>122</sup> The members of Ἰσραήλ are not limited to inhabitants of Judea, or descendants of the

---

<sup>119</sup> Herbert Braun, "Vom Erbarmen Gottes über den Gerechten: Zur Theologie der Psalmen Salomos," *ZNW* 43 (1950): 1–54, esp. 32–42.

<sup>120</sup> "The destruction of the sinners is forever, and they will not be remembered when God looks after the righteous" (3.11; cf. 13.11; 14.7–9).

<sup>121</sup> "The Lord's devout will live by it (Torah) forever ... because the portion and inheritance of God is Israel. But not so with sinners and criminals." (14.3–6). Translation adapted from Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 155, 157. Cf. Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 126–27.

<sup>122</sup> E.g., 4.1; 5.18; 7.8; 8.26, 34; 9.1, 2, 8; 10.5, 6; 11.6, 7, 8, 9; 14.5; 17.44, 45; 18.1, 5, 6.

southern kingdom, but include the “diaspora of Israel in every nation.”<sup>123</sup> Ἰσραήλ has been “scattered over the whole earth” (17.18) but will be gathered (11.3–4) when the messiah will “distribute them upon the land according to their tribes” (17.28; cf. 17.43).

Appeal to shared *historical memories* functioned to guarantee the downfall of Hasmonean and Roman rulers and the rise of a new righteous King: God’s promise to David of an eternal kingship (17.4) condemns the Hasmoneans as usurpers (17.6), explains the Hasmonean downfall at the hands of “a man alien to our race” (17.7), and looks forward to a new Davidic king (17.21). In addition, the redactor reworked the shared *historical memories* by adding superscriptions that attributed these eighteen psalms to Solomon. The choice of a hero from the past buttressed the authority of the text,<sup>124</sup> and the choice of Solomon, as the first kingly “son of David,” “helped create a vivid contrast between the idealized Jewish ruler of the past and the illegitimate, contemporary ruler of the Jews (Herod).”<sup>125</sup>

Customs of the Jews (*common culture*) that are mentioned include the law and the temple. The law contains commands (14.2) and is eternal (10.5), and specific commands mentioned include oaths (4.4), incest (8.9), adultery (8.10), and the laws of purity (esp. 8.11–3). The temple is revered, and pleaded for (2.3–4; 8.12), however the priesthood, through its lawlessness, has polluted the temple (1.7–8; 2.3–4; 8.9–13; 16.18–9), making its atonement through sacrifice ineffective.<sup>126</sup> The solution, according to the Pss. Sol., is atonement through prayer and fasting: “the righteous thoroughly examine their homes to remove their unintentional offences. They atone for sins of ignorance by fasting and humility and the Lord will cleanse

---

<sup>123</sup> My translation. ἐν παντί ἔθνεσιν διασπορά τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (9.2; cf. 8.28).

<sup>124</sup> Hindy Najman, “How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hillhorst, Puech Émile, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 529–36, esp. 532.

<sup>125</sup> Matthew E. Gordley, “Psalms of Solomon and Solomonic Discourse: The Nature and Function of Attribution to Solomon in a Pseudonymous Psalm Collection,” *JSP* 25 (2015): 52–88, esp. 88.

<sup>126</sup> Atkinson, *An Intertextual Study*, 425–26.

every devout person and their household” (3.7–8). Other common features of ethnic groups that are present, but not emphasized or reworked, include a link with a *homeland*,<sup>127</sup> *common ancestry*,<sup>128</sup> and a *sense of solidarity*.<sup>129</sup>

The Pss. Sol. reflects the boundary making strategies and ethnic-configuration of some members of the Jewish *ethnos* who are not aligned with the late Hasmonean governors or Herod, and do not rework Jewishness in substantial ways. Within the new *field characteristics* set up by the Roman empire, the emphasis on a militaristic Davidic messiah may be a reaction against the presence of Roman control.

### **The War Scroll**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

Among the first discoveries in the caves along the Dead Sea was a leather manuscript depicting various stages of an eschatological battle fought between the “sons of light” and the “sons of darkness” (1QM).<sup>130</sup> The nineteen columns of this well-preserved manuscript attest to the beginning, but not the end, of the text and damage has destroyed between three and eight

---

<sup>127</sup> “Our land” (17.11) and “her (Jerusalem) land” (8.15) are mentioned, while the exile took place in a “foreign land” (γῆν ἄλλοτριάν). The references to settling the returning diaspora according to their tribes suggests an idealized boundary of the land (17.28). However, the geographical focus throughout the text is the city of Jerusalem.

<sup>128</sup> The only mention of *common ancestry* is the use of “seed” (σπέρμα) in the appellations “seed of Israel” (7.8) and “seed of Abraham” (9.9). The Greek of 18.3 reads “seed of Abraham, son of Israel” (σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ υἱοῦ Ἰσραήλ). Perhaps the Syriac more accurately reflects the *Vorlage* here: “the seed of Israel, the son of Abraham” (ܣܡܝܢ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ ܘܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܥܒܪܗܡܐ; 18.4) Willem. Baars, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version 4.6* (Boston: Brill, 1972), i–vi, 1–27.

<sup>129</sup> A sense of solidarity is evident in the use of first-person plural pronouns. E.g., “Now, then, you are God and we are the people whom you have loved” (9.8).

<sup>130</sup> The *editio princeps* is Eleazar L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magness, 1955), 35–36, pls. XVI–XXXIV, XLVII. Unless noted, English translations are from Jean Duhaime, “The War Scroll,” in *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 80–141.



lines at the bottom of each column.<sup>131</sup> 1QM is written in Hebrew and the early Herodian script indicates a manuscript date in the last third of the first century BCE.<sup>132</sup>

The presence of ten additional war-type manuscripts in caves four and eleven indicate that 1QM is a redacted text and attests to at least two recensions.<sup>133</sup> However, other evidence for redactional activity is lacking. The presence of contradictions and repetitions within 1QM are sometimes understood as indicators of textual layers. However, this understanding must assume that 1QM depicts a single battle and that the redactor is willing to leave basic contradictions in a very carefully copied text.<sup>134</sup> Instead, the contradictions and repetitions are best explained by positing a three-stage battle. According to this approach, column 1 addresses an initial, defensive, single-day battle in Israel against the Kittim, while columns 2–9 outline a forty-year offensive war against all the nations.<sup>135</sup> Columns 15–19 depict a final defeat of the nations and the Kittim that ushers in the eschaton.<sup>136</sup> Because a compositional date, and the state of an original text, are uncertain, this study will address 1QM as a literary unit and as evidence for Jewishness at the hands of a redactor in the last third of the first century BCE. While some have suggested an original composition outside of Israel,<sup>137</sup> the redacted version of 1QM most likely

---

<sup>131</sup> Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pl. XXXIV. Only a few letters are discernible on the twentieth column.

<sup>132</sup> Cross, “Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 138; Salomo A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts: Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1:150–54.

<sup>133</sup> 4Q471; 4Q285; 4Q491–497; 11Q14.

<sup>134</sup> Brian Schultz, “Compositional Layers in the War Scroll (1QM),” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, ed. Daniel K. Falk et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 153–64, esp. 157.

<sup>135</sup> Evidence that cols 1 and 2 represent distinct stages includes different parts of Israel (Col. 1: Levi, Judah, Benjamin; cols. 2–9 all Israel); an introductory statement that col. 1 represents only the beginning of the war (1.1 “The first of the Sons of Light’s dominion (is) to begin . . .”; Cf., 2.6 “thirty-three years of war that remain”), and allusions to Micah 5:4–7, which also involves a two-stage war. Schultz, “Compositional Layers,” 158.

<sup>136</sup> The identification of a third stage in columns 15–19 is argued by Todd A. Scacewater, “The Literary Unity of 1QM and Its Three-Stage War,” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 225–48.

<sup>137</sup> E.g., Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz, “Notes sur l’évolution des conceptions de ‘guerre sainte’ dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 271–78, esp. 276–77.

took place at Qumran.<sup>138</sup> 1QM has generic similarities to apocalyptic, liturgical, rule, and Greco-Roman military texts, but does not fit nicely into any existing genre.<sup>139</sup>

### *Boundaries in the War Scroll*

The basic conflict in 1QM is between the Sons of Light<sup>140</sup> and the Sons of Darkness.<sup>141</sup> In the initial battle (col. 1) the Sons of Light include only descendants of the southern kingdom: “the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin” (1.2) while the Sons of Darkness include only the neighboring peoples: “Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon and ... Philistia, and ... the Kittim of Asshur” (1.1–2).<sup>142</sup> However, not all the descendants of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin are Sons of Light but only those “exiled in the wilderness” (1.2),<sup>143</sup> while “those who violate the covenant” help the Sons of Darkness (1.2). Therefore, like other texts written by Jews, 1QM distinguishes between, on the one hand, the ethnic boundaries between the Jewish *ethnos* and various other *ethnē*, and, on the other hand, the not-strictly-ethnic boundary between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

However, the boundary between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness very nearly mirrors the ethnic boundary between the Jewish *ethnos* and all other *ethnē*. On the one hand, there is no indication in 1QM that members of any non-Jewish *ethnē* are among the Sons of Light. On the other hand, in the second and third stages of the conflict, the Sons of Light no

---

<sup>138</sup> The Hebrew of 1QM shares the features of other Dead Sea Scrolls. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), esp. 15.

<sup>139</sup> For a discussion of its generic classification see Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 6 (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 53–61.

<sup>140</sup> 1.1, 3, 11, 13, 16. Also called “sons of righteousness” (1.8) and “sons of truth” (17.8). Interestingly, the designation “sons of light” occurs only in the first column of 1QM.

<sup>141</sup> 1.1, 7, 10; 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 16.11.

<sup>142</sup> Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, STDJ 76 (Boston: Brill, 2009), 123.

<sup>143</sup> The phrase “the exiles in the wilderness” is in simply apposition to “the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin” (בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין גולת המדבר). *Pace* Schultz, who understands the “sons of light” to include more than just the ingroup because of the tribal categories “the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin” in Prayer of Josephus (4Q372). *Conquering the World*, 104–24.

longer designate a subcategory of Israel, but rather include “all the tribes of Israel,”<sup>144</sup> and the Sons of Darkness now include “all the nations (גוים).”<sup>145</sup> The terms יְהוּד and עַדָּה, which in other scrolls designate a subgroup of Israel, refer to all of Israel in 1QM.<sup>146</sup>

1QM mentions numerous people groups among the “nations” (גוים). In addition to the neighboring peoples mentioned in 1.1–2 (Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia), the text divides the opponents of the forty-year war (“all the nations,” cols. 2–9) into the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth (2.10–14) and further identifies particular people groups among the sons of Shem (2.10–13).<sup>147</sup> However, these divisions simply follow the genealogy of Genesis as do other early Jewish texts (esp. Jub. 8.10–9.15; 1QapGn 16–17) and show no special interest in any particular groups.

The one people group that 1QM shows special interest is the Kittim, mentioned eighteen times (1.2, 4, 6, 9, 12; 11.11; 15.2; 16.3, 6, 8, 9; 17.12, 14, 15; 18.2, 4; 19.10, 13). The identity of the Kittim in 1QM is complicated by the phrase “Kittim of Ashur/Assyria (אַשׁוּר)” in 1.2, an association that occurs in no other Jewish literature.<sup>148</sup> The Kittim are associated with Ashur/Assyria four times (1.2; 11.11; 18.2; 19.10) and with Japheth as the father of Ashur once

<sup>144</sup> 2.7. Cf. 2.9; 3.13, 14; 5.1; 10.9; 11.6, 7; 12.16; 15.1; 17.5, 7; 19.8. Further, the phrase “God of Israel” is used twelve times: 15.13; 16.1; 18.3, 6; 6.6; 10.8, 9; 13.1, 2, 13; 14.4 (2x).

<sup>145</sup> 15.1. Cf. 2.7; 12.11, 14; 14.5; 15.1, 13; 16.1; 19.6, 10. In addition, the phrase “nation(s) of vanity” occurs four times: 4.12; 6.6; 9.9; 11.8–9. In 2.10–17 1QM details the progression of the twenty-nine years of the second stage of the war. The first nine years are fought against the sons of Seth (2.10–13). The next ten years are fought against the sons of Ham (2.13). The final ten years are fought against the sons of Japheth. (2.14). The individual yearly opponents during the first nine years are outlined, but the sons of Japheth and the sons of Ham are not outlined.

<sup>146</sup> E.g., “the prince of the whole congregation (כֹּהֵן הָעֵדָה) they shall write his name [and] the name of Israel ... and the name of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their generations” (5.1; cf. 2.1, 3, 7, 9; 3.2, 4, 11, 13; 4.9, 15). The term יְהוּד occurs seven times in 1QM and designates all Israel. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 97.

<sup>147</sup> The people groups mentioned among the “sons of Shem” (2.10–13) largely reflect Gen 10.22–23: Aram, the sons of Lud, Uz, Hul, Togar and Mesha, Arphaxad, Asshur, and Elam. Additions include Persia, the Kadmonites (Gen 15:19) and the “other” descendants of Abraham, the “sons of Ishmael and Keturah.” While the redactor likely associates the “sons of Ishmael and Keturah” with the Arab peoples living to the east (Cf. Jub. 20.12–13), the identity of the Kadmonites for the writer is unclear.

<sup>148</sup> Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 127.

(1.6). Proposed identities of the Kittim in 1QM include the Seleucid Greeks,<sup>149</sup> the Romans,<sup>150</sup> a catch-all category for enemies,<sup>151</sup> and some combination of the above.<sup>152</sup> While the geographical locale of “Assyria” fits best with the Seleucid kingdom at the likely time of the original composition of 1QM, a number of factors suggest the Kittim would have been read in terms of the Romans for the redactor and the audience of 1QM, written perhaps thirty to sixty years after Pompey took Jerusalem. First, for the redactor, the Kittim’s fall is still in the future: “the Kittim’s dominion shall come to an end” (1.6). This excludes an identification with the Seleucids for readers in the late first-century BCE. Second, the equipment and tactics of 1QM are a reasonably-close fit to first-century BCE Roman military, suggesting the imagery of 1QM would create constant allusions to Roman military power.<sup>153</sup> Third, Dan 11–12, the source text for the initial one-day battle in 1.1, unequivocally identifies the Kittim with the Romans.<sup>154</sup> Within the social field of early Roman Judea, where Romans are the only group ranked above Jews, this focus on the Roman *ethnos* corresponds to the remaking of ethnic boundaries that primarily seek to overturn the hierarchy of the Jew/Roman boundary.

---

<sup>149</sup> Esp. Hanah Eshel, “The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. David M. Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 37 (Boston: Brill, 2001), 29–44, esp. 37; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 156–158.

<sup>150</sup> Esp. André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. Geza Vermes (Gloucester: Smith, 1973), 344.

<sup>151</sup> Esp., Jean Carmignac, “Les Kittim dans la “Guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres,” *NRTh* 77 (1955): 737–48; For a summary see Duhaime, *War Texts*, 77–81.

<sup>152</sup> For example, Philip R. Davies identifies the *Kittim* of cols. 15–19 as Romans, and earlier references as Greeks. *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*, BibOr 32 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 89.

<sup>153</sup> This is argued most exhaustively by Yigael Yadin throughout his commentary. *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. Batya Rabin and Chaim Rabin (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 243–46 (summary). Cf. Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod*, 212–14. While Russell Gmirkin has shown the equipment and tactics better describe the Roman military before Marius (104 BCE), this in no way detracts from late first-century BCE readers identifying the Kittim as Romans. “The War Scroll and Roman Weaponry Reconsidered,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 89–129.

<sup>154</sup> “For ships of Kittim (כתיים) shall come against him (Antiochus IV), and he shall lose heart and withdraw. He shall be enraged and take action against the holy covenant. He shall turn back and pay heed to those who forsake the holy covenant” (Dan 11:30). The identity of the Kittim in Dan 11:30 was recognized already by the translators of the LXX who translate כתיים as Ῥωμαῖοι (“Romans”). John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 384.

*Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The function of 1QM for the redactor and audience in the late first-century BCE may not have been the same as the original purpose, whether intended as a “detailed set of regulations and plans ... to act on the day of destiny,”<sup>155</sup> or something else. Jean Duhaime concludes that for “a sectarian religious group apparently devoid of any military power and remote from the battlefield, the most likely function of this utopian tactical treatise was to support its members in the belief that they would soon be joined by the heavenly hosts for the war of the end-time, resulting in the annihilation of the forces of evil and the definitive restoration of peace and blessing in their land and in the whole world.”<sup>156</sup> In this way, the function of 1QM is primarily didactic and represents a *discursive means* of boundary making rather than an outline for intended use of strategic means of *coercion and violence*.

1QM depicts an eschatological battle in which the God of Israel gives Israel victory over all the peoples of the earth: “The Kittim’s dominion shall come to an end, wickedness being subdued without a remnant” (1.6) and the armies of Israel will “pursue the enemy to exterminate (them) in the battle of God for the everlasting destruction” (9.6). Israel’s victory over all the nations results in Israel reigning forever over what appears to be the whole earth.<sup>157</sup> In this way the Jewish *ethnos* replaces the Roman *ethnos* as the dominant ethnic group and does so for eternity.

For the writer/redactor and his intended audience, this battle is future, but guaranteed, and therefore provides a rationale for repositioning the Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the ranked boundary system of Roman Judea. The *field characteristics* in Roman Judea, after Julius

---

<sup>155</sup> Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light*, 4.

<sup>156</sup> *War Texts*, 60.

<sup>157</sup> Esp. “Israel shall reign forever” (19.8).

Caesar's decree in 47 BCE (*exogenous shift*), included a *distribution of power* that ranked Jews subordinate to Romans, but privileged in relation to all neighboring peoples. It was only in the latter years of Herod's reign, and likely later than 1QM, that the *distribution of power* between the Jewish *ethnos* and other non-Roman *ethnē* diminished significantly (see above). In the context of the *field characteristics* of late first-century BCE Roman Judea, the reworked boundaries of 1QM represent a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman boundary. While, like many texts written by Jews, 1QM subdivides the Jewish *ethnos*—in this case through a ‘Sons of Light’ / ‘Sons of Darkness’ dichotomy—it does not use this subdivision to limit the foreseen privileged status of Jews to the ingroup (“Sons of Light”) and so attempts no strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission*. Rather, 1QM foresees the eventual inclusion of all Israel among the “Sons of Light” (2.7. Cf. 2.9; 3.13, 14; 5.1; 10.9; 11.6, 7; 12.16; 15.1; 17.5, 7; 19.8.). This encompassing eschatological vision impacts the configuration of Jewishness, especially in its understanding of the relation between Torah obedience and covenant membership as discussed in the following section.

#### *Jewishness as Configured by the War Scroll*

Like many texts written by Jews, 1QM employs the God of Israel to attempt the strategic *means of normative inversion*, for it is their God who conquers the enemy: “Hear, Israel, you are drawing near today for a battle against your enemies. Do not be terrified, let not your hearts be faint, do not be alar[med, and do n]ot tremble before them, for your God is going with you to do battle for you against your enemies, to save you” (10.3–5). Interestingly, in 1QM, God gives Israel the victory in spite of their sin, and scrupulous covenant obedience is not a criterion for God's deliverance: “You also have saved us many times by the hand of our kings on account of your compassion and not according to our works, in which we have done evil, and our sinful

deeds” (11.3–4). In this way, law observance is not used to subdivide the Jewish *ethnos* nor is it a defining criterion of Jewishness for 1QM.

The shared *historical memories* are employed to provide precedence for and assurance of God’s future deliverance of all Israel. On the one hand, deliverance was promised through Moses: “So have you s[po]ken through Moses, saying, ‘When a war occurs in your land ... you shall be remembered before your God and saved from your enemies’” (10.7–8). Examples of God’s deliverance include the defeat of Pharaoh (11.9–10) and Goliath and the Philistines (11.1–3), but these are only a few among numerous other victories (11.3).

Other common elements of Jewishness are present in 1QM, but none reworked in any significant way. The *common name* for the Jewish *ethnos* throughout 1QM is ישראל (“Israel”)<sup>158</sup> and Israel’s *common ancestry* is noted.<sup>159</sup> Various aspects of *common culture* are mentioned and respected. These include observance of the different Sabbath rests,<sup>160</sup> the sanctity of the temple,<sup>161</sup> and esteem for those “learned in the statute” (10.10). The Jewish *ethnos* has a common *homeland*, as do all nations.<sup>162</sup> While the scope of eschatological victory suggests an expanded *homeland*, this is not stated anywhere in the extant text.

In summary, 1QM, like most texts written by Jews during the Hasmonean and Roman periods, places the Jewish *ethnos* atop the ranked boundary system of the Southern Levant. 1QM also makes a basic distinction between Jews who observe the law and those who do not. However, unlike many texts, 1QM does not use this distinction to exclude a part of the Jewish *ethnos* from covenant privilege and ranked superiority in the local boundary system, but rather

---

<sup>158</sup> 1.10; 2.7, 9; 3.13, 14; 5.1; 6.6; 10.8, 9; 11.6, 7; 12.16; 13.1, 2, 13; 14.4(2x); 15.1, 13; 16.1; 17.5, 7; 18.2, 6; 19.8.

<sup>159</sup> E.g., “the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their generations” (5.1).

<sup>160</sup> E.g., “But during the years of remission they (military) shall not equip (them) to march out to campaign, for they are a sabbath of rest for Israel” (2.8–9).

<sup>161</sup> E.g., “The chief of the tribes and the fathers of the congregation behind them are to take up their station steadily in the gates of the sanctuary” (2.3).

<sup>162</sup> E.g., “all the lands of all the nations” (2.7; cf. 10.15; 11.13).

foresees the future inclusion of all Israel among the “Sons of Light.” This strategic engagement with the boundary system impacts the ethnic configuration by making law breaking a temporary concern and not one that nullifies the significance of covenant membership for ethnic superiority in the local boundary system.

### **Habakkuk Peshar**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

The Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab) is a commentary on the first two chapters of Habakkuk and one of at least fifteen “continuous pesharim” among the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>163</sup> The continuous pesharim are marked by lemma quotations of a base-text, often introduced formulaically, which are followed by an interpretation which assumes the base-text speaks about the pesharist’s present reality.<sup>164</sup> Accordingly, this treatment will examine the ethnic-configuration of 1QpHab by examining how the pesharist reinterprets the base-text (Hab 1–2).<sup>165</sup>

All of the continuous pesharim are written in Hebrew, are of Judean provenance, and reflect a social setting without access to official means of boundary making.<sup>166</sup> 1QpHab is extant in a single manuscript of thirteen columns that was copied by two different scribes (1.1–12.13; 12.13–13.4). The handwriting of both scribes is Herodian, dating the extant manuscript of

---

<sup>163</sup> The distinction between pesharim that address a book sequentially (continuous pesharim), and pesharim that are structured around a topic(s) (thematic pesharim), was first made by Jean Carmignac, “Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq,” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 343–78. The exact number of continuous pesharim is disputed.

<sup>164</sup> Alex Jassen, “The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–98, esp. 364; Daniel A. Machiela, “The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–62, esp. 319–325. The assumption underlying Peshar interpretation is that the prophets are writing about the eschaton, and the eschaton is the writer’s present. Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953), 150.

<sup>165</sup> It is important to remember that the base-text is not necessarily identical to the MT or LXX. See especially, Timothy Lim, “Biblical Quotations in the Pesharim and the Text of the Bible: Methodological Considerations,” in *The Bible as a Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 71–79.

<sup>166</sup> Maurya P. Horgan, “Pesharim: Introduction,” in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 6B (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 1–5, esp. 1–2.



1QpHab to the late first century BCE.<sup>167</sup> While the manuscript is not the autograph,<sup>168</sup> references to the Romans (כתיאים) and their overwhelming power clearly indicate a final composition date after 63 BCE. Recently, Hanan Eshel argued for two layers in the text, one dating to the Hasmonean period and another to the Herodian period.<sup>169</sup> Regardless of whether the text developed in stages, this study addresses the final form,<sup>170</sup> which provides evidence of the ethnic vision of the writer/redactor in the second half of the first-century BCE.<sup>171</sup>

### *Boundaries in Habakkuk Peshar*

1QpHab uses the terms הגוים and העמים interchangeably to refer to people groups that can loosely be defined as ethnicities.<sup>172</sup> At times either of these are juxtaposed with the Jews,<sup>173</sup> but more often these designations include Jews,<sup>174</sup> and so for the writer the Jewish *ethnos* is one people among many peoples. The nations remain an undifferentiated category with the exception

---

<sup>167</sup> Frank Moore Cross, “Introduction,” in *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll; the Order of the Community; the Peshar to Habakkuk*, ed. John C. Trever et al. (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archeological Research, 1972), 1–5, esp. 5.

<sup>168</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 131.

<sup>169</sup> Hanan Eshel, “The Two Historical Layers of Peshar Habakkuk,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al., STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17. His argument is that the sections addressing the wicked priest and the teacher of righteousness do not overlap with the *kittim* (Romans) and that these two sections belie different outlooks of the future fate of the ruling powers. However, Jutta Jokiranta points out that “the base-text speaks of the Chaldeans only in specific sections and the pesharist is consistent in applying these to the Kittim.” *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 164.

<sup>170</sup> 1QpHab bears the marks of perfunctory copying, indicating it is a reliable witness to the autograph. Eshel, “Two Historical Layers,” 109–10.

<sup>171</sup> Serge Ruzer writes “Whatever appraisal is embraced, the Peshar as it stands now may be safely viewed as reflecting a first-century BCE response to the current (problematic) course of events.” “Eschatological Failure as God’s Mystery: Reassessing Prophecy and Reality at Qumran and in Nascent Christianity,” *DSD* 23 (2016): 347–64, esp. 352.

<sup>172</sup> E.g., “Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, fear and dread of whom are upon all the nations (הגוים). . . with cunning and deceit they shall deal with all the peoples (העמים)” (3.4–6). Unless noted, the Hebrew text, and English translations are from Maurya P. Horgan, “Habakkuk Peshar,” 157–85.

<sup>173</sup> “The interpretation of the passage is that God will not destroy his people (עמו) by the hand of the nations (הגוים), but into the hand of his chosen (בחריו) God will give the judgment of all the nations (הגוים)” (5.3).

<sup>174</sup> “And from a distance they come, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples . . .” (3.11; cf. 3.5, 6; 5.4; 10.4). A number of other instances are ambiguous (4.14; 12.13; 13.1).

of the Kittim (כתיאים) who are equated with the Babylonians in Hab 1:6.<sup>175</sup> The current consensus is that the Kittim represent the Romans because of references to the worship of standards (6.1–4) and to Pompey’s conquest of Jerusalem (9.4–7).<sup>176</sup>

Israel (ישראל) occurs just once, and Judah (יהודה) occurs thrice. In each instance these are geographical and national designations: “he (the wicked priest) ruled in Israel” (בישראל, 8.9–10); “And ‘violence (done to) the land’ (refers to) the cities of Judah (יהודה).”<sup>177</sup> A non-ethnic boundary subdivides members of the Jewish *ethnos*. The in-group is designated “the elect of God” (10.13), “the chosen ones” (9.12), the “men of truth” (7.10), and “the simple ones of Judah” (12.4–5). These persons keep the law (7.10; 8.1; 12.4–5), and follow the teacher of righteousness (8.2–3). In contrast, members of the out-group are designated “traitors” (2.1, 3; 5.8–9), fail to keep the law (1.11; 5.11–12; 8.10), and reject the teacher of righteousness (2.2).

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The pesherist attempts two strategic *modes* of boundary making. First, he attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion*. He acknowledges that the Romans “trample the land with [their] horses and with their beasts” (3.10; cf. Hab 1:8–9a) and “increase their wealth with all their booty like the fish of the sea” (6.1–2; cf. Hab 1:14–16). However, for the pesherist, this situation is temporary. The Romans have been victorious only because of the iniquity of those they have conquered (4.8) and soon “into the hand of his chosen God will give the judgment of

---

<sup>175</sup> “For now I am raising up the Chaldeans (i.e., Babylonians), that bitter [and ha]sty nation. Its interpretation concerns the Kittim” (2.10–12). The other eight references to the kittim are 2.14; 3.4, 9; 4.5, 10; 6.1, 10; 9.7. Kittim can also be reconstructed in 2.17 and 3.15.

<sup>176</sup> Eshel, “Kittim in the War Scroll,” 41–42; George J Brooke, “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 135–59, esp. 142–155. An early suggestion identified the Kittim of 1QpHab with the Seleucids. E.g., Harold Henry Rowley, “The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *PEQ* 88 (1956): 92–109.

<sup>177</sup> 12.9; cf. 8.1; 12.4. For the problems with the identification of “Judah” with the in-group see John S. Bergsma, “Qumran Self-Identity: ‘Israel’ or ‘Judah’?,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 172–89, esp. 185–86.

all the nations.”<sup>178</sup> The pesherist urges faithful obedience, for “all of God’s periods will come according to their fixed order” (7.13), and foresees the destruction of all the nations—that is, not just the Romans—for their idolatry (12.10–14; 13.1–4).<sup>179</sup>

Second, the pesherist attempts a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission*. The chosen of God (5.4) do not include all Israel, but only those who remain faithful. These chosen ones who keep God’s commandments will judge not just the nations, but also “the wicked ones of his own people.”<sup>180</sup> The righteous and faithful (8.2) keep the law, while the wicked (5.5) and traitors (2.1, 3; 5.8–9) reject the law (e.g., 5.11–12). For the pesherist, correct law observance is Torah practice as interpreted by the teacher of righteousness (8.2–3) “to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.”<sup>181</sup> In contrast, many in Israel “were quiet at the rebuke of the Righteous Teacher and did not support him” (5.10–11; cf. 1.12–13). In this way, only the pesherist’s in-group is repositioned in a privileged place in regard to the Romans, while the out-group remains in no real way different from the other nations.<sup>182</sup> This double strategy which is shared by numerous other extant texts that provide evidence for Jewishness is accompanied by a rather common configuration of Jewishness as discussed in the following section.

---

<sup>178</sup> 5.4. For a discussion of the pesherist’s less-than-obvious interpretation of the base-text, see Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 155–58.

<sup>179</sup> Anselm C. Hagedorn and Shani Tzoref, “Attitudes to Gentiles in the Minor Prophets and in Corresponding Pesharim,” *DSD* 20 (2013): 472–509, esp. 503.

<sup>180</sup> 5.5. Most illuminatingly, the pesherist interprets four of the five woes of Hab 2 (where the referent is ambiguous) to refer to members of the “wicked” among the people (the wicked priest, the priest, last priest of Jerusalem, and the liar). Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 159.

<sup>181</sup> 7.4–5. Cf. 2.8–10 (if the priest is the same as the teacher of righteousness). For a nice discussion of how the pesherist understood the content of the revelation to the teacher of righteousness, see Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 168–69. For our purposes, only the claim to exclusive knowledge matters.

<sup>182</sup> Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 174.

*Jewishness as Configured by the Habakkuk Pesher*

The pesherist's reading of Habakkuk appeals to elements of *common culture*, in particular *customs* and *religion*, in order to present his ideal vision of the ethnic boundary system of Roman Judea. The pesherist identifies fidelity to the law (*customs*; 8.1; 12.4–5) as the distinguishing mark of God's chosen ones, whom God (*religion*) will place as judges of the whole earth (5.4). While the pesherist reinforces the importance of Torah, he does not rework it,<sup>183</sup> or any other common elements of Jewishness,<sup>184</sup> in any perceptible way.

In summary, 1QpHab attempts a double strategy of *normative inversion* and *contraction* through *fission* in order to elevate the ingroup to the top of the ranked boundary system of Roman Judea. This is done by appeal to the God of Israel, and limited to the writer's ingroup by making law observance a criterion for inclusion among the chosen.

**Nahum Pesher**

*Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

Five fragments of a continuous pesher on the book of Nahum (4QpNah; 4Q169) were discovered in cave four near the Dead Sea.<sup>185</sup> The fragmentary text comments on Nah 1:3–6; 2:12–3:12(14?) in six extant columns (2, 8–12) of an originally thirteen-column manuscript.<sup>186</sup> Like the other continuous pesharim, 4QpNah is extant in a single manuscript, written in Hebrew,

---

<sup>183</sup> The pesherist notes sabbath breaking (11.8), and uses circumcision as a metaphor (11.13), but otherwise passes over specific Torah legislation.

<sup>184</sup> The land is mentioned, but only as something devastated by the Romans (4.13; 12.9).

<sup>185</sup> The *editio princeps* is "Commentary on Nahum," John M. Allegro, ed., *Qumran Cave IV: I (4Q158-4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 37–42, Plates XII–XIV. See detailed review by John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276, esp. 204–10. Unless otherwise noted, the critical text and English translations are from Gregory L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition*, JSPSup 35 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001).

<sup>186</sup> Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 35–38. Followed by Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*, STDJ 53 (Boston: Brill, 2004), 6. Pace Horgan, *Pesharim*, 159.

and of Judean provenance.<sup>187</sup> John Strugnell dated the manuscript paleographically to the second half of the first century BCE.<sup>188</sup> While 4QpNah may be part of an ongoing pesher literary development,<sup>189</sup> this study addresses the extant form as evidence for how the writer/scribe of the manuscript configured Jewishness during the second half of the first century BCE.

### *Boundaries in Nahum Pesher*

The pesherist reads Nahum as a future-oriented prophecy about “the nations” (גוים; 3–4 i 1; ii 1, 5; iii 1) and also “Israel” (ישראל; 3–4 i 8, 12; iii 3, 5; iv 3; v 2).<sup>190</sup> Israel is never juxtaposed with the nations, nor listed among them, and so it is unclear whether the writer is working with a basic Israel/nations dichotomy. While the quoted base-text includes numerous subgroups among the גוים,<sup>191</sup> the pesherist shows interest only in Greeks (3–4 i 2–3) and Romans (1–2 ii 3; 3–4 i 3). Within ישראל the pesherist distinguishes Ephraim (3–4 i 12; ii 2, 8–10; iii 4–5; iv 5–6), Manasseh (3–4 iii 9; iv 1, 3–6), and Judah (3–4 iii 4). The identity of these groups is much discussed, and warrants an extended discussion.

Neither Ephraim nor Manasseh are mentioned in the base text of the prophet Nahum. Therefore, the use of these two labels indicates some meaningful categories for the pesherist’s present reality. The pesherist interprets Nineveh’s destruction in Nah 3:1–7 to refer to “Ephraim” (3–4 ii 2–iii 8) and the parallel example of the destruction of Thebes in Nah 3:8–10, to refer to

---

<sup>187</sup> See discussion of the continuous pesharim under 1QpHab above.

<sup>188</sup> “Notes,” 205; Berrin, *Pesher Nahum*, 8.

<sup>189</sup> The evidence for literary development in 4QpNah is slight. Pieter B. Hartog, “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/Pesher Isaiah C, 4Q169/Pesher Nahum, and 4Q171/Pesher Psalms A,” *RevQ* 28 (2016): 267–77, esp. 272–74.

<sup>190</sup> This is excluding references in the lemma.

<sup>191</sup> These include Bashan, Carmel, and Lebanon (1–2 ii 5), Amon (3–4 iii 8), Ethiopia, Egypt, Put, and Lybia (3–4 iii 10–12).

“Manasseh” (3–4 iii 8–iv 6).<sup>192</sup> Due to the fragmentary state of 4QpNah, it is unclear whether Nahum’s Nineveh consistently designates “Ephraim” for the pesherist.<sup>193</sup>

The names Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh among the so-called sectarian scrolls have often been understood as code names for the Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees respectively.<sup>194</sup> However, the identification of all three code names is based on a single reference that associates the Pharisees with Ephraim: “This is the city of Ephraim—the Seekers-After-Smooth-Things (i.e., Pharisees) at the latter days—who walk about in deceit and false[hood]” (3–4 ii 2).<sup>195</sup> Even this single reference does not equate the “Seekers-After-Smooth-Things” with Ephraim, but with the “city of Ephraim” (עיר אפרים).<sup>196</sup> Other references to the “Seekers-After-Smooth-Things” in 4QpNah indicate a leadership role among Ephraim and this is likely the meaning of the city imagery in 3–4 ii 2, indicating that Ephraim is not code for the Pharisees.<sup>197</sup>

Most likely, the pesherist uses Ephraim as a pejorative designation for Israel, associating the “apostasy” of the northern kingdom (often designated as Ephraim; e.g., Isa 7:17, 9:18–20;

---

<sup>192</sup> The pesherist’s base-text reads “Amon” rather than Thebes, after the Egyptian deity. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 515–16.

<sup>193</sup> Unfortunately, the pesherist’s interpretation of Nah 1:1, where the book of Nahum is designated “an oracle concerning Nineveh,” is not preserved. The interpretation of “you also” in Nah 3.11 to refer to “Ephraim” (3–4 iv 5) suggests a consistent identification of Nineveh as Ephraim.

<sup>194</sup> This identification developed early and remained a near consensus throughout the twentieth century. See especially André Dupont-Sommer, “Le commentaire de Nahum découvert près de La Mer Morte (4Q P Nah): traduction et notes,” *Sem* 13 (1963): 55–88. Stephen Goranson is able to write “The identification of Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees in the pesherim, especially 4QpNah, is one of the most assured results of Qumran historical research ...” “Others and Intra-Jewish Polemic as Reflected in Qumran Texts,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2 vols., STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 534–51, esp. 534–35.

<sup>195</sup> “היא עיר אפרים דורשי ההלקות לאחרית הימים אשר בכחו ו שקר[ים] יתהלכו” Marie-France Dion, “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé dans le Péscher de Nahum (4Q169),” in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Jean Duhaime, and Kyung S. Baek (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 405–27, esp. 405–6, 424–26. Cf. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 577–83.

<sup>196</sup> Dion, “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé,” 419; Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 590.

<sup>197</sup> See especially 3–4 iii 5: “the simple ones of Ephraim will flee from the midst of their (i.e., Seekers-After-Smooth-Things) assembly;” 3–4 ii 8: “those who lead Ephraim astray (מתעי אפרים).” Dion, “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé,” 421; Bergsma, “Qumran Self-Identity,” 186 n. 29; Staples, “Reconstructing Israel,” 430; Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 590.

11:13) with the pesherist’s contemporary kinsmen.<sup>198</sup> For the pesherist, Ephraim was led astray by the “Seekers-After-Smooth-Things” (3–4 ii 4–5) and its “kings, princes, priests, and people, joined (נלוה) with the resident alien (גר)” (3–4 ii 8–9). Within Ephraim, the pesherist makes a basic distinction between “the simple ones of Ephraim” (3–4 iii 5) and “the wicked ones of Ephraim” (3–4 iv 5). Eventually, the “simple ones of Ephraim” will “abandon those who led them astray” and will “join (נלוו) Israel” (3–4 iii 5).

The identification of Manasseh as code name for the Sadducees is never directly made in the text and depends upon the identification of Ephraim with the Pharisees. Since the Pharisees cannot be equated with Ephraim, neither can the Sadducees be equated with Manasseh. The pesherist’s use of Manasseh most likely alludes not to the tribe of Manasseh, but the notorious king Manasseh, associated with apostasy and the exile of Judah, and likely represents some ruler over Israel.<sup>199</sup> Manasseh in 4QpNah has an army (3–4 iii 11), reigns over Israel, but will be exiled (3–4 iv 3–4).<sup>200</sup> The single occurrence of Judah (3–4 iii 4) precludes any detailed analysis of its use. However, nothing in the context of 4QpNah suggests it designates anything other than the tribe of Judah, or perhaps the southern kingdom.<sup>201</sup>

To summarize, the writer of 4QpNah includes a basic Jew/nations boundary. On the Jewish side, the writer uses, “Ephraim” as a pejorative for all Israel, and “Judah” to refer to his contemporaries as descendants of the southern kingdom. The writer notes numerous groups

---

<sup>198</sup> It is possible that Ephraim and Israel are used synonymously in 3–4 i 12, though the fragmentary state of the text precludes certainty: ]א[פרים יתן ישראל ]

<sup>199</sup> E.g., 2 Kgs 23:26 “Still the Lord did not turn from the fierceness of his great wrath, by which his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations with which Manasseh had provoked him.” Staples, “Reconstructing Israel,” 433; For the identification of Manasseh as an individual, see especially Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 587–89. Marie-France Dion also rejects the equation of Manasseh and the Sadducees but suggests Manasseh is a territorial designation. “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé,” 423.

<sup>200</sup> For a nice profile of Manasseh in 4QpNah see Dion, “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé,” 421–23. Possible historical references for Manasseh include Aristobulus II and John Hyrcanus II.

<sup>201</sup> John Bergsma suggests the phrase “glory of Judah” (כבוד יהודה) refers to a royal Messiah. “Qumran Self-Identity,” 186 n. 29. Cf. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 587.

among the nations, but shows interest only in Greeks and Romans. Therefore, these are the relevant categories for the writer's boundary making strategies.

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The pesherist employs a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman boundary by interpreting “the sea” and “the rivers” of Nahum 1:4a<sup>202</sup> as a prophecy about the destruction of the Romans (כהאימ) and their rulers: “He rebuk[ed] the sea and drie[d it up.] Its [inte]rpretation: ‘the sea’—that is all the Ki[t]tim ...] so as to ren[der] a judgment against them and to wipe them out from upon the face of [the earth. And he dried up all the rivers.] with [all] their [ru]lers, whose dominion will be ended” (1–2 ii 3–5).<sup>203</sup> Like strategic *modes of normative inversion* by other members of the Jewish *ethnos*, the pesherist appeals to the God of Israel to reverse the unequal distribution of power across the Jew/Roman boundary. However, in the extant text of 4QpNah, the pesherist does not appeal to the Deuteronomic theology or a “holy seed” ideology to explain Israel's present subjugation to Rome. Rather, two assumptions enable the pesherist to invert the Jew/Roman boundary: 1) the authoritative status of the prophetic book of Nahum, and 2) the application of the prophetic book to the pesherist's present circumstances.

The pesherist also foresees the downfall of the current Jerusalem establishment. “At the last period” (באחרית הקץ) when the “glory of Judah is [re]vealed” (3–4 iii 3–4) the Seekers-After-Smooth-Things will be exposed as wicked (3–4 iii 5), Manasseh's reign will end (3–4 iv 3), and “the simple ones of Ephraim will flee from the midst of their (Seekers-After-Smooth-Things) assembly ... and will join Israel” (3–4 iii 5). The language of joining Israel does not imply that they had become something different than Israelites, but rather a return from the apostasy that the

---

<sup>202</sup> “He rebukes the sea and makes it dry, and he dries up all the rivers.”

<sup>203</sup> The Jew/Greek boundary is not reworked in any way. The only reference in the extant text is to the now past Seleucid Greek rulers “from Antiochus until the rise of the rulers of the Kittim” (3–4 i 3).



pesherist's use of Ephraim emphasizes. Joining (גלוי) Israel (3–4 iii 5) represents a reversal of what the pesherist sees as one of Ephraim's greatest sins when her “kings, princes, priests, and people joined (גלוה) with the resident alien” (3–4 ii 8–9). This downfall of the Jerusalem establishment does not represent any strategic *mode* of boundary making, for the pesherist does not deny the Jewishness of the Jerusalem establishment or shift emphasis to a lower level categorization (*boundary contraction*). This single strategy of *normative inversion* does not rework any of the common elements of Jewishness in substantial ways

### *Jewishness as Configured by Nahum Peshar*

The fragmentary state of the text precludes a full treatment of the ethnic configuration of Jewishness in 4QpNah. In the extant text only two of the common elements of Jewishness are present in 4QpNah, and neither are intentionally reworked as part of the writer's boundary making strategies. First, the common *proper name* throughout the text is “Israel” (ישראל; 3–4 i 8, 12; iii 3, 5; iv 3; v 2). “Judah” (יהודה) occurs once, but “Jew” (יהודי) does not and Judah designates only a tribe or geographical area.<sup>204</sup>

The only other common element of Jewishness present in 4QpNah is *common ancestry*. In particular, the most tangible example of how the leaders have lead Ephraim astray is that their “kings, princes, priests, and people joined with the resident alien (גר)” (3–4 ii 8–9).<sup>205</sup> It is not immediately clear whether the joining entails intermarriage, or simply social acceptance and perhaps acculturation. The language of harlotry (זנונימ) in the base text (Nah 3:4) may suggest an accusation of transgressing sexual mores and the designation “Ephraim” may allude to Hosea

<sup>204</sup> Bergsma, “Qumran Self-identity,” 186 n. 29.

<sup>205</sup> גר may also designate a proselyte in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Palmer, *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 10–12. “The Gēr in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 12–13, 25–26. However, the criticism of “joining with” the גר seems to fit better with a meaning of “resident alien” and is further supported by criticisms in 4QpNah of non-Jews living in Jerusalem (3–4 i 2–3, 10–11; ii 4–6).

who takes a harlot as wife to illustrate the harlotry of “Ephraim” (4.12). In either case, the accusation of too close association with the נא indicates a degree of separation that is more stringent than the requirements of Torah. In summary, 4QpNah attempts a strategic mode of boundary making without reworking Jewishness in any discernible ways. It may take a strict position on *common ancestry*, but this is not certain.

### **The Testament of Moses**

#### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

A single, sixth-century Latin manuscript first published in 1861<sup>206</sup> presents a *vaticinium ex eventu* prophecy of the history of Israel, culminating in the appearance of the kingdom of God.<sup>207</sup> This prophetic review of Israelite history is set as Moses’s last words to Joshua in the narrative scene of Deut 31–34, leading scholars to identify this fragmentary writing with one of two texts known from other ancient sources: the *Testament of Moses* (T. Mos.) and the *Assumption of Moses* (A. Mos.).<sup>208</sup> Although the precise relation between the extant text and T. Mos. and A. Mos. remains uncertain,<sup>209</sup> this study will use the standard name *Testament of Moses* (T. Mos.), because of its generic classification as a testament (discussed below in this section).

---

<sup>206</sup> Ceriani, “Fragmenta Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis ex veteri versione Latina,” 1:9–64. Unless otherwise noted, the critical edition and English translations are from Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*, SVTP 10 (New York: Brill, 1993).

<sup>207</sup> The end of the text is lost, and so the scope of the work is not certain. For a more detailed discussion of introductory issues, see John Priest, “Testament of Moses” *OTP* 1:919–26; Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 87–128.

<sup>208</sup> The formal features of the book are best classified as a testament or farewell discourse. Kolenkow A. Bingham, “The Assumption of Moses as a Testament,” in *Studies on the Testament of Moses: Seminar Papers*, SCS 4 (Cambridge: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), 71–77, esp. 71. While the *vaticinium ex eventu* prophecy shares features with the apocalyptic genre, T. Mos. lacks the angelic mediator. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 163.

<sup>209</sup> The most recent discussion is by Fiona Grierson, who concludes “it is not possible to find enough evidence to identify the extant part of the Moses fragment with either *ToM* or *AoM*.” “The Testament of Moses,” *JSP* 17 (2008): 265–80, esp. 274.

Transliteration of Greek terms, Greek idioms, and grammatical structures indicate that the extant Latin version is translated from Greek.<sup>210</sup> The limited candidates for Hebraisms are not sufficient to demonstrate a semitic *Vorlage* for the Greek text, and so the original language remains uncertain.<sup>211</sup> The writer's Jewish identity is indicated by an interest in the temple, priesthood, and expectation of Israel's eschatological exaltation.<sup>212</sup> The interest in Jerusalem, the temple, and Herod, and lack of interest in the diaspora suggests a provenance in or around Judea.<sup>213</sup>

There is a near-consensus that the final form of the work dates between 6 and 30 CE.<sup>214</sup> This dating is based on identifying the “petulant ruler” (6.2) who will reign for thirty-four years (6.6) as Herod (37–4 BCE). The writer's statement that Herod's sons will succeed him, but will rule for shorter periods than him indicates that the writer is aware of Archelaus's exile in 6 CE, but not aware that both Philip (4 BCE–39 CE) and Antipas (4 BCE–34 CE) reigned longer than Herod. While allusions to Antiochus IV's revocation of Jewish privileges in 167 BCE may indicate that the references to Herod are a later addition to an earlier version,<sup>215</sup> this study

---

<sup>210</sup> Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 78; James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 149; Priest, “Testament of Moses,” 1:920.

<sup>211</sup> For an evaluation of the supposed Hebraisms, see Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 81–85.

<sup>212</sup> Grierson, “The Testament of Moses,” 277.

<sup>213</sup> Further, the designation of Amman as *trans Jordanem* (1.4) supports a Judean locale. Priest, “Testament of Moses,” 1:921; Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 117.

<sup>214</sup> John Collins writes “In its present form the *Testament of Moses* dates from the early first century CE.” *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 160. See, however, William R. G. Loader, “Herod or Alexander Jannaeus?: A New Approach to the Testament of Moses,” *JSP* 46 (2015): 28–43, who suggests a final composition date in the period following Pompey's conquest based on identifying the “petulant king” in chapter 6 with Alexander Jannaeus.

<sup>215</sup> See especially George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, HTS 26 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 43–45; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 160. Others argue for a single composition in the early part of the first century CE. See especially, Priest, “Testament of Moses,” 1:920–21; Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 115–23; Kenneth Atkinson, “Taxo's Martyrdom and the Role of the Nuntius in the Testament of Moses: Implications for Understanding the Role of Other Intermediary Figures,” *JBL* 125 (2006): 453–76, esp. 457–67.

addresses the final form of the text, whether redacted or fully composed in the early years of the first century CE.<sup>216</sup>

*Boundaries in the Testament of Moses*

The most prominent boundary in T. Mos. is between *Istrahel* (“Israel”) and *gentes* (“nations”).<sup>217</sup> The “entire house of Israel” (3.7) consists of two subgroups: the ten (northern) tribes and the two (southern) tribes.<sup>218</sup> However, after all the tribes reunite in exile (3.4–9), only members of the two (southern) tribes return from exile (4.7–8), while “the ten tribes will be more and more absorbed among the nations” (4.9). After the return from exile, then, Israel consists only of members of the two tribes (e.g., 10.8) and the writer envisages no future return of the ten tribes.

The only *ethnē* that are mentioned by name refer to prominent groups from Israel’s *historical memories*, and not contemporaries.<sup>219</sup> The Roman governor of Syria, Varus, is most likely the referent of “a mighty king from the west” (6.8) who will “lead them off in chains and burn part of their temple with fire” (6.9),<sup>220</sup> but the writer shows no special interest in the Roman *ethnos*. The only ethnic boundary in the text remains *Istrahel/gentes* while among Israel the

---

<sup>216</sup> This approach is similar to G. Anthony Keddie, who concludes, “Thus, even if the text incorporates some earlier material, in my opinion we must consider the *Testament of Moses* a product of the early first century C.E.” G. Anthony Keddie, “Judaean Apocalypticism and the Unmasking of Ideology: Foreign and National Rulers in the Testament of Moses,” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 301–38, esp. 312.

<sup>217</sup> *Istrahel* occurs just twice (3.9; 10.8) and the Jewish *ethnos* is most often referred to as *plebs* (“the people”; 1.7, 12, 15; 3.3; 4.2; 11.9, 12; 12.8). *Gentes* is the writer’s usual designation for non-Jews (1.13; 4.9; 8.3; 10.7; 12.4, 8), but he also uses *allofilorum* in 4.3. The juxtaposition of Israel and the nations is clearly seen in 1.12–13: “For he created the world on behalf of his people, but he did not also reveal his purpose of the creation from the beginning of the world, so that the nations would be put to disgrace on their account . . . .”

<sup>218</sup> E.g., “Then the ten tribes will weep, hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and will say: ‘What can we say to you, brethren? Has not this distress come over the entire house of Israel?’” (3.7).

<sup>219</sup> These are the Egyptians (6.6) and the Amorites (11.11, 16). A reference to “those who live in the East” is fragmentary and vague, but later references to the east refer to the Babylonians (3.1, 13).

<sup>220</sup> Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 204–5.

writer distinguishes descendants of the southern kingdom from those of the northern kingdom. Both of these are used in the reworking of ethnic boundaries.

*Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

T. Mos. represents a *discursive means* of boundary making, as the writer promotes his preferred vision of the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea through a *vaticinium ex eventu* review of Israelite history.<sup>221</sup> The writer claims authority for this review of history by attributing it to Moses.

The writer of T. Mos. attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/nations boundary by foreseeing the imminent intervention of God when “the Heavenly One will rise from his royal throne.” At that time, Israel will “live in the heaven of the stars” with their God (10.8), while the nations (*gentes*) will be punished and their idols destroyed (10.7). The writer does not envisage the destruction of the nations, but only their punishment.<sup>222</sup> The writer claims that God “created the world on behalf of his people” (1.12) and that, contrary to appearances (1.13), “nothing has been overlooked by him, not even the smallest detail, but he has seen and known everything beforehand” (12.4–5). In this way, Israel’s current subjugation to Rome is part of God’s plan, but not its final state.

For the writer, those who will inhabit the heavens with God are only members of the two southern tribes. This strategic *mode of boundary contraction* is developed by the writer in the review of Israelite history. Moses foresees that the ten northern tribes will “break themselves

---

<sup>221</sup> Similarly, Keddie writes, “The *Testament of Moses* is propaganda for a particular formation of a Judean ideology which promotes its ideas and urges obedience while using the kingship and apocalyptic wrath of God as tools to persuade people not only to obey God but also to conform to the text’s ideology.” *Judean Apocalypticism*, 335.

<sup>222</sup> Likewise, in the opening scene, Moses tells Joshua that the nations will be disgraced and humiliated, but never destroyed: “he did not also reveal this purpose of the creation from the beginning of the world, so that the nations would be put to disgrace on their account, and, through their deliberations among themselves, to their own humiliation disgrace themselves” (1.13).

loose” (2.3) and act “according to their own ordinances” (2.5) at which time God will designate the two southern tribes as “holy tribes” (2.4). The culmination of this *boundary contraction* occurs when all twelve tribes are in exile and the two tribes “hold on to the allegiance that was ordained for them” while the ten tribes are “absorbed among the nations (4.8–9). Accordingly, for the writer, members of the Jewish *ethnos*—designated “Israel,”—consist exclusively of descendants of the two southern tribes.

The writer also distinguishes between those who “do the commandments perfectly” and “sinners and those who neglect the commandments” (12.10–11).<sup>223</sup> However, this distinction affects prosperity and punishment on the earth,<sup>224</sup> rather than inclusion in the heavenly realm at the eschaton, which involves collective Israel. The last sentences of the extant text discuss the fate of those who sin, emphasizing that “it cannot happen that he will exterminate and leave them entirely. For God, who sees everything beforehand, will go out, and his covenant stands firm. And through the oath which ...” (12.12–13). While this unfortunately lost ending precludes certainty, the appeal to the covenant seems to indicate that “when the Heavenly One will rise” those who sin will also “live in the heaven of the stars” (10.9).<sup>225</sup>

### *Jewishness as Configured by the Testament of Moses*

The reworking of the Jew/Roman boundary impacts the ethnic-configuration of T. Mos. in two ways. First, the exalted place of Israel after God intervenes in history is in the heavens.

---

<sup>223</sup> The corrupt Jewish leaders are among those punished by God, including the Hasmoneans (5.4–6.1), Herod and his sons (6.2–7), and most likely the writer’s contemporary priestly elites who are aligned with the Roman *praefecti* (7.3–10).<sup>223</sup> The writer accuses each of these groups of breaking the commandments of God.

<sup>224</sup> E.g., “but the sinners and those who neglect the commandments (will) miss the goods that have been foretold, and they will be punished by the nations with many torments” (12.11). This earthly reward and punishment reflects the writer’s theology shared by the writer of Deuteronomy and many of the historical books from the shared ancestral texts. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 161.

<sup>225</sup> Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 269. The extant text includes no discussion of the repentance and forgiveness dynamic of the “sinners.” If it is not in the missing part of the text it is almost certainly assumed.

The final scene foresees Israel looking down from the safety of their heavenly abode: “And you will look down from above, and you will see your enemies on the earth, and you will recognize them” (10.10). Therefore, for T. Mos. the attachment to a common *homeland*, while prominent, is temporary. God had promised the land to their forefathers (1.8; 2.1); Joshua is chosen to lead the people into the land (1.8; 2.1); and the exiles complain that God promised never to take them out of their land (3.9). However, the eschaton does not involve a return to the common *homeland* (with or without Jewish political autonomy) but a removal out of both the homeland and the entire earth (10.10). Therefore, for the writer’s configuration of Jewishness, the link to a *homeland* is temporary.

As noted above, obedience to the commandments (*common culture*) represents an important distinction among members of the Jewish *ethnos* (12.12). Commandments that receive special attention include circumcision (8.1–3) and purity (7.9–10). However, Moses warns Joshua that, “not on account of the piety of this people will you defeat the nations” (12.8). Rather, it is on account of the covenant with the forefathers that God will save his people (12.13). Therefore, prayer becomes a primary means of securing God’s blessing. Prayer prompts God to bring the exiles back to the land (4.1) and hastens God’s deliverance in the end times (9.6). Moses’s prayers have caused the people to multiply into a great multitude (11.14) and, as Joshua succeeds Moses, he receives the responsibility of praying for the people (11.11) even though Moses will continue to pray after his death (11.17; 12.6).

In summary, T. Mos. attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman boundary by foreseeing the imminent destruction of Rome and members of the Jewish *ethnos* taken to the safety of the heavens. This makes the attachment to a common *homeland* temporary.

## The Similitudes of Enoch

### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

A writing bearing the superscription “The Vision of Wisdom that Enoch Saw” is found in chapters 37–71 of the composite work 1 Enoch.<sup>226</sup> In its present form, this document consists of three parables, or similitudes, (38–44; 45–57; 58–69) that are bookended by an introduction (37) and two or three epilogues (70–71).<sup>227</sup> The latter two epilogues are likely later additions, while the first epilogue (70:1–2) was likely the original ending of the three visions.<sup>228</sup> The narrative framework is that of an apocalypse as Enoch ascends to the heavens and receives visions that are interpreted by an angelic mediator.

The text of the Similitudes is extant only in Ge’ez, but is clearly based on a Semitic original.<sup>229</sup> Unlike the other documents contained in 1 Enoch, no Aramaic fragments of the Similitudes were discovered at Qumran, and no Greek fragments are extant, making it uncertain whether the Similitudes were originally composed in Aramaic or Hebrew, or whether the Ge’ez is translated from a Greek translation, or directly from Hebrew or Aramaic.<sup>230</sup> The provenance of

---

<sup>226</sup> 37:1. ራእየ : ጥበብ : ዘርእየ : ሄኖክ : In all Ge’ez manuscripts, the superscription is preceded by the gloss ራእየ : ዘርእየ : ካለእ : (“The second vision that he saw”) which links the Similitudes to the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36).

<sup>227</sup> For a detailed discussion of introductory issues, see George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 3–84;

<sup>228</sup> The identification of Enoch as the Son of Man in the final epilogue (71) is in tension with the rest of the document where Enoch observes the Son of Man. The second epilogue involves a transition from third person to first person and was likely added as a transition to the next section. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 19.

<sup>229</sup> Nathaniel Schmidt, “The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch,” in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, ed. Robert F. Harper, Francis Brown, and George F. Moore, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2:329–49; Edward Ullendorff, “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?,” in *Ethiopia and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 31–62. The critical edition of the Ge’ez text is Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978). Unless noted, English translations are from George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, trans., *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation*, Rev. ed., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012).

<sup>230</sup> So, Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 30–34.



the Similitudes is uncertain.<sup>231</sup> However, its composition in Hebrew or Aramaic and association with earlier Enochic literature make a locale in or around Judea most likely.<sup>232</sup>

The extant form of the Similitudes clearly includes interpolations into the original three similitudes. These include substantial Noachic traditions (54:7–55:2; 60:1–10, 23–25; 65:1–69:1), two epilogues (70:3–71:17), and possibly displaced material.<sup>233</sup> The absence of any mention of the war of 66–70, and the apparent lack of a crisis for the writer, suggests a *terminus ante quem* before 66 CE.<sup>234</sup> The *terminus post quem* for the original writing can be the beginning of the reign of Herod (37–4 BCE).<sup>235</sup> However, the final form most likely took shape a few decades later. The final epilogue identifies the Son of Man figure in the similitudes as Enoch, whereas in the Similitudes, Enoch and the Son of Man are clearly distinct.<sup>236</sup> While this may represent an early Jewish polemic against an identification of the Son of Man with Jesus among Jesus’s earliest followers, it certainly represents a later stage of development than the

---

<sup>231</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude “the text’s communal and geographical provenance remain a mystery.” *1 Enoch 2*, 66.

<sup>232</sup> More specific arguments for a Galilean provenance are intriguing, but inconclusive. Cf. James H. Charlesworth, “The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch,” in *Parables of Enoch: A Paradigm Shift*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Darrell L. Bock, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 11 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 37–57, esp. 53–54.

