

September–December 1994 • Numbers 46 & 47

Jerusalem

P E R S P E C T I V E

**“Let us go to the
House of the LORD.”**

Perspective on This Issue

Three of the contributions to this issue share a common theme—the Temple in Jerusalem. Responding to a reader's letter, **Professor Shmuel Safrai** discusses the laws of ritual purity incumbent on pilgrims to the Temple, p. 7. **Anna Iamim** analyzes the family genealogy of King Herod, builder of the great "Second Temple," p. 10. **Joseph Frankovic** examines Jesus' last pilgrimage to the Temple, and the so-called "Temple Cleansing" episode, p. 24.

In a teaching about worry, we find one of Jesus' most beautiful and memorable sayings, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow. They do not labor or spin. I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these. If that is how God clothes the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into an oven, will he not much more clothe you, O you of little faith?" (Mt. 6:28–30). Jesus may have been teaching outdoors, as was common among sages of his day, and pointed to the flowers as he uttered this saying. In "Lilies of the Field," p. 18, **Gloria Suess** tries to identify the wildflower, or wildflowers, to which Jesus referred.

The amazing multitude and variety of Israeli wildflowers inspired Suess to start photographing all she could find. As volunteer secretary, editor and artist for the Institute of Holy Land Studies in Jerusalem, she was able to accompany the students on their field trips throughout Israel at various seasons of the year. Started in 1987, her slide collection of Israeli flora numbers well over 1500 and is still growing. Now retired and residing in the Judean hills, Suess is concentrating on biblical flora, aided by a lifetime of Bible study and teaching fine arts.

■ As Jesus approached the Temple precincts he was distressed to see profiteering at the expense of pilgrims who had come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover. Chiding the vendors, he said that they were making God's house into a den of robbers. But was Jesus solely addressing the vendors? Was no other party responsible for the degeneration of the site's sanctity? In "Remember

Shiloh!" p. 24, **Joseph Frankovic** claims that Jesus, by a sophisticated combination of Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11, was doing more than merely scolding zealous merchants. He was rebuking the high priests themselves and hinting at the imminent ruin of their power base and livelihood—the Temple in Jerusalem.



Frankovic and his wife, Janet, reside in Jerusalem where he is a visiting research student at the Hebrew University. He holds a B.A. in classics from the University of Tulsa and a B.A. in Old Testament Literature and M.A. in Biblical Literature from Oral Roberts University where he studied four years under Jerusalem School member Professor Brad H. Young. Presently he is working toward a Ph.D. in Midrash under the guidance of Professor Burt Visotsky of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

■ While reading the Bible, **Anna Iamim** was annoyed by the repetition of the formula, "So-and-so, son of so-and-so." This genealogical notation seemed superfluous to her. "Maybe I shouldn't feel this way," she thought. "Maybe this is something interesting."

She began reading commentaries for information, but discovered that she didn't know enough to understand the commentaries. Finally, she decided, "The answer can't be that complex. My forefathers gave me this book, so I should be able to understand it!" She put the commentaries aside, and began reading Genesis. Today she says, "Now I can understand the commentators."

Iamim's genealogical quest eventually led her to the family of Herod the Great. Her research on this dynasty resulted in a 100-page booklet and the creation of a magnifi-



cent wall chart illustrating Herod the Great's family tree. In "The Right to Reign," p. 10, she summarizes her research on the Herod family for readers of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

Iamim is a widely-published artist specializing in archaeological reconstructions. She has lived and worked in Israel for over twenty years. Currently she is a staff member of the Combined Caesarea (Archaeological) Expedition.

■ It was never possible to publish the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary* volume begun in 1986 devoted to the "Rich Young Ruler" story, so JP editor David Bivin published it piecemeal: "Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary Preview: The Rich Young Ruler Story," JP 38 & 39 (May-Aug. 1993), 3-31; "Counting the Cost of Discipleship: Lindsey's Reconstruction of the Rich Young Ruler Complex," JP 42, 43 & 44 (Jan.-Jun. 1994), 23-35; "A Hebraic Nuance of *legō*: Key to Understanding Luke 18:18-19," JP 42, 43 & 44 (Jan.-Jun. 1994), 37-45. The final article, "Matthew 16:18: The *Petros-petra* Wordplay—Greek, Aramaic, or Hebrew?" is published in this issue, p. 32ff. With the completion of the "Rich Young Ruler" project, there now exists not only articles by Jerusalem School scholars on isolated topics relating to the Synoptic Gospels, but a continuous commentary on an extended portion of the Gospel text. This will allow others to more easily evaluate the unique Jewish-Christian collaboration known as the "Jerusalem School."

Bivin, the current director of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research, was one of Robert Lindsey's first students in Jerusalem, arriving in Israel in 1963, only a year after Lindsey's revolutionary discovery that Luke was written before Mark. A native of Oklahoma, Bivin came to Israel on a Rotary Foundation Fellowship to do postgraduate studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He met his wife, Josa, a native Californian, in Israel in 1969. They and their son, Natan, live in the village of Mevasseret Zion, near Jerusalem.

JP

This issue, with expanded and color format, represents another step in the development of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. Ultimately, we want to make JP a 60-page, full-color magazine, but this cannot be done in one fell swoop. JP's resources are limited and therefore we anticipate reaching our goal in small increments.

Since its first issue in October of 1987, JP has weathered some storms. The magazine still has not achieved profitability, yet with the LORD's favor, the basic one-year subscription price of US\$36.00 has not changed. Generating profits is not the objective of JP, but rather making available information that is indispensable for understanding the teachings of Jesus. The work is very satisfying, particularly when readers write and express how much they have benefited from the articles.

I appeal to our subscribers to help expand JP's readership by giving gift subscriptions, especially to teachers, clergy, seminary students and libraries. Gift subscriptions are now easier to give, and they make wonderful holiday gifts for friends. We have lowered the one-year gift subscription rate for first-time subscribers to \$18.00 or £12.00, half the regular price. There are also opportunities to help young, studious, third-world Bible teachers and pastors who can not afford JP (see page 9).

David Bivin
Editor

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Jerusalem

PERSPECTIVE

Exploring the Jewish Background
to the Life and Words of Jesus



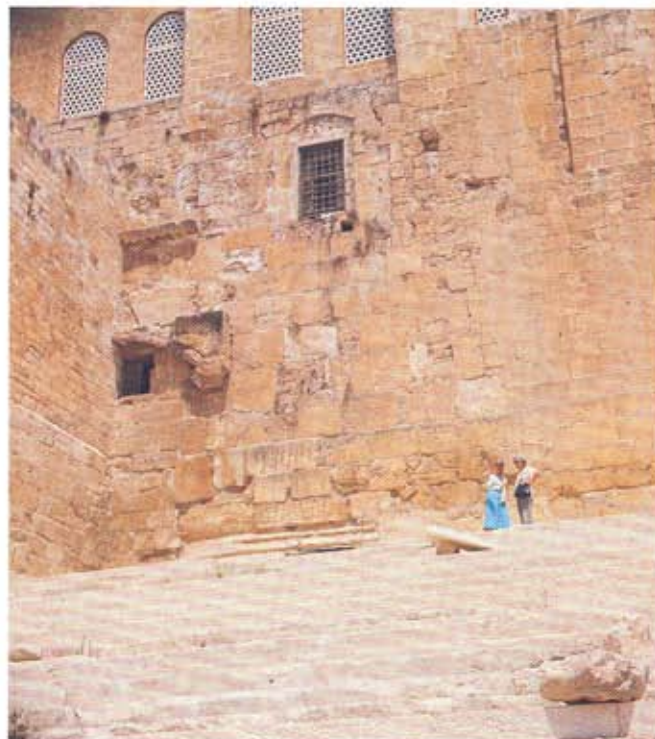
32



FRONT COVER: The partially reconstructed, monumental stairway leading to the Huldah Gates (now blocked) in the southern retaining wall of the Temple platform. On these steps Jesus and other pilgrims ascended the Temple Mount. At the base of the stairway were public mikvaot where pilgrims could ritually immerse before entering the Temple courtyards. The Mount of Olives can be seen in the distance (at the upper right). Photo: Joseph Frankovic.

BACK COVER: The magnificent Sword Lily, *Gladiolus*, may have been the flower Jesus had in mind, or even pointed to, when he said, "Not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these." Photo: Gloria E.M. Suess.

24



10



18

Contents

September–December 1994 • Numbers 46 & 47

■ The Right to Reign *Anna Jamim*

10

The first-century Jewish historian, Josephus, provided the great grandson of Herod the Great, Agrippa II, with a genealogy that pivots on women rather than men. Josephus went to such lengths in order to legitimize Agrippa's claim to the Hasmonean throne. Through Agrippa, Josephus apparently hoped for the restoration of the land of Israel to the Jews. However, being a patron of the Romans, Josephus had to cloak these hopes in terms that would escape Roman eyes—in Israelite genealogy.

■ "Lilies of the Field" *Gloria E.M. Suess*

18

There are many candidates for Jesus' expression, "lilies of the field." To which flower, or flowers, did Jesus refer?

■ Thinking Like the Sages: Remember Shiloh! *Joseph Frankovic*

24

Why did Jesus juxtapose half a verse from Isaiah ("My house shall be called a house of prayer") and half a verse from Jeremiah ("You have made it a den of thieves")? The missing link, the key expression that ties the two passages together, may now have come to light. A dramatic textual discovery!

■ Sidebar:

Where Were the Vendors?

29

No commerce was conducted in the Temple courts, not even in the Court of the Gentiles. Therefore, the famous "Cleansing of the Temple" by Jesus could not have taken place there. The incident occurred outside the Temple Mount, probably near the recently discovered monumental stairway at the Temple Mount's southern wall.

■ Matthew 16:18: The *Petros-petra* Wordplay— Greek, Aramaic, or Hebrew? *David Bivin*

32

The disciple Peter had two Hebrew names: *Shim'on* (Simon) and *Petros* (Peter). *Petros* was not a Greek name—it was not used by Greek speakers until the New Testament was written; rather, *Petros* was a name coined by Hebrew speakers.

Departments

- 2 Perspective on This Issue
- 6 Readers' Perspective
- 39 International Synoptic Society
- 39 The Jerusalem School: A Unique Collaboration
- 39 Glossary
- 39 Transliteration Key

Readers' Perspective

■ Pacifism and Riches

Congratulations and many thanks for the most interesting and enlightening issue of the PERSPECTIVE—particularly the articles on “Pacifism” and “Riches” relative to Jesus’ teaching (July/August 1994).

I would only like to make, rather hesitantly, one remark about “using one’s wealth to help the poor.” There was recently in the local newspapers an appeal to help the family of a man who had sixteen children and who had now fallen into ill health. Apart from the possibility that the elder children could now be old enough to support their father, one wonders how far one’s charity should spread towards helping those who have seemingly ignored the “facts of life” in pursuing their own indulgences. I prefer to use my resources towards the establishment of a just society. Sadly, not only “the Lord maketh poor,” but some are self-made poor, or “professionally” poor.

But the real reason for writing was to comment upon other things:

1. You mention in note 16 to your article on “Riches” (p. 13) the question of Jesus’ intention in regard to a disciple’s plea to be allowed “first to bury his father.” It has been suggested that this does not mean that the disciple’s father had just died but that the disciple wished to remain at home to support his father *until* his father died and *then* the disciple would be free to follow Jesus (Mt. 8:21–22).

2. In the same note you suggest that Jesus’ disciples formed a type of wandering yeshiva “devoted to intensive study of Torah.” But surely Jesus was realizing in his own life, and calling his disciples (and us) to realize, the New Covenant prophesied by Jeremiah when the Law of God will be “in their inward parts, written in their hearts...and they shall teach no more..., saying, Know the LORD, for they shall all know me” (Jer. 31:33–34). Jesus called his disciples to *go out into the world* and to preach

the existence of the Kingdom, heal the sick and comfort the distressed, *not* to sit in yeshivas and study, study, study: the idolatrous worship of modern Judaism!

3. In your article on King Parables, although you mention Lk. 14:16–24 and Mt. 25: 1–12, you make no reference to Mt. 22:1–14, which, particularly in verses 11–13, is even more strikingly similar to the rabbinic parable you cite (Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 153a).

Thank you again for the most enjoyable issue, which leaves us looking forward to the next.

Douglas (Dagan) Ben-Shimon
Jerusalem
Israel

■ Women and the Mikveh

Did women go through a *mikveh* after childbirth? According to Leviticus 12, the presenting of the two turtledoves constituted the purification. And in fact, the same thing seems to be implied concerning a woman’s menstrual period (Lev. 15:19ff.). Anyone who touches her or anything she has touched has to purify himself by washing, but nothing seems to be said about the woman washing herself at any time, either after childbirth or after her monthly period. So where did the idea of the *mikveh* come from? Was that a later introduction? Still, I know that *mikvaot* have been excavated at the base of the steps on the south side of the Temple Mount which led up to the Temple. What were they for? And if a woman had to present an offering for her purification both after childbirth and after her monthly period, did she have to travel all the way to Jerusalem every month?

Mary R. Carse
Hinesburg, Vermont
U.S.A.

Shmuel Safrai responds:

It was not necessary for Mary to go immediately from Nazareth in Galilee to Jerusalem to offer the sacrifice for her purification. To quote from my daughter Chana Safrai's article, "Jesus' Jewish Parents," which appeared in the September/October 1993 issue of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE:

According to Scripture, a mother is impure for forty days after the birth of a son. At the end of this period, she is to bring to the Temple an offering for her purification (Lev. 12:1-8). Rabbinic sources indicate that a woman was allowed to postpone her sacrifice until she had an opportunity to go to Jerusalem. Sometimes a mother waited until she had given birth a number of times before offering the prescribed sacrifice for her purification (Tosefta, Keritot 2:21; Mishnah, Keritot 1:7, 2:4). Often, she waited to fulfill this obligation until the family made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However, some women performed this rite at the end of the forty-day period in keeping with the biblical injunction. Mary observed the commandment in this way. (p. 10)

As Chana Safrai points out, a mother could postpone the prescribed sacrifice after the birth of a son; however, she could not postpone the ritual immersion. Therefore, this was usually done at the local mikveh in the woman's hometown. It was not necessary for a woman to travel to the Temple for the immersion. As Mary Carse has supposed, women were also required to immerse themselves after the menstrual period, and this too was done at a local mikveh. It is true that nothing seems to be said in the Torah about a woman's requirement for immersion after the birth of a son and following menstruation, but the sages viewed immersion in these cases as scriptural commandments. They based this view on their understanding of Leviticus 12:1-8; 15:18; and 18:19. (For further details of the sages' view, see the discussions in Mishnah tractate Niddah.)

