

The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature

Edited by PETER J. TOMSON
and DORIS LAMBERS-PETRY

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Preface

The following chapters are the elaborated form of the papers read at the colloquium held in Brussels under the auspices of the Institutum Iudaicum of Belgium on 18 and 19 November, 2001. We regret not being able to print two of the lectures read; conversely, we are happy to publish a paper that could not be presented. As distinct from the colloquium program, the papers are arranged more or less chronologically. We have left some variation in bibliographical format in place.

The Institutum Iudaicum is an interfaith, inter-university working group aiming at fostering the study of Judaism at institutions of higher education in Belgium. It is financially supported on a regular basis by the Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant communities in Belgium, and incidentally, for larger colloquiums, by the governmental institutions for scholarly research. Every year it organises a colloquium, inviting not only specialists but also a wider audience. Subjects vary from Jewish Bible exegesis, via the universal savant Abraham ibn Ezra and a theme like “Surviving after the Shoah”, to the position of the Jews, next to Christians and Muslims, in modern Western European society.

The subject of ‘Judaeo-Christianity’ deserves some explanation. To the mind of the editors, it was motivated by the same aim as the other themes we have studied: the interest in Judaism in itself in its various appearances in past and present. The ancient Judaeo-Christians are a forgotten element both in the history of Judaism and in Church history. The editors grow ever more convinced that the re-discovery of this element can lead us not only to a more nuanced understanding of ancient history but also to a new insight into obscured, essential aspects of both Judaism and Christianity.

The theme, however, carries some ambivalence. On the one hand, the disappearance of the Judaeo-Christians from the history and the consciousness of Jews and Christians must be remedied, but on the other, the revived interest in the phenomenon tends to be monopolised by evangelical Christians in the framework of heightened eschatological expectations and with outspoken missionary intentions.

It is only logical that this ambivalence plays its part when scholars in our day unite to study the ancient Judaeo-Christians. There is no totally detached or ‘objective’ science here any more than elsewhere. All scholars have their personal motivations and serve particular aims and interests, and

these are bound to colour their observations and presentations in some way or another. The best we can do is be frank about these, so that our listeners or readers are able to cross-check our presentations on our motivations and draw their own conclusions. That is why we had the Colloquium start with a special section on present-day Jewish Christians or Messianic Jews and on the mission to the Jews.

In the printed form, such a separate section did not seem preferable. The respective contributions were moved to the back of the book, by way of outlook on modern times. They largely accord with the view of the organisers that the presence of Jewish Christians or Messianic Jews in our midst is to be welcomed as an important fact both theologically and historically, but that in our post-Shoah era, more than ever, relations between Jews and Christians must be based on mutual respect and abstention from mission and active proselytism.

Otherwise, the contributions are printed at the sole responsibility of the authors. While many converging lines reflect a common interest, points of disagreement are not absent. This includes the first paper that aims at outlining a synthesis of the early history of Jews and Christians which could accommodate for the Judaeo-Christians – instead of excluding them – by building on the Jewish basis of the message of Jesus and his disciples. Readers can see for themselves that the contributors have their own views there. So let it be. Scholarship is a democratic process in which discussion is vital. It is our fervent hope that the debate on the present subject may grow in depth, in substance and in candidness, and that in such a way a better understanding of the common history of Jews and Christians and of their mutual traditions will come within reach.

It remains for us to thank all those who participated in the colloquium, in the first place, and most heartily, the authors who took so much effort to give their papers and to prepare them for publication. In the second place we wish to thank the institutions who gave their material support: the Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant communities in Belgium, the Vlaams Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, the Fonds National de Recherche Scientifique, and the Communauté Française de Belgique.

Peter Tomson
Doris Lambers-Petry

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The wars against Rome, the rise of Rabbinic Judaism and of Apostolic Gentile Christianity, and the Judaeo-Christians: elements for a synthesis

Peter Tomson

The aim of this first contribution is to try and gain an overview of the period of history in which the phenomenon of Judaeo-Christianity saw the light. The underlying assumption is that up till now, partial views of this history predominate among scholars, and that it is only in a more inclusive perspective that we can really begin to understand Judaeo-Christianity. Consequently, the task of this paper is anything but a summing up of well-known facts all agree on. Rather, it will have to consist of an inventory of major problems that must be tackled and of a sketch of some elements for a synthesis: building blocks for an inclusive overview of the first centuries of common Jewish and Christian history in which the Judaeo-Christians can be naturally accounted for.

