

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

15

Doron Mendels

The Land of Israel
as a Political Concept
in Hasmonean Literature



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herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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as a Political Concept
in Hasmonean Literature

Recourse to History in Second Century B. C.
Claims to the Holy Land

by
Doron Mendels



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To my wife, Michal

האדם אינו אלא קרקע ארץ קטנה,
האדם אינו אלא תבנית נוף – מולדתו

Foreword

When I started working on the idea of the territorial dimension of the Maccabean and Hasmonean periods, as part of my research on the literature of the Hellenistic East, I did not realize that it would become the subject of an independent monograph; and my present research is only a preliminary to a comprehensive study of the subject based on Pseudepigraphic and Apocryphal compositions written during this period in Jewish history. Although the dating of many of the documents discussed here is notoriously problematic, I have tried to reconstruct the history of the idea of the territorial dimension. Those who do not agree with my chronology may nevertheless profit from the survey of the differences concerning the idea of the Land which appear within the various compositions. The bibliography contains only works that relate directly to my theme, and thus excludes many interesting studies which I read with great pleasure during my work on this monograph.

I should like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung for a grant which enabled me to work on this monograph in the University of Tübingen during the summer semester of 1984 and the summer of 1985. In particular my thanks go to Professor Dr. Martin Hengel for his hospitality and encouragement. Prof. Dr. Hengel, as well as Prof. Sara Japhet, Prof. Menachem Stern and Dr. Danny R. Schwartz read earlier drafts of large parts of my study and gave me useful advice. Prof. Jonas C. Greenfield was so kind as to read and comment on appendix A, and Prof. Israel Eph'al read and discussed appendix B. I am grateful to all of them. My friends Professor Etan Kohlberg and Dr. Frank H. Stewart read the whole manuscript and offered advice on style and content, for which my thanks.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1.6.1986

D. Mendels

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I. Prologue

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the issue of the territorial dimension of Judaism as it relates to the Land of Israel. Scholars have surveyed the subject from biblical times to the Sages, occasionally even going right up to the 20th century¹. It is not my purpose to undertake this task once again, but to deal with a period that is usually passed over or not mentioned at all in these surveys and in which the subject is not viewed within its historical context. I should like to attempt to reconstruct the various ideas and views concerning the territorial dimension, in its political aspect, to be found among Jewish writers during the years 190–63 B.C.. This topic became important as a result of the emergence of the Hasmonean state. I will not attempt yet another history of the conquest or a survey of Palestine's geography, but would like instead to consider the history of a particular concept, a political rather than a theological one. The concept of Eretz Israel at the time under discussion is based on four pillars: 1) The Divine Promise of the Land; 2) The Torah and the Land; 3) The Land and the foreign people already settled on it; 4) The occupation of the Land and Jewish political authority. We shall concentrate here on 3) and 4), and one should bear in mind that the literature preserved from the 2nd century B.C. is at times incomplete and in many cases fragmentary.

The Divine Promise of the Land is always present — it is a constant factor in time and space; but the actual occupation of the Land of Israel by the Jews, is dependent upon their adherence to the Torah

1 Among others: M. Buber, *Israel and Palestine. The History of an Idea* (London 1952); W. P. Eckert, N. P. Levinson, M. Stöhr (eds.) *Jüdisches Volk-gelobtes Land* (München 1970); W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1974) 49–54, 90–104; F. W. Marquardt, *Die Juden und ihr Land* (Hamburg 1975); R. Rendtorff, *Israel und sein Land* (München 1975); W. D. Davies, *The Territorial Dimension of Judaism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1982) 28–34, 53–91; G. Strecker (ed.), *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit* (Göttingen 1983); M. Weinfeld, "Inheritance of the Land — Privilege versus Obligation: The Concept of the Promise of the Land in the Sources of the First and Second Temple Periods," *Zion* 49, 2 (1984) 115–137 (Hebrew); and E. Schweid, *Homeland and a Land of Promise* (Tel Aviv 1979) (Hebrew), who like all other surveys almost totally ignores this important period.

