WILLIAM HORBURY

Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
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ISBN 3-16-148877-6
ISBN-13 978-3-16-148877-1 978-3-16-157303-3 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019
ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at *http://dnb.ddb.de*.

The book was typeset by Computersatz Staiger in Rottenburg, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Großbuchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Preface

The Herodian age exhibited a new form of the old Jewish pattern of priestly and royal government. More broadly, the politics and publicity of the Herodian kings contributed to a new connection between Jewish, Greek and Roman culture and piety. In study of Jewish history and the New Testament the term 'Herodian' can none the less recede from view. It is apt to disappear behind such headings as the early Roman period, the Second Temple period, early Judaism, or the age of Christian origins. Jewish and Christian piety in the time of the Herodian kings was indeed continuous with the religion of earlier and later times, but it had its own character and deserves special notice. On its Christian side, it fostered the rise of the cult of Christ within the cult of the one God. Considered as a whole, it formed the setting of a series of apocalyptic writings, of many oracles of the Jewish Sibyl, of early stages in rabbinic tradition, of Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament.

Herodian Judaism and the New Testament are studied in this collection in two groups of essays. Part I treats aspects of Jewish and Christian piety. Then Part II reviews trends in modern New Testament study, including a range of approaches to the Judaism contemporary with the New Testament books. One general aim in Part I has been to trace, within a Greek and Roman setting, the profile of Herodian Jewish piety and its reflection and reshaping in Christianity. Monotheism, mysticism, and perceptions of Moses and the temple are all considered in this way. Two further studies of this kind suggest a Jewish context for two focal points in New Testament religion, the 'gospel' and the 'Lord's Supper'.

In Part II modern New Testament study is itself the subject under consideration, but the convergence of Judaism and Christianity with Roman Hellenism remains central. The links of New Testament work with study of the classical and Jewish traditions, respectively, form two major themes. In the final essay, on rabbinic literature in New Testament interpretation, the stress falls on continuities between the religion of the Herodian age and later Judaism and Christianity. Throughout I have sought to read the New Testament as Jewish, Greek and Roman literature, and to view Christian origins in their broader setting, without losing sight of distinctive Christian characteristics.

I am most grateful to Professor Jörg Frey for his kind invitation to bring these essays together, and to Professor Martin Hengel for long-term encouragement. Chapter 8 is new; chapter 4 first appeared in 1999, the rest during the

years 2003–5. The material published hitherto has received small corrections and revisions; the most substantial additions are two paragraphs of summary at the end of chapter 2, and and an expansion of the English summary of chapter 4.

The indexes were compiled by Mr Jonathan Moo, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to whom warm thanks are due. As usual I am deeply indebted to my wife, Katharine.

W. H.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful for permission from the following publishers to reproduce material: Cambridge University Press (chapter 5), T. & T. Clark International (chapter 1), Mohr Siebeck (chapter 4), Oxford University Press (chapters 2 and 7), SCM Press (chapter 3), and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi (chapter 6).

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Abbreviations

AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
BT	Babylonian Talmud (Talmud Babli)
CIJ	Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum
CP	Classical Philology
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EB	Encyclopaedia Biblica
ET	Expository Times
E.T.	English Translation
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	New Testament Studies

PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PT	Palestinian Talmud (Talmud Yerushalmi)
RB	Revue biblique
REB	Revised English Bible
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
RV	Revised Version
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJSJ	Supplements to the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
SVT	Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

Part I

Jewish and Christian Piety

1. *Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age*

Loyalty to one God among Jews in the Greek and early Roman periods has an almost Protean image in current study. It can appear as strict anti-polytheistic monotheism, or as acknowledgement of a supreme deity with a subordinate mediator amid other angel-divinities, or as an anticipation of Christian Trinitarianism, or simply as showing some polytheistic features, despite its tenacious adherence to the One.[1] The earliest Christian monotheism, likewise, can seem primarily remarkable either for its anti-idolatrous zeal, or on the other hand for its gentilizing tendencies.[2] These divisions in contemporary opinion of course in part continue long-standing differences in biblical interpretation which reflect theological debate between Jews and Christians and within Christianity.[3] All these faces of Jewish and Christian monotheism had already emerged, however, as is noted below, in Jewish and Christian apologetic in the ancient world.