Just when in history the mikveh came into being we do not know; however, it is certain that its use was already well-established in Jewish society by Jesus' time. Immersion as part of a woman's purification was also practiced by Essenes and Samaritans.

The mikvaot adjacent to the monumental stairs leading to the south entrance of the Temple Mount were used by persons who intended to enter the inner courts of the Temple. One could ascend the Temple Mount and visit the outer court (the so-called Court of the Gentiles) without having to purify oneself in a mikveh, if

one did not proceed beyond the Court of the Gentiles. In fact, if in a state of ritual cleanliness, a Jew could even enter the Women's Court, the outer court of the sanctuary, without undergoing ritual immersion. However, to proceed further (to the Israelites' Court and beyond), he or she had to bathe in a mikveh, even if ritually clean. There was a mikveh located in the Lepers' Chamber, in the northwest corner of the Women's Court (Mishnah, Middot 2:5; Negaim 14:8), and there were many other mikvaot scattered over the Temple Mount. These were not just for the priests, who served in the inner courts of the Temple, but also for non-priests—



DAVID BIVIN

when offering their sacrifices, non-priests could enter the Priests' Court (Jerusalem Talmud, Yoma III, 40^b).

Gentiles could also ascend the Temple Mount; however, they were not permitted to enter the sanctuary itself. On all four sides of the sanctuary was an ascent of fourteen steps and a five-meter-wide walkway or rampart (in Hebrew, *hel*) immediately adjoining the outside walls of the sanctuary. Encircling these stairs and walkway was a stone balustrade (1.5 meters in height), called in Hebrew, the *Soreg*. Gentiles could not go beyond this barrier and, according to Josephus (War 5:195-197; Antiq. 15:417; cf. Mishnah, Kelim 1:8), there were warning

Rock-hewn steps descending to a mikveh (not visible) that was discovered in 1968 during the Temple Mount excavations. The low divider built on top of the stairs enabled a ritually clean person to exit the mikveh by a different path and thus avoid contact with an entering unclean person.

signs in Greek and Latin affixed to the Soreg at regular intervals forbidding Gentiles, under penalty of death, to proceed further. Two of these signs written in Greek (one complete, and one partially preserved), have been discovered in Jerusalem.

To make sure that no one willfully or inadvertently violated the purity regulations, Levites were appointed as supervisors. (Remember that the Levites were the Temple gatekeepers.) We learn this from, among others, the first-century Jewish historian Philo (On the Special Laws 1:156). The Levites conducted spot-checks, asking people entering the Temple whether they



DAVID BIVIN

The way out of the mikveh. These are the same stairs that appear in the photograph on page 7, but here they are shown from the perspective of a person standing in the mikveh.

were ritual clean, or, in the case of persons entering the Israelites' Court, whether they had bathed in a mikveh. In addition, it was required of worshippers that they ascend the Temple Mount with freshly washed white garments and barefooted (War 2:1).

In a third-century A.D. fragment of a non-canonical gospel written in Greek (Oxyrhynchus Papyri V, 840), there is a very interesting tradition about Jesus. According to this source, Jesus and his disciples were accosted in the Temple by a Levite supervisor and accused of having violated the purification regulations:

"Who has given you permission to walk in this holy place and to look upon these holy vessels without first bathing yourself and even without your disciples having washed their feet, but in an unclean state you have walked in this holy and purified place, although no one who has not first bathed himself and changed his clothes may walk in it and venture to view these holy vessels."

Jesus replied, "I am clean, for I have bathed myself in the pool of David. I have gone down [into it] by the one stair and come up [out of it] by the other, and I have put on white garments that are ritually clean, and in that state I have come here and looked upon these holy vessels."

While this story about Jesus may not be historical, much authentic detail about the customs of those who came to the Temple is preserved in this fragment, such as the changing of one's clothes, the wearing of white clothes and the ritual bathing before entering the Temple. This source contains authentic Jewish traditions from the first century C.E. These traditions cannot be literary inventions. A third-century Gentile author would not likely have known, for instance, that on every Jewish pilgrimage festival, the holy Temple utensils were brought out and put on display in the Israelites' Court for the benefit of visiting pilgrims.

■ The Message Version

The reason for this fax is to tell you of a recent use of the PERSPECTIVE. I've been reading a "contemporary language" New Testament worded by Eugene Peterson called *The Message* (published by NavPress in Colorado). My original reason for beginning the reading was to check it out as a bible for new believers, but after I began reading I quickly fell in love with it myself. Among other things, there are no scripture numbers (just chapters)—it's not dissected—thus the text itself reads so much easier. It's a joy to read. Here are a couple of examples of Peterson's work:

When the disciples had Jesus off to themselves, they asked, "Why couldn't we throw it out?"

"Because you're not yet taking God seriously," said Jesus. "The simple truth is that if you had a mere kernel of faith, a poppy seed, say, you would tell this mountain, 'Move!' and it would move. There is nothing you wouldn't be able to tackle." (Mt. 17:19-21)

"I've had it with you! You're hopeless, you religion scholars, you Pharisees! Frauds! Your lives are roadblocks to God's king-

dom. You refuse to enter, and won't let anyone else in either.

"You're hopeless, you religion scholars and Pharisees! Frauds! You go halfway around the world to make a convert, but once you get him you make him into a replica of yourself, double-damned.

"You're hopeless! What arrogant stupidity! You say, 'If someone makes a promise with his fingers crossed, that's nothing; but if he swears with his hand on the Bible, that's serious.' What ignorance! Does the leather on the Bible carry more weight than the skin on your hand? And what about this piece of trivia; 'If you shake hands on a promise, that's nothing; but if you raise your hand that God is your witness, that's serious?' What ridiculous hair-splitting! What difference does it make whether you shake hands or raise hands? A promise is a promise. What difference does it make if you make your promise inside or outside a house of worship? A promise is a promise. God is present, watching and holding you to account regardless." (Mt. 23:13-22)

That gives you an idea of Peterson's approach. I've found personal disagreements with the work, but on the whole it is powerful. The use of American idioms and symbols (like crossing your fingers to cancel out a promise and a poppy seed) are very effective with our youth—and me. And it seems to get a person even more interested in the study of Jesus.

However, yesterday morning I was reading from Matthew 26 in *The Message* and came across this translation: "During the meal, Jesus took and blessed the bread, broke it, and gave it to his disciples." Remembering from my reading of *JP* that Jesus didn't bless the bread but God, and that the Greek says only "he blessed," I felt the need to act. So I went to my catalog of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVES and found the article in issue number 4 entitled, "Did Jesus Observe the Oral Torah?—Blessing." Then I called NavPress in Colorado and got Eugene Peterson's fax number (in Canada), and last night I faxed him a letter along with a copy of the *JP* article.

The only question I have about the *JP* article is that it states that "One does not bless anything or anyone [my italics] except God!" The Scripture that immediately comes to mind is Jacob "stealing" his father Isaac's blessing and Esau crying out to Isaac, "Bless me! Bless me!" If you have any comments, I would love to put this issue to rest.

Brian Becker
Williamsville
Missouri
U.S.A.

The sentence in the article to which you refer was not carefully worded. It should have been made clear that in the context of taking a loaf of bread before beginning a meal, the blessing can only be a blessing directed toward God.

Because of the recurring "blessed, broke and gave the bread" in the Gospels, it is a common Christian misunderstanding that Jesus blessed the bread. Consequently, Christians customarily "bless the food" before they eat a meal.

The blessing that was said in Jesus' time before eating—and still today by observant Jews—is praise and thanksgiving to God who so wondrously provides food for his children. One does not bless the food, nor does one even ask God to bless the food. One blesses God who provides the food. — Ed.

■ Third-World Appeals

Please, I would like you to enlist my name as one of the new subscribers of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. We in Nigeria find it very difficult to send out money, but as we fast and pray God will reward anywhere the money is being paid for us.

Pastor Emmanuel Ike Ekeh
Calabar, Nigeria

You had neither known nor heard of me ever since. But please receive my greetings in the precious name of Jesus the Messiah. I am one of the LORD's servants serving here in this part of the world.... I am requesting you kindly to please put my name on your mailing list so as to be receiving the regular issues of your periodical. I am however defeated totally to subscribe, but pray that the Almighty God might please touch your heart deeply to grant my petition.

Maurice N. Oguta
Kisumu, Kenya

The preceding two letters are examples of the many requests for free subscriptions that we receive from pastors and bible teachers in third-world countries. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE provides free literature to prisoners upon request, but we are unable to meet the tremendous demand for free literature from the third world. You can provide a subscription to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE for one or more of these eager and deserving students of the Bible. A one-year gift subscription costs only US\$18.00 or £12.00, half the regular subscription price. The third-world recipient of your gift will be very appreciative and will be delighted to correspond with you and tell you about his or her work. — Ed.

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE welcomes letters and faxes to the editor. We will use this column to share as many of our readers' comments, queries and requests as possible.

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ANNA LAMIM

Biblical and post-biblical genealogies are more than simple pedigrees, yet the wealth of their content is couched in such plain and uninviting format that many of us simply skim them. In this article you will discover how exciting such genealogies can be.

THE RIGHT TO__ REIGN

by Anna lamim

The interrelationship between God, land and man is established in the Book of Genesis. God and land are constants, while man is a variable. The relationship between the three is contractual, and biblical genealogy provides the means through which man, limited by his mortality, is able to maintain his relationship with God and land from one generation to the next.

Biblical Genealogy

The lands God promised to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Israel), patriarchs of the Israelites, and to Esau, patriarch of the Edomites (later known as the Idumaeans) were to be their descendants' "everlasting possession" (Gen. 17:8; Deut. 2:5). Moses and Joshua divided the inheritance of the sons of Israel among the tribes, and the leader of each tribe subdivided the tribal inheritance among that tribe's families (Num. 32:33, 34:16–29; Josh. 14:1–5, 18:1ff.). The inheritance of each family was to pass from father to son(s), from generation to generation (Gen. 17:8; Num. 27:8–11; 36:7, 9).

During the generation of the Exodus, Zelophehad died without sons. His five daughters petitioned for and were granted the right to inherit their father's portion of the land (Num. 27:1–11). This first amendment to the Torah given at Sinai was appealed by the men of Zelophehad's tribe. Recognizing the mobility of women, the men sought to prevent the women's portions being removed from the main body of the tribal estate and passed to the sons of other tribes. The appeal was successful. Subsequently, in the absence of a son, a daughter was permitted to inherit her father's estate on condition that she marry a husband from her father's family (Num. 36:1–12; *Antiq.* 4:174–175). However, economics, war and man's natural tendencies caused a shuffling of the people. In the millennium that followed the generations of Moses and Joshua, a great deal of land changed hands.

Beyond matters of personal and tribal estates, biblical genealogy is political in that it traces the lines of Israelite temporal government (the priesthood and the monarchy) in the land that is simultaneously the inheritance of the sons of Israel and the property of God (Lev. 25:23).

Herod the Great's Kingdom

From 37 B.C.E. until 4 B.C.E. Herod the Great reigned over the land of Israel. He formally acquired his throne by decree of the Roman

senate. After the death of Herod the Great, his kingdom was divided among three of his sons: Archelaus, Philip and Herod Antipas. When each of these rulers was banished or died, his portion of the kingdom reverted to Roman control. When Archelaus, ethnarch of Judaea, was banished by the emperor Augustus in 6 C.E., Judaea was added to the province of Syria and governed by a series of Roman procurators (*Antiq.* 17:355). When Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, died in 34 C.E., the emperor Tiberius added his tetrarchy to the province of Syria (*Antiq.* 18:108). In 39 C.E., when the emperor Caligula banished Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, his tetrarchy too was ruled directly by Rome. Herod the Great's kingdom was united once again in 41–44 C.E. under the rule of his grandson, Agrippa I.