A paradigm for the early history of Jews and Christians

The problems we are dealing with have to do not just with the nature of the sources and the way we read them, but, even more fundamentally, with the way we view it all together, or in other words, with the paradigm by which we interpret the period and its events and work them into a synthesis. In various ways, this includes both early Christian and early Jewish history, by themselves, and taken together.

As to early Christianity, we have been taught to view it as an entity whose splendid isolation vis-à-vis Judaism was not impaired by the rather incidental encounters between church fathers and rabbis. Reports of clashes between Jesus or Paul and the Jewish leaders, or between rabbis and Christian heretics, only reinforce our idea of separateness. If we come to think of the Judaeo-Christians, however, they seem to be hard to fit in. They are something of an anomaly, and this is revealing.¹

¹ I am referring to KUHN's description of the process of a scientific 'paradigm shift' being prepared by the gradual identification of 'anomalies', i.e. observations that remain unexplained and that finally lead to the breakthrough of a more adequate overall theory.

The term *Judenchristen* – Jewish Christians or Judaeo-Christians – “was brought to prominence by F.C. Baur”.² He was the founding father of historical criticism, and the novel method he explored made it necessary to posit a middle ground between the separate entities of Judaism and Christianity. Baur had put himself to the task of finding a *historical* explanation of the rise of Gentile Christianity from its Jewish cradle, rather than content himself with the traditionally presumed *theological* difference between the two religions.³ Without the intermediate term of Judaeo-Christianity, such a historical explanation could not be given. Baur’s ‘Judenchristen’ may be seen as a first breach in the traditional paradigm. But it was not sufficient.

The point is that while the earliest followers of Jesus, like their master, were all Jews, it would be absurd to designate them by terms like ‘Judaeo-Christians’ or ‘Jewish Christians’.⁴ Yet in what sense would Peter, James or Paul be so different from their second-century counterparts that such terms would be unfitting for the former yet perfectly acceptable for the latter? There is something fundamentally wrong with the traditional paradigm. Even with Baur’s adaptation, it does not take account of *the Jewishness of Jesus and his apostles*. Incidentally, I suspect this also explains why scholars find so much difficulty in defining Judaeo-Christianity.⁵ Apart from the aspect of diversity, which is prominent also in mainline ancient Judaism and Christianity, the characteristic feature of the Judaeo-Christians is precisely that they continued to live Christianity just as it had started with Jesus and his disciples, i.e. as a ‘sect’ of Judaism.

The crucial part of Baur’s approach which is still widely supported by scholars both Christian and Jewish, concerns the pivotal role of Paul. Baur assumed a primordial opposition between Paul and the Jewish apostles and even could speak of “the opposition of Paulinism and Judaism”.⁶ In his terminology, ‘Pauline’ law-free Christianity came up against law-observant, ‘Petrine’ Judaeo-Christianity,⁷ and in that sense Paul would have

² CARLETON PAGET 731, referring to BAUR’S ground-breaking study of 1831.

³ Thus the task of historical criticism since BAUR as SCHWEITZER perceived it in his history of Pauline research.

⁴ Cf SCHOEPS 356. DE BOER interestingly focusses on the much more adequate appellation ‘Nazoraean’, tracing it back to the NT. Cf also MIMOUNI 1998a.

⁵ KLIJN; KRIEGL; CARLETON PAGET 731–741; MIMOUNI 1998b: 31–72; BLANCHE-TIÈRE 95–83; HOWARD p4 n5. See also n30.

⁶ BAUR 1863/1: 42, chapter title: ‘Das Christenthum als allgemeines Heilsprinzip, der Gegensatz des Paulinismus und Judaismus, und seine Ausgleichung in der Idee der katholischen Kirche.’

⁷ The importance of these concepts of Baur’s is correctly underlined by DUNN 1992: viii–ix.

been the founder of exclusive Gentile Christianity.⁸ As a result, the ‘parting of the ways’ between Christianity and Judaism, as it has become usual to call it,⁹ would be the necessary consequence of *theological differences* over the validity of the Jewish law. This is where the old paradigm is still in place. Neither Judaeo-Christianity nor the beliefs and practice of Jesus and his disciples can have a legitimate place in it.