<sup>233</sup> George W. E. Nickelsburg argues that 60:11–22 was originally located between 59:3 and 60:1. “Discerning the Structure(s) of the Enochic Book of Parables,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 23–47, esp. 37. See Loren T. Stuckenbruck’s short summary of redaction in the Similitudes: “The Parables of Enoch according to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb: A Summary and Discussion of Some Remaining Questions,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 65–71. For a more detailed discussion, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 10–20.

<sup>234</sup> The lack of a crisis is different than a social situation of oppression, which does seem reflected in the text. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 63.

<sup>235</sup> So, for example, David Winston Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, Dissertation Series 47 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 32. Possible allusions to the Parthian invasion of 40 BCE (56:5–7), and activities of Herod (67:5–13) have been used to date the text more precisely to Herod’s reign (esp., Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 62) or the early years of the first century CE (esp., Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 221). While dating based on vague allusions is tenuous (see especially Ted M. Erho, “Historical-Allusional Dating and the Similitudes of Enoch,” *JBL* 130 [2011]: 493–511), nearly all suggested dates range between 50 BCE and 100 CE. The exception is Józef T. Milik’s widely-criticized argument for a third-century Christian origin. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 89–98.

<sup>236</sup> “And he (the Head of Days) came to me (Enoch) and greeted me with his voice and said to me, ‘You (are) that Son of Man who was born for righteousness, and righteousness dwells on you’ (71:14).

original form and guarantees a final redacted form between the end of Herod’s reign and the beginning of the first Jewish War (4 BCE–66 CE)<sup>237</sup> The field characteristics during this period remained stable, and so no more precise date is necessary. This study will not attempt to reconstruct an original form of the similitudes,<sup>238</sup> but will address the received form of the text as evidence for the configuration of Jewishness by the redactor of the final form sometime between 4 BCE and 66 CE.

The Jewishness of the Similitudes is indicated by the focus on heroes from the *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* and an interest in the common *homeland* (outlined in the discussion of Jewishness in the Similitudes). More specifically, a reference to the ingroup as the “houses of his congregation” (አብያተ ፡ ምስትጉባኤ ፡) suggests that the ingroup is a subcategory of the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>239</sup> The titles “righteous” (37 times), “chosen” (26 times), and “holy” (11 times) are used in a quasi-technical sense, further indicating a distinct identity.<sup>240</sup> There is some evidence that suggests the ingroup feels persecuted.<sup>241</sup> The ingroups’ opponents are “kings and powerful” (46:4; cf. 38:4; 48:8; 53:5; 54:2; 62:9; 63:1) indicating that the writer and intended audience are in some way a marginal group in Jewish society, though no more precise group identification is warranted.

---

<sup>237</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 236. Cf. Nickelsburg, “Discerning the Structure(s),” 46.

<sup>238</sup> Benjamin G. Wright writes “To try to unravel the structure and literary integrity of a book, and of a translation at that (or perhaps/probably even a translation of a translation?), based solely on internal criteria presents many obstacles to success. “The Structure of the Parables of Enoch: A Response to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 72–78, esp. 78.

<sup>239</sup> The plural “houses of his congregation” in 46:8 designates the in-group: “And they persecuted the houses of his congregation and the faithful who depend on the name of the Lord of Spirits.” The Eschatological community is designated ቤተ ፡ ምስትጉባኤ ፡ (“house of the congregation”; 53:6). The eschatological “congregation” is designated as “righteous” (38:1) and “chosen and holy” (53:6). Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 65.

<sup>240</sup> Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 225. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 98–100.

<sup>241</sup> The phrase “blood of the righteous” that is used three times in chapter 47 suggests martyrdom. In addition, the writer mourns that the mighty ones “persecute the house of his congregation” (46:8) and “everything that (the righteous) labor over, the sinners lawlessly devour (53:2).

*Boundaries in the Similitudes of Enoch*

Unlike nearly all texts addressed in this study, the Similitudes do not contain a categorical Jew/nations boundary.<sup>242</sup> Rather Enoch recounts his three visions for “those who dwell on the earth” (37.2, 5). Throughout the visions, the absence of  $\text{אִשְׂרָאֵל}$  (“Israel”) is sharply contrasted with the repeated references to humanity as “those who dwell on the earth” (37:2, 5; 40:6, 7; 48:5; 54:9; 60:5; 65:12; 66:1; 69:7) and “the sons of men” (39:5; 40:9; 42:2; 69:8).

The universal scope of the Similitudes may simply be due to the narrative setting during the time of Enoch, well before the Abrahamic covenant. However, like the other writings in 1 Enoch which all contain a Jew/nations boundary, the visions in the Similitudes concern the future, and especially the eschaton, where for other Enochic writings the Jew/nations boundary persists, and is consequential.

The basic binary in the Similitudes is the non-ethnic boundary between the righteous and the sinners: “the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners” (42:8); “when the congregation of the righteous appears, the sinners are judged for their sins” (38:1). The designation “righteous” (37 times) is used interchangeably with the “chosen” (26 times) and “holy” (11 times).<sup>243</sup> The righteous are associated with light (38:2, 4; 39:7; 41:8 58:3), have a home with the angels (39:4), and are identified with stars in the heavens (43:1–3). They hate the current wicked age (48:7) and trust in the Lord of Spirits (38:2; 43:4). In contrast, the sinners (15 times) are associated with darkness (41:8), lawless (53:2), act wickedly (53:2), and deny the

---

<sup>242</sup> The only people group mentioned in the Similitudes are the “Parthians and the Medes” (56:5).

<sup>243</sup> For a comprehensive list of references see Pierluigi Piovanelli, “‘A Testimony for the Kings and the Mighty Who Possess the Earth’: The Thirst for Justice and Peace in the Parables of Enoch,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 363–79, esp. 371 n. 23. Cf. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 98–100.

Lord of Spirits (38:2). The sinners also deny and oppress the community of the holy ones (45:1; 53:7).

A subgroup of the sinners is distinguished from the other sinners by their elite status, and political power. The members of this subgroup are designated “kings” (15 times), “mighty” (13 times), “exalted” (6 times), “strong ones” (2 times), and “those who possess the earth” (six times).<sup>244</sup> They, like the other sinners, are associated with darkness (46:6; 62:10; 63:6, 11), deny the Lord of Spirits (46:7; 48:10; 67:8, 10), act wickedly (46:7; 63:9, 10) and oppress the righteous (46:8; 62:11). The lack of an explicit Jew/nations boundary impacts the types of boundary strategies the writer attempts.

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The Similitudes represent a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of the non-ethnic righteous/sinners boundary. The three visions of Enoch concern the day of judgment and the final destination of the righteous and sinners. While in the writer’s present, the righteous are persecuted (46:8), oppressed (53:2), and even killed (e.g., “blood of the righteous” in 47:1–4), in the eschaton they will be saved (62:13) and honored (50:1; 62:15). They will receive a covenant (60:6), inherit the whole earth (45:5–6), gain eternal life (40:9; 58:3; 62:14), and their final destiny is in the heavens with the angels (39:4–5). In contrast, the sinners will be judged (38:3; 60:6), expelled from the earth (45:2), and finally destroyed (45:6; 62:2).<sup>245</sup>

---

<sup>244</sup> For a comprehensive list of these designations see Piovaneli, “A Testimony for the kings and the Mighty,” 372. Cf. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 47.

<sup>245</sup> David Suter depicts this inversion: “The symbolism of the Parables functions as a means of integrating the present experience of the righteous of a world that does not seem to be structured according to the laws of their God with their belief in a God who, as the divine lawgiver, rewards in concrete ways the community of his chosen ones when it is faithful to his law.” *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, 163–64.

The Similitudes also foresee a strategic *mode of boundary crossing* of the non-ethnic righteous/sinners boundary by some sinners. When these sinners see the righteous conquering (i.e., the power distribution reversed through an eschatological strategic *mode of normative inversion*) they will “repent and abandon the works of their hands. And they will have honor in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and in his name they will be saved” (50:2–3).<sup>246</sup> Likewise, “in those days the mighty and the kings who possess the land ... will bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits” (60:1–2). However, unlike the other sinners, the “mighty and the kings” will not be saved, for “this is the law and the judgment of the mighty and the kings” (60:12). The ideal vision of the boundary system allows some sinners to cross the boundary and become righteous, while the sins of the “mighty and the kings” are too great to become part of the new superior righteous ones.

There is no explicit indication that, for the writer, the righteous are exclusively members of the Jewish *ethnos*. In addition to the lack of mention of ethnic categories, it is noteworthy that the text includes promises that God will establish the descendants of Enoch (65:2), and of Noah (67:2), but not of Abraham or Jacob. While it is probable that the writer and majority of the righteous are members of the Jewish *ethnos*,<sup>247</sup> in the context of visions that are meant for “those who dwell on the earth” (37:2, 5), the writer’s emphasis on the non-ethnic righteous/sinners boundary at the expense of ethnic boundaries represents a strategic *mode of boundary blurring* of the Jew/nations boundary through an emphasis on non-ethnic moral characteristics. Whereas earlier enochic literature used a righteous/sinners dichotomy to subdivide the Jewish *ethnos* (a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission*), the Similitudes’ use of the same

---

<sup>246</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude that the “others” of 50.2–3 who repent and are saved are not Jews because “the work of their hands” which they “abandon” in context refers to idolatry. *1 Enoch* 2, 183. Likewise, 48:4 foresees that the Son of Man will be a light to the nations (አሕዛብ ፡).

<sup>247</sup> This seems to be the assumption of Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 46.

dichotomy decreases the significance of Jewishness in favor of non-ethnic categorization and so blurs ethnic boundaries.

*Jewishness as Configured by the Similitudes of Enoch*

The configuration of Jewishness in the Similitudes reflects the blurring of ethnic boundaries. The redacted form uses no *proper name* of the Jewish *ethnos*.<sup>248</sup> The only mention of *common ancestry* concerns Noah, the ancestor of all humanity, whose seed (HCĀ) God will establish forever and who “will be blessed and multiplied on the earth” (67:3). Neither the law, nor the temple (the two most prominent aspects of *common culture* in many other Jewish texts) are mentioned in the Similitudes.<sup>249</sup> While a covenant with Noah is mentioned, no Mosaic covenant that is limited to the *ethnos* is foreseen.<sup>250</sup> The Similitudes do, however, mention Enoch’s reception of “books of jealous wrath and rage and books of trepidation and consternation” (39:2), a reference to earlier Enochic literature. These books were likely attributed the same status by the writer/redactor as other sacred books.

Two heroes from the shared *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* are employed in the reworking of Jewishness: Enoch and Noah. While the Noahic interpolations (54:7–55:2; 60:1–10, 23–25; 65:1–69:1) use the flood as a paradigm for judgment in which righteous are saved from a destruction of the wicked, the rewriting of the story of Enoch is foundational to the boundary making strategies of 1 Enoch. The *historical memories* of Enoch are reworked in a number of ways. First, the attribution of three more visions to the figure of Enoch further embellishes the role of Enoch as a visionary: “the vision of wisdom that Enoch saw” (37:1).

---

<sup>248</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 46.

<sup>249</sup> The lack of mention should not be read as a critique. Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 54.

<sup>250</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 54. The single use of *σθηλ* (covenant) in 60:6 refers to the covenant with Noah.

Second, the third epilogue, likely added later than the original similitudes (see above), but part of the redacted form which is the focus of this study, identifies Enoch with the “son of man” figure throughout the Similitudes: “And he (that Head of Days) ... said to me (Enoch): ‘You (are) that Son of Man who was born for righteousness.’”<sup>251</sup> This Enochic “Son of Man” (46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 62:5, 7, 9, 14; 63:11, 69:26, 27, 29; 70:1; 71:14; 71:17) is interchangeably designated as “the righteous one,” (53:6), “the anointed one,” (48:10; 52:4) and “the chosen one” (40:5; 45:3, 4; 49:2, 4; 51:3, 5; 52:6, 9; 53:6; 55:4; 61:5, 8, 10; 62:1).<sup>252</sup> Unlike earlier enochic figures, this enochic “son of man” preexisted “even before the sun and the constellations were created, before the stars of heaven were made” (48:3). Enoch’s preexistence and exalted status (e.g., 45–46) serve to guarantee the vindication of the righteous (strategic *mode of normative inversion*), for the primary function of the enochic “son of man” is as the eschatological judge who will condemn the sinners who do not repent and the “mighty ones” (esp. 62:9–12) and who will save the righteous (62:13–16).<sup>253</sup>

The other common element of Jewishness that receives special focus in the Similitudes is the link to a *homeland*. Two words are used interchangeably in the Similitudes for “earth”/“land”: ጥድር : (43 times) and የብስ : (42 times).<sup>254</sup> Many of these occurrences are clearly references to the whole earth such as the phrase “those who dwell on the earth” (e.g., 37:2, 5; 40:6, 7; 48:5; 54:9; 60:5; 65:12; 66:1; 69:7), or when the contrast is with the heavens as in

---

<sup>251</sup> 71:13–14. For a discussion of the textual critical issues related to the reading of 71:13–14, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *I Enoch 2*, 327–28.

<sup>252</sup> For a helpful outline of the four names for Enoch, see. Andrei A. Orlov, “Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in the Parables of Enoch: A Departure from the Traditional Pattern?,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 110–36, esp. 124–33.

<sup>253</sup> For a good summary of the role of the son of man as judge, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *I Enoch 2*, 119–20.

<sup>254</sup> ጥድር : usually translates γῆ in the Greek Bible, which in turn translates ארץ in the Hebrew Bible. ארץ can designate the whole earth or more specific locales, such as the Land of Israel. የብስ : usually translates ξηρα in the Greek Bible, which in turn translates יבשה “dry land” in the Hebrew Bible. Nickelsburg and VanderKam conclude that these terms are used interchangeably in the Ge’ez text. *I Enoch 2*, 89.

Enoch’s ascent to heaven: “a whirlwind snatched me up from the face of the earth (𐤍𐤒𐤆 : ) and set me down within the confines of the heavens (39:3; cf. 45:4–5; 55:2; 58:5; 60:11; 69:4).<sup>255</sup> However, a number of references almost certainly refer to a *homeland* for the writer/redactor and the intended readers. Most clearly, the two occurrences of the “land (𐤍𐤒𐤆 : ) of my chosen ones” in 56:6 make explicit a link to a *homeland*. This is followed by a reference to Jerusalem as “the city of my righteous ones” (56:7).<sup>256</sup> In addition, the “kings and the mighty” are repeatedly designated as “those who possess the 𐤍𐤒𐤆 : / 𐤏𐤍𐤏” (38:4; 48:8; 62:1, 3, 6; 63:1, 9; 67:12). The eight-fold repetition, the references to the persecution of the righteous throughout the Similitudes, and the clear interest in a *homeland* in 56:6 suggest that this phrase designates the rulers of the specific land where the righteous dwell and is better rendered “land” than “earth”.<sup>257</sup> In the middle of the first century, the readers of the Similitudes would have identified this with either the Roman province of Judea, or an ideal land of Israel with inexact but enlarged borders. In the eschatological *normative inversion*, the “wicked will be driven from the presence of the righteous and chosen. And thereafter, it will not be the mighty and exalted who possess the land (𐤍𐤒𐤆 : )” (38:4), implying that the righteous again possess the land.<sup>258</sup> However, no expansion beyond “the land” is anticipated in the Similitudes, and the final dwellings of the righteous is not the land, but in the heavens “with his righteous angels, and their resting places with the holy ones” (39:5).

The absence of a Jew/nations categorical boundary in the Similitudes raises the unanswerable question whether the righteous of the Similitudes are an inner-Jewish or trans-

---

<sup>255</sup> In addition, a few references designate dry land as opposed to bodies of water: “all who dwell on the land and the sea” (53:1; cf. 60:9; 60:11; 61:10).

<sup>256</sup> The scene is the eschatological battle and the enemies are designated the Parthians and the Medes. The full text of 56:6–7 reads “They will go up and trample the land of my chosen ones, and the land of my chosen ones will be before them like a threshing floor and a path; but the city of my righteous ones will be a hindrance to their horses.”

<sup>257</sup> This follows Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 104.

<sup>258</sup> Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 102.



ethnic group. Regardless, the focus on “those who dwell on the earth” and the interest only in Jewish heroes of the past who predate Abraham (i.e., Enoch and Noah) de-emphasizes ethnic boundaries in favor of common humanity. Among humanity, 1 Enoch distinguishes the righteous (whether only Jewish or trans-ethnic) from the sinners and foresees a day when the righteous will overcome the sinners (*strategic mode of normative inversion*) while also acknowledging boundary crossing as some sinners repent and join the righteous. The boundary blurring impacts the configuration of Jewishness mostly at the level of emphasis: there is no mention of the law or Temple, but the land remains a concern. This is a rather anomalous configuration among the extant texts from the Hasmonean and Roman periods.

## Second Baruch

### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

A sixth-/seventh-century Syriac Christian Old Testament manuscript, Syriac Codex Ambrosianus (7a1), preserves the only complete copy of a late first-century Jewish apocalypse,<sup>259</sup> attributed to Jeremiah’s scribe, Baruch (2 Bar.).<sup>260</sup> The superscription of the

---

<sup>259</sup> 2 Bar. exhibits all the features of the still-widely-used Semeia definition of the apocalyptic genre: “Apocalypse’ is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.” John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins, *Semeia* 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 1–19, esp. 9. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3, 264–80. The basic two-part structure of 2 Bar. includes an appended letter (78–87) to one of the best examples of the apocalyptic genre (1–77). This study will address the two parts of 2 Bar. as a unity. Mark F. Witters summarizes “The consensus of modern scholarship is that 2 (*Syriac*) *Baruch* exhibits a literary unity . . .” *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message*, JSPSup 42 (London: Sheffield, 2003), 33. Liv Ingeborg Lied summarized, “There is a general consensus among today’s scholars that 2 *Baruch*, . . . is best approached as a coherent literary unit.” “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch: 2000–2009,” *CurBR* 9 (2011): 238–76, esp. 249. Some early scholars suggested that the letter in chaptrs 78–87 may have a separate origin. Esp., Robert H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch Translated from the Syriac: Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Black, 1896).

<sup>260</sup> First published by Antonio M. Ceriani, “Apocalypsis Baruch Syriacae,” in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana Ex Codicibus Praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 5 vols. (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1868), 5:113–80.

Syriac text states that it is translated from Greek.<sup>261</sup> The Greek text is attested in a single fragment containing 2 Bar. 12.1–13.2 and 13.11–14.3.<sup>262</sup> A semitic *Vorlage* may lie behind the Greek text,<sup>263</sup> but no current consensus prevails and the original language of 2 Bar. remains uncertain.<sup>264</sup>

The reliance on a single sixth-/seventh-century Syriac translation of 2 Bar. raises the question of how accurately the extant witness reflects the original composition.<sup>265</sup> This concern is compounded by the editors of the Greek fragment’s evaluation that the Syriac translation is a rather inaccurate rendering of the Greek.<sup>266</sup> However, while the Greek evidence indicates variation at the micro-level, it also confirms that the order and contents of chapters twelve and thirteen (those attested in Greek) remained stable.<sup>267</sup> In addition, none of the differences between the Greek and Syriac texts involve difference in meaning.<sup>268</sup> This, of course, does not guarantee

---

<sup>261</sup> “The Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch the Son of Neriah, translated from the Greek into Syriac.” Translations are from Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction,” *OTP* 1:615–52. The Syriac and Greek texts are from Daniel M. Gurtner, ed., *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text with Greek and Latin Fragments, English Translation, Introduction, and Concordances*, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 5 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009).

<sup>262</sup> P. Oxy. III 403. The fragment dates paleographically to the fourth century. Bernhard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. “403. Apocalypse of Baruch, XII-XI,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part III. Edited with Translation and Notes* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), 3–7. Cf. A rather free Medieval Arabic translation is extant, but is not useful for textual critical purposes. A. Frederik J. Klijn, “Recent Developments in the Study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” *JSP* 4 (1989): 3–17, esp. 4; Fred Leemhuis, A. Frederik J. Klijn, and Jan Van Delder Geert, eds., *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch: Edited and Translated with a Parallel Translation of the Syriac Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1986).

<sup>263</sup> For a list of scholarly opinions see Pierre Bogaert, who argues for a Greek original. *Apocalypse de Baruch*, SC 144–45 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), esp. 1:353–54.

<sup>264</sup> Mark F. Whitters concluded a semitic *Vorlage* “was not out of the question.” *The Epistle of Second Baruch*, 17. Cf. Lied, “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch,” 245.

<sup>265</sup> See especially Liv Ingeborg Lied, who concludes a study of the manuscript history of 2 Baruch by stating “it is likely that 2 Baruch has been changed during these centuries of transmission.” “2 Baruch and the Syriac Codex Ambrosianus (7a1): Studying Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in Their Manuscript Context,” *JSP* 26 (2016): 67–107, esp. 106.

<sup>266</sup> Hunt and Grenfell, “403. Apocalypse of Baruch XII–XIV,” 4.

<sup>267</sup> Liv Ingeborg Lied, “2 Baruch/Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” in *Deuterocanonical Scriptures, Textual History of the Bible 2* (Boston: Brill, 2019).

<sup>268</sup> While the Greek fragment is less expansive, the Syriac expansions include, for example, the addition of synonyms in lines in 12.3. Other differences include Greek passive and Syriac active along with agent and object in 13.12. Liv Ingeborg Lied, “2 Baruch/Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” *Textual History of the Bible*, 4 vols. (Boston: Brill, 2019).

that the Syriac text is an accurate reflection of the original composition, but it does mean that no significant differences are demonstrable. Therefore, while acknowledging the tenuousness of relying on a sixth-/seventh-century translation, this study uses the Syriac text as a relatively reliable witness for an earlier composition in either Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic.

A reference to the destruction of the temple in 70 CE sets the *terminus post quem* at 70 CE,<sup>269</sup> and the apparent unawareness of the second revolt makes a *terminus ante quem* of 132 CE reasonable. The opening line of 2 Bar. may suggest a more precise date of 83 CE: “And it happened in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, the king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch ...” (1.1). The twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah, King of Judah, is the thirteenth year after the destruction of the first temple and during Jeconiah’s exile in Babylon.<sup>270</sup> The insignificance of this twenty-fifth year in Jewish history, and its lack of symbolic parallels, suggests that the choice indicates the date of composition. Insofar as the writer uses the destruction of the first temple (586) as a literary foil for the destruction of the second temple (70 CE),<sup>271</sup> the thirteen years after the destruction suggests a date of composition of 83 CE.<sup>272</sup> Even if this precise date of

---

<sup>269</sup> “For after a short time, the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it will be rebuilt. That building will not remain; but it will again be uprooted after some time and will remain desolate for a time” (32.2–3).

<sup>270</sup> In the Hebrew Bible, the phrase, “the X year of Y” always refers to the king’s reign, rather than age. E.g., 2 Kgs 23:23. Daniel M. Gurtner, “The ‘Twenty-Fifth Year of Jeconiah’ and the Date of 2 Baruch,” *JSP* 18 (2008): 23–32, esp. 31. Cf. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1:281–89. Jeconiah (i.e. Jehoiachim) became king of Judea in 599 BCE (2 Kgs 24:8), three months before he was taken into exile in Babylon, and seventeen years before the destruction of the temple (586 BCE).

<sup>271</sup> “There is general agreement in scholarship that 2 Baruch serves as a reply to the challenges caused by the fall of Jerusalem and its temple.” Lied, “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch,” 240.

<sup>272</sup> If the “twenty-fifth year” refers to the deportation of Jeconiah (three months after the beginning of his reign), a date of 83 CE for 2 Bar. is also suggested by 1.1. C. Sigwalt, “Die Chronologie der Syrischen Baruchapokalypse,” *BZ* 9 (1911): 397–98. Others have suggested a date of 95 CE by understanding 1.1 as twenty-five years after the destruction of the temple. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1.281–89. However, 1.1 refers to a King’s reign, and not the catastrophe of 586 BCE.

83 CE is incorrect, the apparent nearness of the crisis of 70 CE provides strong support for a date sometime in the last three decades of the first century CE.<sup>273</sup>

2 Baruch was most likely composed in or around the Roman province of Judea, though the text provides no explicit indication of its provenance.<sup>274</sup> Factors that suggest a Judean provenance include thematic similarities to early rabbinic literature,<sup>275</sup> a geographical focus on Jerusalem and its environs,<sup>276</sup> and the use of Baruch as a pseudonym, situated in Jerusalem for much of 2 Bar.<sup>277</sup> If 2 Bar. were composed in Hebrew, this would further support a Judean provenance. While earlier scholarship sought to identify the writer with a specific Jewish subgroup, recent scholarship has spoken more generally about its social location as non-sectarian.<sup>278</sup>

### *Boundaries in Second Baruch*

In 2 Bar. Israel is one people (ܢܗܪܝܢ) among many peoples (ܚܘܟܝܢ).<sup>279</sup> In the apocalypse (1–77), Baruch addresses the “two tribes which remained” (1.2; cf. 63.3).<sup>280</sup> Yet Israel (ܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ);

<sup>273</sup> This point is made by George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 283. Cf. Gwendolyn B. Saylor, *Have the Promises Failed?: A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch*, SBLDS 72 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984), 104–10.

<sup>274</sup> Lied, “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch,” 261. Liv Ingeborg Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*, JSJSup 129 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 26.

<sup>275</sup> Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* 1.334, 438–44; Bruno Violet, *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt*, GCS 32 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1924), xci; Ferdinand Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule r. Akiba’s: Assumptio Mosis, das Vierte Buch Esra, die Apokalypse Baruch, das Buch Tobi*, (Leipzig: Schulze, 1885), 72.

<sup>276</sup> Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 26.

<sup>277</sup> E.g., “You (Baruch), however, stay here in the desolation of Zion ...” (10.3). Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch*, 2.

<sup>278</sup> Lied, “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch,” 246, 263. Matthias Henze concludes “that Syriac Baruch does not understand itself as a sectarian document, and that it was not written in opposition to any other form of Judaism.” “Torah and Eschatology in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch,” in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 12 (Boston: Brill, 2008), 201–16, esp. 210.

<sup>279</sup> E.g., “you and those who are like you (Baruch), those who have seen this evil and retribution coming over you (Baruch) and your nation (ܢܗܪܝܢ) in their own time, may say to them that the nations (ܚܘܟܝܢ) will be thoroughly punished” (13.5). In addition, Israel is contrasted with “the rest of the nations (ܚܘܟܝܢ)” (14.5).

<sup>280</sup> The remaining tribes are also called Judah (ܝܘܕܐ; 63.2; 66.1). Most often Judah is addressed as “this people” (ܢܗܪܝܢ; cf. 1.2, 4; 4.1; 6.1, 2; 10.5; 44.1, 4; 45.1; 48.19; 77.1).

3.5; 17.4; 31.3; 46.4; 60.2; 62.4; 72.4; 77.13) includes “twelve tribes, bound by one captivity ... descend[ed] from one father” (78.4; cf. 84.3). The concluding epistle (78–87) is addressed to “the nine and a half tribes” (78.1; cf. 1.2; 77.17). The “nations” (أُمَمَات) are mostly a catch-all category.<sup>281</sup> The only contemporary *ethnos* singled out by the writer of 2 Bar. is the Roman *ethnos*, which is symbolized by a cedar tree (36.5–11; 39.5–40.3) that will be uprooted in the Messianic age (39.7).<sup>282</sup>

There is also an important non-ethnic boundary between the righteous and sinners: “the days are coming, and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and moreover, also the treasuries ... of all those who have proven themselves to be righteous” (24.1). The unrighteous are those who do not observe the law.<sup>283</sup> The boundary between the sinners and the righteous subdivides Israel, for Baruch acknowledges that “those who are among your own, you rule; and those who sin, you blot out among your own” (54.22). All of the nations are among the unrighteous, for it is only their pride that kept them from knowing the law, “for each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he acted unrighteously, and they did not know my law because of their pride” (48.40). In summary, 2 Bar. includes a categorical boundary that distinguishes the Jewish *ethnos* from the nations. The text shows interest in only one *ethnos* among the *ethnē* (Romans), but all members of the nations are sinners. Among the Jewish *ethnos* a non-ethnic boundary distinguishes sinners from righteous.

---

<sup>281</sup> See further, 1.4[2x]; 13.6; 13.11; 14.2, 5; 42.4, 5; 58.1; 61.2; 62.7; 63.3; 66.2; 68. 6, 8; 70.7; 2; 82.4; 83.5. The one parallel instance of أُمَمَات in the Greek fragment reads τα ἔθνη (13.11).

<sup>282</sup> The “enemies” (7.1; 8.2; 80.1) of 2 Bar. are the Chaldeans (6.1; 8.3), but they do not seem to represent the writer’s contemporary Romans. The few people groups identified by name (Egyptians, 58.1–2; and Amorites, 60.1) represent historical enemies of Israel, and not the writer’s contemporaries.

<sup>283</sup> “For behold, I see many of your people who separated themselves from your statutes and who have cast away from them the yoke of your law” (41.3).

*Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

After the first revolt in 70 CE, the Roman province of Judea experienced an increased Roman presence, a decreased Jewish demographic, and a reworked *distribution of power* that relegated the Jewish *ethnos* to the bottom of the ranked boundary system. In the social field with these new *field characteristics*, the writer of 2 Bar. attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion* of all Jew/non-Jew boundaries by attributing apocalyptic visions to Baruch (a discursive strategic *means* of boundary making) that foresee the imminent fall of Rome,<sup>284</sup> and the subjugation of all peoples to the messiah.<sup>285</sup> The messiah “will call all nations (כָּל־בְּרִיּוֹת), and some of them he will spare, and others he will kill. ... Every nation (כָּל־עַמ) which has not known Israel and which has not trodden down the seed of Jacob will live ... All those, now, who have ruled over you or have known you, will be delivered up to the sword” (72.2–6). In light of the violent expectation, Frederick J. Murphy makes the important point that the writer advocates pacifism.<sup>286</sup> For it is God who brings about the fall of Rome, and the responsibility of the Jewish *ethnos* is to be obedient to the law.<sup>287</sup>

However, not all members of the Jewish *ethnos* will be part of the Messianic age, but only those who keep the law: “those who proved to be righteous on account of [God’s] law ... will receive the undying world” (51.3) while “those who do not love [God’s] law are justly

---

<sup>284</sup> “And I saw, and behold, that vice opened its mouth and spoke and said to the cedar, ‘Are you not that cedar which remained of the forest of wickedness? ... now your time has hastened and your hour has come. Therefore O cedar, follow the forest which has departed before you and become ashes with it” (36.7–10; cf. 39.7–40.4).

<sup>285</sup> “And it will happen that everyone who will save himself and escape from all things ... will be delivered into the hands of my servant, the anointed one” (70.10).

<sup>286</sup> “2 Baruch and the Romans,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 663–69.

<sup>287</sup> E.g., “Enjoy yourselves in the suffering which you suffer now. For why do you look for the decline of your enemies? Prepare your souls for that which is kept for you, and make ready your souls for the reward which is preserved for you” (52.6–7).

perishing” (54.14).<sup>288</sup> These unrighteous among Israel who do not observe the law, also flee to the Romans: “... all who are polluted with unrighteousness will flee to it (the cedar which symbolizes Rome)” (39.6; cf. 42.4–5). This splitting of Israel into the righteous and sinners represents a second strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission* and enables the writer to limit the strategic *mode of normative inversion* to the “righteous,” law-observing members of the Jewish *ethnos*. The reversal of power roles is described vividly in Baruch’s vision: “When they, therefore, will see that those over whom they are exalted now will then be more exalted and glorified than they, then both these and those will be changed, these into the splendor of angels and those into startling visions and horrible shapes; and they will waste away even more. For they will first see and then they will go away to be tormented” (51.5–6).

Accordingly, 2 Bar. attempts a common dual boundary making strategy of *normative inversion* and *boundary contraction* through *fission*. While for texts that date to the Early Roman period before the first revolt only the Jew/Roman boundary was inverted, for 2 Bar., written after the destruction of the temple and the demotion of the Jewish *ethnos* to the bottom of the ranked boundary system, this same strategy of *normative inversion* attempts to flip the hierarchy across all Jew/non-Jew boundaries in and around Roman Judea. This more encompassing boundary making strategy is accompanied by a more cosmic earthly/otherworldly dichotomy that impacts the configuration of Jewishness.

---

<sup>288</sup> “For at that time the lamp of the eternal law which exists forever and ever illuminated all those who sat in darkness. This (lamp) will announce to those who believe the promise of their reward and to those who deny the punishment of the fire which is kept for them” (59.2).

*Jewishness as Configured by Second Baruch*

The writer of 2 Bar. grounds his strategic *mode of normative inversion* in an earthly/otherworldly dichotomy.<sup>289</sup> For the writer, the otherworld is a present heavenly reality, which will become a future earthly reality: “For they shall see that world which is now invisible to them, and they will see a time which is now hidden to them.”<sup>290</sup> While the present earthly reality is impermanent and corruptible, the other world is permanent and incorruptible: “For that which is now is nothing. But that which is in the future will be very great. For everything will pass away which is corruptible” (44.8–9) but “that period is coming which will remain forever; and there is the new world which does not carry back to corruption ...” (44.12). The present heavenly reality of the incorruptible world guarantees the future reality of various common elements of Jewishness which are vulnerable in the writer’s present,<sup>291</sup> especially the land (*homeland*) and the temple (*common culture*).

First, the pseudonymous Baruch mourns about the present that “we have left our land, and Zion has been taken away from us” (85.3). However, in the eschaton, the “holy land will

---

<sup>289</sup> Frederick J. Murphy summarizes: “(the writer) adapted the two-world concept to his own purposes by dwelling on the ontological difference between the two aeons, and then by locating the Temple and Jerusalem firmly in the present, passing aeon. He thereby relativized the importance of the fall of Zion.” *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, SBLDS 78 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 9, cf. 31–70.

<sup>290</sup> 51.8. The writer clearly assumes the earthly nature of the future restoration when Baruch sees the earthly temple vessels hidden in the earth until they are restored on the earth: “And I saw that he descended in the Holy of Holies and he took ... all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. And he said to the earth with a loud voice: ‘Earth, earth, earth ... receive the things which I commit to you, and guard them until the last times, so that you may restore them when you are ordered’” (6.7–8). Carla Sulzbach, “The Fate of Jerusalem in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra: From Earth to Heaven and Back?,” in *Interpreting 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: International Studies*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Jason Zurawski, LSTS 87 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 138–52, esp. 146. *Pace* Murphy, who sees the incorruptible world as exclusively heavenly. *Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*, 67.

<sup>291</sup> Sulzbach, “The Fate of Jerusalem,” 152.



have mercy on its own and will protect its inhabitants at that time.”<sup>292</sup> The future significance of the land reinforces its continuing importance for the writer and his contemporaries.<sup>293</sup>

Second, the continued importance of the temple (*religion* as subcategory of *common culture*) is guaranteed by the existence of an otherworldly prototype. The current earthly temple had been polluted (5.1) and then destroyed (8.4).<sup>294</sup> However, a heavenly temple is preserved with God in paradise (4.6) and was shown to Adam, Abraham, and Moses (4.3; 59.4). In the messianic age, “Zion will be rebuilt again, and the offerings will be restored, and the priests will again return to their ministry. And the nations will again come to honor it. But not as fully as before” (67.5–6). Further, the destruction of the temple was brought about by God, as a result of disobedience to the law. The Babylonians (i.e., Romans) did not destroy the city walls, but angels did,<sup>295</sup> and only after God had left to temple,<sup>296</sup> and the holy vessels had been safely hidden.<sup>297</sup>

In the temporary absence of an earthly temple and a vulnerable relationship with the *homeland*, the importance of Torah observance is elevated.<sup>298</sup> For the writer, the Torah exudes

---

<sup>292</sup> 71.1; cf. 28.7–29.2. Daniel J. Harrington points out that in the eschaton, the holy land will function as a divinely designated protection zone. Daniel J. Harrington, “The ‘Holy Land’ in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 661–72.

<sup>293</sup> Henze writes “after all, the apocalyptic promise ... seeks to motivate and to encourage the faithful. “Torah and Eschatology,” 202–3.

<sup>294</sup> For the writer, sin may also be seen as a form of impurity. E.g., “... all who are polluted with unrighteousness will flee to it (the cedar which symbolizes Rome)” (39.6; cf. 42.4–5).

<sup>295</sup> “After these things I heard the angel saying to the angels who held the torches: Now destroy the walls and overthrow them to their foundations so that the enemies do not boast and say, ‘We have overthrown the walls of Zion and we have burnt down the place of the mighty God’ (7.1).

<sup>296</sup> “A voice was heard from the midst of the temple after the wall had fallen, saying: ‘Enter, enemies, and come, adversaries, because he who guarded the house has left it’ (8.1–2).

<sup>297</sup> “And I saw that he descended in the Holy of Holies and that he took ... all the holy vessels of the tabernacle” (6.7).

<sup>298</sup> Numerous scholars understand the exhortation to law observance as the main message of the 2 Bar. Esp., Shannon Burkes, “‘Life’ Redefined: Wisdom and Law in Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch,” *CBQ* 63 (2001): 55–71, esp. 70–1; Martin Leuenberger, “Ort und Funktion der Wolkenvision und ihrer Deutung in der Syrischen Baruchapokalypse: Eine These zu deren thematischer Entfaltung,” *JSJ* 36 (2005): 206–46, esp. 237–40; Henze, “Torah and Eschatology,” 215.

“the perfume of righteousness” (67.6) and is called “that light in which nothing can err” (19.3). Possession of Torah distinguishes between Israel and the nations: “We shall always be blessed; at least we did not mingle with the nations (لَمْ نَخْتَلِكْ). For we are all a people (شعب) of the name; We, who have received one Law from the one [God].”<sup>299</sup> Further, disobedience was the reason for the destruction and foreign domination: “have you seen all that this people are doing to me ...? Behold, therefore, I shall bring evil upon this city and its inhabitants. And it will be taken away from before my presence for a time” (1.2–4). Therefore, Torah obedience is the only way to righteousness, and in the eschaton Torah obedience will distinguish between the righteous and sinners, for “the glory of those who proved to be righteous on account of my law ... their splendor will then be glorified by transformations” (51.3).

The writer rewrites aspects of the shared *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* to reinforce the two strategic *modes* of boundary making, and the accompanying configuration of Jewishness. First, Adam serves as a prototype of the sinner whose long earthly life was of no benefit.<sup>300</sup> While Adam brought death, Moses brought light through the law (17.4–18.2). Second, the idealized reigns of David and Solomon are said to have been sinless, and thereby function as precedence for the expected future restoration of the land: “the land which received mercy, since its inhabitants did not sin, was praised above all countries and the city of Zion ruled over all countries and regions at that time” (61.7). Third, the existence of a heavenly temple is buttressed by claims that it was shown to Adam, Abraham, and Moses (4.3). Finally, the attribution of visions to Jeremiah’s scribe Baruch functions as a guarantee of the eschatological reversal and ultimate victory of the righteous among Israel over the nations.

---

<sup>299</sup> 48.23–24. Henze, “Torah and Eschatology,” 202.

<sup>300</sup> E.g., “for what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years and transgressed that which was commanded?” (71.2; Cf. 18.2; 23.4; 48.42; 54.15, 19; 56.5).

While *common ancestry* is an important feature of Jewishness in 2 Bar.,<sup>301</sup> the writer appears to adopt a hospitable posture toward proselytes and therefore does not define Jewishness in strictly genealogical terms. The pseudonymous Baruch directly asks God about the Jewish apostate and the proselyte from the nations when he states: “I see many of your people who separated themselves from your statutes and who have cast away from them the yoke of your law. Further, I have seen others who left behind their vanity and who fled under your wings” (41.3–4).<sup>302</sup> The divine answer to Baruch’s question distinguishes between those who “mingled (מְבַלְבְּלִים) themselves with the seed of the mingled (מְבַלְבְּלִים) nations (גוֹיִם)” and those who “mingled (מְבַלְבְּלִים) with the seed of the people who have separated themselves” (42.4–5). While the precise meaning of the divine response is unclear,<sup>303</sup> both question and answer adopt a hospitable posture toward the proselyte, indicating that the writer acknowledged the possibility of conversion, and did not define Jewishness in strictly genealogical terms.

In summary, the non-sectarian perspective of 2 Bar. attempts two simultaneous boundary-making strategies of *normative inversion* and *boundary contraction* in an attempt to rework the boundary system in Roman Judea that, after 70, now placed Jews at the bottom of the hierarchically ranked boundary system. The ambitious relocation of Jewishness from the bottom to the top of the ranked boundary system was accomplished by an otherworldly/earthly dichotomy in which the expected future, with a heavenly temple, was already present in the other world. With the arrival of a messiah, this heavenly world would come down and renew Jewish

---

<sup>301</sup> Like many texts, Israel is called the “seed” (זרע) of Jacob (e.g., 17.3; 31.3) and the pseudonymous Baruch appeals to *common ancestry* when he writes to the nine-and-a-half tribes: “are we not all ... descend[ed] from one father?” (78.4).

<sup>302</sup> “who fled under your wings” (מִיֵּשְׁבֵי חַטְפֵיךָ). In Ruth 2:12, Boaz uses the identical phrase “who fled under your wings” (אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָה לְחַסוֹת תַּחַת־כַּנְפֵיךָ) of Ruth. The phrase is also used in rabbinic literature to designate the proselyte. Bogaert, *Baruch*, 2.75. Cf. Terence L Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish patterns of universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 185–93. There is also no indication that the writer denies that the apostates are still Jews.

<sup>303</sup> Bogaert writes *Cette précision est un peu inattendue. Baruch, 2:75–78.*

autonomy in the *homeland*. In the meantime, Israel is distinguished from the nations by Torah, and righteous observance will both bring about the messianic age and separate the participants in the messianic age from those outside.

#### 4 Ezra

##### *Genre, Date, Provenance, Social Location, and Manuscript Evidence*

An apocalypse attributed to “Salathiel, who is also Ezra” (*Salathiel, qui et Ezras*), was written sometime around the end of the first century CE.<sup>304</sup> A Semitic original<sup>305</sup> was translated into Greek,<sup>306</sup> which served as the *Vorlage* for the extant Latin, Syriac, Ge’ez, Armenian, and Coptic translations.<sup>307</sup> These five translations fall into two textual branches.<sup>308</sup> This study will rely on the Latin and Syriac versions, which make up the more important branch of the textual witnesses and the better attested texts.<sup>309</sup>

---

<sup>304</sup> The date of composition can be placed during the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE). The vision of the three-headed eagle (11.1–12.5) most likely represents the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The vision foresees the messiah bringing an end to the third eagle (12.31–32), indicating that the third eagle (Domitian) still rules during the writer’s present. Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Herm (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 10; Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, AB 42 (New York: Doubleday, 1974), 129. For a summary of scholarly opinions, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, “Dating the Eagle Vision of 4 Ezra: A New Look at an Old Theory,” *JSP* 20 (1999): 3–38.

<sup>305</sup> 4 Ezra was most likely written in Hebrew, but an Aramaic original cannot be disproven. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 10–11.

<sup>306</sup> The existence of a Greek *Vorlage* was conclusively shown by Gerard Mussies, “When Graecisms Prove That a Latin Text Is a Translation,” in *Vruchten van de Uithof: H. A. Brongers FS*, ed., A. R. Hulst (Utrecht: Theologisch Instituut, 1984), 100–19. The few citations of the Greek text are compiled in Albert-Marie Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca una cum historicorum et auctorum Judaeorum Hellenistarum fragmentis*, PVTG 3 (Boston: Brill, 1970), 130–32.

<sup>307</sup> For a list of the critical texts of these editions, see Alin Suciu, “On a Bilingual Copto-Arabic Manuscript of 4 Ezra and the Reception of This Pseudepigraphon in Coptic Literature,” *JSP* 25 (2015): 3–22, esp. 5–6.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. Robert Pierpont Blake, “The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript,” *HTR* 19 (1926): 299–375, esp. 308–14.

<sup>309</sup> Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 3. The Latin text is that of Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*, TUGAL 131 (Berlin: Akademie, 1983). The Syriac text is that of Raphael J. Bidawid, ed., “IV Ezra,” in *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 4.3:i–iv, 1–50. The Latin text is chapters 3–14 of II Esdras in Vulgate manuscripts. Chapters 1–2, and 15–16 are later additions and do not appear in any other versions. The other versions attest to a portion of chapter 7 not in Latin. This study includes this portion of chapter 7 as part of the original text. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 4.

The structure of 4 Ezra consists of three dialogues between Ezra and the angel Uriel (3.1–9.25), three apocalyptic visions (9.26–13.59),<sup>310</sup> and an epilogue in which Ezra writes down the law and addresses the people (14.1–49). This sophisticated seven-part structure strongly suggests the literary unity of 4 Ezra, but does not exclude the possibility that the writer used sources.<sup>311</sup>

There is a general consensus that 4 Ezra was written in Roman Judea. While no unambiguous evidence exists, the certainty of a Semitic original, its interest in the temple, and its relationship to Baruch make a provenance in or around Roman Judea most likely.<sup>312</sup> An elitist social location for the writer and intended readers is suggested by the distinction in the epilogue between the twenty-four public books and the seventy reserved only for the wise.<sup>313</sup>

### *Boundaries in 4 Ezra*

The writer of 4 Ezra follows the biblical narrative when tracing the origin of all “nations (*gentes*; *גוים*) and tribes, peoples (*populi*; *עַמִּים*) and clans,” back through Noah (3.11–12) to Adam (3.7). Among the descendants of Noah, God chose Jacob and his descendants: “And you set apart Jacob for yourself, but Esau you rejected; and Jacob became a great multitude” (3.16; cf. 6.8–10). The descendants of Jacob are designated “Israel” (3.19, 32; 4.23; 5.18, 33, 35; 8.16; 14.28) and represent one people among many peoples: “from all the multitude of people

---

<sup>310</sup> The first vision (9.26–10.59) is transitional as Ezra’s complaint is answered with a vision. Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Ezra’s Vision of the Lady: The Form and Function of a Turning Point,” in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*, ed. Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, JSJSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 137–50.

<sup>311</sup> For a nice summary of the unity of 4 Ezra see Karina Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution*, JSJSup 130, (Boston: Brill, 2008), 1–40. Hogan summarizes: “the majority of scholars now regard 4 Ezra as a unified literary composition, albeit one that draws on older and sometimes conflicting traditions.” *Theologies in Conflict*, 3; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 22–23.

<sup>312</sup> Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 10.

<sup>313</sup> “The Most High spoke to me, saying, ‘Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people.’” (14.47–48). Unless noted, English translations are from Bruce M. Metzger, trans., “The Fourth Book of Ezra: A New Translation and Introduction,” *OTP* 1:517–60. Cf. Michael A. Knibb, “Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 Ezra,” *JSJ* 13 (1982): 56–74, esp. 72; Hogan, *Conflicting Theologies*, 222–27.

(*populis*; ܥܡܡܝܢܐ) you have gotten for yourself one people (*populum*; ܥܡܝܢܐ)” (5.27; cf. 6.56). In the narrative setting, Ezra is in Babylon, and addresses the exiles from the southern kingdom (3.1; 12.40–51), but Israel also includes the ten northern tribes, who have separated themselves from the nations in their exile (13.40–45).

The nations in 4 Ezra are usually undifferentiated. They are designated *gens/gentes* (e.g., 3.32, 36; 4.23) and *populus* (e.g., 3.7; 5.27) in Latin, and ܥܡܡܝܢܐ/ܥܡܝܢܐ in Syriac (3.7, 3.32, 36; 4.23; 5.27). While the two denials that God chose Esau (3.15; 6.8–10) may be directed at the writer’s contemporary Idumean *ethnos* (both those who assimilated to the Jewish *ethnos* and any who remained distinct), nothing further is made of these persons and no explicit Idumean polemic appears in the text.

The Romans are the only contemporary *ethnos* that the writer addresses, though they are never named. In Ezra’s fifth vision (11–12), Rome is depicted as an eagle (a common symbol of Roman military standards), and its downfall as the disappearance of the eagle’s head and the burning of the eagle’s body (12.1–3).<sup>314</sup> Insofar as the Babylonians function as a narrative foil for the Romans, statements foreseeing the fall of Babylon can also be understood to refer to the Romans: “and the land which you now see ruling shall be waste and untrodden and men shall see it desolate” (5.3).<sup>315</sup>

There is also a righteous/sinners dichotomy in 4 Ezra, but only in the first three dialogues (3.1–9.25) and the first transitional vision (9.26–10.59). The righteous are those who keep the law, even when it is dangerous: “they laboriously served the Most High, and withstood danger every hour, that they might keep the law of the lawgiver perfectly” (7.89). In contrast, sinners are “those who have shown scorn and have not kept the way of the Most High, and who have

---

<sup>314</sup> Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 348; Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 288.

<sup>315</sup> Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 108, 110.

despised his law, and who have hated those who fear God” (7.79). Accordingly, law obedience separates righteous Israel from sinful Israel. While Ezra objects that all people have sinned (e.g., 3.20–27), and none are righteous, God rebukes Ezra, saying “you have often compared yourself to the unrighteous. Never do so!” (8.47) and he further states that there are “those who are like you” (8.52). The law also distinguishes Israel from the other nations, for “from all the multitude of people you have gotten for yourself one people; and to this people, whom you have loved, you have given the Law which is approved by all” (5.27). In contrast to Israel which includes some righteous ones, “every nation walked after its own will and did ungodly things before you and scorned you, and you did not hinder them.”<sup>316</sup> 4 Ezra, then, includes the common Jew/nations boundary, and a sinners/righteous boundary that subdivides the Jewish *ethnos*. However, these boundaries are reworked in a slightly different way.

### *Strategies of Boundary Renegotiation*

The writer’s strategic engagement in the boundary system of Roman Judea is closely related to two important questions about the purpose of 4 Ezra. The first question concerns the relationship between the writer’s own view and the two opposing viewpoints of Ezra and Uriel in the three dialogues (3.1–9.25). While Uriel insists that only those who have not sinned will be saved, Ezra complains that all have sinned and therefore none will be saved.<sup>317</sup> Attempts to identify the writer’s own view with either Ezra’s pessimism, or Uriel’s legalism are

---

<sup>316</sup> 3.8, At least once, the nations are condemned for not following the law: “For this reason, therefore, those who dwell on earth shall be tormented, because though they had understanding they committed iniquity, and though they received the commandments they did not keep them, and though they obtained the law they dealt unfaithfully with what they received” (7.72).

<sup>317</sup> E.g., Uriel states “For God strictly commanded those who came into the world, when they came, what they should do to live, and what they should observe to avoid punishment” (7.21). Ezra complains, “For in truth there is no one among those who have been born who has not acted wickedly, and among those who have existed there is no one who has not transgressed” (8.35).

unsatisfactory because the dialogues end without a resolution.<sup>318</sup> Therefore, it is more likely that the writer's own view is neither that of Ezra nor Uriel.<sup>319</sup> The second question concerns the relationship between the dialogues (3.1–9.25) and the visions (9.26–13.59), and particularly how to explain perceived tensions between the pessimistic vision of the few individually saved persons in the dialogues and the descriptions of collective national redemption foreseen in the visions.<sup>320</sup> Solutions to this second issue that identify disparate sources for the dialogues, on the one hand, and the visions, on the other, must assume a less-than-competent redactor, which does not fit well with the skilled structure of the final composition.<sup>321</sup> Both questions are resolved when the visions are seen as the (admittedly indirect) response to the unresolved dialogue.<sup>322</sup> According to this approach, the writer does not adopt either Uriel's or Ezra's position.<sup>323</sup> Therefore the writer does not, following Ezra, collapse a righteous/sinners dichotomy by claiming all are sinners, which would negate any *mode of normative inversion*. The writer also does not, following Uriel, make law observance a defining characteristic of the righteous, which

---

<sup>318</sup> Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*, 3. For the writer as Uriel, see especially Wolfgang Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse*, FRLANT 97 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm. 5, 12–21 (1. Kor. 15)*, WMANT 7 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1962), 27–36.

<sup>319</sup> Similarly, John Barclay writes “it is unwise to identify the authorial viewpoint, in a simply sense, with either Ezra or Uriel.” *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 282.

<sup>320</sup> E.g., In the third dialogue, Uriel states “for I will rejoice over the few who shall be saved ... and I will not grieve over the multitude of those who perish.” (7.60–61). In contrast, in the third vision, Ezra sees a “man come down from the mountain and call to him another multitude which was peaceable. Then many people came to him, ...” (13.12–13).

<sup>321</sup> The main source-critical studies of 4 Ezra were published nearly a century or more ago. Richard Kabisch, *Das vierte buch Esra auf seine quellen untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1889); G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse: Being Chapters 3–14 of the Book Commonly Known as 4 Ezra (or II Esdras)* (London: Pitman, 1912); W. O. E. Oesterley, *II Esdras (the Ezra Apocalypse): With Introduction and Notes*, WC (London: Methuen, 1933). Scholarship now largely sees the work as a unity. See especially the summary of scholarship in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 11–23.

<sup>322</sup> This approach follows Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*, 4.

<sup>323</sup> Hogan sees Uriel's and Ezra's positions as representing competing theologies among late first-century Jews. *Theologies in Conflict*, 222–27. This seems likely, but does not factor into this discussion.



would elevate the significance of *common culture* (addressed in the next section).<sup>324</sup> Rather, the writer's strategic *mode* of boundary making is to be found in the apocalyptic visions, and not the dialogue.<sup>325</sup>

The writer resolves the debate between Uriel and Ezra by shifting the frame of reference to the certainty of corporate Israel's vindication, which for the writer entails the destruction of the nations.<sup>326</sup> Therefore, three apocalyptic visions represent a strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman boundary, and the boundaries between the Jews and the other *ethnē* in and around Roman Judea.

Overlapping parts of this future expectation are present in the three visions. In the first vision (9.26–59), Ezra sees a woman who was weeping for her children transformed into a city set on firm foundations (9.26–27), which Uriel identifies as a new splendid Jerusalem (9.47–48, 55). In the second vision (11.1–12.51), Ezra sees an eagle whose destruction is proclaimed by a lion (11.36–46). Uriel explains that the eagle is the fourth beast of Daniel and the lion is the Messiah (12.10–39). In the third vision (13.1–58) Ezra sees a man come out of the sea and defeat all the nations (13.8–11) before welcoming a peaceful people (13.12–13). Uriel explains that the man is the messiah, and the peaceful people are the exiles of the ten northern tribes who have remained separate from the nations and who will be brought back to the land (13.39–45). The messianic age, then, includes the future restoration and transformation of Jerusalem,<sup>327</sup> the

---

<sup>324</sup> Pace E. P. Sanders who argues 4 Ezra is the lone exception to covenantal nomism between 200 BCE and 200 CE. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM, 1977), 409, 418. Barclay, citing Sanders, writes "There is no reason to dub this fitting reward as a form of 'legalism' or 'works-righteousness' . . . . The works of the righteous are the expression of their 'faith(fulness)' and service to God (cf. 6.5; 9.7; 13.23), and their 'reward' (*merces*) represents the normal construal of benefaction that distributes benefits to the worthy (cf. 12.9, 36; 13.14). *Paul and the Gift*, 307.

<sup>325</sup> Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*, 228; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 231; Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, 282

<sup>326</sup> Hogan, *Theologies in Conflict*, 228.

<sup>327</sup> E.g., "And I looked, and behold, the woman was no longer visible to me, but there was an established city, and a place of huge foundations showed itself" (10.27); "And Zion will come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built, as you saw the mountain carved out without hands" (13.36).

destruction of Rome<sup>328</sup> along with all the nations<sup>329</sup> at the hand of the Messiah, and the return of the scattered remnant of Israel.<sup>330</sup>

In these same visions, no distinction is made between righteous and sinful members within Israel. Rather, salvation is perceived as communal and national and the final state of the eschatological age includes only members of the Jewish *ethnos*. Therefore, the writer of 4 Ezra does not attempt a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* as he foresees the future salvation of both the sinners and righteous among the Jewish *ethnos*.

### *Jewishness as Configured by 4 Ezra*

Two aspects of the ethnic-configuration of 4 Ezra are reworked. First, the uniquely authoritative status of the law is relativized in the epilogue (14.1–48) by positing the existence of seventy secret books.<sup>331</sup> The very last scene of the epilogue depicts Ezra dictating ninety-four books to his five scribes. A divine voice commands Ezra to make twenty-four of these public, but to keep the other seventy for the wise among the people.<sup>332</sup> The twenty-four books almost certainly represent a collection of Jewish sacred texts,<sup>333</sup> while the seventy books likely represent

---

<sup>328</sup> E.g., “therefore, you will surely disappear, you eagle, and your terrifying wings ... so that the whole earth, freed from your violence, may be refreshed and relieved” (11.45–46).

<sup>329</sup> E.g., “and he, my son, will reprove the assembled nations for the ungodliness ... and he will destroy them without effort” (13.37–38; cf. 13.11–13).

<sup>330</sup> E.g., “And as for your seeing him gather to himself another multitude that was peaceable, these are the ten tribes, which were led away from their own land into captivity .... They formed this plan for themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the nations and go to a more distant region, ... that there at least they might keep their statutes which they had not kept in their own land” (13.40–42; cf. 13.12–13).

<sup>331</sup> Elsewhere in 4 Ezra, Torah observance (*common culture*) is a prominent theme in the dialogues (e.g., 3.19; 4.23; 5.27; 7.72; 9.37), but not in the visions, where this study locates the writer’s own vision of Jewishness. Therefore, Uriel’s insistence on perfect observance of the law cannot be taken to be the writer’s own understanding. Pace Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 415.

<sup>332</sup> “The Most High spoke to me, saying, ‘Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people’” (14.45–48).

<sup>333</sup> Michael Stone writes “All seem agreed that the twenty-four books are the books of the Bible,” *Fourth Ezra*, 441; Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 326.

esoteric books like 4 Ezra.<sup>334</sup> Whatever the exact identity of the seventy books, Ezra is told that “in them (and by implication not in the twenty-four) is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge” (14.47). The writer, therefore, relativizes the authority of earlier Jewish sacred texts in order to boost the authority of his own work. The writer’s positioning of the twenty-four books—including Torah—as secondary to the hidden seventy complements his argument against a strict view of law observance—represented by both Ezra’s pessimism and Uriel’s legalism—in favor of an emphasis on the covenant which guarantees the deliverance of both the righteous and sinners among Israel. In this way the place of the law in Ezra’s ethnic-configuration of Jewishness is impacted by his boundary making strategy that elevates collective Israel without a righteous/sinner distinction above the neighboring nations.

Second, the link to a *homeland* has a special significance for the writer of 4 Ezra. While God has chosen a people for himself (3.7; 6.54), he has also chosen a land: “from all the lands of the world you have chosen for yourself one region” (5.24). In addition, the link to a *homeland* for other *ethnē* is also emphasized. Most conspicuously, the foreign rulers (Babylon/Rome) are designated as a “land which you now see ruling” (5.3). Most remarkably, however, in the future messianic age, the protection for Israel is limited to those who are in the land: “those who are left of your people (*populo tuo*;  $\text{עַמִּי}$ ), who are found within my holy borders, shall be saved” (13.48). Prior to this, the ten exiled tribes will be brought back to the land (13.39–45). Interestingly, while law observance is not a criterion for eschatological deliverance, dwelling within the land is. In this way, 4 Ezra presents a unique call to the diaspora to return, even after the catastrophic events of the first Jewish revolt against Rome.

---

<sup>334</sup> Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 439.

### **Strategies of Boundary Making: Summary**

#### *Strategic Means of Boundary Making*

Each of the above eight texts, written by members of the Jewish *ethnos* in or around Judea during the early Roman period (63 BCE–132 CE), represent *discursive* means of boundary making. In addition, none of the texts provide evidence for non-discursive *means* of boundary making (e.g., from the Hasmonean period 1QS and D represent strategic means of *legalized discrimination*). *Discursive* strategic means use *categorization* and *identification* to make and remake ethnic boundaries. With the exception of the Similitudes, all texts include a categorical boundary between the Jewish *ethnos* and other *ethnē*. Each of the texts with a Jew/nations boundary include a specific Jew/Roman boundary. This is not surprising considering that the Romans are the ruling power during this period. No other specific ethnic boundaries are the focus of these texts.<sup>335</sup> Six of the eight texts (exceptions: Similitudes, Pss. Sol.) distinguish two groups within Israel that correspond to the ancient southern/northern kingdom distinction.

In addition to the ethnic boundaries, all eight texts include non-ethnic categories in which membership is based on behavior. These non-ethnic boundaries interact with the ethnic boundaries in different ways. These boundaries are variously labeled righteous/sinners (Pss. Sol., Similitudes, 2 Bar., 4 Ezra), simple/wicked (4QpNah), “those who do the commands”/“those who neglect the commandments” (T. Mos.), elect/traitors (1QpHab), and sons of light/sons of darkness (1QM).