and its Laws². 1) and 2) are biblical concepts and can be found in various degrees of emphasis in the literature of the time³. Whether settled in Palestine or dispersed in Exile, the Jews never lost touch with their Homeland; they always read their Bible and related literature which is very much concerned with their Land; the land of Israel always played a major role in the collective memory of a people which was strongly conscious of its historical perspective, even when it did not live in its Land, as can be seen for instance through Ezek 40–48⁴; the Bible provided a common denominator for all Jews as regards the spiritual association with their Land. However, the actual occupation of it — always linked to the relationship of the Jews with the foreign peoples settled on it, and sometimes outside it — was always dependent on the character and power of the Jewish political authority. This point has not been sufficiently stressed by scholars dealing with the territorial dimension of Judaism in Antiquity.

The link between the effective possession of the Land by the Jews and the need for a central Jewish political authority is already a cardinal issue in the Bible. Deut 17:14–15 puts it very clearly; the Judges could not bring about a central government for the whole of the land of Israel which would protect it from invasions by foreigners settled both on the Land and around it. The Kings, particularly David and Solomon, were successful in this respect; in a way the Hasmoneans, too, reached that goal, starting the conquest of the land of Israel in Simeon's time (but still in a very limited way), and culminating in Alexander Jannaeus, who conquered almost the whole of the Land⁵.

2 For the Law in Hasmonean times cf. for instance, Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin 1930); I. F. Baer, "The Historical Foundation of the Halacha," *Zion* 17 (1952) 1–55 (Hebrew); M. D. Herr, "The Problem of War on the Sabbath in the Second Temple and the Talmudic Periods," *Tarbiz* 30 (1961) 242–256, 341–356 (Hebrew); E. E. Urbach, *Hahalacha, Mekoroteha Vehitpathuta* (Jerusalem 1984) 11ff, 35ff (Hebrew). Since I deal here with the literature of the 2nd century as it interprets the past in light of the present, I will throughout use the term 'Jews' rather than 'Israelites' or 'Hebrews'.

3 For the biblical concept of the Land cf., for example, Buber, *Israel and Palestine*, 3–35; Davies, *Territorial Dimension*, 1–28; Weinfeld, "Inheritance," 115–126, and recently H. M. Orlinsky, "The Biblical Concept of the Land of Israel: Cornerstone of the Covenant between God and Israel," *EJ* 18 (1985) 43*–55*.

4 Esp. 47–48. Cf. M. E. Stone, in M. E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Assen-Philadelphia 1984) 387. See also Dan 6:11.

5 For two good general surveys: E. Schürer (eds. F. Millar and G. Vermes), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – AD 135)* I (Edinburgh 1973) 164–242; U. Rappaport, in *The History of Eretz Israel* (Jerusalem 1981) esp. 193–229 (Hebrew); cf. also I. Gafni, in *Jewish Writings*, 1–31. For the geography, cf. F. M. Abel,

For our purpose the relevant literature consists of any composition of the Pseudepigrapha, Apocrypha and Jewish Hellenistic writings from the Hasmonean period that was composed in Palestine and that interprets biblical history, thereby revealing an awareness of the political aspect of the territorial dimension⁶. Although the literature written in this heroic period is preoccupied with the territorial aspect of the land of Israel, ironically the books dealing with the conquest of the Land itself (1–2 Maccabees and Josephus' *Jewish War* 1 and the *Antiquities* 12–13) reveal less interest in the *idea* of the Land. It is not always easy to differentiate between Essenic and Pharisaic compositions; many different writings were copied and read in Qumran, for example *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: these contain Essenic elements, but are not necessarily Essene, as are the *War Scroll*, *The Rule of the Congregation*, *Pesharim* and the *Temple Scroll*. The latter compositions drew heavily on the biblical notions of the Land, as Davies and others have shown; the Essenes read the Bible, copied it, interpreted it in various forms, and harmonized many of its verses. This in itself put them in close touch with Eretz Israel, the Law, and its heroes; they lived with the notion לשמור אמונה בארץ (1QS 8:3). In their original writings the 'Eretz' emerges in terms of purification versus pollution; although the idea of twelve tribes is apparent in some of their documents, it seems that the political borders of the Land are never defined in any real way. This may be the reason for their use of the general term 'Eretz', which may denote the Land, but may also mean 'ground' as opposed to heaven⁷. The People of Qumran had a theological concept of the Land, but were also aware of the political situation. This emerges very strongly from the *Pesharim* and the *Temple Scroll*, and also from the *War Scroll*, all of which reveal many political overtones⁸.