Josephus' Qualifications

Flavius Josephus (Joseph son of Matthias) was eminently qualified for the task of compiling a political genealogy. He was a priest, descended from Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four priestly courses (1 Chron. 24:7; *Life* 2). He was, by his own account, exceedingly well educated:

I made great progress in my education, gaining a reputation for an excellent memory and understanding. While still a mere boy, about fourteen years old, I won universal applause for my love of letters; insomuch that the chief priests and the leading men of the city used constantly to come to me for precise information on some particular in our ordinances. (*Life* 8)

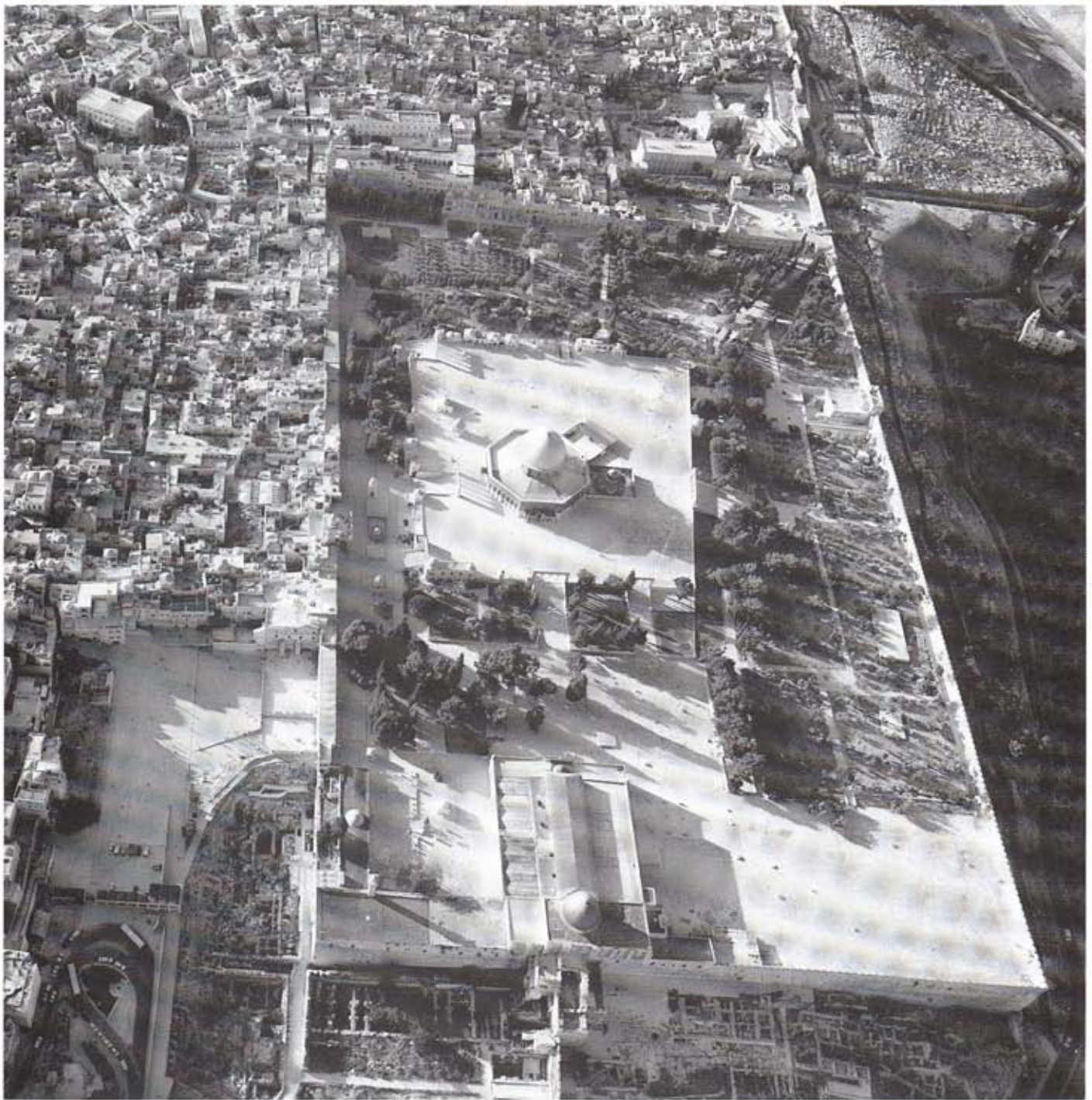
Josephus compiled a genealogy of the family of Herod the Great. The genealogy is well-grounded in biblical genealogy and confirms Josephus' claims to having been well educated. In the context of Agrippa I's rise to power, Josephus recorded a genealogy that is both unusual and elegant. It is unusual because it pivots on women rather than men; it is elegant because it provides Agrippa II, great grandson of Herod the Great, with the Hasmonean right to the throne.

The three main elements in the Herod family genealogy constructed by Josephus are: 1) through the Hasmonean princess Mariamme, Agrippa II becomes heir to the Hasmonean dynasty; 2) through Herod the Great and Agrippa I, Agrippa II gains the kingdom, that is, the land; 3) through Phasaël, eldest son of Antipater the Idumaeans, a bond is established between the ruling houses of Esau and Israel—Agrippa II is a descendant of both sons of Isaac.

Opposite page: Portrait of a Herodian king? This marble bust of a monarch with Semitic features was discovered in Jerusalem in the last century. It was dated to the first centuries C.E. by its discoverer, Charles Clermont-Ganneau. The bust has since disappeared. It was last seen in Istanbul, Turkey.

Page 12: Aerial view of the Temple Mount. Dominating the Temple esplanade are the Dome of the Rock (near its center) and the Al Aksa Mosque (at its south end). The lower left corner of the rectangular platform is the corner shown in the drawing on pages 16–17. Remains of the monumental stairway can be seen below the Al Aksa Mosque outside the southern wall.

Page 13: Thirty alternating steps and landings form a monumental stairway (partial reconstructed) that leads to the Double Gate (now blocked). The exposed part of the gate can be seen at the angle of the two walls (at left center). The western half and most of the eastern half of the Double Gate are obscured by a Crusader wall built against the southern wall of the Temple Mount.



ISRAEL GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE

Hyrkanus II

(63–40 B.C.E., High Priest and Ethnarch of Judaea)

→ **Salome (Alexandra)**

••

→ **Mariamme**

Aristobulus II

(67–63 B.C.E., High Priest and Ethnarch of Judaea)

→ **Jonathan (Alexander)**

Mariamme

"Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamme the daughter of Hyrcanus" (Antiq. 18:130).

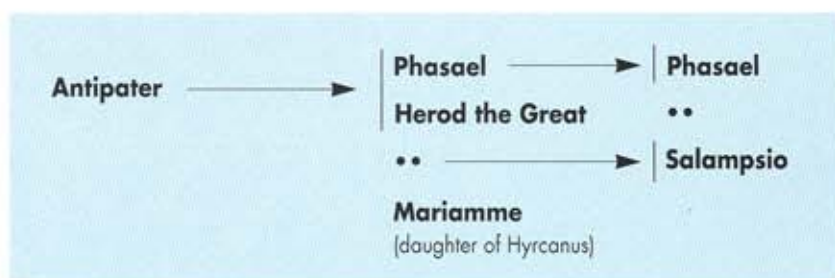
In a standard (patrilineal) genealogy, Josephus would have identified the Hasmonean princess, Mariamme, as the granddaughter of Aristobulus II. Indeed, he does just that in other contexts. However, Herod the Great had eliminated all male Hasmonean heirs to the throne,

specifically the descendants of Hyrcanus II (*Antiq.* 15:266); therefore, Josephus identifies Mariamme as the daughter (heir) of Hyrcanus, and as such, the path by which the Hasmonean right to rule is to be transmitted.

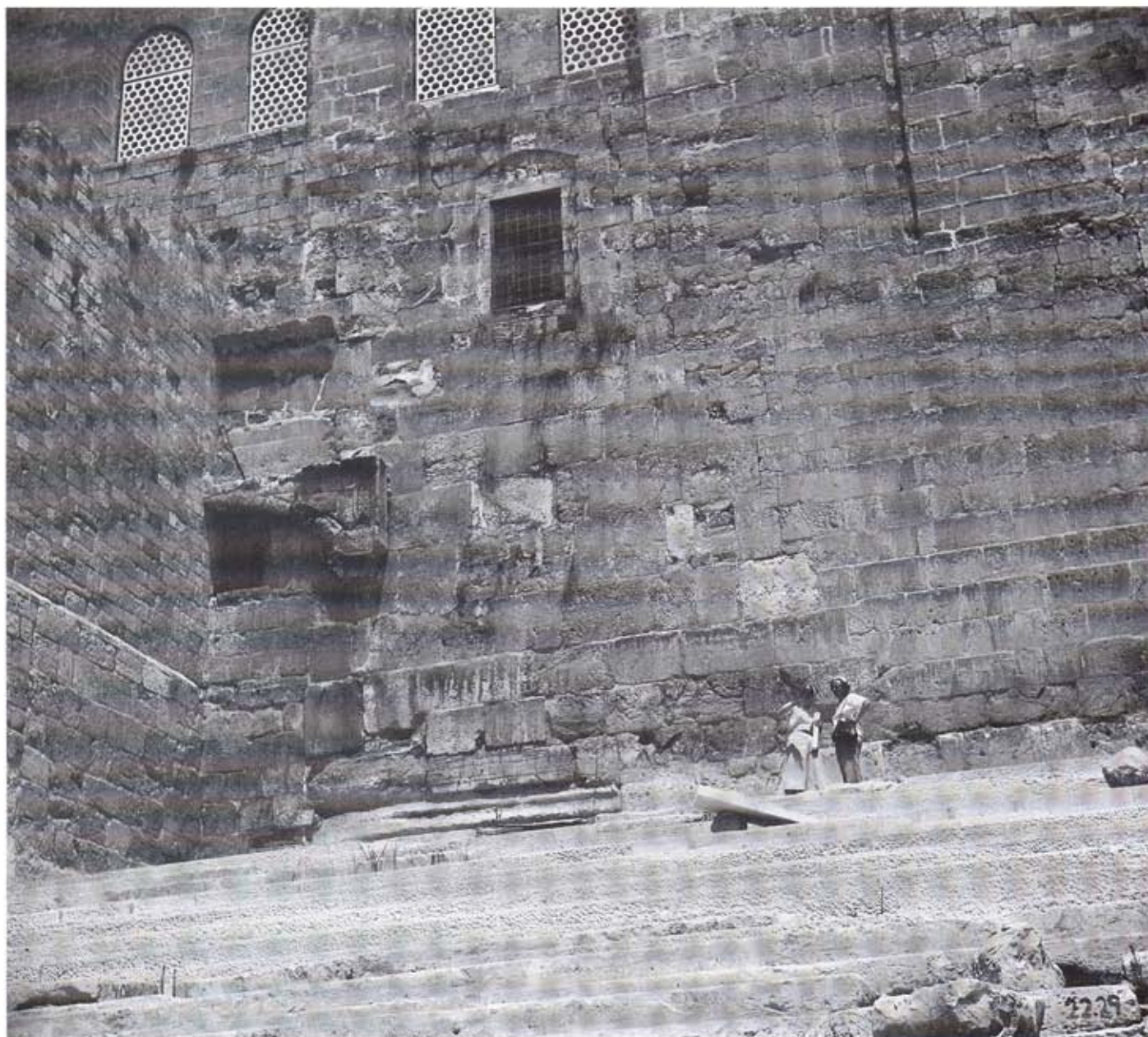
Salampsio

"One of them, Salampsio, was given in marriage by her father [Herod the Great] to Phasael, her cousin, the son of Herod's brother Phasael" (Antiq. 18:130).

Salampsio is introduced by the words "one of them," that is, one of Herod's daughters by



Mariamme, identifying Salampsio as the descendant of Herod the Great, the reigning king, and of the Hasmonean dynasty, the hereditary heirs to the throne. This double royal lineage is part of what Herod "gave" when he gave Salampsio in marriage.



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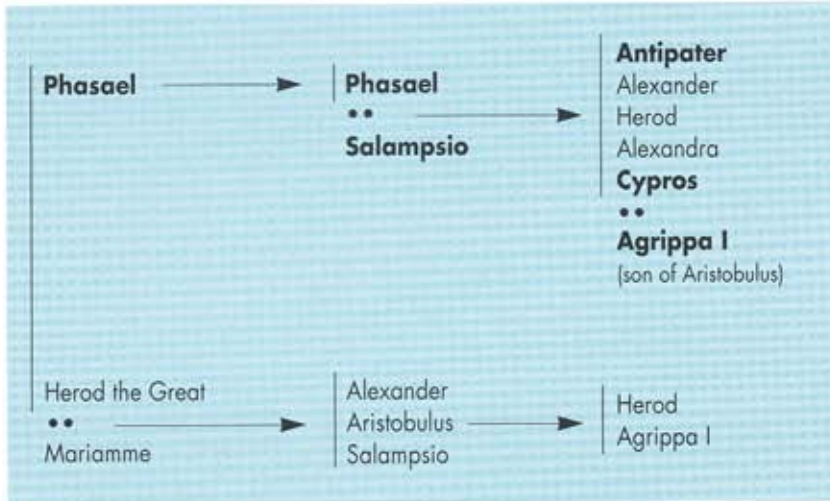
The groom, Phasael, is the only recorded son of Phasael, eldest son of Antipater the Idumaeen. Antipater was procurator of Judaea

(47–43 B.C.E.) during the reign of Hyrcanus II. In that capacity, he had appointed his eldest son, Phasael, governor of Jerusalem, and his second son, Herod, governor of Galilee.

Political appointments are not hereditary. Phasael the younger was not heir to the governorship of Jerusalem. He was, however, the eldest son of the eldest son of Antipater and, as such, heir to the social standing of this eminent Idumaeen family. It is not coincidental that Antipater, the eldest son of Phasael and Salampsio, bears the name of his great-grandfather.

Cypros

"By Salampsio Phasael had three sons—Antipater, Alexander, and Herod—and two daughters—Alexandra and Cypros. Cypros' husband was Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus..." (Antiq. 18:131).



JOSEPH FRANKOVIC

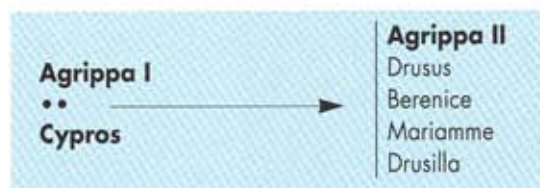
Here Josephus uses a patrilineal identification: He identifies the issue of the union between Phasael and Salampsio as the sons and daughters of Phasael "by Salampsio," and Agrippa I is identified as "the son of Aristobulus" (see chart on p. 14).

Eventually, Agrippa I reigned over all of what had been his grandfather's kingdom. What appears to be missing is the patrilineal link between Herod the Great and his son Aristobulus. If the kingdom was to pass to one of the Hasmonean descendants, according to the Torah, it would pass to Alexander's branch, for he was the eldest of Herod the Great's sons by Mariamme (Deut. 21:15–17; *Antiq.* 4:249–250). Agrippa I was the second-born son of the second-born son. Josephus avoids linking Agrippa I directly to Herod the Great because Agrippa I did not acquire the kingdom as an inheritance, rather he received it as a grant. (In 37 C.E. Caligula granted him his first kingdom, the former tetrarchy of Philip. In 40 C.E. Caligula added the former tetrarchy of Herod Antipas to Agrippa's kingdom. In 41 C.E. Claudius gave him the former ethnarchy of Archelaus.)