This polymorphic image then probably reflects not merely the variation in modern opinion, but also something of the complex character of Jewish and Christian monotheism in antiquity. Thus the importance of differentiating between various types of monotheism attested in Jewish literature of the Hellenis-

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[1] See for example P. M. Casey, 'Monotheism, Worship and Christological Development in the Pauline Churches', in C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila & G. S. Lewis (edd.), *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* (JSJ Supplement series 63, Leiden, 1999), pp. 214–33 (214–18) and Bauckham, 'The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus', ibid., pp. 43–69 (43–8) (strict monotheism); C. C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London, 1982), pp. 94–113 (supreme deity and exalted angel); J. C. O'Neill, *Who did Jesus think he was?* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 94–114 (Trinitarianism anticipated); E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (London, 1992), pp. 242–7 (monotheism with some acknowledgement of other divine beings in theory and practice).

[2] For examples see. respectively, Y. Kaufmann, *Christianity and Judaism: Two Covenants* (Jerusalem, 1988), E.T. by C. W. Efroymson of Y. Kaufmann, *Golah we-Nekhar* (Tel-Aviv, 1929–30), i, chapters 7–9, pp. 12–16 and O. Skarsaune, 'Is Christianity Monotheistic? Patristic Perspectives on a Jewish/Christian Debate', *Studia Patristica* xxix (1997), pp. 340–63 (359–61); H. Maccoby, *Paul and Hellenism* (London, 1991), pp. 59–63.

[3] An influential early modern instance of Trinitarian interpretation, worked out with an eye to both inner-Christian and Christian-Jewish debate, is P. Allix, *Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against Unitarians* (1699), on the Old Testament Apocrypha, Philo, and the Targums.

tic age has been underlined by M. Mach.[4] Hence it remains necessary to ask what features stood out in a given period, not least in the time of Christian origins.

In what follows attention is concentrated on a period delimited by special political conditions, the Herodian age. Elsewhere I have tried to show that the conditions of this age helped to keep in being, within loyalty to the one God, a messianism and a remembrance of the righteous which echoed Greek and Roman ruler-cult and hero-cult.[5] The present study explores some indications of Herodian monotheism which arise from the prominence of monotheism as a topic in ancient biblical interpretation and in Jewish and early Christian apologetic. These sources have perhaps been less to the fore recently in this discussion than the Old Testament Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. It is argued overall that the interpretation of Judaism as a rigorous monotheism, 'exclusive' in the sense that the existence of other divine beings is denied, does less than justice to the importance of mystical and messianic tendencies in the Herodian age – for these were often bound up with an 'inclusive' monotheism, whereby the supreme deity was envisaged above but in association with other spirits and powers. Christianity would then have perpetuated some features of Jewish monotheism which were characteristically Herodian, but became less obvious in much rabbinic teaching – although they by no means completely disappeared.

1. The Herodian Age and Herodian Monotheism

The Herodian age is taken in what follows to comprise the period of nearly two centuries during which the house of Herod was dominant or influential in Jewish public life at home and abroad. Antipater and his son Herod were already eminent in the last years of the Hasmonaeans, but the Herodian age can best be said to begin when the Roman senate designated Herod the Great as king of the Jews in 40 B.C. The end of the Herodian age came at least in principle with the death of Herod's great-grandson Agrippa II, probably in A.D. 100.[6] Judaism bearing what may be called a Herodian stamp will not, however, have vanished overnight in 100. Perhaps then the revolts against Roman rule

[4] M. Mach, 'Concepts of Jewish Monotheism during the Hellenistic Period', in Newman, Davila & Lewis (edd.), *Christological Monotheism*, pp. 21–42 (21–4).

[5] W. Horbury, 'Herod's Temple and "Herod's Days"', in id. (ed.), *Templum Amicitiae* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 103–49, revised version in id., *Messianism among Jews and Christians* (London & New York, 2003), pp. 83–122; id., 'The Cult of Christ and the Cult of the Saints', *NTS* xliv (1998), pp. 444–69, revised version in id., *Messianism among Jews and Christians*, pp. 351–80.