Baur’s assumption about Paul, while being part of his historical approach, was fully in line with traditional Protestant theology, which should not surprise us.¹⁰ On another level, it makes apostolic Christianity’s struggle against Marcionism and Gnosticism and for the preservation of the Jewish scriptures as the basis of Christianity hard to comprehend.¹¹ The decisive shortcoming, however, is that Baur’s assumption is an anachronism when read into the pre-70 situation as it appears from a large part of the evidence. Both Paul himself¹² and his historian, Luke,¹³ emphasised that the Church envisaged by Paul and the other apostles embraced both law-abiding Israelites and ‘law-free’ Gentiles and presupposed mutual respect within the overarching salvation perspective. A similar perspective was apparently still entertained by the authors or editors of such definitely un-Pauline documents as the Didache and the Revelation of John.¹⁴

Hence we must begin rebuilding our paradigm by taking fully serious the Jewish basis of the earliest Christian movement.¹⁵ This sounds as a commonplace, but beyond the stage of lip service being paid to it, it is not. It means that subsequent Christian history consists of continuations of – or of reactions against – the original Jewish beginnings of Christianity. It means that Jesus’ own views and law interpretations are part and parcel of what is termed ‘New Testament theology’ and not, as Baur and his immensely influential latter-day follower Bultmann would have it, a mere ‘Jewish

⁸ Thus also ALON 25f, identifying ‘Pauline’ and ‘Gentile’ (anti-Jewish) Christianity; SIMON 91 and SCHIFFMAN 155f, who hold that the Bar Kokhba revolt completed what Paul had started. Classically, William WREDE termed Paul, not Jesus, the ‘actual founder’ of Christianity.

⁹ See LIEU for criticism of the narrow theological-doctrinal basis of the concept.

¹⁰ For discussion of these insights see TOMSON 1990: 1–8.

¹¹ The explanation by means of ‘early Catholicism’ as the synthesis of Paulinism and Judaism (cf above n6) is unconvincing since it supposes both the victory and the defeat of Gentile Paulinism. Nonetheless, central parts of this theory have been prominent in such Protestant theologians as HARNACK (cf below n112) and BULTMANN (below n16).

¹² Gal 2:1–10; Rom 4:10–12; 1Cor 7:17–20.

¹³ Acts 10f; 15f; 21. On Luke’s ‘disinterested’ presentation see below.

¹⁴ Did 1.1, second title: ‘Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles’; 6.2–3 on food laws and idol offerings (for the un-Pauline character see FLUSSER 1987; cf below n43); Rev 7:4–10.

¹⁵ A similar approach seems implied by ALEXANDER.

presupposition'.¹⁶ It also means that second century Judaeo-Christians can be fully accommodated for. The need to call them by that peculiar name is only because we have been taught to view Gentile Christianity as it rose to prominence in the same century as 'normative'.

On the side of Judaism,¹⁷ the historiographical problems are of a different nature. A fundamental question is which degree of continuity and change we may assume between the situation before and after the Roman wars, in particular the Great War of 66-70. To a large extent, it had been a civil war which deeply changed Jewish society. Of the three 'parties' in the Land of Israel described by Josephus, two disappeared. The Sadducees, previously in command of the resources of the Temple, lost this political and financial basis, and the Essenes saw their spiritual centre at Qumran wiped out and being used as a Roman garrison for some time. The loss of these social landmarks must have strongly reduced the sense of diversity that we get from Second Temple Judaism. In the impoverished social landscape, the Pharisees remained in place and it now befell to them to fill the gaps. The precise nature and the measure of uniformity of the subsequent Pharisaic-rabbinic regime will occupy us in further sections.

On this side of the paradigm as well, we must take the Jewish beginnings of Christianity fully serious. For students of Judaism who view Christianity as being totally foreign to Judaism, not only the Judaeo-Christians but also Jesus and his disciples must remain outside their scope. Aided in particular by the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls, they should widen their view of Second Temple Judaism and try to put such 'non-conformist' Jews somewhere on its social map. The big question for us is how much of this diversity was left after 70 and what that meant for the followers of Jesus.