Among the offspring of Phasael and Salampsio, Alexander, Herod and Alexandra died childless (*Antiq.* 18:131, 138). This left Antipater, head of this branch of the Idumaeen family, and Cypros, who was married to Agrippa I.

Agrippa II

"By Agrippa Cypros had two sons, named Agrippa and Drusus, and three daughters, Berenice, Mariamme, and Drusilla" (*Antiq.* 18:132).



Josephus now uses a matrilineal identification. (The Greek text even lists the daughters before the sons.) He identifies the five offspring of the union as the daughters and sons of Cypros "by Agrippa," that is to say, the mother is transmitting something that is not covered by the biblical laws of inheritance—the right to the Hasmonean throne!

Agrippa II is the eldest son of Agrippa I. As his father's eldest son, he was heir to the kingdom. When Agrippa I died (44 C.E.), Claudius resolved to give the throne to Agrippa II; how-

Illustrated Chart

THE HOUSE OF HEROD THE GREAT

This handsome and useful chart was prepared by Anna Iamim for students of the Second Temple period and its literature. The chart traces the transition from Hasmonean to Herodian rule, then presents the entire House of Herod the Great. Genealogical information, based on the works of the first-century Jewish historian Josephus, is presented in a clear and convenient format. Dates, political appointments and territorial grants are listed.

Included with each chart is a four-page introduction to the background, structure and content of political genealogy. The text also identifies the "Herodians," referred to in the New Testament

Dimensions: 50 x 70 cm (19 3/4" x 27 3/4"), suitable for framing.

TO ORDER

Send US\$15.00 per chart (check or money order) to Anna Iamim, P.O. Box 10512, Jerusalem 91105, Israel. (Price includes shipping and handling.)
Checks should be made payable to "Anna Iamim."

ever, as Agrippa II was only sixteen, Claudius was dissuaded from doing so, and instead reinstated direct Roman rule.

Four years later, when Herod king of Chalcis died, Claudius assigned the deceased's kingdom to his nephew and brother-in-law, Agrippa II (*Antiq.* 20:104). In 53 C.E., Claudius took away Chalcis from Agrippa II, but gave him a larger kingdom, whose borders essentially coincided with those of the first kingdom of Agrippa I. In 61 C.E., Nero enlarged the kingdom of Agrippa II, stretching its borders south toward Judaea. While Agrippa II was not to reign over Judaea, he was present and active in Jerusalem, particularly in Temple affairs, until the Great Revolt (66–70 C.E.). After the Great Revolt, Vespasian enlarged Agrippa's kingdom, stretching its borders far to the north (see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ [175 B.C.–A.D. 135]*, ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Matthew Black [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973], 1:477–479).

Opposite page:
The majestic sweep of the monumental stairway located at the foot of the Temple Mount's southern wall. First-century pilgrims such as Jesus approached the Temple Mount by these stairs. The wide landings between flights of steps produced a slow, reverent ascent. In the distance to the east can be seen the Mount of Olives' southern slopes.

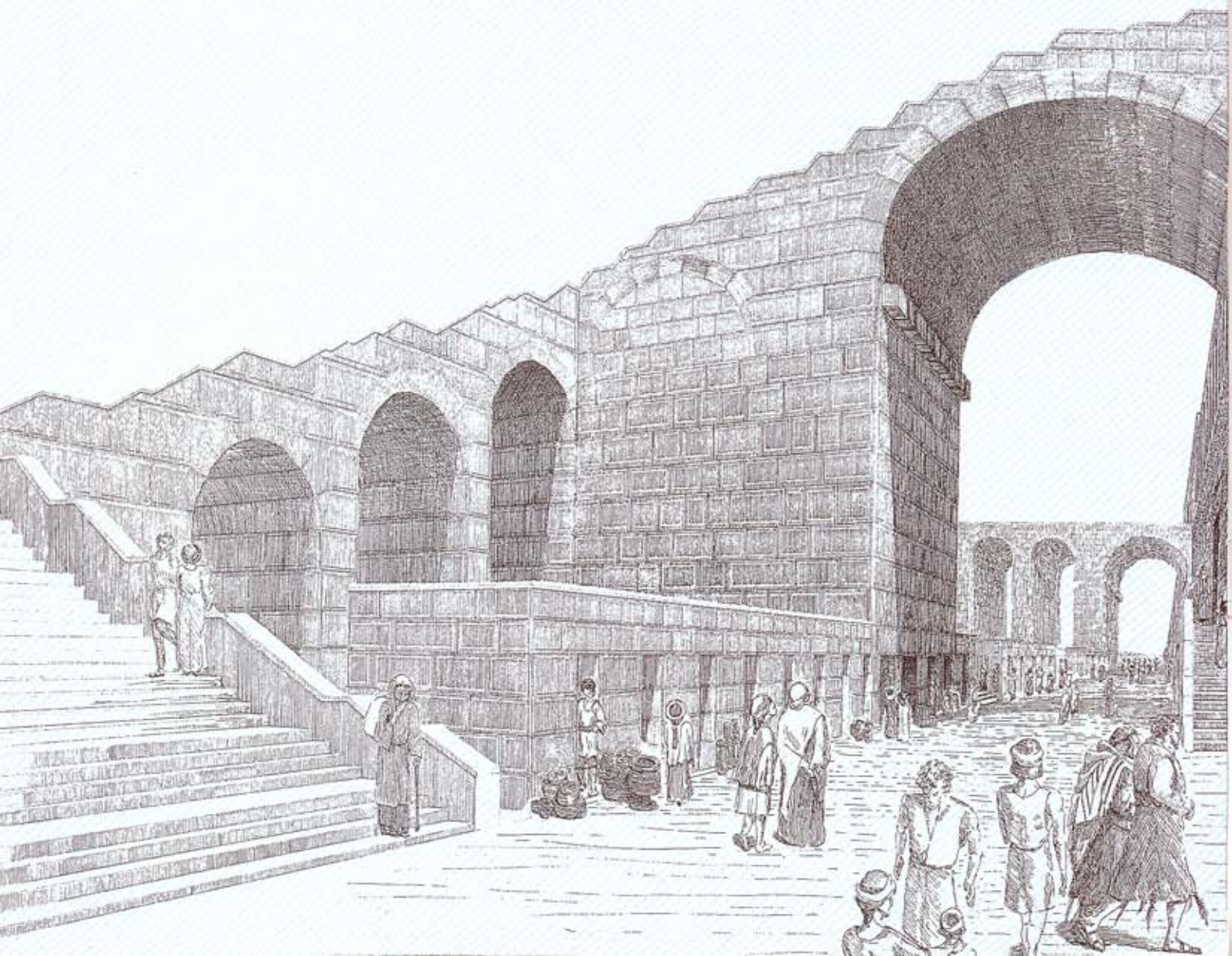
Put yourself in the picture!

Imagine yourself standing on Valley Street, about 65 meters south of the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, late in the morning of an ordinary day between 10 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. The broad stairway to your left leads over a series of arches, the last and highest of which is known today as Robinson's Arch. This stairway leads to the Royal Stoa, also known as Solomon's Colonnade or Portico (John 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12), a huge hall that stretches along the top of the Temple platform's southern wall (see illustration on pp. 30–31).

The Valley Street runs from Damascus Gate in the north, passes by Antonia Fortress (at the northwest corner of the Temple Mount), and continues south to Siloam Pool in the City of David, at the junction of the Kidron and Tyropean Valleys. The street is flanked on both sides by shops. When excavated (since 1968), these shops yielded the finds one would expect—coins, storage jars and stone weights.

Through Robinson's Arch you can see Wilson's Arch, which forms the eastern part of a bridge that connects the upper city on the western hill with the Temple Mount.

On the pavement beside a manhole, you see an employee of the Department of Public Works. Herod the Great's urban renewal includes not only vast building projects above ground, but also an extensive system for water collection and drainage.





Josephus and Agrippa II

Josephus and Agrippa II were in contact on many occasions at the beginning of the Great Revolt—parts of the Galilee belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa II, and Josephus was the Jewish general in charge of fortifying the Galilee. Agrippa II remained loyal to the Romans during the Revolt; and Josephus cooperated with them after his capture. The lives of Josephus and Agrippa continued in tandem throughout the time that Josephus' *Histories*, which Agrippa II read and approved in writing, were being published (ca. 93/94 C.E.).

Why did Josephus go to such lengths in constructing Agrippa's genealogy, building into it matrilineal descent? We do not have certain knowledge of Josephus' motives. When he wrote his *Histories* at the end of the first century C.E., he was enjoying imperial patronage, living in Rome in Vespasian's former palace and receiving a Roman pension. If this genealogy does, as it seems, represent Josephus' hopes for the renewal of Israelite temporal government in the land, he cloaked these hopes in terms that would escape Roman eyes—in Israelite genealogy.

JP

SYMBOLS

- married
- | offspring

Quotations of Josephus are from the *Loeb Classical Library* edition (London: William Heinemann Ltd., and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–1965).

“Lilies of

In his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus mentioned “lilies of the field.” Tulips, poppies, daisies and other wildflowers have been suggested as candidates for “lilies of the field.”

Article and photographs by Gloria E.M. Suess

Did tall white lilies once grow in the fields and terraces of central Judea or near the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee? They don't today, and that is why many believe that the “lilies of the field” in Matthew 6:28 and Luke 12:27 does not refer to the beautiful and now rare **Madonna Lily, *Lilium candidum***.

This spectacular wildflower is found today in a few nooks and crannies in the high valleys of upper Western Galilee and Mt. Hermon, where it blooms in the month of May. Three to ten large snow-white blossoms are grouped along the top of a stem two to four feet tall. They remain open day and night; their heavy sweet scent increases in the darkness. The present-day “Easter lily” originated from this wild species and is forced into bloom for the holiday by hothouse methods.

Medieval Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land revered the Madonna Lily as a symbol of holiness and purity. Artists such as Titian,

Lippi and Botticelli included it in paintings of the Virgin Mary. A seventeenth-century papal edict gave the lily official religious confirmation. It was sought and over-picked to near extinction.

In modern Hebrew this lily is called שושן צהור (*sho-SHAN tsa-HOR*, pure white lily). The word שושנה (*sho-sha-NAH*) is translated “lily” in several places in the Hebrew Scriptures, but the word could refer to other trumpet-shaped wildflowers of Israel, such as the fragrant blue hyacinth (also of the lily family). Moreover, there is no certainty that שושני (*sho-sha-NIM*, pl. of *sho-sha-NAH*) is the Hebrew word behind the Greek κρίνα (*krina*, lilies) of the Gospel references.

The lily's preference for secluded valleys has discredited it as a flower of the field. Several wildflowers native to Israel have been suggested in its place for “lilies of the field” in Matthew 6 and Luke 12.

Opposite page:
Scarlet Crowfoot,
Ranunculus asiaticus.

the Field”





Dog Chamomile,
Anthemis.

Other Candidates

Scarlet Crowfoot, *Ranunculus asiaticus*, is a member of the buttercup family and sometimes called Turban Buttercup. Its Hebrew name, נֹרִית אֲסִיָּה (nu-RIT 'as-YAH), means "little lamp of Asia." It grows abundantly throughout Israel, equally at home in mountains, fields and desertlands. Blooming from March through May, its five petals are a bright red, so glossy that they seem to sparkle in the sunshine. This crowfoot is a likely candidate for "flowers of the field" of the Scriptures, as well as "lilies of the field."

Corn Poppy, *Papaver subpyriforme*, פָּפָוֶר אֲגָסָנִי (pa-RAG 'a-ga-sa-NI), is another good candidate for the above terms. It too grows throughout Israel, sometimes coloring whole fields brilliant orange-red. The four silky petals bear at the base a characteristic black-blotch edged with white. The poppy blooms from March through May; its fragile blossoms live briefly, generally two days.

Mountain Tulip, *Tulipa montana*, is a member of the lily family. Its blossoms appear March through April, bearing six bright red petals with green and yellow markings at the base. The Hebrew name, צִבְעוֹן הַהָרִים (tsi-'o-NI he-ha-RIM), means "colorful one of the mountains." It, like the Madonna Lily, grows mainly in hilly terrain.

Crown Anemone, *Anemone coronaria*, also known as Windflower, grows abundantly in hills, valleys and fields throughout Israel. Its six to nine velvety petals are usually a deep red, but there are also white, pink and lavender varieties. In modern Hebrew it is called כְּלָנִיָּה (ka-la-NIT, little bride). This anemone has been more recently "traditionally" regarded as the lily of the field; however, it blooms from December to March and shrivels too soon to be gathered as kindling with the dry grasses of the field in the summer season.

Sword Lily, *Gladiolus*, סִיפֵן (se-FAN), has two varieties indigenous to Israel that are non-red candidates for "lilies of the field." *Gladiolus atrovioleaceus*, סִיפֵן סָלָל (se-FAN sa-GOL), bears rosy-purple blossoms, and *Gladiolus italicus*, סִיפֵן הַתְּבוּאָה (se-FAN ha-te-vu-AH), has deep pink. These are known also by the common name, Corn Flag. They appear in meadows and grainfields from March through May. An interesting feature of this flower is its contractile roots. When disturbed by the old plowing methods, the roots drew the corms back into place. However, the roots cannot escape modern deep plowing that overturns the soil. The gladiola is a member of the iris family, and the Arabic word for iris in Israel is *susan*, similar to sho-SHAN.