[6] N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty* (London, 1998), pp. 396–9.

which broke out in the diaspora in 115 and in Judaea in 132, and issued ultimately in the pre-eminence of the house of Judah ha-Nasi, can be taken to signal the final departure of the Herodian age. Geographically, the Herodian heartland is Syrian, running from Idumaea in the south to the region of Damascus and the southern Lebanon in the north, where the kingdom of Chalcis remained in the hand of Agrippa II. From this Syro-Palestinian base Herodian influence extended throughout the Roman diaspora, as is vividly shown by the acclamation accorded to real or supposed Herodian princes by the Jews of Alexandria and Rome.

The Herodian heartland also, however, overlapped with the heartland of the Aramaic language. Herodian Judaism and Christianity are now known predominantly through Greek and some Hebrew literature, but their expression through Aramaic will have stood out in the Herodian age itself. Hints of its former prominence are given by the Aramaic renderings of Leviticus and Job attested in the Qumran discoveries, with the Aramaic texts of such books as Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon, and by the importance in the LXX, Philo, Josephus and the New Testament of transliteration from Aramaic when Jewish institutions and groups are named. The specifically Herodian and Judaean importance of both Greek and Aramaic is confirmed by Murabba'at papyri relating to the Jewish villages of Judaea, as F. Millar has shown.[7]

The joint Jewish-gentile participation in Aramaic and Greek recalls an aspect of the Herodian Jewish community which was of importance in interpretation of loyalty to one God, the communal penumbra in the form of a 'mixed multitude' (Exod. 12:28, Neh. 13:3) consisting of people of mixed Jewish-gentile descent, and of non-Jewish adherents and sympathizers. These classes are named together by Philo (*V.M.* i 147) in his description of the 'mixed multitude' which accompanied the exodus. Josephus, similarly, when noting (*B.J.* ii 463) that the gentile cities of Syria at the outbreak of revolt against Rome in 66 included not only Jews but gentile Judaizers (ἰουδαίζοντες), also mentions people of mixed Jewish-gentile descent (μεμιγμένος). Thus the convergence of conflicting ancestral traditions of religion was to some extent an inner-Jewish concern as well as an aspect of Jewish-gentile relations.

From the literature, inscriptions, art and architecture of the Herodian age an impression can be gained of a characteristically Herodian version of the ancestral Jewish culture. However it should be more closely defined, it was at once both Jewish and Greek and Roman. Writings which breathe a Herodian atmosphere include the works of Philo, in which Agrippa I is a hero; the Assumption

[7] J. T. Milik, in P. Benoit, O.P., J. T. Milik, & R. de Vaux, O.P., *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD ii, Oxford, 1961), nos. 18 and 115 (an Aramaic acknowledgement of debt dated 55–6, and a Greek contract of re-marriage dated 124, respectively), discussed in a review of communal self-representation in Herodian Judaea by F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 B.C.-A.D. 337* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, 1993), pp. 351–74.

of Moses, in which Herod the Great is viewed with detachment as the staff of God's anger; and Luke-Acts, interested especially in Antipas, Agrippa I and II, and Berenice. Similarly Josephus, although he insists on his own Hasmonaean descent and loyalty, is also a Herodian author; he submits his literary work to Agrippa II, he takes over writings by Herod the Great's court historian Nicholas of Damascus, and he carries on the history of the Herodian house. There is a case for Herodian connection in other influential texts which circulated in the Herodian diaspora in Greek. Thus the Pauline corpus probably alludes to Aristobulus, brother or son of Herod of Chalcis, at Rom. 16:10, and at the same time discloses a relative of Paul with the name Herodion.

In the Qumran texts, by contrast, the historical personages mentioned by name are strikingly concentrated in the Hasmonaean period, down to the 50's of the first century B.C. Similarly, the Qumran discoveries seem not to include any of the major apocalypses or other literary works of the Herodian period, such as the Assumption of Moses, the apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch, and the Parables of Enoch. Qumran material thus seems more particularly relevant to late Hasmonaean times. Nevertheless, like the late Hasmonaean Psalms of Solomon, the writings attested by the Qumran finds probably often represent circumstances or outlooks which continued at the beginning of the Herodian age.