In contrast to the Hasmonean period, no textual evidence from the early Roman period represents an elite or ruling class ethnic-configuration of Jewishness (e.g., 1 Macc; Eupolemus)

---

<sup>335</sup> The 4QpNah also shows interest in the Greeks, but does not rework the Jew/Greek boundary in the extant text. While 1QM mentions numerous neighboring peoples, none of the boundaries between Jews and these neighboring peoples are reworked in ways different from the surrounding people groups.

with access to official means of boundary making. The ingroup in both 1QpHab and 4QpNah are most likely subgroups within the Jewish *ethnos*, and the ingroup in 1QM and Similitudes may be the same. The remaining four texts, Pss. Sol., T. Mos., 2 Bar. and 4 Ezra, provide no indication of a distinct sub-Jewish identity.

### *Strategic Modes of Boundary Making*

The arrival of Pompey in 63 BCE represents a successful Roman strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* of the Jew/Roman boundary while Pompey's removal of the conquered cities represents a Roman strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* of the Jew/Greek boundary. This *exogenous shift* altered the distribution of power in and around Judea where Romans replaced Jews as the privileged people group and Jews were demoted below both Greeks and Romans. Jewish securing of privileges from Caesar in 47 BCE, including a Mediterranean port at Joppa, represented a successful strategic *mode* of *equalization* across the Jew/Greek boundary. This distribution of power persisted until the Jewish revolt (an unsuccessful strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* by means of coercion and violence) which resulted in the demotion of the Jewish *ethnos* to the bottom of the ranked boundary system in Roman Judea after 70 CE. It is in the context of this new power distribution that the eight texts attempt different *modes* of boundary renegotiation.

All seven texts that include a Jew/nations boundary resituate the Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the hierarchical ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea. This represents a strategic *mode* of *normative inversion* of different ethnic boundaries depending on the shifting distribution of power. First, for the texts composed in the latter part of the first century BCE when Jewishness is ranked second to Romanness (1QpHab, 4QpNah, Pss. Sol., and 1QM) only the Jew/Roman boundary is reversed. Second, for the two texts composed in the early first

century when there is no ranked difference between Jewishness and Greekness (T. Mos., Similitudes), in addition to a reversal of the Jew/Roman boundary, the attempt to place the Jewish *ethnos* atop the hierarchical boundary system creates a new ranked difference that elevates Jews above Greeks. Finally, for those texts written after the revolt when Jewishness is relocated at the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy (4 Ezra and 2 Bar.), the writer's elevation of Jewishness represents a strategy of *normative inversion* of the Jewish *ethnos* over all other ethnic groups.

Three texts attempt a strategic *mode of boundary contraction* through *fission* by dividing the Jewish *ethnos* into two groups based on the sinner/righteous dichotomy: The Pss. Sol., 1QpHab, and 2 Bar. For each of these texts, it is only the righteous part of the Jewish *ethnos* which is elevated to the top of the ethnic boundary hierarchy in the writers' preferred vision of the ethnic boundary system. In contrast, 1QM, 4QpNah, T. Mos., and 4 Ezra resituate the entire Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the hierarchical boundary system. This ratio (three of seven) is significantly different from the Hasmonean period where four of five texts attempt to contract boundaries.

In contrast to those texts that subdivide the Jewish *ethnos* into the righteous and the sinners, the Similitudes use the same righteous/sinners dichotomy to subdivide all people and thereby deemphasizing ethnic boundaries (a strategic *mode of boundary blurring* through *universalism*). This attempt at boundary blurring is unique among the extant textual witnesses from both the Hasmonean and early Roman periods.

### **Conclusions: Jewishness under the Romans (63 BCE–132 CE)**

The *ethnic boundary making model* is a cyclical model of how ethnic boundaries are made, maintained, changed, and dissolve. In this model strategic *modes* of boundary making may

result in a consensus about the location and meaning of ethnic boundaries. The *modes* of boundary making also impact the boundary features. While the limited extant data on boundary making strategies precludes strong conclusions, they do provide some indication of the characteristics of the boundary field in and around Roman Judea.

### **The Nature of the Consensus**

A consensus over ethnic boundaries emerges in a social field when the strategies pursued by various actors converge on common boundary *locations* and *meanings* through the exchange of various resources (e.g., economic, political, symbolic). A consensus is said to be *encompassing* when the boundary is both *symmetrical* (persons on both sides agree on boundary *relevance*) and *complete* (persons agree on boundary *meaning* and *location*).<sup>336</sup>

The above textual evidence provides good reason to view the boundary consensus as *symmetrical* throughout the early Roman period. The discussion of the *field characteristics* during the early Roman period found Roman *institutional frameworks* that recognized the *relevance* of Jewishness as an ethnic category from the beginning of Roman control through Julius Caesar's rise. This decreased during the reign of Herod and the shifting political situations between 4 BCE and 66 CE, but was revived again after the first war with the institution of the *fiscus Judaicus*. Unsurprisingly, nearly all texts written by Jews during the period also recognize the relevance of Jewishness as an ethnic categorization. Only the Similitudes provide evidence of Jewish writers blurring ethnic boundaries and emphasizing shared human characteristics. Interestingly, both the redacted form with the three epilogues and the original three similitudes date to the pre-70 period when the *institutional frameworks* did not provide an incentive to emphasize ethnic categorization. While the Similitudes provide some evidence that some persons

---

<sup>336</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 100.

sought to deemphasize ethnic categorization, broad agreement on the relevance of Jewishness for most persons in and around Roman Judea seems to have persisted.

There is no evidence for widespread disagreement about the *location* of the boundary between Jews and non-Jews during the early Roman period. While 2 Bar. acknowledges proselyte conversion, and the Similitudes include some members of the nations among the righteous in the eschaton (but who do not necessarily become Jews), none of the eight texts emphasize a strictly genealogical definition of Jewishness which excludes proselytes. There is also some variation on the status of the descendants of the ten northern tribes in the eschaton. While 1QM, 4 Ezra, and 2 Bar. foresee the return of the descendants of the northern kingdom to the land, T. Mos. portrays these persons as eternally lost among the nations and only the two southern tribes as “holy tribes” (T. Mos. 2.4). However, all texts assume that any return of the ten northern tribes is future, and so the current members of “Israel” are descendants from the southern kingdom who returned from exile.

The area where there appears to be significant disagreement is the *meaning* of the Jew/non-Jew boundaries during the Roman period. As noted above, each of the above eight texts contest the *distribution of power* in the hierarchical boundary system in and around Roman Judea by repositioning members of the Jewish *ethnos* at the top of the ethnic boundary system. This consistent characteristic of Jewish configurations of the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea conflicts with Roman hegemony throughout the period. The disagreement over the *meaning* of the boundaries between Jews and members of other ethnic groups increased after the reign of Herod (30–4 BCE), when the Jew/Greek ranked difference was eliminated, and even more so after the Jewish War (66–70 CE), when the Jewish *ethnos* was relegated to the bottom of the ranked boundary system. Therefore, the boundary consensus can be described as *partial*



rather than *complete*, with widespread agreement on the boundary *location*, but increasing disagreement on the boundaries *meaning*. This *partial* boundary consensus impacts four features of the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea.

### **Boundary Characteristics**

The Jew/non-Jew boundary characteristics vary according to (1) the reach of consensus and (2) the degree of power inequality that exists in the boundary system. For the early Roman period, this discussion relates to boundaries in and around Roman Judea.

#### *Political Saliency*

According to the *ethnic boundary making model*, the more the boundary *location*, *meaning*, and *relevance* are agreed upon by persons on different sides of ethnic boundaries (i.e., the more *encompassing* the consensus), the more easily the ethnic boundaries will be taken for granted and ethnic categories will translate into the political arena. That is, political factions will be drawn along ethnic boundaries rather than other types of boundaries, such as class or gender. Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE imposed Roman hegemony in and around Judea and ended Hasmonean autonomy and the alignment of the Jewish *ethnos* with the ruling power. This *exogenous shift* demoted Jewishness from the national *ethnos* under the Hasmoneans to an ethnic category that could, or could not, be employed by persons in the contested social field in and around Roman Judea. According to the above discussion, there was general consensus regarding the boundary *location* and *relevance* throughout the early Roman period. However, the boundary *meaning* was increasingly disputed: The reign of Herod, especially after 30 BCE, and the Roman victory in the Jewish War represent incremental growths in the disputed *meaning* of Jew/non-Jew boundaries in and around Roman Judea as claims to privilege in Jewish visions of the ideal

ethnic boundary system were increasingly at odds with the *field characteristics* in and around Roman Judea. Therefore, the *political salience* of Jewishness, and ethnic categorization, decreased incrementally during the reign of Herod and again after the Jewish War. This conclusion finds corroboration in Josephus's narrative of the events leading up to the Jewish War, according to which the rebellion began among members of the lower classes in and around Roman Judea,<sup>337</sup> included some Idumeans (whether or not they considered themselves Jews; Jos., *J.W.* 4.232–235), was forcibly opposed by the Jewish king Agrippa II (*J.W.* 2.421), and some members of the Jewish *ethnos* identified more closely with their city (esp. Scythopolis)<sup>338</sup> than the Jewish rebels. That is, during the period just prior to the Jewish War, Josephus's narrative depicts class boundaries as more politically salient than ethnic boundaries.

### *Social Closure*

The greater the degree of power inequality (*distribution of power*) between members of different ethnic groups, the greater the *social closure* between these same groups.<sup>339</sup> The beginning of the Roman period represented a decrease in power inequality between members of different ethnic groups. These new field characteristics were conducive for a corresponding decrease in *social closure*. During the Hasmonean period the Jewish *ethnos* represented a privileged national ethnic group, aligned with the ruling power and with privileged access to resources. The beginning of Roman rule decreased the power inequality between Jews, Greeks, and Syrians. The power inequality between Jews and Greeks oscillated, first in favor of Greeks

---

<sup>337</sup> E.g., “the leading men, the chief priests and all the people who were in favor of peace occupied the upper city for the lower city and the Temple were in the hands of the insurgents” (Jos., *J.W.* 2.422).

<sup>338</sup> “Thus far the Jews had been faced with aliens (*ἀλλόφυλον*) only, but when they invaded Scythopolis they found their own nation in arms against them; for the Jews in this district ranged themselves on the side of the Scythopolitans, and, regarding their own security as more important than the ties of blood (*συγγένειαν*), met their own countrymen (*ὁμοφύλοις*) in battle” (Jos., *J.W.* 2.465–466; cf. *Life* 26).

<sup>339</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 103; Cornell and Hartmann, *Ethnicity and Race*, 190.

(63 BCE), then Jews (47 BCE), but eventually balanced during the reign of Herod so that no perceptible power difference between Greek and Jewish ethnic groups in and around Judea persisted into the first century. The Roman *ethnos* retained the privileged place in the hierarchical ethnic boundary system, but their numerically insignificant presence minimized the power inequality among ethnic actors in and around Roman Judea.

The outbreak of violence (strategic *means of coercion and violence*) at the beginning of the rebellion against Rome (66 CE) led to increased social closure, especially as an increasingly greater proportion of the Jewish *ethnos* became part of the war effort and the war took on an increasingly ethnic dimension. The new power inequality after the war, with the Jewish *ethnos* at the bottom of the ranked boundary system in and around Roman Judea, likely led to increasing degrees of *social closure* during the years 70–132 CE as non-Jews had incentive to distance themselves from Jews.

### *Cultural Differentiation*

The more *encompassing* the consensus and the greater the degree of *social closure*, the more easily ethnic boundaries will be marked by additional *cultural differentiation*.<sup>340</sup> During the Roman period, an incrementally less encompassing consensus and low degrees of social closure suggest the period leading up to the Jewish War was not a time when the Jew/non-Jew boundaries would have naturally accrued additional cultural diacritics to distinguish Jews from others. After the Jewish War, the two factors effecting *cultural differentiation* worked in different directions. The even less *encompassing* consensus, according to the *ethnic boundary making model*, hindered *cultural differentiation*, while the greater *social closure* provided contexts for *cultural differentiation* to develop more fluidly.

---

<sup>340</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 102–3.

### *Stability*

As discussed in chapter one, the *ethnic boundary making model* derives the historical *stability* of the boundary system from the other three boundary characteristics. Where boundaries are *politically salient*, where there are high degrees of *social closure*, and where extensive *cultural differentiation* makes the boundary appear quasi-natural, the boundary *meaning*, *location*, and *relevance* will be more resistant to change.<sup>341</sup> Interestingly, the *ethnic boundary making model* suggests that the period from 63 BCE until the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE was not a time when the social field of Roman Judea was conducive for long-term boundary stability, for increasingly between 63 BCE and 66 CE, Jewishness as an ethnic category was less *politically salient* than class distinctions, there were relatively low degrees of *social closure*, and the period was not conducive to the accumulation of additional cultural diacritics that further differentiated Jews from others. This suggests that the boundary between Jews and non-Jews was relatively unstable during the early years of the first century CE.

The Jewish War increased *social closure* between Jews and non-Jews as there was a greater power inequality across the Jew/non-Jew boundary. This increased the boundary stability. However, both the political saliency of Jewishness and the degree of cultural differentiation remained low after the war. Therefore, the period after the war is characterized by a social field slightly more conducive for boundary stability.

### **Ethnic Configuration of Jewishness**

First, the above eight texts from the Roman period consistently use the common *proper name* “Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ἰσραήλ, *Israhel*) for members of the Jewish *ethnos*. The absence of the common *proper name* “Jew” (יהודי, Ἰουδαῖος, *Iudaeus*) is likely due to the state of our sources,

---

<sup>341</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 104.

which do not include any texts that represent ethnic-configurations of the ruling power.<sup>342</sup> The use of *Ιουδαῖος/ Ιουδαῖοι* by other Jewish writers, not addressed here for reasons stated above (e.g., Josephus) confirms the insignificance of exclusive use of Israel among the eight texts addressed here.

Second, and similarly to both the Hasmonean period, texts from the Roman period rewrite the *historical memories* of the Jews for contemporary purposes and so rework elements of *common culture, common ancestry, and homeland*: Writings and visions are attributed to at least four heroes of the past (Enoch, Moses, Baruch, and Ezra); The rewriting of the shared *historical memories* is most prominent in 2 Bar., where the reader learns that Adam, Abraham, and Moses all saw the heavenly temple, and that the temple vessels, after the destruction of the first temple were in fact hidden and preserved. In addition, the reader learns that, contrary to the accounts in earlier historical texts, both David and Solomon were sinless, and their reigns were paradigmatic of the coming eschatological age. In both the Pss. Sol. and 1QM, the shared *historical memories* are employed to guarantee the downfall of Israel's enemies and the elevation of Israel.

Third, and perhaps most significantly, the link to a *homeland* is a major focus in four of the eight texts from the Roman period (T. Mos., Similitudes, 2 Bar., and 4 Ezra). The polemic of the Similitudes is directed at “those who possess the land,” best understood as the writer's contemporary foreign leaders whom Enoch foresees as being uprooted. The repeated mentions of the land in the T. Mos. underline its importance for the author. However, for both the Similitudes and the T. Mos., Jewish repossession of the land is temporary, for the final destination of the “righteous (Similitudes) or Israel (T. Mos.) is in the heavens. For 2 Bar., and 4 Ezra, at the

---

<sup>342</sup> In the Hasmonean period, it was only texts representing the ethnic-configuration of Jewishness that used the common *proper name* “Jew” (1 Maccabees, Eupolemus).

eschaton, only those in the land will be protected. It is perhaps significant that the four texts that emphasize the link to a *homeland* are dated after the beginning of direct Roman rule of Judea in 6 CE, while those that without a prominent land theme all pre-date 6 CE.

Fourth, and similar to the Hasmonean period, *common ancestry* is not often addressed. Only 4QpNah includes possible polemics against intermarriage, while only 2 Bar. expresses an overtly hospitable attitude toward proselytes. The remaining six texts make no mention of *common ancestry*.

Fifth, the texts of the Roman period represent two different understandings of the role of the Torah (*ancestral customs*). For 1QM, T. Mos., and 4 Ezra, law observance is of secondary importance to the covenant, and all three texts emphasize that God will save Israel because of his covenant with them, and in spite of disobeying the law. 4 Ezra further relativizes the significance of the law as part of the Jewish sacred texts by positing seventy “hidden books” in which “is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge” (4 Ezra 14.47). In contrast, 2 Bar. elevates the importance of law observance so that possession of the law is that boundary marker distinguishing Jews from the nations, and law observance distinguishes between the righteous whom God will save, and the wicked who will perish.

In this chapter I addressed the boundary system and Jewish configurations in and around Roman Judea between 63 BCE and 132 CE. The ethnic boundary system, and configurations of Jewishness, of course, continued to change, not least because of the significant demographic changes that followed the second revolt. However, these further changes are less significant for situating the Gospel of Mark with its ethnic landscape. The systematic study of Jewishness illustrates the suppleness of Jewish ethnic configurations, the varying degrees of porous boundaries, and the complex interplay between ethnicity and power. While the paucity of extant

evidence prevents conclusions from being interpreted as representative of the entire *ethnos*, the variety of ethnic configurations and the various ways that common elements of Jewishness were employed in the remaking of ethnic boundaries provides a framework for comparison as we turn to the Gospel of Mark. In the following chapter I outline the specific field characteristics in Roman Judea during the compositional setting of Mark before addressing the specific boundary making strategies that are evident in Mark's Gospel. These boundary making strategies both suggest that Mark should be read within the social boundaries of the first-century Jewish *ethnos* and impact the ethnic configuration of Jewishness in a number of ways.

CHAPTER 4: THE GOSPEL OF MARK WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF JEWISHNESS:  
RESITUATING THE SECOND GOSPEL

The Gospel of Mark, still widely regarded as a “gentile” text,<sup>1</sup> appears increasingly anomalous among the literature of the early Jesus movement as text after text is resituated within

---

<sup>1</sup> Nearly all Markan scholars posit a mainly gentile intended audience. Ben Witherington’s summary is representative when he writes that Mark’s audience “reads Greek, but equally requires explanation of Jewish customs, Aramaic terms and phrases, and even some Greek terms. This supports the long-standing theory that Mark’s audience is largely composed of gentile converts to the Christian faith, and presumably gentiles who have not first been Jewish proselytes or synagogue adherents.” *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 26. The evidence that the audience needs explanation of Jewish customs is the narrative comment explaining the washing practices of “the Pharisees and all the Ἰουδαῖοι” (7:3), taking Ἰουδαῖοι as a reference to the whole Jewish *ethnos* rather than a geographically-defined subgroup. The Greek translation of Aramaic terms, understood to imply that most of the audience knew Greek and not Aramaic, assumes this is uncharacteristic of Jews in the Roman empire.

A sampling of scholars who assume a primarily gentile audience include Elian Cuvillier, *L'évangile de Marc* (Paris: Bayard, 2002), 15: “le fait que Marc traduise les expressions araméennes ..., qu’il explique les coutumes juives ... et qu’il mentionne ‘Simon de Cyrène, père d’Alexandre et Rufus’ ... laisse penser qu’il s’adresse à un public d’origine païenne.” Joachim Gnllka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, EKKNT 2 (Zürich: Neukirchener, 1978), 1.34: “man das Werk für heidenchristliche Gemeinden abgefasst sieht.” Charles E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, CGTC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 8: “The fact that Mark supplies translations of Aramaic expressions and explanations of Jewish customs suggests that he wrote for gentiles.” Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1993), 349: “Mark designs the explanation for the benefit of his predominantly gentile audience.” Joel Marcus, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 36; Martin Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 29; Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1955), 32; John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, SP 2 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), 39; Camille Focant, *L'évangile selon Marc*, Commentaire biblique 2 (Paris: Cerf, 2004), 37.

A few commentators are a bit more cautious in their assessment of the implications of these two features: Adela Yarbro Collins writes “it seems intrinsically likely that the audience of Mark would include both those who observed the ritual laws related to food and those who did not.” *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 356; Robert A. Guelich sees Mark “writing for, at least in part, a non-Jewish audience.” *Mark 1–8:26, WBC 34A* (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), xxviii.

During much of the twentieth century, many assumed the author was gentile due to purported imprecise knowledge of Jewish customs. Cf. Kurt Niederwimmer, “Johannes Markus und die Frage nach dem Verfasser des Zweiten Evangeliums,” *ZNW* 58 (1967): 172–88. However, largely due to the influence of Martin Hengel (*Studies in Mark*, 45–53), there is now general agreement that the implied author is most likely Jewish and that there are no substantial objections to tradition that he was John Mark, cousin of Barnabas, associated with Paul and Peter (Acts 12:12, 25; 13:13; 15:37–39; Phlm 24; Col 4:10; 2 Tim 4:11; 1 Pet 5:13), even if the tradition cannot be verified. Camille Focant summarizes the position of many commentators, writing, “Aussi, même si certains penchent pour l’attribution à un auteur anonyme, sans doute judéo-chrétien ... et non pagano-chrétien ... il n’existe pas de raison véritable pour rejeter l’attribution à (Jean-) Marc de Jérusalem, même si elle ne peut pas être prouvée.” *Marc*, 32.



the boundaries of first-century Jewishness. As recently as the middle of the twentieth century, the New Testament as a whole (with the occasional exception of James) was read through the lens of supersessionism that portrayed Jesus and his early followers as intent on establishing a new community that replaced and transcended Judaism.<sup>2</sup> Mark, therefore, was a non-Jewish text by association and any reasoned defense that Mark represented a post-Jewish form of the Jesus-movement was superfluous. Mark's non-Jewish social milieu was often embedded in different methodologies including, for example, Rudolf Bultmann's influential form criticism. For Bultmann, the Gospel of Mark is the result of the Hellenistic Church's extensive reworking of a "primitive" Palestinian tradition in light of the needs of the community.<sup>3</sup> An assumed radical distinction between Jewish Palestine and the Hellenistic world formed the categories for separating strata of tradition.<sup>4</sup> Traditions for which Jewish parallels could be produced, an underlying Aramaic form could be discerned, or which were inexplicable as arising in the Hellenistic Church, were attributed to the primitive Palestinian tradition. Alternatively, traditions could safely be assigned to the Hellenistic Church on the basis of parallel forms from Hellenistic literature, or a plausible motive in the Hellenistic Church.<sup>5</sup> So, for example, Jesus's directive to the healed *lepros* to "go, show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded, as a testimony to them" (1:44) is, for Bultmann, clear evidence of this tradition's origin in Palestine because it "ist schwerlich auf hellennistischem Boden formuliert."<sup>6</sup> The result was the separation of all traditions identified as Jewish from the writer and community, leaving

---

<sup>2</sup> Annette Yoshiko Reed and Adam H. Becker, "Introduction," in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 1–32, esp. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931), 394.

<sup>4</sup> This strict dichotomy was famously overturned by Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (1969).

<sup>5</sup> Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 255.

the compiler fully at home in Buttmann's so-called Hellenistic Church and in no way responsible for the distinctly Jewish motifs within the text. In fact, the most difficult part of the tradition to explain, for Bultmann, is why the Hellenistic church took over the primitive Palestinian tradition at all.<sup>7</sup> The widespread influence of Bultmann's form criticism is symptomatic of how commonplace the assumed "divorce" from first-century Judaism was in the early twentieth century.<sup>8</sup>

The re-thinking of Christian origins that began after the second world war focused especially on Paul,<sup>9</sup> leading to the so-called "new perspective on Paul." The (no-longer) new perspective was that Paul was not opposed to Jewish legalism, but to Jewish ethnocentrism.<sup>10</sup> Increasingly, the new perspective on Paul was also being re-thought,<sup>11</sup> as more scholars concluded that Paul did not oppose anything about Judaism *per se*, but remained thoroughly within the boundaries of Judaism, writing his letters (as the apostle to the nations) to the nations about how non-Jewish Jesus-followers should relate to Judaism and the God of Israel.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> "Es muss doch als ein Rätsel erscheinen, dass das Christentum, in dem die paulinische und nachpaulinische Richtung eine so beherrschende Rolle spielt, auch die Motive enthalten hat, trast deren die synoptische Tradition aus der Palästinenischen Gemeinde übernommen und gestaltet wurde." Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 330.

<sup>8</sup> For the metaphor of "divorce," see John Townsend, "The Gospel of John and the Jews: The Story of a Religious Divorce," in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, ed. Alan T. Davies (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist, 1979), 72–97.

<sup>9</sup> Esp. Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215; Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (1977).

<sup>10</sup> See especially James D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Especially, Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Recent studies of Paul within Judaism include Mark D. Nanos, *Reading Paul within Judaism* (Eugene: Cascade, 2017); Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Matthew Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Nanos and Zetterholm, eds., *Paul within Judaism*; Pamela Eisenbaum, *Paul Was Not a Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle* (New York: HarperOne, 2009).

Earlier studies of Paul within Judaism include, Mark D. Nanos, *The Irony of Galatians: Paul's Letter in the First-Century Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002); Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (2000); Mark D. Nanos, *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996); Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah* (1987).

While Paul was being resituated within Judaism, so was the Gospel of Matthew,<sup>13</sup> as scholars emphasized that Matthew’s Gospel reflects common early Jewish conceptual categories,<sup>14</sup> requires strict law observance (Matt 5:17–20), and understands inclusion of the nations in terms of “conversion” to Judaism.<sup>15</sup> Early scholarship on Matthew within Judaism portrayed the writer and audience as a “fragile minority” that straddled the gap between Judaism and a gentile-majority “Christianity,” existing on the margins of Jewish society and distinct from (but in contact with) gentile-majority assemblies of Jesus-followers.<sup>16</sup> This marginal social location of Matthew is becoming increasingly unnecessary as text after text of the early Jesus movement is resituated within Judaism: Luke-Acts assumes Torah observance,<sup>17</sup> John’s Gospel mirrors priestly-oriented Judaism,<sup>18</sup> Revelation values Levitical purity and reflects polemics with other Jesus followers (rather than Judaism),<sup>19</sup> and the letter of James is addressed—explicitly—“to the twelve tribes of the diaspora.”<sup>20</sup>

However, the Gospel of Mark continues to be seen as a non-Jewish text.<sup>21</sup> Evidence for locating Mark’s social milieu outside of Judaism has been collected from apparent inaccuracies

---

<sup>13</sup> Three early studies that locate Matthew within Judaism are David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community*, SNTW (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community*, CSHJ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Overman, *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism* (1990). Recent studies include Runesson and Gurtner, eds., *Matthew within Judaism* (2019); Catherine S. Hamilton, *The Death of Jesus in Matthew: Innocent Blood and the End of Exile*, SNTSMS 166 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, (2016).

<sup>14</sup> E.g., Anthony Saldarini concludes that Matthew “uses the usual terms for the Jewish community in a flexible and concrete way. This indicates that he has a living relationship with and a differentiated view of the Jewish community.” *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community*, 43.

<sup>15</sup> Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community*, 1, 202.

<sup>17</sup> Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 39.

<sup>18</sup> Cirafesi, “John within Judaism,” 162–64, 256.

<sup>19</sup> David Frankfurter, “Jews or Not? Reconstructing the ‘other’ in Rev. 2:9 and 3:9,” *HTR* 94 (2001): 403–25; cf. Emanuel, “Roasting Rome” (2017); Marshall, *Parables of War* (2001).

<sup>20</sup> Allison, *James*. Cf. Dale C. Allison, “The Fiction of James and Its Sitz Im Leben,” *RB* 108 (2001): 529–70; Cf. Joel Marcus, “‘The Twelve Tribes in the Diaspora’ (James 1.1),” *NTS* 60 (2014): 433–47.

<sup>21</sup> Lawrence Wills summarizes: “Yet, while a great continuity with Judaism was found in one New Testament text after another, there was one very important exception: the Gospel of Mark. The earliest of the gospels—and

about Jewish practice,<sup>22</sup> background information about “the Jews” that is ostensibly meant to inform members of the nations about Jewish practice (esp. 7:3–4), a portrayal of Jesus rejecting Levitical purity,<sup>23</sup> a narrative progression in which Jesus increasingly targets the nations,<sup>24</sup> and Mark’s association with Paul, the apostle to the nations.<sup>25</sup> Each of these has been rethought,<sup>26</sup> and any association between Mark and Paul has little direct bearing on Mark’s non-Jewish character if Paul also is within Judaism.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore necessary to reconsider the question of the relation of the Gospel of Mark to first-century Judaism.

---

therefore the closest in time to Jesus—and the gospel that many now count as the boldest theologically, seemed to remain in the ‘gentile’ fold.” “The Jewishness of the Gospel of Mark,” 71.

<sup>22</sup> This has been claimed for Mark’s understanding of divorce (10:12), calendar, and washing practices. Divorce: E.g., R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster 2002), 393; Eduard Schweizer, “Scheidungsrecht der Jüdischen Frau: Weibliche, Jünger Jesu,” *EvT* 42 (1982): 294–300; Lutz Doering, “Marriage and Creation in Mark 10 and CD 4-5,” in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 133–63. Calendar: E.g., Siegfried Schulz, *Die Stunde der Botschaft: Einführung in die Theologie der vier Evangelisten*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Furche, 1970), 126–27. Hand washing: E.g., Niederwimmer, “Johannes Markus,” 172–88.

<sup>23</sup> Esp. 7:19. For example, Adela Yarbro Collins’ evaluation is representative: “The comment of v. 19c takes a giant step further and implies, at the very least, that the observance of the food laws for followers of Jesus is not obligatory.” *Mark*, 356.

<sup>24</sup> For Jesus’s gentile-mission in Mark’s Gospel, see especially Eric K. Wefald, “The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark: A Narrative Explanation of Markan Geography, the Two Feeding Accounts and Exorcisms,” *JSNT* 60 (1995): 3–26; cf. Kelly R. Iverson, “Jews, Gentiles, and the Kingdom of God: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants in Narrative Perspective (Mark 12:1–12),” *BibInt* 20 (2012): 305–35.

<sup>25</sup> For the argument that Mark is associated with Paul, see especially, Joel Marcus, “Mark: Interpreter of Paul,” *NTS* 46 (2000): 473–87. Reprinted and revised as “Mark: Interpreter of Paul,” in *Mark and Paul: Comparative Essays Part II: For and Against Pauline Influence on Mark*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, and Mogens Müller, BZNW 199 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 29–49.

<sup>26</sup> On a woman’s right to divorce in Judaism, see Tal Ilan, “Notes and Observations On a Newly Published Divorce Bill from the Judean Desert,” *HTR* 89 (1996): 195–202, esp. 201–2; Tal Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (TSAJ 44; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 146; Hannah Cotton and Elisha Qimron, “XHev/Se Ar 13 of 134 or 135 CE: A Wife’s Renunciation of Claims,” *JJS* 49 (1998): 108–18; and Michael L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 214. On Jewish use of different calendars, see especially James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 84. For a reading of 7:1–23 that upholds Levitical purity, see John VanMaaren, “Does Mark’s Jesus Abrogate Torah? Jesus’ Purity Logion and Its Illustration in Mark 7:15–23,” *JJMJS* 4 (2017): 21–41; Yair Furstenberg, “Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15,” *NTS* 54 (2008): 176–200.

<sup>27</sup> Wills writes “Ironically, ... Mark came to appear more ‘Pauline’ than Paul!” “Jewishness of the Gospel of Mark,” 72.

As noted in the introduction, a growing number of scholars suggest Mark should be read as a Jewish text,<sup>28</sup> but no systematic study has sought to integrate Mark into the emerging picture of the New Testament documents “within Judaism.”<sup>29</sup> It is this lacuna in New Testament studies that I seek to fill and it is not without consequence for other questions within Markan studies. To take just one prominent example from the history of scholarship, a major objection to William Wrede’s thesis that the messianic secrecy motif in Mark is an attempt to explain why Jesus did not claim to be the Jewish messiah during his lifetime has been an inability to explain why the early followers chose to identify Jesus as the messiah (a very Jewish concept for a non-Jewish church) rather than something else.<sup>30</sup> If Mark’s Gospel is within the boundaries of Jewishness, this rebuttal is negated.<sup>31</sup>

This study of the Gospel of Mark follows the same structure as the treatment of individual Jewish texts in the preceding chapters. However, unlike the previous texts which are widely acknowledged to be within the boundaries of Jewishness, the reception history of Mark has almost universally understood Mark as a Christian or gentile Gospel and, by implication, not Jewish. Therefore, my approach to the study of Mark will differ from that of earlier chapters by also arguing that Mark should be read within the boundaries of Jewishness. As discussed in the introductory chapter Jewishness as an ethnicity is primarily a matter of ascription.<sup>32</sup> That is, Jews

---

<sup>28</sup> Most prominently, Gager, *Who Made Early Christianity*, 95; Gager, *Reinventing Paul*, viii; Stökl Ben Ezra, “Markus-Evangelium,” 180; Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 32–33.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Daniel Boyarin argues for Mark’s Jewishness by addressing a few points about the law and Christology. *The Jewish Gospels* (2012).

<sup>30</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, trans. W. Montgomery, Macmillan Paperbacks (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 343. J. C. G. Greig states “This fundamental question... has rarely if ever received justice from succeeding generations of radicals.”, “Translator’s Introduction,” in *The Messianic Secret*, trans. J. C. G. Greig, Library of Theological Translations (Cambridge: Clarke, 1971), vii–xxi., esp. xi.

<sup>31</sup> My point is not to defend Wrede’s messianic secret, but to illustrate how a presumed gentile social milieu directs other inquiries into Mark’s gospel.

<sup>32</sup> Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt*, 33–34; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6; Barth, “Introduction,” 13.

are those who say they are Jews and whom (at least most) others agree. Therefore, to discern the social location of the writer and intended audience in relation to the Jew/nations boundary the primary focus must be the writer's self-identity in relationship to the narrative's categorical boundaries. Secondary data will be drawn from the similarities and differences between the configuration of Jewishness by the writer of Mark and those of other texts within the boundaries of Jewishness.

First, I address the introductory issues of genre, date, provenance, and social location concluding that Mark wrote a narrative with a didactic purpose for a specific community that has recently experienced some hardship in or around the Roman province of Judea sometime just after 70 CE. Second, I summarize the conclusions from the previous chapters regarding the field characteristics and ethnic configurations of Jewishness during the Hasmonean and early Roman period that are relevant for situating Mark. Third, I outline the categorical boundaries in the text of Mark. Most significantly, I argue that Mark's narrative assumes a ranked Jew/nations boundary in which Jews are to the nations as children are to dogs. This privileged place of the Jewish *ethnos* in Mark's ideal vision of the boundary system contrasts with the *field characteristics* of Roman Judea after the Jewish War in which the Jewish *ethnos* is relegated to the bottom of the ranked boundary system. The term τὰ ἔθνη ("gentiles"/"nations") is always juxtaposed with the ingroup and always assumed to be the other. Fourth, I address Mark's strategies of boundary making.<sup>33</sup> I identify membership in the kingdom of God as the vehicle through which Mark attempts two strategies of boundary making in order to promote his preferred vision of the boundary system over and against the ranked inferiority of the Jewish

---

<sup>33</sup> In his summary of the *status quaestiones* of Mark's Jewishness, Lawrence Wills concludes by noting the need to address this question: "every story contains both an indicative—what happened—and an optative—how the story *constructs* and *alters* an ideal reader. ... in what direction was the story likely to have *pushed* the earliest audiences?" "The Jewishness of the Gospel of Mark," 86.

*ethnos* among other *ethnē* in post-war Roman Judea. Mark depicts the kingdom of God, like much of Jewish restoration eschatology, as earthly, territorial, future, and imminent. The arrival of the kingdom of God entails the overthrow of Roman hegemony and thus a strategy of *normative inversion* of the ranked Jew/Roman boundary. However, not all members of the Jewish *ethnos* will be part of the kingdom of God but only those deemed “righteous.” This represents a second strategy of boundary *contraction* through *fission*. This double strategy is shared by numerous other Jewish texts written in or around Judea during the Hasmonean and early Roman periods. Surprisingly, Mark’s narrative shows so little interest in the presence of non-Jews in the kingdom of God that kingdom membership can be seen as exclusively Jewish. While the absence of non-Jews in the expected kingdom of God is not certain, the lack of focus on the status of the *ethnē* suggests they were not a prominent part of the intended audience.

The concluding section addresses the configuration of Jewishness in Mark’s narrative in terms of John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith’s six common features of ethnic identity. While not all ethnic groups exhibit all of the above six features, the Markan narrative assumes the relevance of all without overturning any, providing additional support for the thesis that the writer and intended audience of Mark’s narrative saw themselves within the boundaries of first-century Jewishness. The common *proper name* for the Jewish *ethnos* is Israel and, significantly, the writer makes no effort to rename a new ingroup as an alternative. Neither *common ancestry* nor a link to a *homeland* are prominent themes in Mark’s narrative, but hints throughout the narrative indicate that Mark assumes the importance of both. The shared *historical memories* reflected in the narrative of Mark are exclusively those from the literary heritage of the Jewish *ethnos*. While these are used to configure a number of aspects of Jewishness for the writer, they are especially employed to conceptualize Jesus as the expected intermediary who would initiate

the end-time scenario. Finally, like most other early Jewish texts, the two most prominent aspects of *common culture* are temple and law. Jesus predicts the temple's destruction due to wicked leadership, and the Markan narrative assumes the significance of Torah observance for kingdom entrance.<sup>34</sup> We will now discuss each of these claims, following the same structure as the analysis of each of the texts written by Jews in the preceding two chapters.

### **Date, Provenance, Genre, and Social Location**

For this study, I locate the composition of Mark in or around the Roman province of Judea (most likely Galilee), just after the Jewish War (66–70 CE). While certainty remains elusive, the arguments in favor of post-war Galilee are substantial.<sup>35</sup> This conclusion will allow us to link Mark with the locale-specific features of the ethnic boundary system of Roman Judea just after the first Jewish War.

#### **Date: Not Long after the Jewish War**

The date of Mark is usually, and rightly, derived from Jesus's eschatological discourse in Mark 13. Most significantly, after the disciples point out the grandeur of the temple, the Markan Jesus predicts that "Not one stone will be left here upon another" (13:2) and in 13:14 Mark instructs the reader to identify the "desolating sacrilege" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως) of Dan 9:27 (cf. 11:31; 12:11) with an event known to his audience: "let the reader understand" (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω). While the "desolating sacrilege" of Mark 13:14 could plausibly relate to

---

<sup>34</sup> The sixth common feature of ethnic identity is a sense of solidarity. This is methodologically difficult to identify in a text and, as in the previous chapters, not directly addressed.

<sup>35</sup> Christopher B. Zeichmann, "The Date of Mark's Gospel Apart from the Temple and Rumors of War: The Taxation Episode (12:13–17) as Evidence," *CBQ* 79 (2017): 422–37; Christopher B. Zeichmann, "Loanwords or Code-Switching? Latin Transliteration and the Setting of Mark's Composition," *JMJS* 4 (2017): 42–64; Hendrika N. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark in Its Historical and Social Context*, NovTSup 114 (Boston: Brill, 2004), 94–112. See further discussion below.



the Caligula crisis (39–40 CE),<sup>36</sup> Mark’s awareness of the martyrdom of James and John (10:39) necessitates a date at least after the crisis was averted, and any immediate threat to the temple has abated.<sup>37</sup> This leaves the events of the Jewish War (66–70 CE) as the only plausible referent.

While the Markan characterization of the “desolating sacrilege” does not fit well with the final destruction of the temple by Titus, it does closely correspond to the occupation of the temple by the Jewish rebel Eleazar son of Simon in 67–68 CE.<sup>38</sup> The extent of the destruction predicted in 13:2 (“Not one stone will be left here upon another”) fits Josephus’s description of Titus’s final destruction<sup>39</sup> so closely that it is best understood as a *vaticinium ex eventu* prophecy and an indication that the composition of Mark post-dates the destruction of the Jewish temple.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> James G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark’s Gospel: Insight from the Law in Earliest Christianity* JSNTSup 266 (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 29–37, 43; Nicholas H. Taylor, “Palestinian Christianity and the Caligula Crisis Part 2: The Markan Eschatological Discourse,” *JSNT* 18 (1996): 13–40.

<sup>37</sup> Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 13. James was martyred in 43–44 CE. Papias provides evidence that John was martyred at an early date as well. Cf. Jos., *Ant.* 20.200. Cf. Eve-Marie Becker, “Dating Mark and Matthew As Ancient Literature,” in *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Gospels in the First-Century Settings*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, WUNT 271 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 123–43, esp. 132.

<sup>38</sup> The masculine participle ἐστηκότα suggests a person (i.e., Titus or Eleazar), rather than a thing (e.g., a destroyed temple or a newly erected pagan altar on the destroyed temple). Titus only entered the temple after it was destroyed and after fleeing would be futile. Further, there is no evidence he erected a pagan altar on the temple. In contrast, Josephus repeatedly describes the Jewish rebel leaders as defiling the temple. E.g., “For there was an ancient saying of inspired men that the city should be taken and the sanctuary burnt to the ground by right of war, whensoever it should be visited by sedition and native hands should be the first to defile God’s sacred precincts (*J.W.* 4.388. Cf. 4.182–83, 201; 6.95). Joel Marcus, “The Jewish War and the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark,” *JBL* 111 (1992): 441–62, esp. 454–55. Linking the “desolating sacrilege” to Eleazar’s occupation of the temple also provides an explanation for the Markan Jesus’s advice to immediately “flee to the mountains” (13:14). While such a flight would be a flight into Roman-controlled territory after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, earlier in the war this could plausibly refer to Galilee, or perhaps the Judean hills.

<sup>39</sup> Josephus writes “Caesar ordered the whole city and the temple to be razed to the ground .... All the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely levelled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited” (*J.W.*, 7.1–3). Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 2 vols., HTKNT 2 (Wien: Herder, 1976), 2:271. John Kloppenborg points out that, regardless of whether the writer used earlier sources, the pervasiveness of the temple destruction in the narrative context of the eschatological discourse (Mark 11–15) provides strong support that it is a retrospective aetiology on the destruction of the temple. “*Evocatio Deorum* and the Date of Mark,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 419–50, esp. 427.

<sup>40</sup> Differences between the Markan account and the Matthean redaction (Matt 23) are sometimes understood to reflect differences between a pre-70 and post-70 perspective. However, Eve-Marie Becker makes a strong case that these differences are not sufficient to distinguish a pre-70 date for Mark and a post-70 date for Matthew. “Dating Mark and Matthew,” 143.

The taxation episode in Mark 12:13–17 provides additional support for a post-70 date. Christopher Zeichmann has pointed out that the characterization of the tax fits the *fiscus Iudaicus*, first administered in 71 CE, much better than any known tax from the time of Jesus. The discussion between Jesus and the Pharisees concerns a tax that was (1) levied via census (κῆνσοϋς), (2) collected by coin (δηνάριον) and (3) paid to the emperor (Καίσαρ).<sup>41</sup> While *denarii* are almost unattested in pre-war Judea,<sup>42</sup> and no known tax was both levied by census and collected by coin in pre-war Judea, the *fiscus Iudaicus* was levied via census, paid in *denarii*, and funded the Roman temple of Jupiter Capotolinus. Zeichmann’s conclusion is that the taxation episode has been shaped by post-70 questions about the appropriateness of paying the *fiscus Iudaicus*, and therefore supports a post-70 date for Mark’s final composition.<sup>43</sup>

While the above evidence indicates that Mark post-dates 70 CE, three factors suggest a date shortly after 70 CE: (1) the writer expects that some of the disciples will live until the second coming (9:1; cf. 13:3ff), indicating that some are still alive;<sup>44</sup> (2) the writer assumes the audience knows Alexander and Rufus, the sons of Simon of Cyrene (15:21); and (3) the earliest tradition places the writing of Mark either during Peter’s lifetime, or not long after his death.<sup>45</sup> If the early tradition includes a kernel of truth, it would support a relatively early date. Therefore, a compositional date in the early 70s is most likely.

---

<sup>41</sup> Zeichmann, “The Date of Mark’s Gospel,” 430.

<sup>42</sup> Kenneth Lonqvist, “The Date of Introduction of Denarii to Roman Judaea and the Decapolis Region,” *ARAM* 23 (2011): 307–18, esp. 317; Syon, *Small Change*, 212–15.

<sup>43</sup> “The Date of Mark’s Gospel apart from the Temple,” 14. This argument does not assume the scene is Mark’s creation, but only that Mark has shaped a traditional story in light of immediate concerns for the writer and intended audience.

<sup>44</sup> However, John Kloppenborg points out that Matthew takes over these statements without changing them. “Evocatio Deorum,” 421.

<sup>45</sup> Eusebius records Papias writing “Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded.” *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15.

### **Provenance: In or Around Roman Judea**

The provenance of Mark is usually located in the city of Rome or someplace in the eastern Roman empire (i.e., the province of Syria (including the cities of the Decapolis), the province of Judea, the kingdom of Agrippa II).<sup>46</sup> The one-time consensus that Mark was written in Rome was based on (1) the near-unanimous early church tradition of a Roman provenance, (2) geographical inaccuracies in the narrative that were taken as indicators that Mark was unfamiliar with Galilean geography, and (3) the presence of Latinisms in the Markan text, unique among the Gospels and suggestive of a location where Latin was well-known.

However, each of these arguments for a Roman provenance is problematic. (1) The tradition that Mark wrote in Rome is first attested by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.1.1) and the anti-

---

<sup>46</sup> Recent arguments for a Roman provenance include Adam Winn, *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel: An Early Christian Response to Roman Imperial Propaganda*, WUNT 2/245 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 91; Brian J. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel*, BibInt 65 (Boston: Brill, 2003), 364; Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, 28. Most earlier commentaries locate Mark in Rome. E.g., Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:12–13; Walter Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 2 vols., ÖTK 2 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979), 1:61; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:34; Josef Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, RNT (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1981), 21–2.

Some locate Mark broadly in Syria-Galilee. Seán Freyne, “Matthew and Mark: The Jewish Contexts,” in *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Gospels in the First-Century Settings*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, WUNT 271 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 190–215; William E. Arnal, “Mark, War, and the Creative Imagination,” in *Redescribing the Gospel of Mark*, ed. Barry S. Crawford and Merrill P. Miller, ECL 22 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2017), 401–82.

Some locate Mark in Syria. Esp., Howard C. Kee, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*, Nabpr Dissertation Series 6 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 103–5; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, STDJ 83 (Boston: Brill, 2009), 127–30; Werner G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1978), 70.

Specific locations within the province of Judea include (1) Jerusalem: Dean W. Chapman, “Locating the Gospel of Mark: A Model of Agrarian Biography,” *BTB* 25 (1995): 24–36; Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002); (2) Galilee: Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark*, 94–112; M. Eugene Boring, *Mark: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 19–20; Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel*, trans. James Boyce (Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), 106–8; (3) Caesarea Maritima: Edward E. Ellis, “The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel,” in *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, ed. Frans Segbroeck et al., 3 vols., BETL (Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 2:801–15, esp. 2:811–12.

A couple studies have suggested Caesarea Philippi in Agrippa II's kingdom: Theodore J. Weeden, “The Case for Caesarea Philippi as the Provenance for the Markan Community,” *Forum* 6 (2003): 277–86; Thomas Schmeller, “Jesus im Umland Galiläas: Zu den Markinischen Berichten vom Aufenthalt Jesu in den Gebieten von Tyros, Caesarea Philippi und der Dekapolis,” *BZ* 38 (1994): 44–66.

Decapolis: Timothy Wardle, “Mark, the Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Sectarianism: Why Geographical Proximity Matters in Determining the Provenance of Mark,” *NTS* 62 (2016): 60–78, esp. 77; Joel Marcus, “Jewish War.” 462.

marcionite prologue composed more than a hundred years after Mark's composition.<sup>47</sup> Both appear to rely on Papias, who links Mark to Peter, but not Rome.<sup>48</sup> The identification of Rome seems to be derived from Peter's association with Rome, and not an early tradition that Mark wrote in Rome.<sup>49</sup> (2) Josephus, who is well acquainted with Judea and Galilee, includes many geographical inaccuracies, indicating that writers, like Mark, can inaccurately describe places they know intimately.<sup>50</sup> (3) The Latinisms in Mark are largely military, judicial, and economic terms, and of the type common throughout the Roman empire.<sup>51</sup> More significantly, the specific type of Greek-Latin transliteration in Mark fits better in a Syrian, or post-70 Judean, context than in Rome.<sup>52</sup> In Rome, where Latin is better known, Greek-Latin transliteration tends to occur in phrases, while in the Roman east, it is limited to individual words, as in Mark.<sup>53</sup> In addition, Mark's transliteration of technical terms reflects a lack of familiarity with Latin, while transliteration of mundane words reflects a greater degree of familiarity.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, Mark's latinisms *better* reflect the Roman east than the Italian peninsula.<sup>55</sup> The significance of the

---

<sup>47</sup> For the antimarcionite prologue to Mark, see Jürgen Regul, *Die antimarcionitischen Evangelienprologe*, AGLB 6 (Freiburg: Herder, 1969).

<sup>48</sup> Eusebius quotes Papias in *Hist. Ecc.* 3.39.15.

<sup>49</sup> Marcus, "Jewish War," 442.

<sup>50</sup> For Josephus's inaccuracies, see Ze'ev Safrai, "The Description of the Land of Israel in Josephus' Works," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Haga (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 295–324.

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 129.

<sup>52</sup> This argument follows Christopher B. Zeichmann, "Loanwords or Code-Switching," 42–64.

<sup>53</sup> Zeichmann, "Loanwords or Code-Switching," 56.

<sup>54</sup> Zeichmann, "Loanwords or Code-Switching," 61.

<sup>55</sup> Two other arguments are often used to support a Roman provenance. First, for some, the Markan critique of the Roman emperor and imperial ideology (1:1; 10:42–45) suggests a Roman provenance. E.g., Ivan Head, "Mark as a Roman Document from the Year 69: Testing Martin Hengel's Thesis," *JRH* 28 (2004): 240–59, esp. 243. However, both Syria and Judea are also part of the Roman empire, and a critique of empire would fit just as well in these eastern parts of the empire, perhaps especially just after the devastation of the Jewish War. Cf., Matthew Thiessen, "The Many for One or One for the Many? Reading Mark 10:45 in the Roman Empire," *HTR* 109 (2016): 447–66, esp. 466. Second, Mark 13:6–13 (cf. 8:34) is often understood to reflect a situation of persecution among the writer and intended audience of Mark, a situation which fits well in Rome at the time of Nero's persecution of Christians. E.g., Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans*, 156–252. However, there is too much evidence for persecution of Jesus-followers in the eastern empire (the province of Judea: Gal. 1:13, 22; Acts 5:40; 7.54–8.3; 12:1–5; 21:27–36; 23:12–15; Jos., *Ant.* 20.200; Decapolis: 2 Cor. 11:32–33; Acts 9:1–2, 23) for a situation of persecution to necessitate a

latinisms in the text of Mark provides a transition from negative arguments against a Roman provenance to positive arguments in favor of a provenance in or around the Roman province of Judea. While there is no conclusive argument for locating the composition of Mark in the eastern Roman provinces, a number of related factors make the Roman province of Judea and its environs the most probable locale.

First, the social setting of the writer and intended audience reflected in the Gospel fits best in or around Roman Judea. While it is problematic to locate the Gospel in Roman Judea simply because most of the narrative takes place there,<sup>56</sup> two widely-acknowledged aspects of the social setting point to a provenance not far removed from Roman Judea. On the one hand, the Gospel may reflect a rural setting. Most of the imagery in the parables is agricultural and involves seeds, trees, sowers, vineyards, and tenants.<sup>57</sup> Further, Mark's itinerary for Jesus's ministry largely avoids urban spaces: he visits the *countryside* (χώρα) of Gerasa (5:1) *region* (ὄριον) of Tyre (7:24, 31) and the *villages* (κώμη) of Caesarea Philippi (8:27), but remains outside of the cities themselves.<sup>58</sup> The spread of the Jesus-movement beyond Roman Judea was largely in cities, suggesting Roman Judea as a more plausible provenance than elsewhere in the Roman empire.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, the Gospel reflects features shared with other Jewish sectarian groups: The Gospel assumes a clear insider/outsider dichotomy that subdivides the

---

Roman provenance. E.g., Joel Marcus, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 32–3.

<sup>56</sup> See especially Dwight Peterson's important critique of Markan community construction, which tends to place the gospel in Galilee for this reason. *The Origins of Mark: The Markan Community in Current Debate*, BibInt 48 (Boston: Brill, 2000), 16.

<sup>57</sup> The agricultural imagery may simply reflect the stories of a rural teacher (Jesus). If so, it has little to contribute to the identification of Mark's provenance.

<sup>58</sup> Joanna Dewey, "A Galilean Provenance for the Gospel of Mark?," *Forum* 3 (2013): 101–20, esp. 109; Cilliers Breytenbach, "Mark and Galilee: Text World and Historical World," in *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures*, ed. Eric M. Meyers, Duke Judaic Studies Series 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 75–85, esp. 77–80.

<sup>59</sup> Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1.

Jewish *ethnos* (4:11) and disputes with other Jewish groups are largely halakhic (e.g., purity laws, sabbath, divorce). There is also a clear polemic against temple leadership in Mark (esp. 11–15), something found almost exclusively among Jewish texts written in and around Roman Judea.<sup>60</sup> The prominence of Jewish sectarian debates and the temple leadership polemic fit a social setting in or around Roman Judea better than elsewhere in the Roman empire where such inner-Jewish disputes are largely unattested.

While many scholars who argue for a provenance in the eastern Roman empire suggest an area just outside of Roman Judea because of a presumed gentile audience (based almost entirely on the parenthetical comment in 7:3–4),<sup>61</sup> and the choice of composition in Greek rather than a Semitic language, other factors suggest a more specific locale in or around Roman Judea and most likely Galilee.

(1) All the persons whom the writer of Mark expects his intended audience to know are associated with Roman Judea: James and Joses’s mother was from Galilee (15:40–41) and Alexander and Rufus’s father lived in Jerusalem (15:21).<sup>62</sup> (2) Both Jesus (14:28) and the young man in the empty tomb (16:7) locate Galilee as the site of post-resurrection activity among the Jesus followers.<sup>63</sup> The disagreement among the four Gospels (Luke 24:13–53 and John 20:11–31

---

<sup>60</sup> Wardle, “Mark, the Jerusalem Temple and Jewish Sectarianism,” 77. The only text that is critical of the temple establishment and certainly composed outside of the Southern Levant is *Sib. Or. 2*, composed in Egypt. Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*, WUNT 2/291 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 95.

<sup>61</sup> For example, Joel Marcus concludes “As for the ‘where,’ our findings would at first seem to cohere with the influential theory ... that Mark is written to a Christian community in Galilee. Galilee, however, was an overwhelmingly Jewish area in the first century, and in such a setting it is hard to imagine Mark’s predominantly Gentile community.” “Jewish War,” 461.

<sup>62</sup> So Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark*, 102. Paul sends greetings to one Rufus in Rome (Rom 16:13). If Paul refers to the same individual as Mark 15:21, it would also associate Rufus with Rome (the main alternative candidate for Mark’s provenance). However, Rufus was a very common name in the first century (‘Ρουφος, BAGD 737). Further, Paul’s Rufus seems to be a gentile Christ follower (not listed among Paul’s “kinsmen” [ συγγενεῖς], Rom 16:7, 13), unlike Mark’s Rufus, the son of a Cyrenian Jew. Peter Lampe, “Rufus,” ABD 5:839.

<sup>63</sup> Argued especially by Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist*, 15–29. Christopher Zeichmann suggests these texts authorize continued activity in Galilee. “Capernaum: A ‘Hub’ for the Historical Jesus or the Markan Evangelist?,” *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 15 (2017): 147–65, esp. 154. Cf. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark*, 103–4. For a discussion of why the focus of activity moves to Galilee (in Matthew’s narrative), see Anders

locate his first resurrection appearances in Jerusalem) suggests Galilee may have special significance for the writer and audience of Mark (and Matthew). (3) Mark refers to the Lake of Gennesaret as simply ἡ θάλασσα, (“the sea;” 1:16; 2:13; 3:7; 4:1, 39, 41, 5:1, 13, 21; 6:47, 48, 49).<sup>64</sup> This unqualified use would be unusual for an audience located anywhere where the Lake of Genessaret was not the most prominent body of water, and so suggests a Galilean provenance rather than the Italian peninsula, anywhere along the Mediterranean coast in Judea or Syria, or near the Dead Sea (including Jerusalem).<sup>65</sup> (4) The writer’s designation of Antipas as “king” (βασιλεύς, 6:14, 22, 25, 26), when he was only the tetrarch (τετράρχης) of Galilee and Perea, is nicely explained by historical slippage due to the writer’s proximity to King Agrippa II, whose kingdom of Batanea was expanded to include the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea in eastern Galilee in 61 CE.<sup>66</sup> (5) The epigraphic evidence from Galilee indicates that Greek was quite common in first-century Galilee. The recent discovery of Greek inscriptions on first-century Jewish ossuaries in Tiberias provides tangible evidence for the use of Greek, the compositional language of Mark, among the Jewish inhabitants of first-century Galilee.<sup>67</sup> (6) The narrative’s use of Γαλιλαῖος (14:70) and Ἰουδαῖος (1:5; 7:1; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26) to refer to residents of Galilee and Judea assumes the intended recipients are familiar with important local regional distinctions.<sup>68</sup> (7) The relatively greater role of the Herodians in Mark (3:6, 12;13; cf. ) than in

---

Runesson, “City of God or Home of Traitors and Killers? Jerusalem According to Matthew,” in *The Urban World and the First Christians*, ed. Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 219–35, esp. 228–33.

<sup>64</sup> Zeichmann, “Capernaum,” 161–62. Mark twice refers to the Lake of Genessaret as the “Sea of Galilee” (1:16; 7:31).

<sup>65</sup> An interesting parallel to the use of θάλασσα for the Lake of Genessaret in Mark is found in *P. Yadin* 16 and *P. Hever* 62, which both use θάλασσα to refer to the Dead Sea, presumably the most important body of water for the writer of each. Zeichmann, “Capernaum,” 162.

<sup>66</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 20.159; *J.W.* 2.252. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark*, 105–6.

<sup>67</sup> Scott D. Charlesworth concludes from the inscriptional evidence that “knowledge of Greek was probably quite common,” “The Use of Greek in Early Roman Galilee: The Inscriptional Evidence Re-Examined,” *JSNT* 38 (2016): 356–95, esp. 356.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., while in Judea, “the bystanders again said to Peter, ‘Certainly you are one of them; for you are a Galilean’” (14:70). The use of Γαλιλαῖος and Ἰουδαῖος as regional distinctions is discussed further below.

the other Synoptic Gospels may be due to a shared familiarity between Mark and his intended audience with this group associated with the family of Herod, ruling the areas around Roman Judea. The Herodians appear just once in the Gospel of Matthew (22:16, dependent on Mark) and are absent from Luke's narrative. These arguments suggest that the most plausible location for the composition of Mark is in or around Roman Judea, and most likely in the Galilee.

### **Genre: Elements of History and Biography with a Didactic Purpose**

The extensive discussion of the genre of the Gospels in general, and Mark in particular, has tended to identify the macro-genre of Mark as either ancient historiography or biography,<sup>69</sup> while also emphasizing that Mark resists strict classification.<sup>70</sup> By at least the mid-second century, Mark, along with Matthew, Luke, and John, had become a new “gospel” genre (*sui generis*).<sup>71</sup> It is now unrecoverable whether Mark *intended* to create a new genre, whether Matthew and Luke *intentionally* adapted Mark to create a new genre,<sup>72</sup> or whether the gospel genre resulted from later reflection on these four narratives. However, a prominent feature of Mark that is often used to sub-categorize Mark, and which is shared by both ancient historiography and biography, is its didactic purpose.<sup>73</sup> This didactic purpose of Mark is

---

<sup>69</sup> For the macro-genre of ancient historiography see especially, Eve-Marie Becker, *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*, WUNT 194 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). For the macro-genre of ancient biography, see especially Richard A. Burridge, *What Are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Cf. David E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, LEC 8 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987).

<sup>70</sup> For example, David Aune argues that Mark is a *parody* on the genre of Greco-Roman biography. “Genre Theory and the Genre-Function of Mark and Matthew,” in *Mark and Matthew: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First Century Settings*, ed. Eve-Marie Beckers and Anders Runesson, eds., WUNT 271 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 145–75.

<sup>71</sup> The earliest writer to identify a gospel genre is Justin, *1 Apol.* 66. (c. 150 CE). Irenaeus notes that there are exactly four gospels. *Haer.* 3.11.8. Ralph P. Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1972), 19.

