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Jesus and Land

Constructions of Sacred and Social Space in Second Temple Judaism

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Abstract

Land was an important aspect of the sacred and social space of Second Temple Judaism, yet it does not receive direct treatment in the gospel portrayals of Jesus. Within an overall picture of Jesus as a millenarian prophet, there are echoes of symbolic use of land which suggest the need to relate Jesus to the space (both sacred and social) of his time.

The method of investigation in this study is primarily comparative. Different first century individuals and groups will have different spatial constructions which very often relate to foundational myths connecting God, people, and land. Our aim is to consider texts of the Second Temple Period with attention to how space is constructed and also in terms of social situation.

Chapter One introduces the study by setting out an understanding of *sacred space* using social anthropology and *social space* using the theoretical work of Henri Lefebvre. The importance of space to human experience is highlighted with a view to application to the life of Jesus, understood in light of the social situation of his day.

A specific text, Genesis Ten (the Table of Nations), is the focus of Chapter Two. Re-readings of the text in Jubilees and Josephus' Antiquities show very different spatialisations and views of cosmic order. They also come out of very different settings in life and show something of the ways that land (in relationship to other nations) could be understood in the Second Temple Period.

Chapter Three explores the meaning of the temple as the central sacred space in the first century and also as a strong economic and political centre. There was devotion to the temple, but also opposition to it. Jesus' action in the temple shows a break with the institution without a clear indication of its restoration.

Purity, the topic of Chapter Four, was widely practiced in the first century. Conventionally associated with the purity of the land and separation from the gentiles, interpretation of the laws of purity was a concern of groups such as the Sadducees, Pharisees, 'Qumranites' and Samaritans. John's baptism in the Jordan is highly symbolic and is comparable to the sign prophets in Josephus who take up the biblical themes of exodus and entry into the land. Jesus primarily associates uncleanness with demons; he exorcises them and heals (by touching) individuals who would be considered impure. He practices table fellowship with 'sinners' and

emphasises love of enemies. Jesus' mission is itinerant (not located) and rejects current notions of purity.

An alternative model of governance in the eschaton is offered by Jesus in his calling together of a group of twelve. Chapter Five explores traditional tribal and spatial associations with 'twelve' and their importance for Jesus' symbolic use of 'the twelve' which includes the notion of gathering.

Finally, Chapter Six draws the study together to set Jesus in relationship to land as a Galilean millenarian prophet. The Jesus movement is compared to the millenarian *Hauhau* movement among the Maori of Aotearoa in order to highlight the appropriation of space in millenarian contexts. Some final thoughts are offered on the importance of space to human experience and the 'place' of land in the experience of Jesus.

Declaration: I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that it contains the results of my own work, and that it does not include work that has been presented for a degree in this or any other university. All quotations are acknowledged in the footnotes.

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1 Jesus and Land: Problems and Possibilities

And even if there is no general code of space, inherent to language or to all languages, there may have existed specific codes, established at specific historical periods and varying in their effects. If so, interested 'subjects', as members of a particular society, would have acceded by this means at once to their space and their status as 'subjects' acting within that space and (in the broadest sense of the word) comprehending it.

-Henri Lefebvre (1974; 1991:17)

The need to remember the Jesus of History entailed the need to remember the Jesus of a particular land. Jesus belonged not only to time, but to space; and the spaces which he occupied took on significance, so that the *realia* of Judaism continued as the *realia* in Christianity. History in the tradition demanded geography.

- W. D. Davies (1974; 1994:366)

In the quotes above, taken from the work of Marxist philosopher and social scientist Henri Lefebvre and biblical scholar W. D. Davies, we notice two interests in common: (1) attention to the particular or specific (Lefebvre's 'specific historical periods'/'specific codes'/'particular society' and Davies' 'particular land', the 'Jesus of History' and the 'spaces he occupied') and (2) attention to the relationship of an individual to space (Lefebvre's 'subject' and Davies' 'Jesus of History'). Beyond this initial observation, we might not find much in the way of overlapping interests between Lefebvre and Davies, besides, that is, the year of original publication (1974) for the two works, *The Production of Space* and *The Gospel and the Land*, respectively. The reason for placing them together at the beginning of our study is to highlight a new direction that might be taken for historical Jesus studies by joining interests in that field with an emphasis on space and how individuals relate to their space, acting within it and comprehending it variously at specific historical periods, in relationship to language and social experience.

As attested by Davies' statement that Jesus belonged to both time and space, there has long been a recognition that the 'Jesus of History' belonged to a time and place different from that of biblical scholars. The present work seeks to enquire after some of the same issues regarding Jesus and land that Davies was concerned with in 1974 and also to expand the scope of that discussion, particularly by asking what

relevance there might be for understanding Jesus as a 'subject' (according to Lefebvre's definition, discussed below – Section 1.3) within a particular social space which also includes sacred spaces. In order to do this, we will need to outline our approach, first by recognizing some of the difficulties with investigating biblical notions of space (Section 1.1), then by briefly outlining a working understanding of sacred space (Section 1.2) and giving a more detailed explanation of Henri Lefebvre's work on social space (Section 1.3). Finally, we will offer an approach to questions of authenticity with regard to the sayings and actions of Jesus (Section 1.4) before making some concluding statements regarding the direction of the chapters to follow (Section 1.5).

1.1 Land from Colonised to Coloniser

Apart from their own 'original' contexts, biblical texts have taken on meaning for individuals and groups in context of their own situations and in light of their own experiences.¹ When dealing with texts that have been influential in thinking about space, there are certain dangers involved, and these are in no small part related to the interpretations which have come before us and to our own social situation(s). For instance, we might look at two texts which may serve to illustrate some of the difficulties involved with undertaking an investigation of biblical space:

<p>On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram saying, "To your descendants I will give this land from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, the land of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Genesis 15.18-21</p>	<p>Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Matthew 28.18-20</p>
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¹ See Yvonne Sherwood's study of Western interpretation of the book of Jonah. She speaks of the 'survival' of the text as it takes on new life in different contexts and also warns of the impossibility of reading texts in an objective manner: "Indeed, if it were possible somehow to scrutinise the book of Jonah in a cultureless, timeless zone of objectivity (to get into that ideal textual lab that scholars still yearn to inhabit), it would be impossible to predict the curious pathways that interpretation would take, and the strange chemical reactions between text and culture that would ensue." Y. Sherwood, *A Biblical Text and Its Afterlives: The Survival of Jonah in Western Culture* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 10.

In terms of kinship, the land of others is divinely given to Abraham's descendants. By commission, the nations become disciples (subjects?). The first text brings an awareness of the present day difficulties in Palestine and Israel and the insistence on biblical land claims by some in that context. The second text reminds us of the role of Christianity as the religion of the West in shaping colonial ideologies allowing for the subjugation of other peoples in other places.²

Because of the ongoing significance of biblical texts in relationship to the land of Israel today, scholarly studies may be intended to support or be inspired by particular political positions and theologies regarding present day situations.³ The argument that the creation of the state of Israel has meant the displacement of Palestinians from their land makes a call for moral responsibility of biblical scholars in dealing with texts of conquest in the Bible appropriate and persuasive.⁴ Moreover, biblical texts have served as support for colonial endeavours of many varieties in many places throughout the world. Christian conceptions of space have played no small role in shaping ideologies which have allowed for the subjugation of other peoples to the superiority of Western might.⁵

² See J. L. Berquist, "Critical Spatiality and the Construction of the Ancient World" in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 14-29. Berquist notes the importance of postcolonialism to the academy, and in particular to the critical study of space. Though globalisation makes us more aware of different understandings of space across different cultures, it also allows for ideological criticism of different (i.e. traditional Western) concepts. "Postcolonial studies demonstrate the relativity of different concepts, the constructed nature of all the notions that the dominant culture has taken as givens, and the social and ideological power that holds together the constructedness of these assumptions about reality, along with the resistances against those powers, including their notions of geography." (17; See also 23).

³ See, for instance, Keith Whitelam on the creation and perpetuation of the notion of 'ancient Israel' by scholarship: K. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996). As an example of the prompting of world events in the investigation of 'land' texts, see the 1991 preface to W. D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism* (Minneapolis; Fortress, 1991) wherein he identifies the impact of the Six Day War and the Gulf War on his desire to investigate the theme of land. One of Davies' motivations is better understanding between Jews and Christians over the important issue of land.

⁴ See Michael Prior's study, wherein he is particularly passionate revealing and denouncing the role of the Bible in justifying the creation of the State of Israel and also particularly critical of Davies for not drawing attention to the negative effects of biblical land themes. M. Prior, *The Bible and Colonialism: A Moral Critique* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

⁵ R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Postcolonial Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); M. Dube, "Savior of the World but not of This World," in *The Postcolonial Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 118-135; T. Swanson, "To Prepare a Place: Johannine Christianity and the Collapse of Ethnic Territory," *JAAR* 62:2 (1993), 241-263.

Just as colonial and also liberating (post-colonial) appropriations of texts come out of particular social settings, so, we believe, do the biblical texts themselves. Whether or not it is possible ever to reach an exact description of that social context, it is still worth investigating and comparing roughly contemporary texts (in terms of time period and geography). Even in looking at the Genesis and Matthew texts, we can note that these are the 'sort of texts' that attitudes towards space within religious worldviews are made of. Just as there is reason to believe that land is a (if not the) dominant theme of the Hebrew Bible and continues to hold the greatest importance to some Jews today, so there is no escaping that Christianity broke from Jewish attachment to spaces such as land and temple (i.e. Hebrews) and came to centre its thought in the person of Jesus Christ, before all things, in all things, present with the Father during creation (John 1). Tod Swanson raises an important question:

Christianity does not claim ties to any particular territory. But that only begs the question: What was it about early Christian interpretations of space that made it seem so universal and transplantable? That question is important for moral reflection on the colonial expansion of Christianity into the Americas, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere.⁶

How did the new 'Christian' understanding of space come about? What does a fairly radical shift in spatial understanding have to do with the figure of Jesus, who before being bestowed with 'all authority in heaven and on earth' apparently began a rather small-scale itinerant movement in Galilee? It is certainly worth asking how a Christian understanding of space can be related to Jesus whose own social situation included the experience of Jewish colonisation under the Romans.

In the view taken by W. D. Davies, Jesus was not concerned with the relationship between God, people and land. This, he believes, is in contrast to Judaism of the time which 'had given its answer [regarding the locale of eschatological expectations] in terms of the centrality of the land and the indestructible connection between it and Yahweh and Israel.'⁷ The Church rejected this location for the eschaton and, in the estimation of Davies, 'remained true to the

⁶ T. Swanson, "To Prepare a Place," 241. Similarly, Mary Huie-Jolly compares the strong ritual and symbolic connections between people and land in Maori society with those of colonial Christianity, namely eucharist and baptism. She asks, "How did Christian worship become a place establishing ritual which is unconnected with any particular place?" M. Huie-Jolly, "Word Constructing Flesh: Portable Christianity and its Fragile Earth Connection," n.p. [cited 24 May 2000]. Online: <http://www.cwru.edu/979200/affil/GAIR/papers/HuieJolly.html>.

⁷ W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 365.

intent of her Lord.⁸ Therefore, we are presented with a proposal in which land, as part of the relationship between God and people, is turned on its head in the move from Judaism to Jesus and Christianity. In this process, sacred space is radicalised:

The New Testament finds holy space where Christ is or has been: it personalizes “holy space” in Christ, who, as a figure of History, is rooted in the land; he cleansed the Temple and died in Jerusalem, and lends his glory to these and to the places where he was, but, as Living Lord, he is also free to move wherever he wills. To do justice to the personalism of the New Testament, that is, to its Christo-centricity, is to find the clue to the various strata of the tradition we have traced and to the attitudes they reveal: to their freedom from space and their attachment to spaces.⁹

Certainly, there is much to be said for this view. Matthew’s Great Commission and the Missionary Journeys of Paul certainly do not provide a strong argument for the Early Church’s rootedness in the land. But if Judaism and Jewish texts of the Hebrew Bible and other writings place such a strong emphasis on land, is there really such a direct move from land-centeredness to personalism with regard to sacred space? More likely, it would seem, there were complex issues involved in the process of change in understanding of sacred space.¹⁰

Certainly, Davies’ *The Gospel and the Land* has great importance in that it takes the often neglected theme of land and places it at the forefront of discussion.¹¹ However, in re-visiting the issues which concerned Davies, we will proceed in a different way. The systematic approach of Davies was to begin ‘at the beginning’ with ‘The Land in the Hexateuch’, followed by ‘The Land in the Prophets’ and then

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Davies, *Gospel and the Land*, 367.

¹⁰ J. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000). In discussion of the idea that Galilee replaces Jerusalem as the central sacred locale in the Gospel of Mark, Riches rejects a simple transference from one notion to the other: “The story is somewhat more complex. Galilee is indeed replacing Jerusalem; but it is a Galilee which itself is transformed, allegorized. In the allegorisation notions of sacred space are being changed. The cosmology and ethos which emerges is one which casts aside attachments to the Land and to family and possessions and which replaces them with an ideal of the itinerant, preaching and exorcising life of the disciple in imitation of Jesus (Mark 6). In this the notion of the way of the Lord, with which the Gospel opens, plays a key role. It, too, is significantly reformulated. Elements from the tradition, maps and fragments of maps, fragments of narratives of exile and return and their associated world-views are being taken and reshaped. We can only tentatively attempt to trace how this is happening.” (130).

¹¹ See, for instance, where Davies notes past commentators who have ignored the topic of land (*Gospel and the Land*, 4-5). He observes that, in the Old Testament, where land is seemingly unavoidable due to the plethora of references to it, it has nonetheless been neglected as a theme. He says, ‘the neglect of this theme has been as marked among Old

'The Land in Extra-Biblical Sources' (writings of the so-called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as well as Qumran and Rabbinic writings).¹² The exegetical work of Davies provides insights still, but it also raises questions as to the wider social contexts in which texts arose and the use of terms and symbols relating to land in particular instances and how they differ.¹³ Unlike Davies, we will not endeavour to give a comprehensive treatment of the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament. Rather, we hope to examine some of the ways that foundational texts (or myths) to do with Jewish identity and land shaped life and were shaped by life (social situation) for different groups of Jews living in the land of Israel during the Second Temple period.

1.2 Sacred Space, Meaning, and Texts

In order for a land to be sacred space, it must be interpreted as such. As Mircea Eliade, Jonathan Z. Smith and others have shown, sacred space is an important part of religious experience and beliefs.¹⁴ Though it may be possible to talk about unifying characteristics of sacred space (connection with the gods, performance of ritual, relation to cosmogony, etc), there is certainly great potential for variety if we think in terms of the different 'types' of spaces which may hold sacred meaning.¹⁵ The entry

Testament scholars as among those of the New Testament.' (5).

¹² The second part, in similar fashion, looks at 'The Land' in Paul and the Gospels, concluding with a section on 'Jesus and the Land.'

¹³ There are, of course, other studies which include treatments of 'Jesus and land.' In general, however, they are 'scattered' throughout historical Jesus scholarship and do not exclusively deal with land. Notable among these are: S. Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988), 239-247; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God, vol. 2; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 299, 345, 402-403, 429; D. C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth, Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998) 97-102, 144-45; J. Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1980), 112-144; M. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (2d ed.; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press, 1998), 66-77; Steven M. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 164-188. See also W. Brueggemann, *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge to Biblical Faith* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1977) 167-183; R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 46-64.

¹⁴ M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. W. R. Trask; San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt, 1959), 20-6; J. Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religion* (Leiden, Brill, 1978), 88-190; J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹⁵ For Eliade, the primary unifying characteristic of sacred space is that it represents a break with the profane, a 'founding' of the world for the religious human. (*Sacred and Profane*, 20-24). He also notes the variety of expressions: "since the religious life of humanity is realized in history, its expressions are inevitably conditioned by the variety of historical moments and cultural styles. But for our purpose it is not the infinite variety of the religious experiences of

for 'Sacred Space' in the *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* highlights the diversity of sacred spaces:

As meaningful space, sacred space encompasses a wide variety of different kinds of places. It includes places that are constructed for religious purposes, such as temples or *temenoi*, and places that are religiously interpreted, such as mountains or rivers. It includes spaces that can be entered physically, as the outer geography of a holy land, imaginatively, as the inner geography of the body in Tantric yoga, or visually, as the space of a *mandala*. Sacred space does not even exclude nonsacred space, for the same place may be both sacred and nonsacred in different respects or circumstances... In short, a sacred place comes into being when it is interpreted as a sacred place.¹⁶

If we concern ourselves particularly with land as sacred space, we are then drawn to consider particular circumstances. For whom is land sacred? In what ways is it given meaning? Therefore, the social aspect of sacred space becomes apparent. We should not treat beliefs connected to space as separate from the social experience of people for whom such notions are meaningful. In the words of Riches and Millar, beliefs are 'grounded' in daily life, that is, '[theological] propositions must come down to earth and this they do via their links with experience and action.'¹⁷ This social dimension is very important in thinking about sacred space, though we will leave a more detailed discussion of social space for the next section (1.3). Perceived as sacred, there are no confines as to the kind of space which may be given religious meaning. What is interesting, therefore, is *how* and in what ways such spaces are given meaning.¹⁸

By allowing for questions and comparisons of many of the varied types of sacred spaces across history and geography, an anthropological approach to sacred

space that concerns us, but, on the contrary, the elements of their unity." (ibid., 62-63).

¹⁶ J. Brereton, "Sacred Space." in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 526-535; here 526. One of the examples given by Brereton of sacred spaces which may also be profane or nonsacred is latrines in traditional Maori culture. Serving as a 'boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead' they also function as latrines. ("Sacred Space," 526). In Eliade's view, the sacred distinguishes itself from the profane and from chaos (though profane experience is not found in 'pure form'). Smith agrees against this notion, saying rather that even chaos is not profane in that it is never neutral, but sacred 'in the wrong way.' (Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 22-24, 29-32; Smith, *Map*, 91-101).

¹⁷ J. Riches and A. Millar, "Conceptual Change in the Synoptic Tradition" in *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study* (ed. A. E. Harvey; London: SPCK, 1985), 37-60, here 39. See also A. Millar and J. Riches, "Interpretation: A Theoretical Perspective and Some Applications" *Numen* 28:1 (1981): 29-53.

¹⁸ See V. Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representations of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 1997). "Spaces, then, possess symbolic power and may incite an individual or a nation to an array of emotions and behaviors, which may range from acts of passive contemplation to ones of active exploitation, depending on the function and value assigned to a site." (5).

space has the advantage of being able to cope with multiple sacred spaces and to gain insights into the character of sacred space in all its diversity.¹⁹ Though we may never arrive at a comprehensive distillation of the unity of sacred spaces, we may still grapple with the common elements of sacred spaces, always keeping in view the particular social environment in which a space has religious significance.²⁰

Though we have emphasised that giving (religious) meaning to spaces comes about by human activity in particular contexts, this should not detract from the further understanding that the appropriation of sacred space is related to a set of beliefs. Any space which is defined as sacred is in some way thought to be connected to the gods. There is the conviction – we could call it a religious conviction - that:

[S]acred space is not arbitrary. Objectively and not only subjectively, a sacred place is different from the surrounding area, for it is not a place of wholly human creation or choice. Rather, its significance is grounded in its unique character, a character that no purely human action can confer on it.²¹

By its connection with divinity, sacred space establishes cosmological order for religious humans. Eliade describes sacred space in terms of founding. In connection with creation, sacred space also allows for a sense of orientation in breaking with the chaos of the (profane) world.²² In terms of Clifford Geertz' theory of religion as a cultural system, sacred space is powerful for understanding the world and its order. Therefore, if "religion tunes human actions to an envisioned cosmic order and projects images of cosmic order onto the plane of human experience,"²³ then connections and communication with divinity via sacred spaces are vital and powerful for human religious experience. The types of activities, namely ritual, which may be performed in order to maintain the sacredness of space are necessarily

¹⁹ See Amos Rapoport, "Spatial Organization and the Built Environment," in *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1994), 460-502. Though he is concerned with the built environment (which he considers to be 'a product of purposeful human (and, earlier, hominid) activity'), he notes: "A striking feature of built environments is their extraordinary variety, when they are considered cross culturally or historically...many environments from other cultures and periods seem not merely strange and unfamiliar, but even chaotic." (460). Though this is not a major point in his article, it is worth noting the strangeness which may be encountered even in the spaces of one's own 'culture.'

²⁰ Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 62-63. Eliade states his desire to explore unity in the religious experience of space while also acknowledging the great variety of such experience. For, "since the religious life of humanity is realised in history, its expressions are inevitably conditioned by the variety of historical moments and cultural styles." (62-63).

²¹ Bererton, "Sacred Space," 526.

²² Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, 20-24.

²³ C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). 87-125, here, 90.

related to beliefs as well. Examples would include, but not be limited to, purity and impurity rites as important activities in marking out sacred space.²⁴ These will almost certainly be connected to a sense of divine requirements and thereby to the nature of divinity.

As is generally true for religious symbols, sacred space, once created (by being given meaning), must be perpetuated and communicated in order to remain in existence (or retain meaning). Therefore, changes will come about if a sacred space is 'maintained' over time.²⁵ Though an individual could have a strictly personal experience of the divine which led them to consider a particular place sacred, for the communication of that experience, language must be involved. Thus, Salles-Reese elaborates:

A person [is not precluded] from having an individual experience of the numinous, that is, from experiencing a personal revelation. However, for the experience to be shared and understood by others, for it to be communal, it must first be conveyed through language. A mountain, for instance, may only be known as a deity if an individual characterizes it as such in some form of language – in written, oral, or other forms of symbolic representation. Although other modes of representation, such as icons and emblems, may transmit the meaning of certain things, language remains the principal means for the intellection of their sense and the ultimate medium for the understanding of all sacred spaces.²⁶

In dealing with ancient cultures, we are largely dependent on texts for information regarding beliefs and the meaning of sacred space.²⁷ Though biblical texts may be understood in terms of an 'oral world' in which they emerge, we only have access to the texts as they remain and have been transmitted.²⁸ Still, there is much that may be

²⁴ Brerton says that sacred space is 'typically a place of purity because purity enables people to come into contact with the gods.' ("Sacred Space," 529). See also J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place*. He discusses purity and impurity as signifying essential difference and part of Temple ritual in ancient Israel. Ritual, he says, 'relies for its power on the fact that it is concerned with quite ordinary activities placed within an extraordinary setting' (109).

²⁵ Geertz, "Religion," 91-94.

²⁶ Salles-Reese, *Representations of the Sacred*, 6. Salles-Reese is particularly clear in her articulation of the meaning of the sacred in relationship to place in introducing her discussion of the history of the sacred at Lake Titicaca from pre-Inca times forward.

²⁷ Archaeology is certainly important to the interpretation of ancient space as well. Sean Freyne may well be correct to say that social description may in fact serve as a 'meeting place' for New Testament scholarship and archaeology. S. Freyne, "Archaeology and the Historical Jesus" in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J. R. Bartlett; London: Routledge, 1997), 117-144; here 117-120.

²⁸ See, for instance on the Hebrew Bible, S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996). On the orality of the Jesus traditions see W. H. Keblers, "Jesus and Tradition: Words in Time, Words in Space,"

gained by looking at the choices people make in emphasising certain 'spatial' aspects of their surroundings and traditions at particular times or in creatively coming to new understandings in light of experiences. We can observe some of these choices in the investigation of ancient texts.

By emphasising the power of space for religious understanding, we hope to avoid viewing it as merely an ideological mask for the control of space by hierarchical powers in society. In discussion of the language of 'centre' for sacred space, John Riches states the following:

The language of 'centre', applied to temples and palaces, has an ideological function: it serves to justify existing relations of power within a given society. But, one has to ask, could it have fulfilled those functions (and perhaps not only those), if it had not had a conventional cosmological sense which was well understood by those whom it was intended to hold in subservience?²⁹

Language, ritual and experience of sacred space is by no means limited to those with power in society. Certainly, as we shall shortly discuss, there are connections between power, hierarchy and space, but these should not be emphasised over wider religious significance whereby the sacredness of space is communicated in an understandable way for a social group.

1.3 Henri Lefebvre and Social Space

Henri Lefebvre lived from 1905 to 1991 and had experiences ranging from taxi driver to tutor for Prince Charles.³⁰ His most important work, in the estimation of many, is *La Production de l'espace*, published, as mentioned earlier, in 1974. For those lacking access to Lefebvre's many works in French (he wrote more than 60 books and 300 articles), translation into English of *La Production de l'espace* (*The Production of Space*) was a 'major event' to advance Lefebvre's influence in English

Semeia 65 (1994), 139-167. Also G. Theissen, *Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics, and the World of the New Testament* (trans. M. Kohl; London; SCM Press, 1992). Recently, Dunn has criticized Theissen's theory of early Christianity in J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making*; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2003). Dunn believes Theissen's 'wandering charismatics' theory separates community formation from tradition formation (*Jesus Remembered*, 54-56, 241-244).

²⁹ J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies*, 21. The context of this statement is a critique of Jonathan Smith's preference for emphasizing the 'anthropological functions' of myth over concern with cosmological aspects of myth (in *his* – Smith's – critique of Eliade). See Riches, 118-121.

³⁰ R. Shields, *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics* (London: Routledge, 1999), 4-5.

speaking countries.³¹ More could be said on Lefebvre's life and academic interests, but at present we will concentrate on his treatment of space.

A dialectical method is one of the essential features of Lefebvre's writing in *The Production of Space*. In Socratic style, he poses rhetorical questions and provides discussion of the topics raised by himself. At times, the ideas he is conveying are not easily understood, and this fact is illuminated by the information given by Rob Shields when he tells us that Lefebvre dictated his work from the late 1920's forward:

Dictating all of his most important books and articles 'live' while his female companions typed, a conversation is implicit in the rambling quality of his works. If they are hard to read or analyse, this is because they are cut up with rhetorical questions and because they consist of dictated material, and discussions that were the unacknowledged contributions of those typists, which filled in a lengthy outline of key points that Lefebvre wrote up ahead of time (sometimes this is evident, for example in explicitly numbered sections and paragraphs).³²

As an example of this last point, the first chapter of *The Production of Space* is divided into no less than 21 sections in 67 pages on the 'Plan of the Present Work.' Within this introduction, Lefebvre repeatedly emphasises the principle that social space is a social product (*L'espace (social) est un produit (social)*). As we shall see, this principle is vital to Lefebvre's understanding of space.

Henri Lefebvre's project (in *The Production of Space*) to give a theory for the production of space, looks for unity between mental, physical and social space. A Marxist philosopher with a sustained interest in everyday life, Lefebvre wants to emphasise history and practice with regard to space. What he sets out is a three-fold understanding of space including space perceived (spatial practice), conceived (representations of space) and lived (representational spaces). The linguistic appeal of expressing the triad this way comes through in the French - *espace perçu, espace conçu, espace vécu* – but potentially causes some confusion in translations.

Considerable explanation is required in order to understand the meaning of this triad for use of Lefebvre's theory. Rather than describing things in space or dividing spaces into the space of this or that, Lefebvre seeks unity for the production of space in this threefold theory.

The production of space, for Lefebvre, is necessarily connected with particular societies. The premise that Lefebvre returns to time and time again is the

³¹ H. Molotch, "The Space of Lefebvre" *Theory and Society* 22 (1993), 887-895, here 887.

one we have already mentioned: Social space is a social product. Space is not passive, empty (waiting to be filled) and reducible to language. Rather, it is active, productive, and has its own corresponding codes which are part of the relationship between individual members of a society and their surroundings (or space). Lefebvre gives some contemporary examples of words constituting or forming the basis of a spatial code:

Everyone knows what is meant when we speak of a 'room' in an apartment, the 'corner' of the street, a 'marketplace', a shopping or cultural 'centre', a public 'place', and so on. These terms of everyday discourse serve to distinguish, but not to isolate, particular spaces, and in general to describe a social space. They correspond to a specific use of that space, and hence to a spatial practice that they express and constitute. Their interrelationships are ordered in a specific way.³³

For Lefebvre, spatial codes are produced along with the space of a particular society. However, he wants to look at them in terms of the interaction between subjects and their environment, the practices that go along with the forms (or codes). Thus, his aim is not to give a 'code of codes.'³⁴ The reasoning is that if each society has its own code and its own space which are produced, then the rise and fall of codes (and corresponding space) can be detected by the historian. Therefore, every society has, or rather produces, its own space. This is true from ancient societies up to the present capitalist society. The space that is produced in each 'period' is tied to the dominant mode of production and the relationships of production in the society (here we see Lefebvre's Marxist influence clearly). Furthermore, the hegemonic powers of a given society are responsible for changes to the built (physical) environment of a society. It is not only they (the powerful), but also those individuals who *use* the space of a society who will comprehend the same codes in relationship to their space.

Over the course of history, social space undergoes change. In fact, for Lefebvre, *in order for* society to change, space must be changed. Thus, Lefebvre's statement bordering on injunction: To change life we must first change space.³⁵ Lefebvre sees certain phases or 'moments' for the production of space in history. They constitute a 'history of space' or the 'history of the production of space' which has a definite beginning and end and over which changes occur. The beginning,

³² Shields, *Lefebvre*, 7.

³³ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. D. Nicholson-Smith; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 16.

³⁴ Lefebvre, *Production*, 17-18.

³⁵ Lefebvre, *Production*, 190.

according to Lefebvre, is when nature dominates social space. The end is when 'a localised nature recedes.'³⁶ These are put into three phases or 'periodisations' in the history of space, which are meant to elaborate the 'global' aspect of the history of space as opposed to merely examining the specific codes and their rise and fall in particular societies. They are: absolute space (fragments of nature at sites chosen for their intrinsic qualities, taken over by political forces), historical space (the space of accumulation) and abstract space (the space of capitalism).³⁷

Absolute space, for Lefebvre, is religious and political and contains distinctions between sacred and profane spaces. This space incorporates rites and ceremonies³⁸ and begins with 'a set of places named and exploited by peasants, or by nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists'³⁹ for whom their space becomes transcendent, sacred by the actions of masters and conquerors. Absolute space 'assumes meanings addressed not to the intellect but to the body.'⁴⁰ Here, we find religious and mythic spaces.⁴¹ Though once dominant, absolute space leaves traces even today, just as traces of other periods remain.⁴²

A good example of what Lefebvre means by this 'carry over' of space is the example of the use of an *imago mundi* and *rose des vents* in Tuscany and Florence in 1172. The situation he describes is one where changes occur in the relationship between the city and the surrounding countryside. A period of growth was occurring at that time and the project of re-organising space was undertaken. Thus, a new town square, wharves and bridges with a particular construction were introduced in Florence at this time. The space was organised by 'demanders' whose plans sought to provide for their own protection and advantage in the city. However, there was an 'old' notion of space underpinning the new plans. This was in the form of a symbolic flower, the *rose des vents*, which in turn was in accordance with an *imago mundi*. The producers of space, i.e. the 'demanders' modeled their new designs for space on a

³⁶ Lefebvre, *Production*, 120.

³⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 48-49. See also 218-219.

³⁸ Lefebvre, *Production*, 48.

³⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 234.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 235.

⁴¹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 234-241. See also Mike Crang, "Globalization as Conceived, Perceived and Lived Spaces" in *Theory, Culture & Society* 1999 (London: SAGE), vol. 16 (1); 166-177. Here, 168.

⁴² Even contemporary space, says Foucault, is not 'desanctified'. See M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" *Diacritics* 16:1 (Spring 1986): 22-27. On the importance of Foucault's work and the article "Of Other Spaces" to the emergence of an understanding whereby space has a history,

particular spatial conception (*rose des vents, imago mundi*), but in doing so, subordinated it to their control and command.

This description of Florence and Tuscan countryside illustrates Lefebvre's notion of 'anthropological determinants'. These are related to natural rhythms and 'the elementary forms of the appropriation of nature: numbers, oppositions and symmetries, images of the world, myths.'⁴³ They are taken over by practical activity (production) and thus 'named' and invested with meaning and symbolism. Therefore, anthropological factors may form the basis of later spaces, as in the *imago mundi* appropriated in Florence. Thus, from Lefebvre:

The fact is that what was anthropologically essential in ancient times can become purely tangential in the course of history. Anthropological factors enter history as *material*, apt to be treated variously according to the circumstances, conjunctures, available resources and *matériel* used.⁴⁴

A process is implied here where spatial conceptions of ancient times go out of use in society, but can enter history again in a different capacity when resources (i.e. for building) and circumstances utilise these ancient configurations of space to produce a new space, whether or not the 'original' meaning is retained.

This brings us to a statement by Lefebvre regarding the relationship between myth and symbol, mythic and symbolic space, and practice:

Y a-t-il des mythes et symboles en dehors d'un espace mythique et symbolique, déterminé *aussi* comme pratique? sans doute pas.⁴⁵ [Are there myths and symbols outside of a mythic and symbolic space which is *also* determined as practical? Doubtless not.]⁴⁶

Though the meaning of this statement is perhaps obscured by its phraseology, it appears that the main point is to explain what kind of existence mythic and symbolic spaces (i.e. an *imago mundi*) have when they are not determined by practice. Lefebvre

see Berquist, "Critical Spatiality," 14, 18-19.

⁴³ Lefebvre, *Production*, 117.

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, *Production*, 119. For Lefebvre, the difference between material and *matériel* is that material is lasting while *matériel* is not. "Materials are indispensable and durable: stone, brick, cement and concrete, for example – or in the musical sphere, scales, modes and tones. *Matériel*, by contrast, is quickly used up; it must be replaced often; it is comprised of tools and directions for their use; and its adaptative capability is limited: when new needs arise, new *matériel* must be invented to meet them. Instances of *matériel* in music would be the piano, the saxophone or the lute. In the construction industry, new techniques and equipment fall under this rubric." (105)

⁴⁵ H. Lefebvre, *la production de la espace* (Paris : éditions anthropos, 1974), 140.

⁴⁶ This translation is owed to Lesley Rankin, PhD student, French Department, University of Glasgow.

says that at these times, the spaces are neither within nor outside nature. They are rather animated by people “through accounts of mythical ‘presences’, genies and good or evil spirits which are conceived of as having a concrete existence.”⁴⁷ Myths and symbols do not exist ‘out there’ where they are not associated with space or determined in practical ways. That practice may be the human animation through mythic accounts. Particular groups make continued use of anthropological determinants, that is their own mythic and symbolic spaces. This can happen over centuries where the determinants are ‘abandoned only to be taken up once more, displaced or transferred’ and even surviving into the present.⁴⁸ Lefebvre’s anthropological determinants enter history at various points, but they may also be subordinated in various ways in the process of historical change.⁴⁹ Again, this will depend on resources and power structures of the society.

One of Shields’ criticisms of Lefebvre regards the continuing nature of space in relationship to history. Shields states:

If the most modern type of space carries all the earlier types, sedimented and surcharged within itself, as Lefebvre will claim, his stress on *succession* despatialises and reasserts the centrality of history as an organising idea in European – and Lefebvorean – utopian thought.⁵⁰

This critique is of Lefebvre’s cutting up a ‘history of space’ into periods, ‘finding an essentialised spatialisation for each mode of production.’⁵¹ Shields also notes Lefebvre’s ‘ignorance of the conditions and spatialisations of most of the world.’⁵² Lefebvre certainly focuses on Western (and in particular European) history in his analysis. Also, he does describe the relationship between different periodisations as successive. However, this need not necessarily detract from the basic principle that older conceptions of space are taken up and used again, even in societies far removed from that of the ‘origin’ of a conception. This, we would argue, is particularly worthy of investigation in relationship to religious texts which may be a basis for particular spatial conceptions. When a set of sacred texts continue to be used by a particular group, it is not unreasonable (according to Lefebvre’s theory) to accept that the myths and symbols of those texts must also have their own mythic

⁴⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 118.

⁴⁸ Lefebvre, *Production*, 118.

⁴⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 119.

⁵⁰ Shields, *Lefebvre*, 172.

⁵¹ Shields, *Lefebvre*, 170.

⁵² Shields, *Lefebvre*, 183.

and symbolic spaces. As these conceptions are taken up and used again, they (as the texts themselves) have a continued 'life' in the spatial conceptions of later societies.

As we argued in the previous section, beliefs regarding space will also be related to other beliefs of individuals and groups. It may help, at this point, to bring in Shields' re-formulation of Lefebvre in terms of spatialisation.⁵³ Both the social and the cosmological are apprehended by his definition of social spatialisation.⁵⁴ He uses the term 'to designate the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example, the built environment).'⁵⁵ This allows us to emphasise the point that cosmological apprehensions of space should be thought of as part of social construction of the spatial just as much as projects bringing changes to the physical environment (such as new buildings) are spatial. Both are human projects which construct the world spatially through a process of continual change. Both will have particular features (or codes) for particular societies.

Thus far, we have not discussed in detail an aspect of Lefebvre's work which has been influential for many.⁵⁶ That is his three-fold understanding of space: spatial practice (*la pratique spatiale*), representations of space (*les représentations de l'espace*), and representational space (*les espaces de représentation*). These three terms correspond to space perceived (*espace perçu*), space conceived (*espace conçu*) and space lived (*espace vécu*). The three 'moments' of space come together in an individual (a 'subject') for Lefebvre. However, defining or describing the three aspects of space and conceptualising exactly how they come together is difficult. This is in no small part due to the fact that Lefebvre is not interested in the categories as such and offers no systematic evaluation of them. He even confuses them, as when he speaks of 'that

⁵³ Shields, *Lefebvre*, 154-155.

⁵⁴ Rob Shields, "Spatial Stress and Resistance: Social Meanings of Spatialization" in G. Benko and U. Strohmayr, eds. *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 186-202, here 189.

⁵⁵ Shields, "Spatial Stress", 188.

⁵⁶ Most notably, E. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). In relationship to Biblical Studies, see J. Flanagan, "The Triangles of Biblical Studies," n.p. Online: http://www.cwru.edu/10296748/affil/GAIR/papers/2001_papers/flanagan1.html; R. Boer, "Sanctuary and Womb: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space," n.p. [cited 9 May 2002]. Online: <http://www.cwru.edu/affil/GAIR/papers/2000papers/Boer.html>; Part 1 (Spatial Constructs) of D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt, eds., *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 14-189.

subject in whom lived, perceived and conceived (known) come together within a spatial practice'⁵⁷ when elsewhere he has specifically identified perceived space with spatial practice itself.⁵⁸ There are, however, insights at various places which help in understanding these concepts at some level. We will draw out what we believe to be some of the clearest statements on spatial practice, representations of space and representational space.

Spatial practice has to do with the spatial reality (realities) that people of a society experience in daily life. They have to do with how space is organised:

As for spatial practice, it is observed, described, and analysed on a wide range of levels: in architecture, in city planning or 'urbanism' (a term borrowed from official pronouncement), in the actual design of routes and localities ('town and country planning'), in the organisation of everyday life, and naturally, in urban reality.⁵⁹

Lefebvre's interest in the urban is evident here, but the principle is that spatial practice is concerned with architecture, spatial planning, and the localities of everyday life. Elsewhere, spatial practice is described as something that defines relationships:

Spatial practice thus simultaneously defines: places – the relationship of local to global; the representation of that relationship; actions and signs; the trivialised spaces of everyday life; and, in opposition to these last, spaces made special by symbolic means as desirable or undesirable, benevolent or malevolent, sanctioned or forbidden to particular groups. We are not concerned here with mental or literary 'places', nor with philosophical *topoi*, but with places of a purely political and social kind.⁶⁰

This category of Lefebvre's is the most difficult to grapple with and define. As noted earlier, it seems to overlap with aspects of his other two moments of space.

Representations of space are more straightforwardly understood. They are closely connected to certain people in a society, 'scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers' as well as some artists.⁶¹

Representations of space are the 'products' of intellectuals who consider aspects of society's space. Therefore, they are 'the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)' and tend 'towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually

⁵⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 230.

⁵⁸ See, for instance Lefebvre, *Production*, 38-41 where he discusses the perceived/conceived/lived triad.

⁵⁹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 413-414.

⁶⁰ Lefebvre, *Production* 288-289.

⁶¹ Lefebvre, *Production*, 38.

worked out) signs.’⁶² Thus, the producers of space act in accordance with a representation (i.e. one offered by scientists, planners, etc.). Therefore, representations of space are closely related to hegemonic powers in a society. Thus, Lefebvre proposes the question, ‘Whose interests are served when it [a representation of space] becomes operational?’ The implementation of a conceived space requires resources and objectives for doing so. Representations of space offer a clarified picture of society’s space.⁶³ They are akin to sources of information and include ‘maps and plans, transport and communications systems, information conveyed by images and signs.’⁶⁴ Representations of space, according to Lefebvre, are different from representational spaces in that they are practical, intellectual and non-symbolic.

Representational spaces, in comparison to representations of space, are closely connected to the symbolic. In fact, Lefebvre specifically states that their ‘only products’ are ‘symbolic works.’⁶⁵ Perhaps what he means by this is that representations of space do not only exist in written or verbal treatises, but rather in the lives of individuals and groups.

Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they [representational spaces] have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people. Ethnologists, anthropologists and psychoanalysts are students of such representational spaces, whether they are aware of it or not, but they nearly always forget to set them alongside those representations of space which coexist, concord or interfere with them; they even more frequently ignore social practice. By contrast, these experts have no difficulty discerning those aspects of representational spaces which interest them: childhood memories, dreams, or uterine images and symbols (holes, passages, labyrinths). Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house, or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently, it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic.⁶⁶

Representational space is not bound by spatial practice or how space is organised in a society. Representational space ‘overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its

⁶² Lefebvre, *Production*, 38-39.

⁶³ Lefebvre, *Production*, 188-189.

⁶⁴ Lefebvre, *Production*, 233.

⁶⁵ Lefebvre, *Production*, 42.

⁶⁶ Lefebvre, *Production*, 42.

objects.⁶⁷ The imagination 'seeks to change and appropriate' it.⁶⁸ However, we do not want to lose sight of the importance of older spaces for the symbols and imagery of representational space. The danger in emphasising the social aspect of space (or spatialisations) is that it can tend to ignore the importance of beliefs in relationship to space.⁶⁹

We have already noted that Lefebvre's 'spatial practice' is the most difficult of his three categories to come to terms with. He often discusses the relationship between representations of space and representational space without a great deal of reference to spatial practice. At one point, he speaks of 'spatial reality' which may be related to spatial practice, but is not explicitly designated as such. Again, we are faced with the fact that Lefebvre is not interested in sticking to his own categories in any systematic way. In the following statement, he comes quite close to a dual-level understanding of the role of 'determinants' for space:

[D]eterminants, along with the space that they comprehend, persist in society, ever more radically modified but never disappearing completely. This underlying continuity does not exist solely in spatial reality, but also at the representational level. Pre-existing space underpins not only durable spatial arrangements but also *representational spaces* and their attendant imagery and mythic narratives – i.e. what are often called 'cultural models'.⁷⁰

This comes close to Shields' definition of social spatialisations occurring at two levels (durable spatial arrangements and representational spaces with their imagery and mythic narratives), but with the added emphasis on pre-existing space and its persistence.

An important task for us is to relate aspects of social space to an understanding of the ways that sacred space is given meaning, i.e. its relationship to beliefs. Our aim is to keep a balance between experience and beliefs, and we believe Lefebvre's emphasis on both older, mythic spaces and social experience is helpful in

⁶⁷ Lefebvre, *Production*, 39.

⁶⁸ Lefebvre, *Production*, 39.

⁶⁹ For instance, Flanagan ("The Trialectics") considers the tribal system of ancient Israel, noting the spatial relationships between tribes, particularly in terms of genealogy and alliances, but does not fully consider the possible implications of beliefs relating to tribal organization and indeed to land (or promised land). In his conclusion, Flanagan states, "Critical spatiality is informed by experiences that move us to construct space." He relates this principle to the present experience of space as well as to the past experience of tribal society. His analysis, we believe, is characterised by an emphasis on experience over belief (even to the exclusion of consideration of belief).

⁷⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 230.

undertaking this goal.⁷¹ A set of questions proposed by Berquist for the study of biblical space is appropriate for our discussion at this junction:

Why would ancient people consider themselves as having a certain spatial orientation; that is, why would they call themselves Israelite, or Persian, or any of the other geographic/spatial determinations that are extant in the records? What senses of identity are expressed in spatial terms, and how does this vary throughout the canon? Does a certain spatial term of identity mean the same thing from one book to another? Does it mean different things to persons of different classes?⁷²

We could add a further question to this set: What sense of identity and spatial orientation can we detect in the traditions about Jesus and how might these relate to the 'historical Jesus' as a millenarian prophet?

We have offered a fairly detailed reading of Lefebvre's insights in *The Production of Space*. Perhaps in a few sentences, it can be 'boiled down' to its most practical use in attempting to answer this last question. Firstly, all space – even sacred space – is social space, produced by humans. Therefore, the spaces that were part of the 'social world' of Jesus were the product of a particular time. Purity, for instance, was a particular *practice* (involving certain built structures) among Jews which had implications for understanding of the holiness of space. Also, there are connections between the spaces and the hierarchies of society as in the example of the temple, a major political centre in the first century as well as a central holy space. Finally, the hierarchies of society and dominant understandings of space do not exclude the possibility of creative and symbolic appropriations of space which show alternative comprehension of order and the envisioning of new worlds. Therefore,

⁷¹ Berquist, in discussion of the relational nature of space (i.e. between location and context) gives an example of how symbols in their great variety are part of critical spatiality. He says, "For instance, Jerusalem is not just a symbol; it is an interrelated set of an infinite number of symbols that is held by the minds of those who perceive it, each from a different perspective in space/time." ("Critical Spatiality," 26) Though we accept the emphasis on a set of symbols that are related, we cannot follow 'critical spatiality' on Berquist's terms if it means, as he goes on to say, that "the interest of critical spatiality concentrates not so much on the symbology but on the sociology of space." (Ibid., 26) As already stated, our goal (however attainable) is to keep a balance between the symbolic and the social, between beliefs and experience. We believe 'critical spatiality' has much to offer, perhaps particularly on the 'social side', but also that some of Lefebvre's work (for instance) also helps us to get at the symbolic meanings given to space, their representational value for individuals and for groups. Space, yes, is a constructed reality, but nonetheless a powerful reality, especially, we would argue when it is connected to religious beliefs.

⁷² Berquist, "Critical Spatiality," 23-24.

giving an 'active' role to space in society and for individuals changes our emphasis as we attempt to say something about land for Jesus.

1.4 *A Plausible Jesus: Words and Actions*

Though the 30-40 years between the events of Jesus' life and their interpretation by gospel authors may seem like a drop in the bucket compared to the twenty centuries separating us from the first century, it is nonetheless an important period of time. Interpretation of the events of Jesus' life means that we do not have access to the *ipsissima vox* or *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, nor to the order of events of his life. We have no way to conclusively verify particular sayings or particular actions. As with the study of ancient space, we are reliant on texts (along with archaeological evidence) for any judgements about the meaning of Jesus' words and actions. It is difficult, if not impossible to separate 'event' from 'interpretation.'⁷³

As is well known, various 'criteria of authenticity' have been applied to the gospel texts in order to determine the material that goes back to the historical Jesus.⁷⁴ While these approaches seem to offer certainty in that they purport to be 'scientific,' they have not been able to produce the kind of 'results' which might have been hoped for.⁷⁵ Certainly Morna Hooker once rightly cautioned that we are dealing only with probabilities and not certainties in the use of criteria.⁷⁶ There is wisdom in remaining speculative about claims concerning Jesus.⁷⁷

⁷³ M. Aguilar, "Rethinking the Judean Past: Questions of History and Social Archaeology of Memory in the First Book of Maccabees" *BTB* 30:2 (2000), 58-67. For Aguilar, they must be kept together. Aguilar's discussion of collective memory and the archaeology of texts is helpful for understanding the importance of social activities and community realities: "Collective memories are vehicles of organic solidarity, as they are the product of individual voices that point to charismatic figures, i.e., individuals who create themselves and are created in return so as to symbolise collectivities and social histories." (65).

⁷⁴ Notably, J. P. Meier gives a summary of the various ('primary' and 'secondary') criteria he perceives in work on the historical Jesus and chooses those he considers the most reliable. J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (vol. 1; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 167-184. Famously, the Jesus Seminar group developed a colour voting strategy to assign authenticity (or the lack thereof) to sayings of Jesus in the gospels. One particular member of the Seminar group, John Dominic Crossan, has been highly influential with his portrayal of Jesus. His method of assigning 'layers' to the material is intended to give results about which material may be used in discussion of Jesus. See J. D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991).

⁷⁵ See for instance the extended critique of Crossan in D. C. Allison, *Millenarian Prophet*, 10-33.

⁷⁶ See Morna Hooker, "On Using the Wrong Tool," *Theology* 75 (1972): 570-581. She says "We are moving here [with criteria] only from the more to the less probable. For in the end, the answers which the New Testament scholar gives are not the result of applying objective tests and using precision tools." (581). See also J. G. Gager, "The Gospels and Jesus: Some Doubts

Still, we are left with the problem of how to proceed. Recently, an alternative approach (to double dissimilarity) has been outlined by Gerd Theissen and Dagmar Winter called the 'criterion of historical plausibility.' They argue that authenticity as it has been used in scholarship is too strong a term, assuming certainty.⁷⁸ Because we begin study of the historical Jesus with a notion of what this figure was like, our evaluation of sayings and actions is more akin to testing and revising those ideas than to submitting the material to 'objective tests.' Thus, Theissen and Winter:

Methodologically, judgments about the authenticity of individual traditions by no means stand at the beginning of the effort to construct a historical picture of Jesus, as though we could then inductively piece together a comprehensive picture. It is rather the case that judgments about individual traditions are dependent on a comprehensive picture of Jesus, however vague and open this picture may be. To a great extent, historical Jesus research consists of the testing and refining of such preliminary comprehensive images. It thus is quite a happy circumstance that in many regards we can make general statements about Jesus (i.e. about the 'comprehensive picture') with relatively great probability.⁷⁹

Probability, possibilities and relativity are emphasised over a search for the authentic sayings and words of Jesus to piece together. Plausibility, as a criterion, attempts to understand Jesus both in the context of first century Judaism in Galilee and in light of early Christianity (instead of as distinct from one or both).⁸⁰ Thus, again from Theissen and Winter:

What we know of Jesus as a whole must allow him to be recognised within his contemporary Jewish context and must be compatible with the Christian (canonical and noncanonical) history of its effects.⁸¹

about Method" *JR* 54 (1974): 244-272.

⁷⁷ See Werner H. Kelber, "Words in Space," 139-167. Kelber is interested in ways that 'orality and scribality' played a role in the formation and use of ancient texts, particularly the gospels, and questions the possibility that the 'mind of Jesus' could ever be known through the 'construction of a core complex.' (149).

⁷⁸ Theissen and Winter, *Plausible Jesus*, 191-201.

⁷⁹ Theissen and Winter, *Plausible Jesus*, 201.

⁸⁰ Theissen and Winter, *The Quest for the Plausible Jesus: The Question of Criteria* (trans. M. E. Boring; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 211. See also Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1-2: "When Jesus was born, the Jewish religion was beginning a transformation, the rabbinic movement, which would permit the Jewish people to survive the next millennia. The complex of historical and social forces that molded rabbinic Judaism also affected the teachings of Jesus, helping to form Christianity into a new and separate religion." See also J. K. Riches, "Apocalyptic – Strangely Relevant," in W. Horbury, ed. *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 237-263; here 241-242.

⁸¹ Theissen and Winter, *Plausible Jesus*, 212. Thus, a saying or deed may be considered authentic if it fits with what is known about a first century context and also 'is in tension with

Therefore, in looking at a particular saying or action, we will need to make broader observations and evaluations. Not only historical knowledge (i.e. of first century Judaism or early Christianity), but also the sense in which we understand these sayings and actions within a comprehensive picture of Jesus are of critical importance.

Therefore, before rejecting (or accepting) a saying or action as authentic, it must be evaluated in terms of other beliefs and expressions in contemporary usage and for the speaker themselves. John Riches takes this approach in *Jesus and Judaism* and has outlined the approach to interpretation in two articles with Alan Millar.⁸² By taking purity as an example, we might better explain the process of evaluation.⁸³ So we could say that the concept of 'purity' will have had its own particular conventional associations (beliefs and practices) in first century Judaism. When examining Mark 7.15, the ways purity was understood must be considered. If there are striking differences, this does not mean that the saying is 'inauthentic.' We must also consider how purity is being used (i.e. reworked, modified, given meaning in a different way) in this instance. Jesus' statement should not merely be dismissed as 'too radical' but should be set in context of other aspects of Jesus' life and teachings such as table fellowship with 'sinners,' exorcism of unclean spirits and teaching about the love of enemies. If, at that point, the saying does not fit with a comprehensive picture of Jesus (in conflict with some of his contemporaries) as a first century Jew and it cannot be related to the disputes over purity and eating with gentiles in early Christianity, it should be rejected. We will not argue the case for purity at this point (see Section 4.4), but it illustrates the process by which a plausible judgement may be made in light of a comprehensive picture of Jesus and considering not just 'what is said' but 'what is meant by what is said.' We may look for the senses of sayings, words, and actions; for the ways they are connected to actions, beliefs and experience. Again, this means a move away from 'authenticity' as such and towards an investigation of patterns of thought, particularly as these relate to social and sacred space.

the tendencies of early Christianity, or is repeatedly found despite the tendencies in the different streams of early Christianity.' (209)

⁸² Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980). Riches and Millar, "Conceptual Change," 37-60; Millar and Riches, "Theoretical Perspective," 29-53.

1.5 A Return to Davies and Lefebvre Before Moving Forward

In reality, social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act. From the point of view of these subjects, the behaviour of their space is at once vital and mortal: within it they develop, give expression to themselves, and encounter prohibitions; then they perish, and that same space contains their graves.

-Henri Lefebvre (1974; 1991: 33-34)

Jesus, as far as we can gather, paid little attention to the relationship between Yahweh, and Israel and the land.

-W. D. Davies (1974 ; 1994: 365)

The work of W. D. Davies initiated a conversation regarding the relationship between Jesus, early Christianity and Jewish land (or 'Jewish territorial doctrine') which has never quite gotten off the ground. Utilising work on sacred space in anthropology and on spatial theory (such as we find in Lefebvre) might serve as a point at which to re-enter a dialogue from a different perspective, yet with some of the same issues at heart. If we think about the figure of Jesus in the gospels as necessarily in relationship to the social space he lived and died in, which was to him vital and mortal, we might find that there is more to say about this figure as a 'subject' of a particular space. Thus, we might say that Jesus' encounter with his space is also tied in with Jewish notions – *realia* – of land in a way beyond what Davies considered to be relevant. As much as the historical Jesus studies of the sometimes-called Third Quest wanted to discover the intentions of Jesus as far as they could be known, we endeavour to consider a 'comprehensive picture' of Jesus as a subject of a particular historical period and relating to the social space he lived and died in. These suggestions are not intended as an attempt to unite the ideas of Davies and Lefebvre in a simple way, but we hope that there is something to gain by the placing the two in such close proximity to one another.

Finally, based on the belief that there is more to say regarding Jesus and the relationship between God, people and land, we offer a (brief) plan for the investigation. Chapter 2 will develop some of the ways that notions about space (and cosmic order) were articulated in Second Temple Judaism by looking at Genesis ten and re-readings of the text in the book of *Jubilees* and in Josephus. In the next three chapters, we will seek to further expand our understanding of sacred and social

⁸³ See Riches, *Transformation*, 112-144.

space of the Second Temple period by taking the 'topics' of Temple, Purity and Twelve. As with the table of nations, these concepts have been 're-read' from foundational biblical texts and interpreted in new ways. In these chapters, though only very roughly, we will follow Lefebvre's three 'moments' of space. That is, we will consider (in chapter 3) the temple for its power as a *representation of space*, connected to the hierarchical powers of society. Chapter 4, focussing on purity, will consider the practice of ritual purity as a *spatial practice*, part of the codes for understanding space and the body's relationship to space. 'Twelve', the topic of Chapter 5 (unlike the chapters on temple and purity) is an area of investigation which has not been central to investigations of Jesus and the Judaism of his time. We will (again comparatively) treat Jesus' group of twelve as indicative of *representational space* and consider its symbolic meaning for Jesus. Following from this, our final chapter (Chapter 6) will attempt to draw together the comparative resources we have examined and set Jesus' message and actions within a broader understanding of Jesus as a Galilean millenarian prophet.

2 Views of Reality and Implications: Reworking Concepts of Jewish Land

At an Israeli rally comprised of a quarter-million people in Jerusalem, the master of ceremonies is quoted as saying, "We are the mother who is not willing to rip her child to shreds. We are the true mothers of Jerusalem."¹ A biblical allusion to the display of Solomon's wisdom in judgement (1 Kings 3.16-28) serves in vivid language to deride the plan proposed by former US president Bill Clinton to divide sovereignty over east Jerusalem between Israel and a Palestinian state. The perception of the Israelis is that *all* Jerusalem is rightfully theirs as voiced by Jerusalem's mayor Ehud Olmert at that same event: "[addressing Clinton] Please don't be the first president who proposed the division of *the ancient, eternal Jewish capital*."² Whether or not this claim can be founded on historical and archaeological evidence may be put to question,³ but it remains that there are *beliefs* expressed in such statements. And, as we have discussed in the previous chapter, beliefs also relate to the experience of those who hold them. Since it is not possible to have access to beliefs of individuals as an internal state, we are dependent on the use of language to understand beliefs as *described beliefs*. In this instance, the belief regarding Jerusalem (that it is 'the ancient, eternal Jewish capital' and should belong entirely to Jews) is expressed by appropriating part of Hebrew scripture (the story of Solomon's judgement). It is, in fact, quite a creative use of scripture. The original story is told to emphasize and illustrate the wisdom of Solomon. At the rally, the emphasis is on a unified Jerusalem. Drawing from sacred texts, the new interpretations are fitting to the circumstance, i.e. the depiction of the group as 'the true mothers of Jerusalem.' As Keith Whitelam says:

¹ Keith B. Richberg with Eetta Prince-Gibson, "Jerusalem Protesters Decry U. S. Proposals: Crowd Insists City Remain Undivided as Israeli Capital," *The Washington Post*; Tuesday, January 9, 2001: A17.

² *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

³ K. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996). Whitelam's argument is that biblical scholarship has focused, from an Western, Orientalist, perspective on the search for 'Ancient Israel' and in so doing has denied history and place to Palestine and Palestinians.

Clearly, perceptions of the past are political and have important ramifications for the modern world because personal or social identity is either confirmed by or denied by these representations.⁴

By using the analogy of king Solomon, the Israeli protesters affirm their own aims in relationship to Jerusalem and at the same time deny the position of those in favour of dividing the city. They see themselves as the proper occupants of the whole city (their holy city?) in opposition to the claims of others. This particular story, wherein Solomon displays great wisdom by cleverly revealing the lie of a woman who had claimed another woman's baby when hers had actually died, resonates because of certain elements of experienced reality in Jerusalem. The biblical tale involved a proposed division and this is the key aspect which allows for the analogy to the proposed division of Jerusalem. Also, there is a role to fill, that of true mother. The analogy gives new meaning to the story and serves to assert the validity of Israeli control over the whole of Jerusalem. It is subsequently possible to hold the view that anyone in favour of dividing the desired object does not truly love or care for it, and apply that view to those who could accept such a division. At another rally in Washington D.C., Olmert is quoted as saying to a gathering of the Christian Coalition of America that "God is with us. You are with us."⁵ Not only political perceptions of the past, but also religious beliefs connected to them contribute to a view of reality which allows for analogies such as between the present day situation in Jerusalem and the story of Solomon's action. Space (the city of Jerusalem) is given a double-edged meaning – politically and as sacred space.

To make one final point about the use of 1 Kings 3.16-28, an important aspect of the original story has been left out. In the biblical narrative, the true mother begs that the baby be *given to her challenger* rather than allow her son to be cut in two (1 Kings 3.26). This aspect was not mentioned at the rally in Jerusalem. It is not difficult to see why, again considering the social experience of those gathered at the rally. It would seem obvious that the Israelis would not accept a statement which placed themselves in the role of begging Jerusalem to be given to the Palestinians in hopes that somehow the situation would be turned around and they themselves would

⁴ Whitelam, *Invention of Ancient Israel*, 12.

⁵ Matthew Engel, "Meet the New Zionists," *The Guardian*, Monday, 28 October, 2002. n.p. Online: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,3604,820465,00.html>. Just previous to Olmert's address in this instance, an Israeli student had proclaimed, "Despite the terror attacks, they'll never drive us away out of our God-given land."

finally be awarded the city and acknowledged as its rightful owners. (Does this mean Bill Clinton is not quite a King Solomon?) Though there has been no explicit denial of this aspect of the story, knowledge of the aims of the group conflict with it. They omit it because it does not fit their application of the story. Therefore, a new sense emerges for the story - one which expresses the beliefs and also the experience of the group.

As interpreters of the statements made in Jerusalem with an awareness of the situation between Palestinians and Israelis, at a certain level, we can make fairly informed guesses as to what kinds of statements would be accepted and rejected by the participants in the rally. We may have a relatively good idea of what sense the present day protesting Israelis assign to their statements. This process of setting statements within a wider network of beliefs becomes more difficult, however, when the situation in which they are uttered is distant or unfamiliar. Alan Millar and John Riches discuss the potential difficulty with making such determinations when it comes to interpretation of biblical texts:

The problem for the interpreter is to work out from the pattern of acceptance and rejection which emerges from a speaker's use of language and from plausible assumptions about what he believes and desires, the sense which he assigns to his utterances. Obviously the scope for checking interpretations is much reduced where there is little or no information about what the speaker/writer believes and desires, and about the peculiarities of his use of language, beyond the utterances contained in a written text or series of texts.⁶

Even without the ability to check interpretations, there is still much that can be said about the content of what is expressed in texts (i.e. beliefs) and how it might relate to the experience of the social setting, the *Sitz im Leben* of the text. Biblical traditions might be substantially reworked by a community who regard them as sacred, whether we observe this in present day Jerusalem or in the documents of the Qumran community or in the formation of the Hexateuch itself. Problematic elements might be easily ignored or deleted. Experience may even make certain understandings impossible, so that beliefs are abandoned or modifications are made.⁷

⁶ A. Millar and J. K. Riches, "Interpretation: A Theoretical Perspective and Some Applications" *Numen* 28 (1981), 35-36. D. Jacobson, *Heschel's Kingdom* (London: Penguin, 1998), 91.

⁷ Dan Jacobson, out of his experience of hearing about the killing of Jews during World War 2 from his home in South Africa, describes his feelings of not being able to come to terms with the new knowledge: "The seemingly unreal or quasi-fictional quality of the reports which

Even with our lack of information when dealing with ancient texts, something can be said about modifications, additions and deletions encountered in retellings. It is precisely within the alterations of retellings and new texts that we might find out something about the community who produced them and their appropriation of sacred space(s). Whatever they uphold to be their canon (set of sacred texts), these writings have a special significance and, in fact, shape the understanding of reality for the group (their worldview). In turn, ethical implications ('moods and motivations', ethos) for the day to day life of the community may be based on that view of reality.⁸ For instance, in keeping with our discussion of sacred space, a canonical assertion that the land is divinely appointed to be Israel's can be upheld by a group as 'the way things are' and thereby part of their cosmological beliefs. Because of this, the community may then be motivated toward certain practices or actions which would reflect that belief (i.e. stand for a unified Jerusalem under Israeli control, fight like the Maccabees, or pray for the coming of the messiah, etc.). This is where retellings including all their additions, modifications and deletions are so important. They help us to understand the ethos and cosmologies of communities. The retellings develop both.

While different communities may adhere to the same basic beliefs such as the land belongs to them or the Temple is God's holy place, they may take up those assertions in various ways according to their own experience. There is no one 'land ideology' to be found in the Hebrew Bible.⁹ Ambiguities and gaps in the narratives will allow for such developments which may exist in great variety in different communities.¹⁰ Jonathan Smith points out how the location of the Temple in

appeared in piecemeal fashion over the following years did nothing to diminish their horror, and has remained so ever since. To this day we find ourselves in the impossible position of being unable to accept imaginatively, let alone understand, something which we know as certainly as we know our own names and addresses to have taken place." Jacobson, *Heschel's Kingdom*, 91.

⁸ C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 87-125; here 126-141.