Last but not least, although the Old Greek (LXX) translation of Hebrew scripture goes back in the Pentateuch to the third century B.C., and in other books too is mainly pre-Herodian, it remains of first-rate importance as a formative influence on Herodian Judaism. The Herodian age indeed saw early Jewish revision of the LXX, as shown especially by the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Nahal Hever (Wadi Habra) and the Theodotion-like Old Testament quotations in the New Testament. It was also, however, the age of Philo's encomium on the LXX Pentateuch as an inspired sister-writing rather than a translation, and of Josephus's reproduction of the compliments to the Septuagint translators in the Letter of Aristeas – although, here differing in emphasis from the Letter of Aristeas, he significantly allows for correction of corrupt texts (Philo, *V.M.* ii 40; Jos. *Ant.* xii 107–110).

Against this literary background, note should be taken first of the clear expressions of an inclusive monotheism in pre-Herodian biblical and post-biblical texts which continued to be influential in the Herodian age in Greek as well as Hebrew: Deut. 32:8–9 (discussed further in section 4, below), Dan. 10: 13–21, Ecclus. 17:17, and Jub. 15:31. All these envisage Israel as the Lord's portion (with the celestial prince Michael as the Lord's representative in Daniel), but the gentiles as allotted to lesser sons of God, princes, spirits or angels. The pattern is that of the divine council depicted in Ps. 82, the book of Job, and elsewhere.

Then, in the Herodian age itself, some Jewish expressions of loyalty to one God appear to reflect Herodian conditions in ways which a rigorous monotheist might avoid. First, expressions of monotheism by gentiles in this period,

in the sense of recognition of one deity as supreme, can sometimes be closely paralleled in the modes of describing Judaism employed by their Jewish contemporaries. An influential instance of gentile monotheistic tendency, at the end of the first century B.C., is formed by Virgil's depiction of Jupiter in the closest connection with fate; both are mentioned together in the Aeneid, in such a way as to suggest that destiny is effectively identical with the divine will and providence.[8] Somewhat comparably, the Stoic-like Pharisees in Josephus 'attribute everything to fate (εἱμαρμένη) and to God' (*B.J.* ii 162). Both writers use a conjunction over which a strict monotheist might hesitate, but Josephus will intend, as it appears that Virgil also does, to save the significance of the highest deity, and to hint at a philosophical theism.

Secondly, there is a case for interpreting the conceptions of an exalted messiah current in this period against the background of contemporary monarchy. Thus the apocalypses of the later Herodian age – notably the Parables of Enoch, the apocalypses of Baruch (II [Syriac] Baruch) and Ezra (II Esdras 3–14), and the Fifth Sibylline book – characteristically depict a godlike and spiritual messiah in association with the one God; and an often comparable depiction is found in the New Testament. This godlike messianic figure arises from the mingling of human and divine traits in Old Testament royal texts, and the perpetuation of this mingling especially in the LXX; but it also seems to reflect contemporary ruler-cult, in specifically Herodian as well as Ptolemaic and Roman form.[9]

Thus the appearances of the Son of man in the Parables of Enoch (I Enoch 46:1, 48:5, 62:9) recall the brilliance of imperial and Herodian epiphanies, and a famous echo of Herodian ruler-cult preserved by Philo also resembles contemporary Christian messianism; for the Alexandrian mob satirize Jewish acclamation of the Herodian king Agrippa I by hailing a beggar in Aramaic as *Marin* (Philo, *Flacc.* 39). This royal title '(our) lord' appears in Herodian inscriptions in both Aramaic and Greek.[10] Christians in Corinth, however, are familiar with the comparable Aramaic acclamation and prayer *Maranatha* (I Cor. 16:22), addressed to Christ, and with the Greek *Kyrios* as a title of Christ (I Cor. 12:3).