<sup>72</sup> See especially the intriguing suggestion that Mark is an unfinished collection of booknotes that were meant to be expanded and developed. Matthew D. C. Larsen, *Gospels before the Book* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>73</sup> Aune writes “Mark has an ideological or didactic function, a feature it shares with most ancient historical and biographical genres.” “Genre Theory,” 165. Adela Yarbro Collins notes that Mark most closely resembles the subcategory of didactic biography. *Mark*, 31. A didactic function for Mark's gospel also fits with the hypothesis that



important for our purposes insofar as, for the writer of Mark, the person of Jesus is an example to imitate and his teachings are meant to be followed (as in didactic biographies), while the narrative as a whole is about the outworking of a divine plan in human history (similar to the homeric epics).<sup>74</sup> Therefore, while a precise generic classification remains a *desideratum*, this study will approach the Gospel of Mark as a narrative with a didactic purpose.

### **Social Location: Some Experience of Recent Persecution**

This study understands the Gospel of Mark to have been written for a local-specific audience, without excluding the possibility that Mark expected his Gospel to be circulated more widely.<sup>75</sup> The local-specific audience appears most clearly in the writer's assumption that the intended audience would know Alexander and Rufus (15:21).<sup>76</sup> A local-specific audience is also assumed by the patristic evidence,<sup>77</sup> and the anonymity of the Gospel may be due to Mark's assumption that the intended audience knew who he was.<sup>78</sup> While eschewing overly-allegorical readings which approach Mark as “‘nothing but’ projections onto the life of Jesus of concerns of a hypothetically reconstructed church community,”<sup>79</sup> the approach adopted here assumes that the

---

Mark is a collection of notes. Matthew Larson writes “I suggest the image of a person or persons compiling textual records of stories from a wide variety of sources, rewriting them for later rereading, liturgical recitation, or teaching.” *The Gospels before the Book*, 123.

<sup>74</sup> Collins, *Mark*, 31–33, 39–40.

<sup>75</sup> Pace Richard Bauckham, “For Whom Were the Gospels Written,” in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 9–48;

<sup>76</sup> Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 25, 27–28. Matthew and Luke's omission of these names makes most sense on the assumption they were not known to their intended audiences. Bauckham deals with 15:21 by noting that not everything the gospel records needs to be relevant for all recipients. “For Whom Were the Gospels Written,” 25. While this is true (even if written for a local-specific audience, some may not have known Alexander and Rufus), the side comment still appears to have some sort of primary audience in mind.

<sup>77</sup> Clement states that Mark wrote at Rome for those in Rome (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 6.14.6–7). Gregory of Nazianzus states Mark wrote for those in Italy (*Carm.* 1.12.6–9; PG 37). John Chrysostom states that Mark wrote in and for in Egypt (*Homiliae in Matthaicum* 1.3). Margaret M. Mitchell, “Patristic Counter-Evidence to the Claim That ‘the Gospels Were Written for All Christians,’” *NTS* 51 (2005): 36–79.

<sup>78</sup> Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 25.

<sup>79</sup> Mitchell, “Patristic Counter-Evidence,” 37. Examples of over-allegorized readings of Mark are Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark's Story of Jesus* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, NY, 1988), Kee, *Community of the New Age*; Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark*. See the important critique by Peterson, *The Origins of Mark*.

text of Mark still reflects some aspects of the social situation and interests of the group.<sup>80</sup> In particular, the Markan Jesus's repeated prediction that his followers will experience persecution (4:17; 8:34–35; 10:29–30; 13:9–13) strongly suggests that persecution was part of the writer and intended audience's present or recent-past experience.<sup>81</sup> The element of persecution in the audience's recent past is relevant for our study insofar as it indicates a social location without access to official means of boundary making.<sup>82</sup> In general, this study assumes that the inclusion of material (whether from existing sources, oral tradition, eyewitness accounts, or otherwise) is due to its relevance for the writer and intended readers and therefore reflects the interests, needs, and disputes of the writer and intended audience.<sup>83</sup>

The conclusion that Mark was written within a few years after the first Jewish War with a didactic purpose for a target audience that had experienced some hardship in or around Roman Judea, quite possibly Galilee, allows the text of Mark, as a discursive means of boundary making, to be situated within the locate-specific ethnic boundary system of the Southern Levant. Attempts to relate Mark to a specific historical context are common. For example, Cilliers Breytenbach, seeking to root the spatial world of Mark in a local-specific context, asks “How can our understanding of the spatial aspect of the world that can be constructed from the text of Mark benefit by taking cognizance of the relevant images of Galilean localities that historians

---

<sup>80</sup> This fits with all sides of the debate over the “universal” and “particular” audience of the gospels. Richard Bauckham, “Is There Patristic Counter-Evidence?: A Response to Margaret Mitchell,” in *The Audience of the Gospels: The Origin and Function of the Gospels in Early Christianity*, ed. Edward W. Klink III (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 68–110, esp. 109; Craig L. Blomberg, “The Gospels for Specific Communities and All Christians,” in *The Audience of the Gospels: The Origin and Function of the Gospels in Early Christianity*, ed. Edward W. Klink III (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 111–33, esp. 133.

<sup>81</sup> This aspect of the social situation reflected in Mark is broadly recognized. E.g., Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark*, 27–74; Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans*, 90; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 28–29; Collins, *Mark*, 99.

<sup>82</sup> That is, unlike some of the opponents in the Markan narrative, the writer/intended recipients cannot call an assembly the chief priests, elders and scribes (14:53) and unlike the Romans, they cannot use strategic *means* of *discrimination*, or *coercion and violence*.

<sup>83</sup> Some material may be most relevant simply because Jesus said it and may be included to preserve an accurate record of Jesus life and ministry. In these cases, accurate preservation is still relevant because the teaching or action in some way is instructive for Mark and the intended audience.

construct ...?”<sup>84</sup> What is unique about the present study is the attempt to relate Mark’s vision of the ethnic boundary system to the field characteristics of the existing ethnic boundary system in the Southern Levant just following the first Jewish War. The following section summarizes the field characteristics and varieties of ethnic configurations of Jewishness during the compositional setting of the Gospel of Mark.

### **Field Characteristics and Jewishness of the Compositional Setting of the Gospel of Mark**

The Southern Levant included political boundaries between the Roman provinces of Syria to the North, Judea to the South, and the kingdom of Agrippa II in between. The Roman province of Judea had just become a senatorial province and included Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Western Galilee (excluding Tiberias and Tarichea), and much of Perea.<sup>85</sup> Agrippa II’s kingdom surrounded the Lake of Genessaret and included Philip’s former *tetrarchy* of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Paneas (Jos., *Ant.* 20.138; *J.W.* 2.247.) North and East of the Lake of Genessaret, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichea along the western shore of the Lake of Genessaret, and the city of Julia with the surrounding villages in southern Perea (*Ant.* 20.159; *J.W.* 2.252).<sup>86</sup> The Roman province of Syria extended south along the coast as far as Dor, and stretched south-east around Agrippa II’s kingdom to include the cities of the Decapolis.

The ethnic demographics of the Southern Levant had become increasingly diverse during the Early Roman period. The province of Judea, now made a senatorial province after the war, retained a Jewish majority, centered especially around Jerusalem and Galilee, but also included Idumeans, some of whom may have maintained a non-Jewish identity, and a more diverse

---

<sup>84</sup> Breytenbach, “Mark and Galilee, 76.

<sup>85</sup> Josephus never delineates the boundaries of the new province, but the events of the years 44–66 CE make these quite clear. Cf. *J.W.* 2.247. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 200.

<sup>86</sup> Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 200.

demographic in Samaria. The Jewish War decreased the Jewish demographic, largely due to war casualties,<sup>87</sup> and increased Roman presence with the Legion X Fretensis permanently stationed in Jerusalem<sup>88</sup> and two new Roman colonies at Caesarea Maritima and Neapolis at Sebaste.<sup>89</sup> Agrippa II's kingdom included Nabateans, Itureans, Syrians, Idumeans, and Jews, including some from Babylon.<sup>90</sup> The Syrian coastal and Decapolis cities included persons who claimed Phoenician, Syrian, Greek, and Roman identities, and all these cities likely included a Jewish minority.<sup>91</sup>

The events of the first Jewish War (*exogenous shift*) caused two changes to the field characteristics in and around Roman Judea. First, by implementing the *Fiscus Iudaicus*, Vespasian created a new tax (*institutional frameworks*) administered along ethnic lines. This elevated the *relevance* of Jewishness by linking Jewish ethnic identity with Roman imperial policy. Second, the Roman subjugation of the Jewish rebellion demoted the Jewish *ethnos* from the middle of the ranked boundary system (between Romans and Syrians and equal to Greeks) to the bottom of the ranked boundary system, providing additional incentive to disidentify with the Jewish *ethnos* and further limiting the resources available for members of the Jewish *ethnos* to rework the boundary system.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Meyer, *Alexander to Constantine*, 164.

<sup>88</sup> Magness, "Tenth Roman Legion," 189–212.

<sup>89</sup> Pliny 5.14.69. Chancey and Porter, "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine," 185. Cf. Eck, "Caesarea Maritima—Eine römische Stadt?," 150–62; Zangenberg, *Frühes Christentum in Samarien*, 30–35; Yitzhak Magen, *Flavia Neapolis* (2005).

<sup>90</sup> Meyers, *Alexander to Constantine*, 123.

<sup>91</sup> Josephus reports widespread Jew-gentile conflict in the Decapolis cities of Philadelphia, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, Hippos, and Gadara (*J.W.* 2.457–480). The Jewish presence in these areas likely increased significantly while some or all of these cities were part of the Hasmonean kingdom and Herod's territory, and it is likely that the Decapolis cities not mentioned by Josephus also had Jewish residents. Chancey, *Myth of a Gentile Galilee*, 132. Josephus attests to a Jewish minority in both Tyre and Sidon at the time of the first revolt that likely existed in earlier times as well: "... the other cities rose against the Jews in their respective territories. ... The Tyrians dispatched a considerable number, but imprisoned the majority in chains; ... Only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea spared the residents and refused either to kill or to imprison a single Jew" (*J.W.* 2.477–479).

<sup>92</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 93–94.

While much about the ethnic boundary system in the Southern Levant remains obscure (e.g., the nature of the consensus across the Syrian/Roman boundary), some characteristics of the Jew/nations boundary and Jew/Roman boundary can be sketched. The analysis in the previous chapter concluded that there was widespread agreement that the boundaries between Jews and others mattered (i.e., the boundary's *relevance*) and about who was on each side (i.e., the boundary's *location*). It also concluded that there was significant disagreement about the boundary *meaning*. More specifically, all eight texts that can be safely located in or around Roman Judea and dated between 63 BCE and 132 CE seek to overturn the *distribution of power* that privileged Romans and others over Jews. The increased power difference across the Jew/Roman boundary after 70 CE further exacerbated this disagreement over the *meaning* of the Jew/Roman boundary. Therefore, the consensus across the Jew/nations boundary just after the Jewish War and during the compositional setting of Mark can be described as *symmetrical* (agreement on its *relevance*), but *partial* (agreement over its *location*, but not its *meaning*) and therefore not fully encompassing.

Finally, the period of Roman control leading up to the Jewish revolt was marked by field characteristics that were not conducive for long-term stability between Jews and members of other *ethnē*. Jewishness as an ethnic category was less *politically salient* than class distinctions: there were relatively low degrees of *social closure*; and the period was not conducive to the accumulation of additional cultural diacritics that further differentiated Jews from others. The Jewish War increased *social closure* between Jews and non-Jews as there was a greater power inequality across the Jew/non-Jew boundary. This increased the boundary *stability*. However, both the *political saliency* of Jewishness and the degree of *cultural differentiation* remained low after the war. Therefore, the period after the war is characterized by a social field slightly more

conducive for boundary *stability* and increased disagreement over the *meaning* of the Jew/nations boundary. It is into this social field that Mark writes and his audience encounters his text.

### **Boundaries in the Gospel of Mark**

The key to understanding the social location of Mark in relation to the Jew/nations boundary in or around late first-century Roman Judea is to identify the assumed location of the writer and intended recipients in relation to the categorical boundaries in the narrative world of Mark's Gospel. As a text with a didactic purpose, the Gospel of Mark represents a *discursive means* of boundary making. *Discursive means* of boundary making both define relevant groups (*categorization*) and determine who belongs to which group (*identification*) in an effort to make their preferred vision of the boundary system relevant for others.<sup>93</sup> Like other *discursive means* of boundary making Mark employs practices of *categorization* and *identification* strategically to argue for his preferred vision of the ethnic boundary system. In this section I outline the categorical boundaries in the text of Mark and identify how membership in each group is defined.

### **Ethnic Categorization and Group Boundaries**

The Gospel of Mark includes both ethnic and non-ethnic categories, and hence ethnic and non-ethnic boundaries. The possible ethnic categories in Mark are: Ἰσραήλ (12:29; 15:32), Ἰουδαῖος (1:5; 7:3; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26), Γαλιλαῖος (14:70), Ἑλληνίς (7:26), Συροφοινίκισσα (7:26), and Καναναῖον (3:18). The text also includes two non-specific ethnic designators: ἔθνος (10:33, 42; 11:17; 13:8[2x], 13:10) and γένος (7:26; cf. 9:29).

---

<sup>93</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 64–66.

First, the narrative of Mark exhibits a basic binary ethnic boundary between Israel and “the nations.” It is clear that Ἰσραήλ (“Israel”) is not one *ethnos* among many *ethnē*, for members of Israel are consistently distinguished from the *ethnē*. This distinction is most clear during the approach to Jerusalem when Jesus predicts that the chief priests and scribes will hand Jesus over “to the nations” (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, 10:33) and contrasts typical leadership practices “among the nations” (τῶν ἐθνῶν) with expected practice among his disciples: “it is not this way among you” (10:42–43). In these two statements, both Jesus’s followers and his Jewish opponents are distinct from the *ethnē*, indicating a basic ethnic boundary between Israel and the nations in Mark.

The catch-all category for the nations (ἔθνος) in Mark occurs six times. In addition to the instances noted above on the way to Jerusalem (10:33, 42), it occurs four times during Jesus’s last days in Jerusalem (11:17; 13:8 [2x]; 13:10). First, while Jesus is disrupting temple commerce (11:15–18), he describes the temple as a “den of robbers” (σπήλαιον ληστῶν, Jer 7:11) and contrasts its present state with its intended purpose by citing Isa 56:7: “My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).”<sup>94</sup> This statement does not advocate open access for all to the Jerusalem temple, because in Isa 56:7, those from “all the nations” with access to the temple are those who have joined the covenant.<sup>95</sup> Isaiah 56:1–12 is an affirmation that the foreigner who is joined to the Lord (ὁ ἀλλογενὴς ὁ προσκεείμενος πρὸς κύριον, בן־הגֵּר הַנֶּכֶד, Isa 56:3, 6) may offer acceptable sacrifices on the temple altar if she or he keeps the sabbath, holds fast to the covenant, and serves the Lord.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>94</sup> The Markan quotation is nearly identical to the received text of the LXX (the only difference is πᾶσιν/πᾶσι) and conveys the same meaning as the MT. MT: כי בייתי בית־הפלה יקרא לכל־העמים ליהוה יקרא לכל־העמים. Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaias*, vol. 14 of *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939).

<sup>95</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 136.

<sup>96</sup> The passage also includes the eunuch (Isa 56:3–4), and the outcasts of Israel (Isa 56:8), but these are less relevant for our purpose.

The other three uses of ἔθνος occur in the apocalyptic discourse in Mark 13 (esp. 13:8–10). In 13:8 the phrase ἔθνος ἐπ’ ἔθνος parallels βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν (“kingdom against kingdom”) and depicts widespread future unrest before the end (cf. 13:13). The more significant occurrence in 13:10 is most often read as a prediction of a mission to the nations.<sup>97</sup> For example, the NRSV translates, “And the good news must first be proclaimed to all nations (εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).” This reading links the prepositional phrase εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (“into all the nations”) to the verb δεῖ in the sentence that follows, πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (“first it is necessary to proclaim the gospel”). However, the prepositional phrase may also modify the preceding phrase, σταθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς (“you will stand for my sake for witnesses to them [and to all the nations]”).<sup>98</sup> If this latter reading is correct, Mark 13:10 does not foresee a mission to the nations, but groups “all the nations” with the “governors and kings” (ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων) before whom the disciples will stand trial. If Mark 13:10 does not foresee a mission to the nations, neither does the rest of the Gospel of Mark, for Mark 13:10 is the only reference to a future non-Jewish mission in Mark.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, Mark 13:10 deserves a closer look.

---

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Collins, *Mark*, 606–7; Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 370; Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 886; Cranfield, *Mark*, 398; Gnllka, *Markus*, 2:190.

<sup>98</sup> This was argued most fully in a neglected study by George D. Kilpatrick, “The Gentile Mission in Mark and Mark 13:9–11,” in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 148–58. Kilpatrick’s argument was defended by James K. Elliott, “The Position of the Verb in Mark with Special Reference to Chapter 13,” *NovT* 38 (1996): 136–44. Étienne Trocmé adopts this reading. Étienne Trocmé, *L’Évangile Selon Saint Marc*, CNT 2 (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2000), 321, 345. Morna D. Hooker finds it plausible. *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark*, BNTC (London: Continuum, 1991), 310–11.

<sup>99</sup> Charles D. F. Moule describes 13:10 as “the last vestige of universalism in the Markan tradition.” “Review of Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot,” *JTS* 7 (1956): 280–82, esp. 281. Kilpatrick writes “if this translation is accepted there is, strictly speaking, no mention of preaching the Gospel to all nations.” “Gentile Mission in Mark,” 149. The reluctance of the disciples to go to the nations in Acts suggests that the historical Jesus did not make such a clear pronouncement about a gentile mission and leads many commentators to attribute εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη to Markan redaction rather than the historical Jesus. E.g., Donahue and Harrington state, “The likelihood that Mark himself has inserted this sentence is suggested by ... the unlikelihood that Jesus spoke so clearly about the Gentile mission (since there was so much dispute about it in the early church according to Acts and Paul’s letters).” *Mark*, 370.



There is good reason to link εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη to the preceding phrase.<sup>100</sup> First, Mark tends to place verbs in the initial position.<sup>101</sup> By one estimate, Mark 13 includes 64 verbs in the initial position, 8 medial verbs, and 21 final position verbs.<sup>102</sup> If εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη modifies the preceding verb (σταθήσεσθε), then the verb δεῖ in Mark 13:10 also adheres to Mark’s verb-initial preference.<sup>103</sup> Second, the Gospel of Matthew, the earliest extant reception of Mark 13:9–13, adopts the proposed reading by linking the nations with the governors and kings: “And before governors and kings you will be led for my sake as a testimony to them and to the nations” (Matt 10:18).<sup>104</sup> In addition, while the best-attested manuscript reading of δεῖ πρῶτον κηρυχθῆναι (Mark 13:10) allows for either reading, the variant δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον κηρυχθῆναι requires that εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη modifies the preceding verb.<sup>105</sup> This shows that some early interpreters followed the proposed reading, and allows for the possibility that many did. At least one other scribe connected εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη with the kings and rulers, and found it necessary to clarify that the gospel also went to all nations, adding a second reference to the nations (ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν)

---

<sup>100</sup> According to the suggested reading Mark 13:9–10 is structured as follows: Kilpatrick, “Gentile Mission in Mark,” 153.

Βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοὺς  
 παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγάς,  
 δαρήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων,  
 σταθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἑμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.  
 δεῖ πρῶτον κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὁμᾶς παραδίδοντες ...

<sup>101</sup> Nigel Turner, “The Style of Mark,” in *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark: An Edition of C.H. Turner’s “Notes on Markan Usage” Together with Other Comparable Studies*, ed. James K. Elliott, NovTSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 215–38, esp. 223.

<sup>102</sup> Elliott, “The Position of the Verb in Mark,” 137–40.

<sup>103</sup> Kilpatrick, “The Gentile Mission in Mark,” 149–50.

<sup>104</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἑμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Matt 24:14 (καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) also interprets Mark 13:9–13, where again “the nations” (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) are linked with εἰς μαρτύριον. Here, however, Matthew understands the “witness” as “proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom,” and seems to reinterpret Mark 13:9–13. George D. Kilpatrick, “Mark 13:9–10,” *JTS* 9 (1958): 81–86, esp. 85. Luke’s reworking of Mark 13:9–13 does not include the phrase εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (21:12–17).

<sup>105</sup> This variant is attested in W Θ 124 565 and a few Old Latin and Peshitta witnesses. Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Mark* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995), 212.

after τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.<sup>106</sup> Third, the use of the preposition εἰς to designate the recipients of the proclamation (κηρύσσειν εἰς) is unique and a departure from the typical use of the dative case to designate the recipients of the proclamation.”<sup>107</sup>

Therefore, there are significant grammatical reasons to link the prepositional phrase εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη with the preceding phrase and read Mark 13:10 as a general statement about the proclamation of the gospel without a stated audience. The biggest objection to the proposed reading is that it creates an awkward grammatical structure by making the prepositional phrase parallel to a dative pronoun (αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).<sup>108</sup> However, every proposed solution involves awkward Greek, Mark’s syntax is often awkward,<sup>109</sup> and Matthew’s rewording of Mark’s awkward εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη with the dative αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (Matt 10:18) fits with Matthew’s tendency to smooth out Mark’s awkward Greek. If this argument is correct, Mark 13:9–10 foresees no mission to the nations, and the relevant section may be translated as “you will stand before governors and kings because of me, as a testimony to them and to all the nations. And the good news must first be proclaimed.”<sup>110</sup>

In summary, among the six uses of ἔθνος in Mark, those designated by this category are distinguished from both the Jewish leadership and the in-group of Jesus’s followers. While no

---

<sup>106</sup> Attested in D: καὶ εἰς πάντα ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (13:10). Swanson, *Mark*, 212.

<sup>107</sup> Kilpatrick, “Mark 13:9–10,” 85.

<sup>108</sup> Focant, *Marc*, 495.

<sup>109</sup> James W. Voelz, “The Characteristics of the Greek of St. Mark’s Gospel,” in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*, NTTSD 47 (Boston: Brill, 2014), 138–53, esp. 143.

<sup>110</sup> Étienne Trocmé, who adopts Kilpatrick’s argument, translates the relevant section as, *On vous livrera à des sanhédrins et vous serez battus dans des synagogues et vous comparâtraz devant des gouverneurs et des rois à cause de moi, en témoignage pour eux et pour toutes les nations. Il faut d’abord que la Grande Nouvelle soit proclamée ...*” (13:9–10).

universal mission to the *ethnē* is envisioned, Jesus’s quotation of Isa 56:7 indicates a positive appraisal of members of the *ethnē* who keep the covenant.<sup>111</sup>

A number of specific ethnic categories are present in Mark’s Gospel and these are helpful for better understanding the Jew/nations boundary. Mark addresses one specific Jew/nations boundary explicitly through a scene set in the region of Tyre, after Jesus left (ἀπῆλθεν) Galilee (7:24–30). In spite of Jesus’s effort to escape notice (“he did not want anyone to know he was there,” 7:24), a woman asked him to heal her daughter. This woman is sometimes understood as paradigmatic of faith or of Jesus’s (positive) response to marginalized persons.<sup>112</sup> However, in the narrative only two aspects are noted: she is a woman, and she is a Syrophenician Greek. The story introduces the suppliant as a woman (γυνή; 7:25), but Mark emphasizes her Greekness, breaking the narrative flow to highlight the woman’s *ethnos*: “Now the woman was a Greek (Ἑλληνίς), of Syrophenician (Συροφονικίσσα) origin.”<sup>113</sup> Therefore, for Mark, this interaction is paradigmatic for Jesus’s relation to the nations.<sup>114</sup> It is striking that the only story where a character’s non-Jewish identity is highlighted is also the only instance in Mark where Jesus objects to healing, and in a rather blunt way.<sup>115</sup> Jesus rebuffs the Greek woman’s request by

---

<sup>111</sup> Michael Bird notes the lack of emphasis on the Gentile mission and emphasizes how much restraint the gospel writers show toward projecting a Gentile mission onto the life of Jesus. For Bird, this underlies the authenticity of a Gentile mission undertaken by the historical Jesus by the “pro-Gentile Gospel authors.” *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission*, LNTS 331 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 173. In contrast, if the Gospel writers are still within the social boundaries of first-century Judaism, such “restraint” is expected.

<sup>112</sup> Faith: Matthew L. Skinner, “‘She Departed to Her House’: Another Dimension of the Syrophenician Mother’s Faith in Mark 7:24-30,” *WW* 26 (2006): 14–21; Collins, *Mark*, 365–68. Marginalized persons: Richard A. Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark’s Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 213–15.

<sup>113</sup> 7:26. The use of “Greek” for a single non-Jewish person is also reflected in Paul (Rom 1:16; 2:9, 10; 10:12; Gal 2:3; 3:28; Col 3:11). The woman’s identity as “Syrophenician” is identified as her γενός (τῷ γένει). Γενός most generally refers to various types of classification, including ethnic classifications. Here, the woman’s nested ethnic identities include “Greek” and the sub-category of “Syrophenician.” For the nested character of ethnic categorization see Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 31–48.

<sup>114</sup> T. Alec Burkill, “Syrophenician Woman: The Congruence of Mark 7:24–31,” *ZNW* 57 (1966), 23–37, esp. 24; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:390–91; Paul Lamarche, *Évangile de Marc, EBib* 33 (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 189–90.; Trocmé, *Marc*, 448–49; Collins, *Mark*, 365, 368.

<sup>115</sup> Julien Smith writes, “Although in each of these Markan type-scenes the suppliant must overcome an obstacle, in no other instance is the obstacle Jesus’s intransigence. It should immediately strike the reader as unsettling and

comparing members of Israel to children, and Greeks to their dogs: “Let the children be fed first, for it is not fair to take the children’s food and throw it to the dogs” (7:27).<sup>116</sup> Jesus acquiesces only after the woman acknowledges her inferior status: “Lord, even the dogs under the table eat the children’s crumbs” (7:28). The significance of this scene, where Jesus heals a Greek woman’s daughter, is often inferred to be either the dissolution of ethnic distinctiveness in favor of a non-ethnic “Christian” identity, or the compatibility of pre-existing ethnic identity with a new identity as a Jesus follower.<sup>117</sup> This, however, is overstated and overlooks the Jewish-centric view of Mark’s Gospel. The woman never follows Jesus,<sup>118</sup> and, unlike the Gerasene demoniac, Jesus does not instruct her to “go home to your friends, and tell them how much the Lord has done for you.” (5:19). Further, the woman receives healing for her daughter only after acknowledging her inferior status to the Jewish *ethnos* as a dog to children, and the healing of her daughter is depicted as crumbs in comparison to the children’s food (7:28).<sup>119</sup>

---

incongruent with the picture of Jesus developed thus far in the narrative.” “The Construction of Identity in Mark 7:24–30,” *BibInt* 20 (2012): 458–81, esp. 470.

<sup>116</sup> Mark Nanos challenged the notion that “dog” represents a Jewish ethnic slur for non-Jews in antiquity. “Paul’s Reversal of Jews Calling Gentiles ‘Dogs’ (Philippians 3:2): 1600 Years of an Ideological Tale Wagging an Exegetical Dog?,” *BibInt* 17 (2009): 448–82. However, in the context of Mark 7 (as well as Matt 15:22–28) it is difficult to see how it is not compared pejoratively to children. Cf. Matthew Thiessen, “Gentiles as Impure Animals in the Writings of Early Christ Followers,” in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, Wolfgang Grünstäudl, and Matthew Thiessen, WUNT 394 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 19–32.

<sup>117</sup> E.g., Julien Smith concludes “[t]he specific possibility that she represents is that of simultaneity: that one’s ethnic identity and Christian identity can co-exist as overlapping subsets of social identity.” “Construction of Identity,” 481. For an illustration of how social-location influences the interpretation of this incident, see the contrasting interpretations of John Chrysostom and the Pseudo-Clementine Homilist. Most interestingly, the Homilist understands the healing to happen only after the woman becomes a Jew. Deborah Forger, “Interpreting the Syrophenician Woman to Construct Jewish-Christian Fault Lines: John Chrysostom and the Pseudo-Clementine Homilist in Chrono-Locational Perspective,” *JJMJS* 3 (2016): 132–66.

<sup>118</sup> Julien C. H. Smith notes this problem “The “riddle” that this passage may have posed for such readers concerns the value of ethnic identity vis-a-vis one’s membership in the Christian community. Such a claim is potentially problematic in light of the fact that nowhere does the text suggest that the Syrophenician woman “becomes a Christian” or even follows Jesus. Nevertheless, we may assume that the evangelist intended his Gospel to inform Christian identity;” “Construction of identity,” 480.

<sup>119</sup> For the interesting example of the significance of animal imagery for understanding genealogical significance in the Animal Apocalypse which depicts all the nations transformed into cattle in the escaton (1 En. 90:37), except Israel, which remain sheep (1 En. 90:38) and God is still called the “Lord of the Sheep.” Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 94; Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 89.

In this sense, the scene is a perfect example of what Frederick Barth identified as the interaction across boundaries that is a necessary component of erecting and reinforcing ethnic boundaries.<sup>120</sup> Through this encounter, both Jesus and the Syrophenician woman encounter the other, and Jesus reinforces (and promotes) a common first-century Jewish vision of the ethnic boundary system by making the daughter's healing contingent on the woman's acceptance of the ranked difference between Jews and the nations. The power inequality across the Jew/Greek boundary that is symbolically depicted as the privilege of children over their dogs is not overturned in the Markan narrative, and therefore represents part of the writer's vision of the ideal boundary system in and around Roman Judea.

Jesus's interaction with the Syrophenician woman, therefore, reinforces the Jew/nations boundary. The scene may, perhaps, hint at openness to the nations, for Jesus notes that the children must be fed *first* (πρῶτον), leaving open a possible later gentile mission depicted as feeding dogs.<sup>121</sup> However, this also should not be over-interpreted, for nothing in the imagery suggests the dogs are transformed into children, or that they receive any sort of food typical of children rather than dogs. In fact, the emphasis on the priority of children eating implies nothing transformative about any expected food for the dogs, but rather assumes a typical, ordered hierarchy between the children and their dogs in or around a family home. Therefore, Jesus's healing of the Syrophenician woman should not be seen as a watershed moment in Mark's narrative as Jesus turns toward the nations, but rather as it is depicted in the narrative: an

---

<sup>120</sup> Barth writes "Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behavior, ... Thus the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies ... a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences." "Introduction," 16.

<sup>121</sup> In this sense, Mark would agree with Matthew, who presents Jesus's message as directed to Israel during Jesus's life (Matt 10:5–6), but to the nations after his resurrection (28:19).

unwanted interruption that surprises Jesus, but results in dogs remaining dogs and eating dog food, and children remaining children and eating their food first.

Another candidate for an ethnic category is found in the list of the twelve disciples. The penultimate member is “Simon the Canaanite” (τὸν Καναναῖον, 3:18). There are four explanations for Simon’s epithet, three of which locate him within the boundaries of Jewishness: (1) Simon is a Canaanite, a member of the nations and part of Jesus’s inner-circle; (2) the minority reading Κανανίτην (esp. A, Θ) may be original, in which case the epithet designates Simon’s hometown as Cana in Galilee; (3) Mark’s Simon may be a Canaanite Jewish proselyte; or (4) Καναναῖον may be transliterated from זְהוֹטָא (“zealot”) and have no ethnic significance for the writer.<sup>122</sup> The latter option is most likely for the following reasons: (1) the inclusion of a non-Jew among Jesus’s appointed twelve would be rather surprising in a narrative when elsewhere Jesus compares non-Jews to dogs and only heals a Greek (Ἑλληνίς) woman’s daughter after she acknowledges her subordinate status (7:26–30); (2) the Gospel of Luke assumes this reading, rendering Mark’s τὸν Καναναῖον as “zealot” (Σίμων ὁ καλούμενος ζηλωτής; Luke 2:16); and (3) Mark’s choice to transliterate זְהוֹטָא rather than translate as ζηλωτής may be explained by the connotations of political rebellion that ζηλωτής adopted during the first Jewish War.

While the ethnic category Ρωμαῖος (“Roman”) is not used in Mark, members of the Roman *ethnos* do appear during the trial and crucifixion (15:1–47). Members of the Roman *ethnos* are all representative of Roman power, which is central to Roman privilege during both the narrative (early 30s CE) and compositional setting (early 70s CE) of Mark. These individuals are Pilate, the Roman *praefectus* of Judea (15:1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 12, 14, 15, 43, 44), the soldiers who

---

<sup>122</sup> While Matthew 10:4 has Καναναῖος, Luke 2:16 reads “zealot”: Σίμων ὁ καλούμενος ζηλωτής. Most commentaries, following Luke, find the meaning of zealot most probable for Mark. E.g., Collins, *Mark*, 222; Cuvillier, *Marc*, 74; Focant, *Marc*, 145; Gnllka, *Markus*, 1:141; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 163; Trocmé, *Marc*, 100.

mock and crucify Jesus (15:16–24), and the centurion overseeing Jesus’s crucifixion (15:39, 44, 45). In the narrative of Mark 15, the power inequality between the Romans and the Jews in which Rome, but not the “chief priests, scribes, and elders” (15:1), has the power to crucify members of the Jewish *ethnos* accurately reflects the distribution of power across the Jew/Roman boundary in Roman Judea during both the narrative and compositional settings of Mark.<sup>123</sup>

On the other side of the Jew/non-Jew binary, there are three categories that refer to all, or parts, of the Jewish *ethnos*: Ἰσραήλ (12:29; 15:32), Ἰουδαῖος (1:5; 7:3; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26), and Γαλιλαῖος (14:70). Ἰσραήλ occurs just twice. First, it appears in a quotation of Deut 4:4–5 as Jesus’s answer to a scribe’s question about the greatest commandment (12:29). The clear assumption is that this command, as a summary of the law that is addressed to Ἰσραήλ is relevant for Jesus, the scribe, and those listening, as well as the intended recipients of Mark’s Gospel. The second occurrence is found on the lips of the chief priests and scribes who jeer, “Let the messiah, the king of Israel, come down from the cross” (15:32). Neither of these occurrences identify who

---

<sup>123</sup> Other figures whose ethnicity is not noted in the Markan narrative are often assumed to be non-Jews. Most notably, the man with many demons in the region of the Gerasa (5:1–20). The common assumption that Jesus engages non-Jews here is based on two pieces of indirect evidence: (1) the geographical location outside of Jewish-majority territory, and (2) the nearby herd of pigs, not permitted for consumption according to Levitical dietary laws. Neither of these arguments should be given much weight. The presence of Jewish persons throughout the Decapolis cities, including Gerasa is well established (Jos., *J.W.* 2.457–480). While the presence of pigs may indicate non-Jewish pig herders, it may just as well indicate Jews who no longer follow Levitical dietary laws. If this were so, Jesus’s encounter with the pig herders would fit well with his target audience: “Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick; I have come to call not the righteous but sinners” (2:17). The other possibility is raised by the observation that the gentile pig herders, and those from the town, remain outsiders throughout the entire narrative. That is, they show up after the pigs have drowned in the lake, they are afraid (5:15), and ask Jesus to leave (5:17), which he does without ever calling them to repent (5:18–21). Jesus directs the man who had the demons cast out to “go home to your own” (εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς) and, apparently in obedience, he goes throughout the Decapolis telling what Jesus did for him (5:20). If the man is Jewish, and up until this point in the narrative all persons whom Jesus encounters have been, “his own” would most naturally refer to the Jewish inhabitants of the Decapolis cities. Further, some have argued that the “sinners” and “tax collectors” with whom Jesus eats (1:16) either are non-Jews, or indicate openness to non-Jews. For example, Michael Bird writes, “The designation ‘sinner’ is used in some literature as a synonym for gentiles, while a ‘tax-collector’ was a functional gentile (i.e., regarded with gentile-like status by other Jews). By analogy there is a reasonable probability that Jesus was open to accepting gentiles into table-fellowship and also into the kingdom of God.” *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission*, 107. In contrast, the Markan Jesus’s own explanation emphasizes that the dispute is over their sinfulness with no note that they are outside of Israel (1:17).

are members of Ἰσραήλ (i.e., there is no redefinition of “Israel”). Rather, the terms both seem to be used in the typical, first-century sense, designating descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob.<sup>124</sup>

The other two categories (Ἰουδαῖος and Γαλιλαῖος) are best understood as subcategories of the Jewish *ethnos*. First, people in the high priest’s courtyard accuse Peter of being “from them” (ἐξ αὐτῶν, i.e., the followers of Jesus) because he is a Γαλιλαῖος (“Galilean;” 14:69–70). This category most closely corresponds to the region of Γαλιλαία (“Galilee;” 1:9, 14, 16, 28, 39; 3:7; 6:21; 7:31; 9:30; 14:28; 15:41; 16:7) and represents a subcategory of Ἰσραήλ defined (*identification*) geographically.

Likewise, in the Markan narrative, the category Ἰουδαῖος is best understood as a geographically defined subcategory of Ἰσραήλ.<sup>125</sup> The multivalence of Ἰουδαῖος is illustrated by Josephus’s writings, where it can designate persons defined by descent, “religion,” or geography.<sup>126</sup> In Mark’s Gospel, each instance of Ἰουδαῖος occurs in connection with the region of Ἰουδαία (“Judea”).<sup>127</sup> Six of the seven uses occur in scenes in the region of Judea. Five of these uses are in the construction ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (“king of the Jews/Judeans,”) during Jesus’s trial before Pilate in Jerusalem (15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26). The other instance in the region of Judea is in the summary statement of John the Baptist’s appeal (1:5) where the feminine singular

---

<sup>124</sup> Jason Staples shows that “Israel” in Second Temple literature designates “biblical Israel, eschatological Israel, or to the suprahistorical/supratemporal people of YHWH.” “Reconstructing Israel,” 480.

<sup>125</sup> John M. G. Barclay finds a restricted geographical sense in the gospels. “Ἰουδαῖος: Ethnicity and Translation,” 53. This geographical usage and contrast with Galilee was also suggested, unconvincingly, in the Gospel of John by Malcolm Lowe. “Who Were the Ἰουδαῖοι,” *NovT* 18 (1976): 101–30. Cf. Ruth Sheridan, “Issues in the Translation of Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the Fourth Gospel,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 671–95.

<sup>126</sup> The geographical meaning is nicely illustrated by Josephus’s description of Agrippa as “a Judean by race and that he was one of the most notable men of that place” (Ἰουδαῖον δὲ το γένος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνη ἀξιολογστῶν; *Ant.* 18.196; cf. *Ag. Ap.* 1.77ff.). For a summary of Josephus’s use of Ἰουδαῖος see Daniel R. Schwartz, “‘Judaean’ or ‘Jew’? How Should We Translate Ioudaios in Josephus?,” in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World Jüdische Identität in Der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, ed. Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gribentrog, *AJEC* 71 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 3–27, esp. 9–12. Cf. Shaye J. D. Cohen, “‘Ioudaios to Genos’ and Related Expressions in Josephus,” in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, StPB 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 23–38.

<sup>127</sup> The geographical designation Ἰουδαία occurs three times (3:7; 10:1; 13:14).



form of Ἰουδαῖος is used as an adjectival modifier for “countryside” (ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα) and is paired with the geographical designation Ἱεροσολυμίται (“Jerusalemites”): πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται πάντες. The only occurrence of Ἰουδαῖος outside of Judea is in conjunction with “the Pharisees and some of the scribes who came from Jerusalem” (7:1) in the narrator’s explanation of the washing practices of “the Pharisees and all of the Judeans.”<sup>128</sup> The context, in which persons from Judea visit Jesus in Galilee, suggests that the narrative comment explains Jewish washing practices in the region of Judea, which are part of the “tradition of the elders” (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, 7:3, 5).<sup>129</sup> Therefore, in the narrative of Mark, the categories Γαλιλαῖος and Ἰουδαῖος are most closely associated with οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται (“Jerusalemites”) as geographically identified subcategories of the Jewish *ethnos*.

### **Non-ethnic Categorization and Group Boundaries**

There are also important non-ethnic boundaries in Mark which interact and intersect with the ethnic boundaries. These include the disciples (μαθηταί), the crowd (ὄχλος), and various elite subgroups of the Jewish *ethnos* (Pharisees, scribes, chief priests, elders, Herodians, and Sadducees). The most prominent category is the disciples (μαθηταί),<sup>130</sup> who are also called “the twelve” (οἱ δώδεκα),<sup>131</sup> and apostles (ἀπόστολοι).<sup>132</sup> Mark identifies these twelve persons by name (3:16–19), and membership remains consistent throughout the narrative.<sup>133</sup> Membership is

---

<sup>128</sup> My translation. οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ πάντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι (7:3–4).

<sup>129</sup> Lowe, “Who Were the ‘Ioudaioi,’” 127. Further support for the regional difference is that the elders (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι) appear in the narrative only in the region of Judea (11:27; 14:43, 53, 15:1; cf. 8:31).

<sup>130</sup> Μαθηταί occurs 42 times in relation to Jesus’s disciples: 2:15, 16, 18, 23; 3:7, 9; 4:34; 5:31; 6:1, 35, 41, 45; 7:2, 5, 17; 8:1, 4, 6, 10, 27[2x], 33, 34; 9:14, 18, 28, 31; 10:10, 13, 23, 24, 46; 11:1, 14; 12:43; 13:1; 14:12, 13, 14, 16, 32; 16:7. John the Baptist (2:18[2x], 6:29) and the Pharisees (2:18) also have μαθηταί.

<sup>131</sup> Δώδεκα occurs fifteen times as a designation for the disciples: 3:14, 16; 4:10; 5:25, 42; 6:7, 43; 8:19; 9:35; 10:32; 11:11; 14:10, 17, 20, 43.

<sup>132</sup> Ἀπόστολοι occurs twice: 6:30, and the textually uncertain 3:24.

<sup>133</sup> Although one member (Ιούδας) betrays Jesus (14.43–45; cf. 3:19; 14:10), the narrative never removes him from “the twelve.”

based on appointment by Jesus (3:14) and membership responsibilities and privileges include being Jesus’s companions, preaching the good news, and possessing authority to cast out demons.<sup>134</sup>

Within the category of the disciples there is an informal sub-category made up of “Peter, James, and John” (Πέτρον καί Ἰάκωβον καί Ἰωάννην, 5:37; 9:2; 14:33). Jesus chooses this inner-circle three times to disclose privileged information that is withheld from the other disciples.<sup>135</sup> First, when Jesus raised the synagogue leader’s daughter (the only time Jesus raises the dead in Mark), “he allowed no one to follow him except Peter, James, and John” (5:37). Second, at the transfiguration, “Jesus took with him Peter and James and John, and led them up a high mountain apart, by themselves” (9:2). After both events, Jesus emphatically commanded (δυστέλεστο) them to tell no one (5:43; 9:9). Third, in Gethsemane, after he “took with him Peter and James and John” (14:33), they alone witness his distress.<sup>136</sup>

The primary target of Jesus’s ministry is the crowd (ὄχλος),<sup>137</sup> who is also designated the multitude (πλήθος)<sup>138</sup> and the “many” (πολλοί).<sup>139</sup> This same symbolic category of the crowd also appears in narrative scenes as the unstated subject of plural verbs (1:32, 45; 6:54, 56; 7:32; 8:22; 10:13) and the referent of plural pronouns (4:33–34; 12:1). The only *identification* of the crowd is geographical. The summary of John the Baptist’s ministry states that “all the Judean

<sup>134</sup> These three functions are summarized: “And he appointed twelve, whom he also named apostles, to be with him, and to be sent out to proclaim the message, and to have authority to cast out demons.” (3:14–15; Cf. 6:7, 12, 13).

<sup>135</sup> In 13:3 Peter, James and John, along with Andrew, ask Jesus privately about when the temple will be destroyed. However, here the initiative comes from the disciples and not Jesus.

<sup>136</sup> Peter, James, and John are also three of the first four disciples Jesus calls (1:16–20) and are listed first in the disciple’s membership list (3:16–17).

<sup>137</sup> The noun ὄχλος occurs 38 times in Mark (2:4, 13; 3:9, 20, 32; 4:1[2x], 36; 5:21, 24, 27, 30, 31; 6:34, 45; 7:14, 17, 33; 8:1, 2, 6[2x], 34; 9:14, 15, 17, 25; 10:1, 46; 11:18, 32; 12:12, 37, 41; 14:43; 15:8, 11, 15). The plural ὄχλοι occurs once (10:1). The qualifiers of ὄχλος are the positive adjectives πᾶς (“the whole crowd,” 2:13; 4:1; 9:15), πολύς (“great crowd,” 5:21, 24; 6:34; 8:1; 9:14; 12:37), and ἰκανός (“large, adequate crowd,” 10:46), and the superlative adjective πλεῖστος (“greatest, very great crowd,” 4:1). In Matthew, the crowds are also Jesus’s primary audience.

<sup>138</sup> The noun πλήθος occurs twice (3:7, 8), both times in the construction πολὺ πλήθος (“great multitude”).

<sup>139</sup> The plural adjective πολλοί appears to be synonymous for ὄχλος five times (2:2; 6:31, 33; 10:48; 11:8).

countryside and all the Jerusalemites” (πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται πάντες) went out to be baptized (1:5). John directs these persons to Jesus (1:7–8) and, during Jesus’s ministry, the closest thing to a geographical summary states that a great multitude (πολὸ πλῆθος) came “from Galilee, Judea, Jerusalem, Idumea, across the Jordan, and around Tyre and Sidon” (ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ περὶ Τύρον καὶ Σιδῶνα) in great numbers (3:7–8). Jewish presence is attested in each of the stated areas. Idumea had been incorporated into Judea after John Hyrcanus’s conquest around 112 BCE, and remained part of the administrative district of Judea during the ministry of Jesus (the narrative setting of Mark) and after the Jewish War (the compositional setting of Mark).<sup>140</sup> The Transjordan (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου) elsewhere in Mark represents the southern area east of the Jordan river (10:1) and represents a distinct region from the Decapolis in Mark (5:20; 7:31), which straddled the northern Jordan river. This closely corresponds to Perea, which was governed by Herod’s son and *tetrarch* Philip during the narrative setting of Mark and annexed to the Roman province of Judea during the compositional setting of Mark. Josephus attests to a Jewish minority in both Tyre and Sidon at the time of the first revolt (the compositional time of Mark) that likely existed in earlier times as well.<sup>141</sup> In light of the Jewish presence in each of these areas, and Jesus’s explicit statement about the Jews as his target audience much later in the narrative (7:28), the summary statement of 3:7–8 is best understood as involving the Jewish inhabitants of those places.<sup>142</sup> The Jewishness of the crowds is also

---

<sup>140</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 13.9.1, 13.10.2–3; *J.W.* 1.1.10. Barag, “New Evidence,” 1–12.

<sup>141</sup> *J.W.* 2.477–479. “... the other cities rose against the Jews in their respective territories. ... The Tyrians dispatched a considerable number, but imprisoned the majority in chains; ... Only Antioch, Sidon and Apamea spared the residents and refused either to kill or to imprison a single Jew.”

<sup>142</sup> The narrative states that the persons from Tyre and Sidon came on their own initiative after hearing of Jesus activities (3:8). The most likely people to travel to hear a Jewish person calling for repentance in preparation for the kingdom of God, a thoroughly Jewish expectation, would be the Jewish residents of Tyre and Sidon and the most likely personal networks through which news of Jesus’s activities would travel would be between the immediate Jewish hearers of John the Baptist and then Jesus and Jewish contacts in these Phoenician cities. In light of the

supported by the Markan Jesus’s depiction of his followers’ continued proclamation after his departure. The expectation that they will be handed over to the Sanhedrin and beaten in synagogues (13:9) assumes they are operating primarily through Jewish networks and Jewish institutions.<sup>143</sup>

Jesus teaches,<sup>144</sup> commands,<sup>145</sup> heals,<sup>146</sup> forgives,<sup>147</sup> and dismisses<sup>148</sup> the crowd. He also has compassion on them, for “they were as sheep without a shepherd” (6:34; cf. 8:2). The crowd appears capricious in Mark. It swarms Jesus,<sup>149</sup> so that he and his disciples need to withdraw.<sup>150</sup> It is continuously astounded and confounded<sup>151</sup> at Jesus’s teaching, and listens “gladly” (ἡδέως, 12:37). Some from the crowd follow Jesus (2:15; 3:7; 4:9; 8:34; 10:32; 11:9). The “chief priests,

---

absence of any direct statement that these visitors from Tyre and Sidon are not Jews, Jesus’s later coolness toward the only explicitly non-Jewish supplicant, and his statement that he is sent first to the Jews (7:27), the narrative assumption can only be that these persons from Tyre and Sidon are Jewish.

<sup>143</sup> Similarly, Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, 217.

<sup>144</sup> The narrator states six times that Jesus taught the crowds without giving the content (2:2, 13; 6:2, 6, 34; 10:1). E.g., “Crowds again gathered around him; and as was his custom (ὡς εἰθαι), he again taught them” (10:1). Jesus’s customary teaching form for the crowd is the “parable” (παροβολή): “He did not speak to them except in parables” (4:34). The three parables that are directed toward the crowd are (1) the soil and seed (4:2–9), (2) the growing seed (4:26–29), and (3) the mustard seed (4:30–32). The crowds may also be present for (4) the parable of the strong man (3:23–30) and (5) the parable of the tenants and the vineyard (12:1–12, esp. 12). Non-parable teachings directed toward the crowds include a redefinition of family (3:32–35), the direction of impurity (7:14–15), requirements of following Jesus (8:34–9:1), and questions about the messiah as David’s son (12:35–37). The crowds may also be present for Jesus’s debates with the Pharisees on divorce (10:2–9), authority (11:27–33), taxes (12:13–17), with the Sadducees on the resurrection (12:18–27), and a scribe on the greatest commandment (12:28–34).

<sup>145</sup> “Then he ordered (παραγγέλλει) the crowd to sit down” (8:6).

<sup>146</sup> In Mark, physical ailments are attributed to unclean spirits, and so healings and exorcisms are interrelated E.g., “he has a spirit that makes him unable to speak” (9:17; cf. 3:10–12). The narrator makes five programmatic statements about Jesus’s healing activity among the crowds (1:34, 39; 3:10–12; 6:56). E.g. “he cured many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons” (3:34). The eight individuals from the crowds whom Jesus heals include (1) a leprosy (1:40–45), (2) a paralytic (2:9–12); (3) a hemorrhaging woman (5:25–34), (4) a dead girl (5:38–40), (5) a deaf man (7:32–35), (6–7) two blind men (8:22–26; 10:46–52), and (8) a mute boy (9:17–27). Jesus also heals a man who lives among tombs (5:2–20), but this individual is never part of the crowds (cf. 1:30–31).

<sup>147</sup> “When Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, ‘Son, your sins are forgiven’” (2:5).

<sup>148</sup> After feeding both the five and the four thousand, Jesus “dismissed (ἀπολύει/ἀπέλυσεν) the crowd” (6:45; 8:9).

<sup>149</sup> The crowd runs up to (προστρέχοντες/ἐπισυντρέχει, 9:15, 25; cf. 6:54), gathers around (συνάγεται, 1:33; 2:2; 4:1; 5:21), and presses upon (θλίβωζῖν, 3:9; 5:24, 31) Jesus, so that he cannot move (2:2) or eat (3:20, 31), and must teach from a boat to avoid the crowd (3:9; 4:1).

<sup>150</sup> E.g., “He said to them, ‘Come away to a deserted place all by yourselves and rest a while.’ For many were coming and going, and they had no leisure even to eat” (6:31–32; cf. 1:45; 4:36; 6:32, 46).

<sup>151</sup> The writer uses four verbs to describe the crowd’s reaction: ἐξίστημι (2:12; 5:42; 6:51), ἐκπλήσσω (1:22; 6:2; 7:37; 11:18), φοβέω (4:14; 5:15, 33; 10:32), and ἐκθαυμάζω (12:17). All four can have the meaning of astonishment and confoundedness. Persons in the Decapolis are also amazed (θαύμαζω), but not at Jesus’s teaching (5:20).

scribes, and elders” fear (ἐφοβοῦντο) the crowd (11:18, 32; 12:12), but succeed in inciting (ἀνέσεισεν) a crowd to demand Jesus’s crucifixion (15:11–14).

Six Jewish groups are distinct from the crowd: Pharisees, scribes, chief priests, elders, Herodians, and Sadducees.<sup>152</sup> In contrast to the crowd’s capriciousness, these groups are characterized by active resistance to Jesus: All but the Sadducees seek to kill Jesus (3:6; 11:18; 14:55, 64), and all make an appearance to test him during his third day at the temple precinct.<sup>153</sup> Three groups are limited to Jerusalem in the narrative: The elders, chief priests, and Sadducees. The elders (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι) are insignificant actors. While the Pharisees and the scribes follow the “tradition of the elders” (7:3, 5), the elders appear only in the triad “the high priests, elders, and scribes” (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, cf. 8:31; 11:27; 14:43, 53, 15:1), which is used interchangeably with the pair “high priests and scribes” (without the elders, cf. 10:33; 11:18; 14:1). In the narrative this triad appears only in Jerusalem and functions to orchestrate Jesus’s death at the hands of Rome.<sup>154</sup> The chief priests also act independently to (1) accept Judas’s betrayal offer (14:10–11), (2) accuse Jesus before Pilate (15:3; cf. 15:10), and (3) incite the crowd (15:11). The Sadducees (Σαδδουκαῖοι) also make their one appearance in Jerusalem when they ask Jesus about the resurrection (12:18).

The other three groups appear in both Galilee and Jerusalem: the Pharisees, scribes, and Herodians. The scribes (οἱ γραμματεῖς) and the Pharisees (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι) first appear as dissenters

---

<sup>152</sup> The writer uses these categories as follows: Pharisees (12 times: 2:16, 18[2x], 24; 3:6; 7:1, 3, 5; 8:11, 15; 10:2; 12:13), scribes (21 times: 1:22; 2:6, 16; 3:22; 7:1, 5; 8:31; 9:11, 14; 10:33; 11:18, 27; 12:28, 32, 35, 38; 14:1, 43, 53; 15:1, 31), chief priests (14 times: 8:31; 10:33; 11:18, 27; 14:1, 10, 43, 53, 55; 15:1, 3, 10, 11, 31), elders (7 times: 7:3, 5; 8:31; 11:27; 14:43, 53, 15:1), Herodians (two times: 3:6; 12:13; cf. 8:15), and Sadducees (one time: 12:18) <sup>153</sup> 11:27–12:34. The Pharisees and Herodians seek to trap Jesus, who subsequently points out they are testing him (12:13, 15; cf. 8:11; 10:2). The “chief priests, scribes, and elders” simply speak to Jesus but do so in order to challenge his authority (11:27). The Sadducees interrogate Jesus (12:18).

<sup>154</sup> Jesus predicts their rejection (10:33) and condemnation (10:33). In Jerusalem they challenge Jesus’s authority (11:27), send Pharisees and Herodians to trap Jesus (12:13), orchestrate his arrest (14:43; cf. 1:18; 14:1), construct charges (14:53–65), deliver him to the Romans (15:1), and mock him on the cross (15:31).

among Jesus’s Galilean audiences, implying that they, like the crowds, have been following Jesus.<sup>155</sup> However, some scribes, and probably some Pharisees, came down to Galilee from Jerusalem (οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες).<sup>156</sup> In Galilee, opposition between Jesus and both the scribes and the Pharisees centers around claims to authority. On the one hand, the narrator explains the crowd’s initial reaction to Jesus in terms of authority: “They were astounded at his teaching, for he taught as one having authority, and not as the scribes” (1:22). On the other hand, the only joint activity of the scribes and the Pharisees is to question Jesus over not accepting the authority of “the tradition of the elders” (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; 7:5). While the Pharisees ask for divine proof of Jesus’s authority (8:11–12), the scribes accuse him of blasphemy (2:6–12) and attribute his exorcisms to demonic powers (3:22–30). The contest over authority also manifests in conflicting teachings with the Pharisees over sabbath (2:23–28) and divorce (10:2–9), with the scribes over the timing (9:11–13) and identity (12:35–37) of the messiah, and with both over purity practices (7:1–13).

Once in Jerusalem, apart from one inquisitive scribe who is “not far from the kingdom of God” (12:28–34, esp. 34), the scribes always act with “the chief priests and the elders” (8:31; 11:27; 14:43, 53, 15:1), or with just the chief priests (10:33; 11:18; 14:1), and the Pharisees appear only once as part of a delegation from this same triad (12:13; cf. 11:27).

---

<sup>155</sup> After watching Jesus forgive the paralytic, the scribes, grumbling, accuse him of blasphemy (2:6). While apparently walking with Jesus and the disciples, the Pharisees accuse the disciples of doing what is not permitted on the sabbath (2:24). Prior to the Pharisees appearance in 2:24, the scribes of the Pharisees are present (2:16), and the disciples of the Pharisees are known (2:18).

<sup>156</sup> Scribes who come from Jerusalem appear in 3:22 (οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες) and 7:1 (ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων). In 7:1 the subject of the plural participle ἐλθόντες is most likely “the Pharisees and some of the scribes” (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ τινες τῶν γραμματέων) but could also be just “some of the scribes.” While historically, the scribes in Jerusalem had significantly more authority than those in Galilee, Mark’s scribes appear as a unified group. Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Wilmington: Glazier, 1988), 115.

The Herodians (Ἡρῳδιστοί) are always paired with the Pharisees. The Pharisees' first step in their plot to kill Jesus is to enlist the Herodians (3:6). Their presence in Galilee is likely due to their connection with Herod (Antipas), who, during the narrative setting of Mark, was *tetrarch* of Galilee and Perea. Later in Jerusalem, “some Pharisees and Herodians” appear together to trap Jesus (12:13).<sup>157</sup>

In summary, the narrative of Mark assumes a basic binary between Israel and the nations. The two uses of Israel are used in the typical sense of descendants of Jacob's twelve sons. The Judeans and Galileans are geographically distinguished sub-categories of Israel. All the primary non-ethnic categories, including the primary ingroup (disciples), audience (crowd), and opposition (Pharisees, scribes, chief priests, elders, Herodians, and Sadducees), are positioned within the boundaries of Jewishness. In contrast, the nations consistently designate alterity. Among the few specific ethnic categories among the nations, the Greek Syrophenician woman is symbolically placed below Israel as a dog to children and this ranked Jew/non-Jew boundary is not overturned throughout the narrative. The Romans in the narrative are representative of Roman power, at the top of the ranked boundary system of first-century Roman Judea, a boundary which we will see is overturned in the narrative through one final category, membership in the Kingdom of God. The kingdom of God is best understood as a territorial restoration that is future, earthly, and having a circumscribed space at the center.<sup>158</sup> Because of its importance for the writer's boundary making strategies, the kingdom of God and membership in it (*identification*) will be addressed under the strategies of boundary renegotiation.

---

<sup>157</sup> Jesus also warns his disciples against “the yeast of the Pharisees and Herod (Antipas)” (8:15).

<sup>158</sup> Joel Willitts makes this argument in relationship to the historical Jesus. “Jesus, the Kingdom and the Promised Land: Engaging N. T. Wright on the Question of Kingdom and Land,” *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 13 (2015): 347–72. I argue below that the Gospel of Mark assumes this as well.

### Strategies of Boundary Making

The identification of Mark's strategic *modes* of boundary making enables us to see how Mark's configuration of Jewishness is impacted by his engagement with the locale-specific ethnic boundary features in and around Roman Judea.<sup>159</sup> As noted above, the ideal vision of ethnic boundaries reflected in the narrative of Mark includes a ranked Jew/nations boundary in which members of the Jewish *ethnos* are likened to children who receive food from their (heavenly) father while non-Jews are likened to dogs who may eat whatever is left over (7:27). This ranked difference between Jews and the nations, based on covenantal status, is not reworked in the narrative of Mark and so represents part of the writer's ideal vision of the ethnic boundary system. This same ideal vision of the power distribution across the Jew/nations boundary is found in seven of the eight texts that provided evidence of Jewish discursive *means* of boundary making from the early Roman period and substantiates the argument that Mark should be read as a Jewish text (see chapter two above).

Mark's ideal vision of the ethnic boundary system which symbolically privileged Jews over the nations as children to dogs conflicts with the existing ethnic boundary system of first-century Roman Judea in which Jews were subordinate to Romans during the narrative setting. During the compositional setting of Mark's Gospel, just after the Jewish War, the Jewish *ethnos* was relocated to the bottom of the ranked boundary system of the Roman province of Judea, below not just Romans, but also Greeks, Syrians, and any others, who now had increased incentive to disassociate themselves from the Jewish *ethnos*. The narrative setting of Mark acknowledges the existing power inequality across the Jew/Roman boundary, based on political power. This is seen most clearly when the "chief priests, scribes, and elders" must hand Jesus

---

<sup>159</sup> This is called for by Lawrence Wills, "The Jewishness of Mark's Gospel," 86.



over to Pilate, the Roman prefect, in order for him to be crucified (15:1). However, the narrative reworks the Jew/Roman boundary through its announcement of the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God. Therefore, the writer's understanding of this central concept is crucial for understanding the boundary-making strategies.