Dog Chamomile, *Anthemis*, קָדָן (kah-VAN), has more than twenty varieties in Israel. This member of the daisy family blooms from January to June throughout the land. It is quite distinctive from the previous candidates, having many branches with small blossoms. Often under foot along paths and roadsides, this daisy is usually taken for granted. When viewed seriously, the brilliant white outer petals and golden-yellow center are very beautiful. Helen Frenckley, Director

of Neot Kedumim Biblical Landscape Reserve in Israel, recalls having seen Arab villagers gathering the dry stalks for kindling. She also has noted that this simple daisy qualifies for Jesus' use of the humble and commonplace in his teachings.

Flowers of the Field

Several of the wildflowers above also suit "flowers of the field" in Isaiah 40:6–8 and Psalm 103:15–16. In these passages the Hebrew word for "flowers" is *tsits* (צִיט). It is used in Exodus 28:36, which tells how Aaron's rod "blossomed." A closely related word *tsi-TSIT* (צִי-צִיט) is the fringe of the talith. Indeed, a blossom is like a fringe or tassel extending from a branch.

The parallelism in Isaiah 40 and Psalm 103 is strikingly similar to that used by Jesus in his teaching in Matthew and Luke. He may well have had those Scriptures in mind, thus referring to wildflowers in general and not any single one in particular.

Israel can boast of seemingly countless

varieties of flowers. Many species of flower families (lily, iris and crowfoot, for example) originated here. Multitudes straggled in by natural processes from Mediterranean lands, Asia, and Africa. Others from more distant lands were brought in as cultivated flowers. Mountain, plain, desert and tropical plants found acceptable conditions in the diversity of the terrain.

Field flowers were well known and abundantly accessible to the people of Second Temple Israel. Their lives depended much upon agriculture of the open fields and terraced foothills.

The overwhelming beauty of the blossoms as they mingle with wild grasses and other herbage, and the brevity of their lives—the blossoms, a few days; the plants, green a few months at most—are the points Jesus makes in his lesson. God the Creator has adorned these brief and seemingly valueless parts of his creation very beautifully. He is much more willing and able to clothe and adorn man, whom he created in his own image with an eternal soul.

*Madonna Lily,
Lilium candidum.*

JP





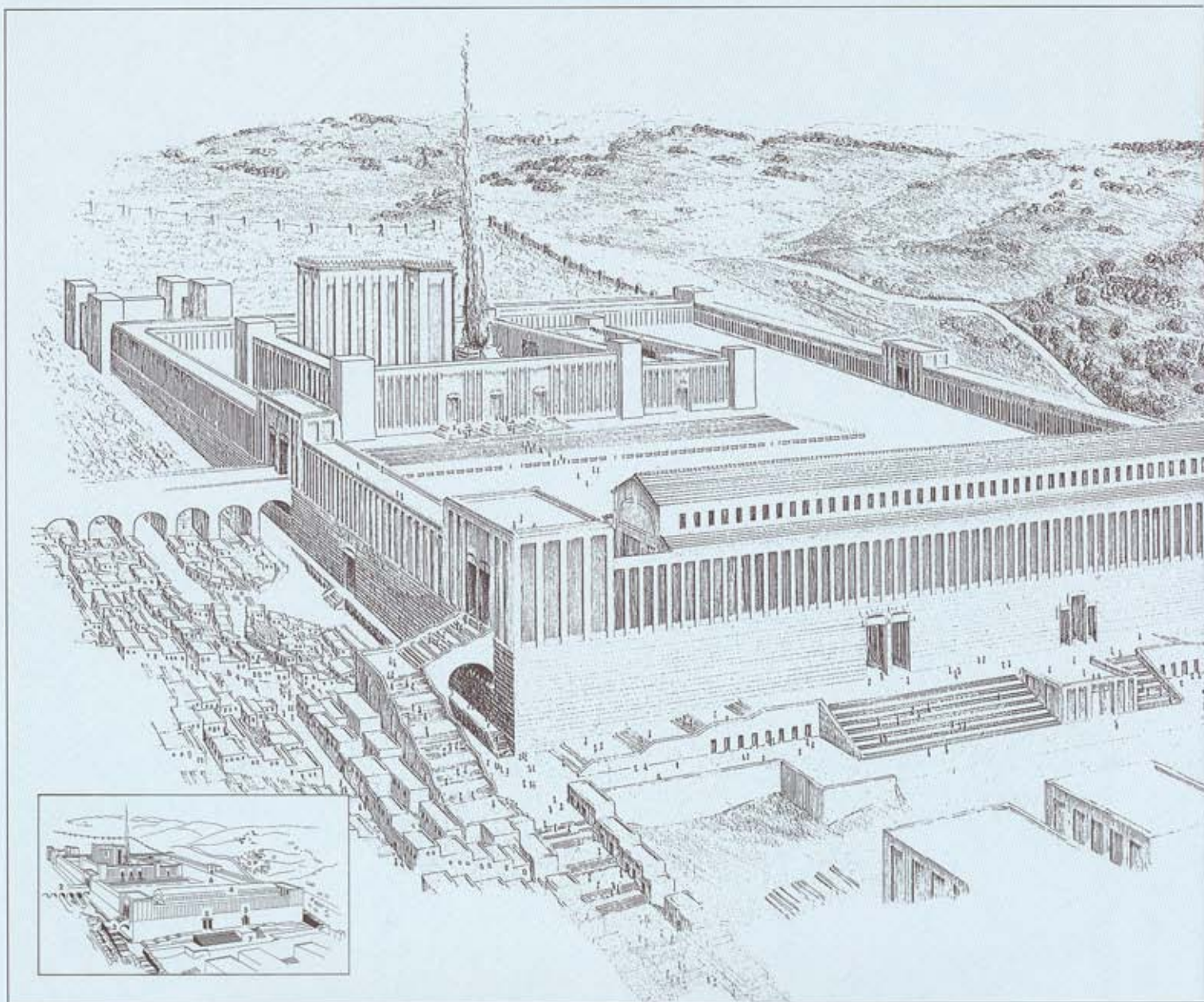
Right:
Mountain Tulip,
Tulipa montana.

Below:
Crown Anemone,
Anemone coronaria.

Opposite page:
Corn poppy,
Papaver subpyriforme.







Reconstruction of the Temple Mount

This drawing was done several years after the reconstruction on pages 30–31. Differences in detail are the result of archaeologists' expanding knowledge as excavations near the Temple Mount progressed.

- 1 Temple sanctuary
- 2 Wilson's Arch
- 3 Robinson's Arch
- 4 The Royal Portico

Remember Shiloh!

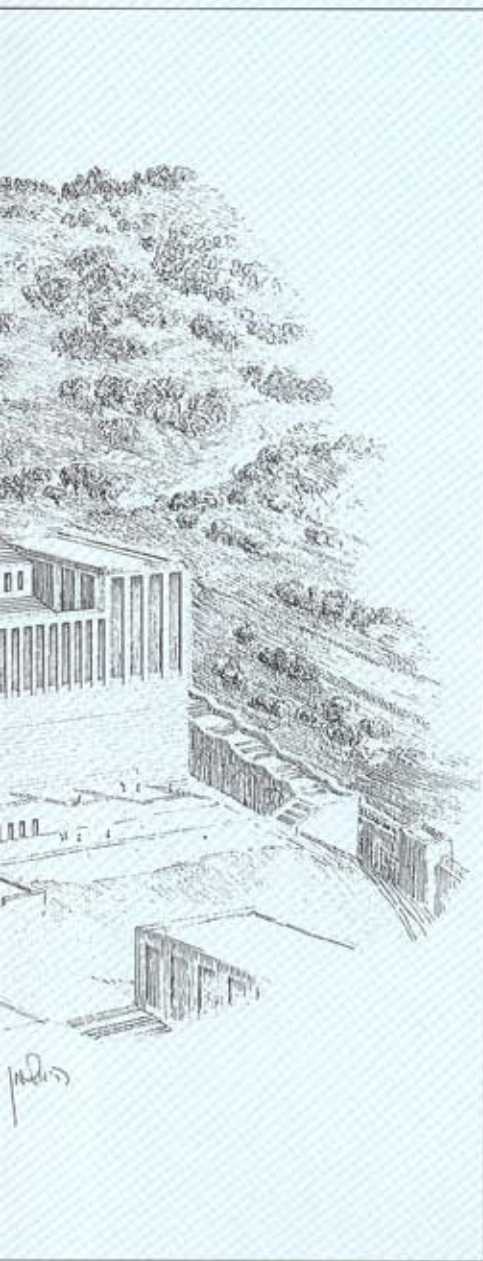
by Joseph Frankovic

Without paying attention to ancient Jewish exegesis one can easily miss the full impact of Jesus' statement, "den of thieves." Was Jesus solely addressing the vendors, or was he aiming at bigger game?

A fascinating passage for gaining a glimpse at how Jesus manipulated biblical texts to communicate effectively to fellow Jews in the first century is the Cleansing of the Temple. The episode is recorded in all four of the Gospels;¹ however, in Luke it is very concise. His description is characteristic of Hebrew prose—fast moving and terse.

Quotation from Isaiah

Approaching the outer court of the Temple, Jesus turned aside to chide the vendors,² who were capitalizing on a surge in business as throngs of pilgrims entered Jerusalem for the approaching Passover.³ He was speaking to people who knew from rote memory extensive segments of the sacred text. Moreover, some were peers, professionals like himself who were experts in the Scriptures. Therefore, one should anticipate a degree of sophistication in Jesus' manner of speech.⁴



ANNA JAMINA

- 5 The Huldah Gates
- 6 Outer courtyard of Temple
- 7 Ritual bathhouse

Excerpting a sentence from a marvelous passage in Isaiah, Jesus powerfully communicated what the Temple was ideally meant to be. The passage reads as follows:

Also the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD, to minister to Him, and to love the name of the LORD, to be His servants, every one who keeps from profaning the Sabbath, and holds fast My covenant; even those I will bring to My holy mountain, and make them joyful in My house of prayer. Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be acceptable on My altar; for My house will be called a house of prayer for all the peoples.⁵

When Jesus said three words, בֵּיתִי בֵּית תְּפִלָּה (be-TI bet te-fi-LAH, my house is a house of prayer), from Isaiah 56:7, many in the audience, particularly scribes and priests, recalled their context, which has been quoted above. The people were poignantly reminded of the noble purpose that God had envisioned for his Temple.

The monumental stairway and other architectural remains unearthed in archaeological excavations conducted along the Temple Mount's southern wall.

Quotation from Jeremiah

Immediately after quoting Isaiah, Jesus said, "But you have made [my house] a den of robbers!" The phrase "den of robbers," מְקוֹם פָּרְצִים (me-a-RAT pa-ri-TSIM), comes from Jeremiah 7:11, where the prophet asks, "Has this house... become a den of robbers in your sight?" Jesus changed Jeremiah's rhetorical question to a straightforward indictment. The Temple, which was intended to be a place where all peoples could worship, had degenerated into a place of profiteering. The message is obvious. But was this all Jesus was saying? Was he solely addressing the vendors and no other culpable party?

Reading the larger context of Jeremiah 7:11, one encounters the following:

Thus says the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, "Amend your ways and your deeds, and I will let you dwell in this place.... Will you steal, murder and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and offer sacrifices to Baal,



JOSEPH FRANKOVIC

and walk after other gods that you have not known, then come and stand before Me in this house which is called by My name, and say, 'We are delivered!'—that you may do all these abominations? Has this house, which is called by My name, become a den of robbers in your sight? Behold, I, even I, have seen it.... But go now to My place which was in Shiloh, where I made My name dwell at the first, and see what I did to it because of the wickedness of my people Israel...I will do to the house which is called by My name, in which you trust, and to the place which I gave you and your fathers, as I did in Shiloh."⁶

The phrase "den of robbers" prompted the minds of the scribes and priests to supply the surrounding verses. Indeed, they were surprised. With two words, מְעֵרַת פִּרְצִים (*me-a-RAT pa-ri-TSIM*, den of robbers), Jesus not only addressed the merchants, whose interests were too focused on profits, but he censured the aristocratic, priestly authorities themselves. They were the root of the problem. The vendors were merely symptomatic of it. Lifting vocabulary from Jeremiah 7:11, which is followed by two verses where Shiloh is mentioned, Jesus hinted that the Temple in Jerusalem would be destroyed just as the sanctuary at Shiloh had been.

In Shiloh the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, abused their priestly privileges. God's wrath flared against the priests of the House of Eli with the result that Eli and his sons died on the day that Israel was defeated by the Philistines at Aphek.⁷ Moreover, the biblical and archaeological records indicate that the Philistines continued their campaign and torched Shiloh.⁸ An allusion to the impending destruction of the Temple is the punch behind the two words, מְעֵרַת פִּרְצִים (*me-a-RAT pa-ri-TSIM*, den of robbers), which Jesus said that fateful day. More so than any other event recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, this incident just outside the Temple courts contributed to Jesus' death in Jerusalem. The Temple authorities could not tolerate being denounced publicly by a Galilean sage behaving like a prophet. Their livelihood and basis of power were derived from the Temple, and they were prepared to conspire against any who proclaimed its imminent ruin.⁹

The Connection

Of all the verses Jesus could have chosen, why did he juxtapose Isaiah 56:7 with Jeremiah 7:11? Other passages speak about the glory of the Temple or how the people

had profaned it. Such utterances are in no short supply in the mouths of the prophets. The key is likely the expression, "my house," בֵּיתִי (*be-TI*). Jewish teachers in the time of Jesus were fond of juxtaposing passages that shared a common word or phrase. For example, in Luke 10:27 a lawyer combined Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18. Both of these verses contain the phrase, וְאַהַבְתָּ (ve-a-hav-TA, And you shall love). The appearance of *ve-a-hav-TA* in both verses, although not the only reason, certainly helped inspire the lawyer to fuse them when responding to Jesus' question, "What is written in the Torah?"