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[8] C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 141–3, 204–34, quoting lines such as *Aen.* viii 398 'neither the almighty father nor the fates forbade Troy to stand' for longer, *nec Pater omnipotens nec fata vetabant | stare.* A Stoic view such as appears to influence Virgil's presentation should be recognized as genuine belief in one God, according to M. Frede, 'Monotheism and Pagan Philosophy in Later Antiquity', in P. Athanassiadi & M. Frede (edd.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 41–61 (55); but Bailey, p. 141, perhaps with exclusivity more strongly in view as a criterion, calls it 'almost monotheistic'.

[9] W. Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London, 1998), pp. 102–8, 126–7, 134–6.

[10] Examples from Sia in the Hauran (Philip, *marana*) and Sanamayn in Batanaea (Agrippa II, *kyrios*) are cited by Millar, *Roman Near East*, p. 62.

Once again a rigorous monotheism might balk at the association of a godlike king-messiah with the supreme deity, despite the biblical link between the Lord and his anointed (Ps. 2:2). At the end of the Herodian period, accordingly, negative reaction to association of an exalted messiah with God seems to be perceptible in the opposition which is said to have been aroused by Akiba's suggestion that the plural 'thrones' of Dan. 7:9 are for God and for 'David' – a suggestion which seems to perpetuate what may be called, in the light of the texts cited above, a typically Herodian outlook (baraitha in Babylonian Talmud, Hag. 14a, Sanh. 38b).

Thirdly, some titles reflecting an inclusive monotheism and given to the one God by writers of the Herodian age were biblically based and of long standing; but they can be judged characteristic of this age inasmuch as, despite their biblical basis, they were no longer favoured in rabbinic literature, and are noticeably curtailed in the later of the ancient biblical versions. The examples in question here associate the one God with other divine beings, spirits or powers in a way which further attests the inclusive monotheism picked out above. Thus the Deuteronomic title 'God of gods' (Deut. 10:17), which was taken up in the rolling corpus of biblical writings down to Maccabaean times (Ps. 136:2; Dan. 2:47, 11:36; Ps. 50 [49]:1, LXX), is developed in Hebrew hymnody attested at Qumran, and connected with Ps. 95:3 'a great king above all gods', in such titles as 'king of gods' (4Q 400 2, 5) or 'prince of gods and king of the glorious ones' (1QH^a xviii [x] 8). This Hebrew usage finds correspondence in 'king of gods' in Greek (Esther's prayer in Rest of Esther 14:12), including Herodian literature (Philo *Conf.* 173, βασιλεὺς τῶν θεῶν, in a paraphrase of Deut. 10:17 to show that the astral deities of the gentiles are beneath the supreme deity).

Comparably, the similar divine title 'God of spirits' flourished and was adapted from the time of the LXX Pentateuch down to and including the Herodian period. In the LXX Pentateuch it is found in the phrase 'God of the spirits and of all flesh' at LXX Num. 16:22, 27: 16 (where the Hebrew consonantal text of MT corresponds rather to 'God of the spirits of all flesh'); compare 'ruler of the spirits' (II Macc. 3:24, in Hasmonaean times; I Clem. 64:1, towards the end of the Herodian age); 'lord of spirits and all flesh' (Rheneia inscription, c. 100 B.C.); 'lord of every spirit and ruler of every work' (1QH^a xviii [x] 8, immediately after the title 'prince of gods and king of the glorious ones' quoted above from this line); 'father of spirits' (Heb. 12:9); and 'lord of spirits', used repeatedly in a Herodian apocalypse, the Parables of Enoch (I Enoch 37:2, etc.).[11]

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[11] On the further comparable title 'God of the powers' see Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, pp. 120–1; on the pre-exilic pantheon as part of a group of Near Eastern traditions which influenced the depiction of a similar Greek pantheon in Homer and Hesiod see M. L. West, 'Towards Monotheism', in Athanassiadi & Frede, *Pagan Monotheism*, pp. 41–67 (42–9). On the importance of the angels in the address to the all-seeing Lord and the angels of God in the Rheneia text see L.T. Stuckenbruck, '"Angels" and "God": Exploring the

The 'gods' and 'spirits' saluted in these titles can be interpreted as angels, but they continue the biblical conception of a pantheon or divine council presided over by a supreme deity, and retain the majesty of lesser gods to an extent which 'angel' may not always convey.[12] Thus in the prayer of Esther and in Philo, as quoted above, the 'gods' of whom the Lord is king include the gods of the gentiles (cf. Rest of Esther 14:7); and in hymnody known from Qumran texts the group of greater ones among the gods are themselves honoured by the lesser, 'honoured in all the camps of the gods and feared by the companies of men' (4Q 400 2, 2).