A methodological problem is that whereas for the pre-war period we are

¹⁶ BAUR 1864: 45, "Wenn man die Lehre Jesu als einen eigenen Bestandtheil der ntl. Theologie betrachtet, so ist dabei wohl zu beachten, dass sie mit den verschiedenen Lehrbegriffen, in welche die ntl. Theol. sich theilt, nicht in eine Reihe zusammengestellt werden kann. (Sie) ist das Prinzipielle, ...sie ist die Grundlage und Voraussetzung...; sie ist überhaupt nicht Theologie, sondern Religion;" p128. "...In der ursprünglichen Lehre Jesu (zeigt sich) der innere Zusammenhang und die wesentliche Identität des Christenthums mit der atl. Religion...; so ist dagegen der Paulinismus der entschiedenste Bruch des christl. Bewusstseins mit dem Gesetz und dem ganzen auf den AT beruhenden Judenthum." BULTMANN (unmistakably influenced by BAUR but adding the history-of-religions phraseology) opening sentence p1: "Die Verkündigung Jesu gehört zu den Voraussetzungen der Theologie des NT und ist ein Teil dieser selbst;" p3, "Mit solcher Verkündigung steht Jesus im geschichtlichen Zusammenhang der jüdischen End- und Zukunftserwartung;" p190, "Die Theologie des Paulus ist der Predigt Jesu gegenüber eine neue Bildung, und das demonstriert nichts anderes als eben dieses, dass Paulus seine Stellung innerhalb des hellenistischen Christenthums hat."

¹⁷ I follow the historical perspective proposed by ALON.

in the comfortable possession of Josephus' historical accounts, for the post-war period we must do with snippets of information culled from church fathers and rabbis, in addition to what is available from Roman sources. The conclusion that Josephus correctly ranged himself in the vicinity of Pharisaic tradition is only a partial remedy.¹⁸ The problem is especially important for studying the Bar Kokhba war that ensued in 132–135 CE. Apart from Roman sources and brief passages in Eusebius and other Christian writers, our information must be carefully gleaned from rabbinic literature, without forgetting of course the important archaeological finds of 'Bar Kokhba letters'. The result is at least that the image of post-70 Palestinian Judaism as a community in retreat from history – a view strongly influenced by Eusebius' thoroughly Gentile Christian *Church History* – is wrong.¹⁹ Even after 135, rabbinic leadership in Galilee was vigorous. It was only the privileged position of Christianity under Constantine the Great that ushered in the gradual decay of Palestinian Jewry.

We are exploring the outlines of a historical paradigm. It includes both a view of early Christianity that integrates the essential Jewish beginnings of the new movement, and a perspective on ancient Judaism that accounts for early Christianity as a dissident movement among others. If we want to accommodate for Jesus and his early followers and for the second century Judaeo-Christians, we must keep both sides of the paradigm in view. Basically, we are dealing with one inclusive paradigm by which to read the first two centuries of common Jewish and Christian history.

The social impact of the Great War

Another basic hunch to be expressed here is that the separation between Jews and Christians and the consequent isolation of the Judaeo-Christians was not the necessary result of theological dissent over the law, let alone of 'the essential difference' between two religions. Differences between religions can not be measured by the standard of doctrines or 'essences', but by the shifting social patterns they are embedded in and express themselves by, and doctrinal disputes must always be understood in relation to their social basis. The double separation, of Gentile Christianity from Judaism, and of both of them from Judaeo-Christianity, must have resulted from a historical amalgam in which doctrinal differences coalesced with enormous socio-political processes of change to become insuperable ideological boundaries.²⁰

¹⁸ For Josephus' position vis-à-vis Pharisaic halakha see TOMSON 2002.

¹⁹ See OPPENHEIMER, esp. the first essay written by the editor.

²⁰ Cf similar emphasis by RICHARDSON 33–47.

Logically, we could view Christianity as a messianic movement that originated and spread among Jews but quickly also began to attract non-Jews, not unlike the ‘Godfearing’ Gentiles who in antiquity affiliated with Judaism. Certainly, there were clashes with synagogues over the messianic significance of Jesus, but these can be well understood as inner-Jewish conflicts. As from the late first century, however, we observe a different phenomenon. Christian writings began to affirm Christianity *over against Judaism*, and this development became overwhelming over the course of the second century. It was also during this century that representatives of Gentile Christianity increasingly began to denounce Christians who kept to Jewish customs. Apparently a decisive part of Jesus’ followers had meanwhile become deeply estranged from the Jewish basis of their tradition. Moreover because the estrangement contradicted their basic tradition, it must be associated with external factors. What could be the cause? It is difficult not to think of the wars against Rome as a factor of social change.