Géographie de la Palestine I–II (Paris³ 1967), and still useful S. Klein, *Eretz Yehuda* (Tel-Aviv 1939) 48–82 (Hebrew). For some of the older literature cf. also M. Hengel, "Der Historiker Lukas und die Geographie Palästinas in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 147ff.

6 I exclude herewith all biblical literature which at one time or another was assigned to the Maccabean period, because there exists no decisive evidence to support these views (cf. n. 18, below). Hence, only Dan 7–12 will be mentioned.

7 Davies, *Territorial Dimension*, 31–34.

8 For this history, very much linked to that of the Hasmonean state, cf. J. H. Charlesworth, "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases among the Qumran Essenes," *RQ* 10 (1980) 213–233; for the 'Pesharim': Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington DC 1979); *Temple Scroll*: Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll* I–III (Jerusalem 1983); *War Scroll*: Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford 1962).

Whenever the idea of the Land is evident in Qumranic literature we will briefly mention it in our survey, which will focus on the major works concerned with the territorial dimension. For the Essenes as well as for other groups in Judaism, the Bible served as a common denominator in the question of the relationship to Eretz Israel; hence most of the literature from the period to be discussed reinterprets the nation's past using its current ideas about the Land. These ideas are then reshaped and rewritten in order to give them a new meaning and relevancy⁹. The creation of a new historical perspective to the territorial dimension is a situation which is common to Hellenistic literature in general¹⁰.

It has been claimed that a shift can be discerned in the literature of the period under discussion, from the Land to the Temple and to Jerusalem, and that a so-called "spiritualization" of Eretz Israel is evident¹¹. In the following we shall discover that this view is not entirely true as regards the second century B.C.: there are many nuances within the concept of the territorial dimension during the different stages of the creation of the Hasmonean state, and in many instances these express the various issues at stake. The modern scholarly image of City and Temple rather than the Land is partly the result of the fragmentary state of our sources; but the pagan view expressed by a man like Polybius, who mentions only "those Jews who live near the temple of Jerusalem, as it is called" may also have misled many¹². The Jews at the time thought otherwise: the capital, Jerusalem, both political and religious, is central in some of their compositions, but the Land is also very much in evidence. In other writers, the Land — not a "spiritualized" one — emerges as cardinal. Whereas spiritualization of the Land emerges in some of the Jewish literature after the loss of independence, the Land is already a reality in the literature of the Persian and Ptolemaic era in Eretz Israel¹³, of which we will now give some examples.

9 For the use of the Bible, cf. in general, J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (NY 1983) 25–59; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, in *Jewish Writings*, 89–156. Cf. also G. Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," in *Post Biblical Studies* (Leiden 1975) 37–49.

10 Cf. my forthcoming article on Hecataeus of Abdera.

11 Cf. in particular Weinfeld, "Inheritance," 126–130; and also Davies, *Territorial Dimension*, 33 and *passim*.

12 Polybius 16 (now lost) *apud* Josephus *Ant.* 12,136: τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενος Ἱεροσόλυμα κατοικούντες and cf. also in *JW* 3,52 (and *Sibylline Oracles* 5.250).