On the other hand, the rabbinic titles of God surveyed by A. Marmorstein strikingly avoid the biblically-based 'God of gods' or 'God of spirits', and eschew any presentation of the deity as ruler of lesser divinities or angels.[13] Similarly, 'the Holy One, blessed be he' supersedes older titles such as 'the holy one of Israel' in Isaiah or the later 'great holy one' of the Genesis Apocryphon (xii 17 and elsewhere), for these suggest one who is singled out among other divinities ('holy ones'). The rabbinic titles tend instead to present what M. Pesce called 'a God without mediators', and this presentation, famous from the Passover Haggadah on 'not by the hand of an angel and not by the hand of a seraph and not by the hand of a legate', likewise has pre-rabbinic antecedents at least from the time of the LXX Isaiah, 'not an envoy or a messenger, but the Lord himself saved them' (Isa. 63:9 LXX).[14] It is characteristic of the concurrence of this tendency with a more 'inclusive' monotheism that both figure in the longer Greek text of Ecclesiasticus, where wisdom's mediation is expressed in the title 'mother of fair love and fear and knowledge and holy hope', but soon afterwards comes the slogan 'the Lord almighty is God alone, and beside him is no other saviour' (Ecclus. 24:18; 24). Although the most widely-attested rabbinic objection is to 'two powers in heaven', *minim* are also envisaged in the Mishnah (Sanh. iv 5) as ready to say 'there are many powers in heaven' – and it is suggested that a reason for the creation of one man only was to rule out this view.[15] This

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Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism', in L.T. Stuckenbruck and Wendy E.S. North (edd.), *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (JSNT Supplement Series 263, London & New York, 2004), pp. 16–44 (53–4); he envisages a 'resilient' Jewish monotheistic framework which would tolerate prayer and praise addressed to angels.

[12] Thus the 'gods' are treated with almost exclusive stress on their ministerial rôle as 'angels' in H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (E.T. 1963, repr. New York, 1995), pp. 82–4 (including comment on $1QH^a$ xviii [x] 8).

[13] A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, i. *The Names and Attributes of God* (London, 1927), pp. 54–107.

[14] M. Pesce, *Dio senza mediatori* (Brescia, 1979), pp. 203–5, discussed in connection with messianism by Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, pp. 78, 81.

[15] The saying would have strengthened reserve about language associating the one God with other powers, whatever group was primarily in view here; A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven* (SJLA xxv, Leiden, 1977), pp. 109–115 thinks of Gnostics and Jewish Christians, and

Mishnaic wariness has a precedent with regard to 'God of gods' in particular at Jos. 22:22 LXX, which like MT here excludes any rendering of the Hebrew *el ᵉlohim* in this sense; but contrast Ps. 50:1, where the same Hebrew is rendered 'God of gods' in LXX, as noted above. Similarly, the Targums of Numbers avoid any understanding of Num. 16:22, 27:16 which would lead to the title 'God of spirits'.[16]

Avoidance of these particular titles is indeed part of a more general caution over depicting the one God in connection with many gods, in accord with the *soli Deo gloria* tendency already exemplified through the slogans on unmediated divine help and the Mishnaic objection to 'many powers'. This caution appears in revision of the LXX and in other later biblical versions, for instance with regard to the questions

'Who is like unto thee among the gods? Who is like unto thee, glorified in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?' (Exod. 15:11).

In this verse LXX may be translated:

'Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Lord? Who is like unto thee, glorified in the holies (*or*, among the holy ones [ἐν ἁγίοις]), wonderful in glories (ἐν δόξαις), working marvels?'