⁹ This point is strongly made by Norman Habel, who undertakes to examine six dominant biblical ideologies of land. He states his discovery very clearly: "Whether or not particular scholars agree with the detailed analyses of particular ideologies treated in this book, these studies make it abundantly clear that there is no monolithic concept of land in the Hebrew Scriptures. There is, rather, a spectrum of ideologies with diverse images and doctrines of land. These ideologies, moreover, are promoted by particular social groups with vested interests in promoting a given ideology to gain, regain, or maintain land." (148). N. Habel, *The Land is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

¹⁰ See J. Marcus, "Blanks and Gaps in the Markan Parable of the Sower" *BI* 5 (1997): 247-262.

Jerusalem is not an inherent characteristic of the institution. The location was originally intended to be decided by a king in the early sections of biblical narrative.

He says,

There is no biblical aetiology for the location of Jerusalem's temple, except for the brief, late, post-exilic accounts in 1 Chronicles 22.1 and 2 Chronicles 3.1. To put this another way, the Temple in Jerusalem was the focus of a complex, self-referential system. It could, in principle, have been built anywhere else and still have been the same. It required no rationale beyond the obvious one that, once having been declared a temple and accepted as such (by YHWH, king, priests, and people), it became a place of clarification - most particularly of the hierarchical rules and roles of sacred/profane, pure/impure.¹¹

Though it may be true that the temple could have been built anywhere, once Jerusalem is assigned meaning as a sacred space, a holy city, its location does matter and much effort may be expended in order to strengthen the claim of Jerusalem as a holy site. For instance, Smith gives the examples that Jerusalem is interpreted (retrospectively) as the place where the waters of the deep were blocked off on day one of creation or the site of the first place in the world (and thus the 'center' of the world) to the place of Adam or Noah's first sacrifice, the place of Abraham's circumcision, or the site of the altar for Isaac in the Akedah story.¹² All such interpretations are intended to assert that the Temple is in the 'right place' by associating its location with various events which a community sees as important and fitting. The variations, all within Judaism and drawing on Jewish tradition, are remarkable.¹³

We can detect this process in cases of works which contain retelling of scripture. The book of *Jubilees* (2nd Century BCE) and the historian Josephus (*Jewish*

Marcus draws on the work of David Stern and Meir Sternberg to look for 'blanks' (unintended confusion by missing elements in the narrative) and 'gaps' (deliberate ambiguities) in Mark's gospel and in the parable of the sower in particular. The discussion raises important questions and incentive towards careful reading of narratives. We may not always be able to discern between the two (blanks and gaps), but may fruitfully ask why they are there and what important aspects of the narrative might they point to?

¹¹ J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 83-4.

¹² Smith, *ToTake Place*, 84.

¹³ Looking at Judaism, Christianity and Islam together, Gershon Gorenberg is interested in the ways that some of those with fundamentalist beliefs in these three faiths assign meaning to Jerusalem in different ways: "And the setting of the End is also shared [for Christianity and Judaism]. The crucial events take place in or near Jerusalem. After all, the script began with the Hebrew prophets, for whom Jerusalem was the center not only of their world but of God's, and everyone else worked from their material." G. Gorenberg, *The End of Days: Fundamentalism and the Struggle for the Temple Mount*. New York: Free Press, 2000), 44.

Antiquities, written 93-94 CE) both retell portions of the Hebrew Bible. *Jubilees* recounts from Genesis 1.1-Exodus 16.1 and Josephus' lengthy work covers the material from the Pentateuch (Genesis to Deuteronomy) as well as other significant portions of scripture which are part of Josephus' canon (cf. *Contra Apion*, 1.37-40). Josephus' retelling of scripture as apologetic history makes numerous modifications to the text he is working with. *Jubilees* is a primary example as well of modifications and deletions to the biblical text, but the additions made by the author of *Jubilees* are perhaps the most striking feature of that narrative. Both *Jubilees* and Josephus offer reworkings of the Table of Nations in Genesis 10. This text is particularly important because of the way it is able to show an understanding of the world in terms of space and relationships between peoples.¹⁴ In the close examination of these texts which follows, the aim is to pay particular attention to the added material, as well as where there are breaks with the original text. In so doing, it is hoped that something might be said about the cosmology and ethos represented in the works.

If assertions about Israel's placement in their land can be made in varying ways by different groups with different cosmologies and ethos, then *Jubilees'* and Josephus' portrayals might serve as resources for comparison with Jesus. They show possible interpretations of biblical traditions regarding land in the era around the turn of the century.¹⁵ Our intention is to ask similar questions about Jesus and what we might be able to say about sacred space and order as related to concepts such as 'Kingdom.' Jesus, we believe, like the author of *Jubilees* and Josephus, re-appropriated Jewish tradition to produce new interpretations and meanings. So, Millar and Riches:

[W]e see the importance of appreciating the network characteristics of systems of thought and their expression, which means in this case being prepared to interpret Jesus' preaching of the Kingdom in light of other aspects of his teachings and, indeed, in the light of his actions.¹⁶

¹⁴ See James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Scott begins his study of the Jubilees text by making this claim: "Any description of Jewish geographical conceptions must deal with the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 and the influential tradition to which it gave rise. For Genesis 10, along with a few other biblical data, provided the main source of information for latter Jewish and Christian attempts to describe world geography and ethnography." (23)

¹⁵ See John Riches' study of Genesis Ten (interpretations) and other views of sacred space in the land and diaspora. J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 24-38.

¹⁶ J. Riches and A. Millar, "Conceptual Change in the Synoptic Tradition" in *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study* (ed. A. E. Harvey; London: SPCK, 1985), 37-60; here 49.

For Jesus, as for Josephus and the author of *Jubilees*, we want to draw out the tensions and connections between sacred and social space, cosmology and ethos, beliefs and experience. We want to look both at the content of the message – the expressed beliefs within a network of other beliefs – as well as at the social reality out of which they come.

2.1 *The Table of Nations in Genesis: Geographic and Genealogical Issues*

The Table of Nations (TN) is part of the primeval narrative of the Pentateuch (Genesis 1-11) and contains a representation of all the peoples of the earth in genealogical relationship to the three sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. As far as the actual names of the table are concerned, it is only the names of the three sons themselves that are not given as names of people groups or nations. Therefore, the table consists of eponyms under the headings of Shem, Ham, and Japheth.¹⁷ The names of the sons of Noah provide common material between stories about the flood to the table and there is also, through the line of Shem, a forward moving continuation of the genealogical line to Abram (11.26). The table is presented as an ethnographic (according to their lands, languages, families and nations, vv. 5, 20, 31) placement of peoples and nations:

These are the families of the sons of Noah, according to their genealogies, in their nations, and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood. (10.32)

It would be possible to superimpose the names of the TN onto a modern map according to what is known about their historical-geographic areas.¹⁸ However, we must remember when doing so that the text itself does not give this kind of geographic information, save for defining the region of Canaan by various cities (v. 19) and mention of the extension of Shem's territory (v. 30). Japheth (or Javan) is also associated with "the coastland peoples" (v. 5). Though we cannot be sure enough to identify all the exact references and locations of individual names of the table from the author/redactor's point of view, we may recognise the advantage of using a

¹⁷ Nahum Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 67-80 on the Table of Nations. He notes that the familial terminology is not meant literally. "Many of the personal names listed here are otherwise known to be those of places or peoples. Ten names have plural endings, nine others take the gentilic adjectival suffix *-i*, which indicated ethnic affiliation, and they also have the definite article, which is inadmissible with personal names in Hebrew." (68)

¹⁸ See J. B. Pritchard, ed., *The Times Atlas of the Bible* (London: Times Books, 1987), pages 93-94

system of kinship relations for identifying various people groups. The genealogical arrangement may show that certain groups are closer in geographic proximity the closer they are to each other in the tree, but it is also capable of showing more than that, as has been suggested by Philip Alexander:

A genealogical tree as a geographical device cannot cope as well as a drawn map with spatial relationships, but it can show, in a way that a primitive map cannot, the political, linguistic, and cultural connections between peoples.¹⁹

If we take the table section by section, we see that for Japheth (as already noted), the given geographic information associates the coastland peoples (v. 5) with Javan (one of Japheth's sons). Indeed, the places of Japheth, when mapped, generally are part of Asia minor and Armenia, including coastal areas on the Mediterranean, Black and Caspian seas, extending from the Medes in Persia as the most easterly people (Madai, v. 2) to Javan (Ionia) of the Greeks as the most westerly.²⁰ Magog is possibly the most northerly people mentioned and they are associated with Tubal and Meshech who also appear together in the 'Gog apocalypse' of Ezekiel 38-39.20 (see verses 38.2 and 39.1 where the names appear together). It would appear that the tradition reveals some link between these peoples of Asia Minor. Togarmah (Genesis 10.3) also appears in Ezekiel 38.6. Other names under Japheth cannot be specifically identified, such as Elishah, Tarshish, Riphath, Tiras, Rodanim and Ashkenaz. They are probably all generally located in the region (of Asia Minor and Armenia). Even Gomer, about whom some information is known regarding their invasion of Asia Minor via the Caucasus mountains, disappears from history as a people as early as the 6th century BCE.²¹ So, whatever information we might be able to gather about the locations mentioned under Japheth, the fact remains that we cannot know the exact reasons why they were associated in the Genesis table, except that they probably reflect political, linguistic and/or cultural ties among the peoples of these areas of Asia Minor and Armenia.

for a modern map with identifications based on Genesis 10.

¹⁹ P. S. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD* 2:977-88, here, 980.

²⁰ For locations of various peoples, see the map in *The HarperCollins Concise Atlas of the Bible* as well as the older study of the names and locations in the Table of Nations in J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Lieden: Brill, 1959). I have also consulted for reference the following: Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (ed. Miriam Aharoni; London: SCM Press, 1982); Y. Ahroni and M. Avi-Yohah, *The Modern Bible Atlas* (rev. ed.; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979).

²¹ Simons, *Geographical and Topographical*, 38-39

The genealogical listing under Ham follows that of Japheth in the narrative. Cush, Egypt, Put and Canaan are the direct descendants of Ham. Cush is probably best identified as a country in North Africa and the descendants of Cush make up the southernmost part of the world map in Genesis 10. Again, it is difficult to designate specific localities, but the Cushites were generally inhabitants of either side of the Sea of Reeds and meeting Egypt to the North.²² Those listed under Egypt are names of peoples, but again the difficulty in how they are connected is raised. They may have been resident foreigners in Egypt. Put's location in Libya situates them west of Egypt.

The final section of Ham's descendants focuses on Canaan. The names listed as the sons of Canaan are described in the TN by giving information about their territory. Verse 19 reads:

And the territory of the Canaanites extended from Sidon, in the direction of Gerar, as far as Gaza, and in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha.

This description very clearly identifies the land of Canaan as extending from Sidon in the North to Sodom and Gomorrah and Gaza in the South. Curiously, the Philistines who would historically be located in the region of Gaza were included with the sons of Egypt in the TN. Perhaps this could be understood as not dissimilar to what is said about the Caphtorim in Deuteronomy, that they destroyed settlements in Gaza and settled in their place (Deut 2.23). As P. S. Alexander points out, the Canaanites would have been ethnically Semites, but are separated from Shem and placed with Ham in the TN. He further points out, and others have noted political ties with another of Ham's son's – Egypt.²³

The confusion of boundaries between Ham and Shem is noteworthy. The Lydians of Asia Minor are included in both (J/Ham: Ludim in v. 13; P/Shem: Lud in

²² Michael Astour, "Šabtah and Šabteca: Ethiopian Pharaoh Names in Genesis 10," *JBL* 84: 1965, 422-425. He notes that, in the Bible, Cush can refer not only to Ethiopia, but also to the country of the Cassites (Gen 2) and to northern Arabia (Hab. 3.7, Num 12.1). In the Table of Nations, all but two of the names under Cush are Arabian peoples. Astour says that the compiler of the table views Cush (a brother of Egypt) as representing Ethiopia. Since he did not know much about the African Ethiopians, he instead used Cush to cite Arabic tribes about which he knew more information. Astour identifies two rulers of Ethiopia whose names are Šabaka and Šabataka (his brother, the two ruling in the late 8th, early 7th centuries BCE). These two kings, he says, are the only true Ethiopian names in the table, 'though personal and not ethnic' (424). If this identification is possible, says Astour, it helps to fill in another part of the table and also put aside arguments which would "locate the time of its composition [the TN] too early in the first millennium." (425).

²³ P. S. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible," 980. See also Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible:*

v. 22) as is (Arabian?) Havilah (J/Shem in v. 29; P/Ham in v. 7). Sheba appears twice in the table as well (J/Shem in v. 28; P/Ham, v. 7). Though Shem generally occupies parts of Syria, Mesopotamia and the Arabian desert, the overlap and confusion with Ham's descendents makes any attempt to understand the TN as merely a geographic description problematic. The Lydians after all, should have been geographically placed with Japheth, not either Ham or Shem! Further, the geographic description of Shem in v. 31 is brief:

Their settlements extended from Mesha as far as Sephar, the hill country to the east.

At the time of writing, there would have been a shared understanding of where Mesha and Sephar were located. At present, there are no positive findings about what they might have been.

Though geography obviously plays some role in the author's conception of the nations in the table, it appears in light of the preceding discussion that there are other principles of classification at work and other aspects which were important to arranging people groups in this particular way.²⁴ It is probably best to understand the Table of Nations as a text which, because of its (composite) nature and purpose in the larger narrative, does not fit any one criteria in particular. As Nahum Sarna has put quite clearly:

Clearly, geographic proximity, ethnic affiliations, sociopolitical and economic relationships, as well as historical and even literary considerations, were the varied factors that controlled inclusion in the Table and that determined its internal divisions and subdivisions. In many instances, one or more of these factors are evident; in some, future discovery may provide illumination.²⁵

Though the Table of Nations is a map in the sense that it locates (places) the nations in relationship to each other (genetically), the varied factors which make it relevant

A Historical Geography (trans. A. F. Rainey; London: Burns & Oates, 1966), 61-70.

²⁴ We might even make a comparison to an idea that Mary Douglas describes in relation to the Nuer culture, wherein the group's political relationships could be ordered by a genealogical model. There might be a lack of 'explicit institutions of government or administration' in a group which uses this type of model. She suggests that the Nuer serve as an example of how it is possible to create and maintain a social structure in the realm of ideas and not in external structures. A genealogical model might be adequate to describe the order of things in a culture where kinship ties were important to the community and there was perhaps a lack of formal structures of community organization both internally and in relationship to outside groups. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 144.

²⁵ Sarna, *JPS Commentary*, 68-9.

to the narrative are more than just geographic. We may now turn to some suggestions as to the significance of the Table of Nations in context.

2.1.1 Wider Issues of Narrative in Genesis

The Table of Nations has been examined and commented on by numerous scholars both in commentaries on the book of Genesis and by examinations of the table itself. In these expositions, the goal is to make sense of the chapter both for its place in the narrative (and relation to sources) and with regard to its internal content (i.e. issues of geography just discussed) and structure. Most agree that the table does not adhere to a strict geographical arrangement, and therefore some other explanation for the groupings is sought.²⁶ Before delving deeper into these issues, it might be helpful to discuss briefly the nature of the texts we are dealing with themselves. In relationship to the narrative as a whole, Gerhard von Rad sees the Table of Nations as a purposely disjointed part of the text. He makes this statement:

When Israel looked backward from Abram, there was a decisive break in the line to the primeval beginning, the table of nations. That is to say, Israel looked at herself in the midst of the international world without illusion and quite unmythically. What Israel learns and experiences of Yahweh occurs exclusively within the realm of history. For Biblical theology, the inclusion of the table of nations means a radical break with myth.²⁷

This approach is problematic because it forces the assumption of an essential disunity in the narrative: It tells dispassionate history at some points and myth at others. There is no connection made between such examples of variety; rather one type is a 'break' from the other. Rather than separating 'history' and 'myth' we might rather view the narrative in a more unified manner as (from Meir Sternberg) "a functional structure, a means to a communicative end, a transaction between the

²⁶ B.Obed, "The Table of Nations (Genesis 10) – A Socio-Cultural Approach" *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 98 (1986): 14-31. He suggests that the table was originally arranged according to socio-economic and socio-cultural criteria. The world populations are formulaicly divided into groupings by social criterion. Specifically, Shem represents the children of 'bene Eber' (nomads); Ham the city and kingdom dwellers; and Japheth the Gentiles/Nations. Obed says that "It [Genesis 10] was not written just to inform and record historical reality, but to represent a special conception of the author. Consequently, it is reasonable to maintain that if the hypothesis that Shem represents the migratory segment of mankind is correct, then it seems plausible that Ham represents the rival mode of life, the sedentary population." (27). Near the end of the article, he has brought into the discussion an important point, that a conception is being expressed. What we have is not history recounted, but rather a view of relationships between groups, depicted in the form of the kinship structure of the table. Obed's identification of Genesis 4.20-22 as the 'conventional archetype' which the TN goes back to could perhaps be questioned.

narrator and the audience on whom he wishes to produce a certain effect by way of certain strategies."²⁸ Certain 'problems' in the text or ambiguities may even be intentionally left in the narrative. Robert Alter says of the Hebrew writers:

Meaning, perhaps for the first time in narrative literature, was conceived as a process, requiring continual revision - both in the ordinary sense and in the etymological sense of seeing-again - continual suspension of judgment, weighing of multiple possibilities, brooding over gaps in the information provided.²⁹

Alter is careful to avoid the assertion that all contradictions among sources can be harmonized through a conception of an overall design and suggests that we may not understand what would have been considered troubling or contradictory at the time.³⁰ Whatever the strategy of communication, the meaning of a particular text should not be automatically considered disjointed or separate from other parts of the narrative. What seem to be gaps, breaks or contradictions might actually have an important interpretative purpose when viewed as part of the larger whole (and, as we shall see, for interpretation).

For Sternberg, the text has a 'unity in variety' as it tells biblical history, which has bearing for 'theology in action' as well as maintaining a record of God's lordship of his people.³¹ Examining the story of David and Bathsheba, Alter states how different views (positive and negative) of David emerge in the story:

[A]n elaborate system of gaps between what is told and what must be inferred has been artfully contrived to leave us with at least two conflicting, mutually complicating interpretations of the motives and states of knowledge of the principal characters.³²

Keeping in mind that there might be intended ambiguities as well as merely 'missing' information in the section of Genesis under investigation, we may turn to the text with the purpose of trying to locate and identify how the story is being told and how land comes into view in the story. The gaps, breaks, and contradictions which are part of this particular narrative section are part of the reason for continued interest in the text.

²⁷ G. Von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), 145.

²⁸ M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 1.

²⁹ R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 12.

³⁰ Alter, *Art of Narrative*, 20.

³¹ Sternberg, *Poetics of Narrative*, 44.

³² Alter, *Art of Narrative*, 18.

2.1.2 Content of the Table of Nations

We begin a closer examination of the text by providing an outline of the Table of Nations as well as the immediately surrounding material. This will help us in setting the table of nations in its narrative context.

THE TABLE OF NATIONS

J material normal script, *P material italicised*, HEADINGS IN CAPS

Part One: EVENTS AFTER THE FLOOD AND NOAHIC COVENANT (Genesis 9.18-29)

Noah and his sons come out from the ark (9.18-19)

NOAH'S INSOBRIETY (9.20-27)

Noah plants a vineyard; becomes drunk, lies uncovered (9.20-21)

Ham, 'father of Canaan,' sees Noah and tells his brothers; Shem and Japheth cover their father (9.22-23)

Noah wakes; curses Canaan; blesses Shem and Japheth (9.24-27)

The death of Noah (9.28-29)

Part Two: NOAH'S DESCENDENTS (Genesis 10)

Introduction to the Table (10.1)

THE DESCENDANTS OF JAPHETH (10.2-5)

The sons of Japheth (10.2)

- *The sons of Gomer and Javan (10.3-4)*

Conclusion to descendants of Japheth (10.5)

THE DESCENDANTS OF HAM (10.6-20)

The sons of Ham (10.6)

The sons of Cush (10.7)

- *the sons of Raamah (10.7)*

- Tradition about Nimrod (10.8-12)

Sons of Mizraim and Canaan (10.13-18)

- *Canaanite territory (10.19)*

Conclusion to descendants of Ham (10.20)

THE DESCENDANTS OF SHEM (10.21-31)

Introduction to Shem (10.21)

The sons of Shem (10.22)

The sons of Aram (10.23)

The line of Arpachshad (10.24-25)

Arpachshad→Shelah→Eber→Peleg and Joktan

- *sons of Joktan (10.26-29)*

- *Joktanite territory (10.30)*

Conclusion to descendants of Shem (10.31)

Conclusion to the Table of Nations (10.32)

Part Three: The Tower of Babel (11.1-9)

Part Four: *Shem's genealogy* (11.10-26)

(Arphachad→Shelah→Eber→Peleg→Reu→Serug→Nahor→Terah→Abram)

In the overall scheme of the primeval narrative, the created world, having been destroyed, logically had to be re-populated. It was inevitable that this should take place through Noah's sons since all other males were destroyed by the Deluge. The principle for organisation, as has been discussed, is a genealogically structured table.

If we understand that the Table of Nations gives an accounting of the peoples of the earth, and does so with a specific order in mind, we might expect the section to include special mention of the group's own place in the world. However, this is precisely what we do not find in the Table of Nations. The land of Canaan does appear to be placed at the centre of the table, but no special qualities are assigned to it and the relationship of Shem's descendants to Canaan is missing.

Just prior to the TN, however, is Genesis 9.18-29, which is sometimes described as the story of the insobriety of Noah. Donald Gowan comments that the drunken state of Noah is not the principal subject of the story. Rather, "his uncontrolled behavior simply provides the unfortunate setting for the event that occurs."³³ That event is Ham's sin, though there could be questions arising from the text over what that sin actually was.³⁴ The text says that "Ham, the father of Canaan, saw his father's nakedness and told his two brothers outside." (v. 22). This was obviously the wrong response in contrast with the action of Shem and Japheth who cover their father. Because of Noah's response, questions arise over whether Canaan was involved in the action or not. Verses 24-25 read:

When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son had done to him he said, "Cursed (be) Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers."

The text leaves open the questions of how Ham has sinned and why Canaan is cursed as a result. The statement that Ham is the father of Canaan in verse 22 has introduced Canaan, but does not explain why he is the recipient of a curse.

³³ D. E. Gowan, *Genesis 1-11: From Eden to Babel* (ITC; Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1988), 108. Gowan points out (108) several biblical references to the danger of losing one's clothes in a drunken state (Lam 4.21; Hab 2.15) as well as to shame over being seen naked (Exod 20.26; 2 Sam 6.20; 10.4-5; Isa 47.3; Ezek. 16.37).

³⁴ Because of the lack of further explanation in the text about what Ham's sin was, speculation arises. Rabbinic sources suggest that Ham castrated Noah or committed sodomy. See Sarna (*JPS Commentary*, 66) on the suggestion that something terrible is suppressed in the text. Gowan (*Genesis 1-11*, 109) points out in his commentary on the incident that other biblical stories do not shy away from 'gory details,' for instance Lot and his daughters, Tamar and Judah, Amnon and Tamar, among others.

The description of Canaan as a slave to his brothers does, however, have bearing on the Table of Nations and the cosmological understanding of Canaan's place in the world order. Through Noah's curse, a rejection of Canaan has in some sense occurred before that group is placed in relationship to the others. There is already a contrast between Ham's line and that of Shem and Japheth. George Coats views Noah's speech, including the curse of Canaan and the blessing of Shem and Japheth, as the central part of this section. The opposition, he maintains, must be established between Canaan and Shem.³⁵ If the cosmological understanding of the author/redactor was that Canaan, though having a particular place, was not somehow worthy of it and could be considered a slave to the Shemites, then that view might be assumed to have bearing on the Table of Nations, even though not spelled out specifically there. The inference might be quite natural.

Following the Table of Nations in the Genesis narrative (after the Tower of Babel), there is a continuation of the genealogy of Shem. While the P material of the Table includes some additional information about Joktan and his territory, it is through Peleg and not his brother Joktan that the genealogy continues. In the transition to the patriarchal narratives, the line goes through Arpachschad and Eber (from which, the Hebrews) and leads to Abram. Only at this point does the story of Israel herself come into sharper view in the narrative. The genealogies in chapter 11 are much more like the ones found in Genesis five (the descendants of Adam) where the number of years lived and the ages when sons are born are part of the structure of the genealogy.

Once the patriarch Abram comes into the story, a land - the land of Canaan, no less - is promised to Abram and his descendants. The Lord tells Abram:

'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. I will make you a great nation.' (vv. 1-2a.)

Abram and his family subsequently set out from Haran and go to the land of Canaan (v. 5), where the Canaanites were at that time (v. 6).

Then the Lord appeared to Abram, and said, 'To your offspring (*zara*) I will give (*natan*) this land (*eretz*).' (12.7)

Similarly, in Genesis 15.18, God gives the land to Abraham and his descendants:

³⁵ G. W. Coats, *Genesis: With an Introduction to Narrative Literature*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983). On the Noachian Apophthegm, pages 86-89, here 87-9. He says, "The imagery must arise, then [in light of the echoes of the curse on Cain], from the struggles of Israel against its

'To your offspring (*zara*) I give (*natan*) this land (*eretz*) from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates.' (15.18; land of the Canaanites, v. 21)

And again in 17.8:

'And I will give (*natan*) to you, and to your offspring (*zara*) after you, the land (*eretz*) where you are now an alien, all the land of Canaan, for a perpetual holding; and I will be their God.

Now a connection exists between the ancestor (Abram) and a particular place. Where the TN did not designate any space as having a special quality, the deity himself now acts to form a relationship between a particular people and a particular place by making a gift of the land of Canaan. It is now to belong to Abram and his descendants.

Abram is required to leave his land and break his own kinship ties as in the references from the beginning of chapter 12. Ironically, even though the importance of kinship continues, the giving of the land requires movement from the family space of Abram to the land that God was giving, the land of Canaan. Abram is required to walk before the Lord and be blameless (17.1) as well as institute circumcision in order to keep the covenant in the land.

Even though Canaan is in the middle of the TN map with the other groups surrounding, there is not any element of the text which would designate it as having any superior quality. Only in the context surrounding the TN are we able to observe that Canaan was designated in the narrative for a curse (ch. 9) and Abraham was chosen for a blessing and then given Canaan's land by means of the Abrahamic covenant. The narrative including all of this material (even where the relationship between Israel and the land of Canaan is not specified) contributes to an intact unity of thought whereby the election of Israel is expressed. It does not show a break in myth as von Rad suggested. Rather, the Table of Nations (with contributions of both 'J' and 'P' material) makes its own claims and denials regarding order and space which contribute to the story of Israel's election.

Thus, Israelites are distinct from Canaanites, Philistines, Joktanites, or whatever other groups. Their identity may take on or reinforce a mood or spirit whereby there is a sense of belonging to a specific group, as defined by familial language and kinship relationships. Though a world order is established in the TN including the land of Canaan as belonging to Ham's (and Canaan's) descendants, it

Canaanite neighbors; it is thus explicitly ethnological." (88-89)

should not be seen as distinct from Noah's curse on Canaan and the divine action of giving the land of Canaan to Abram and his descendants. That event creates a place for Israel with a special quality. Not wholly dissimilar to God saying, "Let there be light," we may say of the quoted words whereby the divinity gives the land of Canaan:

At the same time as they project an intention within the discourse, they realize it within the world: God's speech is itself a creative act.³⁶

That is, the land is shown to be intended by God for Israel. When God himself declares, "To your offspring I will give this land," that intention is not only communicated, but the speech realises this intention within the world - God's word makes the world (gives the land).

Nonetheless, were we to speak of the Table of Nations as an individual unit, Israel's relationship to the particular world order expressed would indeed be ambiguous. Therefore, there is the potential for varied reactions to that fact, attempts to make it more congruous with views of reality, with the other aspects of the text which suggest God's intention for the land to be Israel's. This may be reflected on differently in other works which are based on the Genesis text.

2.2 *The Table of Nations Retold in the Book of Jubilees*

The book of *Jubilees*, written in Hebrew around the mid 2nd century, BCE, offers a reinterpretation of Genesis 1 through Exodus 24.18 (from creation to Sinai).³⁷ By way of the 'angel of the presence' who reveals to Moses the events going back to creation, the author of *Jubilees* is able to give divine perspective on these events. Various additions, deletions, modifications and harmonizations of the original text occur. They may occur not only because of gaps and ambiguities in the Pentateuch's telling, but also with the aim to incorporate other traditions (for instance current beliefs such as are found in other contemporary texts) into the stories.³⁸

With regard to the Table of Nations which is retold in *Jubilees* 8-10, there is a basic congruity of structure with the story line of Genesis through much of the initial stages of narration in *Jubilees*. The author of *Jubilees* places the story of Noah's

³⁶ Sternberg, *Poetics of Narrative*, 106.

³⁷ O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction" in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; vol. 2; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 35-51.

³⁸ On this, see Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). She gives examples throughout the book.

drunken state just prior to what in *Jubilees* is a division of the earth (not a table as in Genesis). The author moves the death of Noah to a point after the bulk of material concerning the sons of Noah and just prior to his version of the Tower of Babel. This allows for Noah's involvement in the events which take place concerning division between the three sons. Following the names of the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth (the rest of the names from Genesis' segmented genealogy are omitted with the exception of the line of Arpachshad in 8.1-9) is a large section of added material (7.20-10.14 and 10.27-35) concerning the proper locations of each group and various other material which may be examined. Before doing so, it may be helpful to first show how the two accounts compare in the form of an outline.

2.2.1 The *Jubilees* version of the Table of Nations and Surrounding Material

Though the author of *Jubilees* follows the narrative of Genesis Ten in some regard, there are many changes to order, additions, modifications, and also deletions. The following chart attempts to cope with some of these aspects for comparison of the two texts.³⁹

Part One: Events after the Flood Genesis 9.18-29	Part One: Events after the Flood <i>Jubilees</i> 7.1-12
9.18-19 NOAH AND SONS COME OUT FROM ARK	[cf. 6.1]
9.20 <i>Noah plants a vineyard</i>	7.1a <i>Noah plants a vineyard</i>
9.21-23 Noah lies drunk and uncovered in his tent; Ham sees him; Shem and Japheth cover him	7.1b-6 NOAH GUARDS THE WINE FOR 5 YEARS AND THEN MAKES A FEAST AND SACRIFICES
9.24-27 Noah wakes; curses Canaan; <i>blesses Shem and Japheth</i>	7.7-9 Noah lies drunk and uncovered in his tent; Ham sees him; Shem and Japheth cover him
9.28-29 <u>The death of Noah</u>	7.10-12 Noah wakes; curses Canaan; <i>blesses Shem and Japheth</i>
Part Two: Noah's descendants	Part Two: The division of the earth

³⁹ For this chart (as also for the one on Josephus' text), I have taken up the method of J. T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten's chart comparing the creation stories in Genesis and *Jubilees*. He writes (and I follow) in "normal script" the corresponding elements between Genesis and *Jubilees*. In small caps are the elements of Genesis which do not occur in *Jubilees* and vice versa. Underlining shows that rearrangement has occurred and italics marks differences between Genesis and *Jubilees* which are other than addition and omission. (J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2.4-3.24 in *The Book of Jubilees*" in Gerard P. Luttikhuis, ed., *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63-94; chart, 65-66; footnote explaining the method of the chart, 64.)

Genesis 10	<i>Jubilees</i> 7.13-10.35
10.1 INTRODUCTION	7.13 HAM AND SONS SEPARATE FROM NOAH; <u>The sons of Ham</u>
10.2-4 <u>The sons of Japheth</u> (v. 2); THE SONS OF HIS SONS	7.14-17 HAM, JAPHETH AND SHEM EACH BUILD A CITY
10.6-20 <u>The sons of Ham</u> (v. 6); THE SONS OF HIS SONS	7.18 <u>The sons of Shem</u>
10.21-29 <u>The sons of Shem</u> (v. 22); THE SONS OF HIS SONS, <i>including Arpachshad's line</i>	7.19 <u>The sons of Japheth</u>
10.32 <i>Conclusion</i>	7.19b <i>Conclusion</i>
	7.20-39 THE TESTAMENT OF NOAH
	8.1-9 <u>the line of Arpachshad</u> ; CAINAN LEARNS ASTROLOGY
	8.5-9 CAINAN'S LINE; SONS OF NOAH DIVIDE THE EARTH AMONG THEMSELVES
	8.10-11 NOAH DIVIDES THE LAND BY LOT
	8.12-21 SHEM'S PORTION
	8.22-24 HAM'S PORTION
	8.25-30 JAPHETH'S PORTION
	9.1-13 HAM, SHEM AND JAPHETH DIVIDE PORTIONS FOR THEIR SONS
	9.14-15 AN OATH AGAINST SEIZING UNALLOTTED PORTIONS
	10.1-14 NOAH'S PRAYER AGAINST POLLUTED DEMONS; RESPONSE BETWEEN GOD AND MASTEMA
	10.1-15 <u>The death of Noah</u>
[cf. 11.1-9: <i>The Tower of Babel</i>]	10.18-26 <u>The tower of Babel</u>
	10.27-34 CANAAN SEIZES LAND FROM SHEM'S PORTION
	10.35 MADAI SETTLES IN SHEM'S PORTION

2.2.2

Changes in *Jubilees*

The great extent of modification of the Table of Nations in *Jubilees* is easily seen in the chart. However, some aspects of *Jubilees* follow Genesis quite closely. In the retelling of the story of Noah's drunken state, the basic elements of the material from Genesis are retained, for practical purposes, entirely without modifications or additions. The death of Noah has been moved, as already mentioned, but neither are there any major omissions on the part of the author of *Jubilees*. The concern of the author of *Jubilees* with Jewish feasts is evidenced by the addition of material about Noah's sacrifice in 7.1b-6. The curse on Canaan and blessings for Shem and Japheth are very close to the Genesis wording. *Jubilees* does not mention that Ham is the father of Canaan in 7.8 (as in Gen 9.22), but does add that Noah, once aware of what Ham has done, curses his son. VanderKam views this lack of more dramatic change as a missed opportunity since the polemical treatment of Canaan is in the interests of

the author of *Jubilees*.⁴⁰ He seems content, at this point anyway, to let Ham and Canaan both be involved in this incident.

Indeed, in Genesis, we already observed that this text concerning Noah is part of the way that the land was understood to belong to Israel in the Genesis narrative. *Jubilees*, while including this story, does not place the same emphasis on it. The *Jubilees* account takes a much expanded form and the author of *Jubilees* is able to assert in other ways that the land of Canaan is Israel's.

In *Jubilees*, description of the spreading out of the peoples of the earth takes place in a much different fashion than in Genesis. Ham reappears in *Jubilees* immediately following the curse and blessing section:

And Ham knew that his father cursed his youngest son, and it was disgusting to him that he cursed his son. And he separated from his father, he and his sons with him: Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan.

Here we see that the names have been taken over directly from the TN in Genesis (10.6). The same is true for Shem (*Jub.* 7.18 // Gen 10.22) and Japheth (*Jub.* 7.19 // Gen 10.2). Neither in this section nor later in *Jubilees* will the other names from the Genesis genealogies be mentioned by the author of *Jubilees*, save for the story involving Cainan and the descendants of Arpachshad. The inclusion of the rest of the names may have complicated the geographical agenda in *Jubilees*,⁴¹ particularly if the names held no significant meaning for the author.

2.2.3

Division of the Earth

In the next sections of added material in *Jubilees*, instead of the simple statements of Genesis where 'these are the sons of Noah and this is how they spread on the earth,' a much more 'active' role is allowed for the characters. The sons actually divide up the earth for themselves in connection with the comment about Peleg's name in Genesis 10.25: "the name of the first [son of Eber] was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided."⁴² We can compare *Jubilees*:

And he [Eber] called him Peleg because in the days when he was born the sons of Noah began dividing up the earth for themselves. Therefore he called

⁴⁰ VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 485.

⁴¹ This geographical agenda is argued by P. S. Alexander in "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of *Jubilees*" *JJS* 33 (1982), 197-213.

⁴² This shows a play on the Hebrew verb, Pe-Lamed-Gimel, 'be divided' (in the nifal here - *niphlegah*).

him Peleg. And they divided it up in an evil (manner) among themselves, and they told it to Noah. (8.8-9)

The sons of Noah are very much involved with the division of the earth. Immediately following this 'evil' division, the proper division is related by the author of *Jubilees*, saying, 'while one of us [angels of the presence?] who was sent was dwelling with them' (8.10), Noah called his children and 'divided up by lot the land which his three sons would possess.' (8.11). There is even mention of a document that Noah is said to have concerning the division (8.11).⁴³ VanderKam notes:

Jubilees 8.11 introduces the actual division in language reminiscent of Moses' and Joshua's distribution of the promised land among the tribes: the assigned portions are called lots.⁴⁴

VanderKam mentions several relevant passages, including Numbers 26, 34 and several instances in the book of Joshua, including 18.8-10 which says:

So the men started on their way; and Joshua charged those who went to write the description of the land, saying, 'Go throughout the land and write a description of it, and come back to me; and I will cast lots for you here before the Lord at Shiloh. So the men went and traversed the land and set down in a book a description of it by towns in seven divisions; then they came back to Joshua in the camp at Shiloh, and Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the Lord' and there Joshua apportioned the land to the Israelites, to each a portion.

Here, not only is the distribution of the land carried out by lot, but there is also mention of a book containing the correct description of the distribution. This is not to suggest that the book in Joshua is in the mind of the author of *Jubilees*, but its presence here is as a device which might add legitimacy to the *proper* division of the earth. This time, instead of the three sons carrying out the division on their own in an 'evil' manner, the events are under the supervision of angelic powers and their father Noah, with the presence of a book. VanderKam also notes the appropriateness of the time as occurring in the beginning of a jubilee year instead of at the end as when they divided it themselves:

⁴³ James Scott emphasises the importance of the mention of a book here and its relation to the Joshua text and comparison between Noah and Moses in *Jubilees*. He says, "Unlike the 'book' of Noah to which 1QapGen. 5.29 refers, the 'book' in Jub 8.11, 12 does not record Noah's autobiography, but rather a title deed drawn up by Noah for distributing land among his sons which is analogous to the distribution of the promised land among the twelve tribes. As often in *Jubilees*, Noah is portrayed here as a Moses-like figure." (*Geography*, 33). See also his discussion of the "Book of Noah" 35-43.

⁴⁴ VanderKam, *Revelation to Canon*, 488.

An auspicious year had been reached – the first of a jubilee period – and now there was also angelic and paternal supervision of the process. The verse does not name the subjects of the verb *kafalewwa* [divide] but the end of the verse and 8.11 make clear that the angel and Noah were the authoritative parties who lent legitimacy to this second and successful distribution.⁴⁵

In *Jubilees*, each son is then assigned their territory (inheritance) and this time the biblical order of Shem, Ham, Japheth is followed in the actual distribution of the land by lot (though note that when portions are assigned to *their* sons, the order is Ham, Shem and then Japheth).

If we follow P. S. Alexander through the complicated geographical description with all its directional specifications and landmarks (particularly seas and mountains), the map which is produced by the author of *Jubilees* fits the nations of the Genesis table into an ancient Ionian world map.⁴⁶

The centre of the Ionian map is Delphi, but for *Jubilees* it is Zion, 'in the midst of the navel of the earth.' (*Jub.* 8.19). The three Ionian continents were Europe (here Japheth), Asia (here Shem), and Lybia (=Africa, here Ham). Astonishingly different from the Genesis text, here the land of Canaan is in Africa! Shem and Ham are divided by the boundary of the Gihon (= the Nile, v. 12, 23) river. Japheth and Shem also have a physical border between them, the river Tina (= Tanais, Don, v. 15, 25).⁴⁷ We can see that the biblical text is interpreted here in light of current understanding of geography of which the author is aware. Sacred text and contemporary knowledge come together in a new description.⁴⁸

Placing the three sons of Noah on the world map according to this designation caused a problem in that both the Medes (Japheth) and the Canaanites did not 'fit' in that historically both lived in Shem's zone of Asia. This difficulty is solved by the author of *Jubilees* by having Madai beg territory from Shem's sons: Elam, Asshur and Arpachad. Apparently, his own land 'of the sea' did not please him (10.35) Canaan, on the other hand, in an act described as sedition, seizes land in Shem's portion. He does so quite willfully even after his family (Ham, Cush and Mizraim) entreat him not to, reminding him that this would mean a curse for him

⁴⁵ VanderKam, *Revelation to Canon*, 487.

⁴⁶ P. S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of *Jubilees*" *JJS* 33 (1982): 197-213; here 198-201.

⁴⁷ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 203-209.

⁴⁸ This compares to Lefebvre's notion of 'anthropological determinants' (i.e. *imago mundi*) are taken up and used differently in different historical periods (as in the different periods out of

since the land he was after ('the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt' - 10.29) was not his by lot. Previously, in Chapter 9, all the sons of Noah agreed that anyone violating a boundary would be cursed:

And he [Noah] made all of them swear an oath to curse each and every one who desired to seize a portion which did not come in his lot. And they all said, 'So be it and so let it be to them and to their sons forever in their generations until the day of judgement in which the Lord God will judge them with a sword and with fire on account of all the evil of the pollution of their errors which have filled the earth with sin and pollution and fornication and transgression.' (10.14-15)

Thus, we can see the importance attached to the keeping of boundaries and to having the nations located in their place according to the proper order established by lot and overseen by Noah and the angelic presence. Interestingly, this passage also brings up another important aspect of the *Jubilees* rendering of the TN, and that is the issue of pollution. The world that is described in *Jubilees* has been polluted by the watchers whom we also find in the texts of I Enoch (esp. the book of the watchers; i.e. I Enoch 1-36).⁴⁹ These figures, in texts such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, have had a profound effect on the humans of the world since before the flood. In chapter five of *Jubilees*, the watchers brought injustice and evil to the earth (5.1-2), and though the watchers and their offspring were destroyed in 5.3-10, the sons of Noah begin to 'walk in the paths of corruption' (7.26) even after the flood. Their father says to them,

And each one of you will be separated from his neighbour. And this one will be jealous of that one, and (I see) that you will not be together, O my sons, each one with his brother. For I see, and behold, the demons have begun to mislead you and your children.

Previously in the narrative (at the cursing of Canaan for his father's action), we saw that Ham was angry that Noah cursed his son and separated from his father with his sons (7.13). Also, Japheth is said to be jealous of a city built by Ham (7.14-15). So, the corruption described by Noah, jealousy and separation, have already been attributed to the families of Ham and Japheth, but notably, not Shem. The pollution is mentioned again after the division of the land and the curse for violating boundaries. Here, Noah prays that the polluted demons would be destroyed, 'who were leading astray and blinding and killing his grandchildren' (10.2). He prays that they would

which Genesis and *Jubilees* originate). See section 1.3 above.

⁴⁹ On the use of the watchers in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* see Ida Fröhlich, 'Time and Times and Half a Time': *Historical Consciousness in the Jewish Literature of the Persian and Hellenistic Eras*

be shut up and taken to the place of judgement since they are cruel and created to destroy (10.5).

In fact, Shem is arguably the 'favourite' of his father in the *Jubilees* narrative. When nine-tenths of the demons are subsequently bound, Noah is taught, and writes in a book (another book!) healings to restrain the evil spirits. This book is then given 'to Shem, his oldest son, because he loved him much more than all of his sons.' (10.14). Shem's land is also favourably described over Ham's and Japheth's lands.

But it [Japheth's land] is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, but the land of Shem is not hot or cold because it is mixed with cold and heat.

This goldilocks-like description says that Shem's land is 'just right'. It is the most desirable not only for its location but also for its climate. Such a desirable land is fitted to a desirable people; those who had 'a blessed portion' and a blessing for eternal generations (8.21)

Still, it is worth mentioning that one of Arpachshad's sons, Cainan⁵⁰ (his generation in the line is absent from MT, present in the LXX) sins in a strange story of the discovery of the use of the signs of heaven in chapter eight.

And he found a writing which the ancestors engraved on stone. And he read what was in it. And he transcribed it. And he sinned because of what was in it, since there was in it the teaching of the Watchers by which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and stars within all the signs of heaven. (8.3)

This anecdote, like various other ones in *Jubilees* (one might think of Abram and the crows) is odd to say the least, but it is noteworthy that it is included within the family group of Shem. Cainan also takes a wife named Melka, who is a daughter of Madai, who is one of the sons of Japheth (8.5). So intermarriage is mentioned as taking place from the group of Shem.

The strongest emphasis on Canaan's being cursed occurs in the section where he willfully takes Shem's land. He is cursed and cursed more than all the sons of Noah because of swearing an oath concerning usurption and then breaking it. Canaan stubbornly refuses to listen to advice to abide by his oath and dwells in the land 'from the bank of the Jordan and from the shore of the sea' (10.29). Ham says to Canaan:

(Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 103-104.

⁵⁰ Cainan (8.1), it should be noted, is a different figure from Canaan, son of Ham (9.2). Cainan's generation in the line is absent from the MT but present in the LXX.

'You have dwelt in a land which is not yours nor did it come forth for us by lot. Do not do this, because if you do this, you and your children will fall in the land and be cursed with sedition because by sedition you have dwelt and by sedition your children will fall and you will be uprooted forever. Do not dwell in the dwelling of Shem because it came to Shem and his sons by lot.' (10.30-31).

Therefore, it is Canaan who took the land from Shem in *Jubilees* and not the other way around. In Genesis, it is not until Abram enters the narrative that God gives Canaan's land to Abram (a descendant of Shem). The treatment of Canaan in *Jubilees* leaves him doubly cursed and with no place in the land except to be uprooted from that location. In *Jubilees*, from the very beginning of the division of the peoples of the earth, Canaan is only in his correct place far from the land of Israel.

Again, if we look at the land assigned to Shem in *Jubilees*, it not only climatically pleasant and good, but it contains three holy sites within it: the garden of Eden, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion. The actual description is thus:

And he [Noah] knew that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord. And Mount Sinai (was) in the midst of the desert and Mount Zion (was) in the midst of the navel of the earth. The three of these were created as holy places, one facing the other. (8.19)

These things which Noah is said to know are quite remarkable. The garden of Eden has been placed in the blessed portion of Shem. *Jubilees* 3.12 says that the garden is more holy than any land and every one of its trees is holy.⁵¹ Shem's land is clearly identified as blessed and good, containing sacred sites. Particular holy sites are included in it and an intrinsic favourable quality is even attributed to the climate of the land above others. Though the promise to Abram and the cursing of Canaan because of Ham are present in the *Jubilees* narrative they are not the only features which distinguish the land of Shem (the Hebrews).

2.2.4 Cosmology and Ethos

As has already become apparent, shifts in cosmology and ethos have occurred in *Jubilees'* reading of Genesis. The order of the world and the location of

⁵¹ This section of *Jubilees* (3.1-35) is a reworking of Genesis 2-3, according to Tigchelaar who also notes the exclusion of the Tree of Life from *Jubilees* (though the Tree of Knowledge is mentioned). E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (1 *Enoch* and other Texts found at Qumran)," in Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, ed., *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. P.

sacred space within it have been accounted for and described in this rich text. The task remains to try to relate some of the cosmological descriptions of *Jubilees* to situation and experience. As mentioned, *Jubilees* may be dated to the Maccabean era and therefore Riches says this about its context:

[It] is marked by the profound experience of persecution, proscription of the Law and desecration of the sanctuary under the Seleucids, and, more arguably, by growing conflict and dissension among the party of the Hasidim.⁵²

At the end of *Jubilees*, the time when Israel has a pure existence in the land is awaited (50.4-5). This is of particular note in relation to the situation just described. Time is divided into three parts (counted in 'jubilees'): (1) from Adam to the present day (i.e. the day of Moses); (2) from Moses to the crossing of the Jordan into the land; and (3) the time from entry into the land to the time when Israel is purified. This final period is not given a particular time designation and the goal is again the land, purified from the presence of Satan:

And jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in all the land. And then it will not have any Satan or any evil (one). And the land will be purified from that time and forever. (50.5)

In light of Maccabean expansion of the borders of the land and purification of the temple (also of importance in *Jubilees*⁵³), such statements show a cosmological understanding of social, political realities. Land is important to the author of *Jubilees*, particularly with regard to an expected 'eternal' purification of the land.

Furthermore, regarding the assigning of sacred space, the fact that *Jubilees* has placed the holy of holies in the garden could even be read against the view that God's presence resides in the Temple at Jerusalem.⁵⁴ Zion is included as one of the three holy places, but the holy of holies is located somewhere else – in Eden! Though not removing Zion altogether, the status of Zion as a holy place in this section of

Luttikhuis; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 37-57; here 49.

⁵² Riches, *Mythologies*, 28.

⁵³ Riches, *Mythologies*, 29-30; *Jubilees* 1.10, 17, 25, 29.

⁵⁴ Riches, *Mythologies*, 29-31. Again, Riches relates this to the experience of the author's context: "The experience of invasion, desecration and subsequent division over the implementation of the Law, both in military and cultic matters, has led the writer to see his own time as fundamentally one of rebellion from God, as one where the divine presence has departed from the Temple." (31).

Jubilees is altered by the placement of the holy of holies.⁵⁵ James Scott believes that *Jubilees* 8.19 indicates Jerusalem as the *omphalos* of the earth and that this notion may be traced back to Ezekiel 38.12, i.e. the author of *Jubilees* interprets the Ezekiel text and sees Jerusalem and the land as the 'sacrosanct place of divine favour.'⁵⁶

However, Scott seems to have missed the crucial point, made by John Riches, that *Jubilees* does not, in fact, adhere to the concentric circles of holiness mentioned in Ezekiel (but rather offers a triad of sacred spaces):

Equally interesting is the fact that the holiness of the land is not defined in terms of concentric circles radiating out from the Temple as the centre of holiness, even though the notion of *ὀμφαλός*, the navel of the earth, is borrowed from Ezekiel 38.12. Rather, we are offered a vision of a triangle of three holy places, facing each other and creating, as it were, a field of forces which renders the territory in between sacred.⁵⁷

The older spatial images of Eden and the tabernacle (i.e. 49.18-21) are given place in *Jubilees* and, though the land is important, it does not correspond in 'traditional' ways to the sites of special holiness.⁵⁸

It is possible that descent lines and kinship relationships are not the only criteria for inclusion in *Jubilees*. There is an exceptionally interesting passage in Chapter 16.30-32, where it appears that descent from Abraham is not the only criteria for being 'chosen' and Israel is actually gathered from the nations.⁵⁹ *Jubilees* emphasises obedience to the law, including the practices of circumcision, observance of the sabbath, feasts and the 'right' calendar. Perhaps these features as indications of inclusion, even at the *exclusion* of some who are of the same 'family' (part of Judaism), would allow for a sectarian reading of the text.⁶⁰ The inclusion of current

⁵⁵ van Ruiten concludes that the "conception of the Garden of Eden as a Temple is in line with traditions both inside and outside of the Bible." ("Eden and the Temple," 79) However, he also says that only in relation to future restoration is Eden "explicitly related to Zion" (Ibid.). van Ruiten says the same about Eden's association with the future temple in *1 Enoch*, *The Testament of Levi*, *the Testament of Dan*, *the Apocalypse of Moses* and some Qumran texts.

⁵⁶ Scott, *Geography*, 34.

⁵⁷ Riches, *Mythologies*, 25. He also notes that though these sites 'mark out the central axes of the world' in Shem's territory, 'they do not coincide with the borders of the land.' (31).

⁵⁸ Interestingly, Gordon Wenham argues that Eden is an archetypal sanctuary in the narrative of Genesis. G. J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood': Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11* (ed. R. S. Hess and D. T. Tsumura; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399-404.

⁵⁹ Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies*, 27.

⁶⁰ Note that even in Joshua (part of the Pentateuch's foundational story of coming into control of the land), there are tensions between those tribes east and west of the Jordan river. For the two and a half tribes on the eastern side, the Jordan is their western border, though the

beliefs about spirits ruling over humans (cf. 1QS 3, 4) could also make this text attractive to groups who hold such beliefs. In fact, sections of *Jubilees* have been found at Qumran and the earliest fragments there could date as early as 100 BCE.⁶¹

If the mid 2nd c. date for *Jubilees* is correct, then it may have been written even before the period of full Hasmonean dominance from ca.142-63 BCE. With the revolt following the profanation of the temple in 167, a text like *Jubilees* might lend support to Maccabean ideologies of expansion with regard to the land. In fact, it allows for taking back land by asserting that Canaan usurped the land that should have belonged to Shem. Again, political 'agendas' as well as beliefs are both involved. As could be said about the book of Joshua, beliefs about destination for a particular land are powerful for survival and defence of land:

Believing that they were destined to occupy this space presented powerful grounds for the Israelites to pursue survival there and to defend themselves when needed.⁶²

In light of these two possible readings of the *Jubilees* text with regard to land and identity, we begin to see how the material (some of it perhaps even contradictory) found in *Jubilees* could be appropriated in different ways, by groups with quite different cosmologies and ethos. It seems that the very nature of the biblical text with all its ambiguities allows for a such a creative retelling as *Jubilees* which in turn might be read with different purposes by different Jewish groups.

2.3 *The Table of Nations Retold In Josephus' Antiquities*

The retelling of the Table of Nations in Josephus' *Antiquities* is quite different from what we have encountered in the *Jubilees* version of the table. The most striking

eastern border is not defined. See D. A. Knight, "Joshua 22 and the Ideology of Space," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 51-63; here 61-62. Even the terminology shows something important from the perspective of the (dominant) Westerners in that 'Easterners' are (in the majority of instances) not included in the term 'Israelites.' (Knight, 55-57; note the contrast with the rest of the book of Joshua, where 'Israelites' indicates and includes all of the twelve tribes, except for a *minority* of cases – 4.12; 11.21-23; 12.7; 13.6; 18.10 – Knight, 55). For Knight, this reflects the situation under Persian imperial rule where 'Israel' had to cope with 'co-religionists' living outside the homeland and various internal and external power arrangements.

⁶¹ O. S. Wintermute, "*Jubilees*: Introduction," 43. It should also be noted that the actual text of *Jubilees* 8-9 has *not* been found among the Qumran manuscripts, though this need not suggest that the text was unknown at Qumran due to the fragmentary nature of the extant *Jubilees* manuscripts (excepting the Ethiopic version). On this, see Scott, *Geography*, 28 (and notes).

⁶² Knight, "Joshua 22," 60.

changes that Josephus makes (to Genesis) are in the sections concerning the actual names where Josephus very meticulously takes the names from the TN and makes his own comments on them. Only recently, says Josephus, have the Greeks come to understand the names in their own language as part of the 'glories of the past' (1.121). In many places in the work, Josephus emphasizes the ancient nature of Jewish traditions and comments on the virtuous (universal?) attributes of Jewish biblical characters. We must ask how the Table of Nations fits into the larger purposes of the work.

Josephus wrote the *Jewish Antiquities* from Rome (so all his works) later in his life, probably sometime in the year 93 or 94 CE. He structures *Antiquities* by placing between a brief introduction and an epilogue, the story of creation to the outbreak of war in the year 66 CE. Books 1-4 of *Antiquities* cover the material of the Pentateuch and, of that, 1.27-2.200 is on Genesis. Thomas Franxman comments:

[A]mong the five books of Moses it is Genesis which receives at Josephus' hands a treatment which contrasts impressively with that given to other portions of the Pentateuch, both as to length and fullness, and in the care taken not to make the kind of large-scale redistributions of the scriptural data which Josephus elsewhere makes.⁶³

According to Franxman, Josephus was the most free with material in Genesis concerning genealogical and chronological issues and the story of Noah's drunken state is one of the few places where Josephus places an event in an unexpected context.⁶⁴ Other moves with regard to order (the death of Noah, settling of peoples on the earth, the Tower of Babel) are also made in his retelling of the events after the flood through the Tower of Babel (Genesis 9.18-11.9).

2.3.1 Content of Josephus' Version of the Table of Nations

Josephus' major changes and additions to the Table of Nations itself are intended to provide equivalent Greek place-names for (appropriately) his Greek audience. An outline of Josephus' retelling of the Genesis narrative (in the same format as the chart for *Jubilees*) will facilitate the discussion.⁶⁵

⁶³ T. W. Franxman, *Genesis and the "Jewish Antiquities" of Flavius Josephus* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1979), 8.

⁶⁴ Franxman, *Genesis*, 8-12.

⁶⁵ See note 39 above.

Part One: Events after the Flood	Part One: Events after the Flood (after the covenant with Noah) <i>Antiquities</i> 1.104-121
9.18-19 <u>Noah and sons come out from the ark</u>	1.104 <u>The death of Noah</u>
9.20-27 <u>Noah's drunken state; curse and blessing</u>	1.105-108 REASONS FOR THE LONG LIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS AND ATTESTATION TO THIS FACT BY OTHER HISTORIANS
9.28-29 <u>The death of Noah</u>	1.109a <u>The sons of Noah descend from the mountains to the plains</u>
[cf. 11.2: the peoples of the earth settle in the valley at Shinar]	1.109b-112 NOAH'S SONS PERSUADE 'THE REST' TO SETTLE IN SENAAR; THEY REFUSE TO EMIGRATE/COLONIZE
[cf. 11.1-9: <u>The Tower of Babel</u>]	1.113-114 NEBRODES (NIMROD) PLOTS TO BUILD A HIGH TOWER
[cf. 11.8-9 and 10.32]	1.115-119 <u>The Tower of Babel</u>
	1.120 <u>The people spread out on the earth</u>
	1.121 EXPLANATION: THE GREEKS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CHANGES IN NAMES
Part Two: Noah's descendants	Part Two: The names (nations) of Noah's descendants
Genesis 10	<i>Antiquities</i> 1.122-147
10.1 Introduction	1.122 Introduction
10.2-5 <u>The sons of Japheth; the sons of his sons</u>	1.122b-128 <u>The sons of Japheth; the sons of his sons</u>
	1.129 NOTE THAT NAMES ARE HELLENIZED
10.6-20 <u>The sons of Ham; the sons of his sons</u>	1.130-139 <u>The sons of Ham; the sons of his sons</u>
	1.140-142 <u>Noah's drunken state; curse for Canaan; blessing for brothers</u> ; NOAH DOES NOT CURSE HAM BECAUSE OF THE NEARNESS OF HIS KIN (1.142)
10.21-31 <u>The sons of Shem; the sons of his sons</u>	1.143-147 <u>The sons of Shem; the sons of his sons</u>
10.32 CONCLUSION	

In Josephus' *Antiquities*, the table of nations is retold in a much more 'toponymical' way. The main concern of Josephus is to give the Greek equivalents of the originally Hebrew names. P. S. Alexander again points out that there are three types of distinctions used by Josephus with regard to the biblical names. They are:

- (1) Names of people or places who have been destroyed in the distant past and have no equivalent for Josephus (i.e. some of the children of Mizraim and Canaan, 1.137, 139)
- (2) Seriously corrupted or names changed by the Greeks into Hellenized forms (i.e. Theires w/ theta = Tiras, 1.125).
- (3) Non-problematic names which have retained basically the same identification as in the TN (i.e. Madaioi = Medoi, 1.124).⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," 983.

Apparently, Josephus views himself as one who is able to comment on such matters, if indeed he does not consider himself an authority. He makes the observation that a trace of the name for the Cappadocian city Mazaca indicates “to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race.” (1.125).

Like the author of *Jubilees*, Josephus first considers the broad details of the geographic location of each of Noah's sons. Japheth begins at the Tarsus and Amanus mountains and proceeds to the river Tanais and into Europe (1.122). Ham possessed from Syria and Amanus to the ocean (1.130). This means that Japheth and Ham's territory both move into Asia. Shem began at Euphrates and reached to the Indian Ocean (1.143). However, once Josephus has given brief remarks on boundaries, his focus shifts to updating the names. In remarks of preface, he says:

Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them, while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours [or to sojourners among them]. It is the Greeks who are responsible for this change of nomenclature; for when in after ages they rose to power, they appropriated even the glories of the past, embellishing the nations with names which they could understand and imposing on them forms of government, as though they were descended from themselves. (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.121)

This says something about Josephus' view of order with regard to the nations.

Josephus asserts that the Hebrew scriptures record the original founders of these ancient nations. They are not modern names as the Greeks have, dating from ‘yesterday or the day before’ (*Apion*, 1.7), but the true and accurate reports of history.

Josephus lists the sons in the order Shem, Japheth, Ham in 1.109, but in the order of description, he proceeds with the biblical order: Japheth, Ham, Shem. Also, he places the story about Noah's drunken condition in the middle of the descriptions of the nations of the earth. The story of Noah is pivotal for Josephus, for it marks the reason that Canaan did not remain in their land of settlement as do all the other children of Noah in Josephus' account of the TN.⁶⁷ We could compare the text with Genesis:

Gen 9.24-25: When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger son [Ham] had	<i>Ant.</i> 1.142: Noah, on learning what had passed, invoked a blessing on his other sons, but
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⁶⁷ See John Riches, *Mythologies*, 41-42. Josephus “seems to regard those who first settled an area as its rightful inhabitants, with the exception of the Canaanites.” (41) Though Canaan names the territory, he forfeits his rights to dwell there because of his father Ham (*ibid.*).

<p>done to him, he said, “Cursed be Canaan; A slave of slaves will he be to his brothers.”</p>	<p>cursed – not Ham himself, because of his nearness of kin, but his posterity. The other descendants of Ham escaped the curse, but divine vengeance pursued the children of Chananaeus.</p>
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Whereas in Genesis, no explanation is given for the cursing of Canaan instead of Ham, Josephus clarifies that Ham is not punished because of ‘his nearness of kin’, so that one could even suppose from Josephus that Canaan himself was without guilt.⁶⁸ Again, this is very different from *Jubilees* where Canaan wilfully seizes Shem’s land. As Riches notes, for Josephus, ‘land-rights’ are not a consideration in this particular account. Rather the earth’s inhabitants are the sons of Noah, spread over the earth.

In Josephus’ view, the world is populated by the sons of Noah: there is certainly no suggestion that the peoples outside Judaea are of wholly different descent. But their rights to their lands are conferred by settlement. Israel alone provides an exception to this rule: the Land was given to it by God, in part as punishment for Ham’s dishonesty.

Whereas in Genesis, the promise of the land as a land given by God makes explicit one land as sacred for Israel, Josephus does not convey the same attitude to the land in *Antiquities*. He simply says that when Abram was seventy-five ‘and at the command of God went into Canaan, and therein he dwelt himself, and left it to his posterity.’ (1.154, cf. *Jubilees* 12.12-14 where Abram burns the house of idols before going into the land of Canaan) It is still God who gives the land to Abram, though the descendants of Abram are not specifically mentioned as part of the donation by God. Later in the same section, Abram leaves the Chaldeans to go ‘at the command, and by the assistance of God’ (1.157) to Canaan. Josephus seems more interested to credit Abraham as first to promote monotheism (1.155-156) than to emphasize the land promise. Thus, on Abraham:

Hence he began to have more lofty conceptions of virtue than the rest of mankind, and determined to reform and change the ideas universally current concerning God. He was thus the first boldly to declare that God, the creator of the universe, is one, and that if any other being contributed ought to man’s welfare, each did so by His command and not in virtue of his own inherent power. (*Ant.* 1.154-155)⁶⁹

⁶⁸ L. H. Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 167.

⁶⁹ Steve Mason, “‘Should Any Wish to Enquire Further’ (*Ant.* 1.125): The Aim and Audience

Later in the stories about Abraham, when God appears to Abram to say that he will have a son by Sarah, God reveals to him "how great nations and kings would spring from him [Isaac], and how they would win possession, by war, of all Canaan from Sidon to Egypt. Furthermore, to the intent that his posterity should be kept from mixing with others." (1.191). Circumcision on the eighth day is required. The mention of circumcision and not mixing with others enforces that particular boundary marker.

In light of the treatment of Abraham in Josephus, Franxman may justifiably say that the picture of the land of Israel lies flat in the *Antiquities*:

For all his obvious eagerness to take note of place-names, there is a contrasting lack of concern in making the territory with which he should have been most familiar 'live' for his readers, and from his picture of the physical setting of his accounts of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob thus emerges a rather vapid, two dimensional sketch.⁷⁰

Josephus' interests are 'political,' not 'theological.'⁷¹ It is not that Josephus ignores the land of Israel as he tells the nation's story, but rather that he chooses to emphasize other aspects of Jewish life, history and culture in view of his presentation to the Greeks.