The same phenomenon occurs in Luke 19:46 with the expression, "my house," בֵּיתִי (*be-TI*). This expression is found in Isaiah 56:7. But does it appear in Jeremiah 7:11? The Hebrew Masoretic text, from which English translations of the Old Testament are made, reads, "this house" (הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה, *ha-BA-yit ha-ZEH*); however, the ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, known as the Septuagint¹⁰ has, "my house" (ὁ οἶκος μου, *ho oikos mou*). This suggests that Jesus had learned Jeremiah 7:11 according to the tradition preserved in the Septuagint rather than that preserved in the Masoretic text—the shared expression "my house" would have been an attractive reason for Jesus to combine the verses.

Conclusion

This article has introduced the reader to two modes of scriptural interpretation that Jesus employed when teaching. Jesus liked to hint at a verse of Scripture by lifting vocabulary from it. By doing so, he was able to marshal the full force of the verse's context with only a word or two.¹¹ Saying "den of robbers" was tantamount to saying that the Temple would be judged like the holy site at Shiloh. This style of teaching presupposes a high level of scriptural literacy among the audience.¹² A second technique that Jesus employed in order to energize a verse of Scripture was to combine it with another verse that shared the same word or phrase. This gave new meaning to both verses as each was understood afresh in the light of the

The Temple authorities could not tolerate being denounced publicly by a Galilean sage behaving like a prophet.

A modern pilgrim ascends the monumental stairway (in the process of being restored) at the Temple Mount's southern wall. When this photograph was taken, in April 1968, the southern wall excavations had been in progress for only a few weeks.



DAVID BIVIN

other. In Luke 19:46 the common word also added cohesion to a stunning contrast, "My house is a house of prayer, but you have made my house a den of robbers!"

Living nearly twenty centuries after Jesus, Christians in the modern Western world can easily miss the subtleties of his teaching. There are daunting cultural, religious, and temporal ravines between today's world and that which Jesus knew. Nevertheless, with a commitment to the biblical languages and texts of ancient

Judaism they can be bridged, and the freshness, genius, and, at times, shock of many of Jesus' words can be reclaimed.

JP

Saying "den of robbers" was tantamount to saying that the Temple would be judged like the holy site at Shiloh.

1. See Mt. 21:12–13; Mk. 11:15–18; Lk. 19:45–46; Jn. 2:13–17.

2. Robert Lindsey believes that behind the Greek word ἐκβάλλειν (*ekballein*, to drive out, expel), is the Hebrew לְהוֹצִיא (*le-ho-TSP*, to bring out, take out). See his *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Dugith Publishers, 1973), p. 133; and Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897; repr. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987), 1:420. The Syriac text of Luke 19:45 supports Lindsey's view. Both the Old Syriac (Sinai Palimpsest) and Peshitta versions give the Aph'el infinitive of the root פִּעַל (*n-f-k*) with a "ל" prefix. This is the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew *le-ho-TSP*.

Like *ekballein*, *le-ho-TSP* has a range of nuances. (See Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 4th ed., trans. and ed. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1957], pp. 236–237; and Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* [repr. New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950], pp. 587–588.) The English translation, “to drive out,” though suitable at times for *ekballein*, is a bit strong for the Hebrew *le-ho-TSP*. According to Luke’s account, Jesus did not forcefully drive out the vendors from the area. He may have expelled them (without resorting to brute force) or simply summoned them out of their shops where he began speaking to them and others who had gathered around. Mark’s overthrowing of tables and chairs (Mk. 11:15) is probably an attempt to clarify which nuance of *ekballein* he wanted his readers to understand. Matthew followed Mark’s lead. The trend culminated with John’s description of Jesus driving out the people with a whip (Jn. 2:15). After teaching publicly for some time, Jesus had become a highly respected moral figure. It was enough that he spoke in a stern manner. Note the way that Jesus handled the incident recorded in Luke 4:29–30, passing unharmed through the enraged residents of Nazareth. There was an aura of authority that accompanied Jesus’ presence.

3. See Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke in The International Critical Commentary* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896), p. 453.

4. Another incident where Jesus is involved in a professional dialogue with a peer is the episode in Luke 10:25–37, where he tells the Parable of the Good Samaritan in order to clarify who is one’s neighbor. See Jacob Mann, “Jesus and the Sadducean Priests: Luke 10:25–37,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 6 (1914), 415–422; and Brad H. Young, *Jesus and His Jewish Parables: Rediscovering the Roots of Jesus’ Teaching* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989), pp. 239–241, 269–270.

5. Isaiah 56:6–7 from the *New American Standard Bible*.

6. Jeremiah 7:3, 9–11, 14 from the *New American Standard Bible*.

7. See 1 Samuel 4:1–22.

8. Compare Jeremiah 26:9 and Psalm 78:60. See Israel Finkelstein, “Shilo,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993), 4:1364, 1368.

9. The New Testament, Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, and rabbinic literature, indicate that the aristocratic high priests were motivated by self-interests. One cannot stress enough that it was they who persuaded the Romans to execute Jesus (cf. Lk. 24:20). The priests who were responsible for Jesus’ arrest constituted a small circle of individuals (see David Flusser, “...To Bury Caiaphas, Not to Praise Him,” *Jerusalem Perspective* [Jul.–Oct. 1991], 23–28).

10. The Septuagint dates from the second-century B.C.

11. Compare Luke 11:20 and Exodus 8:19. Using the expression “finger of God,” Jesus cleverly rejoined those who were opposing him. Pagan magicians at Pharaoh’s court could recognize God’s power, but his opponents could not. (This example was brought to the author’s attention by Brad Young.)

12. Cf. Hayim Goren Perelmuter, *Siblings: Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity at Their Beginnings* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989), p. 14.

Where Were the Vendors?

Nearly all New Testament commentaries identify the outer-most court of the Temple, sometimes referred to as the Court of the Gentiles, as the location for the “Cleansing of the Temple” incident. It seems odd, however, that buying and selling would have been permitted even in this court. Professor Shmuel Safrai states that it is unthinkable that any commercial activity took place in the Temple courts, including the Court of the Gentiles. It was not even permitted to ascend the Temple Mount with a purse (Mishnah, Berachot 9:5). Safrai maintains that the most likely places for the “Cleansing” are the Royal Portico or the shops in the vicinity of the southern stairway (private communication).

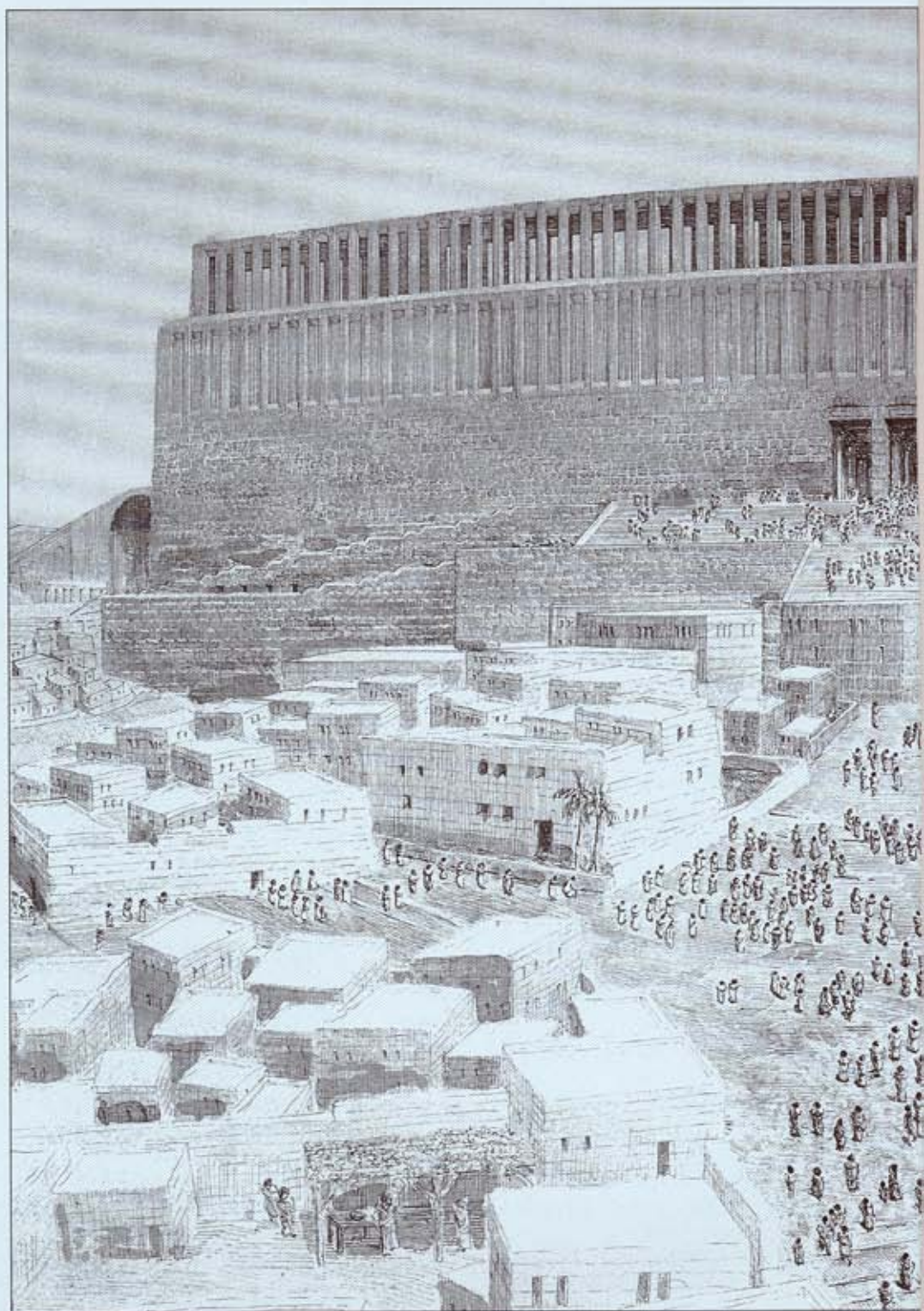
One would expect that worshippers approaching the Temple first passed the vendors, then proceeded to public *mikvaot* where they could ritually immerse, climbed the massive southern stairway, entered the Huldah Gates (compare Mishnah, Middot 1:3), and ascended an underground ramp from which they exited into the Court of the Gentiles. Shops built into vaults supporting a walkway running flush with the southern wall from its western to eastern corner have been found in archaeological excavations. The southern stairway ascended to this walkway opposite the Huldah Gates. (See the reconstruction of the southern wall on pp. 30–31.) The vendors mentioned in Luke 19:45 may have been conducting business in the shops built into the vaults adjacent to the stairway. (See Hillel Geva, “Jerusalem” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993], 2:739–740.)

Two other sites within the Temple environs where business transactions occurred were the halls of the Royal Portico and the shops around the base of Robinson’s Arch. (See Meir Ben-Dov, *The Ophel Archaeological Garden* [Jerusalem: East Jerusalem Development Ltd., 1987], pp. 13–14.) – J. F.

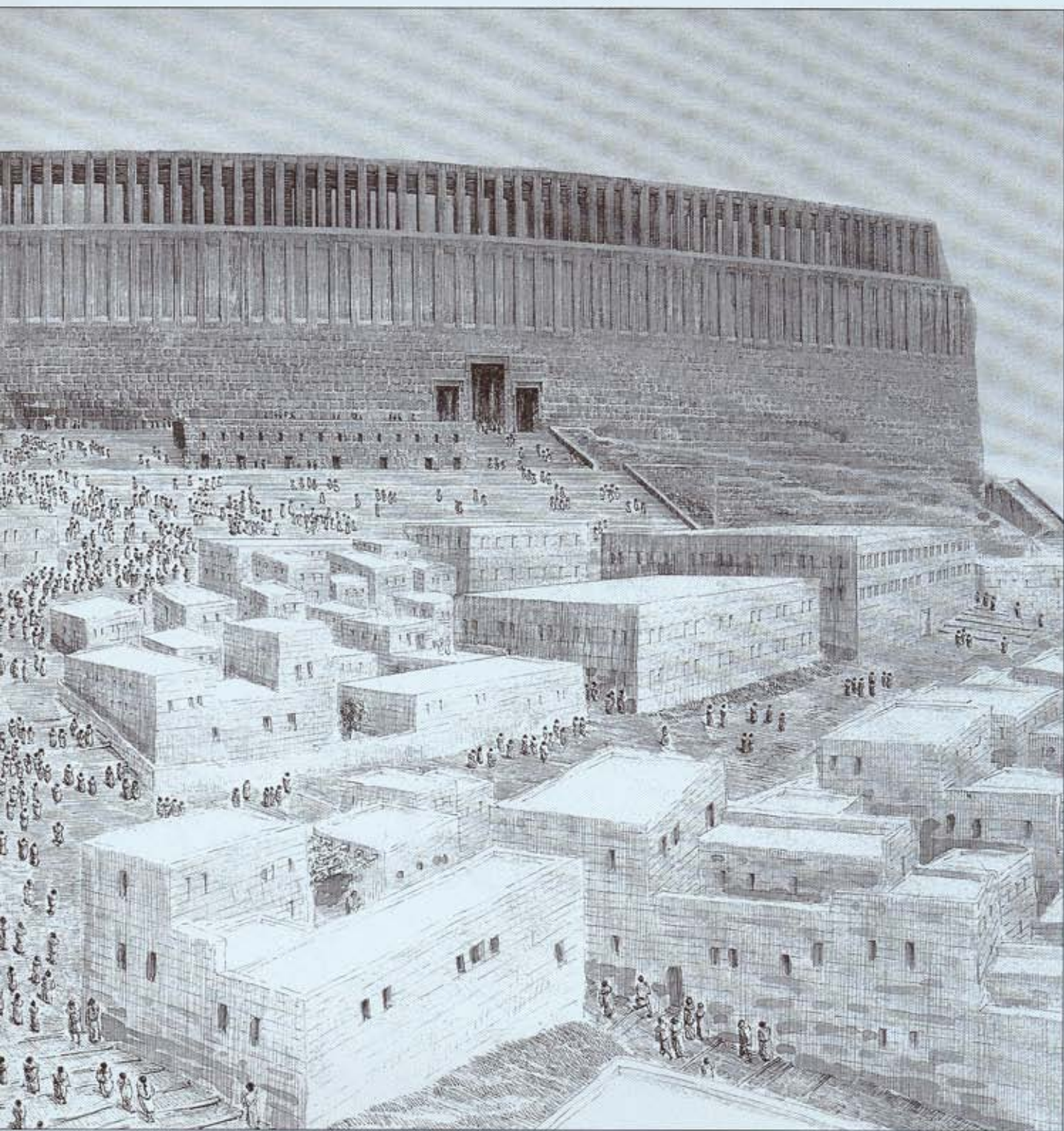
Going Up to the Temple

In the days of David and Solomon, the city of Jerusalem covered only the southern spur of Mount Moriah. When David built the altar and Solomon the Temple, the people climbed up the mount from the south. When the city later spread to the western hill, this tradition was not broken and the southern wall of the Temple Mount continued to serve as the monumental entrance or approach.