A good case in point is Antioch. This important city, where close interaction between Jews and non-Jews is evidenced over the centuries,²¹ also witnessed the first major influx of Gentile members to what – going by Acts – was up till then basically a Jewish movement. If this presentation of the facts seems to idealistically oppose later developments, this does not as such justify the assumption that it was *created* to that aim. It is at least as plausible that the tradition of a Jewish movement which had gradually begun to accept non-Jews is authentic. It is also likely that the Latinism Χριστιανοί, which according to Acts 11:26 was first used in Antioch, originally denoted members from both communities. Confirmation may be found in the information Paul gives in passing – in a letter that reflects rising tensions between Jews and non-Jews in the churches in the 50’s – to the effect that in preceding years, the Jews had managed without problems to eat together with non-Jews within the Antiochian church (Gal 2:12f).²²

The apostolic project of one Church embracing Jews and Gentiles was bound to run aground, however. Some two generations later the bishop of the same city of Antioch, writing while under way to become a martyr in Rome following his great examples Peter and Paul, could bluntly present Χριστιανισμός as the antithesis of Ἰουδαϊσμός, or being Christian as the opposite of being Jewish: “It is improper to speak of Christ and to live

²¹ Cf on Antioch BOCKMUEHL 49–83, and, succinctly, TOMSON 1990: 2f.

²² This first-hand report agrees with the harmony in the Antiochian church around Peter, Barnabas and Paul as presented by Acts 11:26. Similarly 1Pet 4:16 Χριστιανός, possibly addressing Gentiles (4:3), needs not exclude Jews; cf the priesthood imagery 2:5, 9. In view of Roman synagogues named after prominent persons, SCHRAGE 807, an erstwhile συναγωγή Χριστιανῶν in Antioch embracing Jews and non-Jews is not unthinkable. On the whole see the informative study of TAYLOR.

Jewishly”); “Do no longer keep Sabbath, but live from Sunday to Sunday.”²³ The bishop would certainly have taken care to voice the feelings of large parts of his diocese.

In between lay the Great War against Rome, and all indications are that as far as Antioch was concerned, it was this that precipitated the rupture. Tensions between Jews and non-Jews had been existing all along, not least in the Land of Israel, and they must have been an important factor in fueling the war.²⁴ The radicalisation process of the war gave these tensions a fatal turn. Not only in Antioch,²⁵ but in many other cities in Palestine and Syria as well, relations between Jews and Gentiles turned violent. This not just involved Jews as against pagans. Josephus tells that at the outbreak of war in the Syrian cities, even non-Jews who sympathised with Jewish ceremonies (τουδαϊζοντες) were mistrusted by the pagans as ‘foreigners’.²⁶

It is therefore likely that the war has extremely aggravated existing tensions not only between Jews and non-Jews in general but also between Gentile and Jewish Christians. The aftermath of the war must only have consolidated this situation. For one thing, the *fiscus judaicus*, the Jewish temple tax converted into a tribute to the emperor, symbolised the undesirable position of the Jews and their associates in the empire, especially during the reign of Domitian.²⁷ In about the same years, it seems, Josephus saw reason to write a pamphlet combatting the anti-Jewish ideas of the late Alexandrian rhetorician Apion which were enjoying an upsurge in popularity.²⁸ Such developments made it not very attractive for Gentile believers to keep associating with Jews.

Looking back from the second century, three entities emerged from the post-war theatre. Firstly, *Rabbinic Judaism* began taking shape, being forged out of the material of Pharisaic tradition under the guidance first of the gentle mystic Yohanan ben Zakkai and then, with unprecedented centralism, of Gamliel the Younger. Secondly, *Gentile Christianity* began distinguishing itself, setting itself off from the Jews while basing itself both on the Jewish Scriptures and on writings tributary to the later ‘New Testament’.²⁹ In our latter-day eyes, these two powerful bodies appear as being conditioned by their mutual rivalry. Thirdly, in between the two major fronts we perceive the much less tangible entity we do call, for lack of a better term, *Judaeo-Christianity*: followers of Jesus who like their Master

²³ Ignatius, Rom. 4.3–5.1, cf Eph. 12.2; Magn. 9.1; 10.3; Phil. 6.1.