2.3.2 Cosmology and Ethos

For Josephus, a linguistic and conceptual change has occurred with regard to land from the biblical text from which he draws. New emphases are not only possible, but crucial for Josephus as he undertakes the task to tell of Jewish history for the Greeks with particular goals in mind.⁷² Among these goals would be that of

of Josephus' *Judean Antiquities/Life*" in S. Mason, ed. *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 64-103. He even calls Abraham 'something of a philosophical missionary' (89) in this section. Therefore, this could be part of an aim to promote a 'Judean philosophy.'

⁷⁰ Franxman, *Genesis*, 13. See also B. Halpern-Amaru, "Land Theology in Philo and Josephus," in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (ed. L. A. Hoffman; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 65-93.

⁷¹ B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Literature* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press, 1994), 114.

⁷² P. Spilsbury, "God and Israel in Josephus" in *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives* (ed. S. Mason; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 172-191. "It has often been pointed out that in rewriting and expounding the biblical story of his people, Josephus introduced many elements from the Graeco-Roman world, especially in his description of the various biblical characters. I am arguing here that this practice also applies to his portrayal of the relationship between God and Israel." (179) Spilsbury goes on to argue that Josephus uses the patron-client relationship in his description of the relationship between God and Israel.

presenting the Jews as an ancient people with admirable traits and figures of world importance. For Jewish identity, he affirms the associations found in the Hebrew bible with land and territory, but he places less emphasis on that as a particular right of the people for possession. Rather, the land is portrayed as a homeland for the Jews. Downplaying the conquest of the land and forced resistance to challengers to that land, Josephus chooses to pay greater attention to the ancient nature of the promise. Abraham is given the land, but Josephus communicates Jewish identity in *Antiquities* through terms of purity of the priests' descent (of which Judean priests he is a member), law, religion and admirable qualities.⁷³

Perhaps Josephus even sees in the nature and structure of the Table of Nations a particular affinity with Hellenistic patterns. In his commentary on Genesis, Sarna notices the similarity between the kind of relationships defined in the TN as cities and people under eponymous ancestors and the Greeks:

The ancient Greeks, who were known as Hellenes, provide an excellent illustration of this process. Hellen was said to have been the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the survivors of the flood. His three sons were Dorus, Aeolus, and Zuthus. The first two were supposed to have been, respectively, the ancestors of two of the four major subdivisions of the Hellenes, the Dorians and Aeolians; the third fathered Ion and Achaeus, from whom sprang the Ionians and Achaeans.⁷⁴

Antiquities, written after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE at which Josephus was present, as well as after the fall of Matsada in 74 CE, is a work which is related very much to the network of beliefs Josephus would have toward the land in light of his own circumstance and involvement in Roman affairs. There is no appeal or promotion of the concept of Jewish domination of the land. John Barclay comments on an 'ambiguous attitude to the biblical promises concerning the land' for Josephus. He states the following:

Although he preserves some of the patriarchal promises in this connection, Josephus omits reference to the scope of the land and takes care to delete notions of its covenanted status. This probably reflects political realism: in the aftermath of the War, it was impossible to represent the land as inviolable, and though he still owned property in Judea (*Vita* 429), Josephus' Jewish identity now had to be defined in a Diaspora context.⁷⁵

⁷³ On 'defense of family origins' and 'proclamation of personal virtues' in *Vita* see the comments of S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 107-108.

⁷⁴ Sarna, *JPS Commentary*, 68.

⁷⁵ J. M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 359. Compare for Philo in the Diaspora,

Josephus thus modifies the biblical text, aware of the political realities facing the Jews and manipulating the narrative to form his own in which particular comments, additions and rearrangements present a functional view of how Jewish identity ought to be defined and maintained. Josephus' reading of the Genesis text is indeed remarkably different from the reading in the book of *Jubilees*. There are no elements like the watchers or apocalyptic views of temple or land.⁷⁶ The kind of view offered in *Jubilees* would presumably not resonate with Josephus' view of reality and therefore he articulates the story in a different way. We may even wonder whether *Antiquities* presents in some way a different view from what Josephus might have held himself at an earlier point in his life, perhaps during his years of training for the priesthood, living within 'the land.'

2.3.3 Some Reflections on the Texts

The model for reality presented in Genesis 10 indicates a particular world order. Within the view of reality out of which that order is articulated, certain beliefs about the land of Canaan are expressed. They could be justifiably treated as slaves because of a curse, and God himself had declared that the land of the Canaanites was to belong to the descendants of Abram (a descendant of Shem).

In the reproduction of the Genesis text in *Jubilees*, there is a change in the senses of what it meant by the land of Canaan. The model of reality is modified. New beliefs are incorporated by the author of *Jubilees*. The author also interprets the biblical text in light of current knowledge about geography and mapping, combining that information with the structure and names of the original table. In *Jubilees*, a significant change has occurred in that the land was actually originally allotted to Shem's descendants, but was usurped by Canaan. Therefore, relationship to the land as well as certain other elements of group identity in *Jubilees* could make for

for whom, according to Barclay, land can be allegorized and "the land which is entered is the 'territory' of the virtues." (*Mediterranean Diaspora*, 170-171). In the footnote to this remark, Barclay notes several places where the land for Philo is not read (interpreted) as a particular physical territory belonging to the Jewish people (171).

⁷⁶ Scott, *Geography*, believes that Josephus worked with the tradition of *Jubilees* 8-9: "Josephus (*Ant.* 1.222-47) clearly uses the *Jubilees* tradition for antiquarian purposes, but he modifies the tradition, depriving it of any apocalyptic significance." (36). In our view, though there may have existed an independent tradition (in *Jubilees* 8-9), it is not necessary to accept that Josephus was working with it in this account in the absence of similarities to warrant such a position.

potentially powerful readings of *Jubilees* for groups as different as the Qumran community or among the Hasidim of the Maccabean era.

When we read Josephus' account of the Table of Nations, we see a very different worldview being expressed than can be found in *Jubilees*. For Josephus, writing for Greeks from Rome, ideas about land take on very different senses. He makes an association between the names in Genesis 10 with the modern (to him) Greek equivalents. He seems to exercise caution when treating biblical passages concerning the land. Josephus would *not*, from his presentation of the Table of Nations, choose to enforce the belief that the Jews have rightful (God-given) priority in their land by appealing to pollution and the idea that anyone who had taken over the land ought to be destroyed. The world he presents is modified by his experience, most prominently with the powerful Roman armies.

The understanding of the world and Israel's place in it in Genesis was modified by the (very different) experiences of the author of *Jubilees* and of Josephus. Though we have seen in the retellings of Genesis in *Jubilees* and Josephus that there is a common assertion that the land belongs to Israel, the ways that belief is expressed are quite different. What is meant by the idea of land is modified by each author's changes to particular associations to do with land. Thus, the connections made, meanings appropriated and terms used to describe land and express beliefs are remarkably varied in the readings we have examined. No doubt, the nature of the original text on which they draw (with the presence of ambiguity) allows for reinterpretation and modification of beliefs.

The Table of Nations is a valuable resource for comparing different ways of thinking about the relationship between God-people-land in terms of space and in relationship to other nations. It shows an account (a myth) of the world animated and brought into being and of all the peoples of the earth correctly 'placed.' A prologue to or a basis for a tribal system, reproduced by kinship and established in a particular land is established. These myths enter history again in the process of change as they are carried down in the accounts and taken up again, but in new ways, for instance by the author of *Jubilees* and the Jewish historian Josephus. At the time when these authors are writing, whatever spatial understanding was represented by the world map of Genesis Ten was not related to the social space they experienced. Therefore, something about beliefs and experience can be seen in the changes that are subsequently made. For their (Josephus and the author of *Jubilees*)

time, the major Jewish institution was the temple-centred cult, though by the time *Antiquities* was written it had been destroyed.

Nevertheless, we can see how texts such as Genesis ten can be foundational (both for 'theology and in relationship to 'politics'), no doubt due to their mythic presentation of the world. We can see a marked difference between Josephus' retelling of the myth and *Jubilees'* retelling. This should also be related to their different places or roles in society, their connections to the hierarchies of their time. The re-appropriation by Josephus is a thought-out, intellectually pondered treatise. The spaces described are said to correspond to places known in the present for the author (and for his Greco-Roman audience). The text is strikingly without symbols and imagery (such as we find in *Jubilees*), yet it still gives a reason for the possession of Canaan by Israel. In *Jubilees*, the realm of apocalyptic imagination is abundantly evident in the retelling of the same text. Watchers, demons, and other imaginative elements enter into the description and offer a new understanding of power. Symbolic meaning is given to certain spaces (including the garden of Eden containing the holy of holies) which may be subversive in a temple-centred society. Such descriptions may give insight to the ways that space was conceived and apprehended, using foundational myths, in the period surrounding the first century.

3 Power at the Centre: The Second Temple

We have learned from our brief study of the table of nations and its interpretation, that the interpretation of sacred spaces around the time of Jesus was by no means determined. Meaning could be given in very different ways and to different holy places (i.e. the tabernacle, Eden, land, temple). In moving to look at the temple in particular, there is not one text in particular that establishes a central temple in Jerusalem. If there were 'blanks and gaps' in the Genesis 10 text, there is certainly much room for interpretation of the significance of the temple. As noted in the introduction, various meanings and foundational events were associated with the temple *after* its establishment as a holy place. The centrality of Jerusalem had been emphasised in Jewish writings particularly since the Persian restoration of Babylonian exiles in Jerusalem and the establishment of the second temple.¹ The temple was, in Richard Horsley's words '*the sacred space*' for ancient Jewish worship and contact with the divine.² It also made Jerusalem a unique city of the Roman Empire by serving as an administrative centre.³

Besides the fact that land and temple are often discussed in close proximity to each other in relation to Jesus, why is a discussion of Jesus' attitude towards the temple important to a study of Jesus and land (as sacred and social space)?⁴ Put simply, it is because of the close connections between land, temple and purity (or holiness). If conventional understanding linked these three closely, then Jesus' attitude towards the temple should be related to his attitude towards purity and to land.⁵ The importance of the temple as a social institution and as a sacred space at the

¹ Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1995), 130-132.

² Horsley, *Galilee*, 128.

³ M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). "Jerusalem was peculiar as a *polis*, even if technically such at this period, because it was to a large extent administered from the Temple in its midst." (46). See also M. Hengel, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. Sterling; Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University, 2001), 6-37.

⁴ See, for instance, S. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). J. Riches, "The Social World of Jesus," *Interpretation* 50 (1996): 383-93, S. Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988), 178-198.

⁵ W. Horbury, "Land, Sanctuary and Worship," in *Early Christian Thought in its Jewish Context* (ed. J. M. G. Barclay and J. P. M. Sweet; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 207-224.

time of Jesus indicates that it holds high relevance to a discussion of Jesus and land. We should not expect from the outset that Jesus maintained this conventional relationship between temple, purity and land, but investigate what connections he does (or does not) make.

As we continue with the study, we will keep at the forefront the theory that social construction of the spatial occurs both at the level of interventions in the landscape as well as of reshaping social imagination and mythologies. We saw the reworking of a particular text in our study of Genesis 10 and interpretations. In dealing with the *temple*, we want to examine this structure in a similar, yet also different way. As mentioned, the temple has a different textual history from the Table of Nations. Before looking at the socio-political importance of the temple, we will trace some of the textual 'history' of the temple, noting the way that the different structures (from the Mosaic tabernacle to the Second Temple) 'develop.' From this point, we will move into a more socio-historical discussion of the second temple and the different levels of power controlling its operations. We will look at some examples of opposition to the temple, including the Samaritans, who, even when their own temple at Gerezim is destroyed by John Hyrcanus, still hold to the importance of a temple cult, though not the *Jerusalem* temple cult. Not dissimilarly, Qumran focuses on and lives by a temple system, but not the present Jerusalem temple system. Finally, having explored these areas, the last section of the chapter will investigate the place of the temple for Jesus. Whether the temple action indicates the destruction and restoration of the temple or the destruction of the temple only, it still serves to indicate a critique of the temple system in the gospel traditions about Jesus.

As mentioned in the introduction, our treatment of the temple will focus in particular on how it works as a representation of space (though keeping with this category loosely). That is, the Second Temple functions according to certain concepts and these are connected to the hierarchies of society. A certain 'thinking' of the temple,⁶ or for instance the understanding of the temple as the centre of concentric circles of holiness, reinforces the relations of power within society at the same time as these dominant appropriations of sacred space are powerful religious symbols for many. Though space may be 'a means of control, and hence of domination, of

⁶ F. Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism* (trans. J. E.

power,' it is not completely 'mastered by those who attempt to use it in this way.'⁷ Therefore, alternative and subversive notions regarding the temple are also important. Like the change in location of the holy of holies in *Jubilees*, we are particularly interested in the different (i.e. 'non-dominant') understandings of the temple and how these might reflect experience and beliefs.

3.1 *The Temple Structure: Text and Architecture*

By the first century, Judaism knew both temple texts and a physical temple structure which was at the very centre of a ruling system which had political, economic, cultural and social impact on the lives of Jews in the first century. As regarding texts, there were abundant instances affirming the temple and its place in Jerusalem as well as the priestly leadership that accompanied the temple system. The biblical narratives do not, in fact, mention Jerusalem specifically in connection with Solomon's temple (except for the brief mention in 1 Chronicles 22.1 and 2 Chron 3.1), though the location becomes important in later Jewish tradition, including that of the Rabbis.⁸ Foundational events in the nation's history are connected to the temple in spatial terms.⁹ That is, early events become married to the location of the temple where 'originally' they were not. However, this is done retrospectively and in the Hexateuch the significance of Jerusalem in relation to the sacred shrine is non-existent. The fact that Jerusalem does not appear in connection with the shrine in the Hexateuch is relativised by the fact that interpreters were free to 'add Jerusalem back in' in their own readings. Still, it should be remembered that there *was* a shrine for God's presence during the wilderness experience and entry into the land – the tabernacle.

Apart from contemporary interest in emphasising Jerusalem in texts, there was the building itself which stood in Jerusalem, the remains of which are still visible today. From archaeology in part, but mostly from Josephus' descriptions, we have some information of the second temple structure. This building had courts for

Crowley; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

⁷ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. D. Nicholson-Smith; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 26.

⁸ J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Towards Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 83.

⁹ Though Smith makes this observation that the relationships are expressed spatially, they are also temporally related in that the events are also said to take place on the eve of Passover. (Smith, *Take Place*, 84-85).

gentiles, women, men and priests. Josephus describes in some detail the outer court or cloisters of the temple and then goes on to describe the other courts:

Such, then, was the first court. Within it and not far distant was a second one, accessible by a few steps and surrounded by a stone balustrade with an inscription prohibiting the entrance of a foreigner under threat of the penalty of death. On its southern and northern sides the inner court had three-chambered gateways, equally distant from one another, and on the side where the sun rises it had one great gateway, through which those of us who were ritually clean used to pass with our wives. Within this court was the sacred (court) which women were forbidden to enter, and still farther within was a third court into which only priests were permitted to go. In this (priest's court) was the temple, and before it was an altar, on which we used to sacrifice whole burnt-offerings to God. (*Ant.* 15.417-419)

Nationality, ritual cleanliness and gender are important to the different sacred areas of the temple structure and distinguish those who may enter the different courts. The idea of such distinctions and spatial prohibitions in the structure of the shrine was by no means new. They were present in the tabernacle in the wilderness. The movable tabernacle can be considered a 'predecessor' of both the first and second temple structures in that it also contains distinctions of holy spaces from holier spaces. The model of the tabernacle is said to be given to Moses at Mount Sinai in Exodus (25.9, 40). Not dissimilarly to Psalm 11.4 where YHWH has an earthly temple and a heavenly throne (cf. Matthew 5.34-35; 6.10), we see a correspondence between the earthly and the heavenly:

In short, what we see on earth in Jerusalem is simply the earthly manifestation of the heavenly Temple, which is beyond localisation. The Temple on Zion is the antitype to the cosmic in 'heaven,' which cannot be distinguished sharply from its earthly manifestation. Thus, when Moses is to construct Israel's first sanctuary, the Tabernacle in the wilderness, he does so on the basis of a glimpse of the 'blueprint' or 'model' of the heavenly shrine which he was privileged to behold on Mount Sinai (Exod 25.9, 40).¹⁰

Though this type of thought would reinforce the continuity of the various structures (and perhaps for certain reasons, i.e. to legitimise the earthly structures), there are certainly differences in the descriptions and functions of the tabernacle and the temple. Further, there are distinct differences in the hierarchies, economies and societal structures that go along with each shrine structure from the Mosaic tent to the Jerusalem temple known to Josephus. Mark George argues that the tabernacle,

¹⁰ J. D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry Into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1985, 140.

first and second temples 'are not simply copies of one another, all reducible to one basic model.'¹¹ By this, he means to reiterate the diversity of social, political and cultural contexts out of which each of these spatial concepts emerged as well as the diversity in their descriptions. Perhaps it is precisely because of these different contexts that they might later come to be used as models in *other* particular social, political and cultural contexts. An older model may be used for a critique in a new situation in a symbolic way as we saw with the *rose des vents* and the *imago mundi* in Florence (Section 1.3). All of the structures (tabernacle, 1st and 2nd temples) are necessarily indicative of distinctions, for each divides areas according to a gradient of holiness. This being the case, the tabernacle, the first and the second temples all reinforce hierarchical structures of Jewish society from priests and kings to people. Still, there are significant differences. Briefly, we will look at the structures of the tabernacle, first and second temples in order to highlight some of the differences in the structures and the hegemonic relationships that go along with them.

3.1.1 The Tabernacle in the Wilderness

As far as the foundational narratives of the Pentateuch are concerned, the provision of a sanctuary was first realised with the institution of the tabernacle to be a place where God would dwell among the people (Exod 25.8). This tabernacle was revealed to Moses by God (Exod 25.8-9) and was to have particular specifications (Exod 25-31). The different areas of the tabernacle include a most holy place (Exod 36.35-37), the tabernacle itself (Exod 36.8-13), an outer tent to the tabernacle (Exod 36.14-18), an entrance (Exod 36.37-38), and an outer court (Exod 38.9-13). The dimensions of these spaces are given (Exod 36.9-21; 38.9-18). Sacrifice was to take place at the tabernacle (29.38-43 and 30.7-10) as well as communication between God and Moses (25.22 – God says he will speak to Moses from above the mercy seat).¹² This tabernacle, dwelling place of God, was established in the wilderness and was necessarily a *portable* shrine as the people moved in their wanderings. The tabernacle

¹¹ M. George, "Tabernacle and Temple Spaces," n.p. [cited 4 October 2003]. Online: <http://discuss.iliff.edu/mgeorge/tabernacle.htm>.

¹² Craig Koester states that besides these two functions of the temple (sacrifice and divine revelation), God's presence in the tent would also be 'a sign of his covenant faithfulness, since it would fulfill his promise to dwell with Israel and to be their God (25:8; 29:45-46).' C. R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989), 7.

enters into the land with the people and Joshua and is set up at Shiloh (Josh 18.1). Some of the tribes are allocated land from the threshold of the tabernacle (Josh 18.1; 19.51). After this, as Koester affirms, 'in subsequent narratives the tabernacle all but vanishes' until 'David brings the ark of the covenant to his newly established capital of Jerusalem and places it in the tent that he had pitched for it (2 Sam 6:17).' Further, 'David presumably hoped to secure public acceptance of Jerusalem as a center for worship as well as political administration.'¹³ It is interesting to note (as has Koester) the verses that describe God's reaction to David's plan to build a temple:

Go and tell my servant David: Thus says the Lord, Are you the one to build for me a house to dwell in? I have not lived in a house since the day I brought up the people of Israel from Egypt to this day, but I have been moving about in a tent and a tabernacle. Whenever I have moved about among all the people of Israel, did I ever speak a word with any of the tribal leaders of Israel, whom I commanded to shepherd my people Israel, saying, "Why have you not built me a house of cedar?" (2 Sam 7.5-7)¹⁴

Under the tribal leaders (see also 7.11 – 'judges over Israel'), the nation did not need a permanent house. Indeed, God did not ask them to build one. The tent and tabernacle were sufficient. As this passage continues, it is mentioned that David was taken from the pasture to be prince of Israel (2 Sam 7.8) and that God will give the nation a place to be planted and rest from their enemies. The imagery is of a movement from pastoral existence to fixed kingdom. David's descendant will build a house for God's name and God will 'establish the throne of his kingdom forever.' (2 Sam 7.13). Whereas in the Hexateuch, the tabernacle was with the people in the wilderness and came to rest in Shiloh, in later texts of the so-called Deuteronomistic History, the tabernacle comes to rest in Jerusalem and is a key feature of the establishment of a united monarchy and the first temple under Solomon.

What sort of economy and leadership are associated with the tabernacle when it is in its earliest phase (i.e. in the wilderness wanderings and entry into the land)? With regards to economy, it would seem that the tabernacle is associated with the sacrifices of the tribal nation. Thomas Dozeman relates that the tabernacle appears and has a visible role in connection to other parts of Leviticus and Numbers: "The construction of the Tabernacle, moreover, does not end with the book of Exodus, but includes the ordination of the priesthood (Leviticus) and the organization of the

¹³ Koester, *Dwelling of God*, 12.

¹⁴ Koester, *Dwelling of God*, 13.

Israelite camp (Numbers 1-10)."¹⁵ Aaron and his sons are anointed at the tabernacle or tent of meeting (Lev 8.1-10). Thus the priesthood could be considered part of the economy of the tribal society. While a census is taken among the tribes of those who are able to go to war (Num 1.3), the Levites are excluded from the census and appointed over the tabernacle and all duties relating to it (Num 1.47-50). The leaders of the tribes give offerings at the tent after Moses has set it up (Num 7.2). In the wilderness, the tribal nation is dependent on Yahweh even for its food and gathers mana from heaven for sustenance (Exod 16.1-36) until they came to a habitable land, the border of the land of Canaan (Exod 16.35). The people of the tribes live off the food they find literally on the ground until such a time as they settle in the land. The priests have their own tasks relating to the holy shrine while the rest of the nation gathers daily provisions and perhaps prepares for war.

As for leadership, the major figure is certainly Moses (above the priests). It is he who receives the revelation concerning the tabernacle, and his authority is unquestioned as he is the one who exclusively receives revelation from Yahweh at the tent of meeting.¹⁶ Dozeman points out that though Joshua is associated with the tent as it is brought into the land, "he does not receive new revelation in the Tent of Meeting."¹⁷ The strong leadership of Moses in connection with the tabernacle and revelation might lead us to the belief that the tabernacle was especially associated with Moses and the time in the wilderness, though it comes to have significance for rest in the land under Joshua.¹⁸ That is, the leadership of Moses and the movable presence of God in the wilderness mark a special time in the history of the tribal nation.

Thus, in dealing with foundational narratives regarding a tribal Israel, the leadership of Moses, the economy of sacrifice and the movable tabernacle are all mythically related to the origins of the nation. It is particularly worthwhile to emphasise that the tabernacle (which later is associated with the temple structure in Jerusalem) has its 'origins' outside of the land in the wilderness. Though the land

¹⁵ T. B. Dozeman, "Masking Moses and Mosaic Authority in Torah" *JBL* 119:1 (2000), 21-45. Here, 39.

¹⁶ Dozeman, "Masking Moses," 38.

¹⁷ Dozeman, "Masking Moses," 37, 38.

¹⁸ Koester points out the association of rest and the tabernacle as the promise that the nation would have rest from its enemies (Deut 12.1-10) was fulfilled at least in part as "the tent was set up at Shiloh only when most of 'the land lay subdued' (Josh 18.1)." (Koester, *Dwelling of God*, 14).

(sedentary as opposed to wandering existence) is the goal of the wilderness experience, the presence of Yahweh is with the nation and moves with them in the wilderness. Benjamin Sommer makes precisely this point as he describes the tabernacle as *locomotive* as opposed to *locative*. This draws out the signification that the tabernacle is certainly a centre for the sacred, for the divine presence, but it moves! In community, the shrine moves with the people. Sommer says,

We might further note that the tabernacle, like the law itself, has its origins in the wilderness outside the land of Israel; according to P (and other Pentateuchal sources), the most important manifestation of Yhwh occurred within the Israelite community, but not within their land. In this sense, P may be said to display an interest in the periphery... The divine presence...is not associated with any one locus, and it first became visible to Israel and first took up residence among them in the wilderness, not in the land of Israel.¹⁹

Thinking about the tabernacle as locomotive rather than locative is an important aspect of this model of a holy shrine in the wilderness. It was possible to think about God's presence as movable. It was possible to think about the divine presence apart from one fixed location, even if the goal was a 'landed' existence. We will keep this in mind, particularly as the model of the tabernacle is said to be divinely revealed to Moses and becomes the model for the later temple. Looking even further ahead in the discussion, the idea of the movable presence of God with the people in the wilderness is significant for thinking about the itinerant existence of Jesus and his followers.

3.1.2 Solomon's Temple

We have already noted that the tabernacle comes to be placed in the Jerusalem temple by Solomon (1 Kings 6.19). This happens in the narrative after a listing of Solomon's twelve officials over the tribes and their locations (1 Kings 4.7-19). The assigning of districts within the land is followed by establishment of the borders of Solomon's kingdom (1 Kings 4.20-28).²⁰ In the description of Solomon's temple, a rectangular shape is described (1 Kings 6.2-20). This structure has 'a vestibule in front of the temple (1 Kings 6.3) and a structure around the temple (of three stories (1 Kings 6.5-6)).²¹ There was an inner sanctuary and a most holy place (1 Kings 6.16, 21). There is an entrance to the most holy place (1 Kings 6.31-32) as well

¹⁹ B. D. Sommer, "Conflicting Constructions of Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle" *Biblical Interpretation* 9:1 (2001) 41-63. Here, 48.

²⁰ M. George, "Tabernacle and Temple Spaces."

as to the nave of the temple (1 Kings 6.33-35). Therefore, like the tabernacle structure, specific areas of sanctity are described.

As far as the economy and leadership of the temple are concerned, David and Solomon are essential to both. David brings the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6) and David also wants to build a permanent house for the ark (2 Sam 7). Throughout the description of the building of the temple in 1 Kings 6, Solomon is integral to the entire process. Verse 14 gives Solomon sole responsibility for the building project: "So Solomon built the house and finished it." Still, in the ceremony of dedication of the temple, it is the priests who carry the ark and place it in the holy place (1 Kings 8.3-11).

In the context of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomy through Kings), the temple of Solomon is of central importance and other holy places of worship must succumb to the centrality of worship in Jerusalem. Shiloh, for instance, is one of the 'outside' or competing centres for worship. Roland Boer, in his treatment of the account of Samuel and the temple at Shiloh in 1 Samuel 1-2, points out how the sacred site at Shiloh must become subordinate to Jerusalem for the 'historian' who compiled this work:

At the center of this planned work, and at the middle point of the chronology, Solomon begins building the temple (see 1 Kings 6:1). But not only is the temple central in a chronological sense; it also functions as the only place for legitimate worship of Yahweh. The other places, especially the high places, but also the other shrines and minor places for worship are therefore illegal, not to be tolerated. And this applies even to those with some apparent pedigree, such as Bethel, Dan, and of course, Shiloh. So, a continual pattern becomes apparent in the "Deuteronomistic History," in which worship must be carried out in Jerusalem, at the temple, and nowhere else, and yet alternative worship continues. The various shrines and high places become contested zones, the subject of polemic and theological condemnation.²²

Every effort is made to centralise the Jerusalem cult for worship in the conception of the 'Deuteronomistic Historian.' John Van Seters says that the description of the building of the temple in 1 Kings 5-8 was certainly written after Solomon's time, yet attempts 'to establish an ideological continuity between the beginning of the monarchy under David and Solomon and its end, and to suggest the possibility of

²¹ M. George, "Tabernacle and Temple Spaces."

²² R. Boer, "Sanctuary and Womb: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space," n.p. [cited 9 May 2002]. Online: <http://www.cwru.edu/affil/GAIR/papers/2000papers/Boer.html>.

restoration and a new beginning, perhaps under a restored Davidic ruler.²³

According to this view, the historian writes from an exilic standpoint of the temple they knew of before the destruction.²⁴ We might relate the possibility of a new beginning in the 1 Kings text to the use of 2 Samuel 7.10 and Exodus 15.17 at Qumran to express the ideology of the community regarding the last times (4 Qflorilegium).²⁵ Both the 'Deuteronomic historian' and the Qumran commentator have an interest in the centralised cult in Jerusalem, and make use of it in their own situations in different ways using texts that relate to Solomon's temple (and the tabernacle in the Qumran example). The (Solomonic) temple has strong kingly figures associated with it as an institution and comes into existence during a united kingdom. As such, it recollects certain structures of leadership, economy and societal arrangement. Therefore, if the historian was thinking in terms of a new kingdom and Davidic ruler as Van Seters suggests, the described setting of the first temple could be continuous with that hope.

3.1.3 The Re-Built Temple

The re-building of the temple is described in the book of Ezra. Here, however, there is no description as to how the temple space was divided. The only indication of the organisation of space is that this temple rests on the foundations of the first temple (Ezra 2.68; 5.15; 6.7). This could indicate that the divisions of the space were assumed to rely on earlier narratives (i.e. of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple). As for the location of the temple in Jerusalem (which was not emphasised in the description of Solomon's temple), this aspect is crucial to Ezra's description of rebuilding. King Cyrus says after his decree that the temple should be rebuilt: "Take these vessels [taken from the Jerusalem temple to Babylon]; go and put them in the temple in Jerusalem, and let the house of God be rebuilt on this site." (Ezra 5.15). The Babylonian king thus plays an essential role in the Jewish community's ability to return and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. Important Jewish leaders and priests are

²³ J. Van Seters, "Solomon's Temple: Fact and Ideology in Biblical and Near Eastern Historiography" *CBQ* 59 (1997): 45-57. Here, 57.

²⁴ Van Seters, "Solomon's Temple," 56.

²⁵ D. Vanderhooft, "Dwelling Beneath the Sacred Place: A Proposal for Reading 2 Samuel 7:10" *JBL* 118:4 (1999), 625-633. Vanderhooft states that "the Qumran commentator suggests that the 'house' he has in mind is not a physical structure but rather is constituted metaphorically by the elect community at the end of days; the midrash is thus reflective of a particular sectarian eschatology." (627).

specifically named (Ezra 3.2, 8-9, 12), perhaps indicating their high social position.²⁶ The leadership of the new community consists of priests, Levites and other named individuals of particular families, and there is no (Jewish) king involved in the rebuilding of the temple. Rather, there is a broad group of leaders who participate in different capacities in the task. This they do with no apparent regard for the people living in Jerusalem prior to their arrival.

In conclusion, we might consider that even in the early description of the tabernacle in the foundational narratives of the Hexateuch, there was a principle established (of hierarchical boundaries relating to the space of a sacred shrine) which was 'built on' or modified by other descriptions, yet never rethought 'from scratch'.²⁷ For the first temple and the tabernacle, the hierarchies exist in the divisions of holy and most holy spaces. For the second temple, there is more concern with location in Jerusalem and with hierarchies of named individuals who are involved in the rebuilding of the temple. As a beginning point for our discussion of the second temple, this serves to emphasise the close connections between descriptions of the three sacred shrines and hierarchical power. As in our theory of space, we expect that there will be relationships between such spaces, the powers that bring them into existence and sustain them, and the economic realities of a particular society. If there are those with power and influence over the structures themselves, there are also those who use the structures and who may not have many choices when it comes to their position in the society. We also accept that myths and symbols have their own mythic and symbolic spaces which can become the basis for alternative spatialisations in society, critiquing the existing power structures. Therefore, the tribal society's tabernacle in the wilderness as well as Solomon's temple for a united monarchy are resources for future spatialisations in Jewish society. Apart from the Hexateuch, we have primarily the view of those in support of the centralised power in Jerusalem (i.e. the 'Deuteronomistic History'). Still, in the first century, the notion of a movable shrine was a spatialisation from the past with central importance to the Exodus narratives and the tribal society's existence in the wilderness. Similarly, the first temple was a subject for reflection and was thought about as distinct from the

²⁶ M. George ("Tabernacle and Temple Spaces") lists the people involved in the rebuilding and notes the importance for social practice of 'being named, and therefore recognized, as a participant.'

²⁷ George, "Tabernacle and Temple Spaces."

second temple. Even in a time when the second temple dominated Jewish society (i.e. the 1st century) as a structure of power and struggle for power, the tabernacle and the first temple (as distinct from the second temple) continued to be thought about and reflected on in different ways.

3.2 *The Central Temple: Political Hegemony in the First Century*

We have described the tabernacle and temple structures as reflecting and reinforcing hierarchical power and position as well as certain economies. This is as true for Herod's temple as it is for the movable tabernacle of the book of Exodus, though the societal arrangements which accompany these sacred spaces in the texts are very different indeed. Indeed we might see this as part of the connections that exist between all social space and power.²⁸ Adding to this, we want to investigate what might be known historically about the power held at the Jerusalem temple in the first century. Due to the functions of the temple (regarding sacrifice and taxation in particular) and its importance to Jews both in the land and the diaspora, it was a space that attracted dispute and conflicts of power under the Roman Empire. From Josephus and other sources, we are able to observe some of the political struggles between the Roman authorities and Jewish authorities centred at the temple site in Jerusalem. In particular, we will examine the Roman presence, Herodian presence and priestly presence in connection to the temple at Jerusalem and attempt to highlight the powers which were held there for centralised governance of the whole land. The balance of powers controlling the temple was of great concern.²⁹ The built structure does not have any 'life of its own' apart from the ruling authorities and those who use the structure for sacrifice and worship. Resources from these 'users' flow to the centre in support of the institution and its authorities. They, in turn,

²⁸ E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989). Commenting on Foucault's treatment of space and interaction with scholars he deemed 'the pious descendants of time,' Soja discusses an interview where Foucault was asked "whether space was central to the analysis of power, he answered: Yes. Space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power." (Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 19). The interview can be found in P. Rabinow, ed. 'Space, Knowledge and Power' in *The Foucault Reader*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 239-56.

²⁹ We can agree with Douglas Knight when he says (in discussion of the ideology of Joshua 22) that "the space occupied by humans figures into their self-identity and apprehension of reality, especially when control over it is at stake." D. A. Knight, "Joshua 22 and the Ideology of Space," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 51-63; here 63.

dominate the 'periphery' with legislative power. Space is not the passive locus of these relations of power, but has an active role in the struggle for power in first century Judaism.³⁰

3.2.1 Roman Power

A significant issue regarding power and the temple appears to have been the control of the high priest's garments. In *Antiquities* 18.90-95, Josephus describes various stages by which control changed hands for the high priest's vestments. First, he says they were in the hands of the high priests (in a tower near the temple) beginning with Hyrcanus (18.91). Then he says that Herod kept control of the vestments at Antonia when he became king, which practice was also continued by his son Archelaus (18.92-93). When the Romans 'entered on the government' (18.93), they took possession of the vestments and kept them, only allowing the priest to have them in his possession during the three yearly festivals (18.93-4). Vitellius, according to this account, finally returned the robes to the priests in the temple (18.90, 95). The issue of the vestments occurs again in Josephus' writings at the death of Agrippa when his kingdom (Judea, Samaria and part of Galilee) is placed under Roman procurators. Fadus (the first procurator³¹) wants the leaders of Jerusalem to place the robes under Roman control in *Antiquities* 20.6-14. An appeal to Claudius Caesar is made and the robes are allowed to remain in the control of the priesthood. Some of the important indications of the story are summarised by James McLaren:

The incident provides a number of important observations regarding Jewish-Roman relations in the mid-first century AD. The first point to note is that certain Jews believed that they had the right to dispute particular Roman instructions. Both Fadus and the Jews perceived the responsibility for storing the high priests' vestments as an important issue, possibly in symbolic and practical terms. Furthermore, Fadus assumed that it was within his right to order the Jews to hand over control of the vestments to him.³²

Thus, from both the Roman and Jewish side, the issue of the priestly vestments was an important one over which demands are made on both sides regarding control. Also noted by McLaren is the point that it is a particular group of Jews that the Romans deal with in the story. He says, "A combination of the 'first men of Jerusalem' and 'the chief priests' represent the Jewish cause, presumably throughout

³⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 11.

³¹ J. S. McLaren, *Power and Politics in Palestine: The Jews and the Governing of their Land, 100 BC-AD 70* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 127. See *Ant.* 20.2.

the incident."³³ This is noteworthy because, in the narrative, the men do not seem to belong to or represent a Jewish administrative institution.³⁴ Still, they are the appropriate people for Fadus to deal with and the success of the appeal is due to their actions. Though the issue of vestments was important, apparently it was not necessary for maintaining control of the Temple. From Claudius' point of view, he was 'willing to share responsibility for the administration with certain Jews.'³⁵ The issue of vestments shows us something important about Jewish and Roman power relations in connection with the temple. Independence on the Jewish side must be allowed by the Roman side, and this fact is clearly resented by the 'first men' and chief priests.

Another way that Rome maintained a presence at the temple was by military forces at Herod's Antonia fortress, located next to the temple (*Ant.* 18.92) on the northeast corner of the enclosure.³⁶ Josephus relates that troops were stationed there at the time of festivals in case of an uprising among the crowds (*War* 2.224; *Ant.* 20.106-107). While the military headquarters (and residence of the Roman governor) was at Caesarea,³⁷ the forces at the temple during the festivals would reinforce Roman interest in and control over the temple. Along with Josephus' explanatory note regarding the presence of the military at Antonia, he relates an event in which the Roman governor Cumanus must deal with tumult in the temple at a Passover celebration (*War* 2.223-227; *Ant.* 20.105-112). The Roman Empire and the Jewish population gathered for the festival are the key figures in social and political relationship for this episode. The army cohort is ordered to stand in the temple cloisters in order to repress any attempts at 'innovation' (*Ant.* 20.106).³⁸ While the army is in this location, one soldier exposes himself to the crowd. A rage among the crowd ensues. Cumanus then relocates the army at the Antonia fortress overlooking the temple. The sight of the army frightens the people who run through the narrow

³² McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 128.

³³ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 129.

³⁴ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 129.

³⁵ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 131.

³⁶ D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 290.

³⁷ M. Stern, "The Province of Judaea" in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; vol. 1 CRINT; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 343.

³⁸ Perhaps here we might think of Theudas' innovative action prior to this event (in 20.97-99) where he persuades Jews to follow him to the Jordan in order to pass through it.

halls of the temple, pursued by the soldiers and then crushed in the space of the narrow passages of the temple, losing their lives. Immediately, the festival is replaced by mourning and prayer and sacrifice turn to lament and weeping all because of the 'obscenity of a single soldier' (20.112). Though the people have come to the temple for pilgrimage and celebration (they have come from everywhere for the feast - 20.106) they are crushed in its very structure, though they had committed no 'innovation.' The might of the Roman army in this story is impressive. In the story concerning Fadus, the leading Jewish figures were able to gain some power in securing the robes of the high priest; here the Passover crowds at the temple are depicted as powerless against and vulnerable before the Roman armies. Thus, if we compare these two incidents, Josephus has portrayed leading Jewish figures as having some power to debate and influence Roman authority, whilst careful watch is kept over the festival and Roman military presence is used to taunt, frighten and suppress the masses of people coming to worship in the temple. Whatever the historicity of these 'events,' very different views of the exercise of Roman power come out in relationship to the powerful and in relationship to the masses regarding worship in the temple.

3.2.2 Herodian Power

Seemingly showing a lack of appreciation for the building work of Herod the Great on the Jerusalem temple, a plan is devised to block the view of that lofty institution from his son Agrippa. In *Antiquities*, Josephus tells that the respected men of Jerusalem built a wall to block Herod Agrippa's³⁹ view of the temple from his palace (*Ant.* 20.189-190). Agrippa and Festus the Roman procurator were displeased with the wall which not only blocked the view of the temple from the palace, but also the view of the Roman guards from the western cloisters (*Ant.* 20.192-193). Festus ordered that the wall be taken down and the Jews (ten principal men) petition Nero to keep the wall (20.193-194), and their request is granted in order to please Nero's wife, 'a religious woman' (20.195).

A few points relating to power over the temple come out of this story. One notable aspect is that here we encounter again leading members of Jewish society. McLaren tells us that the 'respected men' (οἱ προύξοντες) that Josephus refers to in *Antiquities* 20.191 indicate 'a general group of people, who, it is presumed, included

members of the priesthood.⁴⁰ The other group who petition Nero included Ishmael and Helcias and ten of 'the first men' (οἱ πρώτοι – 20.194). Again, from McLaren:

Ishmael and Helcias attended in their official capacity as high priest and treasurer respectively. Their high profile, however, may not have been due to the office they held any more than it was to their general standing in the Jewish community. That both men were detained in Rome indicates that Nero recognised them as the leading spokesmen of the group. These prominent priests and laity represented the elements of the Jewish community concerned with protecting the sanctity of the Temple against Agrippa's intervention.⁴¹

As in the account of the dispute over control of the priestly vestments, here we find an influential group of Jews asserting their rights to Roman authorities regarding the affairs of the temple. They are influential enough to be recognised by Nero and assured enough to take the action of building the wall against Agrippa's wishes (as he had constructed his dining room with a view into the precincts). This brings us to another point brought out by this account, namely Agrippa's lack of power over the temple in terms of construction (i.e. the temple and palace as part of the built environment). As McLaren mentions, this is in spite of his official position over the temple:

Despite Agrippa's official position as custodian of the Temple, it is implied in the account that he was not omnipotent in terms of what happened there. The construction work on the Temple was undertaken in direct defiance of him. Furthermore, when pressed, the Jews refused to remove the wall. It is apparent that Jews connected with the Temple did not perceive Agrippa as its overlord. His permission was not considered necessary to engage in structural alterations.⁴²

We may also be reminded here of the earlier Herod's inability to enter the temple sanctuary, even though he had been the instigator and support for the building project (*Ant.* 15.420). In the account of the building of the wall, Agrippa is not capable of stopping the action of the Jews in blocking his view of the temple. Though Nero presents an opportunity for Agrippa to appoint a new high priest (*Ant.* 20.195-196), the Roman authorities ultimately decide about the situation. Particularly significant, however, is the influence and position of the leading men of Jerusalem with regard to the temple and the seeming lack of control by Herod Agrippa.

³⁹ This is Agrippa II, ruling piecemeal parts of Agrippa I's kingdom from 48-66 CE.

⁴⁰ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 147.

⁴¹ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 147-148.

⁴² McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 148.

3.2.3 Priestly Power In Jerusalem

We have already indicated some of the influence and power of the priests in relationship to Roman and Herodian power. Another aspect relating to this is their obvious wealth in connection to their positions in the temple. To begin with a physical connection between the priests and the temple site, we see that the wealthiest priests lived with their families as close as was possible to the actual temple structure. There were bridges from the western wall of the enclosure leading to Jerusalem's upper city. Here, the prominent ruling and priestly families had homes connecting them directly to the temple building.⁴³ Archeology has uncovered in this area what is known as 'the burnt house' of the priestly quarter.⁴⁴ There is an inscription found among the ruins of the 'burnt house' showing that one of the prominent families living in this area was a member of the house of Kathros who is also of the house of Beothus, a house connected with the high priesthood as well as with Herod (*Ant.* 15.320, 322).⁴⁵ Again, those living in Jerusalem or travelling there at the time of a festival would see clearly the wealth of some of the priests. Their luxurious homes could hardly be missed from the vantage point of someone visiting the temple.

The priests' power, evidenced by their obvious wealth, was maintained by the gathering of taxes and tithes from the population. Josephus gives some detail of the wages of priests and Levites (*Ant.* 4.69-75). Biblical texts regarding the regulation of tithes are found in Leviticus (23.1-44, 27.1-34), Numbers (15.1-41, 18.1-32, 28.1-31), Deuteronomy (12.5-27, 14.22-29, 18.1-8, 26.1-13) and Nehemiah (10.28-39). In these texts, tithes were meant to be for the livelihood of the priests since they did not receive a portion in the land. We are not interested here in calculating the percentage of income given for taxes by the poorer population.⁴⁶ We take Sanders' point that

⁴³ D. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Lewiston: N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1986), 138.

⁴⁴ See J. D. Crossan and J. L. Reed, *Excavating Jesus: Beneath the Stones, Behind the Texts* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991), 211-213.

⁴⁵ See M. Stern, "Social and Political Realalignments in Herodian Judaea", *Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (ed. L. I. Levine; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Inst, 1982), 2:40-62.

⁴⁶ See E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 157-169) He disapproves of attempts by various scholars to estimate the extent of taxation on the Jewish population of Palestine in the second temple period. Their efforts, in his opinion, exaggerate the situation and make it one of extreme oppression of the poor. Sanders prefers the more general assertion that they were 'hard pressed' by the system as it was and generally hardship was the fate of agricultural workers. (168). Note that nevertheless, Sanders

most people were accustomed to the tithing system (whatever precisely that entailed), and even perhaps paid tithes 'cheerfully' in general. Still the system of tithing and paying the temple tax meant that the work of the populace became 'a resource to be utilised' by the wealthy.⁴⁷ Hanson and Oakman refer to the system as 'extractive' because the majority of wealth is situated with the elite who had the power to tax the agrarian population and also to distribute that which they acquired.⁴⁸ This situation is radically different from that of an agrarian society. In the development from an agrarian to an elite-controlled society, those who worked the land came to be in a disadvantaged position.

Josephus suggests that some priests abused their rights for accepting tithes. In his *Life*, Josephus mentions a journey made by himself and two other priests to Galilee for the purpose of collecting tithes (*Life* 29, 62-3, 73). Josephus' portrayal depicts these two priests with him, Joazar and Judas, as corrupt, concerned primarily with the money they will gain by collecting taxes and also susceptible to bribery.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in *Antiquities*, Josephus reports a conflict between the high priests and the principal men of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 20.179-181, 206). This conflict ended, according to Josephus, with the high priests ordering their servants to take the priests' tithes from the threshing floor. He even goes so far as to say that some of the poorer priests died for lack of provisions (*Ant.* 20.181). We should certainly consider Josephus' accounts in these cases as biased.⁵⁰ However, once again we see a struggle for power regarding the temple and the priestly dues. The factionalism between the high priests and other leading Jews is noteworthy and points to the importance of the tithes for

has offered his own estimation of taxes and tithes (167).

⁴⁷ Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 168.

⁴⁸ K. C. Hanson and D. E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 116.

⁴⁹ See the comments made in Steve Mason's commentary on *Life*. S. Mason, *Life of Josephus: Translation and Commentary* (vol. 9 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*; ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 36-37, 56-57, and 62-63. He notes that Josephus uses the same Greek phrase (*φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν* - 73/*τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες* - 196) in relation to bribing priests in *Life* 196 (*Life of Josephus, Translation and Commentary*, p. 100).

⁵⁰ As is generally true for Josephus. See J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judea in the First Century CE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998). Highlighting the interpretative nature of Josephus' writing, he says, "It is evident that the narrative of events contained in Josephus' texts should not be taken at face value. The interpretative framework as outlined indicates that to distinguish between the comments and the narration of events is not possible." (67) This would fit with Mario Aguilar's emphasis on event and interpretation in the telling of 'Maccabean history.' M. I. Aguilar, "Rethinking the Judean Past: Questions of History and a Social Archaeology of Memory in the First Book of Maccabees" *BTB* 30:2 (2000), 58-67.

the priests and the power of some of them to control their distribution. As Crossan notes, this type of situation would not have fit the ideal of Deuteronomy 18.1-8 where all have equal portions to eat (Deut 18.8).⁵¹ Josephus, himself a priest, says that he owned property (*Life* 422)⁵² and we see that there were some opportunities for priests to acquire both land *and* wealth and to secure their own advantage to the disadvantage of the population by the collection of tithes. The priests certainly were able to benefit from the tithes.

Again looking to the built environment, we see a connection between the priestly tithes and the temple in that the temple partly functioned as a warehouse or storehouse for the goods which flowed into the centre. We find reference to the wealth of the Temple in Josephus (*Ant.* 14.104-10, 15.395; *War* 5.222-224, 5.210-211). It is difficult to define with precision the system of tithes as it would have been in place for Jews in Greco-Roman Palestine during the second temple period. The temple tax itself was a two drachma tax. Josephus also mentions sacrifices and 'material support' (*Ant.* 12.140). The system he assumes is one in which 14 tithes are collected within the space of seven years in *Antiquities* 4.240, where the normal two tithes are increased to three every third year for the benefit of widows and orphans. The Mishna describes a similar system, also over a seven year period, where 12 tithes were collected (tractates *Ma'aser* and *Ma'aser Sheni*).⁵³ Regardless of precisely which system was in place in the first century, the temple treasuries stored the payments and valuables of the temple (4 Macc 4.3).⁵⁴ Like the houses of the priests near the temple, such great stores of wealth would stand as physical reminders of the fact that the resources of Jews throughout the land flowed into Jerusalem, in particular to the temple and the priests.

3.2.4 The Power of the Populace

We have discussed some of the power and political influence of the priests and leading men of Jerusalem as well as the wealth of some of the Jerusalem priestly elite. What we want to do now is discuss one more example of the struggle for power in relation to the temple which draws our attention to the relationship between the populace, the temple, and the priesthood.

⁵¹ Crossan and Reed, *Excavating Jesus*, 208.

⁵² See Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 147.

⁵³ Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 148-149.

⁵⁴ Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine*, 151.

Accounts of the Roman order to place a statue of Gaius in the temple at Jerusalem and subsequent Jewish protest are recorded in both Josephus (*War* 2.185-203; *Ant.* 18.261-304) and Philo (*Leg. Gai.* 207-276, 333). As a general outline of the story, Gaius orders Petronius (governor of Syria) to place a statue of himself in the temple. The Jewish leading men are involved and the population protests (differently in the accounts, but all regarding crops). Eventually, the order is withdrawn. Both Josephus and Philo refer to influential Jews who meet with Petronius over the conflict. According to McLaren's analysis of this incident:

Petronius assumed that the support of prominent Jews would reduce the likelihood of trouble. Josephus and Philo, especially the former, describe these people in general terms, possibly because of a lack of detailed information. They were the 'powerful men'/'notable men'/'first men' and, according to both Philo and Josephus, the 'leading men'. Philo gives some hint regarding their identity, referring to priests and 'rulers'.⁵⁵

Members of Agrippa I's family were also among this influential group (*Ant.* 18.273) who were called upon to restore order among the populace. The description of the protest of the populace varies. In *War*, they delay sowing their crops (*War* 2.200). In Philo, the fear is that they will burn their crops (*Leg. Gai.* 249). Perhaps the best known description is the one in *Antiquities* where the crowd at Tiberias offer their throats to be cut, for they would rather die than see the law transgressed (18.271). This protest is said to have lasted forty days in which time they did not till the ground, though it was the sowing season (18.272). As we cannot select one of these accounts as historical over the others, the point to note is that a large number of Jews 'protested as a united front.'⁵⁶ Their concern for the temple is apparent:

The proposed measure [institution of the statue] violated the existing Jewish religious code. The protest was widespread and there was no reason to suggest that it was instigated by any particular group of Jews. Implicit here is the notion that there were some issues which Jews believed were so important that they would defend them with their lives. In such circumstances it appears that the majority of Jews in the region [Galilee and Judaea] held a notion of independence under direct Roman rule through their common identity.⁵⁷

The protest of the populace was a matter for concern for Petronius because of the danger of losing a year's crops. Therefore, the crowd have their own position of

⁵⁵ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 123.

⁵⁶ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 126.

⁵⁷ McLaren, *Power and Politics*, 126.

power in the situation – if they stop their work on the land, the country will be in trouble. Also, certain of the influential men are thought to have influence with the populace as well as in dealing with Roman authorities. Again, the issue of controversy in this story has to do with the temple. Despite the various struggles for control among the powerful, the temple does seem to have held considerable power as a sacred institution among the community of Jews both in Judea and in Galilee as well.

3.2.5 Power, Politics and the Temple

By highlighting various examples in the preceding discussion, we have tried to draw out some of the issues of power revolving around the temple in the first century. Particularly in the examples from Josephus, we have not attempted to argue for the historicity of particular elements of the accounts, but rather tried to look closely at the ‘incidents’ and draw out some of the issues of political struggle evidenced in them (and, for this, utilising James McLaren’s study at many points). All the examples we have chosen – the dispute over the high priest’s robes, the presence of the military at Antonia, the building of the wall to block Agrippa’s view, the wealth of the priests, the temple storehouses and the threat of building a statue to Gaius in the temple – relate in some way to the affairs of the temple and control over that institution in the first century. We can see something of what we mentioned from Lefebvre in the beginning: The exercise of hegemony does not leave space untouched.⁵⁸ The temple in the first century was not a passive, background location for social and political relationships. Rather, its role is certainly active and tied to the exercise of power and position in society ‘in the land’ during the first century. The various powers – Roman, Herodian, priestly – make use of the temple (or try to) in order to establish their own rights. The populace also were concerned with the temple as we saw in Section 4.2.4, though their power is of a different sort, lying in their unity as a group, their devotion to the temple, and their ability to suspend agricultural work in protest. Though we also highlighted that the poorer masses generally supported the flow of wealth in the direction of the (already) wealthy elite, and also that this wealth was displayed in visible ways at the temple, it seems from the last example of the protest under Gaius that many were still capable of strongly supporting the temple. It might be possible to expound upon the various reasons for

that loyalty, but at present we wish to concentrate instead on examples of those groups who did not support the Jerusalem temple – notably the Samaritans and Qumran. We will want to examine more closely their criticisms of the temple and temple leadership.

3.3 *'The Centre Cannot Hold': Opposition to the Temple*

In Yeats' poem 'The Second Coming,' prior to the loosing of 'mere anarchy' upon the world, the centre ceases to hold things together. Though an obvious point, there are various reasons that alternative centres of worship to Jerusalem existed and were suppressed in the literature we now have available. In an early example of this, there is the curious argument over an altar built by the Eastern tribes in Joshua (Josh 22.9-34). Even in the text itself, it is unclear whether the altar is built on the east or the west side of the Jordan.⁵⁹ What is clear, however, is that an alternative altar to the one at the tabernacle would be a clear offence, if, that is, it were in use! Verse 29 says in the voice of the two and a half eastern tribes, "God forbid that we should rebel against Yahweh and turn away today from following Yahweh by building an altar for burnt offering, gift offering, or sacrifice, besides the altar of Yahweh [our God] that stands before his tabernacle!" (22.29). The matter is resolved by the Western tribes' acceptance of the Eastern tribes' claim that though they built an altar it was for a witness to their faith in Yahweh and not for the purpose of performance of sacrifice. The importance of central worship is clearly part of the goal of this text. We can also imagine that there are 'economic' factors connected to that centralised worship. In Joshua 22, the Westerners are equated "with the people of Israel, but it also portrays them as the guardians of the faith."⁶⁰ Therefore, in some way, the Easterners are made secondary. Judeans (and worship in Jerusalem) are legitimised and made primary. Looking at the narrative in perspective of the Persian period, Knight observes:

The upper hand, at any rate, is preserved by the national leadership, which seeks to compel the others to conform to its standards for religious practice. Terminology becomes a not-so-subtle device in their hands: the Easterners are

⁵⁸ Lefebvre, *Production*, 11.

⁵⁹ Nelson's comment on verse 11 is that alternative translations and thereby placements of the altar are ambiguous, though verse 10 "seems to require a location 'in the land of Canaan'." (Nelson, 246). R. D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997). On Chapter 22, pages 243-253.

⁶⁰ Knight, "Joshua 22," 57.

not even called 'Israelites' in the vast majority of occurrences of the word in this chapter. By marginalizing them in this manner, the Deuteronomists reassert the primacy of the political powers, who can call up the army as well as the priests who determine the ingredients of acceptable worship. Of course, at the same time they can also ensure the flow of financial resources to the capital and the temple.

On the other hand, in the act of constructing an altar to begin with (whether or not intended for use), the Easterners assert themselves, "opposing their peripheral status vis-à-vis the center."⁶¹ The struggle for legitimacy and the struggle for resources are reflected in a struggle for space, for the location of worship and sacrifice.

3.3.1 The Samaritan Temple at Gerizim

The Samaritan temple at Gerizim might be grouped with such places as Bethel, Dan (1Kings 12.25-33) and Shiloh (1 Sam 1-2). That is, these are alternative places of worship, not without some level of pedigree in the literature, but which become 'contested zones, the subject of polemic and theological condemnation.'⁶² They relate to some earlier political economy which has been subordinated in importance by the centralisation of Jerusalem. Shiloh, for instance, is the place where the people are gathered and lots are cast for the division of the land in Joshua (Josh 18.8, 9, 10; 19.55). The tent of meeting also rests there before the division (Josh 18.1). Mount Gerizim is the site in Deuteronomy and Joshua for the declaration of blessings upon entry into the land (Deut 11.29, 27.12; Josh 8.33).

Though there is no biblical reference to a temple at Gerizim, Josephus relates that one was built by Sanballat and that he instituted a priesthood (*Ant.* 11.19-119, 304-347). Samaritan documents unfortunately come from the fourth century CE and later and may not reflect Samaritan practices or beliefs of the first century.⁶³ Therefore, the best evidence concerning the Samaritans during the second temple period comes from Josephus, who is actually quite hostile in his treatment of them and should be distrusted in many instances.⁶⁴ He does, however, also give the

⁶¹ Knight, "Joshua 22," 62.

⁶² Boer, "Sanctuary and Womb."

⁶³ Stanley Isser, "The Samaritans and their Sects" in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Volume Three: The Early Roman Period (eds W. Horbury and W. D. Davies; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 569-95; here 569-70

⁶⁴ There are three main passages where Josephus makes polemical statements against the Samaritans. One describes the Samaritan reaction to the proscription of Jewish practices by Antiochus Epiphanes (*Ant.* 12.257-264). In another, he describes their origins as Chouthaioi transported to Samaria from Persia by the Assyrian king of 2 Kings 17.4, learning the Hebrew

information that it was under John Hyrcanus that the temple at Gerizim was destroyed (*Ant.* 13.255-256) between 113-111 BCE.⁶⁵ This, according to Pummer was 'motivated by expansionistic politics'⁶⁶ of the Hasmoneans, destroying rival sites to Jerusalem.⁶⁷

There is some archaeological evidence for the Gerizim temple. The temple, according to such evidence, was similar in architecture to the Jerusalem temple. Also, there may be evidence of Passover celebration at the site of the sacred precinct at Mount Gerizim:

The sacred precinct in the centre of a Hellenistic city on Mt. Gerizim extended over more than five acres; it had two imposing gates in the east and a large staircase in the west for use by pilgrims. Bones from the Paschal sacrifice, and the similarity between the north gate in the eastern wall and the gate described in the *Temple Scroll* clearly indicated that the sacred precinct was built according to the same sacred precinct of the Jerusalem temple which Josephus described.⁶⁸

Several important points might be drawn out here. First, there is the notion that this temple received pilgrims. Secondly, there is evidence for the celebration of Passover at the sacred precinct on Mt. Gerizim. Thirdly, this quotation indicates a similarity between the Gerizim north gate and *the Temple Scroll* gate and the gate of the Jerusalem temple as described by Josephus. In our discussion of the tabernacle, first and second temples (Section 4.1), we saw that this division into different courts or sections of the temple was an important feature of the structures and is also evidenced in the Gerizim temple, though less details are known. The temple system at Gerizim (including pilgrimage, celebration of Passover and structure) was not dissimilar to that of the Jerusalem temple.

religion from Israelite priests (*Ant.* 9.277-279, 288-291). Finally, in book eleven of *Antiquities*, Josephus talks about the Samaritans in relation to Alexander, calling them apostates from the Jewish nation (11.340). Josephus' statements of this nature suggest it would be unwise to trust his evaluation of the Samaritans. See R. J. Coggins, "The Samaritans in Josephus" in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 257-73.

⁶⁵ Y. Magen, "Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans," in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 91-148, here 142-143.

⁶⁶ Pummer states that 'John Hyrcanus' conquests were part of the Maccabean policy which Alexander Janneus had intensified to attack and destroy the Hellenistic culture and eliminate the sacred sites which competed with the Temple in Jerusalem.' R. Pummer, *The Samaritans* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 4.

⁶⁷ Magen, "Mount Gerizim," 143.

⁶⁸ Y. Magen, "Mount Gerizim," 139.

Coins dating from after the destruction of the Gerizim Temple by John Hyrcanus show that the city continued for at least some years after the destruction of the Temple.⁶⁹ Josephus suggests in *War.* 3.307-315 that the Samaritans defended themselves against the Romans. Hadrian's policy of enforcement regarding the Samaritans is reminiscent of Antiochus Epihanes. He "built a temple of Zeus on one of the peaks of Mt. Gerizim, viz. Tell er-ras. Circumcision was forbidden, their books were destroyed and other acts of repression were directed against them."⁷⁰

It was not only the Romans, however, whom the Samaritans had difficulty with in the first century. It would seem that Samaritans and Jews came to maintain exclusive relations. Bauckham describes both groups as "understanding their self-identity as Jewish while denying Jewish identity to the other."⁷¹ Josephus relates an incident in which Samaritans place human bones in the Jerusalem temple (*Ant.* 18.29).

Another incident in Josephus suggests eschatological hopes among the Samaritans. In *Antiquities* (18.85-89), the tale is told of an individual, a 'sign prophet' who promises to reveal the hidden sacred vessels and 'signal the Era of Divine Favour.'⁷² An important point, made by Isser, can be learned from this account, namely that "many of the Samaritan religious community took seriously its eschatological traditions which involved the figure of Moses, the ancient tabernacle, and a restorer, all connected with Mount Gerizim."⁷³ This millenarian type figure takes up spatial symbols – of temple, tabernacle – and uses them in a way that asserts the sacredness of Gerizim. They are among the powerless, not the powerful, however, and Pilate kills and captures them, ordering those still alive to be slain (18.87). Though Pilate is ordered to answer to Rome for his actions (88-89), the damage has been done and the symbolic movement has met its end.

3.3.2 Qumran and the Jerusalem Temple

The Qumran community separate themselves from the Jerusalem temple and can therefore view themselves as a temple community in opposition to the institution in Jerusalem, the problem being that the temple is no longer the seat of the law, but

⁶⁹ O. R. Sellers, "Coins of the 1960 Excavation at Shechem." *BA* 25 (1962), 87-96, here, 96.

⁷⁰ Pummer, *The Samaritans*, 4. Compare 1 Maccabees 1.56-60.

⁷¹ R. Bauckham, "The Parting of the Ways: What Happened and Why," *ST* 47:2 (1993): 135-51; here 141.

⁷² Isser, "Samaritans and their Sects," 176. Isser says these are the vessels of the tabernacle.

that "Israel has not followed the correct law because it was rooted in the wrong temple."⁷⁴ 1QS 9.4-5 states that it is prayers properly offered which are the offering of the community in the desert. They keep purity in an 'age of ungodliness' (that ungodliness affecting other Jews and not just non-Jews) and maintain an 'interim ethic' whereby they obey the Torah according to their interpretation.⁷⁵ As Betz says, the Temple Scroll itself suggests a concern with temple worship. He states, "This Scroll [the *Temple Scroll*] contains the order for a life of the people of Israel which has its centre in the temple of Jerusalem."⁷⁶ That temple was a future temple, as modeled on Israel's encampment in tribes around the tent of meeting in the wilderness (i.e. Exodus 25-40) and Ezekiel's descriptions of the temple in Ezekiel 40-48.⁷⁷ As Jonathan Smith argues for the Ezekiel text, so the Qumran text is also "an endeavor in mapping the social configurations of an ideal cultic space."⁷⁸ About the "impressive design of a sanctuary" in 11QT columns 3-13 and 30-45,⁷⁹ Maier states:

The design of the sanctuary in 11 QT is certainly an ideal one and part of the tradition that idealized the Solomonic structure. But the design is not entirely outside the range of possibility. The dimensions of the middle court, 500 x 500 cubits, do not surpass those of the traditional holy area attested by Josephus as an approximate square within the balustrade [*Ant.* 8.95ff], and within... *M. Middot* 2.1.⁸⁰

Maier says that 11QT has 'a centrifugal shifting of the functional design' wherein the middle court is a men's court and the court of Israel is part of the outer court. The boundary for foreigners and impure people moves to outside the entire complex!⁸¹ There is also 'the consequent application of the scheme of concentric squares

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ John Kampen, "The Significance of the Temple in the Manuscripts of the Damascus Document," in R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty, Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 185-197. Here, 196.