The roof of the Royal Portico, stretching the length of the southern wall, is curved. The perspective of this reconstruction drawing has been manipulated by the artist, Anna Jamim, to allow the viewer to enter the picture and see it from within. The theoretical "eye of the viewer" is placed at a distance of 185 meters south of the wall, at the eye level of someone standing on the stairs leading to the western Huldah Gates. In this position, one has to turn one's head from side to side in order to see the full length of the wall. If you place your eye opposite the "x" and very close to the picture, so close that you cannot see its full length without rotating your eyes, you will find that the distortion disappears.



- 1 The stairway that leads over Robinson's Arch to the Royal Portico
- 2 Walkway
- 3 The Huldah Gates (Both the Double Gate and the Triple Gate lead to passages that ascend to the Temple's outer court.)



ANNA JAMM

- 4 The Royal Portico
- 5 Shops
- 6 Staircase leading to chambers under the southeastern corner of the Temple's outer court
- 7 Ritual bathhouse



Πέτρος...

Matthew 16:18: The *Petros-petra* Wordplay— Greek, Aramaic, or Hebrew?

by David Bivin

The pinnacle of the Gospel story may be Jesus' dramatic statement, "You are *Petros* and on this *petra* I will build my Church." The saying seems to contain an obvious Greek wordplay, indicating that Jesus spoke in Greek. However, it is possible that "*Petros...petra*" is a Hebrew wordplay.

• ΠΕΤΡΑ

The recognition that the Synoptic Gospels are derived from a Semitic source or sources seems essential to any productive methodology of interpretation. Scholars of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research have found that often unless one translates the Greek texts of the Synoptic Gospels to Hebrew, one cannot fully understand their meaning. For example, when the Beatitudes (Mt. 5:3–10) are translated to Hebrew, one sees that they are not eschatological, but, like the beatitudes of the Hebrew Scriptures,¹ speak of rewards in the here and now.

Greek Wordplay?

The Greek words πέτρος (*petros*) and πέτρα (*petra*) employed by Jesus in Matthew 16:18 make a nice wordplay. This Greek wordplay appears to be a direct contradiction to the Jerusalem School's assumption that Jesus taught in Hebrew. If Jesus delivered this saying in Hebrew, as Jerusalem School scholars assume, how could it have contained a Greek wordplay?

Some scholars have suggested an Aramaic background to Jesus' saying. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Professor Emeritus of The Catholic University of American in Washington, D.C., and one of the world's most distinguished New Testament scholars, suggests that Jesus employed an Aramaic wordplay (*Kepha*–*kepha*) in his

response to Peter's declaration.² However, Fitzmyer acknowledges a difficulty: He wonders why the Matthean Jesus did not say, "on this *petros* I will build...."³ This difficulty is a product of Fitzmyer's Aramaic reconstruction. He has been forced in Aramaic to reconstruct Jesus' wordplay using only one word;⁴ therefore, he is unable to preserve the wordplay reflected in Greek, a play on two different words.

Fitzmyer's Aramaic hypothesis presents other difficulties: One, Peter is known in the Synoptic Gospels only by the names *Simōn* and *Petros*. Peter's Aramaic name, *Kepha* (Cephas), is not used in these sources.⁵ Two, in this period Jewish sages ordinarily taught in Hebrew, not in Aramaic.⁶

A Solution

A possible solution to these difficulties is to assume that both *petros* and *petra* are Hebrew words, that Jesus spoke to Peter in Hebrew. Jesus probably said אַתָּה פֶּטְרוֹס וְעַל הַפֶּטְרָא אֶבְנֶה אֶת עִדְתִּי (ʾa-TAH *petros* ve-ʿAL ha-*petra*ʾ ha-ZO ʾev-NEH ʾet ʾa-da-TI (You are *Petros*, and on this *petra*ʾ I will build my community).⁷ The wordplay is פֶּטְרוֹס (*Petros*)...פֶּטְרָא (*petra*ʾ).

The Greek *petra* was borrowed by ancient Hebrew speakers like the French words *détente*, *gaffe* and *cliché* have been borrowed by modern speakers of English. Such loanwords gain currency because they have a special flavor or satisfy a deficiency in the host language.



פֶּטְרוֹס...פֶּטְרָא

Not only did *petra* become a Hebrew word, but *petra* is the key word in a rabbinic interpretation (preserved in Hebrew) that is strikingly similar to Jesus' declaration to Peter.

Petra in a Midrash

An anonymous interpreter, commenting on Numbers 23:9, "I see him from the top of the rocks,"⁸ described the dilemma that God confronted when he wished to create the world:⁹

It can be compared to a king who desired to build a palace. He began digging, searching for solid rock on which he could lay foundations, but he found only mire. He dug in several other sites, always with the same results. However, the king did not give up. He dug in still another location. This time he struck solid rock [*petra*].

"Here," he said, "I will build," and he laid foundations and built.

In the same manner, the Holy One, blessed is he, before he created the world, sat and examined the generation of Enosh and the generation of the Flood.

"How can I create the world when those wicked people will appear and provoke me to anger?" he said.

When, however, the Holy One, blessed is he, saw Abraham, he said, "Here I have found solid rock [*petra*]"¹⁰ on which I can build and upon which I can lay the world's foundations." (*Yalkut Shim'oni* to Num. 23:9)¹¹

Yalkut Shim'oni is a very late (13th century A.D.) collection of midrash; however, it contains much early material.¹² Some scholars might argue that this rabbinic source can tell us nothing about what a first-century Jewish sage may have said.¹³ Yet the similarity between Jesus' declaration and the above midrash is too great to be coincidental. It seems likely that Jesus alluded to a tradition with which his disciples were familiar, the tradition that God built the world on the sure foundation of a dependable man.

It appears that Jesus used his disciple's unusual nickname to launch his teaching about the *petra* on which he would build. He took advantage of the similarity in meaning and sound between *Petros* and *petra* to hint at a tradition about Abraham. One can capture the flavor of Jesus' statement with the translation, "You are Rocky, and on this bedrock I will build my community."¹⁴

Petros, a Hebrew Name

Along with *petra*, *petros* entered the Hebrew language: Petros was the father of a sage of the

land of Israel, Rabbi Yose ben Petros,¹⁵ who was active around 200–250 A.D., placing his father, Petros, as early as the second half of the second century A.D. There also was a town or village marketplace named Petros in the vicinity of Antipatris, near Lydda.¹⁶ Although there is still no unequivocal early occurrence of the Hebrew name Petros,¹⁷ these examples demonstrate that Hebrew speakers could borrow the Greek word *petros* and use it as a personal name.

Apparently, Jesus' most prominent disciple bore two Hebrew names: שִׁמְעוֹן (*shim'on*, Shim'on)¹⁸—the name Peter's parents gave him at his circumcision—and פֶּטְרוֹס (*Petros*), Peter's nickname.

"Cephas," the Aramaic equivalent of the nickname "Petros," seems to be the name by which Peter went in the Greek-speaking diaspora. Since *Petros* was not a Greek name, native Greek speakers would have been amused and distracted by the mention of a man named "stone."

A Hebrew Hypothesis

A Hebrew hypothesis provides solutions to the difficulties raised by Fitzmyer's suggested reconstruction of Matthew 16:18: It preserves the *Petros-petra* wordplay that is reflected in Greek, a contrast between two different though related words; it permits one to reconstruct Jesus' saying using *Petros*, one of Peter's names in the Synoptic Gospels; it lets Jesus speak in the language of contemporary Jewish sages—Hebrew.

A Hebrew hypothesis can also explain why the name *Petros* is not attested in the Greek language until it is used in the New Testament.¹⁹ Provincials who spoke Greek as their second or third language borrowed the Greek word *petros* and used it as a personal name in their local language, Hebrew.²⁰ Until it appeared in Greek in the New Testament, the name *Petros* may have existed only in Hebrew.

Conclusion

Simply put, our argument is this: There is a rabbinic interpretation that contains the Greek loanword *petra*. Jesus' statement to Peter contains the word *petra*. The similarity of the two teachings is so great that coincidence seems improbable; it seems likely that Jesus alluded to the rabbinic interpretation. If so, he probably said *petra* in Hebrew. If *petra* is Hebrew, then *Petros*, which Jesus paired with *petra*, is probably Hebrew. The likelihood of this assumption is strengthened by the evidence from rabbinic sources: Hebrew speakers borrowed the





DAVID BIVIN

Page 32:

The Siq ("pass"), the narrow winding canyon that leads to Petra, the fabulous rock-hewn Nabatean city south of the Dead Sea. The walls of the canyon tower 150–300 feet high, and at the final turn there comes into view the exquisite El Khazneh ("the Treasury").

Left:

Perhaps the tomb of a Nabatean king, El Khazneh is the most magnificent of Petra's rock-carved structures. Dating from the first-second centuries A.D., this 130-foot-high facade carved out of rose-red Nubian sandstone occupies the lower part of a sheer cliff.

Greek word *petros* and used it as a personal name. If the *Petros-petra* wordplay is Hebrew, then Jesus could have delivered his famous utterance to Peter in Hebrew.

JP

1. For example, Ps. 1:1–3.

2. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Kephā' and Peter's name in the New Testament," *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black*, ed. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 121–132. Fitzmyer suggests that in Aramaic Jesus said: *ʿantāh hūʾ Kephāʾ weʿal kephāʾ dēn ʿebnēh...* (You are Kephā [Cephas], and on this kephā [rock] I will build...).

3. Substituting the Greek masculine *petros* for the Greek feminine *petra*, the reading of all Greek manuscripts. See Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, pp. 130–131: "The problem that confronts one is to explain why there is in the Matthean passage a translation of the Aramaic substratum, which is claimed to have the same word *kpʾ* twice, by two Greek words, Πέτρος and πέτρα... If the underlying Aramaic of Matt. xvi.18 had *kephāʾ* twice, then we should expect *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ οἰκοδομήσω...*" Cf. Fitzmyer's recent comments in response to a magazine reader's letter ("Queries & Comments," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 [1993], 70). For Fitzmyer's Aramaic reconstruction to be correct, the Greek

text should read, "on this *petros* I will build...."

4. The word כֶּפֶז. The only difference between *Kephāʾ* and *kēphāʾ* in Fitzmyer's reconstruction is the capitalization of the former. This distinction, however, does not exist in Aramaic, since in Aramaic there are no capital letters.

5. Paul gives us eight of the nine references to Cephas in the New Testament (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal. 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14). The only other occurrence of "Cephas" is in John 1:42.

6. See Shmuel Safrai, "Spoken Languages in the Time of Jesus," *Jerusalem Perspective* 30 (Jan./Feb. 1991), 5–6, 13.

7. The reconstruction פֶּטְרוֹס (*Petros*) for the Greek *Petros* was put forward in a previous issue of *Jerusalem Perspective*. See the entry "Peter" in "Comments on the Hebrew Reconstruction" under the heading "Matthew 19:27 = Mark 10:28 = Luke 18:28," *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary Preview: The Rich Young Ruler Story*, ed. David Bivin, *Jerusalem Perspective* 38 & 39 (May–Aug. 1993), 23–24; notes 76–84.

8. As rendered by the overly literal *New American Standard Bible*.

9. The interpreter dug deep into Scripture to find the answer to the question, "Who is this rock [literally, "rocks," *tsu-RIM*, pl. of *tsur*] that God saw in advance [*me-ROʾSH*, taken to mean 'in advance' rather than 'from the top']?" The interpreter's answer: "Abraham." This he deduced from Isaiah 51:1–2,

which equates Abraham with “the rock”—“Look to the rock [*tsur*] from which you were hewn.... Look to Abraham, your father.”

Based on a knowledge of who “the rock” is, the interpreter then created a parable which illustrates the great esteem in which God held Abraham: “When God decided to create the world, he looked into the future and realized that his plans would be frustrated by evil persons. There was nothing solid on which he could build. However, he saw one faithful person—Abraham. This was the solid foundation God needed. God then went ahead with his plans.” Compare the rabbinic saying, “On account of Abraham both this world and the world to come were created” (Tanhuma, *Chaye Sarah* 6 [ed. Buber, p. 60a]).

Abraham’s identification as “the rock” may be confirmed in another source. In *Mechilta de-Rabbi Shim’on bar Yochai* to Exod. 18:12 (ed. Epstein-Melamed, p. 131, line 22), there appears the curious phrase אַבְרָהָם בְּפִינָה (*av-ra-HAM ba-pi-NAH*, Abraham in [or, at] the corner). (See the discussion in M. B. Lerner, “Comments and *Novellae* on *Mekhilta de Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai*,” *Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple, Mishna and Talmud Period: Studies in Honor of Shmuel Safrai*, ed. Isaiah Gafni, Aharon Oppenheimer and Menahem Stern [Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1993], pp. 373–375

[Hebrew]). Shmuel Safrai suggests that this phrase should be read אַבְרָהָם הַפִּינָה (*av-ra-HAM ha-pi-NAH*), that is, “Abraham the corner[stone]” (private communication).