### **The Future, Earthly, and Imminent Kingdom of God in Mark**

Unfortunately, the writer never systematically explains the timing or nature of the kingdom of God, but instead assumes some familiarity on the part of the intended audience.<sup>160</sup> This already suggests that Mark's understanding of this central concept does not depart significantly from that of his Jewish contemporaries. However, the Markan profile of the kingdom of God must be gleaned from its function in the narrative. After briefly outlining the scope and importance of the kingdom of God in Mark, I address two questions. First, is the kingdom in some sense already present during either the narrative or compositional setting of Mark (temporal)? That is, is there an element of realized eschatology in Mark's Gospel? Second, where will the kingdom of God be located (spatial)? That is, does Mark's Gospel assume, like the majority of early Jewish texts, that the kingdom is earthly and demarcated with territorial boundaries, or does Mark expect a global or extraterrestrial kingdom? I argue that the writer of Mark understands the kingdom of God as future, earthly, and having a circumscribed space at its center. This kingdom expectation plausibly represents a restoration of Israel within expanded territorial boundaries in fulfillment of the unrealized boundaries promised to Abraham and Moses.

---

<sup>160</sup> Maurice Casey writes "Since this term permeates the teaching of Jesus, and since it is so much commoner in his teaching than in other surviving Jewish texts, it is remarkable that Jesus never explains what he means by the kingdom/kingship of God." *Jesus of Nazareth: An Independent Historian's Account of His Life and Teaching* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 212.

The phrase “kingdom of God” (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) is used fourteen times in Mark’s Gospel.<sup>161</sup> The approaching kingdom of God is the substance of Jesus’s proclamation and the stated topic of the Markan narrative. At the outset of Jesus’s ministry, Mark summarizes Jesus’s proclamation: “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has come near; repent and believe in the good news” (1:15). That is, the good news in Mark is the nearness of the kingdom of God, and the correct response to Jesus proclamation, according to both Mark and Mark’s Jesus, is to repent in preparation for its arrival.<sup>162</sup> In addition, the kingdom of God is the focus of numerous passages in Mark where the phrase does not occur, for when Jesus or the disciples proclaim the good news (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) or the word (ὁ λόγος), they are proclaiming the nearness of the kingdom of God.<sup>163</sup> Seen in this light, the questions about Jesus’s identity, authority, and miracles are subsidiary interests that relate to the authenticity of his proclamation that the kingdom has come near.<sup>164</sup> The introduction to Mark’s narrative also indicates that this good news of the approaching kingdom is the focus, not just of Jesus’s proclamation, but of the entire narrative of Mark: “The beginning of the good news of Jesus Christ (Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)” (1:1).<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> 1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1, 47; 10:14, 15, 23, 24, 25; 12:34; 14:25; 15:43. Unlike Luke and Matthew, Mark never uses the phrases “kingdom of heaven” or “kingdom of the father.”

<sup>162</sup> Suzanne W. Henderson nicely summarizes: “In these verses [1:14–15], the evangelist makes two related points. First, Jesus proclaims a message not about himself but about the ‘good news’ that God’s kingdom has dawned. A second follows from the first: that ‘good news’ warrants a human response marked by recalibrated allegiance to the kingdom.” “The ‘Good News’ of God’s Coming Reign: Occupation at a Crossroads,” *Int* 70 (2016): 145–58, esp. 147. Cf., Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 175.

<sup>163</sup> The good news (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) occurs seven times in Mark. In addition to the introductory statement (1:1), it occurs twice in Mark’s summary of Jesus’s proclamation (1:14, 15), twice in discussions of hardship and reward (8:35; 10:29), and twice in reference to the continued proclamation between the death of Jesus and his return (13:10; 14:9). The word (ὁ λόγος) is used as a synonym for the good news ten times in Mark, eight of which are in Jesus’s explanation of the parable of the sower (4:14–20). The other two are in summary statements of Jesus’s teaching (2:2; 4:33). Ὁ λόγος is also used for specific teachings of Jesus (8:32, 38; 9:10; 10:22, 24; 11:29; 12:13; 13:31; 14:39). Only three times is it used apart from the proclamation or teaching of Jesus and the disciples (5:36; 7:13, 29).

<sup>164</sup> See especially Henderson, “Occupation at a Crossroads,” 148. Cf. Ira Brent Driggers, *Following God through Mark: Theological Tension in the Second Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007); Paul Danove, *The Rhetoric of the Characterization of God, Jesus, and Jesus’s Disciples in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSup 290, (New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

<sup>165</sup> Henderson correctly states “Mark’s Gospel consistently concerns God’s dawning reign more than it does Jesus’s identity, which appears as a subsidiary interest. ... the narrative contours of Jesus’s own story ... appear in Mark as part of an apocalyptic drama in which he secures a foothold for God’s kingdom on earth.” “The ‘Good News’ of

In light of the good news as the approaching kingdom, the ambiguous genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is best understood as a subjective genitive, emphasizing Jesus as the messenger of the good news of the approaching kingdom.<sup>166</sup> As the proclamation of Jesus and the disciples, the approaching kingdom is the topic of three agricultural parables in Mark 4 which are exemplars for “many such parables.”<sup>167</sup> The narrative shows interest in the timing of the kingdom of God (9:1; cf. 13:30), but especially entrance into the kingdom of God.<sup>168</sup> The other uses of the phrase occur during the last supper when Jesus looks forward to the kingdom of God (14:25) and in the description of Joseph of Arimathea who is said to have been waiting for the kingdom of God (15:43).

The arrival of the kingdom of God is consistently portrayed as a future event from both the narrative and compositional setting of Mark.<sup>169</sup> This is best illustrated by the unambiguous

---

God’s Coming Reign,” 148. Mark 1:1 may have concluded with “the son of God” (υἱοῦ θεοῦ), but the evidence is ambiguous. If it was part of Mark’s intended text, it, like questions about Jesus’s identity elsewhere in Mark, relates to the certainty and authenticity of the message of the coming kingdom. Most recently, Tommy Wasserman argued extensively for its original inclusion. “The ‘Son of God’ Was in the Beginning (Mark 1:1),” *JTS* 62 (2011): 20–50. For three arguments that “the Son of God” was not original, see Adele Yarbro Collins, “Establishing the Text: Mark 1:1,” in *Text and Contexts: The Function of Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts*, ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995), 111–27; Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Peter M. Head, “A Text-Critical Study of Mark 1:1: ‘The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ,’” *NTS* 37 (1991): 621–29.

<sup>166</sup> The plausibility of this subjective genitive reading is acknowledged by Collins, *Mark*, 135; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 146–47; France, *Mark*, 53.

<sup>167</sup> 4:33. The kingdom of God is the stated subject of the parables of the harvest (4:26–29) and the mustard seed (4:30–32). Jesus’s explanation of the parable of the sower (4:2–20) to the disciples is described as giving them the “secret of the kingdom of God” (4:11).

<sup>168</sup> Entrance requirements are the focus of three passages: The greater importance of kingdom entrance than physical health (9:43–47); the need for childlike-entrance (10:13–16); and wealth as a hindrance to kingdom entrance (10:17–27). Jesus also tells the inquisitive scribe (12:28–34) that he is “not far from the Kingdom of God” (12:34). Entrance into the kingdom of God is equated with “life” in 9:43–47 and eternal life in 10:17–27 (esp. 10:17, 23).

<sup>169</sup> Partially realized eschatology is a key part of Michael Bird’s argument for a mission to the nations during Jesus’s life: “This chapter has argued that the crucial nexus between Jesus and the salvation of the gentiles is Jewish restoration eschatology. . . . Jesus regarded this restoration as partially realized in his own ministry.” *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission*, 44–45. If Mark’s gospel reflects a wholly future eschatology as is argued here, it undercuts much of Bird’s argument for a gentile mission during Jesus’s life.

statements that the kingdom is future.<sup>170</sup> Shortly after visiting Caesarea Philippi, Jesus tells his disciples that “there are some standing here who will not taste death until they see the kingdom of God has come with power” (9:1). This statement clearly assumes that the kingdom is future from the narrative setting but does not exclude the possibility that the kingdom arrives later in the Gospel, or between the narrative and compositional settings of the Gospel. More specifically, some commentators see this statement as fulfilled in the immediately following scene where Jesus is transfigured (9:2–8).<sup>171</sup> A number of considerations exclude this immediate fulfillment. On the one hand, in a much later scene at the last supper Jesus again assumes that the kingdom is wholly future, stating that “I will never again drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God” (14:25). This indicates that the kingdom of God did not come with power at the transfiguration, because it is still future.<sup>172</sup> On the other hand, after the third day in Jerusalem during the passion week, Jesus repeats the prediction of 9:1 in different words. After providing his disciples with a roadmap for his second coming, he states: “this generation (γενεά) will not pass away until all these things have taken place.”<sup>173</sup> The timing implied by the phrase “this generation will not pass away” (13:30) is coterminous with “some

---

<sup>170</sup> In contrast, there are no unambiguous statements that the kingdom is already present, even in a partial sense. M. Eugene Boring, “The Kingdom of God in Mark,” in *Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 131–45, esp. 141.

<sup>171</sup> Cuvillier, *Marc*, 175; Cranfield, *Mark*, 287; Gnllka, *Markus* 2:26–27; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:67; David Wenham and A. D. A. Moses, “‘There Are Some Standing Here . . .’: Did They Become the ‘Reputed Pillars’ of the Jerusalem Church? Some Reflections on Mark 9:1, Galatians 2:9 and the Transfiguration,” *NovT* 36 (1994): 146–63, esp. 148; Partial: Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 273.

<sup>172</sup> Two additional passages support this future expectation. After the rich man asks Jesus about entrance into eternal life, Mark uses the future tense (εἰσελεύσονται) to refer to the difficulty of kingdom entrance: “How hard it will be for those who have wealth to enter the kingdom of God” (10:23). In this context, the use of present tense verbs for kingdom entrance should be understood as making no temporal claims (10:14, 25; 12:34). The adoring crowds during the triumphal entry also assume the kingdom is future: “Blessed is the coming kingdom (ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία) of our ancestor David” (11:10).

<sup>173</sup> 13:30. The most sustained argument that γενεά does not refer to a single generation in Mark 13:30 (and therefore that the writer does not expect an imminent return) still concludes that “the most dominant use of γενεά in the larger corpus of post-classical Greek writers appears to refer to a generation, used to indicate a certain measurement unit of time.” Steffen Jöris, *The Use and Function of Genea in the Gospel of Mark: New Light on Mk 13:30*, FB 133 (Würzburg: Echter, 2015), 44.

standing here ... will not taste death” (9:1). The referent of “these things” (13:30) is the expected sequence of events beginning with the appearance of messianic pretenders (13:6) and culminating with “the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory” (13:26) when the angels “gather his elect” (13:27). The imagery of the Son of Man coming in clouds alludes to Dan 7:13 where this event inaugurates the Son of Man’s reign in an eternal kingdom (Dan 7:14), indicating that for the writer of Mark, the coming of the Son of Man (13:26) is the inaugural event of the kingdom of God (9:1) and that this event is future for both the characters in Mark’s narrative, and the intended audience of Mark’s Gospel.

This exclusively future expectation of the kingdom of God is supported by the other windows into the temporal schema in the narrative of Mark. First, Jesus distinguishes the material rewards in “this age” from the reward of eternal life in “the age to come” (10:30).<sup>174</sup> In the same passage, inheriting eternal life (10:17) is equated with entering the kingdom of God (10:23–25), implying that the kingdom of God is future.<sup>175</sup> This distinction between the present and coming ages is also the best way to read Mark’s summary of Jesus’s proclamation: “the kingdom of God has come near (ἤγγικεν)” (1:15). While the verb ἐγγιζειν may at times connote

---

<sup>174</sup> The promise of “hundred-fold” rewards in this age indicates that the interim period is not marked exclusively by suffering, as does the promise that all prayers will be answered (11:22–24) and the assumption of successful proclamation of the good news. Benjami A. Edsall, “This Is Not the End: The Present Age and the Eschaton in Mark’s Narrative,” *CBQ* 80 (2018): 429–47, esp. 444–46.

<sup>175</sup> The parable of the harvest (10:26–29) includes a three-part schema where the sower plants, leaves, and then returns for the harvest. The transition from “this age” to “the age to come” (10:30) corresponds to the return of the sower for the harvest in 10:29. The first two parts of this three-part schema are also reflected in two statements by Jesus distinguishing between a period when he is present from when he is absent. In 2:18–20 Jesus states that his disciples do not fast while he (the bridegroom) is present, but that they will fast when he is gone. In 14:7 Jesus defends the actions of the woman who anointed him with oil by saying that he will not always be with them.

arrival,<sup>176</sup> the much more common use designates something that approaches but has not yet arrived.<sup>177</sup>

The location of the kingdom of God in Mark is best understood to be earthly. This expected earthly kingdom is shared by numerous other first-century Jews. The phrase “kingdom of God” is uncommon in early Jewish texts. However, where it does occur, it consistently designates an earthly, territorial kingdom, with a circumscribed space at the center.<sup>178</sup> These few occurrences of the phrase kingdom of God in early Jewish literature cohere with the broader biblical eschatological hopes which were “concretely embodied in a specific land.”<sup>179</sup> Even among those texts written by Jews which emphasized a heavenly or global eschatological kingdom, only the Testament of Job shows no concern for a circumscribed *homeland*.<sup>180</sup> This “indivisible union between kingdom and land,” which persisted into the first century,<sup>181</sup> raises the question of whether Jesus, and more specifically the writer of Mark also expects an earthly kingdom with territorial boundaries.<sup>182</sup> While it is possible that the kingdom concept among the

---

<sup>176</sup> This was argued most influentially by Charles H. Dodd on the basis of a few anomalous LXX parallels. *The Parables of the Kingdom* (New York: Scribner, 1961), 36–37. Robert F. Berkey pointed out that Luke 24:15 and Acts 12:33 can possibly be understood to mean “arrived.” “Ellixein, Φθάνειν and Realized Eschatology,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 177–87, esp. 183. Cf. Aloysius M. Ambrozic, *The Hidden Kingdom: A Redaction-Critical Study of the References to the Kingdom of God in Mark’s Gospel*, CBQMS 2 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1972), 21.

<sup>177</sup> Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 172–73; Witherington, *Mark*, 78.

<sup>178</sup> See especially the comprehensive study of kingdom expectation in early Jewish texts by Odo Camponovo, *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den frühjüdischen Schriften*, OBO 58 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 443. Cf. John J. Collins, “The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *The Kingdom of God in Twentieth Century Interpretation*, ed. Wendell Willis (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 95.

<sup>179</sup> John J. Collins, “Models of Utopia in the Biblical Tradition,” in “*A Wise and Discerning Mind: Essays in Honour of Burke O. Long*,” ed. Robert C. Culley and Saul H. Olyan, BJS 325 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2000), 51–67, esp. 67. Cf. Dale Patrick, “The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament,” in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, ed. Wendell Willis (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 67–79, esp. 79.

<sup>180</sup> William D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 121–26.

<sup>181</sup> Willitts, “Jesus, the Kingdom and the Promised Land,” 357.

<sup>182</sup> During nearly all of the twentieth century, the scholarly consensus was that the kingdom of God language was about kingly rule and not territory (kingdom). Especially influential was Gustaf Dalman’s confident assertion that “[t]here can be no doubt whatever that in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature the word מלכות when applied to God always means ‘kingly rule’ and never means ‘kingdom.’” *The Words of Jesus, Considered in Light of Post-Biblical Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), 94. John C. O’Neill called this

earliest Jesus followers was anomalous among early Jewish literature with no enduring significance for a *homeland*,<sup>183</sup> the few spatial indicators about the kingdom of God in Mark, and the absence of any redefinition of the earthly kingdom, strongly suggest that this “perfectly straightforward knowledge of the sense and usage of the expression ‘the kingdom of God’,”<sup>184</sup> is also reflected in the narrative of Mark.

The few spatial indicators in Mark are as follows. First, the three depictions of the “coming of the Son of Man in clouds” (9:1; 13:26; 14:62) use the verb ἔρχεσθαι (“to come”).<sup>185</sup> The imagery of this inaugural event is of a kingdom arriving, rather than of kingdom members leaving or being taken someplace else. Second, the alternative to entering “life” (equated with being saved and with entrance into the expected kingdom) is to be cast into the Hinnom valley (γέεννα; 9:43–47), and destruction/death (8:34–38).<sup>186</sup> This very tangible alternative to “life,” suggestive of the conflict at the inauguration of the kingdom and for some readers perhaps evoking recent memories of the destruction of Jerusalem, suggests that the preferred choice of “life” in the kingdom should also be understood as a continuation of earthly life rather than a strictly heavenly existence elsewhere.<sup>187</sup> Third, there are indications that the kingdom of God in

---

statement “[i]n New Testament studies, perhaps the most influential sentence ever written” and then pointed out that “[t]he important thing to note, which Dalman tries to deny, is that the reign is over a realm.” “The Kingdom of God,” *NovT* 35 (1993): 130–41, esp. 130–31. The awareness that a kingly rule entails a territory has gained attention and recent studies acknowledge the spatial aspects of the kingdom of God. See especially Karen J. Wenell, “Kingdom, Not Kingly Rule: Assessing the Kingdom of God as Sacred Space,” *BibInt* 25 (2017): 206–33; Halvor Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place: A Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003); O’Neill, “Kingdom of God,” 134.

<sup>183</sup> This radical disjunction is argued by William D. Davies in *The Gospel and the Land* (1974).

<sup>184</sup> O’Neill, “Kingdom of God,” 134.

<sup>185</sup> The perfect participle ἐληλυθυῖαν is used in 9:1 and the present participle ἐρχόμενον is used in 13:26 and 14:62. Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 904–5.

<sup>186</sup> Arseny Ermakov, “The Salvific Significance of the Torah in Mark 10.17–22 and 12.28–34,” in *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminary of June 2008*, ed. Michael Tait and Peter Oakes, LNTS 401 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 21–31, 21.

<sup>187</sup> Further support for an earthly destruction meant by γέεννα can be found in the quotation of Isa 66:24 to illustrate this destruction where the quoted phrase describes the very mundane scene of corpses left on the ground after battle.

Mark is equated more directly with the restoration of the land God promised to Israel.<sup>188</sup> Most importantly, the choice of twelve disciples makes best sense as chosen leaders for a reconstituted twelve tribes.<sup>189</sup> The role of the disciples as rulers of the twelve tribes is suggested by the juxtaposition of the discussion of the greatest among them with the rulers of the nations (ἐθῶν).<sup>190</sup> In addition, Jesus’s excursions into the Anti-Lebanon range and the Decapolis, especially the driving out of impurity from the region of the Gerasenes (5:1–20), can be seen, not as excursions to gentile territory, but as indications of interest in the expanded borders of the land promised to Abraham and Moses.<sup>191</sup> The imagery of the gathering of the elect “from the four winds” (13:27) also implies a circumscribed area.<sup>192</sup> Finally, the parable of the wicked tenants (12:1–2) assumes a continued territorial Israel in the kingdom of God. The imagery in the parable is of a vineyard that receives new leadership but otherwise remains the same vineyard. The interpretation of this parable is notoriously difficult.<sup>193</sup> However, insofar as the vineyard represents Israel<sup>194</sup> and the return of the landlord represents the “kingdom of God having come in

---

<sup>188</sup> A number of studies have argued that the historical Jesus sees the kingdom of God/heaven as a restoration of the twelve tribes and the fulfillment of the territorial dimensions of God’s promises to Abraham and Moses. For a nice summary see Willitts, “Jesus, the Kingdom and the Promised Land,” 357–69. Important studies include; Jari Laaksonen, *Jesus und das Land: Das gelobte Land in der Verkündigung Jesu* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 2002); Karen J. Wenell, *Jesus and Land: Sacred and Social Space in Second Temple Judaism*, LNTS 334 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 104–38; Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006).

<sup>189</sup> Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 104–38; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 268; Witherington, *Mark*, 152.

<sup>190</sup> While Mark doesn’t have the clear statement of Luke 22:30 and Matt 19:22 that the twelve disciples will judge the twelve tribes on twelve thrones, they are still expecting future places of honor. Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 128.

<sup>191</sup> Seán Freyne, *Jesus, a Jewish Galilean: A New Reading of the Jesus-Story* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 75.

<sup>192</sup> See especially Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979), 80; Nili Wazana, “From Dan to Beer-Sheva and from the Wilderness to the Sea: Literal and Literary Images of the Promised Land in the Bible,” in *Experiences of Place*, ed. Mary N. MacDonald (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 45–85.

<sup>193</sup> Klyne Snodgrass counts sixteen different interpretations. “Recent Research on the Parable of the Wicked Tenants: An Assessment,” *BBR* 8 (1998): 187–216.

<sup>194</sup> The identification of the vineyard with Israel is made by the vast majority of commentators because of the clear allusions (vineyard with a winepress, fence, and tower) to Isa 5:1–7 where the vineyard represents the “house of Israel” (בית ישראל). The vine imagery also represents Israel elsewhere in the prophetic literature (Isa 27:2–6; Jer 2:21; 12:10; Hos 10:1; Mic 7:1; cf. Jer 51; *Jub.* 1:12; *Sifre Deut.* 312). E.g., Suzanne Watts Henderson, “Was Mark a Supersessionist? Two Test Cases from the Earliest Gospel,” in *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*, ed. Lori Baron, Jill Hicks-Keeton, and Matthew Thiessen, ECL 24 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical



power” (9:1),<sup>195</sup> the parable foresees a change in leadership in a vineyard that otherwise persists and presumably thrives under the new leadership.<sup>196</sup>

It is clear that “the age to come” involves a transformation, for when the dead are raised “they will be like the angels in heaven” (12:25), and “in those days ... the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will be falling from heaven, and the powers in the heavens will be shaken” (13:24–25).<sup>197</sup> However, this transformed state seems to exist on earth. The resurrected dead are like angels in a qualitative sense but are not explicitly relocated to the heavens with the angels.<sup>198</sup> While the heavenly bodies are shaken, the earth is noticeably not altered, and in fact the stars seem to fall from the heavens toward the unmoved earth. This notable absence of a destroyed earth suggests that Mark’s understanding of the kingdom of God corresponds to the widely agreed-upon first century understanding of the expected kingdom that retained the significance of a *homeland* that was earthly, territorial, and with a circumscribed space at its center.<sup>199</sup>

---

Literature, 2018), 145–68, esp. 158–59; Boring, *Mark*, 350; Cranfield, *Mark*, 368; France, *Mark*, 458–459; Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 811; Witherington, *Mark*, 320.

<sup>195</sup> The landlord’s return is the climax of the parable, like the expected kingdom of God is the climax of history for Mark. Both also involve judgment (12:9).

<sup>196</sup> Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 339; Collins, *Mark*, 547. Other statements in Mark’s Gospel also assume a persisting earthly reality. For example, the suffering of “those days” is described as a type never before seen and that “never will be” (13:19). This is a meaningless statement if the earthly reality ends when the kingdom of God arrives.

<sup>197</sup> Jesus’s transfiguration (9:2–4), as far as it gives a glimpse of the coming kingdom, also implies a qualitative change.

<sup>198</sup> For a discussion of the angelic status of the resurrection in the Jewish historical memories, see Matthew Thiessen, “A Buried Pentateuchal Allusion to the Resurrection in Mark 12:25,” *CBQ* 76 (2014): 273–90.

<sup>199</sup> This view also seems to be shared by Matthew and Luke-Acts (esp. Acts 1:6). Joel Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King in Search of “the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel,”* BZNW 147 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

**Righteousness, Understood as Torah Observance, as Kingdom Membership Criterion**

Entrance into the kingdom (10:23–24) is equated with being saved (10:26) and is designated “life” (10:17).<sup>200</sup> Therefore, salvation, just like the arrival of the kingdom, is a future event (10:30; 13:30) and kingdom membership (*identification*) is provisional. The time between the narrative and compositional setting of Mark and the arrival of the kingdom of God is a time to “repent” (1:15; 2:17), but “only those who endure until the end will be saved” (13:30). In this way, no one has kingdom membership in the present, but some have been given its secrets (4:11–12). These secrets consist of explanations of parables (4:11–20, 33–34), debriefings after debates (7:19–23; 10:10–12), knowledge of Jesus’s messianic identity and impending death (8:27–33), and a preview of the kingdom (9:2–10). This secret knowledge is not for those already in possession of kingdom membership, but rather functions as a “cheat-sheet” for successfully “enduring until the end” (13:30). Therefore, following Jesus is not equated with kingdom membership in Mark, but entails a sort of advantage through special knowledge.

If following Jesus is not the criterion for kingdom membership, then what is? Like many early Jewish texts, the defining criterion seems to be “righteousness.” This is implied in Jesus’s call to repentance (1:15) and the criterion is explicit when Jesus states “I have not come to call the righteous but sinners” (2:17). While this defense of Jesus’s eating with sinners is often understood as a sarcastic critique of the Pharisees’ so-called righteousness, the much more straightforward meaning is that Jesus is pointing out that his message of repentance is relevant only for sinners.<sup>201</sup> Nowhere in the Gospel does Jesus or Mark state that none are righteous and that all are sinners. Rather, peripheral characters appear in the narrative who are not followers of

---

<sup>200</sup> This is most clear during Jesus’s interactions with the rich man (10:17–27) where the terms “salvation” (10:26) and “life/eternal life” (10:17) are used synonymously with entering the kingdom of God (10:23–25 [3x]). See especially the important article by Arseny Ermakov, “Salvific Significance of the Torah,” 21–31.

<sup>201</sup> Ermakov, “Salvific Significance of the Torah,” 30.

Jesus but are depicted as righteous. Most notably, Joseph of Arimathea is said to be “waiting expectantly for the kingdom of God” (15:43).<sup>202</sup> Further, righteousness is explicitly linked with “doing the will of God” (3:35). Obedience to God is most directly associated with Torah observance. This is seen quite clearly in two examples that directly address entrance into the kingdom of God. The rich man (10:17–22) is promised eternal life if he keeps the commands and gives away his wealth.<sup>203</sup> The wise scribe’s agreement with Jesus about the greatest commandments indicates his nearness to the kingdom of God (12:28–34).<sup>204</sup> The scribe is never invited to follow Jesus, and while the rich man receives an invitation, the logic of Jesus’s statement connects his heavenly treasure not with following Jesus, but with obeying the commandments and giving away his wealth: “Go, sell what you own, and give the money to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven, then come follow me.”<sup>205</sup> According to the narrative of Mark, each are assumed to be capable of righteousness based on Torah. The goal is righteousness—understood as Torah-observance—in preparation for kingdom membership. Accordingly, following Jesus is a means to this end, and not an end in itself.

This emphasis on righteousness as kingdom criterion also coalesces with the above argument that the kingdom of God must be understood in connection with first-century Jewish expectations of a territorial restoration.<sup>206</sup> In particular the widespread belief that occupation and

---

<sup>202</sup> John the Baptist is also said to be “a righteous and holy man” (6:20) and is not strictly a follower of Jesus.

<sup>203</sup> Ermakov, “Salvific Significance of the Torah,” 22–25.

<sup>204</sup> The scribe’s question about the most important commandment is not about devaluing other commandments. Rather, it is about a correct understanding of the law. This is a common theme in other early Jewish literature, including other texts canonized in the New Testament, Especially, *b. Mak.* 24a; *b. Ber.* 63a; *b. Šabb* 31a. Cf. Sir 13:15; *Jub.* 7.20; 20.2; 36.4, 8; CD A 6.20; 1QS 5.25; *T. Reub.* 6.9; *T. Issachar* 5.2; *T. Gad* 4.2; *T. Benj.* 3.3–4; Matt 5:43; 19:10; Rom 12:9; 13:9; Gal 5:14; James 2:8; *Gos. Thom.* 25, *Didache* 1.2, *Gos. Naz.* Fragment 16; *Sib. Or.* 8.481. Cf. Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, WBC 34B (Nashville: Nelson, 2001), 263; Christopher S. Mann, ed., *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986), 479; Hooker, *Mark*, 287.

<sup>205</sup> 10:21. ὕπαγε, ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ δός πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι.

<sup>206</sup> See especially, William D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism: With a Symposium and Further Reflections* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 44–6.

diaspora were a result of Israel's unfaithfulness makes repentance and renewed righteousness criteria for restoration.<sup>207</sup>

If the above understanding of the kingdom of God in Mark as a future, territorial restored Israel is correct, then the author attempts a strategic *mode of normative inversion* in which members of the Jewish *ethnos* are relocated at the top of the ranked boundary system above Romans, Greeks, Syrians and members of any other *ethnē*. This strategy of *normative inversion* is most explicit in Mark 13. According to the date of Mark argued above, 13:14–19 represents the writer's and reader's present experience (e.g., “for in those days there will be suffering”) and 13:20–27 depicts the expected future arrival of the kingdom of God (e.g., “they will see ‘the Son of Man coming in clouds’”).<sup>208</sup> These verses depict a period of false-messiahs and false prophets and the shaking of the heavens before the writer promises his readers that “they will see ‘the Son of Man coming in clouds’ with great power and glory” (13:27). Just after Jesus “breathed his last” (15:37) the centurion, symbolic of Roman power, also acknowledges the supremacy of Jesus when he states “Truly this man was God's Son” (15:38).<sup>209</sup> Whether the centurion's statement should be read as ironic misunderstanding, sarcastic mocking, or sincere confession,<sup>210</sup> for the readers of Mark a second level of meaning is certainly confirmation of Jesus's identity as

---

<sup>207</sup> Willitts, “Jesus, the Kingdom and the Promised Land,” 357.

<sup>208</sup> So Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 38.

<sup>209</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins writes “[t]he acclamation of the centurion especially would evoke a comparison of the emperor with Jesus and suggest that Jesus is the one whom the highest power has established as the ruler of the world. “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Greeks and Romans,” *HTR* 93 (2000): 85–100, esp. 100.

<sup>210</sup> Ironic misunderstanding: E.g., Whitney Shiner, “The Ambiguous Pronouncement of the Centurion and the Shrouding of Meaning in Mark,” *JSNT* 78 (2000): 3–22, esp. 17; Christoph Burchard, “Markus 15:34,” *ZNW* 74 (1983): 1–11, esp. 11. Sarcastic: E.g., Mark Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity International, 2002), 160; Donald H. Juel, *A Master of Surprise* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 227–28. Confessional: E.g., Harry L. Chronis, “The Torn Veil: Cultus and Christology in Mark 15:37–39,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 97–114; Focant, *Marc*, 584; Cuvillier, *Marc*, 305;

Son of God (1:11; 9:7) and the authenticity of his message about the impending kingdom of God, on the lips of a representative of Roman power.<sup>211</sup>

While the writer relocates members of the Jewish *ethnos* atop the ranked boundary system of Roman Judea through a strategic *mode of normative inversion*, not all members of the Jewish *ethnos* will be part of the kingdom of God. Rather, only the righteous who “endure until the end will be saved” (13:30). Accordingly, and like numerous other Jewish texts, the writer attempts a strategy of boundary *contraction* through *fission*. These kingdom members will be gathered “from the four winds” (13:27) and are designated the “elect” (ἐκλεκτούς; 13:20, 22, 27). Nowhere does the narrative explicitly state that members of the other *ethnē* are included in this kingdom.<sup>212</sup> While inclusion of the nations may simply be assumed, and the clearing of the temple at least acknowledges members of the nations in the precincts, the status of non-Jews is not an important theme for the writer. Further, the consistent oppositional pairing of Jesus’s followers and the *ethnē* (10:33, 42; 13:9–10) suggests that the writer operates with a basic Jew/nations boundary and that the in-group remains thoroughly within the boundaries of first-century Jewishness.

Thus far the analysis of Mark’s Gospel has identified the primary ingroup to be within the boundaries of first-century Jewishness and the kingdom of God as the primary mechanism by which the writer attempts to rework the boundary system in and around Roman Judea: The term ἔθνος/ἔθνη (“nation/nations”) consistently designates alterity; all primary actors in the narrative

---

<sup>211</sup> Robert Fowler makes this distinction when he writes “Both what the centurion says (his locution) and what he intends to accomplish by saying it (his intended illocution) remain ambiguous at story level. At discourse level, however, no reader of Mark’s Gospel has failed to grasp that the wording of the centurion’s utterance can be picked up and used as an appropriate summary of the narrator’s own understanding of Jesus.” *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark* (Harrisburg: Trinity International, 1996), 2. Cranfield writes, “For *Mark* it is clearly important that at this point, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the truth was publicly declared.” *Mark*, 460.

<sup>212</sup> The one possibility is 13:10. See, however, the above discussion of the syntax of 13:9–10.

(including Jesus, the disciples, the crowds, Pharisees, scribes, elders, Sadducees, Herodians) are members of the Jewish *ethnos*; the writer's ideal vision of the ranked boundary between Jews and the nations is symbolized as the privilege of children to dogs; and members of the nations are never explicitly included among the expected kingdom of God. The expectation of a future, imminent, earthly kingdom of God enables Mark to symbolically invert the ranked Roman/Jew boundary (*normative inversion*) and use kingdom membership, defined by law observance, to subdivide the Jewish *ethnos* into "righteous" and "wicked." This dual strategy of *normative inversion* and *contraction* through *fission* is quite common among other Jewish texts from the Hasmonean and early Roman period, further aligning the Gospel of Mark with other early Jewish literature. The following section addresses the way that Mark configures six common features of ethnic identity in order to further outline Mark's Judaism and situate it in relation to other near-contemporary configurations of Jewishness.

### **Jewishness as Configured in the Narrative of Mark**

In this final section I consider how Jewishness is configured in Mark's Gospel. As with the study of the individual texts in the previous chapters, I structure this section around the six common features of ethnic identity as outlined by John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith: A common *proper name* to identify and express the "essence" of its community; a myth of *common ancestry* ... that gives an *ethnē* a sense of fictive kinship; shared *historical memories* ... including heroes, events, and their commemoration; elements of *common culture*, including religion, customs, or language; a link with a *homeland*; and a *sense of solidarity*.<sup>213</sup>

---

<sup>213</sup> Hutchinson and Smith, "Introduction," 6–7.

**Summary of Common Elements of Jewishness in Texts written by Jews during the  
Hasmonean and Early Roman Periods**

The texts written by Jews during the Hasmonean and early Roman periods showed considerable variation in their ethnic configuration along with a number of common themes. Two common *proper names* are used: “Jew” (יהודי, Ἰουδαῖος) and “Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ἰσραήλ). The only texts aligned with the political power (Eupolemus and 1 Maccabees) are also the only to use “Jew” as a designation for the *ethnos*. All others consistently use “Israel.”

Specific events and heroes from shared *historical memories* of the Jewish *ethnos* are nearly always employed, and sometimes re-imagined, for the writers’ strategic purposes. For example, David and Solomon can be portrayed as sinless (2 Bar.), the Patriarchs kept the appointed times (Jub.), or divine deliverance in the past is a guarantee of deliverance in the near future (e.g., Pss. Sol.). These *historical memories* are employed to configure the *common ancestry, homeland, and culture*.

Few texts directly address *common ancestry*. However, there is variation among those texts that do. Jubilees alone seeks to make *common ancestry* the defining element of Jewishness, while 1 Macc de-emphasizes *common ancestry* in favor of *common culture*.

During the Hasmonean and Roman periods, the link to a *homeland* receives significant emphasis. All texts that include a land theme emphasize an earthly, territorial area with a circumscribed space at its center. Some focus only on the circumscribed space and see it as a divine shield in the eschaton (4 Ezra and 2 Bar.). Some envision an eventual expansion of the common *homeland* throughout the whole earth (D and Jub.), while others see an eventual transfer to a heavenly realm (Similitudes and T. Mos.).

Finally, two aspects of *common culture* receive significant focus through the Hasmonean and early Roman periods. All texts emphasize the importance of the law, but situate it differently. For some, it is of symbolic significance (1 Macc) and a defining element of righteousness (2 Bar.). For others, law observance matters, but God will save his people in spite of disobedience, because of the covenant (1QM, T. Mos., 4 Ezra). A number of texts relativize the importance of the Mosaic Law by, for example, positing heavenly tablets that include more than the law (Jubilees) or seventy hidden books that contain true wisdom (4 Ezra). Similarly, all texts assume the value of the Jerusalem temple, but many consider it impure (Pss. Sol. D, 1QS, 2 Bar.), and some posit a heavenly temple (e.g., 2 Bar.). The variety of configurations of these common features of Jewishness illustrates that ethnicity is not defined by culture, but is first a matter of ascription. As in the previous chapters, only those common features which are significant themes in the text warrant extended discussions.<sup>214</sup>

### **No Common Proper Name Replaces Israel**

First, the common *proper name* in Mark for the Jewish *ethnos* is, like the majority of early Jewish texts, “Israel” (Ἰσραήλ, 12:29; 15:32). As argued in the section outlining categorical boundaries, the text also reflects local-specific designations, especially “Judean” (Ἰουδαῖος, 1:5; 7:3; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26) and “Galilean” (Γαλιλαῖος, 14:70). The use of Ἰουδαῖος and Γαλιλαῖος to depict regional differences fits a social location close to where these regional distinctions carry meaning.<sup>215</sup> It is significant that the narrative includes no alternative common

---

<sup>214</sup> Of the six common features, a *sense of solidarity* is most difficult to discern in a text and so is not discussed below.

<sup>215</sup> See especially, 14:70 (“the bystanders again said to Peter, ‘Certainly you are one of them; for you are a Galilean.’”) and 7:1–5 (“Now when the Pharisees and some of the scribes who had come from Jerusalem gathered around him, they noticed that some of his disciples were eating with defiled hands, that is, without washing them. [For the Pharisees, and all the Judeans, do not eat unless they thoroughly wash their hands, thus observing the tradition of the elders; and they do not eat anything from the market unless they wash it; and there are also many



*proper name* for the ingroup that could either supersede the Jewish *ethnos*, or blur ethnic distinctiveness.

### **The Assumed Importance of Common Ancestry**

Mark's Gospel, like many other early Jewish texts, lacks an explicit treatment of *common ancestry*. However, familial imagery like "Son of God" (3:11; 5:7; cf. 1:11; 9:7) and "son of David" (10:47–48; 12:35), and the designation of members of the Jewish *ethnos* as "children" in contrast to "dogs" (7:27), hints at the assumed importance of genealogy, as does the eponymous ancestor *Israel* (12:29; 15:32). Therefore, Mark assumes the importance of genealogy, but none of these hints are enough to establish whether genealogy is a defining criterion of Jewishness for Mark or whether Mark thinks members of the nations can become Jews (i.e., proselytism).<sup>216</sup>

### **All Shared Historical Memories Are from the Literary Heritage of the Jewish *Ethnos***

Third, the shared *historical memories* can be helpfully divided between two levels in the Gospel of Mark. A first level involves the events depicted in the Markan narrative that begin with John the Baptist, include Jesus's proclamation of the good news, and culminate in Jesus's death and resurrection and which represent foundational shared *historical memories* for the writer and the intended audience. As has been argued throughout this chapter, the writer situates this narrative within a common Jewish homeland, the main characters are members of the Jewish *ethnos*, and the conflicts concern Jewish issues. While this narrative does not depict events that are formative for all first-century Jewish persons, the events take place within a Jewish milieu.

---

other traditions that they observe, the washing of cups, pots, and bronze kettles.] So the Pharisees and the scribes asked him, "Why do your disciples not live according to the tradition of the elders, but eat with defiled hands?"

<sup>216</sup> For a review of the different Jewish positions vis-à-vis non-Jews, see Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem*, 20–27. Cf. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*.

A second level that is more consequential for understanding Mark's Jewishness concerns earlier shared *historical memories* that feature prominently within the narrative setting of Mark's Gospel. They are often presented as the basis for disputes between Jesus and his interlocutors and are foundational for the writer's understanding of the significance of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. For the purposes of arguing that the writer and intended audience are within the boundaries of Jewishness, it is noteworthy that all shared *historical memories* come from the literary heritage<sup>217</sup> shared by first-century Jews: All historical figures are heroes of the shared Israelite past,<sup>218</sup> all quotations of texts are from Israel's sacred texts,<sup>219</sup> and repeated allusions and references are made to events and texts from these same shared *historical memories*.<sup>220</sup> A comprehensive study of allusions to Israel's past is beyond the scope of this study. While Mark's narrative appeals to the shared *historical memories* to configure various aspects of Jewishness, he primarily employs them to configure the identity of Jesus and the implications for the present and immediate future. Mark's use of the shared *historical memories* to argue for a specific configuration of Jewishness is a feature shared by nearly all texts written by Jews that were analyzed in the preceding chapters.

---

<sup>217</sup> These texts are called *αἱ γραφαί* ("writings") in Mark (12:10, 24; 14:49).

<sup>218</sup> The heroes from Israel's past mentioned by name are Moses (1:43; 9:4–5; 10:3–5; 12:19, 26), David (2:25–26; 10:47–48; 11:10; 12:35–37), Elijah (6:15; 9:4–5, 11–12; 15:35–36), and Isaiah (1:2; 7:6). The prophets are also mentioned (6:4, 15, 28; 12:2–5).

<sup>219</sup> These come mostly from the Torah (called the "book of Moses" in Mark 12:26), the prophets (especially Isaiah), and the Psalms. Quotations from the Torah (with Markan verses in parentheses): Gen 1:27 (10:6); 2:24 (10:8) Exod 3:6 (12:26); 20:12 (6:10); 20:12–16 (10:19) 21:17 (6:10); Lev 19:18 (12:31); 20:9 (6:10) Deut 5:16 (6:10); 5:16–20 (10:19); 6:4–5 (12:29–30). Quotations from the Prophets (with Markan verses in parentheses): Isa 6:9–10 (4:12); 13:10 (13:24–25); 29:13 (6:6–7); 34:4 (13:24–25); 40:3 (1:3); 56:7 (11:17); 66:24 (9:48); Jer 7:11 (11:17); Zech 13:7 (14:27); Mal 3:1 (1:2). Quotations from the Psalms (with Markan verses in parentheses): 22:1 (15:34); 110:1 (12:36); 118:25–26 (12:10–11).

<sup>220</sup> See especially, Thomas R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context: The Function of Scripture in Mark's Narrative*, JSNTSup 232; SSEJC 8 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002); Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus and Mark*, WMANT 2/88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992).

Scholarship on Mark's presentation of Jesus is increasingly moving away from an atomistic focus on titles to an awareness of the complexity of the characterization, involving "a multiplicity of scriptural stories, characters, and images."<sup>221</sup> Jesus is presented as prophetic like Moses and Elijah at the transfiguration (9:4–5; cf. 6:4),<sup>222</sup> but he is not Elijah or one of the prophets (6:15; 9:28);<sup>223</sup> his crucifixion and death is framed and foreshadowed by allusions to the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19) in the baptism, transfiguration, parable of the tenants, and Gethsemane prayer;<sup>224</sup> and his expected return is understood in terms of the Danielic "son of man" (Dan 7:13) when Jesus will be "seated at the right hand of the Power" and "coming with the clouds of heaven" (cf. 14:62; 8:38; 13:26).<sup>225</sup> Most pointedly, when Jesus directly asks the disciples about his identity, Peter correctly answers that Jesus is the Christ (ὁ χριστός), or messiah (8:29), a title which Jesus later affirms before the high priest (14:61–62). The narrative of Mark conflates the titles "son of man" and "son of God" with messiah.<sup>226</sup> This conflation is most evident immediately after Peter's good confession when Jesus uses "son of man" synonymously with "Christ" (8:31) and, later, when the high priest interrogates Jesus, asking whether he is the "Christ, the son of the blessed one" (i.e., son of God; 14:61). That is, Mark's narrative presents

---

<sup>221</sup> Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, "The Scripturally Complex Presentation of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark," in *Portraits of Jesus: Studies in Christology*, ed. Susan E. Myers, WUNT 2/321 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 45–67. Cf. Max Botner, "What Has Mark's Christ to Do with David's Son?: A History of Interpretation," *CurBR* 16 (2017): 50–70; Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Mark's Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Christology* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 18.

<sup>222</sup> Ahearne-Kroll, "Scripturally Complex Presentation," 54.

<sup>223</sup> John the Baptist is the only plausible referent for the expected Elijah of Mal 3:22–23 (LXX) when Jesus tells the disciples that "Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased, as it is written about him" (9:13).

<sup>224</sup> Matthew S. Rindge, "Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God: Lament and Divine Abandonment in Mark," *JBL* 131 (2012): 755–74, esp. 761–71.

<sup>225</sup> It is well known that the appellation "son of man" may simply refer to a human being. While this may be the case in numerous places in Mark and the other gospels, the allusions to the Daniel 7 vision in 8:38, 13:26, and 14:62 make clear that the intended referent is Daniel's human-like figure.

<sup>226</sup> See especially, Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 209, cf. 126–34, 150–52. Pace Norman Perrin who argued that Mark corrects a "Son of God" Christology with a "Son of man" Christology. "The Christology of Mark: A Study in Methodology," *JR* 51 (1971): 173–87.

Jesus as the anticipated intermediary figure expected to usher in the last days through a complex association with various heroes of Israel's past.

One contentious aspect of Mark's presentation of Jesus is whether Mark presents Jesus as the son of David.<sup>227</sup> While the title son of David is not a major focus in Mark's Gospel,<sup>228</sup> the question of whether Jesus accepts this appellation is significant because ambivalence or rejection of Davidic sonship has been equated with a refusal of an earthly kingdom.<sup>229</sup> The crux of the issue is that, in the narrative of Mark, not long after Jesus heals Bartimaeus, seemingly accepting the blind man's designation of Jesus as "son of David" (10:47–48), Jesus directly asks "How (πῶς) can the scribes say the messiah is the son of David?" (12:35), seemingly disputing the appropriateness of the identification.<sup>230</sup> However, Jesus does not explicitly accept Bartimaeus's title, and the choice to heal could be *in spite of* the son of David title.<sup>231</sup> Further, Jesus's question in 12:35–37 can mean "in what manner," and the illocution of the narrative scene can be to

---

<sup>227</sup> Scholars who conclude Mark's Jesus rejects Davidic sonship: Kelber, *Kingdom in Mark*, 80–81; Paul J. Achtemeier, "'And He Followed Him': Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10:46–52," *Semeia* 11 (1978): 115–45, esp. 127; Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 164; Horsley, *Hearing the Whole Story*, 251; Johannes Schreiber, "Die Christologie des Markusevangeliums," *ZTK* 58 (1961): 154–83, esp. 164–66; Benjamin W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark: Its Composition and Date* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), 225.

Scholars who conclude Mark's Jesus accepts Davidic sonship: Robert H. Stein, *Mark*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 569; Collins, *Mark*, 510, 582; Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms of Lament in Mark's Passion: Jesus's Davidic Suffering*, SNTSMS 142 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 166; Jack D. Kingsbury, *The Christology of Mark's Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 148–49; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 142.

Scholars who conclude Mark's Jesus is indifferent to Davidic sonship: Étienne Trocmé, "Is There a Marcan Christology," in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, ed. Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 3–14, esp. 7; Perrin, "The Christology of Mark," 181. In contrast to Mark, Jesus's Davidic sonship is not contested in Matthew and Luke.

<sup>228</sup> The explicit discussion of Davidic sonship is limited to Mark 10–12: Jesus is called "son of David" twice by Bartimaeus (10:47–48); the crowds following Jesus into Jerusalem shout "Blessed is the coming kingdom of our ancestor David" (11:10); Jesus directly addresses Davidic sonship in 12:35–37. Pointed out by Gerhard Schneider, "Die Davidssohnfrage (Mk 12:35–37)," *Bib* 53 (1972): 65–90, esp. 87–88.

<sup>229</sup> For example, M. Eugene Boring writes "the point is the Christ is understood—as a David-like one who will fulfill Israel's national hopes, or as the transcendent Lord who will come again as Son of Man." *Mark*, 349. Marcus writes "'son of David' and similar characterizations tend to indicate a figure who will restore the Davidic monarchy and raise Israel to a position of preeminence in the world." *The Way of the Lord*, 143.

<sup>230</sup> Botner's history of scholarship on the *Davidssohnfrage* in Mark shows the competing influence of these two passages on scholarly conclusions. "What has Mark's Christ to do with David's Son?" 64.

<sup>231</sup> Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 87–91.

emphasize the superiority of the messiah over King David.<sup>232</sup> Accordingly, neither passage is decisive and the issue must be solved elsewhere. Two points are relevant.

On the one hand, if Mark's Jesus rejects Davidic sonship in 12:35–37, it would be the anomaly among the literary heritage of early Judaism and the earliest Jesus followers.<sup>233</sup> Joel Marcus writes “[t]he apparent denial in Mark 12:35–37 that the Messiah is the son of David ... represents a puzzling piece of Christology that is at home neither in first-century Judaism, nor in first-century Christianity, nor in the flow of Mark's story.”<sup>234</sup> On the other hand, rejection of Davidic sonship would also be in tension with other royal messianic themes in the Markan narrative. The tension with Jesus's healing of Bartimaeus in 10:46–52 has already been noted. In addition, the title “Son of God” (3:11; 5:7; 15:39) already associates Jesus with King David. It is widely acknowledged that this title alludes to 2 Sam 7:14 where God tells the prophet Nathan: “I will be a father to him (David) and he will be a son to me” (2 Sam 7:14).<sup>235</sup> The association with David is also made at the two divine heavenly pronouncements in Mark's narrative. At both the baptism (1:9–11) and transfiguration (9:2–8), a heavenly voice designates Jesus as God's son (1:11; 9:7), alluding to Psalm 2:7 (“you are my son, today I have begotten you”), a psalm that was widely recognized as royal, messianic, and Davidic in antiquity.<sup>236</sup> In conclusion, then, the strong royal messianic themes in Mark's Gospel suggest that Jesus does not reject Davidic sonship in 12:35–37.<sup>237</sup> Rather, Jesus's question about how the messiah is the son of David

---

<sup>232</sup> The interrogative *πῶς* (12:35) can mean “in what way?” For example, Mary's question to the angel in Luke 1:34 concerns the manner in which the promise will come true. “How (*πῶς*) can this be, since I am a virgin?” Similarly, the interrogative *πóθεν* (12:37) can indicate manner.

<sup>233</sup> For example, Matt 1:1; Luke 1:32; Rom 1:3; Acts 2:30–31; 13:22–23; Pss. Sol. 17; 1QS 2 12 all identify the messiah with the son of David.

<sup>234</sup> *The Way of the Lord*, 140.

<sup>235</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Jews,” *HTR* 92 (1999): 393–408, esp. 395

<sup>236</sup> E.g., Ahearne-Kroll, “The Scripturally Complex Presentation,” 48; Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, 69–72.

<sup>237</sup> Additional association with David is made in 2:25–26 when Jesus appeals to the precedent of David for the sabbath behavior of himself and his disciples.

concerns the manner in which this is the case and argues for the superiority of himself as messiah to the ancestral hero King David. In this way Davidic sonship is part of the complex portrayal of Jesus and reinforces the Markan royal messianic theme.

### **The Continuing Relevance of Temple and Torah As Elements of Common Culture**

A fourth common feature of ethnic identity is elements of *common culture*. *Common culture* encompasses many things, with language, religion, and customs as some of the most prominent. These three are addressed in turn. While Mark's composition in Greek language is sometimes used as evidence of its non-Jewish origin, the existence of Greek texts universally recognized as written by Jews with a Judean provenance (esp. 2 Bar. and T. Mos.) cautions against making too much of the composition choice of Greek.<sup>238</sup> More significantly, and in common with nearly all texts written by Jews that are addressed in the previous chapters, the two most prominent elements of *common culture* are the temple and the law.

While acknowledging both the embedded nature of religion in antiquity, and that the Jerusalem temple functioned as more than a cultic center, this study has approached it under the category of religion. The Jerusalem temple is a prominent theme in Mark.<sup>239</sup> Temple and sacrifice make their first appearance at the end of the first chapter when Jesus heals a *lepros* and instructs the man to “go, show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded ...”<sup>240</sup> (1:44). The temple does not appear again until Jesus arrives in Jerusalem,

---

<sup>238</sup> Further, the choice of the Greek language for ossuary inscriptions among first-century Jewish tombs in Tiberius provides evidence for the use of Greek among Jews in Galilee.

<sup>239</sup> The only comprehensive study of the temple theme in Mark is Timothy C. Gray, *The Temple in the Gospel of Mark: A Study in Its Narrative Role*, WUNT 2/242 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). Also helpful is the 2007 special issue of *Biblical Interpretation*, which collects papers on the temple theme in Mark presented at the Mark Group of the 2005 Society of Biblical Literature annual meeting.

<sup>240</sup> The Greek λέπρα and Hebrew צרעת are often incorrectly translated “leprosy.” Samson O. Olanisebe, “Laws of Tzara’at in Leviticus 13-14 and Medical Leprosy Compared,” *JBQ* 42 (2014): 121–27; John Wilkinson, “Leprosy and Leviticus: A Problem of Semantics and Translation,” *SJT* 31 (1978): 153–66; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 768.

where Jesus visits the temple three times.<sup>241</sup> After an initial visit to look around (11:11), Jesus returns the following day to disrupt temple commerce, cursing a fig tree on the way and observing its withered state on the return (11:12–21). When he visits the temple complex again after an unspecified amount of time, he is confronted by representatives of various Jewish leadership groups in contests over his authority before commenting on a widow contributing to the temple treasury (11:27–12:44). As they leave, an unnamed disciple’s comment on the grandeur of the buildings prompts Jesus to foretell that “all will be thrown down” (13:2) before Jesus proceeds to outline the events that will lead to the arrival of the expected kingdom of God (13:3–37). While being interrogated by the chief priests, one of the many false and contradicting charges against Jesus is that he promised to destroy the temple and rebuild one “not made with human hands” (14:58). This same purported claim of temple destruction and rebuilding is used to mock Jesus on the cross (15:29–30). The final reference to the temple occurs just after Jesus’s death when the temple veil is torn (15:38).

A common understanding of the temple theme in the Markan narrative is that Mark depicts the temple and its leadership as replaced by the new temple of Jesus’s body around which a new community is formed.<sup>242</sup> On this reading, Jesus’s curse on the fig tree (11:12–14) and its subsequent withering (11:21) symbolically condemns the Jerusalem temple and foreshadows its permanent destruction and irrelevance for the writer and intended recipients. The physical destruction of the temple (predicted more explicitly in 13:2) is an afterthought, for the cultic function of the temple has already been rendered superfluous with the death of Jesus, symbolized

---

<sup>241</sup> The temple appears briefly when Jesus appeals to the precedent of David entering the “house of God” in 2:26, but this does not directly relate to the temple theme in Mark.

<sup>242</sup> E.g., Robert S. Snow, *Daniel’s Son of Man in Mark: A Redefinition of the Jerusalem Temple and the Formation of a New Covenant Community* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016), esp. 115–22, 167–69; Simon J. Joseph, *Jesus and the Temple: The Crucifixion in Its Jewish Context*, SNTSMS 165 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 166; Gray, *The Temple in the Gospel of Mark*, 200; J. Bradley Chance, “The Cursing of the Temple and the Tearing of the Veil in the Gospel of Mark,” *BibInt* 15 (2007): 268–91, esp. 273, 285–86.

in the Markan narrative by the torn temple veil (15:38). Jesus's purported claim of a rebuilt temple "not made with human hands" (14:45) that will be constructed in three days (15:29) positions Jesus as a new temple while the parable of the wicked tenants (12:1–12) depicts the dispossession of Jewish leadership and their replacement by the disciples and earliest Jesus followers (12:9).<sup>243</sup>

Interestingly, neither the replacement of the temple by Jesus, nor the cessation of the cultic function of the temple are explicitly stated by Mark. Further, and in seeming tension with the above understanding of temple replacement in Mark, multiple passages assume a positive posture toward the temple. Four points will be made here. (1) a number of scenes throughout the Markan narrative assume a positive role for the temple. (2) Jesus's criticisms throughout chapters 11–13 are directed against corrupt temple leadership and not the temple itself. (3) Jesus's purported claims of autonomous temple destruction and rebuilding should be seen as they are presented in the narrative: false charges, and mocking insults. (4) Within the narrative context of the crucifixion scene, the unstated significance of the torn temple veil, while ambiguous, is best understood as the catastrophic, but temporary, departure of the divine presence from the temple and Jerusalem. We are now going to discuss each of these in turn.

First, two scenes in the Markan narrative portray Jesus with a positive evaluation of the temple and sacrifice. The very first mention of temple and priesthood occurs in 1:44. After Jesus heals a man of *lepra* he directs him to "go, show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded ..." (1:44). In this initial story, Jesus's instructions indicate respect for the sacrificial system and obedience to the law.<sup>244</sup> In addition, Jesus's action against

---

<sup>243</sup> E.g., Marcus, *Marc 8–16*, 814; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 216; Iverson, "Jews, Gentiles, and the Kingdom of God," 319.

<sup>244</sup> E.g., Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 210. Paula Fredriksen summarizes, "This is an uncomplicated endorsement of a very elaborate sequence of ablutions and sacrifices (a bird, two male lambs, one perfect year-old ewe), detailed in



the money changers and those carrying things through the temple (11:15–20) is based on improper use and assumes the significance of the temple: “Is it not written, ‘My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations’? But you have made it a den of robbers” (11:17).<sup>245</sup> Besides objecting to improper temple activity, in this passage Mark’s Jesus calls the temple God’s house (“my house”) and returns the following day to teach in the temple (11:27–12:44). A temple repudiation would more naturally be followed by avoidance.<sup>246</sup>

Second, throughout chapters 11–13, Jesus’s criticisms are directed at Jewish leadership and not the temple. This is most clear in 11:27–12:27 where Jesus appears in confrontations with the chief priests, scribes, and elders over his authority (11:27–33), Pharisees and Herodians over taxation (12:13–17), and the Sadducees over the resurrection (12:18–27), and where the narrator states that the wicked tenants, dispossessed of the vineyard by the owner (12:1–12), are the “chief priests, scribes, and elders” (11:27; cf. 12:12). In this context, the symbolism of the fig tree, cursed and withered, most naturally refers to temple leadership rather than the temple itself and makes a similar point to the parable of the wicked tenants (12:1–12). This conclusion is supported by tree imagery elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Jewish literature, which nearly always designates persons, and never the temple.<sup>247</sup>

Third, a number of factors suggest that the writer did not mean the charge against Jesus during his interrogation by the chief priests to position the earliest followers of Jesus as a new temple “not made with human hands.” (14:58; cf. 15:29). The narrative states explicitly that the

---

Leviticus 14, by which the [*lepros*] moves from pollution to purity, from isolation back into life in the community.” *Sin: The Early History of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 20–21.

<sup>245</sup> “If Jesus had wished to oppose the sacral function of the temple, he would have passed through the court of the gentiles to make his protest where the sacrifices were actually offered.” Neill Quinn Hamilton, “Temple Cleansing and Temple Bank,” *JBL* 83 (1964): 365–72, esp. 372. Cf. Clinton Wahlen, “The Temple in Mark and Contested Authority,” *BibInt* 15 (2007): 248–67, esp. 254.

<sup>246</sup> Wahlen, “Temple in Mark,” 254.

<sup>247</sup> See the nice summary in Esther Miquel, “The Impatient Jesus and the Fig Tree: Markan Disguised Discourse against the Temple,” *BTB* 45 (2015): 144–54, esp. 146–47; Cf. Wahlen, “Temple in Mark,” 261–63.

charge is false (14:57). For the intended readers/hearers, living forty years after the narrative setting of the Gospel, the most obvious way it is false is that Jesus did not destroy the temple proper (ναός); Rome did.<sup>248</sup> Further, the distinction between the destroyed and rebuilt temples in this false accusation is between their human and divine builders (ἀχειροποίητον / ἀχειροποίητον). While this distinction could correspond to a physical/spiritual distinction, or earthly/heavenly distinction, most immediately it contrasts the existing temple built by the Roman vassal king Herod and a temple built by the god of Israel.<sup>249</sup> Such a temple, in the context of Jesus's proclamation of the immanence of the kingdom of God, understood as earthly, territorial, and with a circumscribed space at the center, is best understood as physical and earthly. Finally, if the narrator did intend to depict the earliest Jesus followers as a new temple through a single false charge (14:58) that is repeated as mockery during the crucifixion (15:29), it is unlikely he would not have clarified this with a narrative comment. In light of the absence of this same replacement idea elsewhere in the narrative, these two statements should not be read to imply replacement by the writer.

Fourth and finally, for the narrative world of Mark's Gospel which assumes the validity of the temple and sacrifice (1:44; 11:15–20), the torn temple veil is catastrophic, rather than triumphant, and represents the culmination of the increasingly dark and despairing setting of the crucifixion scene where Jesus is placed between two common criminals (15:27) with a mocking charge above his head (15:26); where he is mocked by soldiers (15:16–20), chief priests and scribes (15:31), two crucified bandits (15:32), the centurion (15:39), and others walking past

---

<sup>248</sup> E.g., Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 1014.