13 Not all biblical books from that time show an interest in the Land (but this does not in-

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are our main sources of the Return period, express the idea that Israel is returning to 'Judaea and Jerusalem'; the returning Jews wished to enlarge their hold on the Land¹⁴. For Malachi "the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will be pleasing to God as in the days of old and as in former years" (3:4). A physical and concrete contact with the land of Judah and its vicinity emerges from Ezra-Nehemiah, as attested by the names of cities mentioned and the changing borders¹⁵. The newly established Temple of Jerusalem becomes central at the time of the Return, central, that is, to the territory, however small this territory might have been at the time. Ezra 9:11 shows that the territory must be purified before the Jews can settle on it. The idea of Jerusalem without the Land is difficult to grasp, as Nehemiah 7:4 taken with 11:1–2 demonstrates, and a fruitful Land is impossible with a demolished Temple (Hag 1:9–11). The Land is of major importance, as Zechariah shows, recalling the past with nostalgia (7:7)¹⁶: "Were not these the words which God proclaimed by the former prophets when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity, with her cities round about her, and the South and the lowland were inhabited?" But as they did not return to God, Zechariah adds (7:14): "and I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations which they had not known. Hence the land they left was desolate, so that no one went to and fro, and the pleasant land was made desolate." In Ezra-Nehemiah we discern a tension between the concept of the entirety of the nation which was once settled on the Land (the twelve tribes), and the actual occupation of a small part of it by only two returning tribes, Benjamin and Judah. In these books we find a strong awareness of the issue of Jewish sovereignty — of course taking into consideration the Persian rule of the country. At present, it is alluded, the House of David should not become the central authority, but rather a spiritual leadership like that of Moses. The concept of a spiritual centre still prevails over the secular, political one¹⁷. It was felt that such a

dicate that the awareness of the Land diminished at the time of composition); Davies, *The Gospel*, 110ff; *id. Territorial Dimension*, 75ff.

14 In a composition from the Diaspora the Land is distinguished from the People (Esther 2:10, 20; 8:6).

15 D. Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'Patrios Politeia' of the Persian Period (Diodorus Siculus XL, 3)," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 96–110, with the older literature.

16 For Zechariah 1–8 which stems from the Return period, cf. M. D. Cassuto, "Zechariah," in *Enc. Biblica* II (Jerusalem 1964) 923–929 (Hebrew). For the post exilic later prophets and their attitude to the Land in general, see R. Hanhart, "Das Land in der spät-nachexilischen Prophetie," in *Das Land*, 126–140.

17 Mendels, "Hecataeus," *passim*.

centre would guarantee the occupation of the Land, particularly at times when this Land was in foreign hands (i.e. in the Persian period). In fact, the Jews are at present "slaves" in their own Land (Neh 9: 36–37): "Behold, we are slaves this day; in the land that you gave to our fathers to enjoy its fruit and its good gifts, behold, we are slaves. And its rich yield goes to the kings whom you have set over us because of our sins; they rule over our bodies and over our cattle at their pleasure, and we are in great distress." In other words, it is not sufficient merely to be settled on the Land; a settlement of the Land would only be complete through spiritual and durable Jewish sovereignty. However, Ezra-Nehemiah show that it was too early in the day for the Jews to develop ideas about an independent state of whatever kind in Eretz Israel; the foreigners settled on the Land at the time thought otherwise, and friction ensued between the Returnees and the Samaritans, Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabs. Nehemiah expresses the hostility towards them saying (2:20): "The God of heaven will make us successful, and we his servants will arise and build; but you have no portion or right or memorial in Jerusalem." In 13:1 Neh says: "On that day they read from the book of Moses in the hearing of the people; and in it was found written that no Ammonite or Moabite should ever enter the assembly of God ..."

This attitude was in line with the traditional hostility towards the foreign peoples of the Land also to be found in Malachi 1:2–6. The hostility was a result both of their own enmity against the Jews, and their intermarriage with the Jews – the latter strongly opposed by the pious Jewish leadership (Ezra 9–10, Neh 13, and elsewhere). In fact, one gains the impression that good relations between Jews and non-Jews did occasionally exist at the time of the Return, despite the ideological gap which was almost impossible to bridge; this is expressed for instance in Ezra 9:11–12: "... The land which you are entering, to take possession of it, is a land unclean with the pollutions of the peoples of the lands, with their abominations which have filled it from end to end with their uncleanness. Therefore do not give your daughters to their sons, neither take their daughters for your sons, and never seek their peace or prosperity, that you may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and leave it for an inheritance to your children for ever." The Land here becomes infected (i.e. polluted) because of the foreigners; not only Jerusalem and its Temple, but also the Land is prominent in the Returnees' consciousness.