10. Note that the interpreter employs in Hebrew the Greek loanword פֶּטְרָא (*petra*), though in the two Bible passages from which the midrash is derived (Num. 23:9 and Isa. 51:1–2), it is the Hebrew word צֹר (tsur) that is used. At the time this midrash was created, the biblical *tsur* had fallen into disuse in Hebrew, having been replaced by other words such as the loanword *petra*.

The Hebrew word *petra* appears elsewhere in rabbinic literature, for example, in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Shevi’it* 36^a top, chpt. 5, halachah 4; and *Kilaim* 27^b, chpt. 1, halachah 9. In the latter, as in Luke 8:6, 13, there is a sower who sows on *petra*, or bedrock. These examples prove that the word פֶּטְרָא (*petra*) had entered post-biblical Hebrew at least by rabbinic times.

11. This occurrence of *petra* was already noted by Marcus Jastrow in his *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950), p. 1162, entry “פֶּטְרָא III, פִּינָה.”

12. The author of *Yalkut Shim’oni* identifies *Midrash Yelamdenu* as the source of the Abraham-*petra* midrash. According to Shmuel Safrai, *Midrash*

Another of the rock-carved monuments at Petra, capital of the ancient Nabatean kingdom. Though much eroded by wind-blown sand, this facade, carved from the side of a cliff, gives silent testimony to the magnificence that was Petra’s.



DAVID BIVIN



JANET FRANKOVIC

*Sunset in the land of
the Gergesenes (Lk.
8:26), on the Sea of
Galilee's eastern shore.*

Dear readers,

As 1994 ends, I want to thank you for your interest and enthusiasm. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's focus has been, and will continue to be, the life and words of Jesus. The contributing writers, most being members of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research, recognize that it is essential to study Jesus' sayings against the backdrop of late Second-Temple-period Judaism. Moreover, Jerusalem School members employ the distinct methodology for Synoptic Gospel research that Robert Lindsey, David Flusser and Shmuel Safrai pioneered. Articles from this perspective, a Jerusalem perspective, are what make *JP* unique.

JP's voice is small, but growing steadily. Since 1987 the magazine has matured from a newsletter format to an illustrated periodical that reaches homes and libraries. In the coming year, *בְּעֵזֶר הַיְיָ* (*be-^{ez}-RAT ha-SHEM*, with the LORD's help) and with your support, *JP* will continue to clarify the precious words of the Galilean sage, Jesus of Nazareth.

Best wishes for the new year. *Shanah tovah!*

David Bivin

Yelamdenu, which has survived in Tanhuma and other midrashic works, can be dated to the fifth century A.D. (private communication). However, *Midrash Yelamdenu* contains many traditions that are even earlier. This could be expected since the midrash is divided according to a triennial cycle of Torah readings, the division used in the land of Israel in the first century A.D. (cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* [Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971], 15:794). Further evidence for the antiquity of the Abraham-*petra* midrash is the occurrence of Greek loanwords: פֶּטְרָא (*petra*) is the Greek πέτρα (*petra*), and הַמְלִיּוֹס (*temelyos*), the word translated “foundations” in the Abraham-*petra* midrash, is the Greek θεμέλιος (*themelios*). The frequent occurrence of Greek loanwords in a rabbinic passage may be an indication that the passage dates from the Second Temple period when Greek still heavily influenced Hebrew.

13. For an opposing view, see Shmuel Safrai, “Talmudic Literature as an Historical Source for the Second Temple Period,” *Mishkan* 17-18 (1993), 121-137.

14. It is very difficult to determine whether the *petra* in Jesus’ saying refers to Peter’s declaration or to Peter himself. Commentators, and theologians, are divided on this question. Two major suggestions have been put forward by scholars: that the *petra* is Peter; that the *petra* is Peter’s declaration, “You are the Messiah of God” (Lk. 9:20).

In favor of *petra* being a reference to Peter: 1) Jesus hinted at the Abraham-*petra* midrash. Since this midrash speaks of God finding a man (Abraham) on whom he could build, then Jesus was probably hinting that he had found a man like Abraham (i.e., Peter) on whom he could build. 2) In the following verse (Mt. 16:19), Jesus invests Peter with great authority in the Kingdom of Heaven (Jesus’ movement), giving Peter the “keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.” We learn from the book of Acts that Peter was indeed the leader and spokesman of the early church.

In favor of *petra* referring to Peter’s declaration: 1) The word “this” in the phrase “and on this rock” seems to indicate a switch to a subject other than Peter. By using אַל־עַלְיָה (‘a-LE-cha, on you [I will build]), for example, Jesus could have clearly indicated Peter had he wanted. The words “and on this rock” following “you are Peter” only make sense if Jesus was speaking about Peter to others. Since he is not, there must be a switch to a subject other than Peter. 2) Jesus may have alluded to the Numbers 23:9 midrash, not to introduce the “dependable man” motif, but rather the “solid foundation” motif. 3) Jesus may have hinted at this midrash to indicate that he would build, not on a man, but rather on Peter’s declaration.

15. Genesis Rabbah 94:5 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 1175), 62:2 (p. 672), 92:2 (p. 1139); Exodus

Rabbah 52:3; Jerusalem Talmud, Moed Katan 82^d bot., chpt. 3; Avodah Zarah 42^c, chpt. 3, halachah 1; and elsewhere.

16. In Tosefta, Demai 1:11, there is a reference to the marketplace of the town or village of *Petros*—שֹׁקֵן שֶׁל פֶּטְרוֹס (*shuk shel Petros*). Shaul Lieberman comments that *Petros* is “apparently located in the vicinity of Antipatris” (*Tosefta hi-fshutah* to Demai 1:1, p. 199). Michael Avi-Yonah identifies the site *Petros* with Kh. Budrus (Palestine Grid 147 152), located about seven kilometers east of Lydda/Lod (*Historical Geography of Palestine: From the End of the Babylonian Exile up to the Arab Conquest* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1962], p. 107 [Hebrew]).

17. There may now be an early example of *Petros* in Hebrew (or Aramaic). On a fragment of leather from Qumran Cave 4 (4QM130), James H. Charlesworth has identified what may be the first instance of Semitic *Petros* from the time of Peter (“Has the Name ‘Peter’ Been Found Among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?*, ed. Bernhard Mayer [Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1991], pp. 213-225). *Petros*, spelled פֶּטְרוֹס, is found in a list of names that includes Magnus, Malkiah, Mephibosheth, Hyrcanus, Yannai, Aquila, Zakariel, Eli and Omriel.

18. Σίμων (*Simōn*, Simon [Lk. 4:38, 5:3, 4, 5, 8, 10; 22:31; 24:34; Mt. 10:2 = Mk. 3:16 = Lk. 6:14; Mt. 16:16, 17]) and Συμεών (*Symeōn*, Simeon [Acts 15:14; 2 Pet. 1:1]), both used in the New Testament to refer to Peter, are apparently the transliterations of the Semitic שִׁמְעוֹן (*shim-ON*, Shim’on). Both Greek names were used by the authors of the Septuagint to transliterate *shim-ON*.

Based on first-century literary and epigraphic sources, *shim-ON* was by far the most common Jewish male name of the period—approximately twenty percent of the Jews we know by name from the Second Temple period were named *shim-ON*. (See Rachel Hachlili, “Names and Nicknames of Jews in Second Temple Times,” *Eretz-Israel* 17 [1984], 188-211 [Hebrew]; Tal Ilan, “Names of Hasmoneans in the Second Temple Period,” *Eretz-Israel* 19 [1987], 238-241 [Hebrew]).

19. It is surprising, but the name *Petros* was apparently never used in Greek before its appearance in the New Testament. (See the entry “Πέτρος” in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and ed. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich [University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press, 1957], p. 660).

20. My Hebrew-speaking Israeli neighbors in Mevasseret Zion (ten kilometers west of Jerusalem) had a dog named “Star.” Like the Greek word *petros* (stone), the English word “star” is not usually a personal name. This Israeli family, however, for whom English is a second language, liked the word “star” and used it as a name for their dog.

International Synoptic Society

The International Synoptic Society supports the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research by serving as a vehicle through which interested individuals can participate in the School's research.

The Society raises financial support for publication of the Jerusalem School's research, such as the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary*; facilitates informal discussion groups focusing on the Synoptic Gospels; sponsors student research assistants and other volunteers who work with the Jerusalem School.

Annual membership in the Society is: Regular £60 or US\$100; Fellow £180 or \$300; Sponsor £300 or \$500; Patron £600 or \$1000; Lifetime membership £3000 or \$5000 and over. Membership dues can be paid in monthly or quarterly installments, and in most currencies (see page 3).

Members of the Society receive a beautiful certificate of membership and a free

subscription to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. They are also entitled to unique privileges such as pre-publication releases of *Commentary* materials, including preliminary reconstructions of stories in the conjectured biography of Jesus. Major publications of the Jerusalem School will be inscribed with Society members' names.

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The Jerusalem School: A Unique Collaboration

The Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research is a consortium of Jewish and Christian scholars who are examining the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) within the context of the language and culture in which Jesus lived. Their work confirms that Jesus, like other Jewish sages, taught in Hebrew and used uniquely rabbinic teaching methods.

The Jerusalem School scholars believe the narrative of Jesus' life was first transmitted in Hebrew, and that much of it can be recovered from the Greek texts of the Synoptic Gospels. The School's central objective is to reconstruct as much as possible of that conjectured Hebrew story.

As a means to its objective, the Jeru-

salem School has begun preparations for production of the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary*, a detailed commentary on the Synoptic Gospels that will reflect the insight provided by the School's research. Current research of Jerusalem School members and others is reported in the pages of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

The Jerusalem School was registered in Israel as a non-profit research institute in 1985. Its members are Prof. David Flusser, Dr. Robert L. Lindsey, Prof. Shmuel Safrai, David Bivin, Dr. Weston W. Fields, Dr. R. Steven Notley, Dwight A. Pryor, Halvor Ronning, Mirja Ronning, Prof. Chana Safrai and Prof. Bradford H. Young.

Glossary

Aramaic (ar-ə-mā'ik) — a northwest Semitic language closely related to Hebrew. The earliest Aramaic inscriptions date from the tenth-ninth centuries B.C. Its square script replaced the Hebrew archaic script, and by the time of Jesus was the normal script for writing in Hebrew.

B.C.E. — abbreviation of "Before Common Era," corresponding to B.C. in Christian terminology. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE uses B.C.E. and C.E. in articles by Jewish scholars.

C.E. — abbreviation of "Common Era," corresponding to A.D. in Christian terminology.

diaspora (di-as-pō-rə) — the area outside the land of Israel settled by Jews, or the Jews who settled there.

ethnarch — originally, governor of a nation or people. By the first century A.D., ethnarch had become a position similar to that of a medieval vassal king. The ethnarch was the royal ruler of a given district; however, his rule was authorized by one who ruled the larger region of which his district was a member.

ethnarchy — the office, jurisdiction, or territory of an ethnarch.

Hasmonean — pertaining to the Hasmoneans, a family of Jewish priests who led a successful revolt that began in 168 B.C. against the Hellenized Seleucid rulers of Syria. The Hasmoneans, nicknamed the Maccabees (mak-ə-béz), ruled the land of Israel from 142 to 63 B.C.

matrilineal — tracing descent through the maternal line.

midrash — (מִדְרָשׁ, mid-RASH) literally, an inquiry or investigation, but as a technical term, "midrash" refers to a rabbinic interpretation, or exposition, of biblical text. The term can also be applied to a collection of such expositions or, capitalized, to the whole midrashic literature written during the first millennium A.D.

mikveh — (מִקְוֵה, mik-VEH, a gathering, accumulation [of water]) pool of water for immersing the body to purify it from ritual uncleanness. The mikveh is similarly used to purify vessels (Num. 31:22-23). Immersion in a mikveh is also obligatory for proselytes, as part of their ceremony of conversion.

mikvaot — (מִקְוֹת, mik-va-OT) plural of mikveh.

patrilineal — tracing descent through the paternal line.

Second Temple period — literally, the period from the rebuilding of the Temple (536-516 B.C.) to its destruction by the Romans in 70 A.D. The term usually refers to the latter part of this period, beginning with the Hasmonean Uprising in 168 B.C. and often extending to the end of the Bar-Kochba Revolt in 135 A.D.

Septuagint — the second-century B.C. Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

tetrarch — originally, a ruler of the fourth part of a Roman province. By the first century A.D., the original sense had been lost, and "tetrarch" now meant a petty dependent ruler whose rank and authority were lower than those of an ethnarch.

tetrarchy — the office, jurisdiction, or territory of a tetrarch.

Transliteration Key

HEBREW & ARAMAIC

Syllables of transliterated words are separated by dots. Capitalization is used to indicate the accented syllable in words of more than one syllable. See p. 11 of the Nov/Dec 1989 issue for a full description of the transliteration system used in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

Consonants

א - ʾ (silent) א - v ח - h (or silent)
ב - b ג - g ט - t
כ - k ד - d י - y (or silent)

ק - h (voiceless guttural)

ט - t

א - y (or silent)

כ - k

ך - ʿ (like ch in the Scottish loch)

ל - l

מ - m

נ - n

ס - s

ע - ʿ (voiced guttural)

פ - p

צ - ʿ

ף - f

צ - ts (like ts in nets)

ק - k

ך - r

ש - sh

ס - s

ט - t

*The form of the letter at the end of a word.

Vowels

(The ʾ is used here as a point of reference.)

א - a (like a in father; rarely like o in bone)

א - a (like a in father)

א - e (like e in net, or e in hey, or somewhere in between)

א - e (like e in net)

א - i (like i in ski)

א - o (like o in bone)

א - u (like u in flu)

א - e (silent, or as short as e in happening, or as long as e in net)

Diphthongs

א - ai

א - oi

א - ui

GREEK

Transliterations are based on the Society of Biblical Literature system.



“Lilies of the Field”

Breathtaking beauty:

*Is this the
flower of Jesus’
illustration?*