⁷⁵ O. Betz, "The Essenes" in W. Horbury, W. D. Davies and J. Sturdy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3:444-470, here, 453.

⁷⁶ Betz, "The Essenes", 461.

⁷⁷ See Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 3.

⁷⁸ J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 48.

⁷⁹ Johann Maier, "The Temple Scroll and Tendencies in the Cultic Architecture of the Second Commonwealth" in L. Schiffman, ed., *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 67-82, here 66.

⁸⁰ Maier, "The Temple Scroll," 77.

⁸¹ Ibid.

combined with the function of a sanctuary for the twelve tribes.⁸² The social map of 11QT has elevated the status of men, and reinforces the belief that not only foreigners, but those who are considered by the community to be the impure of Israel are decidedly and certainly excluded.

The strong boundaries and social 'maps' of the Qumran community should also be related to their views on eschatology and the law. Martínez discusses the relationship between the documents of the *New Jerusalem* and *Temple Scroll* and says,

These compositions profoundly marked the thinking of a community that was anchored in observance of the law and expectation of the end time. In this sense, the *New Jerusalem* and *Temple Scroll* form part of a tradition that regulated their entire existence and fostered their reflection and hope.⁸³

The connections between ideas at Qumran are important and show us where they have changed and modified 'traditional' ideas in their own community. Purity is still a marker, but it signifies something different at Qumran as John Riches has pointed out:

Whereas previously purity regulations were observed in order to preserve the purity of the Temple with its central sanctuary and its environs, now observance of purity regulations was designed to protect the community from corruption by alien influences and to strengthen it by inculcating self-discipline, self-control and obedience to its central Council.⁸⁴

If we think in terms of Martínez' two distinctive 'anchors' for the Qumran community, that is, observance of the law and expectation of the end time, then the community's separation and innovative use of purity will give them a place in the restoration of the temple and the land at the end time. In 1QS, the community themselves will be 'founded on truth' to be 'a holy house for Israel' chosen and accepted 'to atone for the land.' (1QS vii.5-6, 10).⁸⁵ Betz speaks of the eschatological beliefs at Qumran in this way:

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ F. G. Martínez, "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam, eds., 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:431-460, here 458, *emph. added*.

⁸⁴ J. Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980), 124.

⁸⁵ See P. R. Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 81-98. He believes that whether or not the holy of holies in the holy house (1QS 8.5-9) is meant to indicate the entire community or an inner group of it, "in either case we have a radical redrafting of the geography of the land of Israel." (94).

The hopes of the godly of Qumran will be realized in the new, holy Israel; the messianic age will restore the unity and purity of God's people. Their own sectarian existence in exile will come to an end, for they will have the task of organizing the community of all those men of Israel who according to God's promise will inherit the land for ever (Isa 60.21) and they will be assimilated into the nation of the righteous. But the Essenes did not conceive of Gentiles being admitted into the fellowship of the elect; they rather expected their eschatological unification with the angels.⁸⁶

Such ideas are quite important to think about for a community who sees themselves as preparing the way of the Lord in the wilderness as the text of Isaiah so eloquently provided the imagery. 1QS does not contain passages about the purity laws, but here we do find use of 'the language of purity, primarily in highly rhetorical passages that represent those outside the community as sinful and impure, in contrast to those who join the community and are cleansed of their sin and impurity.'⁸⁷ The community itself, the ones who have separated themselves by obeying the law and strict purity regulations, will be the ones who are prepared when the end times arrive. They will usher in the promises for Israel centred on the temple, city and land. Interestingly enough, the inheritance of the land in Isaiah 60.21 uses exactly the same terminology as Psalm 37.⁸⁸

In halakhic interpretation at Qumran, those of the community differ from the Jerusalem priesthood on the matter of Sabbath sacrifices in CDC 11.17-20. Lawrence Schiffman reiterates this point:

This law echoes one of the points of disagreement between the sect and the Jerusalem priesthood. Basing itself on an out-of-context exegesis of Lev. 23.38, the sect concludes that only the burnt-offering (*'olah*) may be offered on the Sabbath day. This decision flies in the face of Num 28.10 which indicates that this offering was to be brought in addition to the regular offerings (*tamid*).⁸⁹

Further, as Schiffman says of CDC 6.11-14, "[It] provides that abstention from the Jerusalem cult was a condition for sectarian membership."⁹⁰ Therefore the law was

⁸⁶ Betz, "The Essenes," 466.

⁸⁷ M. Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512" *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8:1 (2001): 9-37.

⁸⁸ See 4Q171, a pesher on Psalm 37. In it we find the interpretation of the 'meek' as the community: "And those who hope in YHWH will inherit the land. Its interpretation: they are the congregation of his elect who carry out his will." (4Q171ii.4-5). We could compare this with Matthew 5.5 where a group of 'meek' (though different) is also designated. R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 48.

⁸⁹ L. A. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 128.

⁹⁰ Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 129.

ideal, looking to “the restored Jerusalem cult of which the sectarian leaders would take charge.”⁹¹ Subsequently, the eschaton and the war would begin.⁹²

The *Temple Scroll*, with its clearly laid out plans for the future temple, tells us how the Qumran community envisions the order of the new era. They prepare for it by their arrangements within the community in the present. So, Schmidt:

Purity is a criterion for classification, for hierarchical organisation. The calendar of the Community already organised temporality according to the rhythm of the celestial liturgies: community times, sacred and profane, at odds with the Jerusalem calendar, are in unison with the angelic festivities. But, as long as the conditions will not be realised for the building of the new Temple, the Community will not have a Sanctuary where such an organisation of the sacred is distributed in its architectural space.

Thus, for Qumran, the ‘thinking of the Temple’ remains in place, but the actual realisation of the temple they envision is to occur in the future. Unlike the Samaritans who maintained similar purity practices to other Jews, the members of the Qumran community are innovative in their adaptations of hierarchal categories and purity rituals for the maintenance of boundaries. Both groups set themselves in opposition to the temple in Jerusalem. No alternative sanctuary stands in place of the Jerusalem temple. Therefore, Jerusalem may continue to stand at the centre of the world, but matters of law and living are centred in the community itself, or the Jerusalem camp.⁹³ We see the importance of purity apart from the temple as well. Though further investigation of this topic is reserved for the next chapter, the present discussion has already highlighted the close relationship between purity and the temple and the different ways that the relationship was treated in context of criticism of the Jerusalem temple system.

If Qumran had anything like a functioning high priestly role, that role was quite unlike the role of the high priest in Jerusalem and was specifically related to the existence and practices of the community, such as meals and meetings together.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 7. In the *War Scroll*, the war is fought against enemies to bring in the eschaton.

⁹³ This is argued by P. R. Davies, “Space and Sects,” 89. He compares the attitude of Qumran (the Damascus Document/Temple Scroll sec) with the respect Paul held for the Jerusalem church. (Ibid.)

⁹⁴ Davies cites evidence in making this judgement: “1QS refers to the ‘sons of Zadok’ as having authority over the *yahad*, while 1Qsa describes the presence of the high priest at the meal of the congregation. But the role of a sectarian high priest (and obviously not the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple), while it does imply the relocation of sacerdotal functions from the Jerusalem Temple to the community, remains consistent with the essential vertical

Whatever the community's understanding of the Temple in the present and future, they make significant changes in practice and understanding.

3.3.3 The *Testament of Moses*

Reference to the temple occurs with some frequency in the *Testament (Assumption) of Moses*. This Jewish work of the early first century CE, has as its overall framework Moses' appointment of Joshua to take the people into the land. There is concern at various points with the Abrahamic land promise. *Testament of Moses* 1.8 and 2.1 refer to the land promised to their fathers (i.e. the fathers of Moses and Joshua). In chapter 3, the land promise is specifically mentioned:

'God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, remember your covenant which you made with them, and the oath which you swore to them by yourself, that their seed would never fail from the land which you have given them.' (3.9)

As might well be expected by the setting of Joshua's appointment at the threshold of entering the land, the tribes are also of particular importance in this document. When they enter the land, Joshua is to give each tribe their individual portions (2.2), but soon a distinction is made between 'two holy tribes' and the ten tribes (2.4-5). It would seem that the author identifies with the two tribes and that the ten tribes are viewed negatively. One set of verses in particular draws attention to the distinction:

And in those times he will inspire a king to have pity on them and send them home to their own land. Then some parts of the tribes will arise and come to their appointed place, and they will strongly build its walls. Now, the two tribes will remain steadfast in their former faith, sorrowful and sighing because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their fathers. But the ten tribes will grow and spread out among the nations during the time of their captivity. (3.6-9)

Here, we cannot be sure who is meant by 'some parts of the tribes' nor can we say with certainty why the two tribes were not able to offer sacrifices. Daniel Schwartz thinks that these verses refer to the return of some Israelites to the land and Jerusalem under Cyrus. Therefore, only the 'some' return, while the two and the ten remain in the diaspora. From among the Jews that remained in the diaspora, 'those of the two tribes remained faithful while the ten tribes sank into oblivion among their

dimension of the sectarian liturgy. Other than the regular meetings and meals, and texts of prayers and blessings, we have no clear description of any liturgical ceremonies." Davies, "Space and Sects," 96.

Gentile neighbors and so are not referred to again.⁹⁵ Thus, for Schwartz, both the two and the ten tribes would refer to diaspora Jews. The two tribes mourn their inability to sacrifice because they are not near enough to the temple to do so.⁹⁶ Kyu Han takes a different view, saying that the verses may be understood metaphorically so that the two tribes stand for 'the righteous who are set apart, and who have spiritual leadership until the appointed time (the eschatological restoration): at the *eschaton* the people of God will be reduced to a smaller group, consisting of only a part of the 'two tribes'.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the reason for the sadness over sacrifice is 'the *unacceptability* of the offering due to the hindrance of the 'ten tribes' (4.9).⁹⁸ It would be difficult to decide between these two views as there is no mention that the ten tribes have interfered in the sacrifice of the others. Likewise, there is no statement that locates the two tribes with certainty.⁹⁹

However, the wider claim that the temple is condemned in the *Testament of Moses* should be considered. In 'prophesying Israel's history' the author pays particular attention at two points to the destruction of the temple. The fall of Jerusalem and captivity are described:

...in those days a king against them from the east and (his) cavalry will overrun their land. And with fire he will burn their city with the holy Temple of the Lord and he will carry off all the holy vessels. And he will exile all the people and will lead them to his own land, yea the two tribes he will take with him.' (3.1-3).

It is interesting that 2 Chronicles (36.7) and Jeremiah (27.18-22) mention the holy vessels of the temple, but make no mention of burning the city or temple. Again, burning of the temple is described in chapter 6 of the *Testament of Moses*:

[T]here will come into their land a powerful king of the West who will subdue them; and he will take away captives, and a part of their temple he will burn with fire. He will crucify some of them around their city.' (6.8-9).

⁹⁵ D. Schwartz, "The Tribes of As. Mos. 4:7-9" *JBL* 99:2 (1980), 217-223.

⁹⁶ Schwartz, "Tribes", 222.

⁹⁷ K. Han, *Jerusalem and the Early Jesus Movement: The Q Community's Attitude Toward the Temple* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), 109.

⁹⁸ Han, *Jerusalem*, 109.

⁹⁹ See also J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998). He says regarding the issue: 'In view of the elliptic nature of the text, it is not possible to be certain [whether the statement rejects the worship of the Second Temple or refers to the distance of those in exile].' (133)

John Collins believes that this is a reference to an incident under Varus in 4 BCE.¹⁰⁰ According to Josephus, at the time when Varus was ruler of Syria, the cloisters of the temple were set on fire by the Romans (*Ant.* 17.261-262; *War* 2.49). However, Tromp makes the observation that in the *Testament of Moses* the next verse (7.1) speaks of the times ending after these events. The end would come soon after the partial destruction of the temple (6.8) no matter if the burning of the temple was thought to be in the past or future for the author.¹⁰¹ Kyu Han notes the negative attitude toward the temple in this document as well as the fact that there is no mention of renewal of the temple.¹⁰² Unlike *1 Enoch* which describes a new temple, the *Testament of Moses* does not mention a new structure and does not give attention to the importance of the cult and sacrifices, but rather to the misdeeds of the priests and the pollution of the temple (5.3-6; 6.1; 7.6-8).

It is interesting that the future kingdom inaugurated by Taxo in the tenth chapter of the *Testament of Moses* appears throughout the whole creation (10.1). Vengeance is brought to the nations and Israel is to be subsequently pleased (10.7, 8). As for location, the nation is raised:

And God will raise you to the heights. Yea, he will fix you firmly in the heaven of the stars, in the place of their habitations. And you will behold from on high. Yea, you will see your enemies from the earth. (10.9-10).

No temple is mentioned here, no central focus. Indeed, the land is not mentioned either as Israel is removed from the earth and elevated to the realm of the stars. There is a separation made between Israel and her enemies or the nations, but it is not described in terms of the land and outside the land, but rather in terms of the heights and the earth. The 'king of the kings of the earth' (8.1) has inflicted a punishment, but on behalf of God. The punishment is considered 'cruel, impure, going beyond all bounds of mercy' (9.2). Tromp notes, "These adjectives refer to the outward appearance of the punishment, as described in *As. Mos.* 8: it will be executed by a pagan tyrant, who will treat the people most cruelly in order to induce them to

¹⁰⁰ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 129. Though note Tromp, who finds the argument of a correspondence between 6.8 and Varus unconvincing and consequently "it is not clear whether the Roman intervention alluded to in 6:8 was something the author was expecting or something he had recently experienced." J. Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 117.

¹⁰¹ Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 117.

¹⁰² Han, *Jerusalem*, 108-114.

pollute themselves.¹⁰³ Taxo and his sons remain faithful in the eschatological hour and ensure 'the continuation of God's mercy and the fulfillment of his promises to the patriarchs with regard to Israel (cf. *As. Mos.* 12:12).'¹⁰⁴ Pollution is clearly a problem according to the author and the continuation of a faithful remnant ensures promises for Israel. Impurity is removed as the people are removed to the heights. The devil comes to his end and the idols of the nations are destroyed (10.1 and 10.7). Though Israel is able to see the nations from their exalted locale (10.10), they are completely removed and have no contact with them. Such an imaginative description of the eschatological events at the end times highlights for us the possibility of a temple-less future. There is a definite condemnation of the present temple and national leadership and hope for the punishment of wrongs. It is interesting that the setting of the work is Moses' words to Joshua as he is commissioned to lead the people into the land. Also, that there is a concern with the land promise to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as well as with the tribes. Still, there is no explicit role for the tribes in the land in the eschatological future. Indeed, Israel is removed from the earth altogether. Perhaps a helpful text for comparison is Daniel 12.3: 'Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever.' Similarly, in *1 Enoch*, the righteous are to 'shine like the lights of heaven' (104.2) and they are to be 'partners with the good-hearted people of heaven' (104.6). Time and space are altered in *2 Baruch*, so that those who are saved experience a new world:

For they shall see that world which is now invisible to them, and they will see a time which is now hidden to them. And time will no longer make them older. For they will live in the heights of the world and they will be like the angels and be equal to the stars. And they will be changed into any shape which they wished, from beauty to loveliness, and from light to the splendour of glory. (*2 Baruch* 51.8-10)

This is part of the response of the Lord to Baruch's questions regarding life after the resurrection (49.1-3). Baruch asks, 'Or will you perhaps change these things which have been in the world, as also the world itself?' (*2 Baruch* 49.3). These texts show an interest in similar imaginings as *Testament of Moses* regarding the exaltation of the righteous to the heights. All these works reflect critical attitudes towards present circumstances. Regarding the *Testament of Moses* in particular, the temple is treated

¹⁰³ Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 224.

¹⁰⁴ Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, 223.

negatively and the future exaltation of the nation is not connected to a restored temple of any description. Twice, the destruction or partial destruction of the temple is mentioned and is also closely linked in the second instance to the end of times. Could this indicate that for the author, the structure of the temple is condemned and judged, with no future place afforded to it? As such, it would be an 'anti-structure' move. Perhaps the author saw the present situation as so bad that the best hope for the nation to experience the presence of God was through a radical set of events leading to their being raised to the heights. The temple was corrupt in the present and would not house the presence of God in the future.

As a final note on the text of the *Testament of Moses*, we look once more at the narrative setting and to the interest in the tribes and the land promise. Though we confirm the criticism of the temple argued already, there is scope to consider that the author of the *Testament* was favourably disposed to earlier spatial models. As mentioned, the context of the narrative is Moses' words to Joshua as he is about to succeed him. The tabernacle plays a rather prominent role from the start of the text:

Moses called to himself Joshua, the son of Nun, a man approved by the Lord, that Joshua might become a minister for the people in the tent of testimony which contained all the holy objects, and that he might become the minister for the people in the tent of testimony which contained all the holy objects, and that he might lead the people into the land which had been promised to their fathers, (the land) which he, in the tent, had declared by covenant and oath that he would give them through the leadership of Joshua. (1.6-9)

The move of the tabernacle to the place of the first temple is also described:

...the twelve tribes will move the tent of testimony to the place where the God of heaven will build a place for his sanctuary. (2.4)

The temple is defiled by idols set up in the temple by the ten tribes, and the holy vessels are carried off when the city and temple are burned (3.2). In the rest of the *Testament*, the vessels are not returned when the temple is rebuilt (4.7-8; cf. Ezra 5.15).¹⁰⁵ Though the author is negative about the first and second temples, the tabernacle is treated as a valid structure.¹⁰⁶ Koester says this about the author's view of the (second) temple and the tabernacle:

¹⁰⁵ Koester, *Dwelling*, 46.

¹⁰⁶ Koester says that 'the author accepted the validity of both the tabernacle and the first temple, until the temple cult became idolatrous, but he considered the second temple to be wrong from the beginning.' (46). Although the place where the tent is brought by the tribes is called 'the place where the God of heaven will build a place for his sanctuary' (2.4), the temple is soon defiled by idols and images.

He depicts the temple as a place of apostasy, but associated the tabernacle with God's covenant promises (1.7-9). These promises were fulfilled under Joshua and provide assurance of divine help in the end times (2.1; 12.13), as do the eschatological secrets that were revealed in the tent of meeting and preserved in the *Testament of Moses* itself.¹⁰⁷

Therefore, though the *Testament of Moses* is negative toward the present temple and its leadership and sees its destruction as a sign of the last times, there is not a denial that God's presence could legitimately reside in a sacred shrine. The tabernacle (and initially the first temple) is a valid shrine according the *Testament* and is part of the fulfillment of God's past promises to the nation in an ideal time. The author recalls positively an earlier time when the twelve tribes were under the leadership of Moses (and Joshua) and had the tent of meeting as their sacred shrine. In the eschatological kingdom, when Israel is raised to the heights, they are apparently in the presence of God, the Heavenly One, who will arise from his throne and from his holy habitation (10.3). This may tell us that for the author of the *Testament*, the presence of God is in heaven and no longer in any earthly structure. In particular, God's presence is no longer residing in the second temple. If Israel is raised to heaven as well in the end time, they would have no need for a shrine in which to worship. There would be definite political as well as spatial implications to such a view. The space described in the *Testament of Moses* is highly symbolic; perhaps we could say it is representational space which seeks to criticise the dominant structures of space. The denial of the validity of the temple meant a harsh criticism of the structures of power centred at the temple. Decidedly *unlike* either Qumran or the Samaritans, the *Testament of Moses* offers a critique of the temple system. It will not continue to be a divinely ordained structure in the future eschatological setting.

3.4 'Things Fall Apart': Jesus and the Destruction of the Temple

Equipped with an understanding of the ways that power was connected to the Second Temple and also some of the ways that that centralisation of power and administration was subverted, we are at a point where we might consider the meaning of the temple for Jesus. If Jesus 'fits' with those who offer a critique of the Temple, we ask the question: What is the content of that criticism?

¹⁰⁷ Koester, *Dwelling*, 46.

3.4.1 The Temple Action: Destruction and Restoration or Destruction Only?

There is much less debate over the 'authenticity' of Jesus' action in the temple than over the meaning of that action.¹⁰⁸ The question of whether the action indicates destruction or purification corresponds to whether one thinks that Jesus breaks with the Temple or wishes to see its reform.¹⁰⁹ A further question, raised by the evaluation of E. P. Sanders, revolves around whether destruction (a break with the temple) would also entail eventual restoration of the institution of the temple in the eschaton. Logically, it is unproblematic to think that the temple action could indicate both a critique of the temple system and a break with it. However, the only example we have seen thus far of this is the possibility that the *Testament of Moses* takes such a stance. As we saw in the examples of the Samaritans and Qumran, it is possible to criticise the current Jerusalem temple and leadership *without* breaking with the notion that there ought to be a temple and priesthood. Yet Jesus son of Ananias ('a country person' – *War* 6.300) seemingly pronounces a damning sentence on the temple without any indication of the temple's subsequent restoration.

Included in E. P. Sanders' list of 'almost indisputable facts' is that 'Jesus engaged in controversy about the temple.'¹¹⁰ We find reference to such controversy in

¹⁰⁸ H. de Jonge ("The Cleansing of the Temple in Mark 11:15 and Zechariah 14:21," forthcoming) believes the story belongs to post-Easter, pre-Markan tradition. Thus, it is a Christian response to the Zechariah (14.21) passage about there no longer being traders in the house of the Lord, though Mark does not perceive it as such. In our own view, it is extremely difficult to make such distinctions and to assign traditions where we do not have traditions. We *do* have evidence of different interpretations of an event in the temple by the evangelists in light of the continuing or destruction of the temple institution. How could we be sure that these interpretations rest on post-Easter tradition? Equally, we might ask how we could be sure that they rely on *pre*-Easter tradition, but Sanders and others are probably right to connect this action with the reasons for putting Jesus to death. Indeed, as Crossan put it, if the symbolic destruction at Passover is not linked to Jesus' death, 'why then, why there, why thus?' J. D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1991) 372.

¹⁰⁹ Schmidt, *Temple Thinks*, 254-56. See also G. Theissen and D. Winter, *The Quest for the Plausible Jesus: The Question of Criteria* (trans. M. E. Boring; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 194-197.

¹¹⁰ E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 11. Note here that we have already mentioned in Chapter 3 of our thesis that Sanders also considers Jesus speaking of twelve to be among these facts. Such actions of Jesus are, for Sanders, to be valued over particular sayings, though he also treats sayings in his study (see pages 10-14 for his approach to sayings). Note Dale Allison's comment that the temple action is difficult to decipher. He says: "Although Sanders prefers, when possible, to ground his judgements about Jesus in the few facts we know about him instead of in the sayings attributed to him, the facts in the present case [the temple action] do not take us far enough. The turning over of tables in the temple is, as just indicated, less an illuminating episode than an episode that needs to be illuminated. D. C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998),

Mark 11.15-19 and parallels, Mark 13.2 and parallels, Matthew 26.61//Mark 14.58, Matthew 27.39- and Mark 15.29-. It does seem that a temple conflict is 'deeply implanted in the tradition.'¹¹¹ Sanders launches into a description of how the temple was not actually corrupt in the way envisioned by scholars such as Harvey. He says:

There was not an 'original' time when worship in the temple had been 'pure' from the business which the requirement of unblemished sacrifices creates. Further, no one remembered a time when pilgrims, carrying various coinages, had not come. In the view of Jesus and his contemporaries, the requirement to sacrifice must always have involved the supply of sacrificial animals, their inspection, and the changing of money.¹¹²

Further, as the action would not have a concrete result (i.e. stopping the temple trade), it would be seen as a symbolic action attacking the sacrificial system. Apparently, Sanders assumes that it would not be possible to attack what was ordained by God without thinking in terms also of restoration for the temple.¹¹³ Still, we have more questions. Why would the attack have to be seen as against the sacrificial system? Also, what makes it so impossible to be seen to attack the temple when apparently another Jesus has done just that? Marcus Borg's criticism of Sanders is valid: '[E]vidence that eschaton and new temple are frequently linked within Judaism says nothing directly about Jesus; he may or may not have made the connection, or may have made it in a different way.'¹¹⁴ This is, in fact, one of Borg's reasons for not accepting that Jesus worked with the framework of 'restoration eschatology' as he believes we cannot be sure that Jesus expected a new temple to replace the current one.¹¹⁵ As an alternative understanding, Borg suggests that the action should be associated with what it is said to be associated with in Mark – namely money. It was the money changers against whom the action was directed

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¹¹¹ Sanders, *Jesus*, 61.

¹¹² Sanders, *Jesus*, 63. See also pages 63-68 as well as *Practice and Belief*, where Sanders argues against modern scholarship's tendency to emphasise the corruption of the temple system (91-92).

¹¹³ Sanders, *Jesus*, 70-71. He says, "On what conceivable grounds could Jesus have undertaken to attack – and symbolise the destruction of – what was ordained by God? The obvious answer is that destruction, in turn, looks towards restoration." (71).

¹¹⁴ Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Harrisburg, Penn: Trinity Press, 1994), 76.

¹¹⁵ Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship*, 76: If we were confident that Jesus expected a new temple that would physically replace the old one, then we could say that Jesus was operating within the framework of restoration eschatology; but, of course, this is what Sanders is seeking to demonstrate, not something already established.

and these were in the service of the elite Jerusalem oligarchy.¹¹⁶ Therefore, he concludes as follows:

The temple action was not the invocation of eschatological restoration. Neither was it a cleansing, a purification of the temple, but virtually the opposite. It was anti-purity rather than pro-purity: a protest against the temple as the centre of a purity system that was also a system of economic and political oppression.

Though Borg's explanation would in part fit with some of the power relationships we explored and the hierarchical nature of the temple structure itself (Section 4.1 and 4.2), it is unconvincing in eliminating the eschatological significance of the temple action. The action as 'a protest against oppression' fits with the idea that the temple does not exist apart from those individuals and groups who control it and attempt to ensure their own power and the continuance of their power over the institution. There is evidence that the system centred on the temple in the first century operated to the advantage of the wealthy elite. However, a protest against the temple and indication that it would come to an end may be just as eschatological in orientation as a belief in the destruction and restoration of the temple (i.e. in Sanders' view). Qumran apparently criticised the Jerusalem temple and its leadership and also fostered eschatological expectations for a new temple with new leaders. We do not doubt that the offering of an alternative to the temple may be very eschatological in orientation. Still, there is no reason to assume that the destruction of the temple along with the institution of a new leadership group (the twelve) is not equally so.

Crossan points quite directly to some of the issues we have identified between Sanders and Borg when he asks about peasant attitudes toward the temple in the first century: 'Were they for it, or against it? Was it the place of prayer and sacrifices, or the place of tithes and taxes? Was it divine dwelling or central bank? Was it the link between God and themselves, between heaven and earth, or the link between religion and politics, between Jewish collaboration and Roman occupation?'¹¹⁷ Again, in light of what we have discussed in 3.2 regarding the complexity of the power relationships surrounding the temple as well as the populace's support as well as protest, we could agree with Crossan that the temple would have represented both. The temple, as sacred space ('divine dwelling');

¹¹⁶ Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship*, 113-114.

¹¹⁷ J. D. Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus: Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 50.

religious) and social space ('central bank'; political) could easily have engendered ambiguous responses from peasants.¹¹⁸ For Crossan, the temple action concretised or enacted Jesus' vision and programme in Galilee. Before making any judgements as to the best understanding of the temple action, we will first look at the main passages in some detail.

3.4.1.1 The Action in the Temple – Mark 11.15-18//Matt 21.12-13//Luke 19.45-46

All of the synoptic versions of Jesus' temple action begin with Jesus driving out sellers in the temple and each ends with quotations from Isaiah and Jeremiah.

<p>Matt 21.12-13 And Jesus came into the temple and drove out (ἐξέβαλεν) all the ones selling and buying in the temple and he overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of the ones selling doves. And he said to them, 'It is written, my house will be called a house of prayer (ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται), but you are making it (αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε) a cave of robbers.'</p>	<p>Mark 11.15-17 Then they came to Jerusalem. And having come into the temple, he began to drive out (ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν) the ones who were selling and the ones who were buying in the temple. And he overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of the ones selling doves; and he would not allow anyone to carry anything through the temple. Then he was teaching and said to them, 'Is it not written that my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations (ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν)? But you have made it (πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν) a cave of robbers.'</p>	<p>Luke 19.45-46 When he came into the temple, he began to drive out (ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν) the ones selling. And he said to them, 'It is written, my house will be (ἔσται) a house of prayer (ὁ οἶκος μου οἶκος προσευχῆς), but you made it (αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατε) a cave of robbers.'</p>
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Markus Bockmuehl argues that these texts should be regarded as authentic.¹¹⁹ His interpretation follows what he believes to be the point of the Isaiah passage. He says that it 'speaks of the universal access to Temple worship for all the nations.'¹²⁰ Though some passages do seem to give a role to the gentiles in the future gathering to Jerusalem and the temple, others certainly exclude them. Even in Isaiah, it is apparently not all gentiles who are spoken of, but those foreigners and eunuchs who

¹¹⁸ Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus*, 50.

¹¹⁹ M. Bockmuehl, *This Jesus: Martyr, Lord, Messiah* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 73. Against Sanders, he places particularly Bauckham and Borg in favour of the authenticity of the scriptural quotation (fn. 40 and 41 on page 201).

¹²⁰ Bockmuehl, *This Jesus*, 73.

had joined themselves to the Lord by following the custom of the sabbath and keeping the covenant of the Lord (Isa 56.3-7). However, we do not doubt that the phrase 'house of prayer for all nations (οἶκος προσευχῆς πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν – LXX)' could be interpreted as universal or used for the purpose of making a universal statement with regard to the temple.

More importantly, we want to explore the possibility that an eschatological temple is indicated in these few verses. The only possible reading of such a temple depends on reading the Isaiah quotation as speaking of an eschatological temple that 'will be.' In light of the varied eschatological interpretations of the temple we have already looked at, it seems tenuous to assert (even with some doubt) for this synoptic saying that "Jesus' point here may be the reference to the eschatological Temple to which all the Gentiles will come to pray."¹²¹ If Jesus *did* have a belief in such a temple, this would not be very good evidence of it, even if the scripture quotation of Isaiah 56.7 is authentic (a point we do not believe to be provable). What is 'the eschatological Temple to which all Gentiles will come to pray'? Bryan is correct to point out that expectations regarding 'the relationship between the eschatological Temple and the Second Temple' are not uniform.¹²² Further, the emphasis in the passage seems to be more on the present state of temple affairs than on offering an alternative to the temple. Bauckham asserts that even an eschatological temple should not be disassociated from criticism of the present situation:

[Jesus] cannot have thought of the description 'a house of prayer for all nations' as one which could apply only to the eschatological temple in the messianic age. The temple authorities could not be accused of contradicting a divine intention which was meant to be fulfilled only in the eschatological temple. The thought must be rather that what is going to be fully realised in the messianic age – in the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion – has been God's intention for the temple all along. In that case *pasin tois ethnesin* must have had some referent in the present.' (85).¹²³

¹²¹ Bockmuehl, *This Jesus*, 73. See also Richard Bauckham's article where he says 'Jesus could very naturally have taken Isaiah 56.7 as a prophecy of the eschatological temple. For this, he notes rabbinic interpretation. See footnote 76 on page 175.

¹²² Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 189.

¹²³ R. Bauckham, "Jesus' Demonstration in the Temple," in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. B. Lindars; Cambridge: James Clark & Co, 1988), 85. See also Steven Bryan, who says, "the failure of the standing Temple to be the eschatological Temple stands at the heart of his indictment of the Temple." Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 189.

Saying 'my house will be called a house of prayer' (as in Matthew and Luke) or saying 'my house will be called a house of prayer for all nations' (as in Mark) certainly makes use of a phrase that provides a statement of God's intention for the temple. Therefore, using it in a context that follows an action against money-changers and sellers in the temple indicates that God's intentions are not fulfilled by what *they* are doing. If, by calling twelve, Jesus thought that God would gather the nation together in the land, then it may be that the temple structure was not needed in the eschaton, particularly if it was exploiting groups of people in the present. It may be that what is indicated here is that what was written *at the time of Isaiah* ('my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations') has not been fulfilled *in the present* according to Jesus' action in the Temple against those buying and selling. This is further emphasised by the Jeremiah quotation, which equates the character of what the money-changers and sellers are currently doing in the temple with robbery. In the *future*, this state of affairs will be radically changed.

Regarding the Jeremiah quotation, Bockmuehl regards it as significant because it has parallel with Qumran texts where robbery is mentioned in connection with the temple (1QpHab 10.1 and 4QpNah 1.11)¹²⁴ and that Jeremiah 7 goes on to say that God will destroy the Jerusalem temple (Jer 7.14). Thus, for Bockmuehl, the action and the scripture quotation go together in that they both indicate the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.¹²⁵ Even in Jeremiah, however, the emphasis is on the current attitudes toward the temple as a safeguard rather than on the destruction of the temple. (Jer 7.3-14) Richard Bauckham is correct to point out that Mark 11.17 'is an antithetical saying which contrasts God's intention for the temple (*gegraptai*) with what the temple authorities (*humeis*) have made of the temple.'¹²⁶ It is also interesting to note that Bauckham also draws our attention to the contrast between two descriptions of the temple in the Isaiah and Jeremiah quotations – between 'house of prayer' and 'cave of robbers'.¹²⁷ Thus, we can join the two points

¹²⁴ Bockmuehl, *This Jesus*, 73 and footnote 42 on page 201.

¹²⁵ Bockmuehl, *This Jesus*, 74.

¹²⁶ Bauckham, "Jesus' Demonstration", 83.

¹²⁷ Bauckham, "Jesus' Demonstration," 83. He pays particular attention to what the distinction is *not* between – 'house of prayer' and place of sacrifice – so as to contrast these two functions of the temple. Therefore, for Bauckham, the sacrificial cult is not what is being criticised or downplayed in favour of prayer in the temple (83-84). However, it seems more interesting to notice what the distinction *is* between – namely, a place for prayer and a place of robbers. The former is affirmed and the latter denounced.

together and align God/what is written (*gegraptai*) with 'house of prayer' and notice the contrast with you (*humeis*) and 'house of robbers'. It is because of what the 'you' have made of the temple that it will serve as no protection when God destroys it (cf. Jer 7.4, 10, 14). Thus, the quotation of Isaiah and Jeremiah is meant to illustrate that Jesus' action of driving out money-changers and sellers is a criticism of what people have made of the temple and their attitudes toward it in contrast to what God intends for the temple. Certainly, the description of the temple action does not give clear evidence for a renewed temple. It does seem to clearly indicate a critique or protest against the present temple situation.

If this is a *symbolic* action indicating destruction *and* restoration, it does not have any element which points easily to restoration.¹²⁸ If it is not a symbolic action, it looks like anger at the current temple practices. The logic of Sanders is faulty, and his own evaluation leads us to view the action as an attack or protest on the Jerusalem temple and its leadership. In a very few statements, he moves quite far. First he says this:

Jesus was attacking the temple service which was commanded by God.

We agree with Sanders that it was an attack he was carrying out. Next:

[I]t is hard to imagine how Jesus himself could have seen it if not in these terms. We should assume that *Jesus knew what he was doing*.

Still, there is no cause for disagreement. Sanders asserts that Jesus knew he was attacking the temple service (and would be seen to be doing this by others) by the action he took. Following on from this, he says:

Thus, I take it that the action at the very least symbolised an attack...

What is the difference, we may ask, between Jesus attacking the temple service by his action and Jesus symbolising an attack on the temple service by his action? If there is a difference, it would be negligible. Finally, and most strikingly, Sanders finishes the previous sentence by noting:

'attack' is not far from 'destruction' (71).

From this point, the concepts 'attack - and symbolise the destruction of' are taken together (71). The only way that Sanders can find to hold together the notion that the temple was ordained by God with Jesus' 'attack and symbolic destruction' of the

¹²⁸ J. Riches, "Apocalyptic – Strangely Relevant," in W. Horbury, ed. *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 237-263; here 246.

temple is that he also looked toward the restoration of the temple. Attack and symbolic destruction of the temple might quite easily go together without a restored temple if it is an alternative spatialisation for the nation that Jesus offers. That is, the action of Jesus in the temple may be indicative of a desire for change to the present order. As a social agent, Jesus may be calling for a change to the present space and order (ideology) that goes with it. With the twelve as new leaders, it may be that he looks for a different societal arrangement, utilising an older tribal model for the envisioned future. Thus, the power relationships would be much different as well. Perhaps the temple was to end without an alternative to replace it. We cannot tell what is in mind from the temple action. As for the description of it which we have just examined, it seems most naturally to be an action of protest against the temple system and its leadership – the current order.

3.4.1.2 Stones Torn Down – Mark 13.1-2//Matt 24.1-2//Luke 21.5-6

<p>Matt 24.1-2 As Jesus came out from the temple and was leaving, his disciples came to him to show him the buildings of the temple (τὰς οἰκοδομὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ). And he responded to them, 'Do you not see all these? Truly I say to you, not one stone will be left (ἀφεθή) upon another which will not be torn down (ὅς οὐ καταλυθήσεται).</p>	<p>Mark 13.1-2 As he came out from the temple, one of his disciples said to him, 'Look, teacher, what wonderful stones (ποταποὶ λίθοι) and what wonderful buildings (ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί).' And Jesus said to him, 'Do you see these great buildings? Not one stone will be left (ἀφεθή) upon another which will not be torn down (ὅς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῆ).</p>	<p>Luke 21.5-6 When some were speaking about the temple, how it was adorned (κεκόσμηται) with fine stones (λίθοις καλοῖς) and offerings (ἀναθήμασιν), he said, 'These things which you see, the days will come in which not one stone will be left (ἀφεθήσεται) upon another which will not be torn down (ὅς οὐ καταλυθήται).</p>
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Normally, this saying does not receive a great deal of attention in evaluations of Jesus' action in the temple and the meaning of that action. In Mark, Jesus says this after the temple action. The reason for drawing particular attention to it here is that it highlights the destruction of the temple without any reference to the restoration of the temple. A distinction can be made between this statement, which predicts that the temple will not remain standing and the action in the temple, which indicates a protest or threat against the temple system but does not include a prediction.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ K. H. Tan, *The Zion Traditions and the Aims of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 185-86.

Sanders raises the question of whether prediction (as in this saying) or threat of the destruction of the temple was intended by Jesus. In the end, he uses both together:

Thus we conclude that Jesus publicly predicted or threatened the destruction of the temple, that the statement was shaped by his expectation of the arrival of the eschaton, that he probably also expected a new temple to be given by God from heaven, and that he made a demonstration which prophetically symbolized the coming event.¹³⁰

While we cannot agree with the entire sequence Sanders puts forth, we do agree that this saying indicates an announcement that the temple was going to be destroyed. We also agree that Jesus' ideas about the eschaton shape (and are shaped by?) his notion that the temple would be destroyed. As for the 'probable new temple' that Sanders speaks of, we will argue (3.4.1.3) that there is no way to be sure that a new temple was part of what was indicated in Jesus' temple action and the sayings that go with it.¹³¹

Therefore, Mark 3.1-2 points us toward examining on its own merits what the meaning of destruction would be. By emphasising the restoration of the temple, Sanders misses the element of judgement which should be connected to destruction.¹³² A new temple would have to be the primary element in mind for Jesus' eschatological programme according to Sanders. That is, for Jesus, the new temple would have to be the primary focus, and the old temple would have to be destroyed merely in order for the new one to come into being.¹³³ Hooker is right to insist that a reason for the temple's destruction must be given.¹³⁴ The mention of stones and buildings indicates that the current physical structure was not going to remain standing. It would come crumbling down, stone by stone. This structure is therefore the same one that we saw as the location of a power struggle between Jewish and Roman authorities. Jesus had in mind the destruction of this particular structure in Jerusalem which concentrated power and power struggles. That is, it was not some temple structure generally which was judged. This saying speaks explicitly of destruction and destruction has its own meaning.

¹³⁰ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 75.

¹³¹ Riches, "Apocalyptic," 246.

¹³² Hooker, *Signs of a Prophet*, 45. She takes the point from Sanders that Jesus was not condemning the sacrificial procedures of the temple, but she asserts that 'he is wrong in ignoring the notion of judgment implicit in the events in the temple.' (45).

¹³³ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 71.

¹³⁴ M. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1997), 45.

As power and space are connected, when Jesus speaks of the temple's future destruction, this should be seen as related to the tearing down of authority structures that go with the present temple. It is this aspect that we want to highlight above considerations of which aspect of the current temple was viewed critically by Jesus. The temple *itself* was viewed critically by Jesus. The present state of the temple was highly problematic. Its time would come to an end and with it the end of the reign of the governing authorities. Thus, the structure was under judgement and would be destroyed in the coming eschaton.

When we combine the belief that the present temple would be destroyed with the calling of twelve disciples to be the new leaders of the nation (chapter 5), the likelihood that Jesus intended a renewed temple in the eschaton grows more spurious. The new rulers were not to be priests for a (new) temple, but leaders (or judges) modeled on the tribal leaders. There are to be new authority figures, but they are not to be temple authorities. Thus, when Jesus (cf. Qumran and the author of the *Testament of Moses*) offers his own alternative, it contains both affirmation of the twelve as future leaders and denial of the continuance of the present temple. He does not deny that the twelve would rule or judge the nation, but he does deny that the physical structure of the Jerusalem temple would remain standing.

3.4.1.3 Destroy the Temple and Build It – Mark 14.56-59; 15.29//Matt 26.60-61; 27.40; John 2.13-22; Acts 6.12-14

Matt 26.60-61 Many false witnesses came. At last two came and said, "This man said, 'I am able to tear down (δύναμαι καταλύσαι) the temple of God and to build it (οἰκοδομήσαι) in three days.'"

Matt 27.39-40 Those passing by spoke against him, shaking their heads and saying, 'You who would tear down (ὁ καταλύων) the temple and build it (οἰκοδομῶν) in three days, save yourself, if you are son of God, and come down from the cross.'

Mark 14.56-59 For many gave false evidence against him and that evidence did not agree. And some stood up and gave false evidence against him saying, "We heard him saying, 'I will tear down (καταλύσω) this temple made with human hands (τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον) and in three days I will build (οἰδομήσω) another not made with human hands (ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον).'" But even in this their evidence did not agree.

Mark 15.29-30 Those passing by spoke against him, shaking their heads and saying, 'Aha, you who would tear down (ὁ καταλύων) the temple and build it (οἰκοδομῶν) in three days, save yourself and come down from the cross.'

Besides the interpretations of Mark and John (2.13-22), the evidence we have here is for a temple built in three days. Does this tell us that Jesus expected a renewed, eschatological temple? The *Psalms of Solomon*, *Sibylline Oracles*, *Testament (or Assumption) of Moses*, *1 Enoch*, the *Testament of Levi* and some Qumran Literature all offer critical views of the temple. However, excepting the *Testament of Moses*, they all portray a positive view, or allegiance to the temple in some form. We will want to focus particularly on the *Testament of Moses*, but will look briefly at some of the examples from Jewish literature. We will not here discuss Qumran as we have already examined views toward the temple at Qumran.

In *1 Enoch*, part of the section known as Dream Visions contains an imaginative telling of the history of Israel from creation and Adam to the Maccabean campaigns, followed by a judgement and institution of a new temple. Here, towers are representative of the various temples including the first, second, and future temples. Kyu Han has most interestingly pointed out the differences in these descriptions and noticed that while the portrayal of the first and future temples are positive (*1 En.* 89.50 and 90.29), the picture of the second temple is characterised by impurity (*1 En.* 89.73).¹³⁵ Therefore, there is the sense of devotion to the temple as an institution, but not to the present temple and its leadership which was corrupted from its beginning. This is interesting for our study, because of the positive picture of the first temple. We also note that the description of the future temple is modeled on the first temple. It reads as follows:

Then I stood still, looking at the ancient house being transformed: All the pillars and all the columns [trees, planted things] were pulled out [they pulled out]; and the ornaments of that house were packed and taken out together with them and abandoned [they took them out and abandoned them] in a certain [one] place in the South of the land. I went on seeing until the Lord of the sheep brought about a new house, greater and loftier than the first one, and set it up in the first location which had been covered up – all its pillars were new, the columns new [the planted things new]; and the ornaments new as well as greater than those of the first, (that is) the old (house) which was gone [which he had taken out]. All the sheep were within it. (*1 En.* 90.28-29)

¹³⁵ Han, *Jerusalem*, 99-100. See also David Bryan, *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Bryan compares *1 Enoch* to the Deuteronomistic history saying, "Like the Deuteronomistic history, the construction of the First Temple [in *1 Enoch*] is taken to be the high point in Israel's history, and thereafter events go downhill. In the *Animal Apocalypse*, of course, the descent continues after the exile until the Antiochan crisis, which is the prelude to the *eschaton*." Bryan, *Cosmos*, 178.

Can we be sure that the second temple is mentioned at all in this description? It may be that the second temple is ignored altogether here and the 'old' one which was taken away refers to the first temple. It is not clear in the passage which temple is transformed and uprooted. Certainly, it is compared to the first temple. There is no mention of the impurity of the second temple (as in 89.73) as reason for its removal. The notion of pillars, columns and ornaments are in both verses 28 and 29. In the latter, they are certainly connected to the first temple. In a description which is preceded by the judgement of stars with sexual organs like horses (90.21) and has broken with the description of the past history of the nation (to describe the eschaton), it hardly seems impossible that this vision ignores the 'historical' second temple and describes the transformation of the first temple. It may be that, for the author of *1 Enoch*, the future temple (in heaven?) is modeled after the first temple and comes to replace it. Whichever temple is indicated, it is ultimately 'abandoned,' so on this count it might be more logical to think that it is the second temple.¹³⁶ However, the future temple appears as the *successor* of the first temple and greater than it.¹³⁷ The focus here may very well be on the replacement of the first temple (which was great) with another (even greater) temple modeled on it. If this were the case, it would be damaging for those who place a high value on *1 Enoch* 90.28-29 as evidence for a belief in the destruction (of the second temple) and restoration of the temple (in the eschaton).¹³⁸ In fact, picking up pillars, packing up ornaments, removing them and then replacing them with grander ones hardly sounds like a particularly destructive act at all. It sounds more like the renovation or improvement of an old structure. This is not to say that a text like *1 Enoch* does not criticise the second

¹³⁶ D. Bryan (*Cosmos*, 182) comments on *1 Enoch* 90.28-29: 'The Second Temple is to be completely demolished and removed to the south of the land.' Though he has noted the importance of the first temple in *1 Enoch* (see footnote above), he makes no direct reference to the role of the first temple in his comment on 90.28-29.

¹³⁷ Han, *Jerusalem*, 102.

¹³⁸ See especially Craig Evans, "Predictions of the Destruction of the Herodian Temple in the Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Scrolls and Related Texts" *JSP* 10 (1992), 89-147, on *1 Enoch*, pages 94-95. Evans states that 'the destruction of the second Temple and its replacement with a new, eschatological Temple seem to be envisioned' in *1 Enoch* (Evans, "Predictions," 94). Besides the verses we have discussed (*1 Enoch* 90.28-29), Evans also includes 91.11-13 as evidence for the same (Evans, 95). Though sinners are destroyed in that passage and a house is build for the king, there is certainly no reference to destruction and rebuilding of the temple, even if the house is meant to be a royal temple as in 4QEn^g. See also Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 81-82, 88. Whether or not destruction and restoration is indicated in *1 Enoch* is certainly a more interesting question than whether the towers refer to the temple or to Jerusalem. On this, see L. Gaston, *No Stone On Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic*

temple and its leadership (89.73 certainly indicates that it does). Rather, we mean to emphasise that precisely those texts which *do criticise* the second temple seem to have a tendency to draw from alternative models such as the tabernacle (as in *2 Baruch* – see below), the first temple (as in *1 Enoch*) or Ezekiel's temple (Qumran) in thinking about the future (or heavenly?) temple.

A new temple with a long history is referred to in *2 Baruch* 4.1-7. Working backwards from the end of the chapter, we see that the building which will be revealed (4.3) was shown to Moses on Mount Sinai (4.5), to Abraham (4.4) and to Adam 'before he sinned' (4.3). The structure was prepared by the Lord 'from the moment that I decided to create Paradise.' (4.3). The building is decidedly *not* the building 'in your midst now' (4.3). Bryan notes that 'the eschatological Temple will be the heavenly tabernacle shown to Moses on Sinai as a model for the wilderness tabernacle.'¹³⁹ The text, however, emphasises that the origin of that temple goes all the way back to the moment of the *decision* of creation. That same structure existed continuously (including its revelation to Moses) and will be revealed at a future time. Both Paradise and the structure, though once taken from Adam (4.3), are preserved with the Lord (4.6). One could conjecture that the present building to which the author refers is *not* modeled on the Lord's ideal structure as it was not revealed to whoever might have been responsible for the building 'in your midst now' who is certainly not Adam, Abraham, or Moses. Here, the Lord has a model which is more ancient than any earthly structure and which may only be revealed by himself. In *Jubilees* also, the Lord is the one to build his temple (*Jub.* 1.17, 27). In the *Testament of Benjamin*, the following is stated: but in your allotted place will be the temple of God, and the latter temple will exceed the former in glory. The twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the nations, until such a time as the Most High shall send forth his salvation through the ministration of the unique prophet. (*T. Benj.* 9.2) In *Sibylline Oracles* 5, God is called the founder of the greatest temple (5.431). Thus, sometimes a model is given for the eschatological temple and sometimes not. It may be thought of as built by God but without description of what that temple would actually be like.¹⁴⁰

For Sanders, Mark 14.58 is central. He says, 'the saying indicates an expectation that God himself would shortly construct a physical, eschatological

Gospels (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 114.

¹³⁹ Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 192.

¹⁴⁰ See here Sanders, *Jesus*, 87. Thus, in *Jubilees* 1.17, God is to build the temple.

temple in Jerusalem.¹⁴¹ “However, Sanders has simply assumed that if Jesus spoke of an eschatological Temple he necessarily meant a new, physical temple in Jerusalem, an assumption which would appear to be unwarranted in view of the foregoing survey of Jewish expectations concerning the eschatological temple.”¹⁴² (Bryan, 232.)

A question we might ask is expressed by Steven Bryan, namely was the concept of a material eschatological temple tied to expectations of the Second Temple’s destruction?¹⁴³ Bryan himself answers in the negative, saying that ‘in some way the Second Temple itself would become the Eschatological Temple through a divine renewal.’¹⁴⁴ However, he also suggests another scenario in which the eschatological temple is conceived as ‘of heavenly origin with dimensions which far excelled any physical structure located in Jerusalem.’ Therefore, this temple would come with the eschaton and the end of the distinction between heaven and earth and would be ‘the sort of structure which *could not be* made with hands.’¹⁴⁵ But, we must remember that when dealing with texts which describe events or structures of the eschaton, they are highly imaginative appropriations of space which need not conform to ‘physical’ standards of contemporary building capabilities in *any* description. If God were to build a temple, or if he was thought to have a structure in mind since the time of creation, this temple would, it seems, by definition *not* conform to any existing temple structure or its particular dimensions as it is an alternative which is offered. Equally important is the notion that some of the descriptions of future or ideal temples model themselves on an earlier structure like the tabernacle or the first temple. Whether they actually conform exactly to such models or exaggerate proportions is irrelevant. The fact remains that they recall an earlier model for the purpose of expressing a new imaginative spatialisation. If Jesus did say something like the phrase attributed to him regarding a new temple not made with hands, does this mean that, not unlike *Jubilees’* simple ‘I will build my sanctuary in their midst’ (1.17), he believed that God would bring a heavenly temple to replace the destroyed (second) temple? Perhaps. Our sources certainly only reveal this belief in such a simple form. There is no material on the level of (or that could be compared to) the *1 Enoch*, *2 Baruch* or the Qumran texts we have looked at. We have

¹⁴¹ Sanders, *Jesus*, 71-76.

¹⁴² Bryan, *Israel’s Traditions*, 232.

¹⁴³ Bryan, *Israel’s Traditions*, 232.

¹⁴⁴ Bryan, *Israel’s Traditions*, 232.

¹⁴⁵ Bryan, *Israel’s Traditions*, 233.

doubted that even the quotations of Mark/Matt/Luke from Isaiah and Jeremiah indicate a renewed temple. Therefore, our only evidence for such a temple rests with this one saying about a temple not built by hands. There is even a good possibility that the saying is authentic as we see a struggle over how to interpret the saying before and after the destruction of Jerusalem's temple by the Romans in 70 CE. Steven Bryan is right to point out the importance of Exodus 15.17: You brought them in and planted them on the mountain of your own possession, the place, O Lord, that you made your abode, the sanctuary, O Lord, that your hands have established.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the 'original' shrine not made with hands is the sanctuary located on the mountain of God. Jon Levenson looks at the overlap in Jewish Scriptures between 'land' and 'mountain'. As far as Exodus 15.17 is concerned, Levenson considers that the sanctuary established by God's hands may originally have been Mount Sinai, but then becomes the land of Israel which is the goal of the Exodus.¹⁴⁷

[I]t is the land of Israel which becomes the sacred mountain, God's throne and his palace, from which he exercises cosmic sovereignty. In fact, the idea of a holy land, which is so startlingly dominant in the religion of Israel at all periods, is most likely an extension of the universal idea of the holiness of the Temple or mountain. It may not be the case that Israel conceived of the world as a mountain, but Exod 15:17 testifies to their conception of the land of Israel in terms of its hills, perhaps because of their initial settlement of the central mountain range, while the Canaanites and Philistines retained the coastal plain.¹⁴⁸

Prior to settlement in the land (the goal of the Exodus), Yahweh dwelt in the tabernacle. Moses was shown the pattern for this structure by God himself (Exod 25.9). In 2 Maccabees, the text of Exodus 15.17 is used to speak of the time when God's people are gathered into a holy place and saved from their enemies (1.27-29 and 2.17-18). In 2 Maccabees 2.17, God 'returns the inheritance to all' in addition to the purification of 'the place' (2.18). Perhaps speaking of a sanctuary or temple not made with hands could recall promises regarding the land, even if also the temple. If the Jesus movement saw themselves as enacting a time before the entry into the land, that is, in the wilderness, then it might be quite appropriate to speak of a temple not made by human hands if such might be seen as the goal of the Exodus.

¹⁴⁶ Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 191, 192-3, 199. He notes that 2 Macabees 1-2 (1.27-9; 2.17-18) relies 'explicitly on Exodus 15.17, the text from which the idea of an eschatological Temple built by God originated.' (193).

¹⁴⁷ Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 112 and 136.

¹⁴⁸ Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 136.

William Horbury believes that for Jesus to be thought of as messiah in the gospels, this indicates the importance of land. The sequence he envisions is this:

In the gospels the land is important by implication when Jesus is portrayed as messiah. He constitutes a group of twelve like the tribal princes of old, and is called son of David, messiah, and Son of man (This last phrase echoing Dan. 7 and messianic in association, itself implies a kingdom of the saints in the holy land.) Links between land and sanctuary become clear when Jesus enters Jerusalem, cleanses the temple, and dies as king of the Jews. His prophecy of the destruction and rebuilding of the temple (Mark 13.2; 14.58; 15.29; John 2.18-22), probably authentic, fits into hope for a messianic kingdom.¹⁴⁹ (217)

We agree with Horbury that the twelve disciples have implications for land as they are modeled on the tribal leaders. However, we question whether the 'links between land and sanctuary' are actually particularly clear in the gospels. The disciples are not depicted as forming a new priesthood for the temple. Therefore, in light of the calling of twelve disciples, there are grounds for considering that the links between land and sanctuary may actually have been broken by the action of Jesus in the temple. This action could signify the *denunciation* of the notion that entry into the land meant congregation in the temple and immediate worship there. This interpretation, of course, goes against the belief (held by Horbury) that the rebuilding of the temple was a necessary part of Jesus' prophetic action. It also goes against the notion that Jesus meant to 'cleanses' or purify the temple.

3.4.2 Critique of the Temple-Centred Economy

We have discussed some of the power struggles centering on the temple – its structure and the system of power relationships that are inherent in its very structure. We have also seen that there does not appear to be a central focus on the temple in the traditions about Jesus we have looked at. At this point, then, we turn the discussion to bring the gospel evidence together with the evidence from Josephus concerning the temple to offer some suggestions as to why Jesus might reject the temple-centred cult in his vision of the kingdom for the future. Sean Freyne suggests that Herodian political powers colluded with the Jerusalem priesthood and aristocracy who maintained 'the fiction of the theocratic ideal of the temple-state'.¹⁵⁰ That ideal would entail a different system of distribution of the land's resources and

¹⁴⁹ Horbury, "Land, Sanctuary," 217.

¹⁵⁰ S. Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honour of Lars Hartman* (ed. D. Hellholm and T. Fornberg; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), 597-622; here, 611.

this was not what the temple-system upheld in actual fact. Both Herodians and Jerusalem aristocracy endorsed the notion of a market economy where resources stream to the centre. There is therefore not the possibility of a shared or reciprocal system of exchange.¹⁵¹ It is these aspects which the Jesus tradition critiques. The vision of Jesus for the arrangement of society was very different from what was upheld by the existing hierarchical structures and leaders. So, Freyne discusses the responses to the situation characterised by inequality under Herodian and priestly theocratic systems. Among these, he would include 'landowning to leasing to day-labouring, to slavery or banditry.'¹⁵² Such responses, however, merely reacted to the situation and did not offer alternatives to the current structures of power. Thus, Freyne states:

By contrast, Jesus' vision of shared goods and rejection of the normal securities, including money (Q Matt 6.19-21, 24; Luke 12.33-34; 16.13; Gos. Thom. 47.1-2; 76:3), which apart from land was the most important commodity in the market economy, though utopian in its intention *did provide an alternative vision*. This vision viewed the world of human relations, based on status maintenance, in a very critical light and instead allowed for oppressors and oppressed to relate as equals.¹⁵³

Therefore, Jesus did not merely react to what he saw as a system which treated many unfairly. Rather, that situation needed an alternative. It needed transformed leadership and transformed space. This is not unlike Qumran, the sign prophets, or indeed the view of the author of the *Testament of Moses*. The alternative vision Jesus offers is an alternative theocracy. As Theissen reminds us: "God, was not, after all, to rule quite alone."¹⁵⁴ Just as Qumran or the Samaritans endorsed different rulers to 'assist' God in his earthly rule, so the Jesus movement endorsed 'wandering charismatics' as the new leaders of the nation. We will have more opportunity to discuss this new leadership in the chapter discussing Jesus' group of twelve, but for now note that Jesus does not propose a new temple leadership, a replacement priesthood.¹⁵⁵ If he also rejects the notion of purity as we shall investigate in the next

¹⁵¹ Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban", 609.

¹⁵² Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban", 617-618.

¹⁵³ Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban", 618, emphasis added.

¹⁵⁴ Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1978), 61.

¹⁵⁵ This does not exclude the possibility that Jesus critiques the temple leadership, the priests. As noted by Ithamar Gruenwald, traditions such as the parable of the Good Samaritan, the action in the temple and prediction of its destruction, and the involvement of priests, or the high priest, in the trial of Jesus may indeed point to the conclusion that 'one of the chief

chapter, then the temple might not be the obvious central institution for the itinerant prophet and his followers. Furthermore, the kingdom and the temple are not connected in the gospels. In comparison, the twelve rule in the kingdom. Further, they may evoke an ideal situation of 'all Israel sharing in the fruits of the land' which, according to Freyne, had appeal in Galilee among Jewish peasants at the time of Jesus.¹⁵⁶ The temple, for Jesus and his followers, worked according to a system that was unfair to those who worked the land in the country (cf. Matt 20.1-16; Mark 12.1-9; Matt 18.23-35).¹⁵⁷ They were fixed on a new world, but one that also overlapped with the present world. Therefore, apocalyptic imaginations which do not focus on the temple and which instead provide a broader view of all the land with unknown Galileans at the head of the tribes would seem to fit as a more appropriate kind of 'world' for them to live in when justified in the eschaton. In the language of millenarianism, of apocalyptic, a new order for society can be offered, a new imagination of space that critiques the present arrangements.

Space and hegemonic powers are always connected, so the connection between the current leadership and current spatial arrangements for the temple is significant. Likewise, the new alternative offering is a spatialisation connected to a different leadership. The imagined space of a millenarian prophet need not conform to the present societal arrangements, whether spatial or constitutional. In fact, alternative spatialisations may serve to critique hegemonic powers. Therefore, the idea that Jesus and his group break from a temple-centred system and do not imagine a restored cult is not as implausible as Sanders suggests. It seems that the very structures (hierarchical and spatial) of society are challenged by the calling of twelve and the temple action. Abandoning the temple need *not* mean abandoning the presence of and rule of God. God had certainly been powerfully with his people in the wilderness when they had no temple structure. The *Testament of Moses* shows us the possibility of Israel being raised to the heights to be in the presence of God after the end of the temple system. We cannot be sure exactly what Jesus expected to happen in the new arrangement, but several possibilities could be described. It may

targets in Jesus' criticism of the Judaism of his time was the priesthood.' I. Gruenwald, "From Priesthood to Messianism: The Anti-Priestly Polemic and the Messianic Factor," in *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser*. (ed. I. Gruenwald; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 75-93; here, 82.

¹⁵⁶ Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban," 616.

¹⁵⁷ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 46, 51-56.

be that Jesus and his group did plan for the nation's space in a similar way to Qumran's plans for a future temple. Obviously, such plans have not survived if they ever existed. Another possibility is that the critique of the temple and the offer of an alternative leadership aims most directly at symbolically pulling down the present spatialisations and powers without a clear vision of what would be once they were removed. Perhaps the twelve tribes would dwell in heaven with God and the patriarchs and the notion of gathering, though evoking fulfilment of promises for land, is not for the establishment of a new state. Still, the combination of twelve and temple evidences a deep dissatisfaction with the present order. Others were opposed to the present order (based on the temple) as well, but Jesus also offers teachings which may suggest the possibility of a less drastic change than we find for instance in the *Testament of Moses* (where the nation is raised to the heights). That is, Jesus must also be placed in relationship to his teachings. We will look at this in more detail in the next chapter as we try to set the critique established in the calling of twelve and the temple action more fully in context.

The space produced in the first century was organised around a central temple, powerful in its own right, yet subordinate to the Roman Empire. Here we turn to the economic and political situation actually experienced in first century Palestine. These are very important historical issues to come to terms with for an understanding of the production of space. It is possible to say something about the historical and economic changes which occur with the institution of Roman rulership. Many of the power struggles described by Josephus centre on the temple structure itself. Still, the temple was modeled on earlier conceptions of space such as the tabernacle in the wilderness and Solomon's temple. When Lefebvre speaks of the relationship between representations of space and representational spaces, he describes how, at some points in history, representational spaces are subordinated or dominated by (the producers of) representations of space. The temple structure, based on an older model of holy and holier spaces, is a dominant force in the built environment of the first century. Yet, other 'temples' – symbolic, imagined, or remembered (i.e. Gerizim) – survive alongside, critiquing and perhaps also increasing interest in heavenly worlds.¹⁵⁸ Both are social constructions of the spatial. Both are important, and the temple was more than a system of thought:

¹⁵⁸ J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 134.

The structured temporality of the liturgy accomplished for Christianity in its relationship to the *loca sancta* what the Jewish hierarchical distinctions accomplished with respect to Jerusalem and its Temple. Both structures – being structures and, hence, replicable – could become independent of place. They could become independent structures of thought, creativity, and human action for which the events in Jerusalem of 70 or 135, of 614 or 1244, were, strictly speaking, irrelevant. These structures undertook different (in important ways, opposing) forms in Judaism and Christianity. For the one, Mishna; for the other, the liturgical year.¹⁵⁹

Even structures, systems of thought and the like must apprehend space in social context. The Mishna must have a centre for their school for thought. The liturgical year must be connected to church structures and meeting places. Spaces must be created which will guarantee endurance.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Smith, *To Take Place*, 95.

¹⁶⁰ Lefebvre, *Production*, 44.

4 Moving Out and Making Distinctions: Purity in the Land

Purity, as we have suggested in the introduction to the previous chapter, is an important 'ingredient' in the relationship between God-people-land. It is also essential to Temple worship and to conventional associations between land and 'sanctuary.'¹ We may view purity as a *spatial practice* which recalls and reinforces beliefs. To illustrate this principle, in a Catholic or Anglican church, the reserved sacrament is the real presence of Christ and therefore individuals may genuflect when entering and leaving (and at other times) to acknowledge Christ's presence. A physical practice (genuflection) acknowledges the sacredness of place (tabernacle or ambry).² By performing purity rituals, it is possible to recognise through bodily expression the sanctity of place (i.e. temple, land).