<sup>249</sup> “The most likely meaning ... is the apocalyptic notion of an eschatological, eternal temple of divine origin.” Collins, *Mark*, 703.

(15:29–30);<sup>250</sup> where Jesus is forsaken by God (15:34); and where darkness descends upon all (15:33).

The bare fact of the torn temple veil is stated immediately after Jesus's last breath (15:37): "And the curtain of the temple was torn in two, from top to bottom."<sup>251</sup> The absence of explanation of the torn veil's significance has led to competing interpretations. Timothy Geddert lists 35 different interpretations, most clustered around either the rejection of the temple or a transformation from exclusion of the nations to inclusion of the nations.<sup>252</sup> The causal connection between the death of Jesus (15:37) and the torn veil (15:38) provides a hint into its significance in the narrative. According to the Torah, three grave sins (sexual sins, Lev 18:24–30; idolatry, Lev 19:31, 20:1–3; and murder, Num 35:33–34) result in moral impurity, an equally real and related type of impurity to ritual impurity, that pollutes the land and threatens expulsion.<sup>253</sup> The death of the falsely-accused Jesus (14:55–59) at the hands of the Jewish leadership increases moral impurity and hence the defilement of the land to the extent that God can no longer dwell in his temple, indicated by the torn veil.<sup>254</sup> The departure of God from the temple due to grave sin is not a new idea for the writer. Ezekiel's depiction of the divine departure from Solomon's temple attributes it to the grave sins of Israelite leadership (Ezek 10–11, esp. 11:2, 6). Similarly, and not long after the compositional setting of Mark, 2 Bar. (esp. 6:7; 8:2) attributes the divine departure

---

<sup>250</sup> For an understanding of the centurion's reaction to Jesus's death as sarcasm, see above. Cf. Nathan Eubank, "Dying with Power: Mark 15,39 from Ancient to Modern Interpretation," *Bib* 95 (2014): 247–68.

<sup>251</sup> 15:38. It is not clear whether the intended veil is the inner veil between the holy of holies and the rest of the temple or the outer veil between the temple and the rest of the temple precinct, but a correct identification does not immediately impact this discussion. E.g., Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, 1056.

<sup>252</sup> Timothy J. Geddert, *Watchwords: Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology*, JSNTSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), 140–44. For a discussion of the significance of the torn veil in early Jewish sources, see Daniel M. Gurtner, *The Torn Veil: Matthew's Exposition of the Death of Jesus*, SNTSMS 139 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

<sup>253</sup> See especially, Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22–31.

<sup>254</sup> For a similar understanding of the torn veil in Matthew's gospel, see Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, 156–58, 220. Cf. Donald Juel, *Messiah and Temple* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 206.

from Solomon's temple to grave sins, using the Babylonian destruction of Solomon's temple to address the Roman destruction of Herod's temple.<sup>255</sup> Both texts see God's departure as a prerequisite for the temple's destruction.<sup>256</sup> Similarly, for Mark, the departure from the temple at the death of Jesus precedes the predicted temple destruction (13:2), and relativizes the significance of the destruction of the second temple—a very recent memory for the writer and intended recipients—by explaining that God did not lose, rather he had already left. In this context, the torn veil represents anguish or sorrow, and not victory, but also provides an explanation for why God allowed his temple to be destroyed.<sup>257</sup> According to this reading, the first element of hope in the narrative after the crucifixion is the appearance of the young man in the empty tomb and the pronouncement that “he has been raised, he is not here” (15:6) while the crucifixion scene is colored by abandonment and despair. The element of sorrow rather than anger that accompanies the torn veil fits well with reading Mark within the boundaries of Jewishness. Like Ezekiel and 2 Bar., there is no reason to assume that Mark sees this divine departure to be final.<sup>258</sup> Rather, the parable of the wicked tenants (12:1–12) implies continuity that is imminent, likely assuming a quickly renewed temple and divine presence in the imminent, earthly, kingdom of God (13:30; cf. 14:58).

---

<sup>255</sup> “There is general agreement in scholarship that 2 *Baruch* serves as a reply to the challenges caused by the fall of Jerusalem and its temple.” Lied, “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch,” 240.

<sup>256</sup> The Jewish contemporary of Mark, Josephus, also sees the departure of the divine presence as a prerequisite for the temple destruction. *J.W.* 6.124–128.

<sup>257</sup> Raymond E. Brown considers this when he writes “is there also an element of sorrow at what has happened to Jesus and/or what is happening to the sanctuary and to Jerusalem ... The evidence is not conclusive, but one should not discount the added motif of sorrow.” *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1101. Rosann M. Catalano explores this possibility in “A Matter of Perspective: An Alternative Reading of Mark XV,38,” in *Seeing Judaism Anew: Christianity's Sacred Obligation*, ed. Mary C. Boys (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 187–99, esp. 195–97.

<sup>258</sup> In 2 Bar. 7:8 the first angel commands the earth to “guard them (temple vessels) until the last times, so that, ... you may restore them.” Similarly, Ezekiel foresees a return and a removable of the impurity (11:17–18).

The temple, therefore, is not replaced by Jesus's body and his earliest followers in the narrative world of Mark's Gospel. Rather, its importance is assumed (1:44; 11:15–20). The destruction by the Romans (13:2), while catastrophic, does not signal the impotence of Israel's God in the face of Roman power, for the divine presence had already left (15:38) because of the sins of Jewish leaders. For the writer and readers, the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God (9:1; 13:30) promised a return of the divine presence. The natural assumption for first-century Jewish persons would be that this would include a newly constructed temple.

A final element of *common culture* is shared *customs*. The Jewish law, as the basis for normative Jewish life and practice, provides the best window into the shared customs of the Jewish *ethnos* as depicted in Mark. While specific customs are contested between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees in Mark, the normative role of the Torah for Jewish life and practice is a shared assumption of Mark's Jesus, Mark's scribes and Pharisees, and Mark himself. The only comprehensive study of the law in the Gospel of Mark is Heikki Sariola's published dissertation, *Markus und das Gesetz*.<sup>259</sup> Sariola's redaction-critical approach discovers the writer's view of the law in how the writer reworks traditional material.<sup>260</sup> In contrast to Sariola's redaction-critical approach, this study takes a narrative-critical approach which, acknowledging the use of traditional material, assumes that Mark is wholly responsible for the final form of the narrative. Sariola concludes that Mark's explicitly positive attitude toward the law is balanced by a mostly implicit critique of the law.<sup>261</sup> The critique employs various criteria to split the law. According to Sariola the most basic criteria is the authority of Jesus who has the power to re-interpret and to

---

<sup>259</sup> Heikki Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz: eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung*, AASF 56 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1990).

<sup>260</sup> Sariola acknowledges that the lack of extant sources for Mark makes his concludes tentative. *Markus und das Gesetz*, 18.

<sup>261</sup> Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 245.

reject parts of the law.<sup>262</sup> Additional criteria include the will of God (e.g., 8:33; 12:14), an inner-outer distinction (7:15), reason (e.g., 12:33–34), and humaneness in contrast to casuistry (2:23–28).<sup>263</sup> Sariola concludes that no systematic evaluation of the law in Mark is possible since Mark only addresses selective aspects. Mark’s selective treatment of the law is shared with nearly all other Jewish texts addressed in this study. Of those aspects of the law that are addressed, some are valid, some weakened, and some rejected: the greatest commandment (12:29), the decalogue (esp. 10:17–20), and marriage laws (10:2–12) remain valid; the significance of sabbath (esp. 2:27–28) and temple (e.g., 12:33) are weakened; and ritual purity and dietary laws are rejected (7:15–23).<sup>264</sup> Even if Sariola’s conclusions were correct, this would not indicate that Mark is outside the boundaries of Jewishness, for numerous texts written by Jews apply similar criteria that functionally relativize the authority of the law, whether Jubilees’s heavenly tablets,<sup>265</sup> 4 Ezra’s seventy hidden books (4 Ezra 14.47), the Yahad’s teacher of righteousness,<sup>266</sup> or survival according to the Hasmonean propagandist (1 Macc 2:41). However, in contrast to Sariola, this study argues that there is no splitting of the law in Mark. Jesus’s authority is not understood as a criterion above the law, but as the correct interpretation of the law and that throughout the Markan narrative, conflicts over the law are about correct interpretation and practice, and not validity.

The word νόμος (“law”) does not occur in Mark, but related terms do.<sup>267</sup> Specific topics related to the law that are addressed in the Markan narrative include the Sabbath (2:23–3:6; cf.

---

<sup>262</sup> Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 252.

<sup>263</sup> Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 255–61.

<sup>264</sup> Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 246, 250.

<sup>265</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets,” 27. For the taxonomy of references to the heavenly tablets in Jubilees see García Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,” 245–60.

<sup>266</sup> 1QpHab 8.2–3. Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, 168–69.

<sup>267</sup> Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 18. For related words, see especially ἐντολή (“commandment”): 7:8, 9; 10:5, 19; 12:28, 31; ἔξεστιν (“it is permitted”): 2:24, 26; 3:4; 6:18; 10:2; 12:14; Μωϋσης (“Moses”): 1:44; 7:10; 9:4, 5; 10:3, 4; 12:19, 26.

1:21–39; 15:42–43; 16:1–2), ritual impurity (7:1–23; cf. 1:40–45; 5:21–45), moral impurity (e.g., 6:18; 7:19–23; 10:11–12, 19; 12:5–8), marriage (6:17–20; 10:2–12; 12:18–27), oaths and vows (7:11), temple offerings (1:40–45; 12:28–34), and the decalogue (10:17–20).<sup>268</sup> Rather than a comprehensive study of the law in Mark, I make two points: obedience to the law of Moses is an expected part of righteousness and there are no instances in Mark in which Jesus is depicted as setting aside parts of the law.

First, throughout the narrative of Mark, law observance is an assumed part of righteousness. This is stated most directly in Jesus’s rebuke of the Pharisees: “you abandon the commandment (τὴν ἐντολήν) of God and hold to human tradition” (7:8). Further, correct understanding and practice of the law are both closely tied with membership in the kingdom of God. This is clearly indicated in two narrative scenes in Mark. On the one hand, the important role of correct understanding of the law is most clear when a scribe questions Jesus about the greatest commandment (ἐντολὴ πρώτη) in the law (12:28–34). After the scribe agrees with Jesus’s choice of the Shema (Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41) and the golden rule (Lev 19:18) and proceeds to favorably compare these to “all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices” (12:28–33), Jesus responds “you are not far from the kingdom of God” (12:34). Right understanding of the law is then an important part of kingdom entrance. While some commentators read the scribe’s answer to imply the abrogation of sacrifice,<sup>269</sup> the comparative language (i.e., “greatest commandment,” “more important”) and the allusions to 1 Kgdms 15:22

---

<sup>268</sup> References or allusions to individual commands of the decalogue occur as follows: First commandment (Exod 20:2): 10:18; 2:29, 32. Sabbath (Exod 20:8–11): 1:21–39, 2:23–28, 3:1–6, 15:42–43. Honor parents (Exod 20:12): 7:10; 10:19. Murder (Exod 20:13): 10:19; cf. 3:4, 6, 6:19, 8:31, 9:31, 10:34, 11:18, 12:5, 7, 8, 13:12, 14:1, 55, 15:7. Adultery (Exod 20:14): 7:21–22; 10:11–12; 19. Stealing (Exod 20:15): 7:21; 10:19. False witness (Exod 20:16): 10:19; 14:55–59. Coveting (Exod 20:17): 4:19; 7:22.

<sup>269</sup> Morna Hooker concludes the phrase would have been understood as a condemnation of temple worship, but only because of an assumed context where the writer and readers did not offer sacrifice. *Mark*, 289; Cf., Günther Bornkamm, “Das Doppelgebot der Liebe,” in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Walther Eltester, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957), 85–93, esp. 85, 89–90; Cuvillier, *Marc*, 254.

and Hos 6:6 which both assume the continued role for sacrifice, indicate that the Markan passage also assumes the continued validity of sacrifice.<sup>270</sup>

On the other hand, the importance of law observance for kingdom entrance is most clear in Jesus's answer to the man asking about eternal life (10:17–22). Jesus's response to the man's question about what he must do to inherit eternal life is to remind him of the commandments he already knows: "you know the commandments: 'You shall not murder; You shall not commit adultery; You shall not steal; You shall not bear false witness; You shall not defraud; Honor your father and mother'" (10:19). The implication is that eternal life—identical with entrance into the kingdom of God (10:17, 24, 25)—is attained by observing the commandments.<sup>271</sup> After the man states that he keeps these, Jesus replies "you lack one thing" (10:21) and directs him to give his wealth to the poor in exchange for eternal life. Often, this is seen as an addition to law observance and indicative of a different standard of righteousness.<sup>272</sup> However, there is abundant evidence that Jews in antiquity often associated giving to the poor (almsgiving) with eternal rewards.<sup>273</sup> Further, Jesus's directive is completely comprehensible as pointing out one commandment that the man has not kept: "love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev 19:18).<sup>274</sup> Later in the Markan narrative Jesus identifies the love of neighbor as one of the two most important commands in the law (12:31) and this man's accumulation of "many possession" (10:22) and apparent disregard for the poor (10:21) is a rather overt transgression of Lev 19:18. If this

---

<sup>270</sup> Adela Collins writes "That does not mean that cultic sacrifices do not need to be made, or still less that they ought to be abolished." *Mark*, 576; Markus, *Mark 8–16*, 842;

<sup>271</sup> This is pointed out by Ermakov, "Salvific Significance of the Torah," 21.

<sup>272</sup> For example, Robert H. Gundry writes "Jesus upsets the notion that keeping the commandments brings eternal life." *Mark*, 555.

<sup>273</sup> E.g., Prov 10:2; Hos 6:6; Dan 4:24; Tob 4:5–11; Sir 21:9–13. Cf. Nathan Eubank, *Wages of Cross-Bearing and Debt of Sin: The Economy of Heaven in Matthew's Gospel*, BZNW 196 (Boston: de Gruyter, 2013), 27–33; Anthony Giambrone, *Sacramental Charity, Creditor Christology, and the Economy of Salvation in Luke's Gospel*, WUNT 2/439 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 68–78; Gary A. Anderson, *Sin: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 144–46.

<sup>274</sup> For a similar conclusion regarding Matthew's version, see Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, 124–26.



background is correct, Jesus's instruction to the man to sell his possessions is aimed at bringing the man back into obedience with Lev 19:18. It corresponds with his stated mission of "the kingdom of God has come near; repent, and believe in the good news." 1:15) and target audience ("I have come to call not the righteous but sinners." 2:17).<sup>275</sup> The logic throughout the passage is that law observance is an important part of righteousness and entrance into the kingdom of heaven/eternal life.

The crucial importance of the law in the above passages coheres with other glimpses into the writer's assumptions about the law. For example, the writer emphasizes that the timing of Joseph of Arimathea's burial of Jesus's body (15:42–43) and that of the three visitors to the tomb (Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome; 16:1) is determined by the need to observe the sabbath. Jesus commands the healed *lepros* to go to the priest and "offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded" (1:44).<sup>276</sup> John the Baptist rebukes Herod for violating Lev 16:18 by marrying his brother's wife. In each of these examples, the writer of Mark assumes that law obedience matters.

The second point I make about the law in Mark is that nowhere is Mark's Jesus depicted as abrogating part of the law. The majority of disputes between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees are clearly about correct interpretation of the law and assume that law observance

---

<sup>275</sup> Michael Peppard makes a related argument that the one command the man failed to keep was "do not defraud" (Mark 10:19). He points out that this is the only commandment listed by Jesus that is not part of the decalogue (It occurs twice in Torah: Deut 24:14–15; Lev 19:13). "Torah for the Man Who Has Everything: 'Do Not Defraud' in Mark 10:19," *JBL* 134 (2015): 595–604, esp. 599–600. Peppard argues that an analysis of the ways a person could become wealthy in the first century suggest that the command "do not defraud" is meant as a critique of the man's wealth. In a zero-sum economy with land as the scarcest resource, it was primarily landowners who, through exploiting workers, could gain wealth. Richard A. Horsley, *Covenant Economics: A Biblical Vision of Justice for All* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009), esp. 89; Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century*, trans. O.C. Dean Jr. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 15–20. If this background is correct, Jesus's instruction to the man to sell his possessions is aimed at bringing the man back into obedience with Deut 24:15/Lev 19:13 so that he in fact does not incur guilt (Deut 24:15). Peppard's conclusion, like that suggested here, would make law observance the criterion of righteousness that Jesus demands of the man.

<sup>276</sup> Joel Marcus writes "By this instruction Jesus seems to acknowledge the authority of the priestly establishment" *Mark 1–8*, 210.

matters. However, two encounters between Jesus and the Pharisees have often been understood to portray Jesus abrogating parts of the law: the controversy over the disciples' picking grain on the sabbath (2:23–28), and the controversy over handwashing (7:1–23).<sup>277</sup>

The first possible example of Mark's Jesus rejecting part of the law occurs in the controversy over the disciples' picking grain on the sabbath (2:23–28). In this scene, Pharisees question why Jesus's disciples, who were picking grain, do what is not permitted (ὁ οὐκ ἔξεστιν) on the sabbath (2:24). Jesus responds by giving the example of David as a precedent for lawbreaking (2:25),<sup>278</sup> when he ate the bread of the presence permitted only for priests (1 Sam 21:1–6),<sup>279</sup> seemingly acknowledging and then condoning the disciples' infraction.<sup>280</sup> Jesus concludes his response with a sabbath principle (“the sabbath was made for humankind, and not humankind for the sabbath”) before drawing the conclusion that “the Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath” (2:28).<sup>281</sup> The principle of 2:27 has parallels in 1 Macc 2:39–41 and rabbinic literature (esp. *b. Yoma* 85b; *Mek. Shabbata* 1), and was quite possibly accepted among the

---

<sup>277</sup> For example, regarding 2:23–28, Robert Guelich writes “this does not come down to an argument over ‘scribal interpretation’ of the law. ... Jesus’s response does not fit the categories of rabbinic debate, as though he were one rabbi setting his view of the Law over against a competing interpretation.” *Mark* 1:2–8:26, 128. Regarding 7:1–23, Adela Collins writes “The comment of v. 19c takes a giant step further and implies at the very least, that the observance of the food laws for followers of Jesus is not obligatory.” *Mark*, 356.

<sup>278</sup> Maurice Casey concludes that “[Jesus] chose it (1 Sam 21) because it shows that David did not abide by Pharisaic law, and scripture does not criticise him for this: rabbinic exegesis shows a variety of ways of avoiding this unwanted conclusion.” *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, SNTSMS 102 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 154. Law breaking is the only point of correspondence between the example of David and actions of Jesus’s disciples, and not sabbath, need, or eating: There is no indication in 1 Sam 21, or Jesus’s account of the story, that David’s action occurred on a sabbath (though a number of rabbinic treatments of 1 Sam 21 assume it did; *b. Menah* 95b; *Yal. II.130*); the rationale for David’s actions is need and hunger and it is never explicitly stated that the disciples are eating the grain, much less that they are hungry.

<sup>279</sup> There are two differences between the account in 1 Sam 21:1–6 and Mark 2:23–28 that do not directly relate to our concerns. First, in 1 Sam 21:1–6 the priest is Ahimelech while in Mark 2:26 it is said to be Abiathar, Ahimelech’s son (cf. 1 Sam 30:7). Second, while in Mark 2:25 David’s companions also eat, in 1 Sam 21:1–6, David is alone.

<sup>280</sup> For example, Robert Guelich states “Jesus does not deny the accusation but responds as though accepting their charge.” *Mark 1–8:26*, 128.

<sup>281</sup> Many commentators see 2:28 as a later addition. However, at the narrative level, the use of ὥστε (“so that”) clearly presents it as part of Jesus’s final statement.

Jewish rebels during the first revolt.<sup>282</sup> In contrast to 2:27, most commentators conclude that the assertion in 2:28 of Jesus's lordship over the sabbath would have been understood by the first readers/hearers as condoning sabbath non-observance.<sup>283</sup> However, this conclusion is always based on an assumed majority non-Jewish audience, often in Italy, and a social situation in which sabbath observance is already not practiced. Within the social context suggested by this study in which law observance is closely related to righteousness and kingdom entrance, and in a narrative where righteous persons are consistently portrayed as observing the sabbath (15:43; 16:1), the statement much more plausibly refers to the authority of Jesus, in contrast to that of the scribes and Pharisees, to correctly interpret the laws of sabbath. This reading is supported by the narrative context of 1:21–3:6 which repeatedly pits Jesus against the scribes and Pharisees and is introduced by an initial contrast between Jesus's authoritative teaching and that of the scribes and Pharisees (1:22), culminating in a plot to kill Jesus (3:6). Therefore, the claim to lordship can be seen as synonymous with authority (1:22; 2:10) and contrasted with the lack of authority of the scribes, Pharisees, and temple leaders (1:22; 15:1). The lordship/authority of Jesus, as elsewhere in the narrative, involves rightly interpreting the Torah sabbath command. The example of David's law-breaking, then, due to need, acknowledges a principle of need as an exception for keeping parts of the law, an idea likely accepted by many Jewish contemporaries of Jesus and also Mark.<sup>284</sup> Jesus appeals to a similar principle to defend his healing activity on the Sabbath (3:1 – 6; cf. 1:21–27). Regardless of whether the specific principle was shared by Jewish contemporaries (cf. b. Yoma 8.6), Jesus's logic assumes the relevance of the Sabbath for his

---

<sup>282</sup> See Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.*, trans. David Smith (Bloomsbury: T&T Clark, 1989), 287–90. *Jos., Ant.* 2.456, 517.

<sup>283</sup> Cranfield, *Mark*, 118; For example, Joel Marcus writes “While 2:27 has important Jewish analogies, the conclusion of the passage in the following verse does not.” *Mark 1–8*, 245.

<sup>284</sup> For a discussion of related Jewish sources, see Nina L. Collins, *Jesus, the Sabbath and the Jewish Debate: Healing on the Sabbath in the 1st and 2nd Century CE*, LNTS 474 (New York: T&T Clark, 2014), 1–16, 230–300.

defence is that saving a life (which apparently included healing a hand in the Markan narrative) is permitted on the sabbath, not that sabbath observance is unimportant.<sup>285</sup>

The second possible example of Mark’s Jesus rejecting part of the law occurs in the controversy over handwashing (7:1–23).<sup>286</sup> In this scene, Pharisees and scribes who came from Jerusalem question why Jesus’s disciples do not follow the tradition of the elders (τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) but eat with unwashed hands (7:5). Jesus responds by accusing the Pharisees and scribes of rejecting the command of God for the sake of their tradition (7:8). Later, Jesus explains the conflict to the crowd by stating that “there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile” (7:15).<sup>287</sup> Most scholars understand this logion to contrast ritual impurity (7:15a), which does not defile, with immorality (7:15b), which does defile.<sup>288</sup> In the final scene, Jesus elaborates in private to the disciples (7:17–23) and contrasts food, which enters the body from outside and does not defile, with immoral actions, which go out from the heart and produce defilement. For most, this is a clear indication that the

---

<sup>285</sup> Cf., Collins, *Mark*, 208–9.

<sup>286</sup> For a more extended presentation of the following argument, see Van Maaren, “Does Mark’s Jesus Abrogate Torah,” 21–41.

<sup>287</sup> οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτὸν ὃ δύναται κοινῶσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά ἐστιν τὰ κοινῶντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>288</sup> This reading of 7:15 can be traced as far back as Origen (*Comm. Matt.* 11:8–13) and is assumed by all major commentaries: Collins, *Mark*, 355; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 453; Cranfield, *Mark*, 244; Cuvillier, *Marc*, 140, 142; Focant, *Marc*, 272–73; France, *Mark*, 276–78; Guelich, *Mark 1:1–8:26*, 375; Gnilka, *Markus*, 284; Gundry, *Mark*, 354; Erich Klostermann, ed., *Das Markusevangelium*, 5th ed., HNT 3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 67; Lamarche, *Marc*, 185; Moloney, *Mark*, 142; Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 1:379; Schmithals, *Markus*, 345, 350; Taylor, *Mark*, 342–43; Trocmé, *Marc*, 201. Topical studies that assume the traditional reading include: Roger P. Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7*, JSNTSup 13 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1986) 13, 214; Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 110. James Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 38; Tom Holmén, *Jesus and Jewish Covenant Thinking*, BibInt 55 (Boston: Brill, 2001), 239; Hans Hübner, *Das Gesetz in der synoptischen Tradition: Studien zur These einer progressive Qumranisierung und Judaisierung innerhalb der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 159; Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?*, ConBNT 38 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2010), 66; William R. G. Loader, *Jesus’s Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 76–77; Wilfried Paschen, *Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur Biblischen Wortgeschichte* (Munich: Kosel, 1970), 200; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 36, 266; Sariola, *Markus und das Gesetz*, 53; Jesper Svartvik, *Mark and Mission: Mk 7:1–23 in its Narrative and Historical Contexts*, ConBNT 32 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2000), 2, 294, 403

writer understood 7:15 to contrast ritual purity with morality.<sup>289</sup> Further, the narrator’s comment in 7:19c “cleansing all food” (καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα) seems to extend the scope of Torah rejection to the Levitical dietary laws.<sup>290</sup>

The most glaring problem with this reading of Mark 7:1–23 is that Mark’s Jesus accuses his interlocutors of rejecting the command of God (7:9) and then immediately seems to reject the biblical food and dietary commands (7:15).<sup>291</sup> Three additional problems contribute to the inadequacy of the current consensus and collectively require an alternative interpretation. First, many have noted that 7:15 is an unusually general answer to a very specific question. This is either attributed to Mark’s generalizing tendency, or a different original setting.<sup>292</sup> More significantly, the emphasis on the *direction* that impurity flows is extraneous for the ritual/moral

---

<sup>289</sup> It is noteworthy that many scholars do not find it necessary to state explicitly that the logion contrasts ritual purity with morality, but assume its meaning is self-evident. For example, Dunn quotes the logion and writes “For if Jesus actually said, ‘There is nothing from outside a man entering into him which is able to defile him’ ... then the comment of 7:19b is sound ... and the conclusion is unavoidable that Jesus denied the necessity of treating some food as ‘unclean’ ....” *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 38. Likewise, Crossley provides parallel examples to argue that “statements such as Mk 7.15, 19 do not have to be taken literally.” He never explicitly states the ‘literal’ reading of Mark 7:15, but his examples all involve contrasts between ritual concerns and ethical concerns. *The Date of Mark’s Gospel*, 192–93; James G. Crossley, “Mark 7.1–23: Revisiting the Question of ‘All Foods Clean,’” in *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008*, ed. Michael Tait and Peter Oakes, LNTS 401 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 8–20.

<sup>290</sup> Joel Marcus calls 7:19c an “explicit revocation of the OT kosher laws ascribed to Jesus by Mark.” *Mark 1–8*, 458.

The narrative comment in 7:19c is rightly considered redactional by nearly all commentators. Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 230. Some have suggested that it is a later gloss added to the text of Mark. Noted by Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity*, 49. For example, Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Mark*, trans. Donald H. Madvid (Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1970), 150; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus: Übersetzt und erklärt*, KEK 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), 142. This, however, is unlikely because of the unanimous manuscript attestation. The variant reading καθαρίζων, attested in later manuscripts, shows that the early Jesus followers also struggled with this comment. This variant creates a play on the excrement leaving the body and falling into the latrine. Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Biblegesellschaft, 1994), 81.

<sup>291</sup> Noted by Jesper Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, 6. Claude G. Montefiore writes about the contrast: “What would appear to be in the mind of the speaker or writer is that the human commands or tradition are outward and ceremonial; the divine commands are inward and moral. The standpoint is the old prophetic one, but the argument ... does not work. For the commands of God ... contain a whole mass of ceremonial and outward commands.” *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2 vols. 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan, 1927), 145–46.

<sup>292</sup> For example, Hübner considers the general statement of 7:15 to have been given an ideal setting in Mark 7. *Das Gesetz*, 165, 169. Dunn understands 7:15 to have originated in an inner-Jewish debate that was then adopted for a gentile audience. *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 45.

dichotomy.<sup>293</sup> A simple inner-outer contrast would make the same point.<sup>294</sup> The directional elements would seem to point beyond the traditional reading toward a different contrast, one for which directional elements mattered. Most notably, however, the logion, as a response to the Pharisees and scribes, *assumes the relevancy of purity laws*. Jesus’s response is that impurity does not take place, not that it does not matter.<sup>295</sup> It seems that, even at the narrative level, Mark’s Jesus has a positive evaluation of the purity laws.

Recently, Yair Furstenberg observed that Mark 7:15 is fully intelligible as contrasting two different conceptions of *tohoroth*, or ritual purity, as outlined in Torah: “one concerned with ‘that which enters the body’, and another concerned with ‘that which comes out of it’.”<sup>296</sup> According to this reading, Jesus does not reject the ritual purity laws, but engages in a halakhic dispute over their correct interpretation. The first half of the logion, ἐξῶθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτόν, corresponds to the Pharisaic conception of *tohoroth* while the second half of the logion, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά, corresponds to Jesus’s conception of *tohoroth*, which reflects the levitical conception of ritual defilement (Lev 12–15; Num 19).<sup>297</sup> Most significant for understanding Mark 7:15, in the Levitical system, impurity travels from its

---

<sup>293</sup> Yair Furstenberg notes that this is an artificial distinction. “Defilement Penetrating the Body,” 181.

<sup>294</sup> The attempt to attribute the directional elements of 7:15 to Mark’s redactional activity and isolate a simple inner-outer contrast is evidence of its artificiality. Wilfried Paschen considers εἰσπορευόμενον and ἐκπορευόμενά redactional. *Rein und Unrein*, 174. Helmut Merkel removes εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς αὐτόν from the first half of the logion which then reads: “Es gibt nichts außerhalb des Menschen, das ihn verunreinigen kann!” “Markus 7:15: Das Jesuswort über die innere Verunreinigung,” *ZRGG* 20 (1968): 340–63, esp. 354. Cf. Taylor, *Mark*, 343.

<sup>295</sup> This important point is noted by Friedrich Avemarie who concludes “This is what strikes about Jesus’s reaction. Rather than indifference in matters of purity it displays a positive interest.” “Jesus and Purity,” in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, ed. Reimund Bieringer et al., JSJSup 136 (Boston: Brill, 2010), 255–80., esp. 267.

<sup>296</sup> Furstenberg, “Defilement Penetrating the Body,” 186. Furstenberg’s reading was adopted by Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels*, 102–28. Boyarin follows Furstenberg both in his reading of 7:15, and in his understanding of 7:17–23. Boyarin, however, suggests that 7:19c (καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα) refers only to kosher food. A similar position was suggested, but not pursued, by Peter Zaas, “What Comes Out of a Person is What Makes a Person Impure: Jesus as Sadducee,” in *Jewish Law Association Studies VIII*, ed. E. A. Goldman (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 217–26, esp. 224.

<sup>297</sup> Avemarie notes that according to this reading, 7:15 “would simply point to the biblical foundations of purity Halakhah, from which the notion of a defilement by eating, except in the rare case of the consumption of a carcass of a permitted animal, is absent.” “Jesus and Purity,” 269.

source, through people and vessels to food. In contrast, for the Pharisees the direction also reverses and food can contaminate persons and vessels.<sup>298</sup> According to this reading, the logion of 7:15 in the Markan context has nothing to do with issues of *kashrut* or immorality.

Reading Mark 7:15 to contrast two conceptions of *tohoroth* avoids the problems of the traditional reading because Jesus does not *reject* the purity system in favor of morality but *assumes* the purity system while contrasting his understanding of purity with that of the Pharisees and scribes. This reading, which represents a plausible alternative, is adopted and developed here and so the reading must be considered more closely. The crux of Furstenberg's argument is whether the second limb of the logion (τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά) is an accurate description of the biblical purity laws (Lev 12–15; Num 19). Furstenberg makes two points to support his reading. First, he notes that, according to biblical law, the primary way human beings are a source of contamination is through bodily discharges going out of the body.<sup>299</sup> Friedrich Avemarie objects that this summarizes the purity laws regarding bodily discharges (Lev 12) but not corpse impurity (Lev 21:1–4; Num 19) or *lepra* (Lev 13–14), the other sources of impurity.<sup>300</sup> Kazen, however, finds it quite possible that *lepra* and corpse impurity, in addition to bodily discharges, can be understood as bodily substances that transmit impurity: "Corpse impurity was understood as some kind of death 'ooze,' a quasi-physical miasma, coming out of dead bodies, with the ability to, among other things, fill enclosed spaces. [*lepra*] ... seems to have involved scales and cracking of the skin. Jesus's statement would then have expressed the view that bodily substances transmit impurity, while food does not."<sup>301</sup> It

---

<sup>298</sup> Furstenberg, "Defilement Penetrating the Body," 197.

<sup>299</sup> Furstenberg, "Defilement Penetrating the Body," 194–95. He mentions menstruation, seminal discharges, parturient blood discharge, and saliva.

<sup>300</sup> Avemarie, "Jesus and Purity," 269. Furstenberg limits his discussion to bodily discharges and does not discuss corpse impurity and *lepra*. "Defilement Penetrating the Body," 194–95.

<sup>301</sup> Kazen, *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 130. See also Thomas Kazen, "Jesus, Scripture and *Paradosis*: Response to Friedrich Avemarie" in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*,

does, therefore, seem that the Levitical forms of impurity can be accurately described as “impurities that come out of the body.”<sup>302</sup>

Second, Furstenberg argues that there is no biblical prescription for impurity occurring through ingestion.<sup>303</sup> While Avemarie notes the “rare case” of consuming the corpse of a *kosher* animal in Lev 17:15, Furstenberg notes that the parallel in Lev 11:39–40 assumes contamination to occur by touching the corpse (one of the three sources of impurity) and not because of the eating *per se*.<sup>304</sup> The only other example of impurity caused by ingestion is “swarming things.”<sup>305</sup> This example, however, deals with *kashrut* which is in some way distinct from *tohoroth*.<sup>306</sup> It seems, therefore that “the things that come out” can be meant as an “abstract of the biblical purity laws.”<sup>307</sup>

---

ed. P. Tomson, et. al., JSJSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 281–88, esp. 285–86. He writes “I am challenged, however, by Avemarie’s thought experiment to take Mark 7:15 literally: discharges (from within) defile, but not food (from without). Maybe we should pursue this idea further before dismissing it.” See also Kazen’s discussion of the sources of impurity in *Scripture, Interpretation, or Authority? Motives and Arguments in Jesus’s Halakic Conflicts*, WUNT 320 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 141–62.

<sup>302</sup> *Sifra Tazri’a* 12.4 67 [d] uses this phrase to refer to bodily fluids.

<sup>303</sup> Furstenberg, “Defilement Penetrating the Body,” 195.

<sup>304</sup> Lev 17:15: “All persons, citizens or aliens, who eat what dies of itself or what has been torn by wild animals, shall wash their clothes, and bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the evening; then they shall be clean.” Lev 11:39–40: “If an animal of which you may eat dies, anyone who touches its carcass shall be unclean until the evening. Those who eat of its carcass shall wash their clothes and be unclean until the evening; and those who carry the carcass shall wash their clothes and be unclean until the evening.”

<sup>305</sup> Lev 11:41–44: “All creatures that swarm upon the earth are detestable; they shall not be eaten. Whatever moves on its belly, and whatever moves on all fours, or whatever has many feet, all the creatures that swarm upon the earth, you shall not eat; for they are detestable. You shall not make yourselves detestable with any creature that swarms; you shall not defile yourselves with them, and so become unclean. For I am the LORD your God; sanctify yourselves therefore, and be holy, for I am holy. You shall not defile yourselves with any swarming creature that moves on the earth.”

<sup>306</sup> Furstenberg notes that there is no purification procedure for this “impurity” and that the reason they convey “impurity” is that they are an “abomination.” “Defilement Penetrating the Body,” 195. Some of the dietary laws (Lev 11) share the language of pure/impure with the purity laws (Lev 12–15) but are distinct in a number of ways: (1) Most of the dietary laws do not involve issues of purity/impurity; (2) eating non-kosher foods is prohibited rather than defiling; (3) there are no purification procedures for this “impurity”; (4) eating non-*kosher* food is harmful to the person; (5) the harmful effect is contrasted with holiness; (6) violation of the dietary laws is related to expulsion from the land. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 31–32.

<sup>307</sup> The phrase is taken from Avemarie, “Jesus and Purity,” 269.



There is, however, a significant problem at the narrative level that Furstenberg’s reading does not explain and which has prevented its acceptance by more recent studies.<sup>308</sup> When Jesus explains the logion to his disciples in private (7:17–23), he contrasts food, which after entering the body passes out into the latrine, with immorality, which starts from the heart and moves outward. Hence, Mark’s Jesus seems to provide an explicitly moral interpretation of the logion. In addition, the rejection of *kashrut* seems all but guaranteed by the narrative comment in 7:19c “cleansing all food” (καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα).<sup>309</sup> Furstenberg explains Jesus’s private instruction as the moralizing of a Halakhic debate. He writes “the force of Jesus’s statement lies in its ability simultaneously to rise to a moral level.”<sup>310</sup> This explanation, however, results in a strained narrative where Jesus vehemently debates the Pharisees and scribes about an intricate legal matter (the direction impurity moves) with serious consequences (Jesus had accused the Pharisees and scribes of rejecting the command of God) and instructs the crowds about the same, and then, in private, denies the significance of the confrontation by teaching that what really matters is morality, as opposed to ritual purity. According to Furstenberg, then, as for the traditional interpretation, Mark 7:1–23 contrasts ritual purity with morality. This contrast is not stated explicitly in the pericope and my contention is that there is no ritual/moral contrast in the Markan narrative.

---

<sup>308</sup> Avemarie, “Jesus and Purity,” 269; Thomas Kazen, “Jesus and the Zavah: Implications for Interpreting Mark,” in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, ed. Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson, and Eileen Schuller, WUNT 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 112–43, esp. 136.

<sup>309</sup> Cohen notes that this reading of Mark 7:19c makes the whole passage “incoherent and illogical. Incoherent, because the first paragraph targets the washing of hands, but this subject is entirely forgotten in the third. Illogical, because in the opening paragraph Jesus attacks the Pharisees and scribes for setting aside the commandment of God, but in the closing paragraph it is Jesus who sets aside the commandment of God. Shaye Cohen, “Antipodal Texts: B. Eruvin 21b–22a and Mark 7:1–23 on the Tradition of the Elders and the Commandment of God” in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ra’anan S. Boustán et al., 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 965–83, esp. 969.

<sup>310</sup> Furstenberg, “Defilement Penetrating the Body,” 197–198. This same idea is reflected in Daniel Boyarin’s popular-level book, *The Jewish Gospels*. He writes, “When Jesus explains the parable to his uncomprehending disciples, he is showing how the literal force of the halakha itself should be read as indicating its spiritual or moral meaning.” *The Jewish Gospels*, 124.

**Excursus: The Defiling Force of Sin in the Biblical Purity System**

The defiling force of sin in ancient Israelite religion has often been overlooked due to the assumption that purity language, when applied to morality, is metaphorical. Jacob Neusner, for example, stated “two important ideas about purity and impurity come down from ancient Israel: first, purity and impurity are cultic matters; second, they may serve as metaphors for moral and religious behavior ....”<sup>311</sup> This understanding of moral purity/impurity language as metaphorical and therefore not “real” finds no basis in biblical law.<sup>312</sup>

A first problem, noted by anthropologist Mary Douglas, is that *all* purity language is, in fact, metaphorical and therefore no distinctions can be made among purity laws on the basis of metaphorical and literal.<sup>313</sup> Additionally, Jonathan Klawans has pointed out the utter lack of indication in the Israelite scriptural tradition that moral purity is a metaphorical extension of ritual purity.<sup>314</sup> He argues that ritual and moral purity are equally real, though distinct, forms of purity. According to Klawans, ritual impurity concerns the status of the person in relation to the sacred while moral impurity concerns the status of the community and defilement of the land.<sup>315</sup> He lists the following distinct characteristics of each type of purity. Contact with ritual impurity (Lev 12–15; Num 19) is (1) unavoidable, (2) not sinful, and (3) impermanent. Moral impurity, on the other hand, is (1) the result of grave sin (sexual sins, Lev 18:24–30; idolatry, Lev 19:31, 20:1–3; and murder, Num 35:33–34), (2) not contagious, (3) long-lasting and sometimes permanent, (4) removed by punishment or atonement rather than ritual, (5) designated as an “abomination.”<sup>316</sup> Klawans rejects a

---

<sup>311</sup> Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures, 1972–1973*, SJLA 1 (Leiden, Brill, 1973), 108.

<sup>312</sup> Since at least as early as David Zvi Hoffmann’s *Das Buch Leviticus* in 1905, modern scholarship has been aware of two systems of purity in ancient Israel. *Das Buch Leviticus*, 2 vols. (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1905–1906), 1:309–22. Adolf Büchler, in 1928, distinguished between “Levitical” and “Spiritual” defilement. Adolf Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, Jewish College Publications 11 (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 228–29. From an anthropological perspective Tikva Frymer-Kensky distinguished between “pollution beliefs” and “danger beliefs.” Pollution beliefs related to the defilement of the temple and were contagious but not dangerous. In contrast, danger beliefs related to the defilement of the person and the land. They were not contagious but led to expulsion from the land. “Pollution, Purification, and Purgation in Biblical Israel” in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and Michael P. O’Connor (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 399–410, esp. 404–9.

<sup>313</sup> Douglas writes “As an anthropologist I claim to find in the totality of the biblical purity rules a symbolic system.” Mary Douglas, “Critique and Commentary” in *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures, 1972–1973*, SJLA 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 137–142, esp. 138–139. See also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>314</sup> “I see no reason why moral impurity is any more, or less, figurative than ritual impurity. In fact, I see no reason why either type of impurity is any more, or less, real than the other.” *Impurity and Sin*, 34.

<sup>315</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 25, 30.

<sup>316</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 22–31, esp. 22, 26.

metaphorical understanding of moral impurity primarily because “with both kinds of impurity, we are dealing with perceived effects that result from actual physical processes.”<sup>317</sup>

There are, however, indications that the two types of purity are more closely related than Klawans allowed. First, there are scattered hints in Levitical law that bodily impurity was regarded as sinful. Milgrom argues that the person who becomes impure with a severe impurity (e.g., as a *lepros*, through childbirth, or discharge of bodily fluid; Lev 12–15) defiles the temple even when they are not near the temple.<sup>318</sup> The defilement of the temple is an especially serious sin (Lev 22:3, 9).<sup>319</sup> The designation “loathsome” (רָשָׁע), which is used explicitly only in the case of grave sins and dietary restrictions (Lev 11), is also implicit in bodily impurities which stem from decomposition, abnormal bodily discharges, and skin disease.<sup>320</sup> Bodily impurity is often a result of disease and disease is sometimes seen as divine punishment which is characteristic of moral impurity.<sup>321</sup> The *hattat* (חַטָּאת) sacrifice, which is part of the removal of ritual impurities, is prescribed when something is objectionable to God.<sup>322</sup> The “pollution beliefs” become dangerous (i.e., overlap with “danger beliefs”) when the polluted person comes in contact with the temple.<sup>323</sup>

Second, the dietary laws (*kashrut*) seem to share characteristics of both bodily impurity and impurity resulting from grave sins. These laws provide a link between the two conceptions of purity and suggest that the whole system is interrelated. Klawans argues that these should be understood on their own terms rather than placed into the category “ritual” or “moral.”<sup>324</sup> The dietary laws (Lev 11) are juxtaposed with the ritual purity laws (Lev 12–15) but their effects are juxtaposed with expulsion from the land (Lev 20:22–26), a characteristic of moral impurity. Unlike ritual purity there are no

---

<sup>317</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 34. He also notes that moral impurity appears in what are likely earlier strands of the Pentateuch tradition. This is unlikely if, as metaphor, it is secondary to ritual purity.

<sup>318</sup> Jacob Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray,’” *RB* 83 (1976): 390–99, esp. 391, 394.

<sup>319</sup> Jay Sklar, “Sin and Impurity: Atoned or Purified? Yes!,” in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*, ed. Baruch J. Schwartz et al., LHBOTS 474 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 18–31. esp. 26–7.

<sup>320</sup> Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 207–14.

<sup>321</sup> Kazen refers especially to the story of Miriam’s *lepra* which is understood as divine judgment (Num 12). *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 209.

<sup>322</sup> Jacob Milgrom’s argument that the *hattat* sacrifice should be translated “purification offering” rather than “sin offering” has been generally accepted. He argues that it often occurs in contexts with no implication of sin. “Israel’s Sanctuary,” 390–99. Noted also by Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 23.

<sup>323</sup> Frymer-Kensky, “Pollution, Purification, and Purgation,” 403.

<sup>324</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 31–2. Scholars working with a dichotomy of purity conceptions disagree about where to place the dietary laws. Hoffmann places the dietary restrictions in his category of defilement in terms of holiness (moral). Hoffmann, *Leviticus*, 1:303–4. David Wright places them in his category “permitted” (ritual). “The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity,” in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*, ed. Gary A. Anderson and Saul M. Olyan (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 150–81, esp. 165–69.

ritual purifications for these and the consumption of such food is prohibited while only some prohibited animals are defiling.<sup>325</sup>

The above considerations indicate that impurity resulting from grave sins was an important part of Israelite conceptions of contamination and that the full spectrum of purity issues was more diverse and interconnected than is suggested by the model of two distinct impurities.<sup>326</sup> Moreover, purity conceptions in the first-century were at least as interrelated as the biblical system. This is most clear among the Qumran sectarians who came close to conflating bodily impurity with impurity resulting from sin.<sup>327</sup> Additional evidence comes from the LXX translator's choice of a specifically ethical term ἀμαρτία for the תּוֹרָה sacrifice which was part of purification rites for impurity resulting from sin and bodily impurity.<sup>328</sup> Kazen summarizes first-century purity conceptions by stating, "If we want to reconstruct the situation during the first century CE, we must suppose that the relationship between bodily defilement and immoral actions was discussed between different groups, but that 'compartmentalization' or integration was not the dividing line. We rather must make room for ideas of *some* sort of interaction or link between sin and bodily impurity both in popular belief and among Essenes as well as among Pharisees."<sup>329</sup>

---

<sup>325</sup> It is clear that τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενά can be read as an accurate abstract summary of both *tohoroth* and of defiling sins: The above discussion of *tohoroth* concluded that these rules can be conceptualized as originating from the body and spreading contamination outward; the example of defiling sins adduced by Jesus in 7:20–23 assumes this understanding of defiling sins. While the *kosher* food laws have less of a directional element, these dietary prescriptions of Lev 11 also easily fit within the abstract summary of 7:15b.

The direction impurity flows in relation to prohibited food would be accurately described by the directional principle Jesus attributes to the Pharisees if consuming non-kosher food contaminated the eater. However, consuming non-kosher food does not contaminate, but is simply prohibited (Lev 11:47). The person who touches the corpse of an impure animal becomes contaminated, but this is due to corpse impurity which also applies to permitted animals. Rather, it is the body of the animal itself that is unclean and as such it fits with the statement of Jesus which locates the origin of impurity in the body.

<sup>326</sup> Kazen argues for a "moral trajectory" within the purity system of ancient Israel which remained a ritual concept. He writes "This is not to be understood as 'moral impurity.' ... As far as I understand it, impurity is a ritual concept, and there is a ritual element in all types of impurity ..." Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 215.

<sup>327</sup> Gudrun Holtz, "Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, ed. Christian Fevel and Christophe Nihan, *Dynamics in the History of Religion 3* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 519–36, esp. 522–24. Holtz responds to Klawans who argued that ritual and moral purity were conflated among the Qumran sectarians. *Impurity and Sin*, 75–88, esp. 88. Kazen argues that the near identification of ritual and moral impurity evidenced in the Qumran sectarian texts likely exerted some influence outside of the Qumran community. *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 217.

<sup>328</sup> Kazen notes "the use of identical terms for different things not only testifies to the conceptualization of the people using those terms, but also influenced subsequent development of thought." *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 218.

<sup>329</sup> Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 219. Cohen seems at least somewhat skeptical about the strict separation between ritual and moral purity when he writes "when Jesus in the final paragraph talks about the impurity caused by fornication, theft, murder, etc. he is speaking about 'danger impurity,' which modern scholars, at least, distinguish from the ritual impurity that is the context for hand washing." "Antipodal Texts," 970.

By taking seriously the full spectrum of variegated yet interconnected purity concerns that include bodily impurity, forbidden food, and grave sins, it becomes clear that the common theme uniting Jesus's logion before the crowds (7:15) and his private teaching to the disciples (7:17–23) is defilement. Two points are argued here. First, the list of immoralities in 7:21–22 is closely parallel to biblical and Second Temple lists of sins that defile. This indicates that, in Jesus's private instruction, immorality is not *contrasted* with impurity, but is *representative* of impurity. Second, the scope of Jesus's logion in 7:15 should not be limited to a contrast between two conceptions of *tohoroth*, but is intended to apply more generally to the full spectrum of impurities that includes grave sins. This wider application of the logion enables the entire pericope to be bound together by purity concerns.

First, a comparison of the vice list of Mark 7:21–22 with biblical and Second Temple conceptions of defiling sins shows substantial agreement. The three grave sins associated with moral impurity in Torah are sexual taboos (Lev 18:24–30), idolatry (Lev 19:31; 20:1–3) and bloodshed (Num 35:33–34).<sup>330</sup> Jesus's list includes sexual sins, (πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀσέλγεια) and murder (φόνος), though not idolatry. He also lists sins of deceit (πλεονεξία, δόλος, ἀφροσύνη), something associated with moral impurity by the Qumran sectarians and the Tannaitic Rabbis.<sup>331</sup> The strong conceptual correspondence between Mark's Jesus, the Torah, and other Second

<sup>330</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 148.

<sup>331</sup> Wright, "The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity," 158. 11QT<sup>a</sup> 51.11–15 reads "You shall appoint judges and officers in all your towns and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment. And they shall not show partiality in justice and shall not take a bribe, and shall not pervert justice, the bribe perverts justice, and subverts the cause of the righteous, and blinds the eyes of the wise, and causes great guilt and defiles the house because of the sin of iniquity." שופטים ושוטרים תתן לכה בכל שעריכה ושפטו את העם משפט צדק ולוא יכירופנים במשפט ולוא יקחו שוחד ולוא יטו משפט כי שופטים ושוטרים תתן לכה בכל שעריכה ושפטו את העם משפט צדק ולוא יכירופנים במשפט ולוא יקחו שוחד ולוא יטו משפט כי השוחד מטה משפט ומסלף דברי הצדק ומעור עיני חכמים ועושה אשמה גדולה ומטמא הבית בעוון החטאה צדק צדק תרדוף למען תחיה ובאתה וירשתה Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 392–93. Most clearly among the Tannaim, is Sifra Kodashim, Perek 4:1: "We learn from this verse that the judge who perverts justice is called unjust, hated, shunned, banned, and an abomination. And he causes five things: [he] defiles the land, profanes the Name, causes the withdrawal of the Divine Presence, brings the sword down upon Israel, and exiles them from their land." וגורם לחמשה. מלמד שהדיין המקלקל את הרין קרוי עול. שנוי משוקץ חרם ותועבה. ומגלה אותו מארצו. לא תעשו עול במשפט בדין. ומטמא את הארץ ומהלל את השם. ומפיל את ישראל בהרב. ומגלה אותו מארצו. Isaac H. Weiss, ed., *Sifra D'Be Rab (Torat Kohanim)* (Hebrew) (Vienna: Jacob Schlossberg, 1862).

Temple developments shows that Mark’s Jesus does not uphold morality over and against purity concerns, but rather assumes that morality is an important component of purity.

Mark’s Jesus also lists two types of sins not elsewhere connected with the defiling force of sin: theft (κλοπαί) and evil thoughts (πονηρία, ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός, βλασφημία, ὑπερηφανία). Whether these additional sins represent a Markan expansion of existing purity concerns, or simply reflect common (though unattested) first-century conceptions of defilement is unclear. However, within the context of 7:1–23 these additional sins also recall Jesus’s accusation against the Pharisees and scribes whose arrogance (ὑπερηφανία) is their lip service,<sup>332</sup> whose blasphemy (βλασφημία) is neutralizing God’s command,<sup>333</sup> and who validate covetousness (ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός)<sup>334</sup> by permitting a son to steal (κλοπαί) what is rightly due to his parents.<sup>335</sup> The list of defiling sins is tailored to the dispute so that Mark’s Jesus turns the tables and accuses the Pharisees and scribes of defilement.

Second, while Furstenberg is correct to note that 7:15 makes sense as contrasting two conceptions of *tohoroth*, there is no reason to limit it to *tohoroth*. It is noteworthy that the logion does not distinguish between types of impurity. The choice to limit the scope of 7:15 to *tohoroth* and *kashrut*, or just *tohoroth*, is likely due to the original question about hand washing and the unwarranted assumption that these were clearly demarcated systems of impurity. The presence of moral impurity is not taken into account because it is considered part of Jesus’s “radical” and ethical reinterpretation of purity laws. In the Markan pericope, Jesus’s private explanation in terms of defiling sins suggests that the logion is meant to describe defilement more broadly.

---

<sup>332</sup> 7:6 “These people honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”

<sup>333</sup> 7:8 “You abandon the commandment of God and hold to human tradition.”

<sup>334</sup> ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός can mean stinginess (Deut 15:9; ורעה איניך) or covetousness (Prov 28:22; רע איניך). Marcus, *Mark* 1–8, 456.

<sup>335</sup> 7:11–12 “But you say that if anyone tells father or mother, ‘Whatever support you might have had from me is Corban’ (that is, an offering to God) – then you no longer permit doing anything for a father or mother.”

When a reading of Jesus's logion (7:15) as contrasting two conceptions of defilement is combined with an awareness of the defiling force of sin, a new reading of Mark 7:1–23 becomes possible: the Pharisees and scribes object to the disciples' eating with unwashed hands because by doing so they risk bodily defilement (7:5); Jesus responds by noting that the body is principally a source of defilement rather than an object susceptible to defilement from external sources; Jesus then *illustrates* the direction defilement moves in relation to the body by contrasting the ingestion of (*kosher*) food with the expression of defiling sins (7:17–23). The contrast between food and defiling sins recalls the original dispute and reinforces the rightness of the disciples' action, but also accuses the Pharisees and scribes of defilement. In some sense, then, this proposed reading comes full circle to the traditional reading: Mark's Jesus responds to his interlocutors by stating that they, and not his disciples, are the ones who are defiled. However, for the proposed reading, this rebuttal is not based on an abrogation of the ritual purity system in favor of morality, but on an appeal to a correct understanding of processes of defilement that demonstrates an intricate knowledge and respect for "the commandment of God" (7:8–9).<sup>336</sup>

If the above readings of the grain-picking (2:23–28) and handwashing controversies are correct, Mark never portrays Jesus setting aside parts of the law of Moses. Jesus's claim to be lord of the Sabbath (2:28) positions himself, rather than the Pharisees and scribes, as the authoritative interpreter of the law, and "all foods" (7:19) refers to those things permitted for

---

<sup>336</sup> Concern about purity can also be seen in Jesus's temple demonstration (11:15–18). Mark writes that Jesus would not let anyone carry a σκεῦος ("vessel") through the temple precinct (11:16). In the context of the holiness of the temple, this most immediately refers to profane vessels. Jesus is then objecting to persons carrying ordinary vessels through the temple precinct and his actions concern both the holiness of the temple and the ritual purity, and thereby safety, of the individuals passing through the temple. Collins, *Mark*, 530; Adela Yarbro Collins, "Jesus' Action in Herod's Temple," in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Adele Yarbro Collins and Margaret M. Mitchel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 45–61.

consumption according to Levitical dietary laws. This coheres with the value accorded to the law throughout the narrative of Mark and indicates that for the writer and intended readers/hearers of Mark, the law of Moses was important, and obedience to the law remained an important part of entrance into the expected kingdom of God. In each of these two cases (2:23–28; 7:1–23), a reading that assumes Jesus abrogates part of the law (sabbath observance or Levitical dietary laws) is only persuasive if one assumes a non-Jewish social milieu. Therefore, to use the presumed abrogation of the law as an argument for a non-Jewish social setting becomes circular reasoning. In contrast, positing a social setting within Judaism enables both scenes to assume full law observance. While it would be likewise circular to use these passages to argue for an inner-Jewish setting, the mutually reinforcing Jewish social setting and torah-observant reading of these two passages coheres with the broader argument that Mark’s Gospel reflects an inner-Jewish social setting.

### **The Assumed Importance of a Common Homeland**

A fifth common feature of ethnic groups, including the Jewish ethos, is link to a *homeland*. The narrative of Mark never explicitly demarcates territorial boundaries and never presents an explicit claim to a specific land. The only possible explicit reference to a *homeland* is during the crucifixion scene when “darkness came over the whole land (ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν).”<sup>337</sup> It is possible that this refers to a bounded, ideal “Israel.” This possibility that “the whole land” refers specifically to the land of Israel, is supported by the theme of the divine departure in the crucifixion scene as indicated by the torn veil (15:38). When combined with an understanding of the boundedness of the God of Israel’s territory, the darkness over the whole land appears to be a

---

<sup>337</sup> 15:33. Elsewhere in Mark γῆ (“earth, land”) is part of the binaries earth/heaven (2:10; 9:3; 13:27, 31), land/sea (4:1; 6:47, 53), and with the meaning “soil” (4: 5[2x], 8, 20, 26, 28, 31[2x]) or “ground” (8:6; 9:20; 14:35).



precursor to the divine departure. However, in light of the absence of an explicit land theme elsewhere in Mark's Gospel, the significance of this vague expression should not be over emphasized. Whatever is made of 15:38, there does seem to be a link to a *homeland* that, while not explicit, is assumed at various parts of the narrative and therefore is likely shared by the writer and intended recipients. In the above discussion of the kingdom of God in Mark, it was argued that the expected kingdom was earthly, territorial, and with a circumscribed space at its center and that this coheres with Jewish eschatology that expected a renewed Davidic earthly kingdom. In particular, Jesus's movements beyond Galilee and Judea foreshadow the expanded territorial boundaries that will be realized with the coming of the imminent kingdom of God, when the elect will be gathered "from the ends of the earth" (13:27). If this conclusion is correct, then Mark does assume a link to a *homeland* that is not realized at the compositional setting of the Gospel, but will be with the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I have sought to do two things: identify the social location of the writer and intended recipients of the Gospel of Mark in relation to the Jew/nations boundary, and outline the ethnic configuration of Jewishness as present in the narrative world of Mark's Gospel. There is compelling evidence for the Jewishness of Mark's Gospel. Most basically, the categorical boundaries that are present in the text and the reworking of those boundaries are similar or identical to many other texts written by Jews. Mark's ideal vision of the boundary system of Roman Judea includes a ranked Jew/nations boundary and Mark attempts simultaneous boundary strategies of *normative inversion* in which an earthly, territorial kingdom of God will supersede Roman hegemony, and *contraction* through *fission* in which membership is limited to the righteous, assumed to be Jewish. There is notably no attempt to replace

Jewishness or the common *proper name* Israel with a competing or alternative identity. Like other early Jewish texts, the narrative of Mark shows special interest in the temple and law. The temple is not replaced, and the law not rejected. Finally, the uniqueness of the configuration of Jewishness in Mark's Gospel centers around the identity of Jesus. Mark employs the shared *historical memories* to present the protagonist of his narrative as the expected intermediary figure who would usher in the kingdom of God.

## CONCLUSION

This study sought to determine the social location of Mark and the intended audience of his Gospel in relation to the Jewish *ethnos* and concluded that Mark should be read within the social boundaries of first-century Jewishness. After addressing introductory and methodological issues in the first chapter, chapters two and three addressed the preliminary question “What is Jewishness?” These chapters employed recent sociological work on the construction and maintenance of ethnic groups and their boundaries, as outlined in the introduction, in order to map, in a theoretically informed way, the relevant features of the ethnic boundary system of the Southern Levant and the ways that common features of Jewishness were deployed in the making and remaking of ethnic boundaries during the Hasmonean and early Roman periods. The use of the *ethnic boundary making model* enabled the study of Jewishness to link ethnic-configuration with characteristics of the social field.

This study concludes by summarizing the argument related to Jewishness and the social location of the Gospel of Mark before considering the implications of this study for related areas of research.