We shall see later how these attitudes change in the literature of the second century B.C., where an attempt is made to bridge the

dichotomy existing between Jews and some of the foreign peoples of the Land. This was the outcome of praxis, of the changing circumstances: when the Jewish reconquest of Eretz Israel in the forties of the second century B.C. became decisive, the Jews — perhaps now more confident of their future — stated the belief that in the remote past, close family ties had bound them with some of the peoples of the Land. In the Hasmonean period, power politics determined who would rule the Land, and who would become Jewish or remain outside Judaism. The Jews in the Hasmonean state used military power to achieve the goal of holding the Land, and created an ideology to explain their new relations with the foreigners of the Land.

Erza-Nehemiah, Haggai, Malachi and Zechariah (1–8) obviously reflect not only the strong awareness of Temple and City, but also of the Land at the time of Return. There was enormous enthusiasm amongst those who returned to the land of Israel, which seems to have diminished when matters did not move smoothly; the great vision of the Return did not produce the kind of centre in the Holy Land which people dreamt of after the declaration of Cyrus, and throughout the 4th century B.C. most of the Jews remained in the Diaspora or even returned to it from the Land. 1–2 Chronicles, which was finally edited in the Persian period in Palestine, reflects this situation. On the one hand, 1–2Chr shows a vast interest in the question of Israel's right to its Land; this may be an outcome of the frustrations resulting from the continuously abject state of the Jewish centre in Eretz Israel. On the other hand, under such conditions people tend to become unrealistic. As Sara Japhet has demonstrated, the continuity of Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel is emphasized, but the geographical dimension is based on a "very wide description of the borders of Eretz Israel in which the people of Israel — and only they — are settled from the beginning of their history"¹⁸; such an idea would emerge again after the loss of indepen-

18 Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (Jerusalem 1977) 299–333 (Hebrew). In an article ("People and Land in the Restoration Period"), in *Das Land*, 103–125, she deals with the identity of 'People' and 'Land' in the Restoration period. Cf. now also A. Rofé, in *Cathedra* 41 (1986) 1–10 (Hebrew).

It has been claimed that chaps. 24–27 of Isaiah are from the Ptolemaic period in Palestine (cf. for instance, S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* [Lincoln 1961] 186–188). It is, however, difficult to date these chapters decisively (cf. a summary in J. M. Ward, "Isaiah," *IDB Supp.* [1976] 458–459). In any case, Eretz Israel does not really seem to emerge through these universalistic chapters. Also, Eddy's claim (*The King*, 188–194) that Zechariah chaps. 9–14 are anti Ptolemaic is speculative (cf. P. D. Hanson, "Zechariah," *IDB Supp.* [1976] 982–983). The case of Zechariah 9–14 serves as a good example for the speculation about the dating of some of the biblical literature. E. Sellin, *JBL* 50

dence in the first century B.C. Thus we arrive at our first author, who wrote before the Maccabean upheaval, but who is significant for our understanding of the literature of the second century B.C.

(1931) 242–249 attributes these chapters to the Maccabean period, whereas A. Malamat (*IEJ* 1 [1950–1] 149–154) sees in 9:1–6 an allusion to Sargon II. M. Declor, *VT* 1 (1951) 110–124, speaks within this context about Alexander the Great's campaign. This kind of speculation has also been made in the case of some psalms, but again it is too risky to regard certain psalms as belonging to the Hellenistic period (cf. N. M. Sarna, "Tehilim," in *Enc. Biblica* VIII [1982] 445–448, with bibliography); cf. now also E. Schürer (eds. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* III, 1 (Edinburgh 1986), 187–188.

II. The Nineties: Ben Sira – The Concept of the Land before Upheaval

Ben Sira composed his book in Hebrew around 190 B.C. under Seleucid rule¹, which at the time still showed a great deal of tolerance to the Jews². This is significant: in his book, the Land, the sites and the Temple are shifted somewhat into the background, but they are still there. In particular this is true of the famous 'Praise of the Fathers' in chaps. 44–50. In These chapters Ben Sira turns to Israel's history and epitomizes it through some of Israel's famous historical figures starting with Enoch (44:16, mentioning at the end also Shem, Shet and Enosh, 49:16), and completing the list with Zerubabel, Joshua Ben Jozadak and Nehemiah (Erza, surprisingly, is omitted). These figures from Israel's history were of course associated with the territorial dimension in all its facets; the Law, the Land and the attitude towards foreigners living in the territory of Israel. Ben Sira is a typical product of the spiritual and cultural independence of Jerusalem at the time, but at the same time he reflects a situation in which the Land of Israel is in foreign hands. He does not refer to the Land as an issue with political overtones, as does literature later in the century; by selecting figures from biblical history and presenting them in a traditional way, Ben Sira reveals that although the Land is not a political issue at the time in terms of its borders, the memory of the figures connected to it in the history of Israel is vivid, and has a tremendous impact on the people. Ben Sira does not yet elaborate on biblical history in a midrashic manner³; he only presents a selection of traditional figures taken from the canon and leaves them in