As a spatial practice, purity must also be set in social context. That is, purity is certainly part of the interpretation of sacred space, but it must also be related to specific social situations. If Leviticus indeed envisages a 'religion of the body' where 'purity and impurity appear as possible states of man's bodily existence oriented toward God and creation, towards holiness and everyday life,'³ then the ways Levitical purity laws are interpreted in different contexts are instructive. As in our discussion of the Table of Nations (Chapter 2) purity laws and their interpretations have the potential to 'show up' cosmology and ethos in that they offer a model for organising everyday life according to accepted beliefs, namely to do with God's holiness. The reality of social life shapes beliefs and *vice versa*: how (and if) purity is

¹ W. Horbury, "Land, Sanctuary," in *Early Christian Thought in its Jewish Context* (ed. J. M. G. Barclay and J. P. M. Sweet; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 207-224.

² The Orthodox practice of reverencing and kissing icons when they come into a church is another example which could illustrate a relationship between practice (physical gestures) and sacred space.

³ M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, "Purity and Holiness: An Introductory Study" in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (ed. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 3-26. Here, 5, 7-8. See also Lefebvre, who discusses how the relationship between an individual and space in terms of the relationship between an individual and their own body: "[T]he relationship to space of a 'subject' who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship to his body and vice versa." H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. D. Nicholson-Smith; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 40. He illustrates this using his three 'moments' of space, saying that there are practices of the body (physical gestures), representations of the body (scientific understanding of how the body works and relates to nature), and symbols of the body (i.e. a 'moral' body, thought of as not having sexual organs). "The 'heart' as lived,"

interpreted in different contexts. For example, under Antiochus Epiphanes, with the temple profaned and Jewish practices banned, the possibilities were limited. Prior to the revolts, Roman rule allowed for a relatively large degree of freedom of practice. Purity is *as* connected to the particular beliefs (i.e. regarding God's holiness) of an individual or group as it is to societal relations of power and gender, to morality and indeed to spatial perception.⁴

Both the sacred and the social aspects of purity practices are important to our study. Different emphases regarding purity may help us to decipher different attitudes toward 'the land' in the Second Temple Period. This suggestion will have to be developed further. First, however, we will examine the priestly ideology in Leviticus, and in so doing, highlight the connections between 'the land' and purity practices within that ideology.⁵ This will help us to identify some of the conventional associations between purity and land in texts which were also resources available to later (i.e. first century) interpreters.

In Leviticus, bodily purity is connected to a conception of separation and holiness (Hebrew *qadosh*), which involves making distinctions between clean and unclean people, animals and things. As Mary Douglas has demonstrated for biblical purity laws, it is not necessary to determine whether (and how) these individual prohibitions do or do not 'make sense' (i.e. why one animal is unclean and not another).⁶ Rather, we may view purity as part of a larger system of thought requiring relationships of ritual separation. Even if we think of 'secular contagion,' the 'rules' will not need to follow either logic or the principles of scientific knowledge.⁷ It is just

states Lefebvre, "is strangely different from the heart as thought and perceived." (*ibid.*)

⁴ Poorthuis and Schwartz view purity and impurity as possible states which may reflect societal norms for behaviour. They state, "This awareness may stimulate reflections upon the relation between perceptions of the body and society at large, upon gender relations and power structures, upon man's attitude toward the environment and upon the intertwined relations between sickness, moral behavior and subsequent healing rituals." Poorthuis and Schwartz, "Introductory Study," 7.

⁵ Following Habel's approach, we will not look for the particular social and historical context of the text of Leviticus. Rather, we will attempt to highlight the ideology(ies) promoted within the text. To quote, "It is the ideology of that text [here, he uses Joshua as an example], rather than the actual history behind it, that has had, and continues to have, an influence on generations of readers of that text." N. Habel, *The Land is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 6.

⁶ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 50-51: "There must be contrariness between holiness and abominations which will make over-all sense of all the particular restrictions."

⁷ See M. Douglas, "Sacred Contagion," in *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas* (ed. J. F. A. Sawyer; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 86-106.

as difficult to understand why someone would wash a television screen after it had been watched by a person with HIV as it is to understand why land animals must chew their cud, have divided hoofs *and* be cleft-footed in order to be clean and fit for eating (Lev 11.2-8) without a broader framework for thinking about prohibitions within a particular society.⁸

Keeping with the notion that a god-granted land may certainly be considered a sacred space,⁹ the broader framework for purity should also be related to spatial definitions. Separation (i.e. between God's people and the nations) and distinction (i.e. between clean and unclean animals) is part of a system of thought which also establishes boundaries for purity. In Leviticus, the land – 'their' land, the land that flows with milk and honey, the land which could vomit settlers out – is the location for purity. Entering and possessing the land requires holiness and obedience:

You shall keep all my ordinances, and observe them, so that the land to which I bring you to settle in may not vomit you out. You shall not follow the practices of the nations that I am driving out before you. Because they did all these things, I abhorred them. But I have said to you: You shall inherit their land, and I will give it to you to possess, a land flowing with milk and honey. I am the Lord your God; I have separated (*badal*) you from the peoples. You shall therefore make a distinction between the clean (*tahor*) animal and the unclean (*tame*), and between the unclean (*tame*) bird and the clean (*tahor*); you shall not bring abomination on yourselves by animal or by bird or by anything with which the ground teems, which I have set apart (*badal*) for you to hold unclean (*tame*). You shall be holy (*qadosh*) to me; for I the Lord am holy (*qadosh*), and I have separated (*badal*) you from the other peoples to be mine. Leviticus 20.22-26

In chapter 18, the land is shown to react to the defilement of its former inhabitants:

Do not defile (*tame*) yourselves in any of these ways, for by all these practices the nations I am casting out before you have defiled (*tame*) themselves. Thus the land became defiled (*tame*); and I punished it for its iniquity, and the land vomited out its inhabitants. But you shall keep my statutes and my ordinances and commit none of these abominations, either the citizen or the alien who resides among you (for the inhabitants of the land, who were before you, committed all of these abominations, and the land became defiled [*tame*]); otherwise the land will vomit you out for defiling it (*tame*) as it vomited out the nation that was before you. For whoever commits any of these abominations shall be cut off from their people. So keep my charge not to commit any of these abominations that were done before you, and not to defile (*tame*) yourselves by them: I am the Lord your God. (Lev 18.24-30).

⁸ Douglas, "Sacred Contagion," 94-95.

⁹ See J. Bereton, "Sacred Space," in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 526-35; here 527.

It is interesting that here the land itself is not called a holy land.¹⁰ The 'nations' made the land impure, but it is not said to possess the quality of holiness or even purity explicitly. Land is gift (Lev 20.23), but as such it is highly dependent on the holiness and practices of the people (Lev 18.24-30), rather than on its own inherent holiness. Still, 'the land' remains a prominent component of the passage. It is not only God in relationship with the people around which issues of holiness and defilement circle. Rather, it is God in relationship with the people in keeping or losing the gift of the land; they remain in it or are spewed out from it.

For the Abrahamic land promise, kinship with Abraham is emphasised alongside circumcision (Gen 17) whereas in Leviticus, keeping separate from the nations by certain moral and ritual practices is emphasised. Though there are differences in these ideologies and their requirements, they each focus on the land as given by God.¹¹ In these and other ideologies in the Hebrew Bible, land is connected with practice, whether purity, circumcision, or whatever. If any ideology must in some way refer to space,¹² we see that land is highly important as part of the ideologies of the Hebrew Bible.

What, we might ask, is the significance that the Levitical ideology is a *priestly* ideology? Does it merely function to make the people of the land (the 'masses') consent to their position, to their exclusion from the most holy realms of the sanctuary? Is it only a justification for priestly privilege?¹³ Certainly, there is a hierarchy to the Levitical 'system.' The priest's roles are assigned by virtue of their

¹⁰ See R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). He discusses how it was Zechariah who first used the descriptive 'holy land' though Ezekiel had such a notion in his description of a holy district (Wilken, 17-19). Second Maccabees contains the second use of the term holy land and the first use of the term in Greek (Wilken, *Land Called*, 24-25). It is indeed striking that with the Levitical emphasis on holiness and also on the relationship between God, people and land, that the land itself is never called holy whereas both God and people are described as such.

¹¹ See Habel's charts of comparison of different ideologies of land. Habel, *The Land is Mine*, 149-157.

¹² Lefebvre seems to answer in the negative in one of his many rhetorical questions: "What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?" He presses this even further and says, "Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space." (Lefebvre, *Production*, 44).

¹³ See W. Herzog, "The New Testament and the Question of Racial Injustice," *American Baptist Quarterly* 25 (1986): 12-32. "In ancient agrarian societies, the masses lived in misery while their ruling elites controlled vast amounts of wealth. One major dilemma for such ruling classes was to develop justifications for their privileged position persuasive enough to convince the peasants to acquiesce to their poverty." (14)

descent from Aaron. Whilst Levites have duties relating to the sanctuary, priests are strictly descendants of Aaron and only they may become high priest. It would seem that rather than mere justification of priestly roles, the 'system' of Leviticus would allow for a certain sense of awe at the holiness associated with the priests and the most sacred spaces.¹⁴ A diagram adapted from Philip Jenson's *Graded Holiness* illustrates the connections between the ideology of holiness, sacred space, people and sacrifice¹⁵:

	← (Increasing Holiness)				
Holiness Gradient	Most Holy	Holy	Clean	Unclean	Especially Unclean
Spatial Realm	Holy of Holies	Holy Place	Court	Camp	Outside Camp
People	High Priest	Priest	Levites, Israelites	Minor Impurities	Major Impurities
Sacrifice	Sacrifice to God	Sacrifice (priests)	Sacrifice (non-priests)	Purification 1 day	Purification 7 days

Priests are supported by this 'system' (i.e. they partake of sacrifices) and they connected to the most holy places, but ordinary Israelites may also gain access to redemptive media by obeying the laws of purity. The command in Leviticus 10.10 to 'distinguish between holy and common, between unclean and clean' establishes three states of being and certain 'steps' between them as seen based on Milgrom¹⁶:

Holy (qadosh)			
Desecrate/Desanctify (<i>hillel/hiqdish</i>)			
Holy (qadosh)		Pure/Common (tahor/hol)	
Sanctify (<i>qiddesh</i>)		Pollute (<i>timme</i>)	
(anointment, commandment)		Pure/Common (tahor/hol)	Impure (tame)
		Purify (<i>tihar</i>)	
		(ablution, sacrifice)	

The holy and the impure are to have no contact according to the 'system' of Leviticus. In order to obey the command, 'be holy as I am holy', persons could 'move along' the scale towards holiness by performing the various rituals of bathing and sacrifice to purify themselves and obey the commandments in order to sanctify

¹⁴ See, for instance, Sanders' imaginative but helpful description of ordinary people bringing sacrifices to the Temple. *Practice and Belief*, 112-116.

¹⁵ P. Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 37.

¹⁶ J. Milgrom, "The Dynamics of Purity in the Priestly System," in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (ed. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 29-32. Here, 30.

themselves.¹⁷ Priests and Levites are necessary to the process and connected to the most holy spaces. Ordinary Israelites also participate, relying on the roles of the priests and Levites, and entering into the courts of the sanctuary when they are pure. The spatial distinctions corresponding to unclean, clean and holy are also connected to a hierarchy of persons and to specific practices.

In Leviticus, God is present with the Israelites in a portable sanctuary – the tent of meeting. They are outside the land in the wilderness, yet as we saw in Leviticus 18 and 20, there is an emphasis on entering and possessing the land. Bodily purity with its codes and practices is part of an ideology of holiness which is not merely concerned with people and their bodies, but with people and their bodies in specific spaces, looking towards settlement in the land which God will give them and how to behave once they enter it. The vocabulary and codes for purity and holiness are linked to the vocabulary and codes for space in passages such as Leviticus 18.24-30 and 20.22-26. Therefore, a religion of the body emerges from the text as well as the notion of a territorial religion – the body in relationship to its environment. If the land cannot withstand defilement and the people are to be holy as God is holy, then separation at different levels is required and this emphasis on separation is formative for the identity of the people *as a people*. This particular ideology comes from the top of the holiness gradient (from the priests) and is thereby closely connected to hierarchies in society.

4.1 *Purity Practices in the Second Temple Period*

Certainly, there was a keen interest in the interpretation of purity laws during the Second Temple Period. The Mishnah shows a great concern with purity and though codified in the 2nd Century CE, it preserves traditions and interests prior to the destruction of the temple and the Bar Kochba revolt. The New Testament also contains early references to purity debates, i.e. Gal 2.11-18. Jewish works from the diaspora, notably Tobit (2.9, after burying a corpse) and Judith (12.6-10, after contact with gentiles, before prayer) mention washing for purification.

Finally, archaeological data gathered from the period reveals some evidence for the practice of ritual purity, particularly within ‘the land.’ Stone baths called *miqvaot* are suitable for immersion and are thought to have been used for ritual

¹⁷ Milgrom, “Dynamics of Purity,” 30.

washing. These are described in the tractate on *miqvaot* in the Mishnah (also the tractate in the Tosefta) and appear in the archaeological record at various locations in Galilee and Judea.¹⁸ Also of significance are stone vessels which are an innovation at this time (i.e. not prescribed in biblical law) and are found throughout the land. Both baths and stone vessels show a heightened concern with purity practices. Because they are a widespread phenomenon (i.e. not exclusive to Jerusalem and the temple), they may be considered part of 'non-priestly purity.'¹⁹ Many of the structures and artefacts may be dated to the period before the destruction of Jerusalem. For instance, at the site of the town of Jotapata in Galilee, which was destroyed in the Jewish war and remained unoccupied afterwards, there have been found fragments of stone vessels and (possibly) *miqvaot*.²⁰ We have already suggested that purity practices are spatial practices and connected to the holiness within the land. The discussion of purity in the Second Temple period will help us to set this in context and show some of the different ways that purity was interpreted at this time.

4.1.1 Leviticus and Bathing

Washing and waiting until evening are important features of regaining purity in the Levitical laws. Sometimes the unclean person does both. Sometimes it is only a waiting period without bathing. People, clothes, homes and indeed 'any article that is used for any purpose' (Lev 11.32) may be washed to restore their purity (i.e. Lev 11.1-43).²¹ Many times, the text dictates that people and items are 'unclean until evening' and sometimes several days must pass; the longest waiting period is for a woman who must wait 66 days to be made clean again after the birth of a daughter (Lev 12.5). Many people are instructed to wash: leprous persons (Lev 14.1-34); a man

¹⁸ Though numerous *miqvaot* have been identified, there is still debate over exactly what classifies as a *miqveh*. For example, see the following debate over finds at Sepphoris: H. Eshel, "Pools of Sepphoris: Ritual Baths or Bathtubs?" *BAR* 26:4 (July/August, 2000), 46-48; E. M. Meyers, "Yes They Are" *BAR* 26:4 (July/August, 2000), 46-48; H. Eshel, "We Need More Evidence" *BAR* 26:4 (July/August 2000), 49.

¹⁹ Eyal Regev makes a strong case for the practice of non-priestly purity in E. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and its Religious Aspects According to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings" in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (ed. M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 223-244a.

²⁰ See Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 232; D. R. Edwards, "Jotapata" in *OEANE* (ed. E. M. Meyers, 6 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). 3:251-252.

²¹ According to Maimondes in the *Hilkhot Miqvaot* tractate, references in the Torah to washing clothes and bathing in water are to be interpreted as to be carried out by immersion in a ritual bath. See Y. Magen, "Ritual Baths (Miqva'ot) at Qedumim and the Observance of Ritual Purity Among the Samaritans" in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (eds.

with a discharge (Lev 15.13); anyone who touches the man with the discharge or anything that was under him (Lev 15.4-15); a man and a woman who have had sex, including an emission of semen (Lev 15.16-18);²² a man who touches something that a woman with a regular or irregular discharge touched (Lev 15.19-30; *she* does not wash!); anyone who eats an animal that dies of itself or is torn by wild animals (Lev 17.15).

These regulations apply to men and women of the general community and are not specific to any group in particular (i.e. priests or Levites). Spatially, there are some connections to the sanctuary, but most often this is not explicitly mentioned or emphasised.²³ The idea that these laws were to be practiced in everyday life even when contact with the sanctuary was not imminent is certainly reasonable from the descriptions.²⁴ Washing to do with sexual contact would presumably be a fairly normal and regular reason for washing. Other reasons for washing may have been less common and ordinary, but we do not know the extent of this, i.e. for lepers and those with irregular discharges, which according to Leviticus were certainly a concern.²⁵

Priests are instructed to wash under special circumstances different from the rest of the people. They bathe to put on their vestments (Lev 16.2, 23) or after burning a sin offering for the Day of Atonement (16.27). Priests are not to eat sacred food on the Day of Atonement unless they have washed their whole bodies in water. They

F. Manns and E. Alliata; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 181-192; here 190.

²² It is interesting that the Rabbis assume that a menstruant should immerse after the end of her period, i.e. M. Miqvaot 8.5. See Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell International, 2002), 151. The only women who are specifically instructed (i.e. as women) to immerse in Leviticus are those who have sex as in Lev 15.16-18. Waiting and offerings are required for childbirth and discharges (Lev 12; 15) and it is men who are required to wash after coming in contact with menstruating women, not the women themselves (Lev 15.20-24). Therefore, the practice by the time of the Rabbis is remarkable.

²³ In Numbers 19.13-22, those who fail to purify themselves (including bathing) after contact with a corpse defile the sanctuary and are cut off from Israel. Women who are impure from child birth or menstrual impurity (Lev 12 and 15) are not allowed to touch holy things or enter the sanctuary (though bathing is not involved). Those with leprous diseases (Lev 13) are not prohibited from the sanctuary but from the camp. Though there is no doubt that they were also excluded from the sanctuary, one could interpret this to mean that a certain level of 'cleanness' (i.e. not having a leprous disease) was required for life within the camp. Men with discharges do not bring offerings to the sanctuary, but wash and are unclean until evening (Lev 15). The tabernacle 'in their midst' (Lev 15.31) is in view and would be defiled by breaking the regulations.

²⁴ Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 242-43.

²⁵ See Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 107-154 on lepers and dischargers in the

wash and then wait for the sun to set before they eat (Lev 22.4-7). They also bathe after the burning of the animal in the ceremony of the red heifer (Num 19). In Leviticus 22, priests are to make sure they are clean before they eat of the 'sacred donations.' If they are in a state of uncleanness (i.e. according to the regulations for all Israelites, see above), then they cannot partake in the sacred food. They must wait until evening and wash (their whole body) in water if they have a discharge, a leprous disease, come in contact with a corpse or a man who has had an emission of semen, touch an unclean 'swarming' thing or 'any human being by whom he may be made unclean' (22.4-5).

Exodus describes a water basin between the tent of meeting and the altar for the priests to wash their hands and feet (Exod 30.18-21; 40.30-32; see also 29.4). Though there were extra requirements for priests, there were certainly plentiful reasons why any Israelite (including priests) could be considered unclean. Bathing in particular was required for many of the impurities and applied to all Israelites (though more often for men than women), while the priests also washed on other occasions in connection to cultic ceremony.

How then, was all this bathing to be carried out? Leviticus does not describe any certain built structure for bathing, only gives the simple instruction to 'bathe in water' (i.e. Lev 15.20-24, 17.16; Num 19.19). Leviticus 15.13 says to wash in living (*hay*) water and Leviticus 11.36 says that 'a spring or cistern holding water will be clean.' Still, this is not much to go on considering the development of *miqvaot* in the Second Temple Period. The rabbinic requirements for *miqvaot* (from the tractate *Miqvaot*) are summarised by Magen in these three points:

1. It must be organically connected with the soil, otherwise it is useless. (Accordingly, most of the known ritual baths are hewn in the rock.)
2. The water – either rain or spring water – must flow into the ritual bath of its own; therefore, water drawn up and conveyed in vessels may not be used.
3. The minimal amount of water in the ritual bath must be forty *seah*.²⁶

Presumably, prior to the development of *miqvaot*, natural bodies of water could have been used for fulfilment of ritual purity laws.²⁷ In fact, there is no reason to believe

Second Temple Period.

²⁶ Magen, "Ritual Baths," 182. Estimates for the equivalent of 40 *seahs* of water range from 60 gallons to 250 gallons! See E. M. Meyers, "Yes They Are," *BAR* 26:4 (July/August 2000), 46-48.

²⁷ See Reich, "Ritual Baths," *OEANE* 4:430: "In the early stages of the practice [of immersion], a state of purity was achieved through immersion in a natural body of water – a spring, river or lake. Eventually, however, the demand for pools of natural water to service the community

that they were not even after the development of *miqvaot*. However, the interpretation 'beyond Leviticus' suggests a special concern with this practice at a certain time. In the next section, we will explore *miqvaot* in context of when they begin to appear in the archaeological record for 'the land.'

4.1.2 The Rise and Fall of *Miqvaot*

Notions about 'the land' were closely related to notions of purity and Second Temple Judaism. This era (with the possible exception of a brief time under the Hasmonean rulers) was marked by the domination of foreign rulers. Though it may be tempting to simply assume that it was the Hasmoneans who raised issues of purity and created the need for new 'purity innovations' such as *miqvaot*, we should also set alongside this the fact that *miqvaot* were introduced at a time when building various structures for holding large amounts of water was part of architectural development.²⁸ Among these, we could include baths, cisterns, pools, and *miqvaot*.

The public bath was a feature of the classical Greek world and originated in the 4th century BCE. From this time, public baths and hot baths were part of the built environment (i.e. 'spatial practice') and were taken over by the Romans to be part of Greco Roman culture.²⁹ As such, public baths had particular characteristic elements:

The major features of Roman baths include an exercise courtyard (peristylum) or larger gymnasium (palaestra), a dressing room (apodyterium), a cold room (frigidarium), often with a plunge bath, and a warm room (trepedarium) that led to a hot room (caldarium).³⁰

Though these are the main common features, there was a large amount of diversity in the design of baths and they could be large (*thermae*) or smaller (*balnae*), public or private, attached to a military camp, sanctuary, or to a residence – either private or imperial.³¹ It is no surprise that baths were introduced in Palestine in the 2nd century BCE since this was the time when Hellenistic culture was increasingly permeating 'the land' to the distress of the Hasmoneans. The earliest examples from this period

was met via the introduction of the *miqveh*."

²⁸ For Lefebvre, there is a 'creative capacity' associated with the production of space (*Production*, 115), re "a social reality capable...of producing that space." In terms of architectural form, Henri Lefebvre, believes that the Romans utilised the spatial principles of ancient Greece in their architecture by taking what was essential to Greek buildings (i.e. the 'orders' – Doric, Ionic and Corinthian used in the building of Greek temples) and using them for decorative purposes.

²⁹ Ann Killebrew, 'Baths' in *OEANE* 1:283-285.

³⁰ Killebrew, 'Baths', 285.

³¹ *Ibid*.

are Beth-Zur and Gezer (the 'Syrian Bath-house'), according to Ronny Reich.³² Also among the earliest structures are private baths in Jericho and Masada. Herod built bath houses at his palaces (Jericho, Herodium, Masada, Kyros and Macheros). These baths copied the Roman feature of the *hypocaust* which is 'a floor suspended on small columns and heated from below.'³³ Because of halakhic difficulties with using a Roman bath-house, Jewish examples (Hasmonean and Herodian) may have replaced the Roman cold bath (*frigidarium*) with ritual baths or *miqvaot*.³⁴ Thus, Reich believes that a *miqveh* necessarily accompanied baths because of a concern with purity:

The only conceivable way to use the hot bath-house while maintaining a high degree of purity was, therefore, by installing a *miqveh* in every bath-house or very close to it. The affluent, who could afford to install in their houses a room with a *hypocaust* to serve as a hot bath-room, had no difficulties in this respect. Excavations in the Upper City of Jerusalem have revealed that every private house in the Second Temple Period was provided with at least one *miqveh* (usually more than one). In every case, a *miqveh* was situated close to each of the hot bath-rooms of the private house.³⁵

Because of the concern of transmitting impurity through water,³⁶ bathing constituted a significant 'danger.' As we saw in Leviticus, it was possible to become impure by coming into contact with impure people (i.e. menstruating women, men who had had an emission, lepers, etc.). Water containing naked bodies was of particular concern!³⁷

Another concern relating to architecture was retaining and storing annual rainfall. Cisterns had become so numerous in the Hellenistic and Roman and Byzantine period that they could be found in every household, supplying families with water for the whole year.³⁸ Elaborate water systems such as the one at Sepphoris brought water supplies from outside cities.³⁹ Similarly, nearby Petra was known for its water system, so that Strabo commented on the skills of Petra's engineers (*Geography* 16.4.21). Petra (a Nabataean site) even had a pool near the so-called Great Temple. This pool may have been modeled on the larger pool complex built by

³² R. Reich, "The Hot Bath-House (*balneum*), the *Miqveh*, and the Jewish Community in the Second Temple Period" *JJS* 39:1 (1988): 102-107, here 102

³³ Reich, "Hot Bath-House," 102.

³⁴ Reich, "Hot Bath-House," 106.

³⁵ Reich, "Hot Bath-House," 106.

³⁶ See Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 229.

³⁷ Reich, "The Hot Bath-House," 103.

³⁸ Tsvika Tsuk, "Cisterns," *OEANE* 2: 12-13; here, 13. (Translated from Hebrew by Ilana Goldberg.)

Herod at Herodium.⁴⁰ In areas where water was limited, an extravagance like a pool would send a message of prosperity to inhabitants and those passing through the city:

It may be presumed that the Nabataeans, like their contemporaries, wanted to establish Petra, their political, religious and cultural center – as a prosperous and thriving metropolis within the larger Hellenistic world. The presence of a large formal garden – a virtual oasis – in Petra would have delivered a powerful statement to merchants and foreign delegates passing through the city after a long journey in the harsh desert environment. Citizens and visitors alike would have been impressed by the gratuitous display of conspicuous consumption, a symbol of the flourishing status of Petra during the classical era.⁴¹

Whether we think of the extravagance of a pool or the practicality of cisterns (used for keeping rainwater for ‘drinking, washing, livestock, irrigation, and agricultural installations’⁴²), water installations and new ways of moving and storing rainwater were being developed by the Early Roman period. It is not surprising that a special water installation for keeping Levitical purity laws would be introduced at the same time as these various ‘water structures’ were part of the architectural (built) environment. They could serve not only to distinguish Jewish practice from Greco-Roman practice, but they might also have an element of being able to impress others by their installation and construction.⁴³

Examples of *miqvaot* have been found at Jerusalem, Jotapata, Sepphoris, Qumran, Masada, Jericho, Herodium, and Gezar.⁴⁴ They have also been discovered

³⁹ See Tsvika Tsuk, “Bringing Water to Sepphoris” in *BAR* July/August 2002, 35-41.

⁴⁰ Leigh-Ann Bedal (“A Pool Complex in Petra’s City Center” *BASOR* 324, November 2001, 23-41) states, “The plans of the Herodian and Petra garden/pool complexes are virtually identical, although the Herodium complex is constructed on a significantly grander scale.” (37). See also chapter three (Description of the Excavations at Lower Herodium During the Years 1972, 1973 and 1987) in *Qedem* (Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) 13; N. Avigad, J. Avirim, et al, eds. (Jerusalem: Publications of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1981).

⁴¹ Bedal, “Pool Complex,” 39.

⁴² Tsvika Tsuk, “Cisterns,” *OEANE* (translated from the Hebrew by Ilana Goldberg) 2:12-13. See also his article on the varied uses of pools. T. Tsuk, “Pools,” *OEANE* (translated from Hebrew by Ilana Goldberg) 4: 350-351. Here, Solomon’s Pools are said to constitute part of Jerusalem’s water supply and ‘served a dual purpose: to regulate the water supply and to store water (reservoirs)’ (351). Other uses are identified as a centre for village life, livestock, washing clothes, drinking, bathing and swimming (351) as well as storage of water for drinking and bathing, swimming, irrigating gardens and crops (350).

⁴³ That is, *miqvaot* were not practical in the sense that they did not store water for drinking, washing, etc (see above). These were ‘ritual’ rather than ‘practical’ structures.

⁴⁴ E. Netzer, “Ancient Ritual Baths (*Miqvaot*) in Jericho” in L. I. Levine, ed. *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (3

(uncovered) in Samaria.⁴⁵ Many of the excavated *miqvaot* have been found in cities (i.e. Jerusalem, Jotapata), palaces and fortresses (Masada and Jericho) and private homes (the upper city of Jerusalem). However, ritual baths have apparently also been found on a Hasmonean farm in the region of Qalandiya (West Bank).⁴⁶ Ronny Reich refers to *miqvaot* located in villages.⁴⁷ *Miqvaot* are not an urban phenomenon, nor are they a Judean phenomenon. They seem to have been in use fairly widely throughout the land and were particular to it.⁴⁸

Still, it is very difficult to find an exhaustive and current list of excavated *miqvaot*.⁴⁹ We can identify two related reasons for this lack of cataloguing. First of all, there is the problem that not all of the finds have been published.⁵⁰ Secondly, due to the similarities between *miqvaot* and other contemporary 'water installations,' there can be considerable disagreement as to what constitutes a *miqveh* and what constitutes simply a bath or cistern.⁵¹ There were considerable variations on the designs for building *miqvaot*. We can certainly agree with Sanders that all of them could have been derived from Leviticus as there is very little there to interpret (see section 4.1.1).⁵² They could be single or double pools with single or double (divided) steps. They might have water supplied by a water supply system, or they might have the feature of an *otsar* (a storage pool for water which could be used to 'purify' the ritual bath next to it by allowing contact between the two pools via a connecting pipe). The pools with an *otsar* may be considered to be pharisaic because they are

vols., Jerusalem: Yad Izhad Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981), 1:106-119.

⁴⁵ See Magen, "Ritual Baths," 181-192.

⁴⁶ Magen, "Ritual Baths," 190-192.

⁴⁷ Reich, "Ritual Baths," 431.

⁴⁸ This may be said cautiously based on the existing evidence, though more data and greater agreement about identification are needed before claims as to the spread and the ubiquity of *miqvaot* may be said to be certain. Reich notes the particularity of *miqvaot* to the land (Galilee and Judea): "Frequently used in the Second Temple period in Judea (Judah) and the Galilee, *miqva'ot* were absent from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman world. Like Jewish inscriptions and symbols, the *miqveh* is a clue (an architectural one) for identifying a Jewish presence at sites." See also E. Netzer, "Ancient Ritual Baths," where he comments, "These baths seem to have first been built at this time; no comparable institution is known from the biblical period. The plan of such *miqvaot* was far from fixed, and a wide range of models appear to have fulfilled this ritual requirement." (106).

⁴⁹ Reich estimates 300 *miqvaot* for the period before the Mishnah and the Talmud. R. Reich, "The Synagogue and the *Miqveh* in Eretz-Israel in the Second-Temple, Misnaic, and Talmudic Periods" in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (ed. D. Urman and P. V. M. Flesher; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 289-97; here 296.

⁵⁰ Hanan Eshel notes the problem of unpublished data for Sepphoris. See Eshel, "We Need More Data," 49.

⁵¹ See Eshel, "Pools of Sepphoris: Ritual Baths or Bathtubs?" 46-48.

discussed in the Mishnah. These have been found at Masada, Herodium, Jericho and Jerusalem.⁵³

As for the decline of *miqvaot*, this may have been connected to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.⁵⁴ Reich makes the following comment:

After the Romans destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple in 70 CE, the need for ritual purity was considerably minimized, resulting in a sharp decline in the number of *miqva'ot* in use, which is attested in the archaeological record. From an average frequency of two-three installations per private house (in Jerusalem), the number declined to one-two *miqva'ot* per village or neighborhood in most sites. (Although Sepphoris in Galilee seems to present a much higher rate of frequency in the period after 70 CE).⁵⁵

After the Bar Kochba revolt (135 CE), the centre of religious life moved from Judea to Galilee. Considering that there were *miqvaot* in use in Sepphoris in Galilee before the destruction of Jerusalem and that they continued to be used afterwards, this could suggest a strongly established concern for purity in that area. If this were so, the Rabbis may have found this area particularly 'friendly' in the post 135 era.

Reich's observation emphasises that the temple was important to the widespread use of *miqvaot* before 70, but this does not tell us that purity was only practiced in preparation for entering the temple.⁵⁶ The existence of *miqvaot* at a considerable distance from Jerusalem (i.e. in the Galilee) as well as in Samaria (where presumably no one was preparing to offer sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple! – see section 4.3.2) and Qumran (where the community has broken with the current temple and its leadership – see section 4.3.1), indicates fairly strongly that the practice of bathing in *miqvaot* had broader uses than only in relationship to temple

⁵² Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 222

⁵³ Reich, "Ritual Baths," 430.

⁵⁴ Cf. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," who rightly notes that the decline in *miqvaot* and stone vessels seems to conflict with the Rabbis concern with (non-priestly) purity laws (233,34; 235). He offers an alternative explanation: "The reason for this apparent inconsistency comes from an archaeological limitation: while the archaeological remains from the periods preceding the first and second revolts were easily revealed due to the physical destruction, the vessels of the late second century continued to be used in an uninterrupted fashion into the third century." (233) Therefore, it is difficult to detect late second century baths and vessels and suggests that they could well have been used after (70 and) 135. (233-4).

⁵⁵ Reich, "Ritual Baths," 431. See also R. Reich, "Synagogue and *Miqweh*," 296-97. Similarly, Magen believes that the small number of *miqvaot* in the Roman-Byzantine period is related to abrogation of purity laws after the destruction of the temple. He suggests that "the masses did not agree to observe the commandment which the Sages sought to maintain, as a sort of practice in remembrance of the Temple." (Magen, "Ritual Baths," 162-163. Still, if Reich is correct that there were still one to two *miqvaot* per village, this shows that there was still considerable (if less) interest in observing the law in this way.

worship. As we saw in Leviticus itself (section 4.1.1), bathing was not always explicitly connected to the sanctuary. Therefore, before moving on to draw out comparisons with different practices of purity, we will bring the discussion of purity and *miqvaot* to a close by drawing out some implications for the meaning of *miqvaot* and how these structures relate to the notion of the land as sacred and social space.

4.1.3 Meaning, Hierarchy and the Cost of Purity

Where, then, has our discussion of *miqvaot* led us? Does the widespread use of these structures in Second Temple Judaism tell us anything about land as sacred and social space? The answer, we suggest, is yes. These structures are found, particularly within 'the land' (Judea and Galilee, though also in Samaria) and particularly prevalent in the period before the first and second revolts. Though there may be questions as to what is and is not a *miqveh*, their use does not seem to be only related to the temple.⁵⁷ If rituals may mark space as sacred, bathing in *miqvaot* could be connected to a wider concern with purity and to the holiness of the land, devotion to Yahweh and belief in his holiness.⁵⁸ Connected to these beliefs, as John Riches has shown, is the notion that 'doing' purity meant not doing as the gentiles do. And, here in particular we find implications for the social aspect of purity. That is, bathing in *miqvaot* meant distinguishing Jews from gentiles and maintaining separate practices. The Romans might bathe for the 'general good' of purity,⁵⁹ but Jewish bathing in *miqvaot* was something distinguishable from this, based on the interpretation of biblical purity laws.

Gentiles were kept from entering the sacred sanctuary in Jerusalem, but what was the significance of the presence of Romans throughout the land? It was not possible to place signs at the borders of the land identifying the space as holy and restricting entrance. What might be possible, though, was distinctive practices, marking space and signifying holiness as part of the relationship between God-people-land. The practice of purity does emphasise distinctions, and *miqvaot* are not

⁵⁶ This is argued by Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 222-29.

⁵⁷ We will explore this further in our discussions of practice at Qumran and in Samaria.

⁵⁸ Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 71-77.

⁵⁹ Sanders believes a lot of people (ancient people – Jews and 'pagans') were interested in purity (*Practice and Belief*, 229-30). Were a lot of people (other than Jews) interested in the interpretation of *Leviticus*? Certainly, Sanders would recognise this point, but the importance of purity as biblical interpretation (and part of *distinctive* Jewish religious identity) should be stressed.

portable, but 'located' structures. Thinking of life in the camp described by Leviticus, *miqvaot* would certainly not fit within that scenario. Cut into rock, they could hardly be moved. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that they indicate a claim – if not to land – to the right to practice purity in the land and thereby maintain its holiness as its inhabitants.

Finally, if space has connections to social hierarchy in society, how do *miqvaot* fit with this principle? In Leviticus' priestly purity system, priests had a high level of responsibility and were closely connected to the holiest spaces. By the first century, priests certainly used *miqvaot* and probably interpreted them differently from the Pharisees (in terms of their construction⁶⁰), but were they responsible for them? Did they see to their construction and expect their use throughout the land? Certainly, it seems unlikely that *miqvaot* were introduced as part of a peasant ideology or a lower class 'revolutionary' idea as to the proper interpretation of Leviticus. The earliest Hasmonean *miqvaot* known so far were part of palaces. This does not mean that there was not a shared ideology (concern with purity), only that the 'inspiration' to build a structure hewn in bedrock, holding 40 *seah* of undrawn water may not have originated among the 'common people' of the land. There is a connection between these purity structures and the elite who could afford to build them for their convenience. Still, we must make sense of the expansion of purity practices to reach beyond the palaces, fortresses and private homes of the powerful. There seems to have been an enthusiasm for keeping purity even apart from the temple and more widely than just with the priests.⁶¹ We will explore this idea further in sections 4.2 and 4.3, but note for now that innovations relating to the practice of purity seem to have been fairly broadly influential and should be thought about in terms of the framework we have discussed for understanding purity (i.e. as part of a concern with the holiness of the land).

The elite could, in a sense, 'afford' to be pure. There is a certain cost involved with building *miqvaot*, cut into stone and perhaps connected to a water system supplying rainwater.⁶² Another purity 'innovation' with labour intensive production

⁶⁰ The baths in the upper city of Jerusalem are of the single pool variety, in contrast to the 'Pharisaic' interpretation.

⁶¹ See the discussion of Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 223-44.

⁶² In discussion of the irrigation system of the Hasmonean kings' at Jericho, Netzer says, "While these were intended primarily for the irrigation of royal plantations and gardens, they also made possible the construction and maintenance of luxurious winter palaces, with their

associated with it is stone vessels. Such vessels, made either by hand or by lathe, were thought by the Rabbis to be unable to contract impurity and workshops for the production of these items have been found in both Galilee and Judea, particularly in the environs of Jerusalem.⁶³ Similar to *miqvaot*, stone vessels are not discussed in relationship to keeping purity in Leviticus. Ceramic vessels, however, had to be broken if they became defiled according to Leviticus (i.e. 6.28; 11.33; 15.12).⁶⁴ They could not be used again as could stone vessels according to rabbinic interpretation.⁶⁵ Again noting the potential cost associated with purity, it could be quite expensive to replace pottery which had become defiled. Adan-Bayewitz suggests that potters would be able to provide a large number of vessels to 'observant consumers.'⁶⁶ Some would have been able to afford to replace pottery, purchase stone vessels (and stone tables⁶⁷) and build their own *miqvaot* whilst others likely would not have been able to. The cost of being particularly careful about purity would certainly have been one factor contributing to a range of observance.

full complement of swimming pools, bath houses and *miqvaot*." Netzer, "Ancient Ritual Baths," 108.

⁶³ Magen, "Jerusalem as a Center of the Stone Vessel Industry," 245-247. A particular soft limestone was used in the Second Temple period and artefacts include ossuaries, tables and small vessels such as measuring cups (which were common). See Magen, 245. The Mishnah – *Kelim* 10.1; 4.4 – says that stone was clean because it was not fired. Thereby, vessels made of sun-dried dung and earth were also regarded as clean.

⁶⁴ D. Adan Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993), 231. See also M. Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple: The Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*, trans. Ina Friedman (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 155-157.

⁶⁵ See Magen, "Jerusalem as a Centre." He makes a connection with the emergence of a stone vessel industry. "Due to the strictures governing ritual cleanness it was more worthwhile to purchase a vessel which could not become unclean, for once a vessel became ritually unclean it had to be taken out of use – especially a pottery vessel, which had to be broken. As a consequence of this halakhic precept of strict observance of the purity laws both inside and outside the Temple, a stone vessel industry began to develop in the Second Temple period." (253).

⁶⁶ Adan Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 231. Perhaps stone vessels could be used to store wine (John 2.25). There seems to have been concern that wine and oil were produced in a state of purity as evidenced by the discovery of *miqvaot* at the sites of oil and wine production. See also Magen, "Ritual Baths," 181-92; D. Adan-Bayewitz and I. Perlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period," *IEJ* 40:2-3 (1990): 153-72.

⁶⁷ Tables have been found in the Upper City of Jerusalem. See Magen, "Jerusalem as a Center," 249, 252. See also Hillel Geva "Twenty Five Years of Excavations in Jerusalem, 1967-1992: Achievements and Evaluation" in Hillel Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 1-28; here, 12-13.

4.2 Interpretation of Purity Laws 1: The Sadducees and Pharisees

Having seen that purity laws were interpreted in new ways in the Second Temple period, we now turn to focus on some of the variations of interpretation among particular groups. William Herzog sees the Pharisees and Sadducees as the two groups controlling the redemptive media of Second Temple society, the Sadducees in their control of the temple and the Pharisees by their control of the Torah 'through their oral interpretation of its regulations.'⁶⁸ As we saw from the diagram in the introduction to this chapter, washing, sacrifice, obedience to the commandments were the ways to maintain contact and relationship with Yahweh. These correspond to the two areas of 'control' for the Sadducees and Pharisees – temple and Torah. These are also interrelated, for "the Temple was the center of holiness, and the holiness of Temple, land and people depended on the careful observance of Torah."⁶⁹

4.2.1 Sadducees: Status Quo Temple Purity

Though relatively little is known about the Sadducees – their history, leaders and beliefs – they are not an entirely indistinct group. They appear to have wielded power and amassed wealth, but virtually nothing is known about any of their individual members or leaders. They are mentioned as a group in Josephus, the rabbinical writings and the New Testament, yet none of these writings preserves any material produced by the Sadducees themselves. Since these sources come to us by way of the inscriptions of opponents or outsiders, it is not surprising to find them "necessarily selective and tendentious."⁷⁰ We cannot be sure about the Sadducees connection with Sadok (*War* 2.451, 2.628), nor with the precise moment of the Sadducees' nascence as a group. Josephus chronologically first mentions the

⁶⁸ Herzog, "Racial Injustice," 14.

⁶⁹ Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 76. He goes on to say, "Moreover, the two major renewal movements [Pharisees and Essenes] were both committed to an intensification of holiness." (76-77). Sanders seems to have missed the point that observance of the Torah was related to the holiness of the land as well as the temple. He believes purity was performed for access to the temple in view of Josephus (*Contra Apion* 2.198; *War* 5.227). He says that purity laws regulated "what must be done after contracting impurity in order to enter the temple." (*Jesus*, 182). Further, "[p]urity is related to the temple and sacrifices, and impurity does not limit ordinary associations, except for very short periods of time." (*Jesus*, 182). See also *Judaism, Practice and Belief*, 71, 228.

⁷⁰ G. Stemberger, "The Sadducees – Their History and Doctrines" in W. Horbury, W. D. Davies, and J. Sturdy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 428-443.

Sadducees under John Hyrcanus (135-104 BCE, *Ant* 13.288-98), but the other two passages where Josephus speaks of the Sadducees (*War* 11.119 and *Ant* 18.11) could indicate that the Sadducees emerged as a group later, i.e. in the time of Herod.⁷¹

As a group, the Sadducees probably made some impact on, as well as compromises with, Herod (i.e. *Ant.* 15.299-316; 20.199-200).⁷² They were in positions of power in society, and maintained these positions by cooperating with “the salient tendencies of the institutions at that time”⁷³ (namely the Herodian family and the Roman administration). The New Testament mentions a Sadducee as ‘captain of the Temple’ (Acts 4.1) as well as indicating that the high priest ‘party’ was made up of Sadducees (Acts 5.17).⁷⁴ Whatever else we might say about the make-up of the Sadducees, they emerge as a small group with members of status, having high priests or potential high priests among their members, and centred in Jerusalem.⁷⁵

Related to the location of the Sadducees in Jerusalem and their concern with the affairs of the temple, we may draw out a connection between the Sadducees and hierarchy in relationship to space. In Josephus’ account of Simon’s elevation to the high priesthood (*Ant.* 15.299-316) the backdrop where the scene is played out is the upper city of Jerusalem (15.318). It is not difficult to imagine Simon, high priest with the record for longest term in office under Herod,⁷⁶ living in a home like the ones uncovered by archaeological excavations in the upper city of Jerusalem, furnished with single-pool *miqvaot*, stone tables and vessels and other obvious displays of

⁷¹ Stemberger, “The Sadducees”, 431.

⁷² M. Stern, “Social and Political Realalignments in Herodian Judea,” in *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (ed. L. I. Levine; 3 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Izhad Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981), 2:51.

⁷³ Stern, 51.

⁷⁴ M. Stern, “Aspects of Jewish Society: The Priesthood and Other Classes” *CRINT* 2:610.

⁷⁵ Stemberger, “The Sadducees,” 434.

⁷⁶ See M. Goodman *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). He discusses the house of Boethus (42, 139). Goodman believes that Simon ‘could expect some prominence in court circles’ (42). On the flip side of Josephus’ emphasis on Herod raising the status of Simon to accommodate his own dignity, Goodman notes that Herod could be presumed to hope ‘to gain some respectability in the eyes of his Jewish subjects by having a High Priest as a father-in-law.’ (42) Further, ‘[i]t would however be mistaken to believe that his royal connection gave the Boethusian house any more popular prestige in Judaea than the other high-priestly families which were not favoured by Herod in this way...even by A.D. 6 none of the priestly families given land and promoted to high office by Herod had won any prestige in their own right in the eyes of the Judaeans populace. In Judaeans society they still were, as they had been when plucked from obscurity by Herod, nonentities or worse.’ (42)

wealth.⁷⁷ The interrelatedness of these surroundings and the ideology of the rich inhabitants (presumably some of them Sadducees) are noteworthy. Perhaps their physical location in the 'nice parts of town' could also be related to their ideological isolation.

What can be said about the ideology of the Sadducees? Apparently, it is characteristic of the Sadducees that they emphasise traditional interpretations of the law and reject some of the new interpretations of the Pharisees. Stemberger identifies the difference between the traditions of the Sadducees and the Pharisees as lying primarily with the authority attributed to the traditions. In *Antiquities* 13.297, we find the following:

For the present I wish merely to explain that the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducaean group, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture), and that those which had been handed down by former generations need not be observed.

Elaborating on Josephus remark, Stemberger says that "the Sadducees were inclined to dispute even with their own teachers; they relied on reasoning more than on the institutionalised authority of the Pharisaic 'chain of tradition' which began with the revelation to Moses on Sinai."⁷⁸ The tenets of the Sadducees "have in common the rejection of later developments in the biblical religion."⁷⁹ Josephus says that the Sadducees do not believe in fate but hold that human actions determine whether one receives good or evil (*Ant.* 13.173; cf. *War* 2.164-5). Further, the Sadducees believe that soul and body die together (*Ant* 18.16; *War* 2.165) and do not believe in punishment and rewards in Hades (*War* 2.165). As discussed by Martin Goodman, the belief-system of the Sadducees was primarily accepting of the status quo. We could also say they would likely have been influential in the establishment or definition of the status quo. Goodman says,

Only a few could accept the status quo with complacency, but Josephus' description of the Sadducees makes it clear that they at least contrived to make a positive philosophy out of laissez-faire. It is not surprising to find that they all apparently came from the ruling class. The philosophy did not attract the populace but only men of means (*A. J.* 13.298), the kind of public figures

⁷⁷ Hillel Geva "Twenty Five Years of Excavations in Jerusalem, 1967-1992: Achievements and Evaluation" in Hillel Geva ed. *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 1-28; here 12-14.

⁷⁸ Stemberger, 436.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

of high standing who could expect office, presumably as High Priests (A. J. 18.17).⁸⁰

Thus, the philosophy of the Sadducees supported the existing state of affairs and their own social standing.⁸¹ They took part in management over the realm of the temple. The temple was their focus and though this was a highly respected institution throughout the land and diaspora, in many ways they themselves may have been isolated from most of the Jewish population. Bowker says of the Sadducees, "they were in fact creating another isolation – in addition to the geographical isolation of the Temple as an enclave of holiness, they were in effect isolating Torah from the lives of most people."⁸² It is not unreasonable to suggest that the primary interests of the Sadducees were to do with the temple cult in combination with their elite status (some of them as high priests) would have made them a visible and necessary yet distant group for most people participating in the temple cult. After all, the popular election of a high priest by the Zealots at the end of the war (*War* 4.147-157) suggests that not everyone was pleased with the 'pool' from which the high priest was chosen.

In the end, we have a limited picture for the Sadducees, but one that indicates a group with considerable power in the Second Temple Period. As such, they exert a certain control over society's space, particularly the sacred space of the temple. They are connected to the high priesthood, an office which had limits to its power at the time. Though it may have been possible to retain power over many aspects of the cult, Rome did not allow complete freedom for the office as evidenced by the retention of the high priest's robes (*Ant* 20.6; 18.403-408; 18.90-95). High priests would have had to concede on some issues in order to maintain relations with Rome and their own positions. Still, the Sadducees, at least in part, are likely to be defining the conventions and use of sacred space that others like the Pharisees might choose

⁸⁰ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 79.

⁸¹ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 79.

⁸² J. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 18. Bowker sets up a dichotomy where the Sadducees resist 'exegesis' for the 'application of the literal text of the Torah' (18). To balance this, we quote Stemberger who says, "It was not an irreligious attitude which made the Sadducees deny some religious views which later became normative; on the contrary, they were loyal to biblical traditions which they were bound to hand on in their own time." (Stemberger, "The Sadducees," 436). It is not necessary to assume that the Sadducees would not be aware that their interpretations were also interpretations. Still, the relationship between the geographical isolation of the Sadducees and isolation related to their beliefs with regard to 'most people' is an important one.

to debate and modify.⁸³ For them, obeying the law meant not accepting the new halakhic interpretations of the Pharisees. Nor did they accept beliefs about resurrection and fate as mentioned in Josephus (*War* 2.162-165 and *Ant.* 13.172-173). The temple – centre of power and wealth (see section 3.2) – was part of their sphere of influence. In this realm, they attempted to assert their authority and claim what control they could over ‘the means of redemption’, attempting ‘to maintain their position of control by diplomacy and compromise.’⁸⁴ When that institution was destroyed in 70 CE so was the foundation of power for this group, whatever their membership may have been. They did not have a popular base of support to rely on after the revolt. In Goodman’s words, they did not need to rely on the ‘theological succour’ many Jews accepted (i.e. beliefs about resurrection, fate).⁸⁵ Such views would have contributed to a divide between a group like the Sadducees and the people at the same time that theological beliefs *among the people* formed the ideological glue for their support of the temple. Turning to the Pharisees, we see that they seem to have had more success among the people in some of the areas where the Sadducees had failed. Though they did not have the same amount of control of the central sacred space that the Sadducees apparently had in the first century, they do give their own answer to the question: What does it mean to be holy?⁸⁶

4.2.2 Pharisees: The ‘Who’ and ‘Where’ of Purity

The question of whether or not the Pharisees wanted to live as if they were priests in the temple has important implications for our discussion.⁸⁷ Logically, living as if a priest in the temple implies application of ‘spatial holiness’ outside of the physical temple. We have already suggested that the major realm of influence for the Pharisees was Torah and *not* temple, but this does not tell us how the Pharisees understood spatial ordering of holiness and where they thought their interpretations of the Torah applied. For us, their appropriation of the meaning for the temple and

⁸³ Examples of the debates in the Mishnah between Sadducees and Pharisees concern the Day of Atonement and the proper procedure for the burning of the ashes of the red heifer. These are, of course related to the temple. See Stemberger, “The Sadducees,” 438-9; and Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees*, 18.

⁸⁴ Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1980), 83.

⁸⁵ Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 79.

⁸⁶ Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, says that the various groups within Judaism of the early Roman empire answered this question in different ways (71).

⁸⁷ This may be identified as the crux of the debates between Jacob Neusner and E. P. Sanders.

priesthood is equally important to the actual degree of their influence over the temple because it tells us something about how they interpret space as sacred. In our discussion of Leviticus, we saw that the 'holiness scale' was weighted towards the priests in connection with the most sacred places. If the Pharisees want to live in everyday life as if they are priests in the temple, then the sacredness of everyday life must be considered as well as the location (i.e. within the land?) where these rules-to-live-by applied. Though Sanders supposes that Pharisees "*did not leave Jerusalem and continued to believe in the sacrificial system, in which the priests speak for God,*"⁸⁸ the evidence in the gospels suggests that Pharisees were also present in Galilee.⁸⁹

It may be helpful to briefly summarise the issue between Neusner and Sanders with regard to the nature of Pharisaic interpretation of the law prior to the revolts. Their major area of disagreement is over whether or not the Pharisees were concerned to keep purity apart from the temple as if they were priests. Neusner thinks they were primarily a table fellowship group before 70 CE,⁹⁰ applying priestly laws concerning purity to their ordinary meals following their abandonment of politics during the time of Hillel.⁹¹ Sanders thinks the Pharisees had no desire to live

⁸⁸ *Jesus and Judaism*, 273, emphasis added. Compare Milik, who suggested that there might have been a correlation between an increase in the population of Qumran and the time when the Pharisees moved away from Jerusalem. He says that the Pharisees might have taken up residence in the region of Qumran during phase '1b' of occupation there in order to 'take flight from the troubles of Judea.' J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), 91.

⁸⁹ See J. Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 519-523.

⁹⁰ Neusner's oft quoted statistics state that 67% of the legal pericopae of the rabbinic traditions about the Pharisees before 70 deal with dietary laws. The laws are divided firstly by ritual purity for meals, secondly by "agricultural rules governing the fitness of food for Pharisaic consumption" and thirdly the observance of Sabbaths and festivals. J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70, Part III: Conclusions* (Lieden: Brill, 1971), 304. "Mr. Sanders Pharisees and Mine," 76-77. For Neusner, the picture of the Pharisees in the gospels and the rabbinic traditions for pre-70 Pharisees essentially matches and shows us a group concerned primarily with ritual, that is, with keeping laws of ritual purity but also legalities for tithing, Sabbath observance and vows (Mark 7; Mark 2.16-17, par.; Mark 2.18, 24, par.; Mark 12.13, par.). See Neusner's "Mr. Sanders Pharisees and Mine: A Response to E. P. Sanders, Jewish Law From Jesus to the Mishnah" *SJT* 44 (1993), 73-95, here 81, where he says that the "relationship between the rabbinic traditions about the Pharisees and the Gospels' accounts of the Pharisees is as entirely symmetrical." Also, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 66-67, and *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70, Part III: Conclusions* (Lieden: Brill, 1971), 78-89, 318.

⁹¹ *Politics to Piety*, 14. Hillel is thought to be roughly a contemporary of Jesus, living sometime ca. 50 BCE to 10CE. Neusner's 'politics to piety' actually entails a further move 'from politics to piety to politics' when they have the opportunity to be politically influential once again after the revolts (146).

'on par' with the priesthood;⁹² everyone was interested in purity and the Pharisees were not special enforcers of the law, did not think their laws were required for everyone and did not exclude anyone based on their practice (or non-practice) of purity.⁹³ In *Jesus and Judaism*, Sanders says, "Purity laws which govern everyone did not affect table fellowship, but access to the Temple."⁹⁴

A few points may be made in attempt to qualify the positions of Neusner and Sanders. First of all, against Sanders' concentration of the Pharisees in Jerusalem, it would seem likely that their influence reached beyond the holy city. As we have seen (section 4.1), there was a widespread concern with purity throughout the regions of Israel during the late second temple period. The evidence outside of Jerusalem actually has more significance in that it shows it had to do with more than just the priesthood and temple institution. Though it is likely true what Sanders says, that "observance of ritual purity may have been higher there [in Jerusalem] than elsewhere,"⁹⁵ we should relate the *widespread* observance of purity regulations to groups such as the Pharisees.⁹⁶ Joel Marcus is right to say that the gospels, and Mark in particular, provide some of the earliest and best evidence for the Pharisees. Mark's Pharisees are located in Galilee and debate issues such as fasting, observance of the Sabbath, divorce, eating with 'sinners' and handwashing (i.e. Mark 2.16, 18, 24; 3.2; 7.1; 10.2).⁹⁷ Though Josephus primarily discusses Pharisees in Galilee (*War* 2.569; *Life* 189-98), he himself claims to have been a Pharisee (*Life* 10-12) and spent considerable time in Galilee himself. As we have seen (section 4.1), not all of the regulations for purity were explicitly related to cultic practice. In Sanders' (sexist?) description of everyday purity practices, he estimates that men did not practice the regulations for semen impurity, though women bathed for menstrual impurity.⁹⁸ As 'women were

⁹² Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 438-440.

⁹³ Sanders, *Jesus*, 182-199.

⁹⁴ Sanders, *Jesus*, 186. See also M. Hengel and R. Deines, "E. P. Sanders' 'Common Judaism,' Jesus, and the Pharisees" *JTS* 46 (1995), 1-40. They believe that Sanders has underestimated the Pharisees for their influence on Jewish society and "[a]s a consequence of this marginalizing of the Pharisees, there emerges what might be called a 'Sadducean tendency' in Sanders' presentation of 'common Judaism' as a religion of the temple and priesthood." (4).

⁹⁵ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 184.

⁹⁶ According to Hengel and Deines, archaeological finds (i.e. *miqvaot*) show evidence for the "wide dissemination of the Pharisaic purity halakhah." Hengel and Deines, "Sanders' 'Common Judaism,'" 34.

⁹⁷ Marcus, *Mark* 1-8, 520.

⁹⁸ In present day practice, *miqvaot* are mostly used for bathing after a woman's menstrual period has ended (7 days after), though men may bathe in some circumstances as before they

frequently pregnant,' they would not have to bathe very much! Sanders estimates that they "would immerse after stage one of childbirth impurity but not again until the wife's menstrual periods returned or they went to the temple."⁹⁹ If 'most adults were impure a lot of the time' and most in Galilee were not regularly journeying to the temple, the presence of *miquaot* in Galilee suggests that there was concern for bathing and purity apart from with the purpose of entering the temple.

Sanders' believes that people observed purity because the 'Bible' demanded it,¹⁰⁰ but surely different groups within the land were offering distinctive new interpretations and explanations of what exactly the scriptures demanded. Whether we think of the introduction of stone vessels and ritual baths, the Sadducean influence on affairs in the temple, or indeed the Pharisaic challenge to that influence, we are certainly dealing with *interpretations* in each case of what the Bible says. What the Pharisees add as their own 'twist' on purity regulations is the ability of qualified lay persons to interpret the laws even in disagreement with priests. Rather than simply being more 'thorough' or 'enthusiastic' about purity, the Pharisees may have actually had some influence with the people regarding forms of purity where a general concern already existed in the society.¹⁰¹ They did not practise purity simply "because purity is good"¹⁰² and was held as important to others besides Jews during the period. Purity also had a broader meaning relating to God's holiness and the holiness of the land which could, in the Pharisaic vision, be put in place within communities.¹⁰³ There was, if you will, an opportunity there.

Another point may serve to qualify Neusner's idea of the Pharisees move from 'politics to piety.' Spatially, this group may have had to (or found it easier to)

are married. Interestingly, the meaning of the modern *mikveh* is described as a personification of "both the womb and the grave; the portals to life and afterlife...Immersion in the *mikvah* can be understood as a symbolic act of self-abnegation, the conscious suspension of the self as an autonomous force." R. Slonim, introduction to *Total Immersion: A Mikvah Anthology* (ed. R. Slonim; London: Jason Aronson, 1995), xxiii-xxxvi; here, xxx.

⁹⁹ Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 228.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. See also Stemberger, who comments on the possibility that Sadducean women were reliant on the Pharisees' rulings on purity saying, "the law has a strong basis in the Bible and in popular belief; in this sphere, the Rabbis never had difficulties imposing their authority." Stemberger, "Sadducees," 439.

¹⁰¹ M. Goodman, "A Note on Josephus, the Pharisees and Ancestral Tradition," *JJS* 1:1 (Spring 1999): 17-20. Shaye Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 171.

¹⁰² E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law From Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM Press, 1990), 235.

¹⁰³ Certainly Josephus says that the Pharisees were influential among the populous (*Ant.* 13.298).

enforce their vision for Israel outside of the temple, but in doing this, they seem to have been fairly well established before the destruction of the temple.¹⁰⁴ They do more than simply transfer purity from the temple and priests to communities in the land and laity.¹⁰⁵ As mentioned, not all of the purity concerns in the first century related to the priests and practice in the temple. Having examined some of the evidence for widespread concern with purity (section 4.1), we can agree with Regev that “the ‘acting like a priest’ theory cannot fully explain the comprehensive phenomenon of non-priestly purity.”¹⁰⁶ The Pharisees introduce new purity forms (i.e. their interpretation of a *mikveh*) into a society where there was *already* a wide concern with purity and where purity was not thought of as applying exclusively to the priests. They assert their authority based on their oral traditions. They do not have to consider themselves as replacing the priests to have their own authority with regard to interpretation of the law.¹⁰⁷ In terms of location they are a party within the land,¹⁰⁸ and they seem to be actively involved in reinforcing Jewish identity by particular practices even before the onset of the revolts.

Certainly, Torah could be emphasised even outside of the land, so in this sense one might ask if the strategy of the Pharisees shows a ‘diasporification’ of the land (i.e. where distinctive practices distinguish Jews regardless of their location). However, even later rabbinic Judaism does not fail to consider the significance of the land and its impact on observance of the law. One principle that emerges is that the

¹⁰⁴ See John Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees*, In Bowker’s view, the Pharisees and Sadducees were initially concerned with keeping purity within geographical boundaries. He believes that after the time of John Hyrcanus, some of the proto-Hakamic movement distinguished themselves as a group, ‘precisely because they were excluded from direct participation in government – and hence from the possibility of implementing their vision from the centre.’ (19). Though they ‘move out’ from the centre, they are still influential, gaining prominence in the courts and the Sanhedrin (21-23).

¹⁰⁵ J. Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 519-523. Though they did extend the purity laws to lay people in their expansion of the ‘traditions of the elders.’

¹⁰⁶ Regev, “Non-Priestly Purity,” 237.

¹⁰⁷ See DeLacey, “In Search of a Pharisee” *TB* 43:2 (1992): 353-72. He says, “It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that they [the Pharisees] strove for a purity analogous to, but neither identical to nor a replacement for, that of the priests.” (362-63).

¹⁰⁸ See Cohen, *From the Maccabees*, 171: “Jewish sectarianism was a phenomenon restricted to the mother country. Alienation from the temple and priests was required if sectarianism was to have a focus, and outside the land of Israel that focus did not exist, because all Jews were equally distant from the holy land and from contact with the sacred. All the sources that speak about the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and other sects, place them exclusively in the land of Israel, for the most part in Judea.”

law could be observed outside the land, but only *perfectly* observed *inside* the land.¹⁰⁹ Still, though the Mishnah discusses the land at various points, no *single* view emerges. Charles Primus detects a difference between views of the sanctity of the land in a Rabbinic debate (M. Hallah 2.1) as to whether a dough-offering is required if the dough is made from produce exported from the land to another location.

Eliezer, a first century sage who reputedly survived the siege of Jerusalem in 70, holds that dough made from exported produce is liable for dough-offering. Akiba, Eliezer's younger contemporary and one of the giant figures in the early rabbinic movement, holds that dough made from produce grown inside the Land but subsequently exported outside the land is not liable for dough-offering.¹¹⁰

In the first view, the land has a special holiness that may be transferred (by people, objects) to locations outside the land. The sanctity of life in the land is 'infectious' and moves across boundaries.¹¹¹ In the second view, holiness is contained within borders and sacred space has meaning which is specific to different areas.¹¹² These are two quite different understandings of the nature of sacred space. Even though there is no 'one view of land' in the Mishnah, we might also emphasise that there is still the need to come to terms with the meaning of the land. As Primus says,

Early rabbinic Judaism ... emphasized a different aspect of the biblical inheritance, namely, Torah, which is to be understood as illuminating the cosmic meaningfulness of actions in the everyday lives of ordinary men and women. Yet rabbinic Judaism also had to come to terms with the Land.¹¹³

Though we should of course not simply equate early rabbinic Judaism and the Pharisees, it seems reasonable that the predecessors of the Rabbis, in their interpretation of Torah, 'had to come to terms with the land' in the period before 70

¹⁰⁹ Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees*, 21-23. Bowker believes that the Pharisees denied that geographical isolation was necessary to holiness (23). Cf. Richard Sarason, "The Significance of the Land of Israel in the Mishnah." Saranson concludes that by obedience to commandments, "the God of Israel can in fact be served by Jews anywhere and everywhere, but fully and perfectly only in the Land of Israel where additional, Land-bound commandments obtain, as Scripture ordains. It is, then, in the interstices between the actual and the ideal that the Mishnah's Rabbis map out the world." (126).