### **Review of the Argument**

#### **Jewishness during the Hasmonean and Early Roman Periods**

The diachronic study of Jewishness in chapters two and three attempted to avoid working in dichotomies and overly abstract conclusions while still advancing beyond the identification of

boundary markers by integrating common elements of Jewishness—reflected especially in textual remains—into a multi-level model that purports to map changes in ethnicity through a cycle of reproduction and feedback. The paucity of the extant evidence precludes strong conclusions about consensus or majority configurations of Jewishness. Further, most of the extant literature stems from official sources (e.g., 1 Macc) or marginal groups (e.g., Damascus Document) and therefore should not be used to reconstruct the ethnic configuration of most Jews (e.g., “common Judaism”). Rather, the evidence is best seen as indicators of how some Jews configured their Jewishness. In light of the state of the evidence, this type of structured, systematic approach, informed by social-scientific approaches to ethnic groups and their boundaries, may be the most that can be done. As the conclusions from a sophisticated, empirically tested model, I aimed to contribute to both a mapping of Jewishness in antiquity, as well as the theorization of ethnic construction in antiquity.

The investigation of Jewishness during the period of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmoneans (129–63 BCE) concluded that this was a period of consolidation of Jewishness. The new field characteristics that accompanied the beginning of Hasmonean rule placed Jews at the top of the ranked boundary system over Greeks and other *ethnē*. The political saliency of Jewishness was guaranteed by the Hasmoneans, who presented themselves as ruling “*for and with the Jewish people*” and so defined their state in ethnic terms.<sup>1</sup> Within the Hasmonean state there were relatively high degrees of inequality and social closure across the Jew/nations boundary. These characteristics would make the Hasmonean period a time when additional cultural diacritics would accrue to further distinguish Jews from other *ethnē* and further reify an already-stable Jew/nations boundary. The nature of the consensus appears to be partially

---

<sup>1</sup> Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 199.

*encompassing*: the available evidence suggests that there is agreement on the *relevance* and *meaning* of the Jew/nations boundary. However, the *location* of the Jew/nations boundary is disputed among members of the Jewish *ethnos*: the attempt to expand the boundaries of Jewishness by the Hasmonean rulers (a strategic mode of *nation building*, based on genealogical descent from Abraham, rather than Jacob) contrasts with the strict emphasis on genealogical descent from Jacob in Jubilees, and the insistence in 1QS on membership in the  $\eta\eta$  and corresponding denigration of the Jewish *ethnos* outside the  $\eta\eta$  as they, like the nations, are controlled by evil spirits.

The ethnic-configuration of Jewishness in texts written within the borders of the Hasmonean state show basic continuity with earlier writings in each of the common features of ethnicity: The common *proper name* is either “Jew” ( $\eta\eta$ ,  $\text{Ἰουδαῖος}$ , *Iudaeus*) or “Israel” ( $\text{יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ ,  $\text{Ἰσραήλ}$ ); *Common ancestry*, whether from Abraham or Jacob, still matters; the shared *historical memories* and heroes of the past are consistently those in the texts of the Hebrew Bible; key elements of *common culture* include the Jerusalem temple cult, Torah, and the Hebrew language; and numerous texts show link to a *homeland*. The configuration of these common features differs by text, and a few key themes can be linked to the new political features of Hasmonean power. First, the only two extant texts that use the *proper name*  $\text{Ἰουδαῖος}$  (“Jew”), 1 Maccabees and Eupolemus, are also the only two textual witnesses to official, Hasmonean ethnic configurations, while other texts consistently use  $\text{Ἰσραήλ}$  (“Israel”). The official use of  $\text{Ἰουδαῖος}$  is in continuity with the previous Seleucid designation, and may be due to Hasmonean diplomatic aspirations of positioning the Jewish *ethnos* (as represented by the Hasmoneans) among the dominant *ethnē* of the ancient Mediterranean world (e.g., 1 Maccabees’ strategic *mode of equalization*). Unsurprisingly, texts written after the beginning of Jewish autonomy show significant interest in

the *homeland*. Both 1 Maccabees and Jubilees, representing official and dissenting positions respectively, reinforce the Jewish right to the land while Eupolemus legitimizes Hasmonean expansion by reworking the Davidic conquest stories. Some (D, 1QS), however, see the land as impure because of covenant disobedience. There is a comparative lack of explicit focus on *common ancestry*, perhaps because of its assumed importance.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, *common ancestry* appears especially contested under the Hasmoneans. In particular, the above discussion identified a Hasmonean strategy of *nation building* that employed common kinship through Abraham to expand the boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos*. This is contested especially in Jubilees which prohibits intermarriage and appeals to eighth-day circumcision to exclude Idumeans and Arab peoples from membership in the Jewish *ethnos*, and its ideal vision of Jewishness.

Finally, elements of *common culture* are also employed in the struggle over ethnic boundaries. While the official Hasmonean configuration (as seen in 1 Maccabees) employs the Torah symbolically to show their solidarity with the Jewish *ethnos*, it also elevates its practical importance for their official configuration of Jewishness by making Torah observance a criterion of Jewishness equivalent to genealogical descent from Abraham: For 1 Maccabees, those who are lawless (presumably their political opponents) are excluded from Jewishness, while others not previously within the boundaries of Jewishness, but who can claim descent from Abraham, may be included if they observe the law. Dissenting voices object, not by denigrating the law, but by claiming exclusive and correct observance and interpretation (D, 1QS, Jub.), further supporting the elevated importance of the law. The Hebrew language, like the Torah, is elevated in importance. For the official ethnic-configuration of the Hasmoneans, this can be seen in the choice of Hebrew for their coins, and the likely original composition of 1 Maccabees in

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gil-White, “How Thick Is Blood?,” 789–820.

Hebrew. Jubilees, also written in Hebrew, agrees, going so far as to designate Hebrew as the language of heaven and of the angels. The temple functions differently in the new *field characteristics* of the Hasmonean period. While under the Seleucids, the temple and the covenant functioned to symbolically invert the Jew/Greek hierarchical boundary, within the Hasmonean state, it now consolidated Jewish privilege.

The arrival of Pompey that marked the end of Hasmonean autonomy and the beginning of Roman hegemony brought a change in the field characteristics that altered the ethnic boundary system and the ethnic-configurations of Jewishness. In comparison with the Hasmonean period, the new field characteristics of the early Roman period made the Jew/nations boundary less stable. The initial institutional frameworks after 63 BCE continued to value ethnicity as a means of social categorization while the new Roman ranked boundary system placed Romans first, followed by Greeks, then Jews, and finally members of other *ethnē*. While the Romans remained the privileged *ethnos* throughout the period, Herod removed official incentive to draw ethnic boundaries. In the period leading up to the Jewish War, *political saliency*, *social closure*, and *cultural differentiation* were all present in relatively lesser degrees than the Hasmonean period, suggesting this is a time when Jew/non-Jew boundaries in and around Hasmonean Judea were less stable than during the period of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmoneans. The changes in the *field characteristics* that occurred during and as a result of the Jewish War influenced the boundary characteristics in opposing directions, confirming that the period after the war was a time of tumult and uncertainty. The boundary consensus throughout the Early Roman period can be described as *partial* rather than *complete*, with widespread agreement on the boundary *relevance* and *location*, but increasing disagreement on the *meaning* of the boundary as Jewish strategies of *normative inversion* consistently contested Roman hegemony.

The evidence for Jewish ethnic-configuration during the early Roman period shows basic continuity with the Hasmonean period. As during the Hasmonean period, the textual evidence from the Roman period indicates that all common features of ethnicity are typical parts of Jewishness under the Romans. The exclusive use of the common *proper name* “Israel” (יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ἰσραήλ) is likely due to the paucity of evidence; the shared *historical memories* are employed to reconfigure other aspects of Jewishness; and *common ancestry* is never the explicit focus of discussion (cf. Matt 3:9), even if differing assumptions can at times be seen. Four of the eight texts examined in this chapter emphasized the like with a common *homeland* and these four are those which post-date the beginning of direct Roman rule in Judea after 6 CE. The law and law observance occupy two different locations in the ethnic-configurations of Jewishness during the Roman period. Some texts emphasize that the Jewish *ethnos* will be saved in spite of breaking the law (Rom 11) while others use law observance to distinguish those among the Jewish *ethnos* who will be saved and those who will not.

### **The Ethnic Landscape during the Compositional Setting of the Gospel of Mark**

The diachronic study of Jewishness provided the setting for situating the Gospel of Mark in its ethnic landscape. The changes caused by the first Jewish War are especially relevant for Mark’s immediate context. The failure of the rebellion demoted the Jewish *ethnos* to the bottom of the ranked boundary system of the Southern Levant and Vespasian’s implementation of the *Fiscus Judaicus*, administered along ethnic lines, linked Jewishness to Roman imperial policy thereby elevating the *relevance* of ethnic identity.

The period of Roman control leading up to the Jewish revolt was marked by field characteristics that were not conducive to long-term stability between Jews and members of other *ethnē*. Jewishness as an ethnic category was less *politically salient* than class distinctions:



there were relatively low degrees of *social closure*; and the period was not conducive to the accumulation of additional cultural diacritics that further differentiated Jews from others.

The Jewish War increased *social closure* between Jews and non-Jews as there was a greater power inequality across the Jew/non-Jew boundary. This increased the boundary *stability*. However, both the *political saliency* of Jewishness and the degree of *cultural differentiation* remained low after the war. Therefore, the period after the war is characterized by a social field slightly more conducive for boundary *stability* and increased disagreement over the *meaning* of the Jew/nations boundary. These features of the ethnic boundary landscape provide the context in which Mark writes his Gospel.

### **The Gospel of Mark as Jewish Literature**

Chapter four examined the place of Mark in the ethnic boundary system in and around Roman Judea with a dual aim: to identify the social location of the writer and intended recipients of the Gospel of Mark in relation to the Jew/nations boundary, and to outline the ethnic configuration of Jewishness as present in the narrative world of Mark's Gospel.

First, there is compelling evidence for locating the writer and intended audience of Mark within the social boundaries of the Jewish *ethnos*. While Mark never explicitly states that the collective identity shared by himself and his intended audience is within the boundaries of Jewishness, the text of Mark provides evidence for the categorical boundaries (at both the narrative and compositional settings) that form part of the writer's ideal vision of the boundary system—a vision that the writer would like the intended audience to share. Insofar as Mark's Jewishness is a matter of ascription, the location of Mark and his intended audience in relationship to the categorical boundaries in his narrative provides the best evidence for situating the Gospel of Mark in relationship to the Jew/nations boundary. Most basically, the categorical

boundaries that are present in the text and the reworking of those boundaries are similar or identical to many other texts written by Jews. Nation/nations (ἔθνος/ἔθνη) consistently represent alterity; the boundary hierarchy subordinates the nations to the Jewish *ethnos*; the primary non-ethnic groups are limited to the Jewish side of the Jew/nation boundary, and the expected kingdom of God reflects Israelite restoration theology. Further, the narrative shows surprisingly little, if any, acknowledgement of inclusion of members of the nations in the expected kingdom of God. Further, Mark attempts simultaneous boundary strategies of *normative inversion* in which an earthly, territorial kingdom of God will supersede Roman hegemony, and *contraction* through *fission* in which membership is limited to the righteous—understood in terms of law observance. There is notably no attempt to replace Jewishness or the *proper name* Israel with a competing or alternative identity. Like other early Jewish texts, the narrative of Mark shows special interest in the temple and the law. The temple is not replaced, and the law not rejected. Finally, the uniqueness of the configuration of Jewishness in Mark’s Gospel centers around the identity of Jesus. Mark employs the shared *historical memories* to present the protagonist of his narrative as the expected intermediary figure who would usher in the kingdom of God.

## **Implications**

### **Ethnicity Theory and Identity in Early Judaism and the Jesus Movement**

The study of early Judaism and the Jesus movement has gained much by engaging sociological and anthropological work on ethnicity. In this section I address prominent studies of Jewish ethnicity and of the Jesus movement that engage ethnicity theory and compare each to the approach of the present study.<sup>3</sup> This juxtaposition aims to highlight the usefulness of Wimmer’s

---

<sup>3</sup> For a recent (2018) summary of studies of ethnicity in relation to early Christianity, including Greek and Roman ethnicity, see Berzon, “Ethnicity and Early Christianity.”

model for further study of Jewish and Christian identity and to encourage a continual engagement with recent sociological and anthropological approaches to ethnicity.

*Cohen and Goodblatt: Primordialism*

Shaye Cohen's *Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (1999) has been foundational for the subsequent study of Jewish ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> He convincingly demonstrates the "fluidity, ambiguity and illusiveness" of Jewishness in antiquity.<sup>5</sup> His engagement with ethnicity theory covers four pages in the prologue where he adopts two positions opposed by the current constructivist consensus. First, Cohen objects to Frederik Barth's separation of ethnicity from culture.<sup>6</sup> Second, Cohen accepts *common ancestry* as the *sine qua non* of ethnic identity.<sup>7</sup> Cohen emphasizes that it is the *belief* in *common ancestry* rather than its *reality*<sup>8</sup> that matters and thereby avoids essentializing ethnicity. Yet, this monothetic definition contrasts with the constructivist consensus that adopts a polythetic definition in which ethnic identity tends to include various features, none of which in itself constitutes membership in the ethnic group.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 1999. For a nice summary of assumptions of earlier studies of Judaism, see Stewart Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 15–18.

<sup>5</sup> Denise Kimber Buell, "Ethnicity and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity and Beyond," *RelSRev* 26 (2000): 243–49, esp. 245.

<sup>6</sup> Cohen writes "What is more problematic, however, is Barth's separation of the culture (customs, values, habits, language, etc.) of a group from its identity. Surely the boundary erected by a group to maintain and protect its identity is an expression of that group's culture." *Beginnings*, 6. For a similar approach to ethnic rhetoric in early Christianity, see Philippa L. Townsend, "Another Race? Ethnicity, Universalism, and the Emergence of Christianity" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 5–8. He writes "Ethnicity is closed, immutable, an ascribed characteristic based on birth." *Beginnings*, 136.

<sup>8</sup> "Whether the group in fact shares a common and unique origin does not much matter; what matters only is that the members believe that the group shares a common and unique origin in a specific place at a specific moment." *Beginnings*, 7.

<sup>9</sup> For a defense of a polythetic definition of (Greek) ethnicity in antiquity see David Konstan, "Defining Ancient Greek Ethnicity," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 6 (1997): 97–110; Andrew Gardner, Edward Herring, and Kathryn Lomas, eds., *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 120 (London: University of London Press, 2013), 2–3.

Cohen's influential thesis is that the possibility of conversion to Judaism (Jews with no claim to Jewish ancestry) was made possible by the influence of Hellenism and caused Jewishness to shift from an ethnicity to an ethnoreligion during the Hasmonean period.<sup>10</sup> This conclusion only follows if ancestry is *the* defining feature of ethnicity and it should be readily acknowledged that Cohen's thesis is determined by his theoretical definition of ethnicity.<sup>11</sup> Some Jews in antiquity did define Jewishness in strictly genealogical terms,<sup>12</sup> but this can only be a conclusion from empirical data and not a criterion. The absence of a strict genealogical definition does not make Jewishness something other than an ethnicity, but rather shows further difference in defining Jewish ethnic identity.

According to the *ethnic boundary making model*, an ethnic group that defines itself exclusively in terms of ancestry is classified as the subcategory "race;" the influence of Hellenism is an instance of the diffusion of new strategies of boundary renegotiation (*exogenous drift*) that affects boundary characteristics and "ethnoreligion" is not distinct from, but a subcategory of ethnicity.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, rather than negating Cohen's conclusion, the *ethnic boundary making model* resituates it in a processual model that more accurately reflects ethnic dynamics.

---

<sup>10</sup> Cohen, *Beginnings*, 109–110. In an earlier work, he depicted the shift as from ethnicity to religion. His later replacement of "religion" with "ethnoreligion" was due to the awareness that Judaism retained many characteristics of an ethnic group. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Religion, Ethnicity, and 'Hellenism' in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine," in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. Per Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 204–23.

<sup>11</sup> The historian Jonathan Hall, whose work on Greek ethnicity has become popular among scholars of Judaism and Christianity, has a similar evaluation of *common ancestry*. *Ethnic Identity*, 32, esp. points 2 and 3 of summary. David Konstan objects and prefers a 'polythetic' definition of ethnicity because genealogies, like other markers, are "products of conscious human activity." "Defining Ancient Greek Ethnicity," 107. For a response to Konstan, see Hall, *Hellenicity*, 11–13.

<sup>12</sup> Especially the authors of Jubilees, 4QMMT, the Animal Apocalypse and 1 Esdras. Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 89–95; Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 69.

<sup>13</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 7–8.

David Goodblatt engages ethnicity theory in *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (2006)<sup>14</sup> to make the general point that ethnicity is indistinguishable from nationalism. In contrast, the *ethnic boundary making model* treats nationalism as a subcategory of ethnicity, occurring when ethnic actors demand or control a state of their own.<sup>15</sup> Apart from equating ethnicity and nationhood, Goodblatt follows the theoretical approach of Cohen. Like Cohen, he notes that ethnic identity is imagined and socially constructed<sup>16</sup> and approaches ethnic identity as a combination of (putative) kinship and shared culture (language, religion, and customary practices).<sup>17</sup> While Cohen argued for a shift from ancestry to culture in defining Jewishness, Goodblatt highlights the enduring significance of ancestry during and after the Hasmonean period (and hence the endurance of an ethnic definition of Jewishness).<sup>18</sup> Both scholars, however, adopt a primordialist approach by making putative *common ancestry* a necessary condition of ethnicity (a monothetic definition) and by failing to distinguish ethnicity from culture.

*Philip Esler and Denise Buell: Constructivism*

Philip Esler treats ethnicity theory most extensively in *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (2003). Unlike Cohen, he adopts the majority position that ethnicity is distinct from culture (following Barth), and that no single feature is the *sine qua non* of ethnicity (polythetic rather than monothetic). Esler seeks to synthesize perspectives that emphasize the malleability of ethnicity (circumstantialism) and those that emphasize the

---

<sup>14</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 2006.

<sup>15</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 8. See also Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997), 74–88.

<sup>16</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 18.

<sup>17</sup> He defines ethnic (national) identity as “a belief in a common descent and shared culture available for mass political mobilization.” Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 17, 26.

<sup>18</sup> Goodblatt, *Jewish Nationalism*, 25.

perceived givenness of ethnicity (primordialism) by distinguishing micro, meso and macro levels of abstraction.<sup>19</sup> These three levels correspond to “persons and personal interaction” (micro), “processes that create collectivities and mobilize groups” (meso) and “the state apparatus” (macro).<sup>20</sup> The three levels help explain “the manner and freedom with which individual members of a particular ethnic group operate as they manipulate cultural features in the overall task of maintaining its existence and identity.”<sup>21</sup> This shift in emphasis from what ethnicity is (circumstantialism/primordialism) to how ethnicity is “built, rebuilt and sometimes dismantled” is consonant with the constructivist consensus.<sup>22</sup>

The *ethnic boundary making model* shares the constructivist assumptions of Esler’s approach but further systematizes the relationship between the state and ethnic actors. Whereas Esler distinguishes levels that influence the struggle over boundaries, the *ethnic boundary making model* provides the link between these levels and predicts how macro-level institutional structures influence micro-level strategies and how micro-level strategies reflect back on boundary characteristics.

Like Esler, Denise Buell unites circumstantialism<sup>23</sup> and primordialism in her study of early Christian identity (2005)<sup>24</sup> in an approach that can be termed constructivist.<sup>25</sup> She joins

---

<sup>19</sup> He relies on Fredrik Barth’s later work: “Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity,” in *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,”* ed. Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994), 11–32.

<sup>20</sup> Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul’s Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 48–49.

<sup>21</sup> Esler, *Conflict and Identity*, 47.

<sup>22</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 2. Richard Jenkins writes “there is good cause to reject totally any strongly primordialist view. Too much ethnographic evidence exists of the fluidity and flux of ethnic identification, and of the different degrees to which ethnicity organizes social life in different settings, for any other position to be sensible, and the theoretical argument in favour of a constructivist view is too well founded.” *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 45.

<sup>23</sup> Buell adopts the term instrumentalism rather than circumstantialism.

<sup>24</sup> Buell, *Why This New Race*, 5–21. See also her review of Shaye Cohen in Buell, “Ethnicity and Religion,” 243–49.

<sup>25</sup> Studies of early Christian identity that follow Denise Buell’s approach include J. Albert Harrill, “Ethnic Fluidity in Ephesians,” *NTS* 60 (2014): 379–402, esp. 381 n. 6; Cavan Concannon, “*When You Were Gentiles*”: *Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul’s Corinthian Correspondence*, Synkrisis: Comparative Approaches to Early

circumstantial and primordial perspectives by viewing ethnicity as a concept “to which fixity is *attributed* but that [is] nevertheless malleable.”<sup>26</sup> Buell relies on the work of anthropologist Ann Stoller<sup>27</sup> and especially Gerd Baumann<sup>28</sup> to arrive at this combination in which fixity and fluidity are seen as two different discourses about ethnicity that coexist, often in a single perspective.<sup>29</sup> That is, while attempting to reshape the ethnic landscape, an ethnic actor relies on the fixity of ethnicity to reinforce the new ethnic vision.<sup>30</sup> The *ethnic boundary making model* goes beyond *identifying* a dual discourse of fixity and fluidity (as done by Buell and Esler) by showing *how* mutable ethnic categories take on the appearance of being fixed while also outlining a typology of strategies ethnic actors can employ to redraw ethnic boundaries.<sup>31</sup>

*Markus Cromhout: Modeling the Internal Constitution of Jewishness*

Markus Cromhout’s model of Jewish ethnicity represents the most optimistic attempt at modeling the internal constitution of “Jewishness.”<sup>32</sup> Rather than focusing on boundary systems

---

Christianity in Greco-Roman Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations* (2010); David E. Wilhite, *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian’s Contexts and Identities*, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 14 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> Buell, *Why This New Race*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth,” *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183–206.

<sup>28</sup> Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities*, Zones of Religion (New York: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> Buell, *Why This New Race*, 8.

<sup>30</sup> For similar approach to later, fourth-century Christian identity construction see Jeremy Schott. He writes “My examination of the production of ‘Christian’ and ‘pagan’ identities participates in a broad trend away from conceptualizations of identity as fixed and determinative, and towards the recognition of identity as the product of constant negotiation and re-negotiation.” *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity*, Divinations (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 9.

<sup>31</sup> Scholarship on ethnicity in early Judaism and the Jesus movement links these elements of fixity and fluidity by appealing to Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*. The concept of *habitus* was first introduced to the study of early Judaism and the early Jesus movement by Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 88–90. See also Siân Jones, “Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity,” in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, JSPSup 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 13–28; Buell, *Why this New Race*, 5–13; Eric D. Barreto, *Ethnic Negotiations*, 2–23; Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals*, 68–69.

<sup>32</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals* (2010). This book is a further refinement of his model that is worked out in two earlier works: Markus Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity: Reconstructing Judean Ethnicity in Q*, Matrix: The Bible

in a particular area, Cromhout focuses on the Jewish *ethnos* as the object of investigation.

Cromhout's model consists of six propositions<sup>33</sup> adopted from sociologist Richard Jenkins<sup>34</sup> (all of which the *ethnic boundary making model* acknowledges) and a pictorial representation of a Jewish "symbolic universe."<sup>35</sup> The "symbolic universe" combines E. P. Sanders's covenantal nomism,<sup>36</sup> James Dunn's four pillars of Second Temple Judaism (temple, God, election, and Torah)<sup>37</sup> and Dennis Duling's expansion of Hutchinson and Smith's markers of ethnic identity<sup>38</sup> to provide a "'bird's eye view' ... of the Israelite 'world' (their 'knowledge'), their social construction of reality, how it is legitimated, what it consists of, and how that world is maintained through social cultural processes."<sup>39</sup>

Cromhout's "symbolic universe" functions as an explanation of the construction of ethnic solidarity through shared habitual dispositions (Bourdieu's *habitus*).<sup>40</sup> In terms of the *ethnic boundary making model* it addresses the "sociopsychological" processes of identification which

---

in Mediterranean Context 2 (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2007); Cromhout and Van Aarde, "A Socio-Cultural Model of Judean Ethnicity," 69–101.

<sup>33</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 7–32. The six propositions are: (1) "Ethnicity is a form of social identity and relation, referring to a group of people who ascribe to themselves and/or by others, a sense of belonging and a shared cultural tradition"; (2) "Ethnicity is socially (re)constructed, the outcome of enculturation and socialization, as well as the social interaction with 'others' across the ethnic boundary"; (3) "Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation, involving the communication of similarity vis-à-vis co-ethnics and the communication of difference in opposition to ethnic others"; (4) "Ethnicity is concerned with culture – shared meaning"; (5) "Ethnicity is no more fixed than the culture of which it is a component, or the situations in which it is produced and reproduced"; (6) "Ethnicity is both collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification."

<sup>34</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 7; Richard Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, 165.

<sup>35</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 64. For a legible graphic of a nearly identical model see Cromhout, "Socio-Cultural Model," 93. The only difference is the addition of shaded zones of interaction at the two ends of the thick black boundaries. The "Symbolic Universe" draws on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1967).

<sup>36</sup> Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (1977).

<sup>37</sup> James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1991).

<sup>38</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 36; Dennis C. Duling, "Ethnicity, Ethnocentrism, and the Matthean Ethnos," *BTB* 35 (2005): 125–43.

<sup>39</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 63.

<sup>40</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in their Sandals*, 16, 64; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).



reinforce path dependency, and which are enabled by stable boundaries.<sup>41</sup> The two approaches, therefore, can be seen as complementary, and yet this study did not incorporate Cromhout's model because of a number of problems. First, the model combines the *content* of the Jewish "symbolic universe" (e.g., attachment to land) with the *means* of its construction and maintenance (e.g., priests as instructors of Torah), obscuring the model's usefulness as a visual representation for either.<sup>42</sup> Second, and more problematically, the usefulness of the model is hindered by its level of abstraction. Cromhout notes that it does not take into account regional differences or social status and that not every Israelite would be a perfect fit.<sup>43</sup> It is also timeless<sup>44</sup> and needs to draw on diverse authors from a variety of times and places. It is, therefore, useful as an idealized model for understanding how a Jewish symbolic universe might have appeared to some person at some time, but cannot be shown to represent any individual member of "Israel."<sup>45</sup> Third, the model addresses *how* the symbolic universe is constructed, but limits this to the identification of influence (e.g., kinship functions to create solidarity) and the relative degree of influence (e.g., land is *more* significant than language).<sup>46</sup>

In contrast to Cromhout, the historical survey in chapters two and three did not address the place of the various cultural markers within a symbolic universe, although it assumes their presence there. Instead, it considered their function in boundary renegotiation and maintenance.

---

<sup>41</sup> Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 104. Jenkins (Cromhout's main influence) criticized Wimmer for ignoring the construction of ethnic solidarity. "Time to Move beyond Boundary Making," 810. Wimmer responded by noting that the model acknowledges the importance of emotional attachments and is well suited to evaluate them. "Ethnic Boundary Making as Strategic Action," 834–35.

<sup>42</sup> It would be helpful if "the Israelite 'world,'" and "what it consists of" were separated from "how it is legitimated" and "how that world is maintained through social cultural processes." Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals*, 63.

<sup>43</sup> Cromhout notes that the model operates at a relatively high level of abstraction. *Walking in Their Sandals*, 63.

<sup>44</sup> The model itself has a temporal trajectory, but this does not correspond to anything within the model itself. Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals*, 64.

<sup>45</sup> This should be all the more apparent given the relative difficulty of assessing emotional attachment in present-day contexts. Wimmer, "Reply," 835.

<sup>46</sup> Cromhout, *Walking in Their Sandals*, 69, 70.

Texts often employ boundary markers as strategies of renegotiation (e.g., Josephus's *Against Apion*) and these are accessible to modern scholars, unlike dispositions existing in ancient minds.

*Stewart Moore: Identifying Ethnic Boundary Markers*

Stewart Moore's study of Jewish ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt (2015) includes the most thorough and up-to-date treatment of social-scientific approaches to ethnicity among studies of Jewishness or the early Jesus movement.<sup>47</sup> By using assimilationist approaches to Jewish ethnicity as a foil,<sup>48</sup> he advocates a thoroughly Barthian approach to ethnicity by (1) selecting a (political) area as the focus of investigation (Ptolemaic Egypt), (2) focusing on the boundary system (made up of Egyptian/Greek, Egyptian/Jewish, and Greek/Jewish boundaries) rather than Jewish ethnicity as a self-evident unit, and (3) defining Jewishness in terms of ascription rather than culture.<sup>49</sup> The focus of Moore's investigation is to identify markers that were used by members and non-members to signal Jewish, Greek, or Egyptian ethnic identity.<sup>50</sup>

Moore's thesis is that "Judeans in Egypt were able to deploy a few specific behaviors ... to distinguish themselves from Greeks and Egyptians. Having done this, they were free to take on board Greek and even Egyptian cultural features ... so long as they did not nullify the crucial ethnic diacritica."<sup>51</sup> That is, adoption of aspects of Greek or Egyptian culture did not entail an erosion of a unique Jewish identity in Ptolemaic Egypt, but rather a changing constitution of what made up Jewishness. Jewish ethnicity remained a relevant ethnic category as long as

---

<sup>47</sup> Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 7–44.

<sup>48</sup> These include Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (1988); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (1969); Arnaldo Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Aryeh Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*, Rev. English ed., TSAJ 7 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1985); and Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, (1993).

<sup>49</sup> Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 43–44.

<sup>50</sup> See the summary of Moore's conclusions, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 255–259.

<sup>51</sup> Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 6.

individuals on both sides of the boundary acknowledged it and this required no more than a single boundary marker to distinguish a Jew from a Greek or an Egyptian.

Moore's theoretical approach represents a crucial shift in understanding how ethnicity "works" and is in agreement with the *ethnic boundary making model* as far as it goes.<sup>52</sup> The conclusions of Moore's study are admittedly limited (e.g., Sabbath served as a boundary marker between Jews and Egyptians),<sup>53</sup> but one of the greatest values of the study is a caution against assuming that other common aspects of Jewish culture, evident elsewhere, also functioned as boundary markers for Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt. The *ethnic boundary making model* moves beyond identifying boundary markers by addressing (1) how boundary markers *function* in the maintenance or renegotiation of boundaries; (2) how these various strategies of boundary making are *constrained* by macro-level institutional frameworks, and (3) how boundary strategies themselves *reflect back* on boundary features.

### **Mark within the Boundaries of Jewishness**

The ripple effects of resituating Mark within the social boundaries of first-century Judaism can be seen in a number of areas. First, it impacts the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. Matthew, as an inner-Jewish text that requires strict law observance including among proselytes from the nations, has sometimes been understood to react *against* Mark's Gospel to the nations that portrays Jesus abrogating parts of the law.<sup>54</sup> If, as argued here, Mark advocates law observance as a kingdom membership criterion (10:17–22; 12:28–34), Matthew and Mark are much more similar than different in their relationship to the Jewish law. Further, if, as argued

---

<sup>52</sup> Moore briefly addresses Andreas Wimmer's model, but notes only one mode of boundary renegotiation (normative inversion) which is in no way a unique aspect of Wimmer's model. *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 41–42.

<sup>53</sup> Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity*, 255.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Sim, "Matthew's Use of Mark," 176–92.

above, Mark never mentions a future mission to the nations, Matthew’s Gospel appears to show *more explicit* interest in the nations (Matt 3:9; 12:18, 21; 24:14; 28:19) than does Mark.

Second, the conclusion of this chapter impacts the question of the “partings of the ways.” As the earliest Gospel that purportedly evinced a social location divorced from Judaism, Mark made the inner-Jewish Matthew appear marginal among the expanding and largely non-Jewish Jesus-followers.<sup>55</sup> If both Mark and Matthew are inner-Jewish texts, the inner-Jewish social location of early Jesus-followers begins to appear more the norm than the anomaly. This is not unexpected for a movement whose founder is universally acknowledged to have been Jewish. When the law-observant assumptions of Luke-Acts are included<sup>56</sup>—a text with clear connections to Paul—the extant literature of the early Jesus movement clearly tilts the scales in favor of an extended, Jewish-centric Jesus-movement that included members from the nations in Jewish categories. In fact, even Paul—the self-described “apostle to the nations” (Rom. 11:13)—understood his activity among the nations in Jewish categories.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that the evidence gap, where a shift from a Jewish-centric movement to a non-Jewish-majority movement should be sought, is not between the life of Jesus and the Gospels, but perhaps between the Gospels and much of the extant literature of the Jesus-followers in the second century.

Finally, the Jewishness of Mark’s Gospel impacts specific interpretative decisions in the Markan narrative. In an early stage of research, I encountered objections that, for example, Mark 7:15 could not be involved in a nuanced debate about the direction impurity travels because the writer and intended audience were not interested in the minutiae of Levitical law. Other examples include the narrative comment of 7:19c (“cleansing all food”), which could not use

---

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community*, 202.

<sup>56</sup> Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 442.

<sup>57</sup> Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans’ Apostle* (2017); Thiessen, *Paul and the Gentile Problem* (2016).

“all” to refer only to *kashrut*, for the intended audience would read this in terms of Greco-Roman dietary customs, and Jesus’s lordship over the Sabbath which, for a community no longer observing Sabbath, would have read it to permit Sabbath non-observance (2:28). This has consequences for how Mark understands aspects of Jewishness not included in his narrative. For example, in light of the importance of the law in Mark’s Gospel, the absence of a discussion of circumcision likely indicates it was assumed by the writer and readers.<sup>58</sup> This narrative world of Mark’s Gospel, firmly rooted in first-century Judaism, may appear a bit foreign to modern western forms of Christianity, but making space for the radical otherness of the earliest followers of Jesus seems to me a necessary part of better understanding Christian origins and its earliest literary heritage now collected in the New Testament canon.

---

<sup>58</sup> This is also likely the case in the Gospel of Matthew. Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation*, 31–36.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Primary Sources and Translations**

- Alexander, Philip S., and Geza Vermes, eds. *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. DJD 26. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Allegro, John M., ed. *Qumran Cave IV: I (4Q158–4Q186)*. DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Attridge, Harold, Torleif Elgvin, Józef Milik, Emanuel Tov, James VanderKam, and Sidnie White, eds. *Qumran Cave 4: VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*. DJD 13. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M., Józef T. Milik, Stephen Pfann, and Ada Yardeni, eds. *Qumran Cave 4: XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*. DJD 18. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M., and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds. “Damascus Document (CD).” Pages 4–57 in *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Texts*. PTSDSSP 2 Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M., Daniel R. Schwartz, L. Novakovic, and H. W. M. Rietz, eds. *Damascus Document Fragments, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents*. PTSDSSP 3. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006.
- Bidawid, Raphael J., ed. “IV Ezra.” Pages i–iv, 1–50 in *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshiṭta Version* 4.3. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Bogaert, Pierre, ed. *Apocalypse de Baruch*. 2 vols. SC 144–145. Paris: Cerf, 1969.
- Burrows, Millar, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery: Vol II, Fasc. 2. Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950.
- Ceriani, Antonio M., ed. “Apocalypsis Baruch Syriacae.” Pages 113–80 in vol. 5 of *Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex Codicibus Praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. 5 vols. Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861–1868.
- , ed. “Fragmenta Parvae Genesis et Assumptionis Mosis Ex Veteri Versione Latina.” Pages 9–64 in vol. 1 of *Monumenta Sacra et Profana Ex Codicibus Praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. 5 vols. Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861–1868.
- , ed. *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. 5 vols. Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1861–1868.
- Charles, Robert H., ed. *The Apocalypse of Baruch Translated from the Syriac: Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. London: Black, 1896.

- , ed. *The Book of Jubilees; or The Little Genesis: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text and Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. London: Black, 1902.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*. PTSDSSP 6B. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002.
- , ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- Cross, Frank Moore, David Noel Freedman, John C. Trevor, and James A. Sanders, eds. *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll; the Order of the Community; the Peshet to Habakkuk*. Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972.
- Denis, Albert-Marie, ed. *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca, una cum historicum et auctorum Judaeorum Hellenistarum fragmentis*. PVTG 3. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Dittenberger, Wilhelm, ed. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903.
- Doudna, Gregory L. *4Q Peshet Nahum: A Critical Edition*. JSPSup 35. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.
- Duhaime, Jean, ed. *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*. PTSDSSP 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995.
- Ehrman, Bart D., trans. *The Apostolic Fathers: I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache*. LCL 24. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Freudenthal, Jacob. *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste Judäischer und Samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*. 2 vols. *Hellenistische Studien* 1–2. Breslau: Skutsch, 1875.
- García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, eds. “11QFragment Related to Serekh Ha-Yahad.” Pages 433–34, pl. L. in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*. DJD 23. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Grenfell, Bernhard P., and Arthur S. Hunt, eds. “403. Apocalypse of Baruch, XII–XI.” Pages 3–7 in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part III. Edited with Translation and Notes*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903.
- Gurtner, Daniel M., ed. *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text with Greek and Latin Fragments, English Translation, Introduction, and Concordances*. Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 5. New York: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Holladay, Carl R. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Texts and Translations: Pseudepigrapha Series 10. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Bobichon, Philippe, ed. *Justin Martyr, Dialogue avec le Tryphon: édition critique*. Paradosis 47. Fribourg: Academic, 2003.

- Kappler, Werner, ed. *Maccabaeorum liber I. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936.
- Klauser, Theodor, Georg Schöllgen, and Franz Joseph Dölger, eds. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*. 28 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–1964.
- Klijn, A. Frederik J., ed. *Der Lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*. TUGAL 131. Berlin: Akademie, 1983.
- Knibb, Michael A., ed. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.
- . *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 2. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Leemhuis, Fred, A. Frederik J. Klijn, and Jan Van Delder Geert, eds. *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch: Edited and Translated with a Parallel Translation of the Syriac Text*. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
- Fall, Thomas B., trans. *Dialogue with Trypho*. Edited by Thomas P. Halton and Michael Slusser. Selections from the Fathers of the Church 3. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003.
- Migne, Jacques-Paul. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca*. 162 vols. Paris: Catholique, 1857–
- Milik, Józef T., ed. “Règle de la Communauté.” Pages 180–81, pl. XXXVIII in *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân*. DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- ed. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.
- Mosshammer, Alden A., ed. *Georgius Syncellus: Ecloga chronographica*. BSGRT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1984.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E., and James C. VanderKam, trans. *1 Enoch: The Hermeneia Translation*. Revised edition. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.
- Rehm, Bernhard, ed. *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien*. GCS 42. Berlin: Akademie, 1965.
- Roberts, Alexander, and James Donaldson, eds. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Repr. 10 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Rönsch, Hermann, and August Dillmann, eds. *Das Buch der Jubiläen: oder, die Kleine Genesis*. Leipzig: Fues, 1874.
- Sukenik, Eleazar L., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*. Jerusalem: Magness, 1955.



- Tcherikover, Avigdor, ed. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Temporini, Hildegard, and Wolfgang Haase, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Part 2, *Principat*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J., Ralph Marcus, Louis H. Feldman, and Allen Wikgren, trans. *Josephus*. 10 vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- Tromp, Johannes, ed. *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*. SVTP 10. New York: Brill, 1993.
- VanderKam, James C. *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*. CSCO 510. Lovanii: Peeters, 1989.
- . *The Book of Jubilees: Translated*. CSCO 511. Lovanii: Peeters, 1989.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*. STDJ 56. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Weiss, Isaac H., ed. *Sifra D'Be Rab (Torat Kohanim)*. (Hebrew). Vienna: Schlossberg, 1862.
- Wright, Robert B. *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Yadin, Yigael. *The Temple Scroll*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. *Isaias*. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939.

### Secondary Sources

- Abel, F. M. *Les Livres des Maccabées*. 2nd ed. EB. Paris: Gabalda, 1949.
- Achtemeier, Paul J. “‘And He Followed Him’: Miracles and Discipleship in Mark 10:46–52.” *Semeia* 11 (1978): 115–45.
- Aharomi, Yohanan. *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and Residency*. Lachish 5. Tel Aviv: Gateway, 1975.
- Aharoni, Yohanan. *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. London: Burns & Oates, 1979.
- Ahearne-Kroll, Stephen P. *The Psalms of Lament in Mark's Passion: Jesus' Davidic Suffering*. SNTSMS 142. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

- . “The Scripturally Complex Presentation of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark.” Pages 45–67 in *Portraits of Jesus: Studies in Christology*. Edited by Susan E. Myers. WUNT 2/321. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.
- Akiyama, Kengo. “The  $\Gamma$  and Interpretive Integration in the Damascus Document 6:20–21 and 14:3–6.” *JJS* 67 (2016): 249–66.
- Alexander, Philip S. “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi’ of the Book of Jubilees.” *JJS* 33 (1982): 197–213.
- Alexander, Philip S. “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad: A Proposal.” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56.
- Allison, Dale C. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of James*. ICC. New York: T&T Clark, 2013.
- . “The Fiction of James and Its Sitz Im Leben.” *RB* 108 (2001): 529–70.
- Ambrozic, Aloysius M. *The Hidden Kingdom: A Redaction-Critical Study of the References to the Kingdom of God in Mark’s Gospel*. CBQMS 2. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1972.
- Amit, David, and Irina Zilberbod. “Mazor: 1994–1995.” *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 18 (1998): 61–63.
- Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Gary A. *Sin: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Applebaum, Shimon. “Judaea as a Roman Province: The Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor.” ANRW 2.8:355–96. Part 2, *Principat*, 2.8. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977.
- Ariel, Donald T., and Jean-Philippe Fontanille. *The Coins of Herod: A Modern Analysis and Die Classification*. AJEC 79. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Arnal, William E. “Mark, War, and the Creative Imagination.” Pages 401–82 in *Redescribing the Gospel of Mark*. Edited by Barry S. Crawford and Merrill P. Miller. ECL 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2017.
- Arndt, William F., F. Wilbur Gingrich, Frederick W. Danker, and Walter Bauer. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Atkinson, Kenneth. *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 2001.
- . “Herod the Great, Socius, and the Siege of Jerusalem.” *NovT* 38 (1996): 313–22.

- . *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting*. JSJSup 84. Boston: Brill, 2004.
- . "Perceptions of the Temple Priests in the Psalms of Solomon." Pages 79–96 in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*. Edited by Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle. EJL 40. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015.
- . "Taxo's Martyrdom and the Role of the Nuntius in the Testament of Moses: Implications for Understanding the Role of Other Intermediary Figures." *JBL* 125 (2006): 453–76.
- . "Toward a Redating of the Psalms of Solomon: Implications for Understanding the Sitz Im Leben of an Unknown Jewish Sect." *JSP* 17 (1998): 95–112.
- Aune, David E. "Genre Theory and the Genre-Function of Mark and Matthew." Pages 145–75 in *Mark and Matthew: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First Century Settings*. Edited by Eve-Marie Beckers and Anders Runesson. WUNT 271. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- . *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*. LEC 8. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987.
- Avemarie, Friedrich. "Jesus and Purity." Pages 255–80 in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*. Edited by Reimund Bieringer, Florentino García Martínez, Didier Pollefeyt, and Peter J. Tomson. JSJSup 136. Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Aviam, Mordechai. "The Transformation from Galil Ha-Goyim to Jewish Galilee: The Archaeological Testimony of an Ethnic Change." Pages 9–21 in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods 2: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*. Edited by David A. Fiensy and James R. Strange. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014.
- Avi-Yonah, Michael. "Historical Geography of Palestine." Pages 78–116 in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*. Edited by Shemuel Safrai and Menahem Stern. CRINT 1. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974.
- . "Scythopolis." *IEJ* 12 (1962): 123–34.
- Baars, Willem. "Psalms of Solomon." Pages i–vi, 1–27 in *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version 4.6*. Boston: Brill, 1972.
- Bacon, Benjamin W. *The Gospel of Mark: Its Composition and Date*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.
- Baker, Cynthia M. "'From Every Nation Under Heaven': Jewish Ethnicities in the Greco-Roman World." Pages 77–99 in *Prejudice and Christian Beginnings: Investigating Race, Gender and Ethnicity in Early Christian Studies*. Edited by Laura Nasrallah and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009.
- Barag, Dan. "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste." *PEQ* 125 (1993): 3–18.

- . “New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus I.” *INJ* 12 (1992): 1–12.
- Barclay, John M. G. *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)*. HCS 33. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- . *Paul and the Gift*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015.
- . “Ἰουδαῖος: Ethnicity and Translation.” Pages 46–58 in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell. New York: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Barreto, Eric D. *Ethnic Negotiations: The Function of Race and Ethnicity in Acts 16*. WUNT 2/294. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Barth, Fredrik. “Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity.” Pages 11–32 in *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries.”* Edited by Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994.
- . “Introduction.” Pages 9–38 in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Edited by Fredrik Barth. London: Allen & Unwin, 1969.
- Bartlett, John R. *1 Maccabees*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998.
- Barton, Carlin A., and Daniel Boyarin. *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016.
- Bauckham, Richard. “For Whom Were the Gospels Written.” Pages 9–48 in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*. Edited by Richard Bauckham. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- . “Is There Patristic Counter-Evidence?: A Response to Margaret Mitchell.” Pages 68–110 in *The Audience of the Gospels: The Origin and Function of the Gospels in Early Christianity*. Edited by Edward W. Klink III. London: T&T Clark, 2010.
- Baumann, Gerd. *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities. Zones of Religion*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M. “4Q266–273: Introduction.” Pages 1–22 in *Qumran Cave 4: XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*. Edited by Joseph M. Baumgarten, Józef T. Milik, Stephen Pfann, and Ada Yardeni. DJD 18. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Becker, Eve-Marie. *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*. WUNT 194. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006.
- . “Dating Mark and Matthew As Ancient Literature.” Pages 123–43 in *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Gospels in the First-Century Settings*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson. WUNT 271. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

- Begrich, Joachim. “Der Text der Psalmen Salomos.” *ZNW* 38 (1939): 131–64.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.
- Bergsma, John S. “Qumran Self-Identity: ‘Israel’ or ‘Judah’?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 172–89.
- Berkey, Robert F. “Ellixein, Φθάνειν and Realized Eschatology.” *JBL* 82 (1963): 177–87.
- Berlin, Andrea, and Shemaryah Gutman. *Gamla I: The Pottery of the Second Temple Period: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1989*. IAA Reports 29. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006.
- Berlin, Andrea M. “Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period.” *BA* 60 (1997): 2–51.
- Berlin, Andrea M., and Rafael Frankel. “The Sanctuary at Mizpe Yamim: Phoenician Cult and Territory in the Upper Galilee during the Persian Period.” *BASOR* 366 (2012): 25–78.
- Berrin, Shani L. *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*. STDJ 53. Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Berthelot, Katell. *In Search of the Promised Land? The Hasmonean Dynasty between Biblical Models and Hellenistic Diplomacy*. Translated by Margaret Rigaud. JSJSup 24. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018.
- . “Reclaiming the Land (1 Maccabees 15:28–36): Hasmonean Discourse between Biblical Tradition and Seleucid Rhetoric.” *JBL* 133 (2014): 539–59.
- Berzon, Todd S. *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016.
- Bickerman, Elias J. *The Jews in the Greek Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Bingham, Kolenkow Anitra. “The Assumption of Moses as a Testament.” Pages 71–77 in *Studies on the Testament of Moses: Seminar Papers*. SCS 4. Cambridge: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973.
- Bird, Michael F. *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission*. LNTS 331. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Birnbaum, Ellen. “Some Particulars about Universalism.” Pages 117–37 in *Crossing Boundaries in Early Judaism and Christianity: Ambiguities, Complexities, and Half-Forgotten Adversaries: Essays in Honor of Alan F. Segal*. Edited by Kimberly B. Stratton and Andrea Lieber. JSJSup 177. Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Birnbaum, Salomo A. *The Hebrew Scripts: Text*. Leiden: Brill, 1971.

- Blake, Robert Pierpont. “The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript.” *HTR* 19 (1926): 299–375.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 19B. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- Blomberg, Craig L. “The Gospels for Specific Communities and All Christians.” Pages 111–33 in *The Audience of the Gospels: The Origin and Function of the Gospels in Early Christianity*. Edited by Edward W. Klink III. London: T&T Clark, 2010.
- Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Boccaccini, Gabrielle, and Carlos A. Segovia, eds. *Paul the Jew: Rereading the Apostle as a Figure of Second Temple Judaism*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016.
- Bockmuehl, Markus N. A. “Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS).” *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541–60.
- Booth, Roger P. *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7*. JSNTSup 13. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986.
- Borchardt, Francis. *The Torah in 1 Maccabees: a literary critical approach to the text*. DCLS 19. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Boring, M. Eugene. *Mark: A Commentary*. NTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006.
- . “The Kingdom of God in Mark.” Pages 131–45 in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*. Edited by Wendel Willis. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987.
- Bornkamm, Günther. “Das Doppelgebot der Liebe.” Pages 85–93 in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*. Edited by Walther Eltester. 2nd ed. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1957.
- Botner, Max. “What Has Mark’s Christ to Do with David’s Son?: A History of Interpretation.” *CurBR* 16 (2017): 50–70.
- Bourgel, Jonathan. “The Destruction of the Samaritan Temple by John Hyrcanus: A Reconsideration.” *JBL* 135 (2016): 505–23.
- Box, G. H. *The Ezra-Apocalypse: Being Chapters 3–14 of the Book Commonly Known as 4 Ezra (or II Esdras)*. London: Pitman, 1912.
- Boyarín, Daniel. *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*. Divinations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- . *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ*. New York: New Press, 2012.

- Brandenburger, Egon. *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm. 5, 12–21 (1. Kor. 15)*. WMANT 7. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1962.
- Braun, Herbert. “Vom Erbarmen Gottes über den Gerechten: Zur Theologie der Psalmen Salomos.” *ZNW* 43 (1950): 1–54.
- Braund, David. *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship*. New York: St. Martin, 1984.
- Breytenbach, Cilliers. “Mark and Galilee: Text World and Historical World.” Pages 75–85 in *Galilee through the Centuries: Confluence of Cultures*. Edited by Eric M. Meyers. Duke Judaic Studies Series 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999.
- Brooke, George J. “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim.” Pages 135–59 in *Images of Empire*. Edited by Loveday Alexander. JSOTSup 122. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Brubaker, Rogers. “Beyond Ethnicity.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 804–8.
- . “Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009): 21–42.
- . *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Bruneau, Philippe. “‘Les Israélites de Délos’ et la Juiverie Délienne.” *BCH* 106 (1982): 465–504.
- Büchler, Adolf. *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*. Jewish College Publications 11. London: Oxford University Press, 1928.
- Buell, Denise Kimber. “Ethnicity and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity and Beyond.” *RelSRev* 26 (2000): 243–49.
- . *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*. GTR. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*. 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931.
- Burchard, Christoph. “Markus 15:34.” *ZNW* 74 (1983): 1–11.
- Burkes, Shannon. “‘Life’ Redefined: Wisdom and Law in Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch.” *CBQ* 63 (2001): 55–71.
- Burkill, T. Alec. “Syrophoenician Woman: The Congruence of Mark 7:24–31.” *ZNW* 57 (1966): 23–37.
- Burridge, Richard A. *What Are the Gospels?: A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*. SNTSMS 70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

- Campbell, Edward F. *Shechem II: Portrait of a Hill Country Vale: The Shechem Regional Survey*. Edited by Karen I. Summers. ASOR Archaeological Reports 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.
- Campbell, Edward Fay, and George Ernest Wright. *Shechem III the Stratigraphy and Architecture of Shechem/Tell Balatah*. ASOR Archaeological Reports 6. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002.
- Camponovo, Odo. *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den frühjüdischen Schriften*. OBO 58. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- Capdetrey, Laurent. *Le pouvoir Séleucide: territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312–129 avant J.-C.)*. Collection "Histoire." Rennes: universitaires de Rennes, 2007.
- Carmignac, Jean. "Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq." *RevQ* 7 (1970): 343–78.
- . "Les Kittim dans la "Guerre des Fils de Lumière Contre les Fils de Ténèbres." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 77 (1955): 737–48.
- Casey, Maurice. *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*. SNTSMS 102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *Jesus of Nazareth: An Independent Historian's Account of His Life and Teaching*. London: T&T Clark, 2010.
- Catalano, Rosann M. "A Matter of Perspective: An Alternative Reading of Mark XV,38." Pages 187–99 in *Seeing Judaism Anew: Christianity's Sacred Obligation*. Edited by Mary C. Boys. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
- Chance, J. Bradley. "The Cursing of the Temple and the Tearing of the Veil in the Gospel of Mark." *BibInt* 15 (2007): 268–91.
- Chancey, Mark A. *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*. SNTSMS 118. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Chancey, Mark A, and Adam Porter. "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine." *NEA* 64 (2001): 164–203.
- Chapman, Dean W. "Locating the Gospel of Mark: A Model of Agrarian Biography." *BTB* 25 (1995): 24–36.
- Chapman, Dean W. *The Orphan Gospel: Mark's Perspective on Jesus*. BibSem 16. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.



- Charlesworth, James H. “The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch.” Pages 37–57 in *Parables of Enoch: A Paradigm Shift*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth and Darrell L. Bock. Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 11. New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Charlesworth, Scott D. “The Use of Greek in Early Roman Galilee: The Inscriptional Evidence Re-Examined.” *JSNT* 38 (2016): 356–95.
- Chronis, Harry L. “The Torn Veil: Cultus and Christology in Mark 15:37–39.” *JBL* 101 (1982): 97–114.
- Cirafesi, Wally. “John within Judaism: Ethnicity, Religion, and the Shaping of Jesus-Oriented Jewishness in the Fourth Gospel.” PhD diss., University of Oslo, 2019.
- Clancy, Frank. “Demetrius the Chronographer and 141 BCE.” *SJOT* 19 (2005): 143–45.
- Cohen, Getzel M. “The Hellenistic Military Colony: A Herodian Example.” *TAPA* 103 (1972): 83–95.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D. “Antipodal Texts: B. Eruvin 21b–22a and Mark 7:1–23 on the Tradition of the Elders and the Commandment of God.” Pages 965–83 in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Edited by Ra‘anan S. Boustan, Klaus Herrmann, Reimund Leicht, Annette Yoshiko Reed, and Giuseppe Veltri. 2 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- . “‘Ioudaios to Genos’ and Related Expressions in Josephus.” Pages 23–38 in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*. Edited by Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers. StPB 41. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- . “Religion, Ethnicity, and ‘Hellenism’ in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine.” Pages 204–23 in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*. Edited by Per Bilde. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990.
- . *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*. HCS 31. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Mark: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.
- . “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Greeks and Romans.” *HTR* 93 (2000): 85–100.
- . “Mark and His Readers: The Son of God among Jews.” *HTR* 92 (1999): 393–408.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro, and John J. Collins. *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.

- Collins, Adele Yarbro. “Establishing the Text: Mark 1:1.” Pages 111–27 in *Text and Contexts: The Function of Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts*. Edited by Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995.
- Collins, John J. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- . *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
- . *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- . “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre.” Pages 1–19 in *Apocalypse: Morphology of a Genre*. Edited by John J. Collins. *Semeia* 14. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979.
- . “The Construction of Israel in the Sectarian Rule Books.” Pages 25–42 in *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Alan Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce Chilton. *Judaism in Late Antiquity* 5. Boston: Brill, 2001.
- . “The Kingdom of God in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.” Pages 81–95 in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*. Edited by Wendell Willis. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987.
- Collins, Nina L. *Jesus, the Sabbath, and the Jewish Debate: Healing on the Sabbath in the 1st and 2nd Century CE*. LNTS 474. New York: T&T Clark, 2014.
- Concannon, Cavan. “When You Were Gentiles”: *Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul’s Corinthian Correspondence*. Synkrisis: Comparative Approaches to Early Christianity in Greco-Roman Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Cornell, Stephen, and Douglass Hartmann. *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. Sociology for a New Century Series. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 1998.
- Cotton, Hannah M. “Some Aspects of the Roman Administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina.” Pages 75–89 in *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1.–3. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Werner Eck. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1999.
- Cotton, Hannah, and Elisha Qimron. “X<sup>H</sup>ev/Se Ar 13 of 134 or 135 CE: A Wife’s Renunciation of Claims.” *JJS* 49 (1998): 108–18.
- Cranfield, Charles E. B. *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*. CGTC. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- Creech, David A. “The Lawless Pride: Jewish Identity in the Fragments of Eupolemus.” *Annali di Storia Dell’esegesi* 29 (2012): 29–51.

- Cromhout, Markus. *Jesus and Identity: Reconstructing Judean Ethnicity in Q*. Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context 2. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2007.
- . *Walking in Their Sandals: A Guide to First-Century Israelite Ethnic Identity*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010.
- Cromhout, Markus, and Andries G. Van Aarde. “A Socio-Cultural Model of Judean Ethnicity: A Proposal.” *HvTSt* 62 (2006): 69–101.
- Cross, Frank Moore. “Development of the Jewish Scripts.” Pages 133–202 in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*. Edited by Ernest G. Wright. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961.
- . “Introduction.” Pages 1–5 in *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll; the Order of the Community; the Peshet to Habakkuk*. Edited by John C. Trever, David Noel Freedman, James A. Sanders, and Frank Moore Cross. Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972.
- Crossley, James G. “Mark 7.1–23: Revisiting the Question of ‘All Foods Clean.’” Pages 8–20 in *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008*. Edited by Michael Tait and Peter Oakes. LNTS 401. London: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Crossley, James G. *The Date of Mark’s Gospel: Insight from the Law in Earliest Christianity*. JSNTSup 266. New York: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Crowfoot, John Winter, G. M. Crowfoot, and Kathleen M. Kenyon. *The Objects from Samaria*. Vol. 3 of *Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957.
- Crowfoot, John Winter, Kathleen M. Kenyon, and Eleazar L. Sukenik. *The Buildings at Samaria*. Vol. 1 of *Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942.
- Cuvillier, Elian. *L’évangile de Marc*. Bible en Face. Paris: Bayard, 2002.
- Dąbrowa, Edward. “The Hasmoneans and the Religious Homogeneity of Their State.” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 8 (2010): 7–14.
- Dalman, Gustaf. *The Words of Jesus, Considered in Light of Post-Biblical Writings and the Aramaic Language*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902.
- Dancy, John C. *A Commentary on I Maccabees*. Blackwell’s Theological Texts. Oxford: Blackwell, 1954.
- Danove, Paul. *The Rhetoric of the Characterization of God, Jesus, and Jesus’ Disciples in the Gospel of Mark*. JSNTSup 290. New York: T&T Clark, 2005.

- Dar, Shim'on. *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. BARIS 589. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1993.
- . *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria (800 B. C. E.–636 C. E.)*. BARIS 308. Oxford: B.A.R., 1986.
- Davenport, Gene L. *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*. StPB 20. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Davies, Philip R. *IQM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*. BibOr 32. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977.
- Davies, William D. *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism: With a Symposium and Further Reflections*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Davila, James R. *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* JSJSup 105. Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Delcor, Mathias. “La description du temple de Salomon selon Eupolème et le problème de ses sources.” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 251–71.
- Dench, Emma. *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Derfler, Steven Lee. *The Hellenistic Temple at Tel Beersheva*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1993.
- Derks, Ton, and Nico Roymans. “Introduction.” Pages 1–10 in *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*. Edited by Ton Derks and Nico Roymans. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 13. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.
- Dever, William G., H. Darrell Lance, and G. Ernest Wright. *Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons*. Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School, 1970.
- Dewey, Joanna. “A Galilean Provenance for the Gospel of Mark?” *Forum* 3 (2013): 101–20.
- Dillman, August. “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis.” *Jahrbuch der biblischen Wissenschaft* 3 (1951): 1–96.
- Dimant, Devorah. “What Is the ‘Book of the Divisions of the Times’?” Pages 369–83 in *History, Ideology, and Biblical Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. FAT 90. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Dion, Marie-France. “L’identité d’Éphraïm et Manassé dans le Péscher de Nahum (4Q169).” Pages 405–27 in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Peter W. Flint, Jean Duhaime, and Kyung S. Baek. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo. “Dating the Eagle Vision of 4 Ezra: A New Look at an Old Theory.” *JSP* 20 (1999): 3–38.

- Dobbeler, Stephanie von. *Die Bücher 1–2 Makkabäer*. NSKAT 11. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997.
- Dodd, Charles H. *The Parables of the Kingdom*. New York: Scribner, 1961.
- Doering, Lutz. “Marriage and Creation in Mark 10 and CD 4–5.” Pages 133–63 in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez. STDJ 85. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Donahue, John R., and Daniel J. Harrington. *The Gospel of Mark*. SP 2. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002.
- Donaldson, Terence L. *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- Doran, Robert. *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.
- . *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*. CBQMS 12. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981.
- Dothan, Moshe. *Ashdod II–III: The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations, 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967*. Atiqot 9–10. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums in the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1971.
- Dothan, Moshe, and David Noel Freedman. *Ashdod I: The First Season of Excavations, 1962*. Atiqot 7. Jerusalem: Dept. of Antiquities and Museums in the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1967.
- Douglas, Mary. “Critique and Commentary.” Pages 137–42 in *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures 1972–1973*. JLA 1. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- . *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Driggers, Ira Brent. *Following God through Mark: Theological Tension in the Second Gospel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007.
- Duhaime, Jean. *The War Texts: IQM and Related Manuscripts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 6. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Duling, Dennis C. “Ethnicity, Ethnocentrism, and the Matthean Ethnos.” *BTB* 35 (2005): 125–43.
- Dunn, James D. G. *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990.
- . *The New Perspective on Paul*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapid: Eerdmans, 2008.
- . *The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity*. 2nd ed. London: SCM, 2006.