1 For the date, cf. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament. An Introduction* (Oxford 1965) 596–597; and now also Schürer, *The History* III, 1,202. For the Greek text, cf. J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach, Septuaginta* XII, 2 (Göttingen 1965).

2 For instance the two documents preserved in Josephus, *Ant.* 12,138–144, and 145–146. Cf. E. Bickermann, "La charte séleucide de Jérusalem," *REJ* 100 (1935) 4–35; id. "Une proclamation séleucide relative au temple de Jerusalem," *Syria* 25 (1946–8) 67–85.

3 As, for instance, claimed by R. T. Siebeneck, "May their Bones return to life! Sirach's praise of the Fathers," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 416.

their traditional garb⁴. Instead of a phenomenological epitome, still to be found in Judith 5 (composed in the Persian period⁵), we find here a group of *De Viris Illustribus* such as Abraham, Isaac, David and others. It seems to me that such a presentation of history is more economical than just a series of events; a famous historical figure arouses a much greater range of associations than the single event. To give an example: if we mention the name of Moses, we immediately think of many events associated with his figure stemming from the history of Israel in Egypt, through the Exodus, and the Mosaic Law; if we only refer to the Exodus, our associations are much more limited in their scope. Perhaps the intensity of the associations derived from historical figures rather than from any single event drove Ben Sira to present this kind of epitome.

Many theories have been propounded about Ben Sira's purpose in writing the 'Praise of the Fathers'. Some have said that he selected a group of positive characters from Israel's history who expressed the continuity of Jewish history⁶. Certainly, the process of the selection of historical figures depends on fashion, personal taste and objective circumstances: for example Mattathias on his death-bed mentions a list of names different from the one mentioned by Ben Sira about twenty years earlier⁷. Others have argued that this selection of historical figures symbolizes God's responsibility for this continuity⁸. Marböck has suggested that in his 'Praise of the Fathers', Ben Sira

4 Cf. in general for the 'Praise of the Fathers': R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament I* (Oxford 1913) 479–506; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin 1906) 412–495; A. Eberharder, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (Bonn 1925) 143–157; D. Th. Maertens, *L'éloge des pères* (Bruges 1956); W. Fuss, *Tradition und Komposition im Buche Jesus Sirach* (Diss. Tübingen 1962) esp. 252–259; G. Reese, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Auffassung des frühen Judentums ...* (Diss. Heidelberg 1967) 5–9; M. Z. Segal, *Sepher Ben Sira Hashalem* (Jerusalem 1972) *ad loc.* (Hebrew); R. A. F. Mackenzie, "Ben Sira as Historian, "in *Trinification of the World* (Toronto 1978) 312–327; Helge Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter* (Tübingen 1980) esp. 177–216; G. Sauer, in *JSHRZ* (1981) 492–493, and *ad loc.*; P. C. Beentjes, *Jesus Sirach en Tenach* (Diss. Amsterdam 1981) esp. 175–199. In general for Ben Sira, cf. Schürer, *The History III*, 1, 198–212.

5 Cf. chap. V.

6 Amongst others, E. Janssen, *Das Gottesvolk und seine Geschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971) 16–33.

7 1 Macc 2:52–60: Abraham, Joseph, Pinhas, Joshua, Caleb, David, Elijah, Hananiah and Azariah, and Michael and Daniel. Cf. J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (NY 1976) *ad loc.* Davies, *The Gospel*, 91. Cf. also in general E. von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten II* (1985) 5–8.

8 M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism I* (London-Philadelphia 1974) 136, 249 and elsewhere.

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