¹¹⁰ C. Primus, "The Borders of Judaism: The Land of Israel in Early Rabbinic Judaism" in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (ed. L. A. Hoffman; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 97-108; here, 104.

¹¹¹ Primus, "Borders," 103-107; he says, "According to the former [view, Eliezer's] the quality of life characteristic of Israel living in its own Land will be infectious." (107).

¹¹² Primus, "Borders," 103-107; on the defining of sacred space, 106

¹¹³ Primus, "Borders," 107.

CE. In their time, the diaspora was an established reality and Romans could move about the land with impunity.

In another example from the Mishnah, the land is famously described in terms of concentric circles of holiness emanating from the holy of holies in the temple (M. Kelim 1.6-9). This is particularly interesting in view of the timing of the Mishnah's final redaction – towards the end of the 3rd century CE, i.e. long after the temple had been destroyed. Sarason points out how the Rabbis imagine a world with a temple system and adhere to the order that entails:

[F]or the Rabbis of the Mishnah, living in the first two centuries of the common era and imagining (for the most part) the Temple cult and society of the preceding century and a half, the spatial and social categories are no longer fully congruent: Jews live both in the Land of Israel and abroad (most in fact living abroad); the Land of Israel is inhabited by both Jews and gentiles (who do not live under Jewish jurisdiction). This normatively anomalous, though historically long-standing, situation poses problems for Mishnah's Rabbis, not least because it does not conform to their view of the divine order of things laid down in scripture. The specific problems raised in the Mishnah deal with defining *who* must observe these agricultural laws (social taxonomy) and *where* they must be observed (spatial taxonomy) now that the boundaries have been violated and the categories confused.¹¹⁴

As mentioned by Sarason, this situation of non-congruity of spatial and social categories was long-standing and the issues of 'who' and 'where' were present even before the destruction of Jerusalem. As already indicated, there were the realities of the diaspora and Roman presence in the land. Once again, we should not simply equate Pharisees and Rabbis, but it would appear reasonable to assume that the Pharisees were grappling with some of the same issues and were concerned with how and *where* to interpret the law in relation to the land and temple as sacred spaces requiring purity and obedience to the law for contact with the divine. If the meaning of 'the land' at the time of the Pharisees had not yet been 'relativized to social categories,'¹¹⁵ we should connect their concern with purity to the desire to keep the sanctity of the land.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ R. S. Sarason, "The Significance of the Land of Israel in the Mishnah" in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (ed. L. A. Hoffman; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 109-136; 117.

¹¹⁵ Sarason, "Significance of the Land," 117.

¹¹⁶ Regev believes that non-priestly purity (i.e. bathing, keeping ordinary food pure) was practiced both before and after 70, and therefore a concern for the holiness of the temple was *not* the impetus for 'gradual purity' practices (i.e. the concept of the *tebul yom*). Though he has dismissed a connection to the temple, he fails to consider the possible significance of the

Still, social categories are of considerable importance. We mentioned in the introduction to this chapter that purity is a spatial practice which should be understood within social context and also related to a spatial understanding of the location of holiness. In M. Hag 2.7, rules are laid out for contact between persons with regard to *midras* uncleanness. The Haberim are closest to the priests in the hierarchy. As DeLacey argues, the passage 'indicates a hierarchy of purities which has nothing to do with care or even the actual state of purity for individuals.'¹¹⁷ There is a hierarchy established from priests to Pharisees to *amme ha aretz*, but even the lowest have 'their own sort of purity.'¹¹⁸ In this passage, gentiles are not mentioned. Commenting on the rabbinic notion of concentric circles of holiness, DeLacey makes this comment: "It is noteworthy that there is no discussion of how the presence of an *am ha aretz* home or a Roman pigsty would affect the holiness of the land."¹¹⁹ The fact that such issues are not considered shows something of the need to deal with the realities of lived life and to do so in such a way as to be able to succeed in their social context.¹²⁰ The focus on separation between Israel and the nations (i.e. Leviticus 18; 20) is perhaps more judiciously approached in the hierarchical scale of the Rabbis, considering the 'who' and 'where' of holiness. If the Rabbis place themselves next to the priests in this hierarchical scale, their status is given in terms of association with holy space.

Whether between Israel and the nations or *amme ha aretz* and Pharisees, social boundaries are established by an emphasis on purity. Marcus Borg believes that purity or holiness was a central issue in the land of Israel by the first century. Borg summarizes:

I argue that holiness in first-century Judaism was understood primarily as purity, so that "holiness" and "purity" are virtually interchangeable terms. I argue that holiness/purity was central not only to the Pharisees, but also to the Essenes, some of the resistance fighters, and the Temple elites and their retainers (including some of the scribes). I conclude that a "quest for holiness" or a "quest for purity" (phrases which I use as synonyms) was the dominant

pollution of the land. ("Non-Priestly Purity," 243).

¹¹⁷ DeLacey, "Pharisee," 370.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. "In other words, there is no hint of usurping or replacing priests, but there is a clear model of establishing a scale of purities and moving as far towards the priests on that scale as possible." (370).

¹¹⁹ DeLacey, "Pharisee," 371.

¹²⁰ Zealots, for instance, may have argued that the presence of a Roman pigsty did indeed affect the holiness of the land.

cultural dynamic in the Jewish homeland in the first century. It created a social world ordered as a purity system, one with sharp social boundaries.¹²¹

A program or quest for holiness has to do with the institutions of Temple and Torah and may plausibly be connected to the conviction that God is holy and therefore his people must be holy, for otherwise the land would vomit them out (Lev 18.24-28).¹²² Thus, beliefs about purity relate to the social and political situation of the Pharisees (and Sadducees) and have practical implications for *where* holiness is located and *who* is properly holy.

4.3 Interpretation of Purity Laws 2: Qumran, Samaritans and John

Already we have identified the Pharisees as having something to do with the 'moving out' of purity practices away from strict connection with the temple cult. The purity practices of the Qumran community, Samaritans and John the Baptist should also be related to the purity 'trends' which were current at this time. In a way that is not true for the Pharisees, each of these groups (figure) interpret purity in ways that show a distance from the temple. That is, Qumran and the Samaritans have each (in different senses) made a break with the Jerusalem temple. John is a different sort of figure, but he locates himself in the wilderness, baptising in the Jordan. Each group (figure) may be viewed in relationship to current concerns with purity we have been discussing.

4.3.1 Qumran: Purity Confined to the Community

According to the conventions of Leviticus, all Israelites would have the possibility of purifying themselves and distinguishing themselves from 'the nations.' An interesting shift occurs at Qumran where the community is defined in terms of separation, but takes a step beyond separation from gentiles as in Leviticus. Even other Jews who did not join the community were considered outsiders and impure.¹²³

¹²¹ M. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus*, 2nd edition (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1998), 8.

¹²² Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 66-77.

¹²³ For a different view see P. R. Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 81-98. He views the *Community Rule* as representing a group who apply negative distinctions to members of their 'parent' sect, represented by the *Damascus Document* (93). Thus, he believes, the "new sect is hardly concerned with other Jews, let alone Gentiles: it focuses its identity and its contempt on the parent movement, from which it has already inherited the boundaries

The *Rule of the Community* has this to say about the one who does not enter the community:

He will not become clean by the acts of atonement, nor shall he be purified by the cleansing waters, nor shall he be made holy by the seas or rivers, nor shall he be purified by all the water of the ablutions. Defiled, defiled shall he be all the days he spurns the decrees of God, without allowing himself to be taught by the Community of his counsel. (1QS iii.4-6).

Such a statement indicates that even what would appear to be proper practice of the law – ritual bathing – was not able to purify an individual who did not follow the Community’s interpretation of the law. In a sense, the ‘normal’ possibilities for moving from impurity to purity in Leviticus were ‘blocked’ for those outside the community. We could imagine a modified chart from the one presented earlier:

Holy (<i>qadosh</i>)		
Desecrate/Desanctify (<i>hillel/hiqdish</i>)		
Holy (<i>qadosh</i>)	Pure/Common (<i>tahor/hol</i>)	
Sanctify (<i>qiddesh</i>)		Pollute (<i>timme</i>)
(anointment, commandment)	Pure/Common (<i>tahor/hol</i>)	Impure (<i>tame</i>)
		Purify (<i>tihar</i>)
		(ablution, sacrifice)
		BLOCKED – only members ‘continue’

According to this ideology, purity and impurity are still understood to be possible states of the body. There are still certain practices which are associated with purity (i.e. bathing). However, an important change has occurred in that there is no longer the possibility that all Jews could be purified by bathing, only those who obey the counsel of the community. Thus, the major distinction for purity is not between Jews and the nations, but between members and non-members or disobedient members. The emphasis is on differences in *practice* of the law, not *whether* the law is practiced.¹²⁴

Another indication of concern with purity at Qumran is the *miqvaot* which have been found at the site. Notably, *miqvaot* were located near the room where the communal meal is likely to have taken place. A pantry was discovered at the site

with these groups and now needs to differentiate itself.” (93)

¹²⁴ See Riches (*Jesus*) where he says, “Now for Qumran the situation has clearly changed in that there is no longer a clear distinction between Jew and Gentile, between those who do the Law and those who do not. The experience of the community is rather of a situation of

which contained “more than one thousand vessels for eating adjacent to a large room”¹²⁵, most likely the dining room at Qumran. This archaeological information regarding the arrangement of space may be related to a described practice. There are references to the practice of bathing prior to communal meals in *Community Rule* (i.e. 1QS v.13-14) and the *Damascus Document* (CD xi.21-22). The common meal itself is described in 1QS vi.2-5, 16-17, 22, 24-5 as well as other places (vi.4-5, vii.19-20, viii.17). The hierarchy within the community is reinforced by participation in the central common meal. Only those who are clean may participate in this meal and initiates must undergo a one year period where they do not share in the ‘pure food’ of the community (i.e. 1QS v.16, 24-25). Discussing the rendering of food impure, Harrington contrasts Qumran’s emphasis on impure persons (who are expelled for defiling food or possessions) with the Rabbis emphasis on whether or not the food itself is impure.¹²⁶

The severity of the attitude found at Qumran is rightly emphasised. The spatial boundaries of inside and outside the community are justified by application of the terminology of purity and impurity. Those who do not conform are punished with strict consequences and physical removal from the places of the Community. The language of purity excludes outsiders and even designates them as sinful.¹²⁷

Though ‘innovations’ relating to purity were based on scripture,¹²⁸ this does not mean that they were not significantly elaborated on, applied in different contexts and given new meanings. For instance, Qumran documents describe the practice of avoiding contact with excrement. Latrines had to be removed from the living area

conflict with those who observe the law in a different way from themselves.” (124).

¹²⁵ Todd S. Beall, “The Essenes” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1:262-269; here, 266.

¹²⁶ Harrington, *The Impurity Systems*. For the Rabbis (in contrast to Qumran), “food to be eaten in ritual purity is invalidated if it comes into contact with impurity, but the unclean person who touched/ate it is not punished.” (63)

¹²⁷ M. Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8:1 (2001), 9-37. Himmelfarb emphasizes the dualistic and evocative use of purity terminology in 1QS, though purity laws in particular are not dealt with in the document. She says, “Still, although it does not concern itself with purity laws, 1QS does use the language of purity, primarily in highly rhetorical passages that represent those outside the community as sinful and impure, in contrast to those who join the community and are cleansed of their sin and impurity.” (30). The connection between impurity and sin is significant. In Himmelfarb’s estimation, it is ‘evocative’ and ‘poetic’ rather than halakhic (37).

¹²⁸ H. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993). An argument that runs throughout Harrington’s book is that Qumran and rabbinic writings offer new interpretations, but they are firmly based on scripture.

(11QT 46.15-16 and 1QM 7.3-7).¹²⁹ Though Deuteronomy describes a practice of going outside the war camp to dig a hole for excrement due to the holiness of the camp (Deut 23.12-14), this practice is not part of the laws for purity in Leviticus or Numbers for the people generally (only in context of the war camp).¹³⁰ Certainly, it does not have direct bearing for the priests and their duties in the temple. But it does say something about how the Community marks off space as holy. The practice, if it was followed, shows the strict establishment of purity within the borders of the community. It goes beyond the 'normal' considerations of bodily contagion in Leviticus and reinforces boundaries for the community.

An interesting passage at the beginning of the Damascus Document gives a view on the boundaries of the land. The author speaks of a time after the Teacher of Righteousness has been raised up when Israel (of the last generations – CD i.12) strayed at the arrival of 'the scoffer' (i.14):

This is the time about which it has been written: [Hos. 4.16] <Like a stray heifer, so has Israel strayed> when 'the scoffer' arose, who scattered the waters of lies over Israel and made them veer off into a wilderness without path, flattening the everlasting heights, diverging from the tracks of justice and *removing the boundary with which the very first had marked their inheritance, so that the curses of his covenant would adhere to them*, to deliver them up to the sword carrying out the vengeance of the covenant. (CD i.13-18, emphasis added).

In this passage, 'the scoffer' is blamed for the removing of the boundary of inheritance allowing curses instead of blessing to fall upon the nation. Has Israel now become the wilderness? The community itself is located on the 'wrong side' of the Jordan, i.e. within the land. If the real danger is being vomited out of Qumran rather than the land (i.e. the strict regulations for initiates), are boundaries now only properly maintained within the community? Purity practices are carried out in the space of the community, not in the space of the land.

Also in the Damascus Document, the community appear to consider themselves a remnant (cf. CD ii.11-12). In the *Rule of the Community*, they have a role in atoning for the land and judging wickedness (1QS v.6; viii.10, ix.3-6) based on an

¹²⁹ If the evidence of Josephus concerning the Essenes is to be considered here, he states they washed after this 'natural function' as if they had become unclean and refrained from even going to stool on the Sabbath (*War* 2.147-149).

¹³⁰ Harrington discusses this practice, concluding that it was within reason to assume that the sectarians both bathed and washed their clothes after contamination from excrement (*Impurity Systems*, 100-103).

interpretation of Isaiah 28.16 which says: "Thus says the Lord Yahweh, behold I lay in Zion a foundation stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation."¹³¹ In the *War Scroll* (i.2-3), the 'exiled of the desert' will wage war on the army of Belial. The passage (1 QM 1-2) may perhaps show a view of the land from outside where 'wicked foreigners and renegade Jews' dwell in the land. If so, according to Davies, this would be 'a radical redrafting of the geography of the holy land' with the community separate from the holiness of the Temple and constituting a 'holy of holies' (atoning for the land) within their own group.¹³² This may show an eschatological view where the members of the Qumran community interpret their position in the 'Jerusalem wilderness' as connected to Isaiah 40.3, thereby using a "passage that apparently fired Jewish hopes for an apocalyptic holy war that would begin in the Judean wilderness and climax in the liberation of Zion."¹³³

Following on from this, we should re-examine other eschatological beliefs of the sectarians, particularly their view of themselves existing as a 'temporary temple' until such a time as the future temple was established.¹³⁴ Observance of the law is a point of conflict for the community tied with their separation from the temple and temple leadership. We have already examined Qumran's plans for a future temple and their requirement that sectarians refrain from contact with the current temple.¹³⁵ The requirement to bathe before participating in the community meal could perhaps be likened to pilgrims wishing to gain access to the temple precincts and using *miqvaot* outside the Hulda gates on the southern sector of the temple walls.¹³⁶ Thus, the method of marking off space where the sacred is encountered (maintaining purity by bathing in *miqvaot*) is not wholly dissimilar to the Jerusalem temple, though those of the Qumran community have consciously separated themselves (the 'true' sons of Zadok) from the temple leadership and the temple in Jerusalem. The community prepares the way in the desert, expecting the eschatological event (war)

¹³¹ R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 46-52.

¹³² P. R. Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls", 94.

¹³³ J. Marcus, *The Way of the Lord, Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 23.

¹³⁴ H. Harrington, *Impurity Systems*, 52-53.

¹³⁵ L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 128.

¹³⁶ L. I. Levine, "Archaeological Discoveries from the Greco-Roman Era," in H. Shanks, ed. *Recent Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, translated from the Hebrew by A. Finklestein (Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1984), 75-87, here 82.

at the end of times and taking on the model of the wilderness camp for their own community.¹³⁷

For Qumran, the emphasis has moved away from the distinction (i.e. Leviticus) between Jew and gentile.¹³⁸ It is those outside the community itself who are considered impure.¹³⁹ As for cosmological beliefs, the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness rule over and influence humankind. If the spirit of deceit (1QS iii.128-25) had led many *in Israel* astray and 'the scoffer' had caused the boundary of the inheritance of the nation to be removed, then the understanding of identity at Qumran was strongly connected to their belief that they were assisted by the angel of truth and could be pure. Whereas Leviticus establishes by purity (holiness and separation) the boundaries of the land for the nation, the Qumran community may judge that at least for the present time, that boundary has been removed and holiness is only truly affected within the community itself, acting as the 'temporary temple.'

The community at Qumran deliberately take themselves out of the current priestly system and make their own rules and rituals for living. They see themselves as a temporary temple in the wilderness, waiting for their establishment in the future temple. The ideology of holiness we encountered in Leviticus has been modified by interpretation at Qumran. The major result is that only those who are members of community have the possibility of purification. For those outside, that possibility is nullified. Even within their own community, purity demands reinforce the hierarchy between junior and senior members of the community.

¹³⁷ F. Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism* (trans. J. E. Crowley; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). Schmidt holds, as we have discussed in chapter 4, that the camp in the wilderness and the return to the wilderness are key for Qumran. "It is in this origin that the Community finds its principal model for thinking about holiness, purity and perfection outside of and without the Jerusalem Temple." (149).

¹³⁸ See Riches (*Jesus*) where he says, "Now for Qumran the situation has clearly changed in that there is no longer a clear distinction between Jew and Gentile, between those who do the Law and those who do not. The experience of the community is rather of a situation of conflict with those who observe the law in a different way from themselves." (124).

¹³⁹ Philip Davies makes a distinction between a sectarian group generating 'texts that include the *Damascus Document* and the *Temple Scroll* and whose ideological formation may be relocated in other texts also.' (P. R. Davies, "Space and Sects," 85) and an offshoot of that sect (a sect of a sect) described as the *yahad*, as in their major document, the *Community Rule*. The former would have lived scattered throughout various communities whilst the latter took up community life in a single 'household' of celibate men.

4.3.2 The Holy Land of Samaria?

Despite hostilities between Samaritans and Jews, there were striking similarities between these two groups. We have already noted the parallels in construction between the Samaritan temple, Josephus' description of the temple and the *Temple Scroll's* description (section 3.3.1). Another similarity we could identify from the Second Temple Period is in the area we have presently been discussing, namely the interpretation of purity laws and the use of *miqvaot*. Apparently, the Samaritans used *miqvaot* from at least the first century CE.¹⁴⁰ The construction of the first century Samaritan *miqvaot* shows that the Samaritans observed "ritual purification in *miqva'ot* identical to those in and around Jerusalem in the Second Temple period."¹⁴¹ This is a significant point and supports a strong halakhic link between Samaritans and Jews despite their exclusive attitudes toward one other.¹⁴² It also gives a strong indication that the widespread practice of immersion for purity was not necessarily connected to the temple in Jerusalem.

The pool uncovered in Qedumim was a single pool like most of the pools found in Jerusalem. Magen points out that both Jews and Samaritans were interpreting the laws of ritual purity in similar ways:

The existence of a Samaritan *miqveh* as early as the first century CE, and the fact that in Judaism the *miqveh* began to evolve relatively late – in the Hasmonean period – indicate that the relationship between Samaritan religious law and Judaism was not only based on the Torah.¹⁴³

As the earliest Samaritan *miqveh* is from the first century, agreement that a *miqveh* was a suitable structure for ritual purification comes even after the split between Samaritans and Jews. This is likely related to their common tradition of interpretation of the law which *predates* that division.¹⁴⁴ The practice of purity and the

¹⁴⁰ Pummer, *The Samaritans* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 38.

¹⁴¹ Y. Magen, "Qedumin – A Samaritan Site of the Roman-Byzantine Period," in F. Manns and E. Alliata, eds. *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 177.

¹⁴² See I. R. M. M. Bóid, *Principles of Samaritan Halachah* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), particularly 327-347.

¹⁴³ Magen, "Ritual Baths (*Miqva'ot*) at Qedumim and the Observance of Ritual Purity Among the Samaritans," 188.

¹⁴⁴ This is strongly argued by Bóid, who concludes, "There is a halachic tradition common to all Israel, both Jews and Samaritans. There are some points on which there is variation within the tradition. Both in given individual instances and overall the variation is independent of the division between Samaritans and Jews. The corollary of this is that the halachic tradition of Israel is older than the division between Samaritans and Jews." (328).

interpretation of the law were not the matters over which Jews and Samaritans disagreed.¹⁴⁵ Rather, the distinctiveness of the Samaritans may be viewed as related to their understanding of geography and sacred space (i.e. John 4).¹⁴⁶ Both Jews and Samaritans interpreted the Pentateuch as a sacred text. Both were interested in purity and ritual bathing.¹⁴⁷

To this point in Chapter 4, we have emphasised the importance of the meaning of purity in relationship to the land. The discussion of the Samaritans raises significant questions as to whether or not this connection was essential. If the Samaritan interest in purity suggests that practices were not necessarily connected to the temple in Jerusalem, does it also suggest that they were not necessarily connected to the land? One possibility is that Samaria was thought of as part of the land just as much as Judea and Galilee.¹⁴⁸ The Samaritans occupied one small area and probably did not aspire to attain the entire land.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, they could keep their one 'part' of the land pure. Another possibility is that they understand their practice of purity more exclusively in terms of local patriotism.¹⁵⁰ That is, Samaritans may practice purity in their own particular territory in order to keep its sanctity. In the end, lack of evidence for the period makes it impossible to decide. Nonetheless, though Gerizim may be in mind, Samaritans in the first century were not about to make sacrifices,

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance, R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), particularly the section on Samaritan practice and belief, 131-138.

¹⁴⁶ R. Coggins, "Jewish Local Patriotism: The Samaritan Problem" in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Greco-Roman Period* (ed. Siân Jones and Sarah Pearce; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 66-78. "That such [distinctive religious] beliefs contained a geographical, if not ethnic, element is obviously implied in their veneration for the sacred shrine on Mount Gerizim," 74. See also Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews* where he relates the practice of circumcision to the reverence of Mount Gerizim over Jerusalem. (135).

¹⁴⁷ See Bóid on the 'details and principles on the Halachot' where he outlines uncleanness and practices for restoring cleanness for women, men, sexual intercourse, and contact with gentiles. (285-304).

¹⁴⁸ Coggins notes that Josephus includes Judea, Galilee, Perea and Samaria in *War* 3.35-40. "[O]n this point of the extent of the 'promised land,' it may well be that any Jewish writer trying to be loyal to the biblical tradition would feel obliged to include in his own description the whole area one occupied by the kingdoms of Israel and Judah." (258). Nevertheless, Samaria's inclusion may indicate that Josephus sees them as Jews, even though heretical Jews. (ibid.)

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle: A Source-Critical Analysis of the Life and Times of the Great Samaritan Reformer, Baba Rabbah* (Leiden: Brill, 1981). Baba Rabbah, of the fourth century CE, is described in *Chronicle II* (dating perhaps to the ninth century or later, though traditions may be older – see Cohen, 198) as dividing the land among the Samaritans (10:14). Earlier (10.1), Baba limits his division to 'the recognised areas of Samaritan habitation.' (181). On *Chronicle II*, see also S. Isser, "Jesus in the Samaritan Chronicles," *JJS* 32 (1981): 166-194.

¹⁵⁰ This connection is made by Coggins, "Jewish Local Patriotism," 74.

either in Gerizim or Jerusalem. This lends further support to the notion that purity had a broader meaning and importance for everyday life.

4.3.3 John's Baptism of Repentance in the Jordan

Among the various interpretations of purity in the Second Temple period, an important figure for consideration is John the Baptist. Though there are certainly contrasts between John's practice of baptism and the Pharisees' (and Sadducees') practices, the most analogous group to John is Qumran.¹⁵¹ The strongest similarities between John and Qumran in the sources (*Ant.* 18.116-119; the gospels) lie in exegesis, location, and immersion. That is, they both offer apocalyptic interpretations of Isaiah 40.3, they both locate themselves in the desert, near the Jordan River, and they both prescribe immersion.¹⁵² A major difference between the two is that John's baptism appears to be open to all (Mark 4.5; Matt 1.5; Luke 3.3) whereas Qumran restricts their purity observance to the community alone. Mark says, "people from the whole Judean countryside and all the people of Jerusalem were going out to him, and were baptised by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." (Mark 1.5) As Charlesworth points out, John does not follow the strict dualism and condemnation of the Sons of Darkness such as is found in 1QS.¹⁵³ He is, however, 'on the way towards creating a special group within Judaism.'¹⁵⁴ John has disciples (Matt 9.14) and teaches them to fast and pray (Luke 11.1). There are also indications of judgement for those who do not repent (i.e. Matt 3.7-12; Luke 3.7-10, 17). John's baptism is the characterising feature of his 'movement,' though there is not a spatial restriction of purity for John (as for Qumran to the community) or a reinforcement of boundary through social separation and distinctions between insiders and outsiders.

¹⁵¹ Two side-by-side articles explore this connection. See Stephen J. Phann, "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance" (337-352) and James H. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and Qumran Barriers in Light of the Rule of the Community," (353-375) in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999). See also J. Taylor, *John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism: A Historical Study* (London: SPCK, 1997), 15-48

¹⁵² See Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer", 356-357.

¹⁵³ Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer," 361-66. Though his analysis is perhaps too imaginative when he offers John's reactions to various passages found in the *Rule of the Community*. Cf. R. L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991). He argues that there is nonetheless a sharp distinction in John between two groups of people – the repentant and the unrepentant (197).

¹⁵⁴ G. Theissen, *A Theory of Primitive Christian Religion* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1999), 33.

Still, John’s baptism should be seen as related to the purity concerns we have been discussing, for immersion and sacrifice are both conventionally linked to the means to move towards holiness before God. In Leviticus, sin offerings involve sacrifice, not immersion (Leviticus 4-6). As Taylor points out, some prophetic traditions emphasised aspects of behaviour over sacrifice (i.e. Hosea 6.6),¹⁵⁵ but this is not necessarily related to forgiveness of sins. In any case, for John, baptism and repentance are linked (*βάπτισμα μετανοίας* – Mark 1.4; Luke 3.3; cf. Matt 3.11), which is not true for Leviticus and gives more (i.e. includes a rite) than an emphasis on righteousness over sacrifice. Therefore, we could ‘chart’ the different connections:

Leviticus	sin offering (sacrifice)	Priest offers atonement for the sin on behalf of the person; they are forgiven (i.e. Lev 4.26, 35; 5.10, 16, etc.)
John the Baptist	baptism of repentance	for forgiveness of sins

John’s ritual is something entirely new. It is different from either Levitical law or a prophetic emphasis on mercy over sacrifice. We could also depict this another way by modifying our earlier chart of movement from purity to impurity (to purity):

Holy (<i>qadosh</i>)		
Desecrate/Desanctify (<i>hillel/hiqdish</i>)		
Holy (<i>qadosh</i>)	Pure/Common (<i>tahor/hol</i>)	
Sanctify (<i>qiddesh</i>)		Pollute (<i>timme</i>)
(anointment, commandment)	Pure/Common (<i>tahor/hol</i>)	Impure (<i>tame</i>)
		Purify (<i>tihar</i>)
		(ablution, sacrifice)
		NEW RITUAL – <i>βάπτισμα μετανοίας</i>

Probably we do not know enough about John to say whether his new rite qualifies (i.e. 1QS iii.4-6 where only members of the community may be purified), adds to or replaces the ‘normal’ means of purification.¹⁵⁶ Though we may disagree with

¹⁵⁵ Taylor, *John the Baptist*, 109. Taylor cites the best examples of this ‘attested notion’ that ‘atonement was made by repentance and righteous conduct rather than by the sacrifice of an animal’ (in addition to Hosea 6.6, she suggests Ps. 51.16-17; 1 Sam 15.22; Proverbs 15.8). However, what God prefers in these instances varies radically, from mercy and knowledge of God (Hosea) to a broken spirit and contrite heart (Psalms) to obedience to the Lord (Samuel) to prayer of the righteous (Proverbs; compared to sacrifice of the wicked). Are these *means* of atonement and remission of sin or a way of showing comparative importance?

¹⁵⁶ Taylor, *John the Baptist*, 110. She points out that nowhere does John actually say anything

Gruenwald's strong stance for *replacement*, we can agree with him that John's activity is a 'radical step in a different direction' from the 'normal' temple requirements.¹⁵⁷ John requires the performance of ritual (baptism) to go along with repentance, though without the priests as mediators.¹⁵⁸ Even though John does not mention the temple or sacrifice, it is a significant and provocative action to suggest a new ritual for forgiveness which does not involve temple or priests.¹⁵⁹ In context of a social situation where immersion was an important part of Jewish identity and could be practiced throughout the land without the aid of a priest, John's choice of baptism seems entirely appropriate.¹⁶⁰ He chooses not a *miqveh*, but the Jordan. This locative element is crucial for examining the significance of John's baptism and its meaning with regard to land as sacred space.

In the foundational stories of the Hebrew Bible, Israel crossed two bodies of water on their way from Egypt to the promised land: one was the Red Sea, which they crossed to go into the wilderness under Moses' leadership (Exod 14.1-31); the other was the Jordan River which they crossed to enter the land under Joshua's

about the temple or sacrifice. However, she takes a different line when it comes to other immersions, saying John's baptism "entailed the different idea that previous immersions and ablutions were ineffective for Jews without the practice of true righteousness." (99-100). To us, it seems that John has not said that other immersions were ineffective. John's is a new rite, but this issue of replacement cannot be decided from the material we have. See also Dunn who places himself in the alternative, or replacement 'camp' from silence: "John's preaching gives no indication that a sacrifice or act of atonement was necessary." (459).

¹⁵⁷ Ithamar Gruenwald, "From Priesthood to Messianism: The Anti-Priestly Polemic and the Messianic Factor" in I. Gruenwald, ed. *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity, Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 75-93. He believes that John "replaces the altar with the Jordan River." (90).

¹⁵⁸ I. Gruenwald, "From Priesthood," 90. He notes (from Matt 3.5 and Mark 1.5) that John 'still required an act [i.e. baptism] of confession of sins' in comparison to the Lord's prayer where one has only to ask for their sins to be forgiven. He also sees the request for forgiveness of sins as paramount to the Eighteen benedictions and indicates a move away from the priests in the temple. (90).

¹⁵⁹ See J. Dunn, "Jesus and Purity: An Ongoing Debate," *NTS* 48 (2002): 449-467. He makes this point, yet goes too far to suggest, "[p]erhaps we should even say that John the Baptist in baptizing played the role of the priest." (459). There is no indication of this in the gospels. It is interesting, however, that biblical law indicates self-immersion, whereas John is himself the subject of the verb βαπτίζω.

¹⁶⁰ John's baptism is not associated with the purity of food, sexual conduct, leprosy, menstruation, etc. Though we may not know *all* the reasons for immersing in the first century, John's rite stands out as distinctive. Morna Hooker points out the connections between sin and uncleanness in the psalms and prophets, suggesting John's baptism as a moral cleansing. "'Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean' thundered Isaiah, and his words were not simply a demand to his hearers to remove the blood that dripped from their hands." M. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1997), 9-13; here, 12.

leadership (Josh 3.1-17).¹⁶¹ It is precisely the imagery of Israel under Moses and Joshua which is evoked by Josephus' sign prophets (*Ant.* 18.85-7; 20.97-99, 167-72, 188; *War* 2.259; 6.285-86; Acts 21.38).¹⁶² They take up the story of exodus and entry into the land and go to enact their vision in the physical space they have made meaningful to their followers (until they are stopped or killed!). Theudas in particular (*Ant.* 20.97-99) is valuable for comparison with John; he understands himself as a prophet, brings people to the Jordan and promises them that he will divide it and they would cross over. Fadus kills and captures them, beheading Theudas. The figures mentioned in *Ant.* 20.167-68 and 20.188 gather followers in the wilderness. In comparison, what can we make of John, gathering people in the wilderness and baptising in the Jordan?

Though much is made of the 'Q' saying about Abraham in relationship to kinship, the significance of this saying in John's particular setting has not been appreciated. Certainly, kinship is important. If Luke is to be believed, the axe is at the root of the trees and soldiers (i.e. gentiles who have no relation to Abraham) may be accepted to receive baptism of repentance. But the phrase 'we have Abraham as our ancestor' (Matt 3.9; Luke 3.8) reminds us of the Abrahamic promise, 'to your descendants I will give this land.' (Gen 15.18). It is not unreasonable that 'we have Abraham as our ancestor' could indicate 'we are entitled to the promise of Abraham – the land.' Taylor points out the Elisha/Elijah imagery in this passage, comparable to 2 Kings 2.6-15, where Elisha succeeds Elijah at the Jordan and both are able to part the Jordan.¹⁶³ In Ezekiel 36, a passage Raymond Brown considers to be a crucial eschatological text of the first century, the people are brought into the land in the great eschatological moment and they are sprinkled with 'clean water.' (Ezek 36.24-27).¹⁶⁴ The symbols are spatial. They suggest a new entry into the land (a pure land?). John's message is eschatological, pointing to the coming of the stronger one.¹⁶⁵ Like Jesus and the sign prophets, John may be considered a millenarian prophet. The

¹⁶¹ Interestingly, in context of our discussion of John's *baptism*, the crossing of the sea under Moses is described in 1 Corinthians 10.2 using the verb βαπτίζω: They are baptised 'in the cloud and in the sea.'

¹⁶² See the chart offered by Scot McKnight, "Jesus and Prophetic Actions," *BBR* 10:2(2000): 197-232; here, 215-216.

¹⁶³ Taylor, *John the Baptist*, 281.

¹⁶⁴ R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave* (2 vols. London: Doubleday, 1994), 2:1140. See also Hooker, *The Signs*, 12.

¹⁶⁵ See M. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1997), 9-

image of John (and Jesus) going out to the wilderness and poised at the banks of the Jordan is evocative of Joshua as he leads the people into the promised land (Josh 4) and gives a portrait of eschatological expectation against a very particular backdrop, strikingly *not related* to the temple (cf. *War* 6.285-86; *Ant* 20.169-72), and strikingly *related* to the land.

In terms of social space, John should be considered to offer a new ritual – baptism of repentance – in a society where there was a wide concern with keeping purity within spatial boundaries (i.e. temple, land). His action is provocative and threatening to those concerned with the interpretation and regulation of ‘normal’ purity requirements (i.e. Pharisees, Sadducees, cf. Matt 3.7). In terms of sacred space, John offers a highly symbolic or ‘representational’ appropriation.¹⁶⁶ The mythic history taking place in the wilderness and leading to entry into the land are recalled in his eschatological call to repentance.

4.4 *Rejection of Purity, Rejection of Land?: Jesus and Ritual Purity*

As we have now gathered considerable resources for comparison with Jesus, we may put to use our interpretative strategy, outlined in the discussion of the criterion of plausibility in Section 1.4. There, we suggested that the ‘controversial’ text of Mark 7.15 should not be dismissed as inauthentic without attempting to understand it within a comprehensive picture of Jesus. We now have the opportunity to look at these issues in more detail

Much of the discussion of Jesus and purity revolves around the saying in Mark 7.15.¹⁶⁷ The context of this saying is a debate between Jesus and the Pharisees

13.

¹⁶⁶ Once again, Lefebvre tells us that representational spaces draw on symbols and myths of the past. They are ‘alive’ and ‘speak’ with passion and not necessarily complimentary to the dominant appropriations of space in society. See Lefebvre, *Production*, 42, 116-117.

¹⁶⁷ See B. Chilton, “A Generative Exegesis of Mark 7.1-23” in B. Chilton and C. Evans, *Jesus in Context: Temple, Purity and Restoration* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 297-317. J. Riches, *Transformation*, 112, 128-144. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990), 37-60. Dunn, “Jesus and Ritual Purity” in *A Cause de L’Évangile* (Cerf: Publications de Saint-André, 1985), 251-76. Dunn, “Jesus and Purity: An Ongoing Debate,” 449-467. Heikki Räisänen, “Jesus and the Food Laws: Reflections on Mark 7.15” *JSNT* 16 (1982): 79-100. S. Bryan, *Jesus and Israel’s Traditions of Judgement and Restoration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 164-68. S. McKnight, “A Parting Within the Way: Jesus and James on Israel and Purity” in *James the Just and Christian Origins* (ed. B. Chilton and C. A. Evans. Leiden: Brill, 1999), 83-129; here 83-98. T. Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 60-88. R. Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 219-221. Peter J. Tomson, “Purity Laws Viewed by Church Fathers and Jesus” in M. J.

over why the followers of Jesus do not wash their hands before eating. In verse 15, Jesus says, "There is nothing outside a man which by going into him can defile him, but the things coming out from a man are what make man unclean." In Matthew, we find, "It is not what goes into the mouth that defiles, but what comes out of a mouth, this defiles a person." (15.11).¹⁶⁸ The saying is also preserved in the Gospel of Thomas (14). If authentic, this statement goes against Jewish dietary laws, both written and oral (rabbinic).¹⁶⁹ Whilst it is possible to make a distinction between a situation wherein food becomes defiled (i.e. eating ordinary food with unwashed hands) and eating unclean foods (i.e. pork),¹⁷⁰ this does not deny the force of the statement which indicates that nothing which is eaten can make the body impure.¹⁷¹

The issues of eating with gentiles and whether or not to eat pork or meat sacrificed to idols were matters of concern for early Christians (i.e. Gal 2.11-18; Acts 11.3; cf. Acts 10.14-15; Romans 14.14). It may therefore seem strange that the saying in Mark and Matthew was not used to support an 'open' attitude towards food laws for purity in the early Church. However, as Dunn notes, Paul rarely cites the Jesus tradition as an authority, so this is not necessarily the primary consideration.¹⁷² It is by no means inconceivable to suppose with Dunn that when Paul remarks on his conviction that in the Lord Jesus nothing is unclean (Romans 14.14) and 'everything is clean (Romans 14.20) that he meant to evoke 'that whole train of thought which

H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, eds. *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 85-86. E. Ottenheijm, "Impurity Between Intention and Deed: Purity Disputes in First Century Judaism and in the New Testament" in M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, eds. *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 129-148.

¹⁶⁸ Dunn, "Jesus and Ritual Purity," 273. He believes that Matthew's version of the saying in 15.11 is the more authentic version of an early tradition going back to Jesus.

¹⁶⁹ Riches, *Transformation*, 136-37.

¹⁷⁰ In the estimation of Kazen (*Purity Halakhah*, 61), the issue here is strictly the washing of hands. Dunn criticises Kazen's limitation in this regard ("Jesus and Purity: An Ongoing Debate," 463), but also finds it difficult to understand why the early Church would have struggled with food laws. Also, "no memory of Jesus eating pork or non-kosher food is preserved in any Jesus tradition." (*ibid.*, 463).

¹⁷¹ Probably Jesus and his disciples were known for eating with unwashed hands, and not for eating unclean foods such as pork. We agree with Bryan that Jesus and the Pharisees were not debating whether it was allowed to eat pork, "still less whether one's hands should be washed before doing so!" (165). Still, the statement in Mark 7.15 and Matthew 15.11 must be reckoned with in the whole context of Jesus' attitude towards purity and not dismissed as 'only' referring to handwashing.

¹⁷² Dunn, "Jesus and Ritual Purity," 272. As Dunn elsewhere notes, Peter's declaration that he has never eaten anything unclean is the most difficult to deal with ("Jesus and Purity: An Ongoing Debate," 463).

Jesus' words on purity had sparked off."¹⁷³ In this sense, the saying fits with the second aspect of the plausibility criteria, namely that there is a continuing theological tradition or 'trend' which began with Jesus' attitude towards purity and continued in the (pluralistic) early Church.¹⁷⁴

Taking a strikingly different stance, Bruce Chilton separates Mark 7.15 from its context and calls it 'an instrument to bridge diverse practices of purity.'¹⁷⁵ Jesus does not deny external purity; he only insists that purity begins from the inside and radiates out.¹⁷⁶ The account of the cleansing of a leper in which Jesus tells the man to show himself to the priest as commanded in the law (Mark 1.40-44; Matt 8.2-4; Luke 5.12-14) is especially important to Chilton. He believes it shows that Jesus makes judgements on matters of purity. If we were confronted with a choice between Mark 7 and the cleansing of the leper to judge the 'authentic' position of Jesus on purity, the leper might win the day. After all, using Theissen and Winter's plausibility criterion, the leper fits into the stronger of the second categories because the account *resists* early Christian tendencies (i.e. the statements in Acts and Paul, though obviously there was controversy).¹⁷⁷ What is needed, however, is not a decision about individual authenticity but an overall picture of Jesus which is able to make sense of his relationship to first century purity. There are serious reasons to doubt the picture suggested by Chilton:

Jesus and his circle appear to have been keenly concerned with purity as such, in a manner similar to the Pharisees'; purity was generally a focus of discussion and controversy within early Judaism. Although Jesus' stance is more comparable to the Pharisees' than to the sectarians' of Qumran (who separated from ordinary worship in the Temple) or the priests' (who perpetuated that worship), the formal categorization of Jesus as a Pharisee is not unwarranted.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Dunn, "Jesus and Ritual Purity," 273. If the tradition began in association with handwashing, it may have been known to some Jewish Christians, but not as indicating acceptability of eating unclean foods (Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 165). Still the thought pattern which begins with Jesus and his attitude towards purity is one of rejection of the notion that food imparted impurity to persons.

¹⁷⁴ Theissen and Winter, *Plausible Jesus*, 211.

¹⁷⁵ Chilton, "A Generative Exegesis," 302.

¹⁷⁶ Chilton, "A Generative Exegesis," 303.

¹⁷⁷ Theissen and Winter, 211. As discussed above, Mark 7 and parallels must fit with the 'persistence' aspect, which Theissen and Winter consider to be the weaker of the two.

¹⁷⁸ Chilton, "A Generative Exegesis," 305.

Rather than taking Chilton's evaluation point by point, we will offer our own (very different) 'comprehensive picture' of Jesus as a distinctive figure in first century Judaism.¹⁷⁹

In the gospels, Jesus is depicted as healing 'the sick' and exorcising demons. Regarding healing, Jesus puts himself into contact with people who would 'normally' (according to the law) be impure and transmit that impurity to others (see section 4.1) – lepers (Mark 1.40-45; 14.3; Matt 11.5; 26.6; Luke 7.11-19) and the woman with the flow of blood (Mark 5.25-34; Matt 9.20-22; Luke 8.43-48). Jesus also comes into contact with corpses (cf. Numbers 19), particularly in the story of Jairus' daughter in Mark 5.21-24 and 35-43. The girl is explicitly said to be dead (5.35) and the text is clear that Jesus touches her, taking her hand to heal her (5.41). Also, in Luke 7.11-17, Jesus raises the son of a widow in Nain. The parable of the Good Samaritan is also noteworthy in that it contains a 'near' or 'seeming' corpse (Luke 10.30-35).¹⁸⁰

As noted by Bryan, the 'almost exclusive' use of purity language by Jesus is in designation of 'unclean' or 'evil spirits' (e.g. Mark 1.23-27; 5.1-34; Matt 12.43-45; Luke 11.24-26).¹⁸¹ Purity (and impurity) language may certainly identify insiders and outsiders and establish boundaries between people and places. For Jesus, the language of impurity does not condemn individual humans but is associated with spirits. Those who are cured may come back to be in their 'right mind' (e.g. Mark 5.15). In the Beelzebul controversy (Mark 3.23-26 and parallels), the antithesis to the Kingdom of God is the Kingdom of Satan.¹⁸² Jesus, says Marcus, "came to view himself as the effective opponent of Satan, the Stronger One whose exorcisms testified to his role as the spearhead of the inbreaking age of God's dominion" in the manner of a millenarian prophet.¹⁸³

What implication does this have for the land? It is interesting that in Mark, Jesus drives a 'legion' of demons from a man who lives among the tombs into a herd

¹⁷⁹ Theissen and Winter, *Plausible Jesus*, 211.

¹⁸⁰ For an extensive treatment of each of these issues for Jesus in relation to defilement through contact, see Kazen, *Purity Halakhah*, 89-198. On Samaritan impurity, see Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 172-188.

¹⁸¹ Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 160. See also S. McKnight, "A Parting Within the Way," 95-96. McKnight sees Jesus' exorcisms (and contact with the woman with the flow of blood – Mark 5.24-34) as 'purifications of unclean Israelites.' (96).

¹⁸² See Joel Marcus, "The Beelzebul Controversy and the Eschatologies of Jesus," in *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus* (ed. B. Chilton et al; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 247-277.

of pigs in the 'country of the Gadarenes' (Mar 5.1 – In the Decapolis, east of the Jordan¹⁸⁴). Impurity abounds in this description. Joel Marcus notes the associations between unclean spirit and unclean space:

Some of the story's elements, however, seem to reflect an origin in a chauvinistic Jewish environment; it implicitly links unclean spirits with what are for Jews unclean places (graveyards), unclean people (Gentiles) and unclean animals (pigs).¹⁸⁵

Even if this story is not entirely 'authentic,' it shows the strong association of uncleanness with spirits. These unclean spirits, seemingly, could go wherever they will. If they are cast out, there was no guarantee that they will not return. Matthew 12.43-45 and Luke 11.24-26 show an unusually striking and visual depiction of how an unclean spirit moves about:

When the unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place, but it finds none. Then it says, 'I will return to my house from which I came.' When it comes, it finds it empty, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings along seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and live there; and the last state of that person is worse than the first. So will it be also with this evil generation.

This could be compared to *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* where the demonic spirits roam the earth (i.e. *1 Enoch* 16.1; *Jubilees* 50.5¹⁸⁶). If Jesus was intending to cast demons out of the land to purify it, they would be able to come back. Demons in this description have no respect for staying outside of boundaries. This may indeed have "the effect of diminishing the significance of the land and its borders."¹⁸⁷

Jesus also practices table fellowship with 'sinners' in the gospels. Unlike the Pharisees who were concerned with the who and where of purity and placed themselves closest to the priests on the spatial scale of holiness, Jesus is consistently

¹⁸³ Marcus, "Beelzebul Controversy," 266.

¹⁸⁴ See Marcus, Mark 1-8, 341-342.

¹⁸⁵ Marcus, Mark 1-8, 347. Marcus notes that the story may not originate with Jesus: "Mark himself is probably responsible for some of the loose ends in the present form of the tale, though most of it is pre-Markan." (347).

¹⁸⁶ *Jubilees* 50.5 says, "jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in the land. And then it will not have any Satan or evil (one). And the land will be purified from that time and forever."

¹⁸⁷ J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 59. Cf. Bryan, *Israel's Traditions*, 185-188. Bryan believes that the Samaritan parable "cuts the tie between election and purity on the one hand, Temple and Land on the other." His interpretation depends on viewing the Samaritans as defilers of the land. Compare section 4.3.2.

unconcerned with the 'purity' of his companions at meals (e.g. Mark 2.15-16; Matt 9.10; Luke 5.30). At Qumran, participation in the sacred meal of associates was done with strict attention to purity and Himmelfarb emphasises that sin and impurity are associated in a poetic and evocative, but not halakhic way to condemn outsiders to the community.¹⁸⁸ For Jesus, impurity is associated with the demonic realm and sinners are welcomed at table. Jesus does not engage in halakhic debate like the Pharisees.¹⁸⁹ Rather, he emphasises the importance of the love commandment over adherence to purity laws.¹⁹⁰ The principle of love of enemies (Matt 5.44; Luke 6.27) is crucial and is very different from Qumran, where Moses and the prophets' commands are interpreted as loving everything which one accepts and hating everything that one rejects, "in order to keep oneself at a distance from all evil." (1QS i.3-4). The command to love God, love neighbour, and love enemies shows the distinctiveness of the teaching of Jesus.¹⁹¹

Jesus has no rite for purity. Though he participates in John's baptism, he does not baptise others himself.¹⁹² Jesus and his disciples are never depicted as immersing for ritual purity. This is, of course, an argument from silence and should not be given great importance. However, in *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 840 Jesus and his disciples specifically do not perform the required immersions before entering the temple.¹⁹³ They walk into a pure place defiled. This may give further support to the view that Jesus rejected the practice of ritual purity.

All this should be seen in light of the itinerant mission of Jesus. As we noted about purity in society, it was not portable (i.e. *miqvoat*), but located and related with

¹⁸⁸ Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin," 36-37.

¹⁸⁹ Thomson, "Church Fathers," 86.

¹⁹⁰ This is the (convincing) argument of Richard Bauckham in his article "The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan: Jesus' Parabolic Interpretation of the Law of Moses" *NTS* 44 (1998): 475-489.

¹⁹¹ And, as Schottroff has argued, loving enemies does not necessitate the denial that enemies do, in fact, exist and can be entirely hostile at that. See L. Schottroff, "Non-Violence and the Love of One's Enemies," in *Essays on the Love Commandment* (trans. R. H. Fuller and I. Fuller; Philadelphia, Pa.: Fortress, 1978), 9-39. Speaking of Matthew 5.44-45, she says, "It does not encourage doubt about the hostility of the enemy of the unrighteousness of the unrighteous on whom God sends sun and rain. What the commandment requires is that we should love our enemies even though they truly are our enemies." (24).

¹⁹² Cf. Taylor, *John the Baptist*, 294-299. Marcus argues that Jesus gains a new understanding at his baptism: "Jesus' conviction of eschatological advent and of his own unique role within that advent came to him at the time of his baptism by John, when he saw Satan thrown down from heaven (Luke 10.18) and arrived at the conclusion that the dominion of the Devil was now being replaced by the dominion of God." ("Beelzebul Controversy," 267).

¹⁹³ See the translation and discussion of the text in Kazen, *Purity Halakhah*, 256-260.

a concern for the holiness of the land.¹⁹⁴ As Jesus and his disciples wander through grain fields on the Sabbath, they eat the heads of grain. The circumstances are compared to when David ate holy bread with his companions because they were hungry (Mark 2.23-27). This is not the purity of the Pharisees. It does not emphasise new halakhic interpretations, or attempt to define who is pure and who is less pure, or where is pure and where is less pure. It is not the purity of the Sadducees. There is no focus on the temple and its holiness. It is not the purity of Qumran. Enemies are not condemned as defiled, but included in the commandment to love. It is not even the purity of John. There is no rite of purity for Jesus. In view of a comprehensive picture of Jesus, he does appear to have rejected notions of purity. He did not alter the meaning of the concept as others did; rather, it was not useful to the sort of mission he embarked upon.¹⁹⁵ Purity distinguishes and condemns, particularly as we saw in discussion of Qumran. Jesus does not keep a small, spatially restricted pure community. He travels throughout the towns and villages of Galilee healing and exorcising and welcoming 'sinners.'

Therefore, emphasis on purity should be seen as closely connected to beliefs about the holiness of the temple and the holiness of the land. Ideology apprehends space in the notion of holy spaces. The case may be made that Jesus actually rejected the emphasis on ritual purity in his society. As an itinerant preacher, it is worth asking whether the practice of purity was practically possible for Jesus and his group, reliant on others for shelter and food. Not only do we have statements such as Mark 7.15 (which has a good chance of expressing a teaching of Jesus) and Jesus' lack of regard for contact contagion, but also an emphasis on love of God, neighbour and enemy suggests that his attitude was distinctly different from those of other Jewish groups in society on matters of purity. Unlike the present order, the 'kingdom' was not substantiated by the laws of purity. God's requirements were love towards neighbour and enemy alike.

To connect this chapter to the one previous (temple) and to the following (twelve), rejection of purity 'makes sense' when viewed in relationship to the destruction (and possibly not restoration) of the temple. In the eschatological battle with Satan and his kingdom, the temple is not the central focus. Purity is not concentrated there. Nor, would it seem, is purity concentrated in the land with the

¹⁹⁴ See Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics*, 71-77.

power of Satan at work to possess and destroy Israelites (demon possessed harm selves). But it does not necessarily follow that for the eschatological (millenarian) prophet, rejection of purity means rejection of the land. The subject for our next chapter – the twelve – indicates a powerful, and spatial, symbol which must be considered if we want to sketch a comprehensive and comprehensible picture of Jesus.

¹⁹⁵ Riches, *Transformation*, 143-144.

5 Re-Envisioning Israel: Jesus' Group of Twelve

The topics of temple and purity covered in the last two chapters could easily be extended to full studies in their own right. As we have argued, the connections between temple, purity and land are very close indeed and we have tried to highlight experience and practice alongside beliefs and textual resources. In this chapter, we want to look at the significance of Jesus' group of twelve for our theme of land. We want to draw out some implications for how it might be seen to relate to the discussion of the temple and purity and a re-envisioning of sacred and social space. In order to do this, we will proceed in a similar fashion to our other discussions, first by looking at how the theme of twelve takes on meaning in biblical tradition and then by looking at the theme around the time of Jesus and finally at his unique use of a group of twelve disciples, sent out to heal and exorcise.

5.1 *The Many Biblical 'Twelves'*

Twelve is a significant number in Jewish tradition.¹ In the Hebrew Bible we find twelve sons of Jacob (Gen 35.22; 42.13, 32), twelve tribes of Israel (Gen 49.28; Ezek 47.13), twelve leaders of Israel (Gen 17.20; 25.16 – twelve princes, sons of Ishmael; Num 1.44; 34.18; Josh 3.12; 4.4; 1 Kgs 4.7). There are various objects which are twelve in number such as twelve stones (Exod 15.27; Josh 4.3, 8, 20), twelve springs (Exod 15.27; Num 33.9), twelve loaves (Lev 24.5), twelve staffs (Num 17.2). There are offerings such as twelve oxen (Num 7.3), twelve silver plates, twelve silver basins and twelve gold dishes (Num 7.84), twelve bulls (Num 7.87; 29.17; Ezra 8.35), twelve rams (Num 7.87), twelve male lambs, twelve male goats (Num 7.87; 1 Esd 7.8; Ezra 6.17). Twice we find tearing into twelve pieces – once of the prophet Ahijah's new garment (1 Kgs 11.30) and another horrific example where a woman is cut into twelve pieces (Judg 19.29). There is mention of twelve towns (Josh 21.7), twelve lions (1 Kgs 10.20; 2 Chr 9.19), twelve priests (Ezra 8.24), twelve prophets (Sir 49.10).

In Christian scriptures, the number twelve (perhaps proportionately no less frequently) occurs as well. There we find twelve disciples (Matt 10.1; [20.17]), twelve apostles (Matt 10.2; Rev 21.14), 'the twelve' (Mark 3.16; 4.10; 9.35; 10.32; 11.11; 14.10, 20, 43; Matt 26.14, 20; Luke 8.1; 9.1; 18.31; 22.3, 47; John 6.67, 70, 71; Acts 6.2; 1 Cor

¹ Scot McKnight gives a not dissimilar list of 'twelves' in the Hebrew Bible. S. McKnight,

15.5), twelve thrones (Matt 19.28), twelve tribes (Matt 19.28; Luke 22.30; Jas 1.1; Rev 21.12), twelve baskets (Mark 6.43; Matt 14.20; Luke 9.17; John 6.13); twelve legions of angels (Matt 26.53), twelve patriarchs (Acts 7.8), twelve thousand 'sealed' servants of God' from each of the twelve tribes (Rev 7.3-8), twelve stars (Rev 12.1), twelve gates (Rev 21.12, 21), twelve pearls (Rev 21.12) and twelve kinds of fruit (Rev 22.2).

The 'story of twelve' in Jewish tradition begins with twelve sons of Jacob (Gen 35.22; 42.13, 32) who 'are' the twelve tribes of Israel (Gen 49.28). These twelve tribes, upon entering the land, each receive an inheritance in Israel (Josh 13.7-19.48). As we can plainly observe from the above list, there are numerous instances where 'twelve' is used in other texts besides these 'foundational' ones. 'Twelve' becomes part of the terminology that might be used when speaking about Israel or some aspect of national life (i.e. leaders and their roles, offerings). It might potentially serve as quite a 'loaded' indicator in that it could recall the 'story of twelve' (or 'map of twelve'!) without actually relating it. Like the Table of Nations in Genesis, the division of land in Joshua among the twelve tribes is also a way to construct the world, to map a sacred geography showing all Israel in their proper place(s).² Speaking about twelve tribes evokes twelve territories, one for each tribe.

Even so (as with the Table of Nations), we should be careful not to limit the spatial implications of twelve tribes/twelve territories to some particular physical location. Drawn maps are not preserved in the Hebrew Bible, but there are texts, particularly genealogically-based ones (once again, as we saw with the Table of Nations), which contain 'maps' of Jewish and sometimes also non-Jewish space. When looking at biblical texts containing 'maps' or senses of space, we should be aware that entering the discussion is not predicated by our ability to place locations on a map, in other words to identify a particular territory (or particular territories). Rather, we should look for how the perception of space in a text is constructed and how it provides meaning in historical and social context.³ Specifically, we want to

"Jesus and the Twelve" *BBR* 11:2 (201), 203-31; here 214-215.

² Besides the Joshua text (13.7-19.48) of the division of the land, see also Ezekiel 48.1-35 as well as Jonathan Z. Smith's comments on this as an exercise in social mapping J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

³ See J. Flanagan, "The Trialectics of Biblical Studies," n.p. Online: http://www.cwru.edu/10296748/affil/GAIR/papers/2001_papers/flanagan1.html. Flanagan utilises Soja's theory of spatiality which posits three dimensions to human existence – historical, social and spatial. These dimensions correspond to three 'spaces' – Firstspace (perceived space), Secondspace (conceived space) and Thirdspace (lived space). Flanagan's main concern is to

look at different ways that twelve tribes/twelve territories in Judaism indicate a locative worldview. We will ask whether images that recall the twelve tribes always related to a concept of space and therefore whether it is a viable suggestion that Jesus' calling (gathering together?) of twelve disciples indicates a mental construction of ideal space with particular meaning (in this case eschatological). Upon initial observation, it seems that Jesus' use of 'twelve' *could have* locative implications. For this reason, the calling of twelve disciples by Jesus in the gospels is of particular importance to our discussion of Jesus and land.

A discussion of the twelve also relates to our previous discussion of Jewish groups. The action of creating a group of twelve is not dissimilar to some of the actions of the sign prophets. These were intended to embody and recall land-centred themes such as exodus, entry and conquest (i.e. Theudas - *Ant.* 20.97-99; the Egyptian - *Ant.* 20.169-172, *War* 2.261, Acts 21.38). If Jesus institutes a group of twelve leaders intending that they should have some ruling role for Israel in God's kingdom (i.e. Matt 19.28, Luke 22.30), then this reinforces the suggestion that it is worthwhile to reconsider the significance of the use of twelve by Jesus, for 'the story (or map) of twelve' is also associated with such themes as entry and conquest. The similarity of the action of calling twelve with the actions of the sign prophets brings to the fore questions as to what sort of eschatology 'the twelve' might indicate.

This said, not all agree that the twelve should be placed with Jesus. There have been various scholars who have argued that a group of twelve fits more readily with the early church and had its origin there.⁴ This question (of the chronological placement of the twelve) along with the question of whether or not the twelve

emphasise Thirdspace . He states : "A trialectic that brings lived space into tension with physical space and mental conceptions of it is required."

⁴ Among these are Vielhauer. P. Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu," in *Festschrift für Gunther Dehn, zum 75 Geburtstag am 18 April 1957* (ed. W. Schneemelcher; Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1957), 51-79. He says that the number twelve and the betrayal by one of the twelve are both inventions of the early church, and Schmithals, who argues that the early church retrojected the twelve into New Testament tradition after a post Easter resurrection appearance. W. Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Gütersloh: Güterloher Verlaghaus, 1986), volume 2. Recently, the argument that the twelve is a post-resurrection group has been made by J. D. Crossan, *Who Killed Jesus: Exposing the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 71-5, 203-207. Also A. van Aarde, "The Historicity of the Circle of the Twelve: All Roads Lead to Jerusalem" in *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 55:4 (1999): 795-826. van Aarde argues specifically against J. P. Meier, "The Circle of the Twelve: Did it Exist During Jesus' Public Ministry?" *JBL* 116:4 (1997), 635-672. E. P. Sanders holds that the twelve probably do go back to Jesus and not the early church. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and*

implies an imminent eschatology, are the two major points of debate with regard to the historicity and importance of the twelve. Within these debates, I argue that there is a tendency to under-evaluate the group of the twelve as a whole, especially with regard to Jewish hopes regarding land.⁵

The major extended passages that deal with the twelve in the gospel traditions are those of the choosing of the twelve (Mark 3.13-16, Matt 10.1-4, Luke 6.12-16, see also Acts 1.13) and the 'commissioning' of the twelve (Mark 6.6b-13, Luke 9.1-6, cf. Matt 10.5-23). Also of importance is a saying in Matthew and Luke about the twelve sitting on thrones to rule the tribes (Matt 19.28, Luke 22.30). In the traditions about Judas, the designation that he is one of 'the twelve' acts almost as an identity marker (to show shock or horror) in many places where he is mentioned (i.e. Matt 26.14, 47; Mark 14.10, 20, 43; Luke 22.3, 47; see also John 6.70, 71).

In the following discussion, we will have opportunity to grapple with texts to see if new observations can be made by attempting to bring together the historical, social *and* spatial importance of Jesus' group of twelve.

5.2 *Twelve Tribes and the Land in Judaism*

From our survey in the previous section, we noted some of the 'twelves' found in Jewish tradition. We saw that the twelve sons of Jacob were a kind of 'point of origin' for further uses of the number twelve. The portrayal of the twelve tribes in the Hebrew scriptures and beyond is of importance to our study and in this section we will be able to elaborate in various ways twelve tribes. Of particular interest will be the geographical associations between the twelve tribes and the land (of Israel). Once we have drawn out the implications here for the territorial dimension of the twelve tribes, we may look at some examples of uses of the number twelve where the eponymous ancestors are not listed, but relevance to the twelve tribes and the land still apply. A further area of investigation will then be to investigate the twelve representative leaders from the tribes (or phylarchs) under Moses. Specifically, we will focus on the role of these figures in governing and dividing the land. Finally, we will examine the twelve tribes in the context of Jewish eschatology, focussing in

Judaism (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 98-106.

⁵ For instance, J. P. Meier goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the twelve did exist and are a firm part of the early tradition. However, though he raises the question of the significance of the twelve for the eschatology of Jesus at the start of his investigation, he leaves the question un-addressed at the end for 'further work' (Meier, "Circle," 672).

particular on the future vision of tribal distribution of Ezekiel 48. Throughout these subsections, we will keep in mind the question that Sanders wants to put forward in his discussion of actions of Jesus: What is the range of meanings and do they converge?⁶ Put another way, does the symbol of twelve consistently imply a connection to the land or is it possible to think of twelve tribes in detachment from some notion of territory? If the range of meanings for twelve in these various aspects does converge towards a land-based understanding, then we must consider Jesus' calling of a group of twelve in light of that meaning.