Here 'gods', 'holy ones' and 'glories' can all be taken as terms for the celestial host; compare 'glorious ones' in 1QH[a] xviii [x] 8, quoted above, and an interpretation of 'fearful in praises' by Ps. 89:8 'a God greatly to be dreaded in the council of the holy ones', which is preserved in the Mekhilta.[17] Many later versions, however, either restrict any such reference to the initial 'gods', or exclude it altogether (Peshitta), most stridently in Targum Onkelos 'There is none but thee; thou art God, O Lord'.[18]

The extent to which rabbinic caution in this area is shared and anticipated in the ancient biblical versions was brought out especially by A. Geiger, and emphasis on it can aid depiction of ancient Jewish monotheism as characteristically rigorous and 'exclusive'. The point being stressed at present is a complementary one, which Geiger also noted on occasion: the extent to which the LXX and the earlier versions, together with Jewish writers of the Herodian age as cited

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Gnostics are favoured in many other treatments of the passage cited by J. Maier, *Jüdische Auseinanderstezung mit dem Christentum in der Antike* (Darmstadt, 1982), p. 233, n. 309.

[16] A. N. Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (TSAJ 14, Tübingen, 1986), p. 358, nos. 77–80.

[17] Mekhilta de-R. Ishmael, Beshallah, Shirata viii, on Exod. 15:11, in J. Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, ii (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 63.

[18] On the versions see A. Le Boulluec & P. Sandevoir, *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, 2, *L'Exode* (Paris, 1989), p. 174, and A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSS Monographs, 15, Manchester, 1991), pp. 93–4.

above, still perpetuate that 'inclusive' view of the supreme deity as a king of gods which many later interpreters sought to erase.[19]

2. *Monotheism in Jewish and Christian Apologetic*

The concurrence of 'exclusive' and 'inclusive' interpretations of monotheism, and the abiding importance of an 'inclusive' interpretation in the Herodian age, are indicated in another way by the treatment of monotheism in ancient apologetic. Jewish and Christian apologetic directed towards the gentile world, Christian polemic against Judaism, and Jewish reaction against Christianity all appear to reflect a background of divergent Jewish understandings of monotheism.

This background is suggested, first of all, by aspects of the commendation of Judaism in a gentile setting. It is true that in ancient Judaism and Christianity, as in modern scholarship, the broad general contrast between biblical monotheism and pagan polytheism was often stressed. Thus Abraham leaves home in Philo to remove himself fom the influence τῆς πολύθεου δόξης, 'of polytheism' (Philo, *Virt.* 214); and in a modern statement of this contrast by A. Momigliano, 'To be a Jew was to consider oneself separated from the surrounding world. This separation was altogether easier because monotheism faced polytheism'.[20] On the other hand, when the biblical inheritance was being commended in antiquity, a resemblance between Judaism and paganism was sometimes asserted for good or ill.

In general, this apologetic claim for resemblance can find support in the observations just made on links between Herodian Judaism and its gentile setting, and on the 'inclusive' Jewish monotheism which hailed a 'God of gods'. It is of course important that the independence ascribed to the many pagan deities, even when they were regarded as subordinate to a supreme god (see below), should not be underrated; this point is brought out, through a protest of Plutarch (born A.D. 46) against Stoic reduction of the gods to forces of nature, by J.

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[19] A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 279–82 (rabbinic and versional treatment of *elohim*, *el*); 444 (at Deut. 4:19, discussed here further below, LXX retain a sense which was later excluded).

[20] A. Momigliano, 'On Hellenistic Judaism', review of E. Will & C. Orrieux, *Ioudaïsmos-hellénismos* (1986), reprinted from *CP* 83 (1988) in A. Momigliano, ed. R. Donato, *Nono contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Storia e letteratura 180, Rome, 1992), pp. 763–7 (764); the pervasiveness of the cults of the many gods, vividly suggested by K. Hopkins, *A World Full of Gods* (London, 1999), pp. 7–42, also emerges from the ancient sceptical polemic cited from Cicero below.

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