- Dupont-Sommer, André. “Le Commentaire de Nahum découvert près de la Mer Morte (4Q p Nah): Traduction et notes.” *Sem* 13 (1963): 55–88.
- . *The Essene Writings from Qumran*. Translated by Geza Vermes. Gloucester: Smith, 1973.
- Eck, Werner. “Caesarea Maritima: Eine Römische Stadt?” Pages 150–62 in *Judäa-Syria Palästina: Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit Römischer Politik und Kultur*. Edited by Werner Eck. TSAJ 157. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- . *Rom und Judaea: fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*. Tria Corda: Jenaer Vorlesungen zu Judentum, Antike und Christentum 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- . “Roman Officials in Judaea and Arabia and Civil Jurisdiction.” Pages 186–203 in *Judäa-Syria Palästina: Die Auseinandersetzung Einer Provinz Mit Römischer Politik Und Kultur*. Edited by Werner Eck. TSAJ 157. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Eckhardt, Benedikt. “‘An Idumean, That Is, a Half-Jew’: Hasmoneans and Herodians Between Ancestry and Merit.” Pages 91–115 in *Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals*. Edited by Benedikt Eckhardt. JSJSup 155. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- . *Ethnos und Herrschaft: Politische Figurationen Judäischer Identität von Antiochos III. bis Herodes I.* SJ 72. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013.
- . “The Hasmoneans and Their Rivals in Seleucid and Post-Seleucid Judea.” *JSJ* 47 (2016): 55–70.
- Edsall, Benjami A. “This Is Not the End: The Present Age and the Eschaton in Mark’s Narrative.” *CBQ* 80 (2018): 429–47.
- Ehrman, Bart D. *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Eisenbaum, Pamela. *Paul Was Not a Christian: The Original Message of a Misunderstood Apostle*. New York: HarperOne, 2009.
- Elgavish, Joseph. “Pottery from the Hellenistic Stratum at Shiqmona.” *IEJ* 26 (1976): 65–76.
- Elgvin, Torleif. “The Yahad Is More than Qumran.” Pages 273–79 in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Elliger, Karl. *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*. BHT 15. Tübingen: Mohr, 1953.
- Elliott, James Keith. “The Position of the Verb in Mark with Special Reference to Chapter 13.” *NovT* 38 (1996): 136–44.

- Ellis, Edward Earle. "The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel." Pages 801–15 in *Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*. Edited by Frans Segbroeck, Christopher M. Tuckett, Joseph Verheyden, and Gilbert Van Belle. BETL 2. Louvain: Peeters, 1992.
- Emanuel, Sarah. "Roasting Rome: Humor, Resistance, and Jewish Cultural Persistence in the Book of Revelation." PhD diss., Drew University, 2017.
- Embry, Bradley. "Some Thoughts on and Implications from Genre Categorization in the Psalms of Solomon." Pages 59–78 in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*. Edited by Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle. EJL 40. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015.
- Erho, Ted M. "Historical-Allusional Dating and the Similitudes of Enoch." *JBL* 130 (2011): 493–511.
- Ermakov, Arseny. "The Salvific Significance of the Torah in Mark 10.17–22 and 12.28–34." Pages 21–31 in *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminary of June 2008*. Edited by Michael Tait and Peter Oakes. LNTS 401. London: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Ernst, Josef. *Das Evangelium nach Markus*. RNT. Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1981.
- Eshel, Hanan. "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim." Pages 29–44 in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by David M. Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz. STDJ 37. Boston: Brill, 2001.
- . "The Two Historical Layers of Peshar Habakkuk." Pages 107–17 in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003-2006*. Edited by Anders Klostergaard Petersen, Torleif Elgvin, Cecilia Wassen, Hanne von Wissenberg, Mikael Winnige, and Martin Ehrensverd. STDJ 80. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Esler, Philip F. *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003.
- . "From Ioudaioi to Children of God: The Development of a Non-Ethnic Group Identity in the Gospel of John." Pages 106–37 in *In Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods & The New Testament in Honor of Jerome H. Neyrey*. Edited by Anselm C. Hagedorn, Zeba A. Crook, and Eric Stewart. SWBA 1. Sheffield: Sheffield, 2007.
- Eubank, Nathan. "Dying with Power: Mark 15,39 from Ancient to Modern Interpretation." *Bib* 95 (2014): 247–68.
- Eubank, Nathan. *Wages of Cross-Bearing and Debt of Sin: The Economy of Heaven in Matthew's Gospel*. BZBW 196. Boston: de Gruyter, 2013.
- Evans, Craig A. *Mark 8:27–16:20*. WBC 34B. Nashville: Nelson, 2001.

- Eyal, Regev. “The ‘Yahad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant’: Structure, Organization, and Relationship.” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 233–62.
- Farney, Gary D. *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Faust, Avraham, Oren Ackerman, and Adi Erlich. *The Excavations of Khirbet Er-Rasm, Israel: The Changing Faces of the Countryside*. BARIS 2187. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011.
- Feldman, Louis H. *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Fiensy, David A. *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land Is Mine*. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 20. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1991.
- Finkelstein, Israel L., Zvi Lederman, Shelomoh Bunimovits, and Ran Barkai. *Highlands of Many Cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey: The Sites*. Tel Aviv University, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 14. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1997.
- Fisher, Moshe, and Oren Tal. “The Hellenistic and Roman Periods.” Pages 223–61 in *Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 25. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*. 3rd ed. BibOr 18B. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2004.
- Focant, Camille. *L'évangile Selon Marc*. Commentaire Biblique 2. Paris: Cerf, 2004.
- Forger, Deborah. “Interpreting the Syrophoenician Woman to Construct Jewish-Christian Fault Lines: John Chrysostom and the Pseudo-Clementine Homilist in Chrono-Locational Perspective.” *JJMJS* 3 (2016): 132–66.
- Fowler, Robert M. *Let the Reader Understand: Reader-Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*. Harrisburg: Trinity International Press, 1996.
- France, R. T. *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC. Grand Rapids; Carlisle: Eerdmans; Paternoster, 2002.
- Francis, Michael. “Defining the Excluded Middle: The Case of Ishmael in Jubilees.” *JSP* 21 (2012): 259–83.
- Frankel, Rafi. *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*. IAA Reports 14. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001.
- Frankfurter, David. “Jews or Not? Reconstructing the ‘other’ in Rev. 2:9 and 3:9.” *HTR* 94 (2001): 403–25.



- Fraser, Peter M. *Greek Ethnic Terminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Fredriksen, Paula. “How Later Contexts Affect Pauline Content, or: Retrospect Is the Mother of Anachronism.” Pages 17–51 in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: How to Write Their History*. Edited by Peter J. Tomson and Joshua Schwartz. CRINT 13. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- . *Paul: The Pagans’ Apostle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.
- . *Sin: The Early History of an Idea*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Freedman, David Noel, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Freyne, Seán. *Jesus, a Jewish Galilean: A New Reading of the Jesus-Story*. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- . “Matthew and Mark: The Jewish Contexts.” Pages 190–215 in *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Gospels in the First-Century Settings*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson. WUNT 271. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Furstenberg, Yair. “Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15.” *NTS* 54 (2008): 176–200.
- Gager, John G. *Reinventing Paul*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Who Made Early Christianity? The Jewish Lives of the Apostle Paul*. American Lectures on the History of Religions 18. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Gardner, Andrew, Edward Herring, and Kathryn Lomas, eds. *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 120. London: University of London Press, 2013.
- Gartner, Bertil E. *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament*. SNTSMS 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Gaston, Lloyd. *Paul and the Torah*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987.
- Geddert, Timothy J. *Watchwords: Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology*. JSNTSup 26. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989.
- Geertz, Clifford. “The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Politics in the New States.” Pages 105–57 in *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. Edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Geiger, Joseph. “Language, Culture, and Identity in Ancient Palestine.” Pages 233–46 in *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks*. Edited by Erik N. Ostenfeld. Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 3. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2002.

- Getzov, Nimrod. *The Tel Bet Yerah Excavations, 1994–1995*. IAA Reports 28. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006.
- Giambrone, Anthony. *Sacramental Charity, Creditor Christology, and the Economy of Salvation in Luke's Gospel*. WUNT 2/439. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.
- Gilders, William K. "The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees." Pages 178–93 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Gill, Ann M., and Karen Whedbee. "Rhetoric." Pages 157–84 in *Discourse as Structure and Process*. Edited by Teun A. van Dijk. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997.
- Gil-White, Francisco J. "How Thick Is Blood? The Plot Thickens . . . : If Ethnic Actors Are Primordialists, What Remains of the Circumstantialist / Primordialist Controversy?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999): 789–820.
- Gmirkin, Russell. "The War Scroll and Roman Weaponry Reconsidered." *DSD* 3 (1996): 89–129.
- Gnilka, Joachim. *Das Evangelium nach Markus*. 2 vols. EKKNT. Zürich: Neukirchener, 1978.
- Goodacre, Mark. *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem*. Harrisburg: Trinity International, 2002.
- Goodblatt, David M. *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- . *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*. TSAJ 38. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.
- Goranson, Stephen. "Others and Intra-Jewish Polemic as Reflected in Qumran Texts." Pages 534–51 in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edited by Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. STDJ 30. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Gordley, Matthew E. "Creating Meaning in the Present by Reviewing the Past: Communal Memory in the Psalms of Solomon." *JAJ* 5 (2014): 368–92.
- . "Psalms of Solomon and Solomonic Discourse: The Nature and Function of Attribution to Solomon in a Pseudonymous Psalm Collection." *JSP* 25 (2015): 52–88.
- . *Teaching through Song in Antiquity: Didactic Hymnody among Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Christians*. WUNT 2/302. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- Grabbe, Lester L. "Jewish Identity and Hellenism in the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek." Pages 21–32 in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay*. Edited by Patrick Gay and Gail O'Day. NovTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- Grabbe, Lester L. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. 2 vols. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.
- Grant, Michael. *Herod the Great*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Gray, Timothy C. *The Temple in the Gospel of Mark: A Study in Its Narrative Role*. WUNT 2/242. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- Greig, J. C. G. “Translator’s Introduction.” Pages vii–xxi in *The Messianic Secret*. Translated by J. C. G. Greig. Library of Theological Translations. Cambridge: Clarke, 1971.
- Grierson, Fiona. “The Testament of Moses.” *JSP* 17 (2008): 265–80.
- Gruen, Erich S. “Did Ancient Identity Depend on Ethnicity? A Preliminary Probe.” *Phoenix* 67 (2013): 1–22.
- . *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 52. New York: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- . *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- . “Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora.” Pages 13–27 in *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st–23rd June 2005*. Edited by David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos. IJS Studies in Judaica 6. Boston: Brill, 2009.
- . *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- . “The Purported Jewish-Spartan Affiliation.” Pages 254–72 in *Transitions to Empire: Essays in Greco-Roman History, 360–146 B.C., in Honor of E. Badian*. Edited by Robert W. Wallace and Edward M. Harris. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Guelich, Robert A. *Mark 1–8:26*. WBC 34A. Dallas: Word Books, 1989.
- Gundry, Robert H. *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.
- Gurtner, Daniel M. *The Torn Veil: Matthew’s Exposition of the Death of Jesus*. SNTSMS 139. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . “The ‘Twenty-Fifth Year of Jeconiah’ and the Date of 2 Baruch.” *JSP* 18 (2008): 23–32.
- Hagedorn, Anselm C., and Shani Tzoref. “Attitudes to Gentiles in the Minor Prophets and in Corresponding Pesharim.” *DSD* 20 (2013): 472–509.
- Hall, Jonathan M. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Halpern-Amaru, Betsy. “The Metahistorical Covenant of Jubilees.” Pages 25–54 in *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature*. Edited by Betsy Halpern-Amaru. Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994.
- . *The Perspective from Mt. Sinai: The Book of Jubilees and Exodus*. JAJSup 21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.
- Hamilton, Catherine S. *The Death of Jesus in Matthew: Innocent Blood and the End of Exile*. SNTSMS 166. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Hamilton, Neill Quinn. “Temple Cleansing and Temple Bank.” *JBL* 83 (1964): 365–72.
- Hanneken, Todd. “The Sin of the Gentiles: The Prohibition of Eating Blood in the Book of Jubilees.” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 1–27.
- Harnisch, Wolfgang. *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse*. FRLANT 97. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.
- Harrill, J. Albert. “Ethnic Fluidity in Ephesians.” *NTS* 60 (2014): 379–402.
- Harrington, Daniel J. “The ‘Holy Land’ in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch.” Pages 661–72 in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edited by Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields. VTSup 94. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Hartog, Pieter B. “Interlinear Additions and Literary Development in 4Q163/Pesher Isaiah C, 4Q169/Pesher Nahum, and 4Q171/Pesher Psalms A.” *RevQ* 28 (2016): 267–77.
- Hatina, Thomas R. *In Search of a Context: The Function of Scripture in Mark’s Narrative*. SSEJC 8. London: Sheffield Academic, 2002.
- Hayes, Christine E. *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Head, Ivan. “Mark as a Roman Document from the Year 69: Testing Martin Hengel’s Thesis.” *JRH* 28 (2004): 240–59.
- Head, Peter M. “A Text-Critical Study of Mark 1:1: ‘The Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.’” *NTS* 37 (1991): 621–29.
- Heemstra, Marius. *The Fiscus Judaicus and the Parting of the Ways*. WUNT 2/277. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Damascus Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000.

- Henderson, Suzanne Watts. “The ‘Good News’ of God’s Coming Reign: Occupation at a Crossroads.” *Int* 70 (2016): 145–58.
- . “Was Mark a Supersessionist? Two Test Cases from the Earliest Gospel.” Pages 145–68 in *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*. Edited by Lori Baron, Jill Hicks-Keeton, and Matthew Thiessen. ECL 24. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2018.
- Hengel, Martin. *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palastinas bis zur mitte des 2. Jh v. Chr.* WUNT 10. Tübingen: Mohr, 1969.
- . *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*. Translated by John Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- . *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* Translated by David Smith. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989.
- Henten, Jan W. van. *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*. JSJSup 57. Boston: Brill, 1997.
- Henten, Willem van. “2 Maccabees as a History of Liberation.” Pages 63–86 in *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud*. Edited by Aharon Oppenheimer, Menahem Mor, Jack Pastor, and Daniel R. Schwartz. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003.
- Henze, Matthias. “Torah and Eschatology in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.” Pages 201–16 in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman, and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. TBN 12. Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Herbert, Sharon. *Tel Anafa I: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*. JRASup 10. Ann Arbor, MI: Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan, 1994.
- Herzog, Ze’ev. “Israelite Sancturaries at Arad and Beer-Sheba.” Pages 120–22 in *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times*. Edited by Avraham Biran. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1981.
- Hill, George F. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea)*. A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Bologna: A. Forni, 1965.
- Himmelfarb, Martha. *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*. Jewish Culture and Contexts. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- . “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim of Authority of the Book of Jubilees.” Pages 19–29 in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*. Edited by Benjamin G. Wright III. *Homage* 24. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.

- Hodge, Caroline E. Johnson. *If Sons, Then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Hoffmann, David, ed. *Das Buch Leviticus*. 2 vols. Berlin: Poppelauer, 1905.
- Hogan, Karina. *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution*. JSJSup 130. Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Hogeterp, Albert L. A. *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. STDJ 83. Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Holmén, Tom. *Jesus and Jewish Covenant Thinking*. BibInt 55. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Holtz, Gudrun. “Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 522–24 in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*. Edited by Christian Fevel and Nihan Christophe. Dynamics in the History of Religion 3. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Hooker, Morna Dorothy. *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark*. BNTC. London: Continuum, 1991.
- Horowitz, Donald L. “Ethnic Identity.” Pages 110–40 in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Maynihan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Horrell, David G. “Judaean Ethnicity and Christ-Following Voluntarism? A Reply to Steve Mason and Philip Esler.” *NTS* 65 (2019): 1–20.
- Horsley, Richard A. *Covenant Economics: A Biblical Vision of Justice for All*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009.
- . *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark’s Gospel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001.
- Hübner, Hans. *Das Gesetz in der synoptischen Tradition: Studien zur These einer progressiven Qumranisierung und Judaisierung innerhalb der synoptischen Tradition*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith. “Introduction.” Pages 1–14 in *Ethnicity*. Edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford Readers. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Ilan, Tal. *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status*. TSAJ 44. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995.
- Ilan, Tal. “Notes and Observations on a Newly Published Divorce Bill from the Judean Desert.” *HTR* 89 (1996): 195–202.

- Jacobson, David M. “Three Roman Client Kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania.” *PEQ* 133 (2001): 22–38.
- Jassen, Alex. “The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation.” *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–98.
- Jenkins, Richard. *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997.
- . “Time to Move beyond Boundary Making?” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 809–13.
- Jones, Christopher P. *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*. *Revealing Antiquity* 12. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Jones, Siân. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Joosten, Jan. *People and Land in the Holiness Code: An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17–26*. VTSup 67. Boston: Brill, 1996.
- . “Reflections on the Original Language of the Psalms of Solomon.” Pages 31–47 in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*. Edited by Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle. EJL 40. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015.
- Jöris, Steffen. *The Use and Function of Genea in the Gospel of Mark: New Light on Mk 13:30*. FB 133. Würzburg: Echter, 2015.
- Joseph, Simon J. *Jesus and the Temple: The Crucifixion in Its Jewish Context*. SNTSMS 165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Jouön, Paul. “Quelques Hebraïsmes de syntaxe dans le Premier Livre des Maccabées.” *Bib* 3 (1922): 204–6.
- Juel, Donald. *Messiah and Temple*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977.
- Juel, Donald H. *A Master of Surprise: Mark Interpreted*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994.
- Kabisch, Richard. *Das Vierte buch Esra auf seine quellen untersucht*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1889.
- Kartveit, Magnar. “Samaritan Self-Consciousness in the First Half of the Second Century BCE in Light of the Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim and Delos.” *JSJ* 45 (2014): 449–70.
- Kasher, Aryeh. *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 BCE–70 CE)*. TSAJ 21. Tübingen: Mohr, 1990.

- . *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert during the Hellenistic and Roman Era (332 BCE–70 CE)*. TSAJ 18. Tübingen: Mohr, 1988.
- . *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights*. Rev. English ed. TSAJ 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985.
- Kazen, Thomas. *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- . *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2002.
- . “Jesus and the Zavah: Implications for Interpreting Mark.” Pages 112–43 in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*. Edited by Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson, and Eileen Schuller. WUNT 305. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- . “Jesus, Scripture and Paradosis: Response to Friedrich Avemarie.” *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*. Edited by Reimund Bieringer, Florentino García Martínez, Didier Pollefeyt, and Peter J. Tomson. JSJSup 136. Boston: Brill, 2010.
- . *Scripture, Interpretation, or Authority?: Motives and Arguments in Jesus’ Halakic Conflicts*. WUNT320. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- Keddie, G. Anthony. “Judaean Apocalypticism and the Unmasking of Ideology: Foreign and National Rulers in the Testament of Moses.” *JSJ* 44 (2013): 301–38.
- . “Solomon to His Friends: The Role of Epistolarity in Eupolemos.” *JSP* 22 (2013): 201–37.
- Kee, Howard Clark. *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark’s Gospel*. Nabpr Dissertation Series 6. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977.
- Kelber, Werner H. *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974.
- Kilpatrick, George D. “The Gentile Mission in Mark and Mark 13:9–11.” Pages 148–58 in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*. Edited by Dennis E. Nineham. Oxford: Blackwell, 1955.
- Kilpatrick, George Dunbar. “Mark 13:9–10.” *JTS* 9 (1958): 81–86.
- Kingsbury, Jack D. *The Christology of Mark’s Gospel*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*. 10 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932.
- Klawans, Jonathan. *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.



- Klijn, A. Frederik J. “Recent Developments in the Study of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.” *JSP* 4 (1989): 3–17.
- Kloner, Amos. *Maresha Excavations Final Report I: Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70*. IAA Reports 17. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2003.
- Kloner, Amos, Esther Eshel, Hava B. Korzakova, and Gérald Finkielsztejn. *Maresha Excavations Final Report III: Epigraphic Finds from the 1989–2000 Seasons*. IAA Reports 45. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2010.
- Kloppenborg, John S. “Evocatio Deorum and the Date of Mark.” *JBL* 124 (2005): 419–50.
- Klostermann, Erich, ed. *Das Markusevangelium*. 5th ed. HNT 3. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971.
- Knibb, Michael A. “Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 Ezra.” *JSJ* 13 (1982): 56–74.
- Konstan, David. “Defining Ancient Greek Ethnicity.” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 6 (1997): 97–110.
- Krause, Andrew R. *Synagogues in the Works of Flavius Josephus: Rhetoric, Spatiality, and First-Century Jewish Institutions*. AJEC 97. Boston: Brill, 2017.
- Kugel, James. “The Compositional History of the Book of Jubilees.” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 517–37.
- . “The Holiness of Israel and the Land in Second Temple Times.” Pages 21–32 in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*. Edited by Michael V. Fox, Victor A. Hurowitz, Avi Hurvitz, Michael L. Klein, Baruch J. Schwartz, and Nili Shupak. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- Kugel, James L. *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*. JSJSup 156. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Kümmel, Werner Georg. *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1978.
- Laaksonen, Jari. *Jesus und das Land: Das gelobte Land in der Verkündigung Jesu*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University, 2002.
- Lamont, Michèle. “Reflections Inspired by Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks by Andreas Wimmer.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 814–19.
- Lamont, Michèle, and Christopher A. Bail. “Sur les frontières de la reconnaissance.” Translated by Manuel Benguigui. *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 21 (2005): 61–90.
- Lamont, Michèle, and Virág Molnár. “The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 167–95.
- Lanzinger, Daniel. “Alcimus’ Last Command: History and Propaganda in 1 Maccabees 9:54.” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 86–102.

- Laperrousaz, Ernest-Marie. “Notes sur l’évolution des conceptions de ‘guerre Sainte’ dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte.” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 271–78.
- Larsen, Matthew D. C. *Gospels before the Book*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Laurence, Ray. “Territory, Ethnonyms and Geography: The Construction of Identity in Roman Italy.” Pages 95–110 in *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*. Edited by Ray Laurence and Joanne Berry. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Lee, Jong-Keun, and Chang-Ho Ji. “From the Tobiads to the Hasmoneans: The Hellenistic Pottery, Coins, and History in the Regions of ’Iraq Al-Amir and the Wadi Hisban.” *SHAJ* 8 (2004): 177–88.
- Leibner, Uzi. *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee: An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee*. TSAJ 127. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Leuenberger, Martin. “Ort und Funktion der Wolkenvision und ihrer Deutung in der Syrischen Baruchapokalypse: Eine These zu deren thematischer Entfaltung.” *JSJ* 36 (2005): 206–46.
- Levine, Lee I. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Lichtenberger, Achim. *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis: Untersuchungen zu numismatischen, archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen*. ADPV 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.
- Lied, Liv Ingeborg. “2 Baruch and the Syriac Codex Ambrosianus (7a1): Studying Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in Their Manuscript Context.” *JSP* 26 (2016): 67–107.
- . “2 Baruch/Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.” *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*. Vol. 2 of *Textual History of the Bible*. Boston: Brill, 2019.
- . “Recent Scholarship on 2 Baruch: 2000–2009.” *CurBR* 9 (2011): 238–76.
- . *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*. JSJSup 129. Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Lieu, Judith. “Not Hellenes but Philistines?: The Maccabees and Josephus Defining the ‘Other.’” *JJS* 53 (2002): 246–63.
- Lim, Timothy. “Biblical Quotations in the Pesharim and the Text of the Bible: Methodological Considerations.” Pages 71–79 in *The Bible as a Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*. Edited by Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov. London: British Library, 2002.
- Lintvelt, Jaap. *Essai de typologie narrative: le “point de vue” théorie et analyse*. Paris: José Corti, 1989.

- Loader, William R. G. “Herod or Alexander Janneus?: A New Approach to the Testament of Moses.” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 28–43.
- . *Jesus’ Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels*. WUNT 97. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Lonnqvist, Kenneth. “The Date of Introduction of Denarii to Roman Judaea and the Decapolis Region.” *ARAM* 23 (2011): 307–18.
- Louie, Vivian. “Ethnicity Everywhere and Nowhere: A Critical Approach towards Parsing Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Processes.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 820–28.
- Lowe, Malcolm F. “Who Were the ’Ioudaioi?’” *NovT* 18 (1976): 101–30.
- Machiela, Daniel A. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. STDJ 79. Boston: Brill, 2009.
- . “The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development.” *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–62.
- Magen, Yitzhak. *Flavia Neapolis: Shekhem in the Roman Period*. Judea and Samaria Publications 6. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2005.
- . *Mount Gerizim Excavations 2: The Temple City*. Judea and Samaria Publications 8. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2008.
- . *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Hizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount*. Judea and Samaria Publications 1. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002.
- Magen, Yitzhak, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania. *Mount Gerizim Excavations 1: The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions*. Judea and Samaria Publications 2. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004.
- Magness, Jodi. “In the Footsteps of the Tenth Roman Legion.” Pages 189–212 in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*. Edited by Andrea Berlin and J. Andrew Overman. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Majoros-Danowski, Johannes. *Elija im Markusevangelium: Ein Buch im Kontext des Judentums*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2008.
- Malbon, Elizabeth Struthers. *Mark’s Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Christology*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009.
- Malkin, Irad. “Introduction.” Pages 1–28 in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Edited by Irad Malkin. Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

- Mann, Christopher S., ed. *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 27. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986.
- Marcus, Joel. *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 27A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.
- . *Mark 8–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 27B. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- . “Mark: Interpreter of Paul.” *NTS* 46 (2000): 473–87.
- . “Mark: Interpreter of Paul.” Pages 29–49 in *Mark and Paul: Comparative Essays Part II: For and Against Pauline Influence on Mark*. Edited by Eve-Marie Becker, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, and Mogens Müller. BZNW 199. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- . “The Jewish War and the Sitz Im Leben of Mark.” *JBL* 111 (1992): 441–62.
- . “‘The Twelve Tribes in the Diaspora’ (James 1.1).” *NTS* 60 (2014): 433–47.
- . *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.
- Marshak, Adam K. *The Many Faces of Herod the Great*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015.
- Marshall, John W. *Parables of War: Reading John’s Jewish Apocalypse*. SCJ 10. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001.
- Martin, Ralph P. *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*. Exeter: Paternoster, 1972.
- Marxsen, Willi. *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel*. Translated by James Boyce, Donald H. Juel, and William Roehmann. Nashville: Abingdon, 1969.
- Mason, Steve. “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History.” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457–512.
- Mason, Steve, and Philip F. Esler. “Judaeans and Christ-Follower Identities: Grounds for a Distinction.” *NTS* 63 (2017): 493–515.
- Mathys, Hans-Peter. *Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich Selbst: Untersuchungen zum alttestamentlichen Gebot der Nächstenliebe (Lev 19,18)*. OBO 71. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1986.
- Mazar, Amihay. *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean, 1989–1996 I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period*. Vol. 1 of *Beth-Shean Valley Archaeological Project Publication*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006.
- McNicoll, Anthony, Robert H. Smith, and Basil Hennessy. *Pella in Jordan I: An Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1979–1981*. Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2. Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1982.

- . *Pella in Jordan 2: The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella, 1982–1985*. Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 2. Sydney: Meditarch, 1992.
- Meeks, Wayne A. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Mendels, Doron. “Phases of Inscribed Memory Concerning the Land of Israel in Palestinian Judaism of the Second Century BCE: The Case of 1 Maccabees.” *TLZ* 138 (2013): 151–64.
- . *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B.C. Claims to the Holy Land*. TSAJ 15. Tübingen: Mohr, 1987.
- . *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine*. AYBRL. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Meshorer, Ya’akov. “The Coins of Caesarea Paneas.” *INJ* 8 (1984): 37–58.
- Meyers, Eric M. *Alexander to Constantine: Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*. AYBRL 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Milgrom, Jacob. “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray.’” *RB* 83 (1976): 390–99.
- . *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 3. New York: Doubleday, 1991.
- Millar, Fergus. “Empire, Community, and Culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews, and Arabs.” *JJS* 38 (1987): 143–64.
- Miller, David M. “Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of Ioudaios in Ancient ‘Judaism.’” *CurBR* 12 (2014): 216–65.
- Miquel, Esther. “The Impatient Jesus and the Fig Tree: Marcan Disguised Discourse against the Temple.” *BTB* 45 (2015): 144–54.
- Mitchell, Eric Alan, R. Adam Dodd, and S. Cameron Coyle. “More ‘boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions: One New and Another Rediscovered.” *IEJ* 64 (2014): 191–207.
- Mitchell, J. Clyde. “Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behaviour: An Empirical Exploration.” Pages 1–35 in *Urban Ethnicity*. Edited by Abner Cohen. London: Tavistock, 1974.
- Mitchell, Margaret M. “Patristic Counter-Evidence to the Claim That ‘the Gospels Were Written for All Christians.’” *NTS* 51 (2005): 36–79.
- Moerman, Michael. “Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?” *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 1215–30.
- Moloney, Francis J. *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002.

- Momigliano, Arnaldo. *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Montefiore, Claude G. *The Synoptic Gospels*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1927.
- Moore, Stewart Alden. *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt: With Walls of Iron?* JSJSup 171. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Morgan, Teresa. “Society, Identity and Ethnicity in the Hellenic World.” Pages 38–80 in *Ethnicity, Race, Religion: Identities and Ideologies in Early Jewish and Christian Texts and in Modern Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by Katherine M. Hockey and David G. Horrell. New York: Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Moule, Charles F. D. “Review of Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot.” *JTS* 7 (1956): 280–82.
- Murphy, Frederick James. “2 Baruch and the Romans.” *JBL* 104 (1985): 663–69.
- . *The Structure and Meaning of Second Baruch*. SBLDS 78. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Mussies, Gerard. “When Graecisms Prove That a Latin Text Is a Translation.” Pages 100–119 in *Vruchten van de Uithof: H. A. Brongers FS*. Edited by A. R. Hulst. Utrecht: Theologisch Instituut, 1984.
- Myers, Ched. *Binding the Strong Man: A Political Reading of Mark’s Story of Jesus*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988.
- Myers, Elaine Anne. *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East: Reassessing the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Myers, Jacob M. *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. AB 42. New York: Doubleday, 1974.
- Naef, Thomas. “L’histoire d’Israël dans les fragments d’Eupolème.” Pages 203–9 in *Ancient and Modern Scriptural Historiography/L’historiographie Biblique, Ancienne et Moderne*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Thomas Römer. Louvain: Peeters, 2007.
- Nagata, Judith. “What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society.” *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 331–50.
- Najman, Hindy. “How Should We Contextualize Pseudepigrapha? Imitation and Emulation in 4 Ezra.” Pages 529–36 in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. Edited by Anthony Hillhorst, Puech Émile, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. JSJSup 122. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- . “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies.” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410.

- Nanos, Mark D. “Paul’s Reversal of Jews Calling Gentiles ‘dogs’ (Philippians 3:2): 1600 Years of an Ideological Tale Wagging an Exegetical Dog?” *BibInt* 17 (2009): 448–82.
- Nanos, Mark D. *Reading Paul within Judaism*. Eugene: Cascade, 2017.
- . *The Irony of Galatians: Paul’s Letter in the First-Century Context*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002.
- . *The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul’s Letter*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- Nanos, Mark D., and Magnus Zetterholm, eds. *Paul within Judaism: Restoring the First-Century Context to the Apostle*. Engagements with Abrahamic Religions. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015.
- Neusner, Jacob. *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures 1972–1973*. SJLA 1. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Newsom, Carol A. *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. STDJ 52. Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. “Discerning the Structure(s) of the Enochic Book of Parables.” Pages 23–47 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- . *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.
- . *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*. HTS 26. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E., and James C. VanderKam. *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.
- Niebuhr, Marcus von. *Geschichte Assur’s und Babel’s seit Phul: aus der Concordanz des Alten Testaments, des Berossos, des Kanons der Könige und der griechischen Schriftsteller: nebst Versuchen über die vorgeschichtliche Zeit*. Berlin: Hertz, 1857.
- Niederwimmer, Kurt. “Johannes Markus und die Frage nach dem Verfasser des Zweiten Evangeliums.” *ZNW* 58 (1967): 172–88.
- Nihan, Christophe. “Resident Aliens and Natives in the Holiness Legislation.” Pages 111–34 in *The Foreigner and the Law: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Reinhard Achenbach, Rainer Albertz, and Jakob Wöhrle. BZABR 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.
- Noethlichs, Karl Leo. *Das Judentum und der römische Staat: Minderheitenpolitik im antiken Rom*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996.

- . “Der rechtliche Status der Juden im römischen Reich: Tradition und Wandel in der römischen Judengesetzgebung vom 2. Jahrhundert v.u.Z. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert u.Z. Mit einem Exkurs zur These von Doron Mendels und Arye Edrei über „Zweierlei Diaspora.“” Pages 55–84 in *“Religio licita?”: Rom und die Juden*. Edited by GÖrge K. Hasselhoff and Meret Strothmann. SJ 84. Boston: de Gruyter, 2017.
- Nongbri, Brent. *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- O’Dell, Jerry. “Religious Background of the Psalms of Solomon (Reevaluated in the Light of the Qumran Texts).” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 241–57.
- Oesterley, W. O. E. *II Esdras (the Ezra Apocalypse): With Introduction and Notes*. WC. London: Methuen, 1933.
- Okamura, Jonathan. “Situational Ethnicity.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 452–65.
- Olanisebe, Samson O. “Laws of Tzara‘at in Leviticus 13–14 and Medical Leprosy Compared.” *JBQ* 42 (2014): 121–27.
- Oliver, Isaac W. *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*. WUNT 2/355. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- . “Forming Jewish Identity by Formulating Legislation for Gentiles.” *JAJ* 4 (2013): 105–32.
- O’Neill, John C. “The Kingdom of God.” *NovT* 35 (1993): 130–41.
- Ophir, Adi, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi. *Goy: Israel’s Others and the Birth of the Gentile*. Oxford Studies in the Abrahamic Religions. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Oren, Eliezer. “Ziglag: A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev.” *BA* 45 (1982): 155–66.
- Orlov, Andrei A. “Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in the Parables of Enoch: A Departure from the Traditional Pattern?” Pages 110–36 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Osterloh, Kevin Lee. “Judea, Rome and the Hellenistic *Oikoumenê*: Emulation and the Reinvention of Communal Identity.” Pages 168–206 in *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*. Edited by Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin. TSAJ 119. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- . “The Reinvention of Judean Collective Identity in a Hellenistic World Contending with Rome.” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007.
- Overman, J. Andrew. *Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.



- Palmer, Carmen. *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Gēr and Mutable Ethnicity*. STDJ 126. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Paschen, Wilfried. *Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte*. SANT. Munich: Kösel, 1970.
- Pastor, Jack. “Herod, King of Jews and Gentiles: Economic Policy as a Measure of Evenhandedness.” Pages 152–64 in *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple and Mishnah and the Talmud*. Edited by Menachem Mor, Aharon Oppenheimer, Jack Pastor, and Daniel R. Schwartz. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003.
- Patrick, Dale. “The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament.” Pages 67–80 in *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*. Edited by Wendell Willis. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987.
- Peppard, Michael. “Torah for the Man Who Has Everything: ‘Do Not Defraud’ in Mark 10:19.” *JBL* 134 (2015): 595–604.
- Perrin, Norman. “The Christology of Mark: A Study in Methodology.” *JR* 51 (1971): 173–87.
- Pesch, Rudolf. *Das Markusevangelium*. HThKNT 2. Wien: Herder, 1976.
- Peterson, Dwight N. *The Origins of Mark: The Markan Community in Current Debate*. BibInt 48. Boston: Brill, 2000.
- Piovanelli, Pierluigi. “‘A Testimony for the Kings and the Mighty Who Possess the Earth’: The Thirst for Justice and Peace in the Parables of Enoch.” Pages 363–79 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Pitre, Brant. *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006.
- Pollard, Nigel. *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000.
- Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam. *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Joseph Flavius*. TSAJ 74. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Rajak, Tessa. “Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?” *JRS* 74 (1984): 107–23.
- Rappaport, Uriel. “Jewish Religious Propaganda and Proselytism in the Period of the Second Commonwealth.” (Hebrew). PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1965.
- . *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation and Commentary*. (Hebrew). Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2004.

- . “The Hellenistic Cities and the Judaization of the Land of Israel in the Hasmonean Period.” (Hebrew). *Doron: Eighteen Articles in Honor of the Sixtieth Birthday of Prof. Bentsiyon Kats*. Edited by Shmuel Perlman and Binyamin Shimron. Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv Press, 1967.
- Reed, Annette Yoshiko. “Enoch and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees: The Evidence of Angelology and Demonology.” Pages 353–68 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- . “‘Jewish Christianity’ after the ‘Parting of the Ways’: Approaches to Historiography and Self-Definition in the Pseudo-Clementines.” Pages 189–231 in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Edited by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.
- Reed, Annette Yoshiko, and Adam H. Becker. “Introduction.” Pages 1–32 in *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Edited by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.
- Regev, Eyal. “Herod’s Jewish Ideology Facing Romanization: On Intermarriage, Ritual Baths, and Speeches.” *JQR* 100 (2010): 197–222.
- . “Jubilees, Qumran, and the Essenes.” Pages 426–41 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- . *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*. JAJSup 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.
- Regul, Jörgen. *Die antimarcionitischen Evangelienprologe*. VL 6. Freiburg: Herder, 1969.
- Rehm, Bernhard, ed. *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien*. GCS 42. Berlin: Akademie, 1965.
- Reich, Ronny. “Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer.” *IEJ* 31 (1981): 48–52.
- Reich, Ronny, and Zvi Greenhut. “Another ‘boundary of Gezer’ Inscription Found Recently.” *IEJ* 52 (2002): 58–63.
- Revell, Louise. *Ways of Being Roman: Discourses of Identity in the Roman West*. Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2016.
- Richardson, Peter. *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.
- Richardson, Peter, and Amy M. Fisher. *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*. 2nd ed. Routledge Ancient Biographies. New York: Routledge, 2017.

- Richter, Daniel S. *Cosmopolis: Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Rindge, Matthew S. “Reconfiguring the Akedah and Recasting God: Lament and Divine Abandonment in Mark.” *JBL* 131 (2012): 755–74.
- Ritter, Bradley. *Judeans in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire: Rights, Citizenship, and Civil Discord*. JSJSup 170. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Rosenfeld, Ben-Zion. “The ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions and the History of Gezer at the End of the Second Temple Period.” *IEJ* 38 (1988): 235–45.
- Roth, Wolfgang. *Hebrew Gospel: Cracking the Code of Mark*. Oak Brook, IL: Meyer-Stone, 1988.
- Rowley, Harold Henry. “The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *PEQ* 88 (1956): 92–109.
- van Ruiten, Jacques. *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*. JSJSup 161. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- . “Some Questions with Regard to a Supposed Interpolator in the Book of Jubilees Focused on the Festival of Weeks (Jub. 6:1–22).” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 539–53.
- Runesson, Anders. “City of God or Home of Traitors and Killers? Jerusalem According to Matthew.” Pages 219–35 in *The Urban World and the First Christians*. Edited by Steve Walton, Paul R. Trebilco, and David W. J. Gill. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017.
- . *Divine Wrath and Salvation in Matthew: The Narrative World of the First Gospel*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016.
- . “Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodosius I.” Pages 59–92 in *Exploring Early Christian Identity*. Edited by Bengt Holmberg. WUNT 226. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- . “Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity? Some Critical Remarks on Terminology and Theology.” *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000): 120–44.
- . *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*. ConBNT 37. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001.
- Runesson, Anders, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson. *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book*. AJEC 72. Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Runesson, Anders, and Daniel M. Gurtner, eds. *Matthew within Judaism: Israel and the Nations in the First Gospel*. ECL. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2019.
- Ruzer, Serge. “Eschatological Failure as God’s Mystery: Reassessing Prophecy and Reality at Qumran and in Nascent Christianity.” *DSD* 23 (2016): 347–64.

- . *Mapping the New Testament: Early Christian Writings as a Witness for Jewish Biblical Exegesis*. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 13. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Safrai, Shmuel. “Jewish Self-Governance.” Pages 377–419 in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical, Geographical, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*. Edited by Menahem Stern and Shmuel Safrai. CRINT 1. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974.
- Safrai, Ze’ev. “The Description of the Land of Israel in Josephus’ Works.” Pages 295–324 in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*. Edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Haga. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988.
- . “The Gentile Cities of Judea: Between the Hasmonean Occupation and the Roman Liberation.” Pages 63–90 in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography: Presented to Zecharia Kallai*. Edited by Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld. VTSup 81. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach*. Wilmington, DL: Glazier, 1988.
- Sanders, E. P. *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE*. London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity International, 1992.
- . *Jesus and Judaism*. London: SCM; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- . Ed P. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*. London: SCM, 1977.
- Sariola, Heikki. *Markus und das Gesetz: Eine Redaktionskritische Untersuchung*. AASF 56. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1990.
- Satlow, Michael L. “Defining Judaism: Accounting for ‘Religions’ in the Study of Religion.” *JAAR* 74 (2006): 837–60.
- . *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Scacewater, Todd A. “The Literary Unity of 1qm and Its Three-Stage War.” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 225–48.
- Schechter, Solomon. *Documents of Jewish Sectaries I. Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H. “The Concept of Restoration in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Pages 203–22 in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*. Edited by James M. Scott. JSUSup 72. Boston: Brill, 2001.

- Schmeller, Thomas. “Jesus im Umland Galiläas: Zu den Markinischen Berichten vom Aufenthalt Jesu in den Gebieten von Tyros, Caesarea Philippi und der Dekapolis.” *BZ* 38 (1994): 44–66.
- Schmidt, Nathaniel. “The Original Language of the Parables of Enoch.” Pages 2:329–349 in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*. Edited by Robert F. Harper, Francis Brown, and George F. Moore. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908.
- Schmidt, Stephan. “The Hellenistic Period and the Nabateans.” Pages 353–412 in *Jordan: An Archaeological Reader*. Edited by Russell Adams. London: Equinox, 2008.
- Schmithals, Walter. *Das Evangelium nach Markus*. ÖTK 2. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979.
- Schneider, Gerhard. “Die Davidssonfrage (Mk 12:35–37).” *Bib* 53 (1972): 65–90.
- Schofield, Alison. *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*. STDJ 77. Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Schott, Jeremy. *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity*. Divinations. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Schreiber, Johannes. “Die Christologie des Markusevangeliums.” *ZTK* 58 (1961): 154–83.
- Schultz, Brian. “Compositional Layers in the War Scroll (1QM).” Pages 153–64 in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*. Edited by Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. STDJ 91. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- . *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*. STDJ 76. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Schulz, Siegfried. *Die Stunde der Botschaft: Einführung in die Theologie der Vier Evangelisten*. 2nd ed. Hamburg: Furche, 1970.
- Schürer, Emil, Geza Vermes, and Fergus Millar. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*. 5th ed. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Clark, 1973.
- Schwartz, Daniel R. *2 Maccabees*. CEJL. New York: de Gruyter, 2008.
- . *Agrippa I*. TSAJ 23. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990.
- . “‘Judaean’ or ‘Jew’? How Should We Translate Ioudaios in Josephus?” Pages 3–27 in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World/ Jüdische Identität in der griechisch-römischen Welt*. Edited by Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gribentrog. AJEC 71. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- . *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*. WUNT 60. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.

- . “Yannai and Pella, Josephus and Circumcision.” *DSD* 18 (2011): 339–59.
- Schwartz, Joshua. “Once More on the ‘Boundary of Gezer’ Inscriptions and the History of Gezer and Lydda at the End of the Second Temple Period.” *IEJ* 40 (1990): 47–57.
- Schwartz, Seth. “How Many Judaisms Were There? A Critique of Neusner and Smith on Definition and Mason and Boyarin on Categorization.” *JAJ* 2 (2011): 208–38.
- . *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E. Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- . “Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion.” *JJS* 42 (1991): 16–38.
- . “The ‘Judaism’ of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus’s Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (Antiquities 13:38–57).” *HTR* 82 (1989): 377–91.
- Schweitzer, Albert. *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911.
- . *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*. Translated by W. Montgomery. Macmillan Paperbacks. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
- Schweizer, Eduard. “Scheidungsrecht der Jüdischen Frau: Weibliche, Jünger Jesu.” *EvT* 42 (1982): 294–300.
- . *The Good News According to Mark*. Translated by Donal H. Madvig. Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1970.
- Scott, James M. *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*. JSJSup 91. Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Segal, Arthur, Michael Eisenberg, Jolanta Mlynarczyk, Mariusz Burdajewicz, Mark Schuler, and Nurit Shtober-Zisu. *Hippos-Sussita of the Decapolis: The First Twelve Seasons of Excavations 2000–2011*. Haifa: University of Haifa Press, 2013.
- Segal, Michael. *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology, and Theology*. JSJSup 117. Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Sellers, Ovid R., and William F. Albright. “The First Campaign of Excavation at Beth-Zur.” *BASOR* 43 (1931): 2–13.
- Sharon, Nadav. “The Title Ethnarch in Second Temple Period Judea.” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 472–93.
- Shatzman, Israel. *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod: From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks*. TSAJ 25. Tübingen: Mohr, 1991.
- Sheridan, Ruth. “Issues in the Translation of Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι in the Fourth Gospel.” *JBL* 132 (2013): 671–95.

- Sherwin-White, Adrian N. *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973.
- Shils, Edward. “Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 8 (1957): 130–45.
- Shiner, Whitney. “The Ambiguous Pronouncement of the Centurion and the Shrouding of Meaning in Mark.” *JSNT* 78 (2000): 3–22.
- Sievers, Joseph. *The Hasmonians and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I*. SFSHJ 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.
- Sigwalt, C. “Die Chronologie der syrischen Baruchapokalypse.” *BZ* 9 (1911): 397–98.
- Sim, David C. “Matthew’s Use of Mark: Did Matthew Intend to Supplement or to Replace His Primary Source?” *NTS* 57 (2011): 176–92.
- . *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community*. SNTW. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998.
- Skinner, Matthew L. “‘She Departed to Her House’: Another Dimension of the Syrophoenician Mother’s Faith in Mark 7:24–30.” *WW* 26 (2006): 14–21.
- Sklar, Jay. “Sin and Impurity: Atoned or Purified? Yes!” Pages 18–31 in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*. Edited by Baruch J. Schwartz, David P. Wright, Jeffrey Stackert, and Naphtali S. Meshel. LHBOTS 474. New York: T&T Clark, 2008.
- Smallwood, E. Mary. *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations*. SJLA 20. Boston: Brill, 1981.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. “Fences and Neighbors: Some Contours of Early Judaism.” Pages 1–18 in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. CSHJ. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Smith, Julien C. H. “The Construction of Identity in Mark 7:24–30.” *BibInt* 20 (2012): 458–81.
- Smith, Robert H. “Some Pre-Christian Religions at Pella of the Decapolis.” *ARAM* 4 (1992): 197–214.
- Snodgrass, Klyne. “Recent Research on the Parable of the Wicked Tenants: An Assessment.” *BBR* 8 (1998): 187–216.
- Snow, Robert S. *Daniel’s Son of Man in Mark: A Redefinition of the Jerusalem Temple and the Formation of a New Covenant Community*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016.
- Snyder, Josey B. “Reading an Outsider: Lot in Jubilees.” *JSP* 24 (2015): 151–81.
- Song, Miri. “Raising the Bar in Analysis: Wimmer’s Ethnic Boundary Making.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 829–33.

- Sørensen, Søren Lund. “Identifying the Jewish Eupolemoi: An Onomastic Approach.” *JJS* 66 (2015): 24–35.
- Sperber, Daniel. “A Note on Hasmonean Coin-Legends: Heber and Roš Heber.” *PEQ* 97 (1965): 85–93.
- Staples, Jason A. “Reconstructing Israel: Restoration Eschatology in Early Judaism and Paul’s Gentile Mission.” PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016.
- Stegemann, Ekkehard W., and Wolfgang Stegemann. *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century*. Translated by O.C. Dean Jr. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.
- Stegemann, Hartmut. *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Stein, Robert H. *Mark*. BECNT. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Stendahl, Krister. “The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West.” *HTR* 56 (1963): 199–215.
- Sterling, Gregory E. *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography*. NovTSup 64. Boston: Brill, 1992.
- Stern, Ephraim. *Dor, Ruler of the Seas: Nineteen Years of Excavations at the Israelite-Phoenician Harbor Town on the Carmel Coast*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- Stern, Ephraim, Ayelet Levinzon-Gilbo‘a, and Joseph Aviram, eds. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
- Stern, Menahem. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Meqorot Le-Toldot ‘am Yiśra’el. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974.
- . “Social and Political Realalignments in Herodian Judaea.” Pages 40–62 in *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. “Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth.” *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183–206.
- Stone, Michael E. *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.
- Stowers, Stanley K. *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.



- Stowers, Stanley Kent. *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. LEC 5. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986.
- Strickert, Frederick M. “The Founding of the City of Julias by the Tetrarch Philip in 30 CE.” *JJS* 61 (2010): 220–33.
- Strugnell, John. “Notes en marge du volume V des Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert of Jordan.” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. “Ezra’s Vision of the Lady: The Form and Function of a Turning Point.” Pages 137–50 in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*. Edited by Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini. JSJSup 164. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- . “The Parables of Enoch According to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb: A Summary and Discussion of Some Remaining Questions.” Pages 65–71 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Suciu, Alin. “On a Bilingual Copto-Arabic Manuscript of 4 Ezra and the Reception of This Pseudepigraphon in Coptic Literature.” *JSP* 25 (2015): 3–22.
- Sulzbach, Carla. “The Fate of Jerusalem in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra: From Earth to Heaven and Back?” Pages 138–52 in *Interpreting 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: International Studies*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Jason Zurawski. LSTS 87. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Suter, David Winston. *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*. Dissertation Series 47. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Svartvik, Jesper. *Mark and Mission: Mk 7:1–23 in Its Narrative and Historical Contexts*. ConBNT 32. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2000.
- Swanson, Reuben, ed. *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus: Mark*. Sheffield: Sheffield, 1995.
- Syon, Danny. *Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee: The Evidence from Numismatic Site Finds as a Tool for Historical Reconstruction*. Numismatic Studies and Researches 11. Jerusalem: Israel Numismatic Society, 2015.
- Syrén, Roger. “Ishmael and Esau in the Book of Jubilees and Targum Pseudo-Joonathan.” Pages 310–15 in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*. Edited by D. R. G. Beattie and Martin J. McNamara. JSOTSup 166. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993.
- Taylor, Nicholas H. “Palestinian Christianity and the Caligula Crisis. Part II. the Markan Eschatological Discourse.” *JSNT* 18 (1996): 13–40.
- Taylor, Vincent. *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*. New York: St. Martin’s, 1955.

- Tcherikover, Victor. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. 3rd ed. Temple Book 22. New York: Atheneum, 1975.
- Testuz, Michel. *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés*. Paris: Minard, 1960.
- Thiessen, Matthew. *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . “Gentiles as Impure Animals in the Writings of Early Christ Followers.” Pages 19–32 in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Edited by Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, Wolfgang Grünstäudl, and Matthew Thiessen. WUNT 394. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017.
- . *Paul and the Gentile Problem*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- . “Revisiting the Προσῆλυτος in ‘the LXX.’” *JBL* 132 (2013): 333–50.
- . “The Many for One or One for the Many? Reading Mark 10:45 in the Roman Empire.” *HTR* 109 (2016): 447–66.
- Tisserant, Eugène. “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés.” *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86.
- Todd Berzon. “Ethnicity and Early Christianity: New Approaches to Religious Kinship and Community.” *CurBR* 16 (2018): 191–227.
- Townsend, John. “The Gospel of John and the Jews: The Story of a Religious Divorce.” Pages 72–97 in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*. Edited by Alan T. Davies. Ramsey, NJ: Paulist, 1979.
- Townsend, Philippa L. “Another Race? Ethnicity, Universalism, and the Emergence of Christianity.” PhD Diss., Princeton University, 2009.
- Trafton, Joseph L. “The Psalms of Solomon: New Light from the Syriac Version?” *JBL* 105 (1986): 227–37.
- . *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation*. SCS 11. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Trocme, Étienne. “Is There a Marcan Christology?” Pages 3–14 in *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*. Edited by Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Trocme, Etienne. *L’Evangile selon Saint Marc*. CNT 2. Genève: Labor et Fides, 2000.
- Turner, Nigel. “The Style of Mark.” Pages 215–38 in *The Language and Style of the Gospel of Mark: An Edition of C. H. Turner’s “Notes on Marcan Usage” Together with Other Comparable Studies*. Edited by James K. Elliot. NovTSup 71. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

- Udoh, Fabian E. *To Caesar What Is Caesar's: Tribute, Taxes, and Imperial Administration in Early Roman Palestine (63 B.C.E.–70 C.E.)*. BJS 343. Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2005.
- Ullendorff, Edward. "An Aramaic 'Vorlage' of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?" Pages 31–62 in *Ethiopia and the Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Van Maaren, John. "Does Mark's Jesus Abrogate Torah? Jesus' Purity Logion and Its Illustration in Mark 7:15–23." *JJMJS* 4 (2017): 21–41.
- Van Ruiten, Jacques. "The Covenant of Noah in Jubilees 6.1–38." Pages 167–90 in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. De Roo. JSJSup 71. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- VanderKam, James C. *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*. Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. London: Routledge, 1998.
- . *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*. HSM 14. Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977.
- . *The Book of Jubilees*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.
- . "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees." Pages 3–21 in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- de Vaux, Roland. "Les philistins dans la Septante." Pages 185–94 in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*. Edited by Josef Schreiner. Würzburg: Echter, 1972.
- Voelz, James W. "The Characteristics of the Greek of St. Mark's Gospel." Pages 138–53 in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*. Edited by Peter Doble and Jeffrey Kloha. NTTSD 47. Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*. HUCM 3. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1975.
- Wahlen, Clinton. "The Temple in Mark and Contested Authority." *BibInt* 15 (2007): 248–67.
- Walbank, Frank W. "Nationality as a Factor in Roman History." *HSCP* 76 (1972): 145–68.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Ward, Grant. "The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation." PhD diss., Temple University, 1996.

- Wardle, Timothy. “Mark, the Jerusalem Temple, and Jewish Sectarianism: Why Geographical Proximity Matters in Determining the Provenance of Mark.” *NTS* 62 (2016): 60–78.
- . *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity*. WUNT 2/291. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Warner, W. Lloyd, and Paul S. Lunt. *The Status System of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- Wasserman, Tommy. “The ‘Son of God’ Was in the Beginning (Mark 1:1).” *JTS* 62 (2011): 20–50.
- Watts, Rikki E. *Isaiah’s New Exodus and Mark*. WUNT 2/88. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Wazana, Nili. “From Dan to Beer-Sheva and from the Wilderness to the Sea: Literal and Literary Images of the Promised Land in the Bible.” Pages 45–85 in *Experiences of Place*. Edited by Mary N. MacDonald. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Weber, Max. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*. 5th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985.
- Weeden, Theodore J. “The Case for Caesarea Philippi as the Provenance for the Markan Community.” *Forum* 6 (2003): 277–86.
- Wefald, Eric K. “The Separate Gentile Mission in Mark: A Narrative Explanation of Markan Geography, the Two Feeding Accounts and Exorcisms.” *JSNT* 60 (1995): 3–26.
- Weiss, Zeev. “Sepphoris: From Galilean Town to Roman City, 100 BCE–200 CE.” Pages 53–75 in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*. Edited by David A. Fiensy and James R. Strange. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015.
- Wenell, Karen J. *Jesus and Land: Sacred and Social Space in Second Temple Judaism*. LNTS 334. New York: T&T Clark, 2007.
- . “Kingdom, Not Kingly Rule: Assessing the Kingdom of God as Sacred Space.” *BibInt* 25 (2017): 206–33.
- Wenham, David, and A. D. A. Moses. “‘There Are Some Standing Here . . .’: Did They Become the ‘Reputed Pillars’ of the Jerusalem Church? Some Reflections on Mark 9:1, Galatians 2:9, and the Transfiguration.” *NovT* 36 (1994): 146–63.
- Werline, Rodney Alan. “The Psalms of Solomon and the Ideology of Rule.” Pages 69–87 in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005.
- Werman, Cana. “Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage.” *HTR* 90 (1997): 1–22.

- . “Jubilees in the Hellenistic Context.” Pages 133–58 in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*. Edited by Lynn Lidonnici and Andrea Lieber. JSJSup 119. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Westerholm, Stephen. *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The “Lutheran” Paul and His Critics*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Whitters, Mark F. *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message*. JSPSup 42. London: Sheffield Academic, 2003.
- Wiesenberg, Ernest. “Jubilee of Jubilees.” *RevQ* 3 (1961): 3–40.
- Wilhite, David E. *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian’s Contexts and Identities*. Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des Ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. 14. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.
- Wilkinson, John. “Leprosy and Leviticus: A Problem of Semantics and Translation.” *SJT* 31 (1978): 153–66.
- Williams, David S. *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*. CBQMS 31. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1999.
- Willitts, Joel. *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King in Search of “the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel.”* BZNW 147. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007.
- Wills, Lawrence M. “The Jewishness of the Gospel of Mark.” Pages 69–86 in *Bridging between Sister Religions: Studies in Jewish and Christian Scriptures Offered in Honor of Prof. John T. Townsend*. Edited by Isaac Kalimi. BRLJ 51. Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Wilson, Stephen. *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004.
- Wimmer, Andreas. “Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (2008): 1025–55.
- . “Ethnic Boundary Making as Strategic Action: Reply to My Critics.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37 (2014): 834–42.
- . *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- . *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict Shadows of Modernity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . “The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 113 (2008): 970–1022.

- Wineland, John Dennis. *Ancient Abila: An Archeological History*. BARIS 988. Oxford: Archeopress, 2001.
- Winn, Adam. *The Purpose of Mark's Gospel: An Early Christian Response to Roman Imperial Propaganda*. WUNT 2/245. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- Winnige, Mikael. *Sinners and the Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters*. ConBNT 26. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995.
- Witherington, Ben. *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.
- Wright, Benjamin G. "The Structure of the Parables of Enoch: A Response to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb." Pages 72–78 in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Wright, David. "The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity." Pages 150–81 in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*. Edited by Gary A. Anderson and Olyan Saul M. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- Wright, George Ernest. "The Samaritans at Shechem." *HTR* 55 (1962): 357–66.
- Wright, N. T. *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013.
- Yadin, Yigael. *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. Translated by Batya Rabin and Chaim Rabin. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Yarbro Collins, Adela. "Jesus' Action in Herod's Temple." Pages 45–61 in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on His 70th Birthday*. Edited by Adele Yarbro Collins and Margaret M. Mitchel. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.
- Zaas, Peter. "What Comes Out of a Person Is What Makes a Person Impure: Jesus as Sadducee." Pages 217–26 in *Jewish Law Association Studies VIII*. Edited by E. A. Goldman. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.
- Zahn, Molly M. "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment." *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88.
- Zangenberg, Jürgen. "Between Jerusalem and the Galilee: Samaria in the Time of Jesus." Pages 393–432 in *Jesus and Archaeology*. Edited by James Charlesworth. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006.
- . *Frühes Christentum in Samarien: Topographische und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien zu den Samaritentexten im Johannes-Evangelium*. Texte und Arbeiten zum Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 27. Tübingen: Francke, 1998.
- Zeichmann, Christopher B. "Capernaum: A 'hub' for the Historical Jesus or the Markan Evangelist?" *JSHJ* 15 (2017): 147–65.

- . “Loanwords or Code-Switching? Latin Transliteration and the Setting of Mark’s Composition.” *JMJS* 4 (2017): 42–64.
- . “The Date of Mark’s Gospel Apart from the Temple and Rumors of War: The Taxation Episode (12:13–17) as Evidence.” *CBQ* 79 (2017): 422–37.
- Zeitlin, Solomon. “The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance.” *JQR* 30 (1939): 1–31.
- Zertal, Adam. *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey: Volume 1 The Shechem Syncline*. CHANE 21. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Zetterholm, Magnus. *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity*. Early Church Monographs. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Zolberg, Aristide R., and Long Litt Woon. “Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States.” *Politics & Society* 27 (1999): 5–38.