5.2.1 **Twelve Tribes and Land: Keeping the Number of Tribal Territories Consistent**

One of the ways we know the twelve patriarchs is by their mothers: In the book of Genesis (29.32-30.24 and 35.17-18), Rachel, Leah, Bilhah and Zilpah variously give birth to twelve sons who are given appropriate names by Rachel and Leah (Rachel naming her own sons and her servant Bilhah's sons and Leah naming her own and Zilpah's). Descendants from these twelve men are said to constitute tribal associations. Thus, we know the twelve tribes by kinship. Another way we know them is by their geography. Each tribe has a place in the land according to Joshua 13-19. Zecharia Kallai discusses aspects of what she calls 'The Twelve-Tribe Systems of Israel.'⁷ Genealogy and geography are the two major lines along which descriptions of the twelve tribes 'work' in various texts where they are mentioned. She identifies four schemes (two genealogical and two geographical) by which a basic tribal framework is modified in lists of the tribes.⁸ Different descriptions may emphasise one aspect (genealogical or geographical), the other, or both in particular ways that are relevant to the various contexts in which they appear. We are interested not in the hows and whys of all the variations of tribal listings, but rather in the concept that many of the modifications are made with particular interest in twelve geographical units and maintenance of that basic form.

In Genesis 48, Joseph brings his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim to his father Isaac for blessing. After some disagreement between Isaac and Joseph over which hand should be on the head of which son (48.13-20), Isaac blesses them and says this to Joseph:

⁶ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 9.

⁷ See her article by the same name in *Vetus Testamentum* 47 (Ja 1997), 53-90.

⁸ Z. Kallai, "Twelve-Tribe Systems," 56-58.

'I am about to die, but God will be with you and will bring you again into the land of your ancestors. I now give you one portion more than to your brothers.' (48.21-22)

So, it is explained that Joseph will have two portions in the land, and those will be for his two sons who now have the same status as Israel's other sons ('Therefore your two sons, who were born to you in the land of Egypt before I came to you in Egypt, are now mine; Ephraim and Manasseh will be mine, just as Reuben and Simeon are.' Gen 48.5). In the next chapter, Jacob blesses his sons, but Ephraim and Manasseh receive no mention. Kallai explains this fact in this way:

Although Genesis 49 follows the text on Genesis 48, in which the raising of Ephraim and Manasseh to equal rank with the other tribes is related, Jacob's blessing does not refer to them. They figure separately only in *lists of a geographical nature that refer to the settling of the land.*⁹

Among the lists where Ephraim and Manasseh figure (Gen 46.8-25; Num 1.5-16; 1.20-46; 2.3-32; 7.12-73; 10.14-28; 13.1-16; 26.3-55; 34.16-29; Deut 33.4-29; Josh 13-19; 21.4-40; Judg 1.1-36; Ezek 48.1-29; 1 Chr 12.24-38; 27.16-22), most either do not include Levi at all or mention the Levites in order to state that they have a distinct place or function apart from the other tribes (Num 1.5-16; 1.20-46; 2.3-32; 7.12-73; 10.14-28; 13.1-16; 26.3-55; 34.16-29; Josh 13-19; 21.4-40; Judg 1.1-35; Ezek 48.1-29) The Levites are not to have any allotment or inheritance in Israel (i.e. Deut 10.9; 18.1; 12.12). The Lord (Num 18.20-21; Josh 13.29; 18.7), tithes and offerings (Num 18.23-24; Josh 13.8), towns and the pasture lands of towns (Num 35.2; Josh 14.3-4; 1 Ch 6.64) or cities/houses in cities (Num 35.2-7, including 6 cities of refuge plus 42 other cities for a total of 48; Lev 25.32-33; Josh 21; Ezek 45.5) are to be the inheritance of the Levites. They are not to have a territory as the other tribes. However, instead of having 11 territories with the Levites maintaining a special function and no territory, the narratives are modified in order that there be twelve territories (as with the inclusion of Ephraim and Manasseh).

A principle that seems fixed in various descriptions is a concern to keep twelve as the (observable) number of tribes. There is evidence for a concern to keep the concept of Israel in her tribes as existing as a whole in twelve units. Whatever the reasons for particular omissions, they are made. For instance, in Deuteronomy 33.6-

⁹ Kallai, "Twelve-Tribe Systems," 62, emphasis added.

25, Levi, Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh are all included in the list of tribes, Kallai states:

It would seem that the subdivision of Joseph [into Ephraim and Manasseh], which may be seen as a numerical factor, is the reason for the omission of Simeon, so as not to breach the framework of twelve units.

The exclusion of Simeon is odd in this text which describes the blessing of Moses, and although we do not wish to speculate on the reasons for it, we do want to emphasise the importance of keeping the number twelve. Again, in 1 Chronicles 12.24-38, Levi, Ephraim and half-Manasseh all 'count' individually. To accommodate the number twelve, Reuben, Gad and (the other) half-Manasseh of the Transjordan are listed together as one group (1 Chron 12.37).¹⁰ In 1 Chronicles 27.16-22, Gad and Asher are missing from the list of tribal leaders. The two halves of Manasseh each have their own representative and Levi and Aaron each have one as well (Zadok is the representative for Aaron). This makes for a total of 13 leaders, but perhaps the mention of Aaron with Levi is intended to highlight Zadok and they might be considered together so that there is no break in the framework of twelve. The exclusion of Gad and Asher suggests that the number twelve could still be in mind here.¹¹

We are able to observe several features on the issue of twelve and land in Hebrew scriptures from this brief examination. The most important aspect is that both the number of territories and the number of tribes is fixed at twelve. This establishment of twelve is accomplished in distinctive ways. There are twelve tribes because there are twelve original sons of Israel. The descendants of these twelve men constitute the tribes, at least in the way they are presented. It is never said that Levi ceases to be a tribe. In fact, quite arguably, the opposite is true and Levi has the most important role as a tribe. The work of the Levites is the most crucial to the cult, their duties the most documented, their genealogy the most connected to their status. Levi remains a tribe throughout, but a tribe without a territory. Still, there are twelve territories.

¹⁰ See Kallai, "Twelve-Tribe Systems," 85.

¹¹ According to Kallai, Gad and Asher are excluded so as "not to breach the frame of twelve" (86). She says, "The only question is whether Levi and Aaron, or the half-tribes of Manasseh, are counted as one. Only with the exclusion of one of them is the total of twelve attainable." (86). Perhaps neither can be joined. In the passage, thirteen chiefs are specifically listed. However, the lack of inclusion of Gad and Asher (and Joseph) does seem to suggest that somehow 'space' has been made in this list.

When Joshua distributes the tribes in the land, nine and a half are placed on the west side of the Jordan River and two and a half have their inheritance on the east side. The Levites have cities, not territories, and it is Ephraim and Manasseh who ultimately bring the number of territories back up to twelve. The sons of Joseph, they were raised to the status of the brothers of Joseph by Jacob's blessing (Gen 48.5). This status is for *portions in the land* (Gen 48.21-22) and not for status in the group of twelve patriarchs, sons of Jacob (Gen 49). Ephraim and Manasseh are considered to be tribes (of Joseph?), but they never take away the tribal status of Levi and never increase the number of tribes to thirteen. As a further illustration of the insistence on twelve as the number of territories, in the division of the land Manasseh is split into two halves on either side of the Jordan. Manasseh is never considered to be two territories, but always one territory in two halves. This keeps the number of territories at twelve. Again (for emphasis), there are twelve tribes and twelve territories, but they do not coincide or need to coincide.¹²

We also saw examples where in tribal lists, there was sometimes a particular concern to keep the number twelve as a framework by either adding or deleting from the list of possible tribal groups or named territories. It seems that, once we evaluate the different descriptions of the 'twelve-tribe system,' we see that, if it may be called a system at all, the intricacies behind it are not available to us. However, the number twelve seems to be firmly fixed in the system. There are twelve tribes and there are twelve territories. Each tribe, including Levi, has its own place in the land of Israel. Each territory is one portion of the whole land of Israel. All twelve tribes are in the land. All the land is made up of twelve territories. Perhaps in the end, the distinctions between descriptions of twelve tribes and twelve territories are not of great importance. Twelve signifies both genealogy and geography in a manner perhaps not unlike the promise to Abraham: To your offspring I will give this land (Gen 12.7).

5.2.2 Twelve Objects and Land: Unity and Disunity

An extremely difficult passage in Judges makes symbolic use of the twelve-tribe configuration of Israel. This 'text of terror' shows an unnamed concubine raped, tortured and then cut into twelve pieces by her master and sent 'throughout all the territory of Israel.' (Judges 19.29). Though an appalling depiction, it is apparently

¹² See R. D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster, 1997), 176.

meant to show the terrible state of the tribes, reflecting “a time when leaders were lacking, God seldom appeared, and chaos reigned among the Israelite tribes.”¹³ The Levite who owned the woman says in explanation for his action, “Then I took my concubine and cut her into pieces, and sent her throughout the whole extent of Israel’s territory; for they have committed a vile outrage in Israel. So now, you Israelites, all of you, give your advice and counsel here.” (Judges 20.6-7) Clearly, this violent image is meant as a symbolic ‘message’ to *all Israel*, though it also shows tensions between tribes.¹⁴ The crime against the woman is blamed on the tribe of Benjamin (without condemnation of the Levite’s final act of mutilating the woman) and leads to division and a battle between Benjamin and the rest of the tribes (Judges 20.1-48).

A text in 1 Kings shows Ahijah tearing his garment into twelve pieces (1 Kings 11.30). Jeroboam is to take ten pieces, for, according to Ahijah, God has said, “I am about to tear the kingdom from the hand of Solomon, and will give you ten tribes. One tribe will remain his, for the sake of my servant David and for the sake of Jerusalem, the city that I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel.” (1Kings 11.31-32). An irrecoverable division between the tribes (the kingdoms of Israel and Judah) is symbolised by the tearing and distribution of a garment torn in twelve pieces. These two instances of cutting and tearing into twelve pieces in order to show division among the tribes are particularly noteworthy in contrast to the symbolic uses of twelve that show twelve objects brought together.

Even in recognition of the unity that goes with the notion of twelve as a symbolic number, we should keep also in mind the subtle tensions which might be found as in the separation of two and a half tribes to exist on the eastern side of the Jordan as well as the notion of the ten lost tribes. These will also relate to particular circumstances and tensions to do with land. Knight highlights both the political and religious significance of land for the tribes located on the ‘other side’ of the Jordan, where it is even hinted in Joshua 22.19 that the land to the east is unclean.¹⁵ Defiled

¹³ P. Trible, *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 65.

¹⁴ Cf. D. A. Knight, “Joshua 22 and the Ideology of Space,” in *‘Imagining’ Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. D. M. Gunn and P. M. McNutt; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 51-63. He shows the indications ‘of suspicions or antipathy persisting between east and west [eastern and western tribes]’ in Joshua 22 and Judges 12.1-6. (59).

¹⁵ See Knight, “Joshua,” 58.

and purified land, occupied and conquered land all are part of the myth of the land in Joshua as they enter and cleanse the land for occupation by Israel. So, Knight:

The ancestral promise of land for the people thus reaches fulfilment, and at the same time the monarchy's prerequisite of sovereign territory becomes satisfied. The process is not presented as mere power politics, however. Inasmuch as God has granted the land to the Israelites, it is their right to take possession of it with divine assistance.¹⁶

Thus, both theological beliefs and the current situation under Persian rule are of high significance. Again, Knight, stresses the concern with the restoration of the land during this period, noting two purposes in Joshua related to that concern: "to show the divinely passed legitimacy of the Judeans on the land and the divinely ordained centrality of worship in Jerusalem."¹⁷ Certainly, the attitude towards the eastern tribes is reflected in the situation of the time when Joshua was produced. The role of beliefs about space should also be given their place in consideration of those circumstances as both 'east' and 'west' desire to gain legitimacy.¹⁸

A symbolic action involving twelve representatives of the twelve tribes occurs in the beginning of Joshua. When Joshua and the Israelites cross over the Jordan and into the land, twelve leaders from the tribes place twelve stones in the middle of the river and then set them up at Gilgal (Joshua 4) as a memorial. In this liturgical set of events, the significance of the participation of the totality of the tribes as they enter the land is implicit throughout. The people are told by Joshua that when their children ask what the stones mean, they are to say, 'Israel crossed over the Jordan here on dry ground.' (Josh 4.22, cf. 4.7). The twelve representatives from the tribes who gather the twelve stones portray through ritual all Israel's crossing. 'Twelves' can hold a very strong place in liturgy such as that depicted at Gilgal and in the actions of the priests on behalf of the people. Even the use of twelve (i.e. twelve bulls, twelve loaves of bread) in sacrifices and offerings are a sign which depicts solidarity among Israelites and their obedience to God in the land, their participation in the covenant.¹⁹ Twelve in such instances serves to bind a people together, to show themselves as a whole, but a whole in twelve parts. The symbolic uses of twelve

¹⁶ Knight, "Joshua," 59-60.

¹⁷ Knight, "Joshua," 60.

¹⁸ Knight, "Joshua," 59, 62.

¹⁹ See for example Leviticus 18 and Lev 24.5-9 where the twelve loaves of choice bread are set before the Lord in a holy place every sabbath day 'as a commitment of the people of Israel, as a covenant forever.' (Lev 24.8)

depicting tearing thus poignantly dramatise a break in that unity. What should be a whole in twelve parts is disrupted and (at least temporarily) destroyed. We may connect this wholeness conveyed through the use of 'twelves' with what we observed regarding Israel as a whole in twelve parts in the land from the last section. We see that 'twelve' can serve as a dramatic symbol of unity for Israelite people, particularly Israel in the land. Such signs seem to imply a notion of the location of the twelve tribes together in the land. Boundaries (of the land, crossing the Jordan, etc.) are also important.

5.2.3 Twelve Leaders and Land: A Territorial Governing Role?

The first chapter of the book of Numbers describes in detail the first census of Israel and the institution of twelve leaders for each tribe. Moses is commanded to take the census of the whole congregation (Num 1.2) along with 'a man from each tribe', the 'head of his ancestral house.' (Num 1.4). Moses and the twelve leaders function together for this activity. Each leader is named and listed according to their tribe. In the second chapter of Numbers, the leaders of the tribes are listed again in the order of placement of each tribe in the camp. Three tribes are to camp in each cardinal direction around the centred Levites, who care for the tent of meeting (Num 2.3-32, Levites, 2.17). These twelve tribal leaders under Moses feature quite prominently in the book of Numbers. Besides their role in the census, they also participate in a ceremony after Moses sets up the tabernacle by presenting offerings (Num 7.1-78). A second census takes place for the new generation of Israelites who are to enter the land (Num 26.1-55). The leaders are not specifically mentioned in this text, but it recalls the first census and it is taken by Moses and Eleazer the priest (Num 26.1-3) who are elsewhere mentioned along with the leaders (Num 27.2; 31.13; cf. Josh 14.1). The census, taken 'by the Jordan, opposite Jericho' (Num 26.3), determines the size of the tribes and therefore the size of their inheritance in the land:

The Lord spoke to Moses saying, 'To these the land shall be apportioned for inheritance according to the number of names. To a large tribe you shall give a large inheritance and to a small tribe you shall give a small inheritance; every tribe shall be given its inheritance according to its enrollment. (Num 26.52-54)

Also in conjunction with entering and apportioning the land, we find that the leaders of the twelve tribes in Numbers are involved. They are sent to spy out the land:

Send men to spy out the land of Canaan, which I am giving to the sons of Israel; from each of their ancestral tribes you shall send a man, every one a leader among them. (Num 13.1)

They are assigned roles for the apportioning of inheritances:

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: These are the names of the men who shall apportion the land to you for inheritance: the priest Eleazar and Joshua son of Nun. You shall take one leader of every tribe to apportion the land for inheritance. (Num 34.26)

In the book of Joshua as well, the tribal leaders figure along with Joshua and Eleazer in the apportioning of the land (Josh 13-19; Josh 14.1). Previously, we have pointed out the gathering of stones in the ceremonious crossing of the Jordan. Here, one tribal representative is to be taken from each tribe (Josh 3.12). We see that in the books of Numbers and Joshua, the twelve tribal leaders have particular roles and these are to do with the organisation of the tribes in preparation for entering the land (Numbers) as well as in the entry into the land and distribution of the twelve territories once they enter it.

Like the symbolic representation of twelve objects, twelve leaders can also emphasise the notion of 'all Israel together.' In Exodus 24 (concerning the ceremony of the blood of the covenant) we see an almost indistinguishable line between the ceremonial participation of the twelve leaders and the whole people. Not unlike the Joshua story of crossing the Jordan, representative leaders from the people participate in the ceremonial events. Moses speaks to 'the people' and 'all the people answer him in one voice' (24.4), though presumably the twelve leaders are functioning here. Moses builds an altar in the same passage and sets up 'twelve pillars, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel.' (24.4). Though elders, young men of the people, and chief men of the people have particular roles, the distinction between them and 'all the people' is somewhat obscured. Similarly, participation in sacrifices and offerings is on behalf of the people. In the story of Moses' return from his meeting with YHWH in Exodus 34, the 'leaders of the congregation' as well as 'all the Israelites' are said to witness his shining countenance (verses 30-32) once he has come down from Mount Sinai. What the leaders do and see is understood to be what the people are to do and see.

The 'core elements' of the function of the tribal leaders in Numbers and Joshua are their association with Moses and Joshua and their governance of the tribes in preparation for entering the land and in distributing the land for the tribes.

Exodus also has the tribal leaders functioning alongside Moses. A text which we have not examined in this section is Ezekiel 45-48 where a new allotment of the future land of Israel takes place. Here, twelve tribal leaders are also found:

And my princes shall no longer oppress my people; but they shall let the house of Israel have the land according to their tribes. (Ezek 45.8).

The notion of a future land that is envisioned constitutes of twelve tribes and includes the tribal leaders in roles of governance.

5.2.4 Twelve Tribes, Land and Eschatological Expectations

So far, we have mentioned, but not fully discussed Ezekiel's vision of the future restored land of Israel (in twelve tribes) in Chapter 48. The entire section of Ezekiel 40-48 contains various 'maps' of ideal sacred space for Israel and the priests of the nation. Jonathan Smith makes the assertion that 'of all the texts preserved within the biblical canon, it is, perhaps, the most articulate in offering a coherent ideology of place: of temple and city, with focus on the temple.'²⁰ Indeed, there is a very clear emphasis on the holy city and the temple, but there is also the unambiguous notion that the fulfillment of the promise to Abraham is the inheritance of the twelve tribes in chapters 47-48.²¹ The land is given boundaries to the north, south, east and west (Ezek 47.15-20) and it is to be divided among the twelve tribes of Israel (Ezek 47.13) according to the promise to Abraham: 'You shall divide [the land] equally. I swore to give it to your ancestors, and this land shall fall to you as your inheritance.' The return from exile is like a new exodus. So, Wilken:

Everything that Ezekiel says about the temple and the city is inseparable from his final section on the 'allotment of the land.' Indeed he portrays the return and restoration as a new Exodus; just as the land was apportioned to the tribes when the land was first conquered, so in the return from exile there will be a new appropriation of the land patterned on the allotment of the land at the time of Joshua.²²

Though it is striking that aliens are to be given equal allotment to the citizens of Israel (Ezek 47.22-23), aliens were respected and given place according to the old pattern (Exod 22.21; 23.9; Josh 8.35 and in particular Josh 20.9).²³ Though the status of

²⁰ J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 48.

²¹ Smith, *Take Place*, 66.

²² R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 13.

²³ Walter Brueggeman has insinuated that the inclusion of aliens in 47.2-23 has brought a new

aliens may be raised and certainly the description of the central holy segment elevates the status of Jerusalem, temple, priests and Levites, there is still a concept of the whole land in twelve tribes. Kallai notes that the description is based on Numbers 34.3-12 and states, "Ezekiel's future land of Israel therefore fully conforms to the promised land, with no hold outside its borders and none missing within."²⁴ This future dimension of the description is, for us, worthy of emphasis. Ezekiel's description takes the core element of twelve tribes and twelve territories and incorporates it into his vision of a future, ideal land for Israel. He sees that future as entailing all Israel in the land, the Abrahamic promise fulfilled, and the restoration of twelve tribes.

In later Jewish works, we find the notion of Israel restored to twelve tribes at the end times. The work referred to as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is significant to our understanding of the symbolic use of imagery of the twelve tribes, though the dating of this document is less than certain. Charlesworth's edition of the Pseudepigrapha places the *Testaments* in the 2nd century BCE, but Robert Kugler's analysis of various scholars' positions on the dating leads him to the conviction (along with de Jong) that it is actually a Christian text which may serve also to 'testify' to Jews.²⁵ Even if Kugler and others are right to say that there is no *recoverable* Jewish text within the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, it is still of interest to our discussion because of the themes it contains and the notion that there was some Jewish text that was modified to become a Christian text. The *Testaments* show a twelve-tribe model and is made up of the discourses of the sons of Jacob just prior to their deaths. There is a strong eschatological element to the work and the figures of Levi (priestly) and Judah (kingly) play prominent roles in the time of redemption for Israel (*T. Reu.* 6.8; *T. Sim.* 7.1; *Test. Joseph* 9.11; *T. Jud.* 25.1 and various references in *T. Naph.* 5.1-5, 6.7, 8.2). In the *Testament of Asher*, there is a warning issued which we quote at length:

For I know that you will sin and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; your land shall be made desolate and your sanctuary wholly polluted. You will be scattered to the four corners of the earth; in the dispersion you shall be regarded as worthless, like useless water, until such time as the Most High

element of graciousness that was nowhere present earlier (*The Land; Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 143.

²⁴ Kallai, "Twelve-Tribe System," 79.

²⁵ R. L. Kugler, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 38.

visits the earth....He will save Israel and all the nations. Tell these things, my children, to your children, so that they will not disobey him. For I know that you will be thoroughly disobedient, that you will be thoroughly irreligious, heeding not God's law but human commandments, being corrupted by evil. For this reason, you will be scattered like Dan and Gad, my brothers, you shall not know your own lands, tribe or language. But he will gather you in faith through his compassion and on account of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (T. Ash. 7.2-7)

Within the entire work of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we find various beliefs. As in this quotation, we see both the notion of dispersion as well as regathering *into the land*. In the *Testament of Benjamin* at the conclusion of the book, we find the idea that when the Lord's salvation is revealed, the patriarchs will be raised, 'each of us over our tribe' (10.7). All Israel will be gathered (10.11) and the 'light of knowledge will mount up in Israel for her salvation, seizing them like a wolf among them, and gathering the gentiles.' (11.2). There is concern both with the land as a whole (T. Benj. 10.5-11) as well as with the temple (T. Levi 14.34; T. Sim. 7.2, T. Jud. 22.3, 25.5; T. Benj. 9.5). The vision of the dead being raised reminds us of Ezekiel's great eschatological vision in which the dead are raised and Israel is brought into her own land (Ezek 37.12; see section 4.4). Thus, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* shows us some of the range of beliefs regarding the eschaton and the judgement and relates them specifically to a model of the twelve tribes and the patriarchs. We see that the inclusion of images relating to the whole land does not preclude the inclusion of hopes regarding the temple as in Ezekiel.

In another example of the existence of the twelve tribes at the end times, there is reference to them in the *Testament of Abraham*. The 'Commander-in-Chief' Michael shows Abraham three judgements. The first is by Abel, who sits on a throne, judging the righteous and sinners of the 'entire creation.' (T. Ab. 13.3). At the second judgement, every person is judged by the twelve tribes of Israel (T. Ab. 13.6). The final judgement is by 'the Master God of all' (T. Ab. 13.7) and completes the 'three tribunals' of judgement (T. Ab. 13.8). The universal nature of this judgement is striking: it is decidedly for the entire creation and not just Israel. As Collins notes, the theme of judgement is 'introduced already in the overview of the earth' in chapter 10.²⁶ There is no limitation made to Israel. Humanity is judged in terms of individual deeds. The notion that the twelve tribes have a role in judgement, even of the whole

²⁶ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd

earth, alerts us to the imaginative connection in the future scenario made between the theme of judgement and the twelve tribes. Could the twelve tribes mentioned here indicate the twelve tribal leaders? Possibly. Does the notion that all people (not just Israelites) are judged by the twelve tribes nullify the connection between the twelve tribes and the land of Israel? Not by any necessity.

In this section, we have seen examples where thought about an ideal Israel could be conceived of in twelve tribes and including roles for the twelve leaders of the tribes as well. Resurrection is part of the network of beliefs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The example of the *Testament of Abraham* shows the twelve tribes involved in future judgement. These 'future' ideas about the twelve tribes are not unrelated to other aspects of geography and tribal order. Core elements include: twelve tribes and twelve territories; twelve speaking of the unity of Israel; and the land-based functions of the tribal leaders are present in articulations of the future for Israel. As we have seen, however, these 'core elements' are connected to other ideas that are also reworked in various ways.

5.3 *The Authenticity of a Group of Twelve*

Before we can move on to discuss the possible importance of a group of twelve for Jesus with regard to land, we must consider whether it is plausible that this group should be placed with Jesus.²⁷ There are those who regard the twelve as one of the most solid and early aspects of the traditions about Jesus,²⁸ but even so, there are also those who would regard the twelve as a firmly post-Easter group.²⁹ We will begin with those who question the authenticity of the twelve and then outline the major reasons for accepting the twelve as a group with a strong connection to Jesus.

Since the gospels take the form that we now have them in a time when early Christianity was emerging and distinguishing itself from Judaism, the question of

ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 253.

²⁷ G. Theissen and D. Winter, *The Quest for the Plausible Jesus: The Question of Criteria* (trans. M. E. Boring; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 191-212.

²⁸ Meier ("Circle of the Twelve," 635-72) goes into more detail than most regarding the authenticity of the twelve. In summary, he contends that the twelve do go back to Jesus because of: (1) multiple attestation from different sources, i.e. from Mark, John, Paul (1 Cor. 15.3-5), L (Jude instead of Thaddeus in Luke 6.16, Acts 1.13), and 'Q' (Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30); (2) embarrassment over Judas' membership in the twelve when he hands Jesus over to the authorities; and (3) the lack of prominence of the twelve in the early church.

²⁹ van Aarde argues that the twelve are a post-Easter group located in Jerusalem ("The Historicity of the Circle" 795-826).

whether new material (i.e. material not going back to Jesus himself) could have been invented by the early church to suit some purpose or practice is a frequent and often entirely legitimate one. It is certainly not outside of the realm of possibility that the early church invented a group of twelve apostles and placed them in the context of Jesus' ministry.³⁰ John Dominic Crossan thinks that the twelve were instituted after the death of Jesus in connection with Peter's mission to the Jews. Thus, in 1 Corinthians 15.5-11 (a major and early text), we find:

He appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers and sisters at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have died. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me. For I am the least of the apostles, unfit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace toward me has not been in vain. On the contrary, I worked harder than any of them-- though it was not I, but the grace of God that is with me. Whether then it was I or they, so we proclaim and so you have come to believe.

Here, Crossan sees a clear distinction between Peter (Cephas) and the twelve and James and the apostles. Paul counts himself as one of the apostles, and therefore they must be distinct from the twelve. 1 Corinthians, according to Crossan, is to be dated 40 or more years before the writing of the gospels. In light of this, certainly many could agree that here (1 Cor 15.5) we have very early evidence for a group known as the twelve. However, we wonder how Crossan can make the *further* distinction (with any certainty) to say that the group was only in place after the death of Jesus. He says that there are 'whole sections of early Christianity' that never heard of the institution of the twelve.³¹ However, 'different and independent early Christian traditions' knew about Judas. Based on these two premises, Crossan concludes in essence that Judas is 'early' and a 'historical follower of Jesus who betrayed him,' but the twelve are a later institution of the early church, associated with Peter.³² Presumably all the 'different and independent early traditions' would have known *both* of the twelve *and* Judas as one of the twelve if the group in fact existed. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to decipher exactly which traditions and sections of early Christianity Crossan is referring to here from his earlier discussion.

³⁰ The question we want to ask is – Is it probable?

³¹ Crossan, 75.

³² Crossan, 75.

In his argument, Crossan also states that the twelve are new Christian patriarchs intended to replace the ancient Jewish patriarchs.³³ Van Aarde also makes a similar assertion:

This group [the Jesus faction in Jerusalem, pre-70CE] idealized their movement by thinking about it as the “eschatological Israel” and referring to the “first” disciples as “the twelve”. This designation is *clearly analogous* to “the twelve patriarchs” referred to in the Hebrew scriptures.³⁴

At first glance, this suggestion is entirely stimulating for its relevance to our discussion. Once again, however, we come to the unfortunate frustration with both Crossan and van Aarde that neither has offered any specific support for (or against!) this assertion. Why, we would have to ask, according to the suggestion of analogy to the patriarchs, would the idea of having (creating) twelve Christian patriarchs be particularly important to early Christians? Crossan and van Aarde ultimately leave us with more questions than answers as to why the twelve *must* belong to the time after the death of Jesus and not before. Though we can agree that 1 Corinthians 15.5 is an important and early piece of evidence for the existence of the twelve, we cannot accept it as establishing that the twelve as a group came into existence after the death of Jesus.

In arguing for the *authenticity* of the group of the twelve, E. P. Sanders views the 1 Corinthians text as a strong and early piece of evidence pointing to the group’s existence. The fact that some manuscripts have ‘eleven’ instead of ‘twelve’ indicates, for Sanders, that the twelve were originally in mind (since scribes would not correct ‘eleven’ to make it ‘twelve’ if they knew about Judas) and the correction is made with the death of Judas in mind.³⁵ The ‘second bit of firm evidence’ for Sanders is Matthew 19.28. By a similar mode of reasoning, he says that Judas would not have been included in a group judging Israel (an elevated position of leadership) when his betrayal was known. For Sanders, the mentioning of the twelve in I Corinthians, as well as Matt 19.28 and the ‘fact’ of a disciple who betrayed, are solid and early tradition because they would not be invented after a tradition that Judas *as one of the*

³³ Crossan, 75. See also van Aarde who says about the ‘pillars’ of Galatians 2.9 – “This group idealized their movement by thinking about it as the ‘eschatological Israel’ and referring to the ‘first’ disciples as ‘the Twelve’. This designation is clearly analogous to ‘the twelve patriarchs’ referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures.” (van Aarde, 801).

³⁴ van Aarde, “Historicity of the Circle,” 801. Emphasis added.

³⁵ Sanders, *Jesus*, 98.

twelve betrayed Jesus.³⁶ Meier also latches on to this detail, which he believes fits a 'criterion of embarrassment' over Judas as one of the twelve. He finds 'no cogent reason why the early church should have gone out of its way to invent such a troubling tradition as Jesus' betrayal by Judas, one of his chosen Twelve.'³⁷ It would be illogical to invent such a tradition according to Meier. Rather the early church found themselves in a position of having to explain Judas by using Hebrew scriptures to 'soften' the reality of Judas' betrayal as one of the twelve. Meier is correct to point out that this would demand a very strange tradition history, for the invention of the twelve would seem to be for the purpose of exalting their status, while Judas' membership in the group would appear to run counter to that purpose.³⁸

For Sanders, the betrayal, as a 'fact,' is a strong argument for the authenticity of the twelve. Though he does not 'prove' that the betrayal itself is authentic, his argument with Vielhauer that he must give a good reason for the invention of a betrayal by one of the twelve is sound. The different evangelists do seem to explain away this 'embarrassing' detail in different ways (i.e. the use of Zechariah 11.12 in Matt 26.15 and Psalm 41 in Mark 14). So, the idea that there were actually two difficult 'facts' facing the early church (the existence of the twelve and betrayal by one of them) makes it seem less probable that one of them was invented (or both, so Vielhauer).

On the differences between the lists of the twelve in the synoptic gospels and Acts, Meier believes that the list was handed down orally in the first couple of generations after the death of Christ and was not remembered perfectly (Mark and Matthew have Thaddeus and Luke includes Jude of James) due primarily to the fact that the twelve quickly lost importance in the early church (or, that an original group around Jesus had at least one member who left and was then 'replaced'). Thus Meier agrees with Sanders on the basic point that the twelve are important primarily for

³⁶ This argument ends up being quite speculative in that Sanders has to accept one 'historical fact' (betrayal by one of Jesus' disciples) in order to argue for the authenticity of another 'fact' (the concept of the number twelve, going back to Jesus). Sanders admits that this is a 'problem,' saying, "The betrayal argues for the authenticity of the twelve unless the betrayal itself is inauthentic." (Sanders, *Jesus*, 99). Though this rather speculative way of arguing the point (of authenticity) engages with those who think the twelve is the invention of the early church, there are perhaps clearer and more persuasive way of asserting that the twelve are part of the earliest traditions going back to Jesus than relying on a speculative chronology.

³⁷ Meier, "Circle of the Twelve," 665.

their symbolisation of eschatological hopes, but he thinks that there were actually twelve men around Jesus in his ministry because the lists are fairly precisely preserved and the evangelists do seem to be concerned to name twelve individuals.³⁹ Whether or not there were actually twelve men around Jesus or it was a group 'in symbol only' is not essential to our discussion, for twelve actual men could be symbolic as well. In any case, it does not seem that anyone cares to argue for a particular 'list' of the twelve as the 'correct' one, nor is there any means to do this.⁴⁰ What we may pick up, however, is the recurring notion that the twelve seem not to have a very extended period of influence in the early church.

Returning to Crossan's argument that the twelve arose after the death of Jesus and the questions that this raises, we now reflect on the possibility that the twelve can be located (in terms of time) with Jesus *and* that they are an institution associated with Peter's mission to Jews after Jesus' death. Here, we turn to Richard Bauckham who identifies the twelve as the leaders of the early church in Jerusalem. Until around 44 CE, they had leadership roles in the Jerusalem church, as in Acts where the twelve are the 'only category of Christian leaders' in Acts before 11.30.⁴¹ That is, Peter and the twelve were replaced in the Jerusalem church by James and the elders. Peter is the major figure associated with the twelve (Acts 1.15, 5.1-11, 15, 29). Bauckham points to their location in Jerusalem as important background for understanding the twelve in the early Christian community:

Though Luke does not give much impression of the (by this time, rather antiquated) eschatological ideas of the early community, we can take it as certain that the Twelve, the phylarchs of the eschatological Israel (Mt. 19.28;

³⁸ Meier, "Circle of the Twelve," 667.

³⁹ Meier, "Circle of the Twelve," 648.

⁴⁰ Meier's older study of the historicity of the twelve indicates the significance of the fact that all three synoptic evangelists have given a list of the twelve. He says, "The fact that a series of three evangelists each recorded a list of Twelve disciples with some difference regarding one or two names can in fact be as well viewed as an index of historicity or nonhistoricity. No lack of uniformity of the specific tradition regarding the names of all the Twelve could dim the importance of the general tradition that Jesus did choose Twelve." Robert P. Meier, *Jesus and the Twelve: Discipleship and Revelation in Mark's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 201. We could say, following Meier here that there was a strong 'general' tradition that Jesus chose twelve and each of the synoptic evangelists have utilised that tradition as well as tradition(s) concerning the names of the individual members of that group of twelve. Though we are unable to now decipher the 'correctness' of any particular list of twelve, we note the fact that all three evangelists are interested in the list of twelve (i.e. not only Mark) and it is at least possible that they understand these to be the names of witnesses to Jesus.

⁴¹ R. Bauckham, "James and the Jerusalem Church," in *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 4:428.

Lk. 22.29-30), would have taken up residence in Jerusalem precisely because of their and its eschatological roles.⁴²

Thus, though it is not impossible to imagine that the twelve were instituted after the death of Jesus, we find it difficult to couple the invented group's lack of 'fame' and the seemingly early existence of the group as indicated in 1 Corinthians and Luke's placement of the leadership of the twelve as ending with persecution by Agrippa (Acts 12.1-17). If Luke's presentation is even approximately accurate, the group would have to have both formed very quickly as well as lost its leadership role in a very short amount of time (not much more than ten years). We see that the twelve actually lose and do not gain significance in the early church after the death of Jesus. The notion that they were invented, as well as a tradition that one of them betrayed Jesus, is unlikely.

What we have, then, is a fair amount of material which mentions the twelve, including an early mention of them in 1 Corinthians and an apparent conflict in the tradition where it appears to explain both the existence of the twelve and that Judas, as one of the twelve, betrayed Jesus. Though Crossan and others think that these traditions were invented after the death of Jesus, this must remain only a possibility and not a probability. The weight of the evidence remains with the argument that the twelve as a group do in fact go back to Jesus. The existence of the twelve as leaders in the early church in Jerusalem and associated with Peter in no way precludes that the group itself did not originate with Jesus. Though the possibility of absolute certainty that this is the case ultimately eludes us, we do seem to find good evidence that there are indeed early traditions about the twelve that go back to Jesus.

5.4 *The Twelve and Eschatology*

Now that we have identified reasonable evidence in favour of placing the twelve as a group going back to Jesus, we turn to another area of discussion for scholarship on the twelve: the eschatological significance of such a group. To begin with an opposing view, Marcus Borg contends that Jesus' choosing of twelve (a premise he is 'still inclined to affirm'⁴³) does not necessarily imply eschatological restoration. Though he does not explicitly state so, Borg apparently does not have

⁴² Bauckham, "James," 439.

⁴³ M. Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1994, 76.

any argument with Sanders' claim that the twelve symbolise the twelve tribes of Israel, but he takes issue with Sanders over 'the framework of imminent restoration eschatology.'⁴⁴ Therefore, twelve disciples are not significant because they say something about what Jesus may have thought would happen when God acted on behalf of Israel, but they merely 'indicate that Jesus saw his mission as having to do with "Israel."⁴⁵ Borg further states, "there is no necessary connection between 'the twelve' and imminent eschatology."⁴⁶

As with Crossan's arguments on the authenticity of the twelve, we may wish that Borg had gone into greater detail as to why 'imminent restoration eschatology' should be excluded from a discussion of the twelve. One suspects that his reasons are at the level of the difference between his portrayal of Jesus as a teacher of wisdom and healer and Sanders' view of Jesus as an eschatological prophet. Just as Borg's exclusion of eschatology from the discussion of the twelve fits his non-eschatological understanding of Jesus, so Sanders' view of the twelve as indicating restoration eschatology fits with his. Sanders believes that the twelve show that all Israel is to be included in the kingdom at its arrival. Since the twelve speak of contemporary Jewish hopes for the future, they essentially point to the restoration of Israel and the gathering of the twelve tribes.⁴⁷ As with the temple, the twelve point in the direction of restoration eschatology for Jesus according to Sanders.

Merely pointing out these two different views on the significance of the twelve and how they fit with the scholars' overall portraits of Jesus does not 'solve' anything. Borg's denial of eschatological connections can, however, give us a good basic question to start out with if we turn his into a question and ask: Is there any good reason to connect the Twelve (who symbolise the twelve tribes) with eschatological hopes for Jesus? There are three main texts which have direct relevance to the Twelve and eschatology. The most important one is Matthew 19.28,

⁴⁴ Borg, *Jesus*, 76.

⁴⁵ Borg, *Jesus*, 76.

⁴⁶ Borg, *Jesus*, 93 fn. 32. One might emphasise the implications of the twelve for saying something about 'all Israel' and still accept that there is an eschatological aspect of the twelve as well. Scot McKnight, like Borg, focuses on the national character of the twelve and states that the twelve should be understood in terms of ancient Jewish nationalism. S. McKnight, *A New Vision for Israel: The Teachings of Jesus in National Context* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 10. McKnight, however, also accepts the position of Sanders and sees Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30 as indicative of the eschatology of Jesus, showing his hope of God's kingdom on earth as part of a community of restored Israel centered on Jesus.

⁴⁷ Sanders, *Jesus*, 104

which is also found with minor difference in Luke 22.30, where Jesus says that the twelve will sit on twelve thrones to judge the tribes. We already noted that Richard Bauckham connects the twelve with the 'phylarchs of the eschatological Israel'⁴⁸ based on this passage and it will be our first text for examination in this section. Also in connection with the eschatological scenario of Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30, we will treat Mark 10.45 where the sons of Zebedee seek to sit at Jesus' right and left in the kingdom as well as Matthew 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-29 which indicates a gathering from east and west in the kingdom. Examination of these texts should give us a better understanding of what sort of eschatological vision might fit with the notion of twelve disciples.

5.4.1 Twelve Thrones, Twelve Tribes – Matthew 19.28/Luke 22.30

5.4.1.1 The Saying In Matthew and Luke

Though the wording and context of the saying concerning the twelve judging the twelve tribes of Israel is slightly different in Matthew and Luke, they both present a similar picture of the future role of the twelve. The Matthean text reads thus:

Jesus said to them, "Truly I tell you, at the renewal of all things (ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ), when the son of man is seated on the throne of his glory, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones (ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους) judging (κρίνοντες) the twelve tribes of Israel (τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ)

Luke does not have the term *palingenesia* and only speaks of twelve tribes but does not use the phrase 'twelve thrones,' but only 'thrones':

So that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (ἐπὶ θρόνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ).

Scholars have debated the authenticity of this logion, but the main argument suffices that the content gives primary role in the kingdom to the twelve and in consideration of the fact that they did not have much role in the early Church (as discussed in Section 3.2) it is likely that this saying is authentic. Accepting the saying on this basis, we may then ask whether the differences in Matthew and Luke's version of the saying and contexts adds anything to the discussion. For our purposes, however, it is important to look carefully at the verses and their contexts in order to see if there are

⁴⁸ Bauckham, "James," 439.

facets which necessitate an understanding of the judgement by the twelve of the tribes as taking place in a renewed cosmos rather than a restored land of Israel.

For Davies, the context in Luke (an argument among the disciples over who is the greatest) points to the fact that the kingdom is a 'new kind of kingdom – in another dimension of existence.'⁴⁹ It is true, as Davies says, that Luke 22.24-30 places Jesus and his followers in opposition to the 'kings of the Gentiles' (οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν) and the 'ones having authority over them' (οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν) in verse 25. Jesus is among them as one who serves (22.27) and his followers are to be like servants as well (22.26) in contrast with the kings who lord their position over the Gentiles and the rulers who take the name of benefactors (εὐεργέται, 22.25). However, we cannot agree with Davies that this means the kingdom spoken about here is not capable of being compared to the 'kingdoms of this world'.⁵⁰ Rather, it is a direct comparison that Luke is making when he compares rulers of the Gentiles with the disciples. There is no word or phrase in particular that clues the reader in to a 'different dimension of existence' for the kingdom Jesus speaks of. Certainly, it has a different set of leadership criteria, but nothing in this passage takes it completely out of this world. The fact that Luke does not speak of twelve thrones in particular (Luke 22.30) does nothing to establish that the saying is meant to be broad and symbolic as opposed to specific and literal.⁵¹ The element of twelve tribes is present and this is specific enough on its own to indicate that the thrones will be the same number as the disciples and the tribes. Further, 'twelve' may also be considered to apply to the thrones as well.

Davies regards the Matthean context differently. Here, he allows that the '*palingenesia*' (Matt 19.28) may be a 'rebirth,' that is, 'not a wholly new order, but a renewing of the existing order.'⁵² In this order there could be a restored Israel with twelve tribes. For emphasis, we quote Davies:

In this view, the clear distinction drawn by Luke between This Age and The Age to Come is blurred by Matthew: his *palingenesia* ushers in this world in a

⁴⁹ W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974; repr., Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 363. While the context of Luke does speak of serving in contrast to the behaviour of gentile authorities (22.25-6) as well as the conferral of a kingdom (22.29), to say that this indicates 'another dimension of existence' seems to push the text too far.

⁵⁰ Davies, *Land*, 363.

⁵¹ Cf. Davies, *Land*, 363

⁵² Davies, *Land*, 363.

renewed form, in which 'eternal life' is to be enjoyed. These verses, then, point to a perspective which looked forward to a *temporal* restoration.⁵³

The inheritance of eternal life that Davies speaks about is mentioned in Matthew 19.29 and is part of the reward for the disciples who have left everything to follow Jesus. The itinerant followers of Jesus are contrasted with the rich young man who was not willing to leave behind his possessions to follow (Matt 19.16-21). The man wanted to know what to do to receive eternal life (19.16). The disciples are to inherit eternal life (19.29). And, not only that, but they are to take the roles of rulers of the tribes (19.28) and receive houses, family and fields (19.29) according to their decision to leave everything.

For Matthew, then, the future roles of the disciples are part of their reward. For Luke, this is presumably the case as well, though the emphasis is not on discipleship as leaving everything but as taking on the characteristic of a servant. We then have to ask, do these settings for a saying deemed authentic have any role in determining the 'location' of such a rule of the tribes, or are they merely reflective of Matthew and Luke's later views. There are connections with the kingdom (Luke 22.30), the son of man coming in his glory (Matt 19.28), eternal life (Matt 19.29) and the *palingenesia* (Matt 19.28), but do these connections mean that the renewal takes place in 'another dimension of existence'? To begin to answer this question, we turn to the meaning of 'in the *palingenesia*.'

5.4.1.2 In the Palingenesia

Davies accurately notes that there is 'no specific reference to the land on which the restored Israel is to dwell.'⁵⁴ Therefore, it is all the more important to understand what is meant by *ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ* for this passage where there are twelve rulers for twelve tribes. This phrase is our only clue as to where the scenario described takes place. Could it be in a restored land, a geography including twelve tribes?

As Davies himself is aware, Josephus uses the term *palengenesia* on one occasion.⁵⁵ It reads as follows:

⁵³ Davies, *Land*, 363, emphasis added. His example from the Psalms of Solomon is 17.28: 'And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness, and he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God.'

⁵⁴ Davies, *Land*, 365.

⁵⁵ In fact, this is Josephus' only use of the term, and Matthew's use in 19.28 is one of only two

When they heard it, they returned thanks to God for giving them back the land of their fathers, and gave themselves up to drinking and revelry, and spent seven days in feasting and celebrating the recovery and rebirth of their native land (τὴν ἀνάκτησιν καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐορτάζοντες). (*Ant.* 11.66)

Here, Josephus is referring to the return of the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem. There is no doubt in this particular passage that the land referred to is the land of Israel.

Therefore, the term *palingenesia* in itself cannot be taken to indicate a particular type of renewal, but (obviously) must be read in context to determine what kind of renewal is taking place. It can certainly say something about renewal in the context of return to the land of Israel.

We have already looked at the context of Matthew 19.28 where this term is used. This 'renewal' takes place in the future (the twelve are not now ruling over the tribes, but will take on that role), but that does not necessarily mean that it is not indicating renewal in the land of Israel. There are other examples that we could give where an eschatological or future judgement takes place in the land of Israel. First, in Daniel 7, we find thrones being put in place and an Ancient One taking his throne (Dan 7.9). One like the son of man comes, is presented to the Ancient One, and is given an everlasting kingdom (Dan 7.9-14). In the interpretation of the dream, holy ones of the most high receive and possess the kingdom.

We might also compare the Dream Visions of *1 Enoch*. Towards the end of the final vision which describes a 'messianic kingdom,' we see that 'a throne was erected in a pleasant land.' (*1 Enoch* 90.20). A few lines later, the Lord's judgement takes place (*1 Enoch* 90.24-25). Although Allison has emphasised that *κρίνω* should be taken in the sense of ruling rather than condemnation,⁵⁶ it may not be inappropriate in an eschatological context to think of ruling in the sense of judgement as well (cf. Matt 25.31-46 where Matthew does not use *κρίνω* specifically, though the scene is one of judgement. Note also that this passage refers to the Son of Man and a throne in verse 31 as in Matt 19.28.) The kingdoms of Daniel 7 are not described in any kind of geographical fashion and the 'pleasant land' of *1 Enoch* does not give any indication of the extent or location of said land. Still, it is likely that their referents are Israel and

occurrences of the term in the New Testament (the other being Titus 3.5).

⁵⁶ D. C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth, Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 142. He says that the sense is 'ruling' rather than 'condemning' and that the primary role is governance of Israel. See also Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:55-56.

the land of Israel. Unlike the 'judgements' in Daniel and *1 Enoch*, the saying about the twelve judging the twelve tribes from twelve thrones does seem to paint a similar, yet notably different picture in contrast. For, where the kingdom of the 'son of man' in Daniel 7 and the pleasant land in *1 Enoch* are probably more generally meant to refer to the land of Israel, the twelve judging the twelve tribes indicates their restoration more specifically. In light of the similarities of these future visions of judgement, we are all the more drawn to undertake to flesh out what exactly Jesus might have in mind with this particular model of restored Israel. The eschatological glimpse of the future role of the twelve connects them clearly with twelve tribes of a restored Israel.

Thus, though this is an eschatological portrait, we do not need to assume that it is a landless portrait. Even though the land is not specifically mentioned, we saw in Josephus that *phylingenia* can have geographical associations for the land and the mention of the twelve tribes also can recall twelve territories. The tribes, after all, each were to have their own *place* in the land (Josh 13-19). Though Davies is not unjustified in pointing out the lack of an explicit reference to the land, there does seem to be a sense in Matt 19.28 and Luke 22.30 that the eschaton has a spatial aspect to it and that spatial conception seems to most naturally entail the envisioning of a restored Israel in twelve tribes in the land.

Before moving on, we should note an interesting argument made by William Horbury who says 'there is a strong possibility that Matthew 19.28 arose during the ministry, yet is inauthentic.'⁵⁷ He accepts that the twelve go back to Jesus and that Jesus specifically chose the model of the twelve, yet, for the group themselves, Matthew 19.28//Luke 22.30 may "represent the messianic fervour of the disciples and their associates, fanned perhaps by the princely model and the circumstances of the Galilaean mission."⁵⁸ With regard to this text, in our view, it is awkward to accept that Jesus deliberately accepted and used an eschatologically charged model of the twelve, yet it was the disciples who imagined a scenario in which they would rule the twelve tribes. It is much less cumbersome to juxtapose the model of the twelve with the eschatological roles that they are to fulfil in Matthew 19.28//Luke 22.30. In comparison, these two aspects of the material regarding the twelve seem to fit together.

⁵⁷ W. Horbury, "The Twelve and the Phylarchs," *NTS* 33 (1986): 503-527, here 525.

Ultimately, W. D. Davies rejects the notion that Matthew 19.28 might indicate a temporal restoration in his discussion of 'Jesus and the Land' because he does not accept the saying as going back to Jesus himself. Though he regards it as an argument in favour of authenticity that the disciples do not take on the role described in the verse in the early Church, he concludes (regarding authenticity) that, 'on the whole it is unlikely, in view of Mark 10.35ff.'⁵⁹ In view of the fact that this position was later completely reversed in Davies and Allison's commentary on the gospel of Matthew,⁶⁰ we might reconsider the idea in *The Gospel and the Land* of a temporal restoration of Israel with twelve tribes and twelve thrones in light of Davies and Allison's altered position (where this logion is attributed to Jesus) and in light of Mark 10.35. We will begin by looking at the content of the Markan text:

James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came forward to him and said to him, "Teacher, we want you to do for us whatever we ask of you." And he said to them, "What is it you want me to do for you?" And they said to him, "Grant us to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your glory (ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου)." (Mark 10.35-37)

Jesus denies their request saying,

[T]o sit at my right hand or at my left is not mine to grant, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared." When the ten heard this, they began to be angry with James and John. (Mark 10.40-41)

The reason for Davies' initial rejection of Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30 was that the content of that saying contradicted this Markan text where Jesus is unwilling or unable to give special places to the disciples. We accept the revised position of Davies and Allison that this text actually confirms the picture in Matthew 19.28 (par. Luke 22.30) and note the particular points that they share in common: (a) It 'implies that Jesus has the authority to assign places in the eschatological kingdom' and (b) it also assumes 'that his followers will be next to him'.⁶¹ James and John are not to be given the places of honour, but they and the ten (= twelve!) are presumed to be part of the eschatological picture of this particular scene.

⁵⁸ Horbury, "Phylarchs," 525.

⁵⁹ Davies, *Land*, 365.

⁶⁰ W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988-1997), 3:58. Rather discretely, the reversal is made saying, 'One of us has, on another occasion, found this last objection [that Mark 10.35-45 contradicts Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30] telling. On further reflection, however, it is problematic.' (58).

What is important about this text for our discussion is that the eschatological picture is very similar to the one we have just examined in Matthew 19.28 and Luke 22.30.⁶² As the disciples sat on thrones in Matthew and Luke, so in Mark, James and John request to sit at Jesus' right and left in his glory. Jesus is also the central figure in both texts. We could perhaps say that in Mark, the sons of Zebedee wish to draw the social hierarchy in the kingdom as follows:

Jesus – James and John – the Ten (v. 41)

Although Jesus allows that some may be great among them (v. 43 and 44), it might not be too much of a stretch to say that in some sense the unity of the twelve is kept in this passage by the denial of the request.

Once again, there is nothing in this context which necessitates a landless, 'otherworldly' scenario. Though the twelve are not to model themselves on gentile rulers (Mark 10.42), they are all apparently expecting future places of honour. As in the Luke 22 argument between the disciples over who is the greatest, the text in Mark does not give the impression that for Jesus and the twelve, 'what is governed' is of a completely different nature from the domains of gentile rulers, only that their behaviour is to be radically different from those leaders. The phrase, in your glory (*ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου*) used in verse 37 reminds us that elsewhere in Mark glory is associated with the coming of the Son of Man (Mark 8.38, 13.26). Apparently, at least for Mark, the coming of Jesus in his glory is associated with roles for the twelve and with God's action for the nation of Israel in Danielic fashion (compare Mark 8.38 and 13.26-27 with Daniel 7.13). We note once again that even though it is a description of the disciples' future roles and places in the kingdom, this does not mean that there is an otherworldly setting for the disciple's desired leadership roles. The similarities between Matthew 19.28, Luke 22.30 and Mark 10.35-45 confirm the eschatological scenario we have described. It is one in which the disciples are to have particular roles and honour that they do not presently have and one that fits with the descriptions of future judgement of Israel such as we find in Daniel and *1 Enoch*.

5.4.2 Matthew 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-29

In what we have seen so far, the twelve are associated with the future judgement of the twelve tribes (Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30) and Mark 10.35-41 confirms

⁶¹ Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 58.

this eschatological scenario as it assigns the twelve along with Jesus to positions of authority. We saw that in none of these texts was there good reason to suggest that the renewal was ultimately of an otherworldly nature. Rather, it seems to be a renewal of Israel, in particular Israel in twelve tribes. Another text which relates to the discussion at hand is Matthew 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-29. This text speaks of a gathering from east and west to dine with Abraham in the kingdom. We show the parallel versions to begin the discussion:

<p>Matthew 8.11-12 I tell you, many will come from east and west and will eat with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons (<i>vioi</i>) of the kingdom will be thrown out into the outer darkness where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.</p>	<p>Luke 13.28-29 There will be weeping and gnashing of teeth when you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and yourselves thrown out. Then they will come (<i>ἔξουσιν</i>) from east and west, from north and south, and will eat in the kingdom of God.</p>
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There are two aspects of this verse that are of particular interest to our discussion. One is the identification of the 'many' in the verse who are to come from east and west (north and south in Luke) and conversely, the identification of those who are thrown out of the kingdom. Scholarly discussions on this matter have to do with whether or not Gentiles are meant to be included in the kingdom according to the statement. In this section, we will argue that even if there is sometimes a role for the Gentiles in traditions that speak of gathering from the cardinal directions, there is no evidence to suggest that Israel's gathering is to take place in the space of the entire creation. Rather, saying 'from east and west' implies gathering into a specific place, the land of Israel. The second aspect that we want to investigate is what it might mean to eat with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom. Elsewhere in the gospels, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are associated with the resurrection. The mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in this passage might connect it to this belief (belief in resurrection). There also seems to be a connection with Jesus' practice of eating with 'sinners.'

5.4.2.1 Gathering

We have already noted that, in agreement with Sanders, Dale Allison argues that the twelve show eschatological expectation on the part of Jesus and indicate that

⁶² Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, vol. 3, 58.

he thought in terms of a restoration at the eschaton of the tribes.⁶³ Allison emphasises the point that gathering from the east and west meant *gathering to Palestine and Zion*.⁶⁴ The notion that Israel is the centre in these 'gathering' passages can be seen in several examples. *Baruch* 4.36-7 indicates that the gathering is to Jerusalem:

Look to the east, O Jerusalem, and see the joy that is coming to you from God. Look, your children are coming, whom you sent away; they are coming, gathered from east and west, at the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the glory of God.

Psalms of Solomon also has Jerusalem as the place where those gathered from east and west come together:

Stand on a high place, Jerusalem, and look at your children brought together from the east and west by the Lord. From the north they come in the joy of their God; from distant islands God has brought them. (*Pss. Sol.* 11.2-3)

It is to Israel (*Isa* 43.1) that the declaration of *Isaiah* 43 is addressed:

Do not fear, for I am with you; I will bring your offspring from the east, and from the west I will gather you; I will say to the north, "Give them up," and to the south, "Do not withhold; bring my sons from far away and my daughters from the end of the earth. (43.5-6)

These are some of the clearest examples where gathering from the east and west is specifically stated to be a gathering to Israel and Jerusalem. Presumably, the children of Jerusalem (*Bar* 4.37; *Pss.Sol.* 11.2) and the offspring and sons and daughters of Israel (*Isa* 43.5, 6) are Jews who are not actually in Jerusalem or Israel.

The theme of gathering is a fairly common one and though the directions that the gathered come from are not always specifically mentioned, gathering is commonly associated with Israel and may also be associated with the tribes.⁶⁵ There are also texts in which the nations have some role in the gathering or assembly. Take the eighth chapter of *Zechariah*, for instance. In 8.7-8, we find the following:

⁶³ Allison, *Millenarian Prophet*, 101-102. See also Bart Ehrman, *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Ehrman says, "[I]t appears that the twelve were chosen as a representative number with apocalyptic significance. Just as the nation of Israel whom God had called to be his people was originally comprised of twelve tribes, so too in the new age, when God once more ruled his people, they would again comprise twelve tribes. The twelve disciples represent the true Israel, the people of God who would enter into his glorious Kingdom when the Son of Man arrives." (186-187).

⁶⁴ Allison, *Millenarian Prophet*, 144.

⁶⁵ *Micah* 2.12 sees Jacob and 'the survivors of Israel gathered. The tribes of Jacob are gathered in *Sirach* 36.1. *Sibylline Oracles* describes 'the gathering together' and mentions ten tribes (*Sib Or* 2.165-173).

Thus says the Lord of hosts: I will save my people from the east country and from the west country; and I will bring them to live in Jerusalem. They will be my people and I will be their God.

Then, later in the chapter, in 8.22, the nations are drawn to Zion as well:

Many peoples and mighty nations will come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the favour of the Lord.

The people of Israel and the nations both come to Jerusalem. The people of Israel (house of Israel and house of Judah in Zech 8.13) are restored from their dispersed locations to live in Jerusalem in the land (Zech 8.8). The nations are, in a sense, 'just visiting' in that they are not said to be inhabitants, but merely seeking the favour of Israel's God (Zech 8.21, 22) because they have heard that God is with the Jews (Zech 8.23). The picture in this portion of Zechariah is not one where the nations are included in the promise of gathering and inhabiting the land (Jerusalem), but one where they are attracted to Jerusalem because of what God has done for the people of the Jews (causing them to live there).

There are other instances where the gathering of Israel is connected to the nations. In the Isaiah 43 passage quoted above (Isa 43.5), the offspring of Israel were gathered from the east and west. In the same description, the nations are gathered as well, serving in some capacity as witnesses (Isa 43.9). Elsewhere in Isaiah, we find a description of the gathering of a remnant by YHWH:

He will raise a sign for the nations, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. (Isa 11.12)

The nations are not part of the gathering in this instance, but witness the assembly of Israel. To give just one more example of the close associations between the gathering of Israel and the gathering of the nations, we turn to the book of Tobit. Chapter 13 includes this description:

A bright light will shine to all the ends of the earth; many nations will come to you [Jerusalem, Tob 13.9] from far away, the inhabitants of the remotest parts of the earth to your holy name, bearing gifts in their hands for the King of heaven. (Tob 13.11)

The story of Tobit, told from the viewpoint of the diaspora, is particularly concerned with the gathering of Israel into the land. Tobit commends the children of God to acknowledge God before the nations (Tob 13.3). Then God will gather them out of the nations where they have been scattered (Tob 13.5). They will return to the land:

“They will go to Jerusalem and live in safety forever in the land of Abraham, and it will be given over to them.” (Tob 14.7) Again, the ‘nations’ come to Jerusalem bearing gifts (Tob 13.11), but it is the children of Israel who go to Jerusalem and *live* in the land. They are the ones to be inhabitants.

Another place where the nations are portrayed as giving gifts is mentioned in *Psalms of Solomon*. The author implores the raising of Israel’s king, the son of David (*Pss. Sol.* 17.21) who is to accomplish Israel’s redemption in this manner:

He will bring together a holy people whom he will lead in righteousness. He will judge the tribes of the people that have been made holy by the Lord their God. (*Pss. Sol.* 17.23)

He will distribute them in their tribes upon the land; the sojourner and the foreigner will no longer dwell beside them. He will judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness. And he will have gentile nations serving him under his yoke and he will glorify the Lord in a place visible from the whole earth. And he will cleanse Jerusalem to reach a sanctification as she has from the beginning so that nations will come from the ends of the earth to see his glory, bringing as gifts her children who had become quite weak, and to see the glory of the Lord with which God has glorified her. (*Pss. Sol.* 17.28-31)

Here we see again that there is a role for the nations in the gathering scenario. This scene, however, has the particular feature that the gathering specifically involves the tribes having places in the land. There is also the important idea of the judgement of the tribes. We can compare also the Wisdom of Sirach where the tribes are gathered and have their inheritance ‘as in the beginning’ (*Sir* 36.13, 16).

We see that gathering may be used to speak of the gathering of God’s people to Israel and it may also be used to speak of the Gentiles who witness the gathering or even come themselves to Jerusalem as in Tobit 13.11 and Zechariah 8.22. There are, however, distinctions between these two groups. The nations can be gathered, but the gathering which is from the cardinal directions seems to apply only to Israel.⁶⁶ This is not to say that there are two types of gathering, only that the particular language of east and west (and sometimes north and south) seems to be used exclusively for the children of Israel, scattered abroad. It might be said that the nations are not at home in the land, but come as witnesses or even gift-bearers, acknowledging what God does for Israel to restore her and to gather her in

⁶⁶ As far as we have been able to investigate, we agree with Allison when he states, “Although ‘east and west’ is common in prophetic texts about the restoration of Jews to their land, my research has not turned up a single text in which the expression refers to an eschatological ingathering of Gentiles” (*Millenarian Prophet*, 179-180).

Jerusalem. Tobit can speak of when he was in his own country, in the land of Israel (Tob 1.4), and this is the sense that we get from looking at the evidence: A time is looked forward to when Israel will be gathered to her own country from the diaspora and the Gentiles will be part of recognising that they are now restored to their land. The traditional associations with 'east and west' seem to be with the gathering of the Jewish diaspora to Israel and Jerusalem.⁶⁷ A role for the nations seems to be part of the traditional associations with the gathering of the Jewish diaspora. The gathering can also be thought of as a gathering of the tribes in the land (*Pss.Sol.* 17.23, 28; *Sir* 36.13, 16).

While this is all of interest to our topic and important to establish, we need to ask if it helps us at all to better understand the logion in Matthew and Luke where the east and west language is used. Are the traditional associations the correct ones to apply when reading this passage? Joachim Jeremias and others since have seen this passage to reflect Jesus' belief that the Gentiles will be part of the gathering in the eschaton, based largely on the context of the saying in Matthew of the healing of the centurion's servant.⁶⁸ We have already seen, and agree with Dale Allison, that it is the gathering of the Diaspora and not the Gentiles which is the traditional association with the particular language. However, we want to consider the possibility that it is precisely the traditional associations of the gathering that are being modified in a saying like this one.

In partial concurrence but ultimate contrast to Allison, N. T. Wright views the vision of those who come from east and west as related to the twelve, but for him they indicate the opposite – that Jesus saw the gathering as indicating expansion beyond traditional associations to include gentiles. Wright agrees that the twelve indicate the eschatological reconstitution (restoration) of Israel since the actual tribes themselves had not been in existence for hundreds of years.⁶⁹ Yet, for Wright, the

⁶⁷ Allison, *Millenarian Prophet*, 180.

⁶⁸ J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (trans. S. H. Hooke; London: SCM Press, 1967), 55-63.

⁶⁹ N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 300. Here we note that even though Israel had ceased to have a tribal system, thought about the twelve tribes and their rulers does not disappear from Jewish writings of the Second Temple Period. At that time, Jews saw themselves as priests (Aaronide priests), Levites (the rest of the priestly group), Israelites (all other born Jews) and proselytes. See L. H. Schiffman, "Israel" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; ed. L. H. Schiffman et al; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:388-391. Here, 388. Schiffman gives evidence for this in the Dead Sea Scrolls including CD xiv.3-6, 4Q267 9.v.7-10, 4Q 2682 and 1QS ii.19-22.

twelve speak of eschatological restoration for Israel and indicate that the restoration was actually taking place presently in Jesus' call of twelve to be a 'restored, redefined family.'⁷⁰ This restored family was 'in principle open to all, beyond the borders of Israel. Land and family were simultaneously rethought in the promise that the eschatological blessing would reach beyond the traditional confines.'⁷¹ His other emphasis may also require some nuancing. It is too strongly put to say that the symbol of holy land is *subsumed* 'within a different fulfillment of the kingdom, which would embrace the whole creation.'⁷² For Wright, what is ultimately important is the openness of the kingdom beyond 'borders' and that the kingdom entails the whole earth.

Where we agree with Wright is where he supposes that eschatological blessing could extend beyond traditional expectations. That is to say, that some of the traditional associations we have identified may not be intended in the calling of twelve disciples and use of 'east and west' language by Jesus. A redefined family could even be part of the network of associations with the twelve (i.e. Mark 3.31-35). Where we differ with Wright, however, is in saying that the 'borders' of the restoration (kingdom) are extended to the whole creation. There does seem to be an element of the eschatological description (twelve and 'east and west') which is actually quite particular and still indicates that the restoration takes place in the land of Israel.

The matter of whether Gentiles are to be included in the gathering is, in the end, most difficult to decide. Gentile inclusion was certainly important to the early Christians, yet we cannot exclude that it may have been a consideration for Jesus as well. The setting in Matthew of the 'east and west' saying and a saying like Matt 3.8-10; par. Luke 3.8-9 about the children of Abraham could suggest that Jesus thought in terms of a role for Gentiles in the eschatological gathering that was more inclusive than that of witnesses or gift-bearers when God acted on behalf of Israel. Traditional associations to do with the Gentiles may have been modified. What is essential in connection with our theme of land is that there is a core element indicating that the location of the gathering is Israel. Those who are brought in come *to* some place in particular and that is not the entire creation. The connections between the

⁷⁰ Wright, *Victory*, 431.

⁷¹ Wright, *Victory*, 431.

⁷² Wright, *Victory*, 446.

eschatological scenario of Matthew 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-9 and Matthew 19.28//Luke 22.30 and Mark 10.35-45 indicate that it is a re-distribution among the tribes that is in mind at the gathering from east and west.

The element of Matthew 8.11-12 and Luke 13.28-9 that is most naturally seen as 'odd' and indicative of change in traditional associations is that of eating with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In the saying, this is to be the activity of those who are gathered into the land. There are two connections we might see here. One is with table fellowship and the other is with the resurrection.

The vision of eating with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob can recall Jesus' practice of table fellowship. Scot McKnight makes this connection for the passage we have been considering. He says:

This vision of the future kingdom [Matt 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-29] influenced Jesus' practice, which was intended to be a present realization and application of his vision of the future kingdom.⁷³

In the book of *Jubilees*, we find an interesting example that relates to 'future eating' and is included in the blessing of Levi:

You [Levi] will be joined to the Lord and be the companion of all the sons of Jacob. His table will belong to you, and you will eat (from) it, and in all generations your table will be full, and your food will not be lacking in any age. (*Jub.* 31.16-17)

Levi is also told by his father Isaac that his sons will become 'judges and rulers and leaders for all of the seed of the sons of Jacob' (*Jub.* 31.15). This is not the same as eating with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but we detect at least a similar theme in describing the table of the Lord and the sons of Jacob somehow being at it in the future scene.

At the very least, then, this shows us that it was possible to think of future blessings in terms of an abundant table of God. Jesus seems to have made eating with sinners a focus. But what about the mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob? We might think of them as the ones sitting at the table of God as in *Jubilees*, but we are also reminded of another mention of the three fathers of the nation in connection with resurrection:

And as for the dead being raised, have you not read in the book of Moses, in the story about the bush, how God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham,

⁷³ S. McKnight, *A New Vision*, 151. See also pages 47-49 and 150-153.

the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living. (Mark 12.26-27).

Abraham is associated with resurrection in another instance in Luke where Lazarus dies and is carried away by the angels to be with 'Father Abraham' (Luke 16.22). To make even one further connection, in Mark 13.27, the Son of Man sends out angels to 'gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven.' There is not enough reliable evidence here to form a strong case, but it seems at least worthy of consideration that the eschatological gathering of Israel into the land (in twelve tribes) has been connected for Jesus with a belief in resurrection and the idea of a great future 'eating at table' with God. These would be modifications (additions) to the traditional associations we examined, but if we want to understand Jesus' beliefs concerning land within a network of other beliefs, these are at least a possible association.

5.4.3 Eschatological Scenario

What we have seen in Section 3.3 overall, then, are some small glimpses into an eschatological scenario for Jesus. Unfortunately, we do not have a very detailed picture in the end, but what we do have are some elements that seem to be authentic and seem to have resonance with the theme of the restoration of Israel to her land.

We saw that though the Matthean and the Lukan versions of what Davies calls '*the palingenesia*' differ from each other slightly, they both have eschatological echoes in Matthew's term *palingenesia* as well as Luke's association with Jesus' kingdom. As an eschatological saying, and one that we do not see emphasised or taken up by the early church, we can accept this saying as most probably going back to Jesus and having implications for his eschatology.⁷⁴ Further, the passage in Mark 10.35-45 confirms the 'eschatological portrait' by inclusion of the disciples (twelve) with Jesus in future governing roles. The saying about many coming from the east and west recalls traditions wherein Israel is gathered into her land and to Jerusalem. Whether Jesus envisioned the gathering to be of Jews only or Gentiles as well, it still suggests gathering *into the land*. It appears highly possible if not verifiable, that Jesus kept the core belief of restoration of Israel to the land. Also, that he thought of the restoration happening by the gathering of the twelve tribes into the land for judgement. This

⁷⁴ See Bauckham, "James," 439, on the early nature of this eschatological hope.

does not exclude that he might have modified and added to the 'bare bones' of that belief in light of his experience and other beliefs.

5.5 *Jesus, the Twelve and Land*

Having surveyed the gospel evidence regarding the existence and eschatological implications of Jesus' group of twelve and identified in Judaism core elements of the twelve tribes and their leaders in foundational texts as well as 'future-based' re-appropriations, we now move on to say something more in conclusion about the ways that Jesus may have reworked notions of twelve in his use of this particular symbol of a group of twelve. We will begin by saying something about a group of twelve at Qumran. The group at Qumran is useful as the only other group of twelve we are aware of at the time of Jesus. Having said something about these two examples, we will evaluate once more Jesus' use of the symbol of twelve and its meaning.

5.5.1 Twelve Leaders at Qumran

The possibility that the twelve embody a move away from a Jerusalem and temple-centred Israel reminds us of the council of twelve found in the Qumran writings, as these documents contain polemical views of the Jerusalem priesthood and leadership. In the Rule of the Community document at Qumran, there is a council made up of twelve men and three priests "perfect in everything that has been revealed about all the law" (1QS viii.1).⁷⁵ The council is further described in these terms:

⁷⁵ Perhaps the role of the council of twelve in the Qumran community can be compared to that of the twelve in the Jerusalem church as early Christians and the Qumran community had similar views on their own identity, particularly in relationship to the temple. Richard Bauckham, "Jewish Christians" in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 409-412, here 410). Luke-Acts shows successive authority from the twelve to Paul as Robert Wall states, "Again, at the hinge between the apostolic mission and that of the next generation is the rescued Peter. In Peter's liberation from prison by the angel of the risen Jesus, as in God's resurrection of Jesus before him, God has exalted Peter for his obedient service and thus has given him authority to identify his successor at his departure from Jerusalem. Further, since his departure marks the conclusion of Peter's ministry in the narrative (since his subsequent appearance in Acts 15 only rehearses an earlier episode), Luke can now turn his full attention to Paul's Gentile mission." R. W. Wall, "Successors to 'the Twelve' According to Acts 12.1-17" *CBQ* 53 (1991), 628-643, here, 643. The concern of an author like Luke to show this sort of succession as well as similarities between the Qumran council and the role of the twelve in the Jerusalem church in no way diminishes the authenticity of the twelve in the early traditions about Jesus. In fact, it may allow for a greater sense of attachment to Jewish land for Jesus and attempts are made

When these things exist in Israel the Community council shall be founded on truth, [blank] like an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the judgment and chosen by the will (of God) to atone for the earth and to render the wicked their retribution. (viii.4b-7a)

In our earlier discussion of the community at Qumran, we discussed in particular the pesher on Psalm 37 which speaks clearly of the community themselves identifying with the meek and constituting the ones who will receive the inheritance of the land. That this community could have such ideas and also set up a council of twelve is an instructive parallel for Jesus' group of twelve disciples. The twelve that are part of the Qumran Community council are designated for atonement and judgement and thus have very distinctive governing roles (compare Matt 19.28, Luke 22.30;⁷⁶ see also 1QS viii.10). More importantly, however, they are associated with the temple at least through terminology where the holy of holies is mentioned. Perhaps the council can be understood as a foundation for the holy of holies in a similar way to the community's view of themselves as the temple.

5.5.2 Jesus' Group of Twelve

We have argued that the Jewish myth of land is so connected to the twelve tribes which make up all Israel that it would be strange to think of 'twelve' as used symbolically apart from a locative vision of the world. In the gospels, the twelve are not seen as a governmental ruling body like the Sanhedrin, they are not intended to have a particular pedigree of descent that makes them 'fit' for the roles of leaders, and furthermore, they are not said to have a particular relationship to Jerusalem or the temple cult. Jesus' group of twelve, rather, does seem to speak of a reconstitution of Israel, but if it is for purposes of restoration, then in such 'differences' we come into contact with a significant part of the way that Jesus' movement begins to bring about social and symbolic change. Geza Vermes makes extremely little reference to the twelve, and virtually no claims regarding their significance. This group is meant to be the disciples 'par excellence' among a 'small group of devotees, simple Galilean folk'⁷⁷ Even so, this points out the attention that ought to be paid to what kind of group the twelve apparently constitute.

to move the realm of authority into the Gentile mission resulting from the movement.

⁷⁶ Note Dale Allison's point that in Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30, the verb judging (*κρίνω*) implies ruling rather than judging in the sense of condemning (*Millenarian Prophet*, 142.).

⁷⁷ G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973)

Bringing into focus the discussion of the symbol of the twelve in relationship to the land, we turn at the conclusion to B. F. Meyer's *The Aims of Jesus*. Like Allison, Meyer identifies the twelve as themselves a sign referring to 'the people of God, in its fullness twelve tribes' (154). For Meyer, as others, the twelve show Jesus' belief in the imminent restoration of Israel. They signify a restored Israel. With Jesus as the Son of Man, they are a sign of the eschaton which they both participate in and herald. What we find different and illuminating about Meyer's description is his observation that the twelve are 'a startling sign made up of radically disparate elements' (i.e. Galilean and Judean, Johannite and Zealot, etc.) and this shows that 'the restoration itself would have a startling character.'⁷⁸ Meyer thereby leads us to consider the significance of Jesus' own re-appropriation of the Jewish theme of land in relationship to the calling of the twelve. Twelve may indicate 'all Israel' and also a 'restoration eschatology' for Jesus with elements of nationalism, but it remains that Jesus seems to give meaning to the symbol of the twelve within quite a unique and indeed startling network of associations.

For the connections between the twelve and the notions of twelve in Judaism, Ernest Best says at the conclusion of his analysis of the group of the twelve in Mark's gospel:

As we have already seen Mark does not make anything of the number twelve in relation to the twelve, nor does he connect the number twelve to any of the Old Testament 'twelve' concepts, nor does he attempt to relate the appointment of the twelve to any of the calls of groups of twelve in the Old Testament; Judaism is not helpful here in understanding Mark. It cannot then be said that the twelve are set out as the new Israel, nor does it appear that they are the core or kernel around which the disciples are built. Both the twelve and the disciples are grouped around Jesus; there is no idea of concentric circles with the twelve as an inner circle and the disciples as an outer circle, for the twelve and the disciples are often interchangeable terms.⁷⁹

While we would not wish to present here an alternate understanding of *Mark* from what Best has espoused, we do wish to state the opposite for Jesus in light of our study. Judaism is helpful for understanding what Jesus might have meant by calling

Fortress ed 1981), 30. See also 41, 49.

⁷⁸ B. F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1979), 154. We are also reminded of Gerd Theissen's description of the followers of Jesus as 'wandering radicals' and 'itinerants' who leave home and family and possessions. G. Theissen, *Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics, and the World of the New Testament*, translated by Margaret Kohl (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992) 35-55.

⁷⁹ E. Best, *Disciples and Discipleship; Studies in the Gospel According to Mark* (Edinburgh: T. & T.

twelve disciples. The core elements which we identified should be thought of in light of Jesus' gathering of twelve disciples as a symbolic gesture. At the same time, we note that the notion of twelve is reworked for Jesus.

We have seen in our discussion on the significance of the twelve that such a model has implications for eschatological notions of restoration for the nation of Israel. We accept that the group of twelve disciples most probably goes back to the time of Jesus and, as sign and symbol, tell us something of the eschatological content of Jesus' message of the kingdom which apparently includes the twelve judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 19.28//Luke 22.30, see also on Mark 10.35-45). The vision that emerges is one that points to the gathering of Israel into the land (Matt 8.11-12//Luke 13.28-29).

The model of the twelve, so closely associated with a time in Israel's history of unity and 'wholeness' for the nation, could imply a deep sense of attachment to land for Jesus. As John the Baptist in a very dramatic way brought to life the declaration of the way of the Lord in the wilderness, so Jesus has given meaning to the symbol of the twelve and dramatically depicted the twelve tribes restored to their land in twelve followers of no particular pedigree. Surely the restoration of all Israel is in mind, but it is a restoration which is connected to other beliefs such as resurrection and God's action to restore Israel and has a strong link to Jewish land and the twelve tribes re-gathered in that land. This understanding of twelve that makes claims for the connection between Jesus' group of twelve and Jewish hopes regarding the land is perhaps not the picture we would normally expect to think in terms of. In fact, when we think of the twelve, it is entirely possible that we 'envision not the images from scripture...but the visual element housed in Milan, that of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper. This fresco has become assimilated into our cultural as well as our ecclesiastical subconscious.'⁸⁰ Hopefully, the preceding examination of the twelve for Jesus and in Judaism has stimulated consideration of the connections between the twelve and land for Jesus.

Here, we turn to the realm of the apocalyptic and to millenarian thought. Though Crossan, Borg, and others do not view the Jesus traditions in light of apocalypticism, there is still good reason to use this as a framework for interpretation of the gospels and Jesus as a figure. J. J. Collins' introduction to apocalyptic literature

Clark, 1986), 161.

is thought-provokingly entitled, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. Towards the conclusion of his introductory chapter on the genre of the apocalyptic, he makes the following statement:

Whatever the underlying problem [for apocalypses], it is viewed from a distinctive apocalyptic perspective. This perspective is framed spatially by the supernatural world and temporally by the eschatological judgement. The problem is not viewed simply in terms of the historical factors available to any observer. Rather, it is viewed in the light of a transcendent reality disclosed by the apocalypse. The transcendent world may be expressed through mythological symbolism or celestial geography or both.

The transcendent world, in Collins' terms, has both spatial and temporal perspectives.⁸¹ However, do we need to separate the transcendent world and its spatiality from the 'normal', non-transcendent world and its spatialisations? Collins' final statement of the introduction is this:

This apocalyptic technique does not, of course, have a publicly discernible effect on a historical crisis, but it provides a resolution in the imagination by instilling conviction in the revealed 'knowledge' that it imparts. The function of the apocalyptic literature is to shape one's imaginative perception of a situation and so lay the basis for whatever course of action it exhorts.⁸²

If apocalyptic literature shapes imaginative perception, and in particular imaginative spatial perception, laying a foundation for action, then it has a very definite effect in the social situation of individuals and groups. Space and time are reconfigured through 'otherworldly' or heavenly descriptions, and 'shift the attention of the reader to the heavenly world, either to seek an explanation of what is happening on earth or to take refuge in an alternative reality freed from worldly problems.'⁸³ In the heavenly journeys of *1 Enoch*, for instance, we might find some of the codes for imaginative spatialisations of the Second Temple period such as the presence of the watchers.

Specifically, we have looked at the notion of twelve tribes in the gospels and how this image of twelve individuals draws on what we have referred to as anthropological determinants in the creation of a representational space. In the period of the first century, the twelve-tribe model for the land or Israel's space was obsolete, yet lived on through foundational mythic representations such as we have

⁸⁰ D. Robbins, "Woman at the Table," in *Journal for Preachers* 20 (1997): 39-43, here, 40.

⁸¹ J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1998), 41.

⁸² Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 42.

examined. The twelve-tribe system went with an entirely different mode of existence with different relations of power and different means of reproduction (i.e. relationship to kinship groups of tribes). Still, the idea of twelve tribes living together in the land also appears in spaces of imagery and symbols. As the land for Jews is dominated space for many historical periods excepting the brief re-establishment of a Jewish state by the Hasmoneans, notions of a land restored to the people lives on, particularly in the imagination. There is good reason for thinking that the choosing of a group of twelve disciples fits into this realm of space of symbols and imagery. Physical space is overlaid with the notion of a future gathering into the land of the people. Such is a non-verbal sign indicating a future envisioned space, the land with the people regathered and judged. A group of twelve at Qumran further indicates that notions of twelve leaders could be in some way a symbolic opposition to the current mode of production and relations of production, establishing through symbols another space, an underground space which might be more (as in Qumran) or less (as in Jesus) worked out and coded. A further comparison between Jesus' collection of a group of twelve and the sign prophets described by Josephus shows the power of anthropological determinants continuing as representational spaces. On the edges or margins of society, Jesus the millenarian prophet utilises spatial myths from the nation's origins; his spatial imagination envisions a new era.

⁸³ J. J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 130.

6 Jesus and Land: Millenarian Change

Now that we have come to the end of our study and have looked at different themes in relation to land as sacred and social space, we are now left with the task of drawing the threads together from what we have gathered, from the 'anthropological determinants' we have set out to place alongside social hierarchies and social (spatial) practice. Our theoretical starting point (Chapter 1) attempted to draw from anthropological understandings of sacred space and Henri Lefebvre's work on social space in order to offer the premise that all space is social space. Even sacred space is given meanings by humans and therefore is also social space. In looking at land, then, when it is given meaning as sacred space (and this is far from a constant in that this will not always happen in a society) it is also part of the social space of those individuals who have appropriated it symbolically. As such, it will be connected to the hierarchical arrangements (structures) in society and to the codes by which people understand their environment as well as to the symbols of a society. This is not to say that a set of symbols or codes for understanding a 'cultural' environment will automatically produce certain individual understandings. We would want to argue against an understanding such as that expressed by Bruce Malina in discussion of 'the social scientific category of territoriality'. He says:

A territory is always the outcome of the social interpretation of space. In this sense it is a social construction. It exists essentially in the repertory of symbols that constitutes the collective mind of a given social group.¹

Whilst we agree that it is important to emphasise the social aspect of spatiality, we do not agree that there is a 'collective mind' with regard to understanding of space.² The diversity of spatial understandings in our study (from Genesis Ten to Qumran to Jesus to Maori) highlights the role of individuals in shaping the symbols they find in

¹ B. J. Malina, "'Apocalyptic' and Territoriality" in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 369-80; here 369.

² In Malina's argument, he draws on Clifford Geertz's theory of religion as a cultural system and perhaps reflects a deterministic reading of Geertz. A warning against this type of use of Geertz can be found in J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000). See where he cautions against equating genetic and cultural codes (Geertz' analogy). He goes on to say: "This is not to deny that there are indeed societies where the constraining force of cultural codes is extremely powerful. But two considerations must be set alongside this: first, that even in such societies instances of deviant behaviour may occur; second, that the same set of cultural symbols may be read to produce interestingly different cosmologies and types of ethos." (11).

their 'cultures.'³ The capacity for new and different interpretations is vast and our comparative investigation of land in Second Temple Judaism sends a strong warning against taking a single meaning for land for a group (however defined) of a particular historical period. This was what we attempted to draw in examining the Table of Nations in Genesis ten (Chapter 2), that a foundational sacred text may be reappropriated in very different ways and the interpretations can show us something of the cosmology and ethos (beliefs and experience) of those who produced them. The next three chapters (3, 4 and 5) set out to look at Temple, Purity and Twelve in relationship to Jesus. As with the table of nations, each of these themes has a particular textual history by which they survive to be interpreted in the second temple period. In each case, we have noted that history and tried to draw out important aspects of experience and belief as related to the message and actions of Jesus in comparison with other contemporary writings and groups.

Though not wanting to stick to Lefebvre's 'moments' of space in any strict or determined manner, we suggested the possibility of understanding the Temple as the major representation of space for Jewish life 'in the land', established as central in dominant thought and functioning as an institution according to the hierarchies of society. Purity, it was thought, could be understood as part of the spatial practice of holiness, in terms of codes of the time and the relationship between God-people-land. Finally, 'twelve' as used symbolically by Jesus to show a new leadership for the nation, has its own connections to land and can indeed be seen to reflect an alternative representational (symbolic and subversive) space.

What remains, then, is to draw these aspects together and set them in wider context. We have postulated Jesus as a figure effecting social and symbolic changes, and we want to explore the nature of this by means of comparison. Our 'common ground' in this final chapter is that of millenarian and the changes brought by millenarian figures and movements, particularly with regard to land as sacred and social space. Rather than giving a wide range of comparative examples, we have chosen to look at a millenarian movement among the Maori of New Zealand as there

³ The vehicles of interpretation are symbols, which are by their very nature malleable, manoeuvrable, manipulable by those who use them. It is this character of symbols which permits them to be shaped by those who use them. A. P. Cohen, *Self Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994), 17

are fruitful avenues of comparison between that group and the early Jesus movement.

Jonathan Smith argues that, within the dynamic of experience and belief, 'the' meaning of particular sacred spaces is not static but changes over time and with interpretation by individuals.⁴ In his article, "The Influence of Symbols Upon Social Change," Jonathan Z. Smith refers to the significance of 'place' for symbolic and social change:

Social change is predominately symbol or symbolic change. At the heart of the issue of change are the symbolic-social questions. What is the place on which I stand? What are my horizons? What are my limits?⁵

Within a religious system, places may be interpreted as sacred space and will continually undergo change, that is, social and symbolic change. At certain times, more radical changes might be made in symbolic understanding. In relationship to circumstances which are experienced as difficult or oppressive, individuals or groups may begin to question established beliefs and look for solutions to the perceived situation of anomie. As from Smith once again:

Social change, symbolic change of the sort we have been describing occurs where there is disjunction, where there is no longer a 'fit' within all the elements of this complex process.⁶

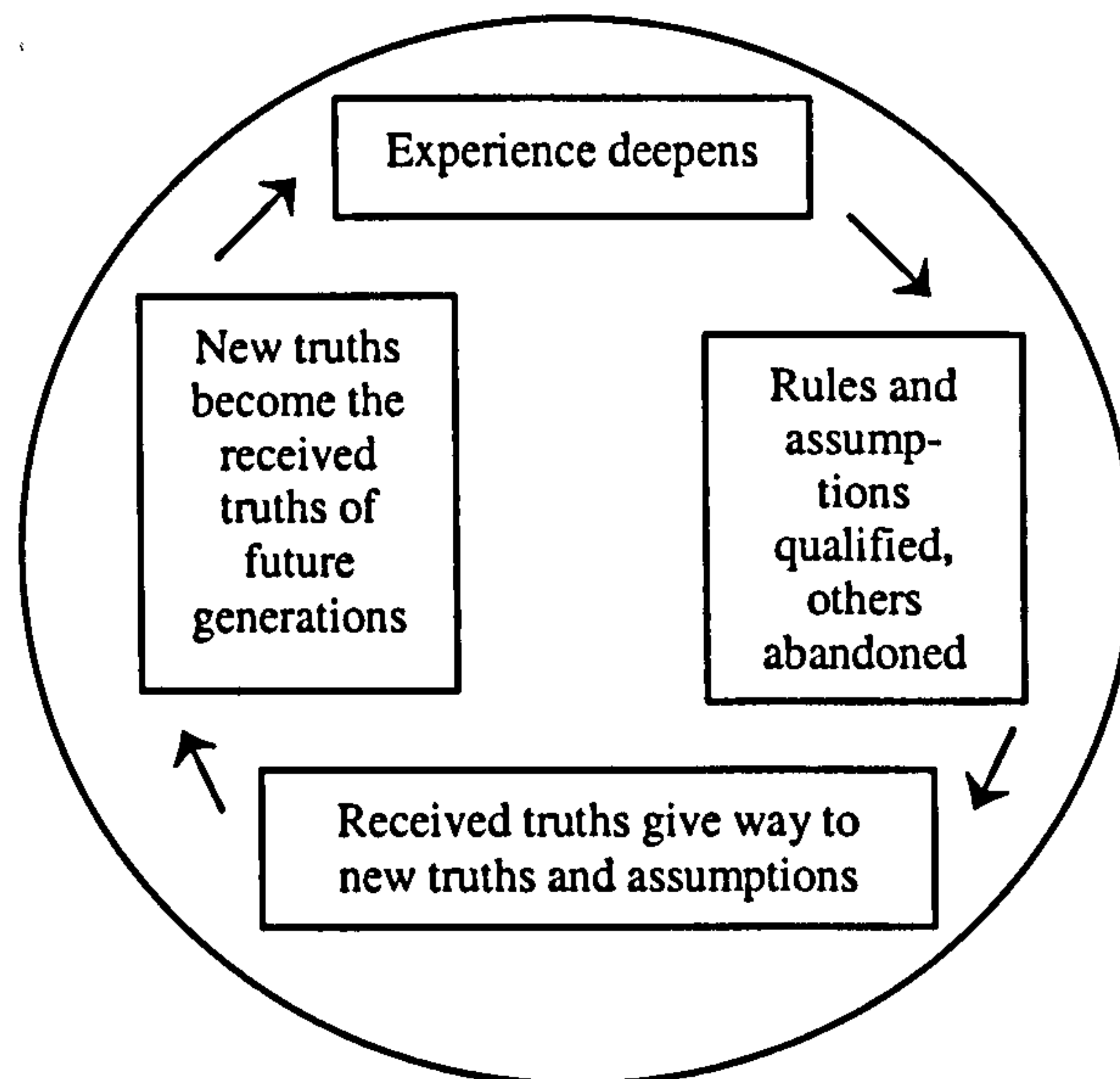
Though there may be many types of responses, one way of resolving such a dilemma is by millenarian dreams. Kenelm Burridge begins his study of millenarian activity with a description of changes to the 'rules' of religion. These, he says, are "grounded in an interplay between experience, working assumptions, and those more rooted assumptions we call faith."⁷ We could represent the process he describes in this way:

⁴ J. Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 138-144.

⁵ J. Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, 143.

⁶ Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, 144.

⁷ K. Burridge, *New Heaven New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), 6-7.



A millenarian movement might arise out of difficult circumstances when a charismatic leader finds a receptive audience for the articulation of a new message. The connection, for us, between Jesus and land in the Second Temple period may be illuminated by comparison with Maori land in the 19th century in terms of sacred and social space, symbolic and social change. Though we do not suppose a simple or causal relationship between beliefs and experience, between land as sacred space and land as social space, we are nonetheless interested in the balance of these relationships.⁸ A comparison of a millenarian movement among the Maori we believe will raise important issues for understanding Jesus as a millenarian prophet. There are, of course, many examples of millenarian movements, and many also relate to land, but we have chosen the Maori example of the *Hauhau* movement due to the opportunity to focus on land in some detail as an important issue for symbolic and social change.

⁸ This approach to the theory of religious change is proposed by John Riches. J. Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1980). He notes that millenarian movements have sometimes been defined in terms of their social circumstances, for their value as 'religions of the oppressed' (42). He proposes a more balanced approach, "a way of analysing the religious responses to different types of situation which does justice both the interaction between the religious group and its particular circumstances and also to the particular content and nature of that response." (43). Thus, setting Jesus in social, economic context is important and also what is meant by the language used in sayings of Jesus uttered in that context. Both the Jesus movement and the Hauhau movement begin at certain periods of history which may be investigated. They also use language and concepts of their time (i.e. kingdom, *hau*), giving new meaning in the articulation of their message. See also J. E. Rosenfeld, *The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Rosenfeld examines the way that certain concepts/terms were incorporated and changed in the Hauhau movement (179-190). She also notes Riches' discussion of religious

6.1 Land as Sacred Space for Second Temple Judaism

Without question, the relationship between Yahweh, people and land holds significant place within foundational Jewish narratives. The land, promised to Abraham by Yahweh (Gen 15.18-21) was to be maintained by circumcision (Gen 17.7-10) and by obedience to the laws of God, particularly regarding cultic participation and purity (Lev 18.24-30; 20.22-26). Literature of the Second Temple period shows that concept of 'the land' had by no means lost significance. Even from the diaspora where local attachments were also important, the land held symbolic and practical significance (i.e. in pilgrimage to Jerusalem).⁹ Philo and Josephus (writing from the diaspora) deal with 'Land theology' in different ways.¹⁰ To mention only a few examples, *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, *Baruch* and *The Testament of Moses* all show concern with interpretation of land and the promise to Abraham.¹¹ Furthermore, a high concern with purity in everyday life at this time suggests boundary marking by ritual observance associated with the holiness of the land.¹² At Qumran, purity appears to signify distinction from other Jews as well as gentiles, yet purity is also connected to

change in relation to her study of the language of the movement (179).

⁹ See John Barclay's discussion of connections between Jerusalem, 'homeland' and other diaspora Jews in his sketch of Jewish identity in the diaspora. J. M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 418-424. He notes a varied range of importance of the land with different levels of emotional attachment to the land and senses of attachment to diaspora locality. Barclay concludes, "while for most Diaspora Jews 'the holy land' retained some religious significance, the strength of their attachment to Palestine as 'home' probably varied in accordance with their social and political conditions." (424).

¹⁰ See B. Halpern-Amaru, "Land Theology in Philo and Josephus" in *The Land of Israel: Jewish Perspectives* (ed. L. A. Hoffman; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 65-93. Halpern-Amaru shows how Philo allegorises the land promise and in general distances his writing from the notion of land as 'real estate' (i.e. 69-71). Josephus, though he avoids the notion of covenantal land (Halpern-Amaru, 71-74, 78, 80, etc.), argues a case for "divine 'alliance,' where acquisition of the Land is conditional on morality and obedience, or even on the fortuitous swing of God's rod." (73). See also Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean*, 359, 170-171.

¹¹ E.g. *Jubilees* 2-4; 10-13; 14.18; 15; *1 Enoch* 56.6-8; 62.1, 3, 6; 89; 90; 99.14; *Baruch* 1.19-20; 2.30-35; *The Testament of Moses* 1.8-9; 2.1-5; 3.6-9; 4.2-6.

¹² See J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973). E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985). E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM 1990). E. P. Sanders, *Judaism, Practice and Belief: 63 BCE to 66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992). See also M. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (2nd ed.; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1998). J. Riches, "The Social World of Jesus" *Interpretation* 50:4 (1996), 383-393. T. Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Purity?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002). See also E. Netzer, "Ancient Ritual Baths (*Miqvaot*) in Jericho" in *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (L. E. Levine, ed.; 3 vols; Jerusalem: Yad Izhad Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981), 1:106-119.

the community's atonement for the land (i.e. 1QS v.6; vii.10; ix.3-6). Another intriguing point is that the so-called sign prophets, described by Josephus, recall by their actions themes of exodus and entry into the land. Though Josephus shows a dislike for these 'innovators', they are of particular interest as they appear to be popular and not elite movements, expecting miraculous signs and God's action for deliverance modeled on the past.¹³ Though the temple in Jerusalem was certainly a powerful symbol at this time,¹⁴ the interpretation of land as sacred space should not be discounted in its own right. We can see that land was given meaning as sacred space through interpretation in texts and by ritual performance. Though a brief sketch, we now turn to social aspects of the experience of land as sacred space in the early Roman period.¹⁵

6.2 Land as Social Space: City and Country

Except for a brief period under the Hasmoneans, Jews living in 'the land' during the Second Temple period, experienced foreign rule. Prior to Roman colonisation, the Ptolemies and Seleucids had ruled people and land in Palestine. Though direct Roman rule was not established in Judea and Samaria until 6 CE and in Galilee and Perea until 44 CE, Herod's client kingdom was directly dependent on Roman authority and therefore Palestine can be considered to be under Roman control from 63 BCE.¹⁶ Though a colonial situation was not a new experience for Jews in Palestine, it is arguable that certain effects of the governance of the land in this period made for difficult circumstances for many people in Galilee and Judea.

¹³ See R. Gray, *Prophetic Figures in Late Second Temple Jewish Palestine: The Evidence from Josephus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 112-144, particularly her summary (113). Also S. McKnight "Jesus and Prophetic Actions" *BBR* 10:2 (2000), 197-232. M. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1997).

¹⁴ Of the many examples which could be given from primary and secondary sources, Richard Horsley deems the temple 'the sacred space' for worship and contact with the divine in the Second Temple Period. R. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press, 1995), 128; emphasis his.

¹⁵ See Justin Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty and Survival* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998). Meggitt warns against making wealth the main (and determining) factor for social status in the ancient world. Other factors – he lists legal, educational, religious and gender – should also be considered important for first-century social status. (5-6). Though it poses a difficult task, we have tried to look at the connections between economic factors and other factors when looking at land (the primary source of wealth) in the first century. It is, of course difficult to maintain balance, but we do consider the ways that various factors are connected to, though not determined by, wealth in society.

¹⁶ G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 427.

Throughout the Roman Empire, cities were an essential part of administration. It may be said that Rome took up the notion of the Greek City and incorporated the ideal of it into their expanding empire,¹⁷ using it to maintain peace over a large geographic area with great cultural diversity within it.¹⁸ In this role, cities were vital to the control of land, that is, the countryside.¹⁹ The central sacred space in terms of dominant understanding was housed in the city of Jerusalem. The Temple was Herod the Great's most impressive building project, hailed by Pliny as one of the great structures of the Empire (*Natural History* 5.70). It was a cosmopolitan city, yet very different from other cities of the Empire in many respects. Martin Hengel points out the traffic of pilgrims to Jerusalem who would notice the distinctiveness of the city and temple.²⁰ The significance of Jerusalem's temple extended beyond the land to the Diaspora, and in turn made its own impact on the make up of the city.²¹

Elites, individuals who had some political control who made up a very small percentage of the population (between 5-10 percent), were largely urban dwellers executing control of the country (*χώρα*) from the city (*πόλις*). For 'the rest' (the other 90-95 percent) of the population, however, subsistence not opulence was normative and probably the experience of uncertainty over the ability to obtain the necessary means of existence was common.²² Corresponding to this large percentage of the

¹⁷ Owens, *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London: Routledge, 1991), 115-120.

¹⁸ Owens, *The City*, 121.

¹⁹ Owens, *The City*, 116: Land was "a means of wealth and an indicator of social position. ... A city controlled and exploited the territory surrounding it."

²⁰ M. Hengel, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited" in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed J. Collins et al; Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University, 2001), 25. See also L. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). He also gives an impression of the pilgrim's point of view: "Jerusalem was a thoroughly Jewish city in the early Roman period, in population, calendar, holidays, forms of religious worship, historical memories and more. Walking its streets in the first century, a visitor in all probability could not help but be struck by the absence of idols, statues and figural art, an absence that distinguished Jerusalem from every other urban center in the Empire." (93).

²¹ M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). "Jerusalem was peculiar as a *polis*, even if technically such at this period, because it was to a large extent administered from the Temple in its midst." 46; see also 51-56 on the economy of Jerusalem, a large part of which was fostered by pilgrims and also accommodation for pilgrims – "The problem was, in sum, that outsiders tended to spend lavishly in Jerusalem, but not invest in the local economy, and they ignored production in the countryside altogether." 53.

²² Meggitt, *Paul, Poverty*. Using his definition of poverty as a situation in which obtaining means for survival are a constant worry, Meggitt believes that 99-95% of the population experienced poverty or only marginally better conditions. (50) Are things so much different today, we might ask? See the discussion of the polarization between rich and poor in D. Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 41-52. The statistics he

population, Alföldy emphasises the importance of agriculture to the empire generally, suggesting that 90% of the population 'lived on the land or directly from the land.'²³

As for the working of the land, 'unfree labour' played a significant role in the economy of the empire and included slavery, serfdom, debt bondage and compulsory labour.²⁴ The more land a person could control, the more resources they could acquire, particularly if they were able to produce crops without a 'middle man' or tenant. Though there were a number of small farmers, skilled workers and traders, these did not constitute the equivalent of what we would consider a middle class, but by necessity worked to earn their living and remained at or somewhere near subsistence level.²⁵ Similarly in Palestine, slaves, tenants, landless day-labourers and 'piece-workers' (i.e. during harvests) all contributed to the agricultural work of 'the land', though the proportion of these workers to free holders of small lands cannot be precisely known.²⁶ Tenants worked on estates and the landlord or creditor would make such decisions as the crops to be planted. Some of the parables in the gospels reflect the situation of workers on estates and their relationship to the large landowners (i.e. Matt 20.1-15; Mark 12.1-11; Luke 16.1-8; 17.7; 19.19).

Land, or the power to control land and peasant families, was the basis for wealth in Palestine as elsewhere in the empire.²⁷ Some of the priests living in the upper city of Jerusalem in opulent housing probably even owned land.²⁸ Herod's many building projects included impressive palaces and the monumental project of the temple in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 15.391-402), and whilst building his way from Caesarea to Masada, others – some of the *ame ha aretz*, we could say – experienced the negative effects of land tenure. Related to this, changes were occurring in that there was

quotes from *The UN Development Report* (1996) are not very different from those estimated for the Roman Empire.

²³ G. Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* (trans. D. Braund et al; London: Croom Helm, 1985), 98. See also D. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Lewiston: N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1986), 17-29.

²⁴ de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 113.

²⁵ de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 114-115.

²⁶ "Economic Life in Palestine" *CRINT* 2:656.

²⁷ The article "Economic Life in Palestine" states, "the urban upper-class's economic basis was almost invariable landed property." (2:663). According to Hanson and Oakman (*Palestine in the Time of Jesus*, 69), aristocratic empires work in such a way that "the primary concern of aristocratic families is not ownership of land, but *honor and the control of both land and peasant families, that is, the exercise of power*. Is there a distinct difference here?

²⁸ e.g. Josephus says that he owned property as a priest (*Life* 422).

considerable re-distribution of land as part of Herodian governance. It has been suggested that the Herods considered the whole of the countryside at their disposal as in the allocation of territory to the new cities of Antipatris, Caesarea, Samaria-Sebaste and Tiberias, merging new inhabitants with existing citizens and peasantry and thereby 'necessitating' redistribution of land holdings.²⁹ For Galilee under the Herodians, both Sepphoris and Tiberias were founded. Revolts had occurred in Sepphoris and Tiberias after the death of Herod the Great, Sepphoris was destroyed and rebuilt and Herod Antipas brought changes to Tiberias. Josephus describes how Antipas brought in settlers from different segments of society, for instance Galilean 'rabble' and also magistrates who were 'drafted from territory subject to him and brought forcibly to the new foundation.' (*Antiq* 18.37). Thereby, the will of the client-king was imposed, again favouring wealthy citizens in a system of patronage privileging friends and clients of the rulers.³⁰

In sum, we can say that the small minority of urban elites were in a position to bring changes to the city and country in re-appropriating land and retaining the surplus of production. Perhaps caution should be exercised in calling this a 'crisis situation', but nonetheless it could be said that living off the land was difficult for a large percentage of the population and significant changes were taking place. It is amidst such economic circumstances that various religious movements within Palestine emerged.³¹ Theissen says, "We can find instances of social rootlessness [where people were prepared or forced to leave their ancestral homes] both in the renewal movements within Judaism (the Qumran community, the resistance fighters, prophetic movements) and in the widespread instances of disintegration (emigrants and new settlers, robbers and beggars).³² Again, this is only a very brief sketch only of social life 'in the land' but it shows some of the important 'issues' as they relate to land. Before attempting to make some sense of how beliefs regarding land are brought down to earth in this social setting, we will shift the discussion to focus on

²⁹ S. Applebaum, "Economic Life in Palestine," in *CRINT*, 2:658.

³⁰ K. C. Hanson and D. E. Oakman, *Palestine in the time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 73-74.

³¹ G. Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1978), 33-46. He cautions about the simple equation of economic pressures and reaction and protest among the lower classes. "In reality, people are activated above all when their situation threatens to deteriorate or when improvements are in sight" (39). Also, reactions occur among all classes of society and members of the upper class often are involved in protest.

the *Hauhau* movement among the Maori leading to some final suggestions regarding land as sacred and social space in the (prophetic) Jesus movement.

6.3 Maori Connections Between Land and the Sacred

In the Maori account of the creation of the world, humans as well as *atua* (gods) are the children of Papatuanuku (Earthmother) and Ranginui (Skyfather).³³ A good place for beginning a discussion of the relationship between people, land and the sacred is to look at the overall (philosophical) understanding of *waahi tapu*, or sacred sites. These may be described in terms of genealogical relations or kinship.³⁴ Manuka Henare reiterates the point that Maori worldview connects people to Earth Mother:

Philosophically, Māori people do not see themselves as separate from nature, humanity, and the natural world, being direct descendants of Earth Mother. Thus, the resources of the earth do not belong to humankind; rather, humans belong to the earth. While humans as well as animals, birds, fish and trees can harvest the bounty of Mother Earth's resources, they do not own them. Instead, humans have "user rights." Māori have recorded their user rights in their cosmic and genealogical relations with the natural world.³⁵

Certain Maori terms express a worldview which includes a spiritual understanding of the natural environment, valuing and interpreting it as sacred space, as 'vital, holy, and sacred.'³⁶ As it is difficult to briefly describe the meaning of these terms because of the complex concepts they represent, we will focus on *whenua* and *hau* in particular in order to limit our discussion.

The Maori term *whenua* means both land and placenta. There are important ritual connections to this term which relate to both aspects of its meaning. That is, when a child is born, the *pito* (afterbirth) and *whenua* are buried in the ground. Thus,

³² Theissen, *First Followers*, 34.

³³ H. Matunga, "Waahi tapu: Maori Sacred Sites" in *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places* (ed. D. L. Carmichael, J. Hubert, B. Reeves & A. Schanche; London: Routledge, 1994), 217-226; here, 219.

³⁴ Matunga elaborates, "Humans are not separate from the environment but are an intimate part of it. Because of this kinship link, humans have a responsibility to safeguard Papatuanuku, Ranginui and natural and physical resources from violation and destruction." (220).

³⁵ M. Henare, "Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua: A Māori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos" in *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community* (ed. J. A. Grim; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 197-221; here, 202.

³⁶ Henare, "Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua," 204. Particular sacred sites are also important and vary considerably in type of space. "Maori recognize that within Papatuanuku there are *waahi tapu*. These places are sacred because of events that have taken place there, or because they may be resource sites." (220). The protection of *waahi tapu* involves a struggle with trustees of the New Zealand Historic Places Board for definition of such sites and over ownership of the past. (221-225).

the connection between mother and child is symbolically 'placed' in the land. It is part of the kinship link between humans and Papatuanuku.³⁷ Mary Huie-Jolly sums up the significance of the dual meaning of the term:

The placenta *whenua* is placed in the land *whenua*, linguistically and ritually identifying the life of mother and child together with an ancestral place of belonging.³⁸

The symbolic associations give meaning to land and foster the sacred nature of the relationship between people and land.

The concept of *hau* also has resonance for connections between Maori and particular places and things. *Hau* may be described generally as wind or spirit and resides in people, soil and objects. Henare describes *hau* in this way:

Hau is often referred to as the breath of life or alluded to as the wind, which is sometimes the phenomenon identified as the manifestation of the life force.... *Hau*, furthermore, is a cosmic power and vital essence embodied in all persons and things.³⁹

Rituals such as 'feeding the *hau*' (offerings of fish or crops returned to their source, i.e. sea, lake or forest)⁴⁰ are local expressions of the responsibility of humans in caring for the land and environment. For Mauss, the concept of *hau* (in relationship to *taonga*) illustrated that gifts are not inactive, but return to their 'places of origin.'⁴¹

The concepts and related rituals of *whenua* and *hau* as well as the ceremony for placing the placenta in the land help us to understand (though only in part) Maori interpretation of land as sacred. Turning to the particular social situation in

³⁷ Matunga, "Waahi tapu," 220.

³⁸ M. Huie-Jolly, "Word Constructing Flesh: Portable Christianity and its Fragile Earth Connection," n.p. [cited 24 May 2000]. Online: <http://www.cwru.edu/979200/affil/GAIR/2000papers/HuieJolly.html>.

³⁹ Henare, "Tapu, Mana," 209-210, 211. A further statement which is helpful for attempting to understand the relationship between *mauri* and *hau* is given by Henare: "Like the close association of *tapu-mana*, so is that between *mauri* and *hau*, in which the *hau* is thought to reside in the *mauri*. The *mauri* protects the *hau* in the same way that the *wairua*, spirit, protects its physical basis, the body." (211).

⁴⁰ Henare, "Tapu, Mana," 211.

⁴¹ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (trans. W. D. Halls; London: Routledge, 1990) 13-16. "In reality, it is the *hau* that wishes to return to its birthplace, to the sanctuary of the forest and the clan, and to the owner. The *taonga* or its *hau* – which itself possesses a kind of individuality – is attached to this chain of users until these give back from their own property, their own *taonga* ..." (15). Though Mauss' interpretation of Maori gift exchange has been criticised, Annette Weiner defends Mauss' emphasis on the kinship relationship between people and possessions (and places). A. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 43-65.

which the Maori *Hauhau* movement arose, we will try to relate such beliefs to experience of colonisation.⁴²

6.3.1

Colonisation of Maori Land and the Rise of Millenarian Activity

The millenarian *Hauhau* movement arose in 1862, just over twenty years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) with its two versions – an English text and ‘translation’ into Maori language. The treaty effectively ceded power over the territories of Maori chiefs to the Queen of England,⁴³ and though the tribes were promised rights of possession, troubles over land claims soon erupted and communal ownership of land among the Maori among other factors put them at a strong legal disadvantage.⁴⁴ White settlers (Pakeha) brought with them land agents for administration as well as the Christian religion.⁴⁵ The three major millenarian movements which arose after the initial colonisation period and the beginning of the Maori land wars were all influenced by their interaction with missionaries and the Christian Bible. The King movement (not characterized as prophetic) which preceded the beginning of the *Hauhau* religion, hoped to establish a Maori kingdom based on the biblical Davidic kingdom. It was after the decline of this movement that prophetic movements arose and, in the words of Rosenfeld, ‘the essential task of holding the land fell to the charismatic leaders.’⁴⁶ For the first of these, the *Hauhau*, both Burridge and Wilson identify land as a primary issue of concern.⁴⁷ We saw the

⁴² Though the concepts we have discussed are no doubt important to Maori culture and have been for a considerable time, there is a difficulty in determining their significance prior to the European colonization of New Zealand. Maori traditions are related orally and concepts change over time, though certainly will have retained continuous elements. See, for instance, Steven Webster, “Maori Hapu as a Whole Way of Struggle: 1840s-50s Before the Land Wars” *Oceania* 69:1 (1998), 4-35.

⁴³ H. Roberts, “The Same People Living in Different Places: Allen Curnow’s Anthology and New Zealand Literary History” *Modern Language Quarterly* 64:2 (2003), 219-237. He says (in comparison with Australian colonisation), “The Treaty of Waitangi implicitly recognized the sovereignty of the Maori by requiring them to yield it to the British Crown in return for the Crown’s protection.” (231)

⁴⁴ J. Metge, *The Maoris of New Zealand* (London: Routledge, 1967), 31-35.

⁴⁵ J. E. Rosenfeld, *The Island Broken in Two Halves: Land and Renewal Movements Among the Maori of New Zealand* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). She notes the strong sense of re-creating England in New Zealand, as particularly in the writings of Charles Darwin during the time he lived there. (*Land and Renewal*, 42-43).

⁴⁶ Rosenfeld, *Land and Renewal*, 159.

⁴⁷ B. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1973), 245-252. “The most important issue in the background of the millennialist *Hau Hau* movement among the Maoris of New Zealand in the 1860s was that of land.” (245). Burridge, *New Heaven*, 20. “[Land] was more than a valuable economic resource. Traditional Maori sentiments of

kinship nature of the relationship between Maori, land and the sacred. This relationship was certainly disturbed by loss of land with colonization.⁴⁸ We now turn to look at some of the content of Te Ua's message and symbolic changes made.

Te Ua was the prophetic figurehead of the movement and his inspiration came from Christian apocalyptic traditions as well as from biblical narratives relating to land. Te Ua had previously become a convert to Christianity, though he came to reject it.⁴⁹ He identified the Maori as descendants of the Jews and Aotearoa as Israel. The promise to Abraham formed an important part of the hopes of the movement. Te Ua himself wrote a gospel called *Te Ua Rongopai* which said that 'the Island in Two Halves will be restored, even to that which was given unto Abraham, for this is Israel.'⁵⁰ Rosenfeld elaborates:

Uppermost in Te Ua's mind was God's promise of the land to the Maori, just as He had promised the land of Canaan to Abraham. Accordingly, he admonished: "Listen, O people and island, to these signs I am teaching you. Do not mock, but turn to the abiding thing, namely, the raising of the land."⁵¹

Burridge relates the statements of two converts showing their view of what the religion (could) accomplish. One of the chiefs told the Bishop at that time:

[M]any years ago we received the faith from you. Now we return it to you, for there has been found a new and precious thing by which *we shall keep our land*.⁵²

Further, another adherent expressed to some villagers a warning:

These men, these missionaries, were always telling us, 'Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven'. And so, while we were looking up to heaven, *our land was snatched away* from beneath our feet.⁵³

The statements of the adherents to the Hauhau religion and Te Ua's message incorporating land themes and paradigms from biblical stories shows the strong resonance between the situation on the ground and the changing understanding of

attachment to particular parcels of land, on account of their association of ancestors, social groupings and deities, joined the living with the glories of the past." Burridge, *New Heaven*, 20. "[Land] was more than a valuable economic resource. Traditional Maori sentiments of attachment to particular parcels of land, on account of their association of ancestors, social groupings and deities, joined the living with the glories of the past."

⁴⁸ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 54.

⁴⁹ Burridge, *New Heaven*, 16.

⁵⁰ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 150.

⁵¹ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 150.

⁵² Burridge, *New Heaven*, 19.

⁵³ Burridge, *New Heaven*, 19.

the world for Te Ua and his followers. The religion of the invading European culture is connected to their practice of taking Maori land. The new *Hauhau* religion is seen as a way to regain the land through miraculous intervention.

Obviously, the colonial situation of the Maori was a major concern and changes to symbolic understanding can be said to be reactions to that situation. However, if we also want to understand the content of the message, we should also grapple with the way Te Ua brought in new language, gave a different understanding of Christian terms and concepts and also used traditional Maori words and rituals such as *hau* and *nui* with new meaning.⁵⁴ Setting up *nui* poles throughout the country was thought to be a way to maintain land boundaries.⁵⁵ The *anahera hau* would descend to from heaven to earth on the *nui* pole.⁵⁶ *Hau*, likened to the Holy Spirit, was a vital source for the *Hauhau* religion (and other prophetic movements). Te Ua himself took the name of Haumene (spirit, or wind, man). Rosenfeld discusses how he took on, in a new way, a traditional role:

Te Ua appropriated the traditional role of the *tohunga ariki* [religious expert], utilizing it to found an unorthodox movement that dispensed Spirit among all worshipers and promised that the land would soon be cleansed by angels and returned to the faithful people of Jehovah.⁵⁷

Symbolic resources, understandable to Te Ua's community who were familiar both with traditional beliefs and with Christian beliefs, were changed in the new message.⁵⁸ Loss of land was undoubtedly the major concern at this time, though this does not mean that a millenarian movement is bound to arise.⁵⁹ When it does, the

⁵⁴ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 179-190. "The Hauhau chant substituted the new sacred pole, "nui," for the ancient sacred pole, "pou." Instead of Tane, the niu incantation invoked the sons of Noah, Shem and Ham. In place of the mythic realms of te po and te ao, Te Ua ritually called up the 'river,' 'stone,' 'road,' and 'mountain' of the North Island...." (187).

⁵⁵ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 177.

⁵⁶ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 178.

⁵⁷ Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 147. The *Hauhau* adopted the Christian rendering of Yahweh as Jehovah.

⁵⁸ See Steven Webster, "Maori Hapu," 4-35. Webster examines the way that hapu (part of a tribe, 'subtribe') changed in the 1840s and 1850s in response to historical changes at the time (when the Maori population very rapidly lost dominance). The entire issue (*Oceania*, September 1998) deals with aspects of Maori traditions in terms of their transformation in the 19th and 20th centuries. Rather than treating traditions as if they existed apart from colonial situation, the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of Maori tradition for its historicity and links with the process of colonisation. J. Sisson, "Introduction: Anthropology, Maori Tradition and Colonial Process" *Oceania* 69:1 (1998), 1-3; here, 2.

⁵⁹ Burrige (*New Heaven*, p 74) discusses how history "cannot tell us why movements did not occur, nor does it tell us why particular movements should have occurred when they did....The historical perspective shows these movements to be in some way symptomatic of

content of the message is important to an understanding of the way the movement and its leader(s) react to the situation, using and changing concepts, rituals and symbolic resources.

6.4 *Jesus and Land*

The suggestion that the Jesus movement or other second temple prophetic movements could be compared with millenarian movements or cargo cults is not new.⁶⁰ Questions may be raised as to the extent millenarian movements would arise at all without the influence of Christianity. Nevertheless (though perhaps because of this), comparisons can be made between characteristics of millenarian movements and the early Jesus movement.

Land 'themes' of the foundational narratives of Hebrew scriptures – exodus and entry, exile and return – have been powerful throughout history and in particular in connection with colonisation. Both coloniser and colonised may 'place' themselves within these narratives. A prime example is the European colonisation of Aotearoa where promotion in England for immigration to New Zealand hailed it as the new Canaan.⁶¹ In the prophetic movements which arose in the wake of this

an overall developmental process."

⁶⁰ See J. D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*, 158-167); R. A. Horsley, "Like One of the Prophets of Old': Two types of Popular Prophets at the Time of Jesus" *CBQ* 47 (1985), 435-463; Theissen and Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, 10, 105, 245; D. C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (78-94, 172-216). J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975). Others, such as Norman Cohn all but ignore the Jesus movement for consideration as a millenarian movement, suggesting that the message of Jesus could not be known anyway. N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Rev. ed.; London: Temple Smith, 1970), 23. We may not ever discover the actual words of Jesus, but we may treat the gospels as showing the 'Jesus event' and its interpretation. Cf. Mario Aguilar's approach to 1 Maccabees. M. I. Aguilar, "Rethinking the Judean Past: Questions of History and a Social Archaeology of Memory in the First Book of Maccabees" *BTB* 30:2 (2000), 58-67. "Collective memories are vehicles of solidarity, as they are the product of individual voices that point to charismatic figures, i.e., individuals who create themselves and are created in return so as to symbolize collectivities and social histories." (65).

⁶¹ H. Roberts, "The Same People," 219-237. "Moses crops up in New Zealand history with remarkable frequency. The Maori prophets of the nineteenth century, Te Ua, Te Kooti, Te Whiti, and others, believed that the Maori were lost tribes of Israel. The official boosters of immigration to New Zealand touted it as a new Canaan: 'Not a farm labourer in England but should rush from the old doomed country to such a paradise as New Zealand.... A GOOD LAND--... A LAND OF OIL, OLIVES AND HONEY;--A LAND WHEREIN THOU MAYST EAT BREAD WITHOUT SCARCENESS: THOU SHALT NOT LACK ANYTHING IN IT.... Away then, farm labourers, away! New Zealand is the promised land for you; and the Moses that will lead you is ready.'" (235-236) Quoted from Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land:*

immigrant movement into the country, the tribal lands were understood to be Canaan and the Moari as Israelites trying to defend their claims to the land from invaders.⁶² Land was both sacred and social space and in the particular situation of colonial experience, and symbols were changing fairly rapidly, even incorporating the themes of biblical land myths.

The sign prophets recalled themes of exodus and entry into the land around the time of Jesus. Why were these themes important to them? They were, after all, living 'in the land.' Such figures draw on dissatisfaction (at a 'popular' level). Sean Freyne argues that, at the time of Jesus, a 'situation of rapid change' may be postulated for Galilee which was "sufficiently traumatic to have elicited such a prophetic response as that to be found in the words and deeds of Jesus, not least his critique of the prevailing value system."⁶³ In his view, the value system which contrasted with an elite-centred market economy was one which allowed for a reciprocal system of exchange, concerned with the provision for extended family or clan and the notion that all could share in the fruits of the land.⁶⁴ The gospels at times show a negative attitude towards wealth as in the saying of Matthew 6.24 and Luke 16.13 on serving two masters. The values of not hoarding and sharing resources may also be detected in the message of Jesus – e.g. Matthew 6, Luke 12 – and also seem to have met a real need in the early church⁶⁵.

English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s (Wellington: Victoria University Press with Price Milburn, 1981), 51.

⁶² Millenarian movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, "adherents expected the return of the land to the *tangata whenua*, the exodus of the Pakeha in their great ships back to their homeland across the sea and the dawn of a new age of peace and plenty in 'Canaan'." (Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 40). Also important was the table of nations text where all the peoples of the earth were descended from Shem, Ham and Japheth. Maori considered themselves the descendants of Shem (Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 40-41). Pakeha believed they were the descendants of Ham (Egyptians). (Rosenfeld, *The Island*, 181) Thomas Buddle, a Wesleyan missionary, expounded upon his belief that Christians were allied to the race of Japheth and were thereby divinely destined to dwell in the tents of Shem (Gen 9.27). The descendants of Shem being the Maori.

⁶³ S. Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honour of Lars Hartman* (ed. D. Hellholm and T. Fornberg; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), 597-622; here, 607.

⁶⁴ Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture," 609, 616.

⁶⁵ For Justin Meggitt, "Christian mutualism therefore emerged to meet a very real need. Given the different economic experience of most inhabitants of the first-century Graeco-Roman world, coupled with the near absence of other effective survival strategies for urban populations living close to subsistence level, we can say that it represented an understandable response. Indeed, we can go further: it seems to have met a very real need extremely well." (*Paul, Poverty*, 173).

If the message of Jesus is somehow a response to a sense of anomie or dissatisfaction, what then is content of his message? What symbolic resources does he utilise? Jesus is compared to Theudas and Judas the Galilean in Acts 5.36-37. Like the first he performed signs and like the second proclaimed God's kingdom. What was that kingdom to be like?

Certainly not all Galilean peasants imagined a different life or thought apocalyptically about God's action to change their situation. Perhaps even those forced to relocate in the cities were quite willing to adjust even if it did not offer a more secure economic situation. Still, a message of God's coming action might find particular resonance among those who found serious difficulties in their present situations. They might want their situation to change and to imagine a different world and relief from a difficult situation.

For Te Ua and Jesus, new teachings and rituals were brought in as part of the symbolic changes which could become the basis for other movements (or religions). Perhaps the effort to see Jesus in light of the 'common Judaism' of his time has not allowed for recognition of the changes that were effected by this distinctive figure.⁶⁶ It does not detract from the picture of Jesus as thoroughly Jewish to suggest that his message had elements of the new and appropriated 'traditional' symbols – twelve, purity and indeed land itself – in different ways. In comparing Second Temple Judaism's land and Colonised Maori land, we are interested in the proclamation of a new, prophetic (millenarian) message within particular societies and related to land issues and change to symbolic resources. We are not trying to make simple equations or even direct analogies between the two 'examples,' nor are we looking for the 'conditions' in which a prophetic figure might arise and articulate a new message. Rather, we have tried to make some observations regarding change to established beliefs in circumstances where those beliefs may no longer provide an adequate explanation for the difficulties faced in lived experience. Land, when considered as both social and sacred space, is an important consideration for symbolic and social change.

As a prophetic figure, Jesus articulates the vision of a different life in the eschaton. He contrasts his followers (who are to be servants) with the kings who lord their position over the Gentiles and the rulers who take the name of benefactors

⁶⁶ Riches, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism*, 188.

(εὐεργέται, Luke 22.25). The disciples are to inherit eternal life (19.29) and to take the roles of rulers of the tribes (19.28), receiving houses, family and fields (19.29; Mark 10.29-30 ἀγρός) according to their decision to abandon everything in order to become followers. Eschatologically and imaginatively, it is reasonable to suppose that the twelve as a group of leaders show dissatisfaction with the current system of leadership for the nation⁶⁷ and also imply the restoration of the tribes in the land.⁶⁸ It offers twelve Galilean peasants positions as future rulers of the land modeling the tradition of the phylarchs under Moses.⁶⁹ They supplant the current priestly and Herodian rulers, yet with a commission to exorcise, heal and proclaim the Kingdom. It could be that the exact plans or 'location' for the future kingdom – earthly? Heavenly? – are not as important as the promise that the situation will change.⁷⁰

Again noting the connections between purity and land, there seems to be a lack of concern on the part of Jesus in the gospels with the legal requirements for purity.⁷¹ Purity served as a boundary marker and purity 'innovations' such as *miqvaot* and stone vessels show a keen interest in maintaining boundaries in the first century. Jesus primarily associates impurity particularly with demons, who probably cannot be contained within boundaries. He exorcises and heals those who would be considered ritually impure according to biblical law. Love of enemies was offered as an alternative principle complimented by his practice of table fellowship with 'sinners'. As a radical appeal, this message may have resonated in particular with those who were not able to keep the purity regulations (whether by occupation, not being able to meet the cost of breaking pots, etc.).

⁶⁷ W. Horbury, "The Twelve and the Phylarchs" *NTS* 32 (1986), 503-527. "[T]he choice of the twelve suggests a distinctive mentality. Jesus thereby attached himself to an archaic, non-synedrial and eschatologically charged constitutional model...Jesus changed the associations of the constitutional model, but contemporary interpretation of the phylarchs suggests that a mind which could summon up 'the twelve' worked on lines uncongenial to 'the rulers and elders and scribes in Jerusalem' (Acts 4.5)." (526)

⁶⁸ D. C. Alison, *Millenarian Prophet*, 97-100. In discussion of the saying about the twelve ruling the twelve tribes he says, "Q 22.28-30 promises Jesus' followers that they will 'rule over' or 'judge' the twelve tribes of Israel. This assumes that the twelve tribes will soon come home to the land." (102).

⁶⁹ Horbury demonstrates the usage of the phylarchs in Josephus in particular detail ("Phylarchs," 513-517).

⁷⁰ Compare, for instance, the *Testament of Moses* where Israel is altogether removed from the earth and raised to the heights in the final description (*T. Moses* 10.9-10).

⁷¹ T. Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Purity?* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 2002).

Finally, Jesus seems to have had a negative attitude towards the temple and to have proclaimed its destruction. As a powerful institution at this time, the centre of social and sacred space within the land, the critique of the temple by Jesus compares with that of Qumran, the Samaritans or that expressed in the *Testament of Moses*, yet is distinctive. The action and saying about the temple appear to go against the idea of a 're-focussing' on a new temple system and are highly subversive. In combination with Jesus' action of calling the twelve, it may be that his vision for the future (or 'spatialisation' for the future) evoked entry into the land before the institution of the temple (or after its destruction?). In combination with a rejection of purity, it may be that Jesus the millenarian prophet 'changes the rules' for obedience in light of the urgency of the coming kingdom.

All sacred space is social space, whether experienced, thought about or imagined by (religious) humans. We have taken an historical view of the space of the Second Temple period 'in the land,' noting structures of the built environment as well as power relations in society. Alongside this, we have comparatively placed the beliefs of various individuals and groups of the period. The literature of the Second Temple Period provides valuable resources for comparison (particularly as in our examination of Genesis Ten). We have seen that there were real conflicts relating to land in Second Temple Judaism, both in terms of social situations (i.e. for those who lost land) and religious understanding. Rather than taking the view that Jesus does not engage with these issues, we have highlighted areas (temple, purity and twelve) where the message of Jesus not only is concerned with the contradictions, but offers a prophetic proclamation, directed at Galilean peasant society, both using and changing symbols related to land in his proclamation of the kingdom.

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Abbreviations conform to the SBL Handbook of Style.

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