²⁴ Cf RAPPAPORT, who (p171f) especially refers to Bell. 2.457ff; his presentation is a bit too pessimistic, cf ALON 548–564 for the post-war period.

²⁵ Josephus, Bell. 7.45–53.

²⁶ Bell. 2.463, ὡς βεβαίως ἀλλόφυλον ἐφοβεῖτο.

²⁷ Josephus, Bell. 7.218. See SMALLWOOD 371–376.

²⁸ C. Ap. 2.223; more references in TOMSON 2002 at n107.

²⁹ Cf BAUER, n107 below. For the dynamics of the NT canon see TOMSON 1998.

and his apostles kept the law of Moses³⁰ and for this combined allegiance were considered heretics by both sides. Their precarious existence and that of the writings they must have cherished was prejudiced by the tensions between the two dominant bodies.

We have disqualified the paradigm according to which these communities are perceived as totally separate entities, and sketched the contours of a more inclusive one that takes into account their common origins and their interconnectedness. We must now try to document the contours, especially where we can find confirmation for the connections between the 'separate' histories. What we must look for are overlaps between the extant rabbinic and apostolic sources, reports of events within either corpus that can also be found reflected in the other and that thereby can serve as reference points for a historical synthesis.

A word about our sources is in place. Of the early Christian writings, the letters of Paul predate the Great War and can be of little help, except for crosschecking our results. If our paradigm is correct, we would not expect them to reflect a breach between Christianity and Judaism. The Gospel of Mark is usually dated towards the end of the war period and in effect shows hardly any traces of the post-war situation. We must turn to the three post-war canonical gospels and to early Patristic writings. These must be compared with more or less contemporaneous Tannaic traditions. A relatively reliable grid for dating the latter is found in the succession of generations of Tannaim as preserved by rabbinic literature, in combination with the layered structure of the main Tannaic document, the Mishna.³¹

Far from claiming exhaustiveness, I would now like to sketch four distinct areas on the future map of common Jewish and Christian history.

The regime of Rabban Gamliel (Mt 6; Did 8)

Matthew 6:7 puts the prayer Jesus taught to his disciples, also known as the Lord's Prayer, in opposition to the verbose prayers of the ἔθνικοί, 'Gentiles'. Some mss. however read ὑποκριταί,³² which in Matthew is the

³⁰ 'Ethnicity' (CARLETON PAGET 733f) is hardly a defining category in view of the full possibility of proselytism, cf SCHIFFMAN. For the definition problem see above n5 and cf BAUCKHAM, VERHEYDEN, STÖKL, and PRATSCHER in the present work.

³¹ For a clear summary of this approach see GOLDBERG, integrating the ground work done by J.N. EPSTEIN and Ch. ALBECK. The teachings of one of our main characters, Rabban Gamliel the Younger (*first* generation of Tannaim), are incorporated in the *second* layer of the Mishna which was formulated by the *second* generation of Tannaim, among whom R. Akiva was a younger colleague (GOLDBERG 216f).

³² B 1424 sy^c m a e.

polemical designation of the Pharisees.³³ Since the clearly edited whole of Mt 6:1–18 sets off the three main religious duties of almsgiving, prayer and fasting against that of the ὑποκριταί,³⁴ this looks like a secondary reading, and the ‘more difficult’ reading ἔθνικοί in v7 must have priority.³⁵ Along with the stories of Jesus’ hesitations when meeting the Greek woman and the non-Jewish centurion from Capernaum,³⁶ the saying against verbose prayer seems to reflect an authentic tradition³⁷ preserving Jesus’ more reserved attitude towards Gentiles.³⁸

Yet the reading ὑποκριταί may be more than an incidental scribal adaptation. The opposition of Jesus’ prayer to that of the ‘hypocrites’ is also found in Did 8:2, where moreover the prayer text is almost identical and a closely related community may be supposed in the background. More specifically the Didache adds the command: “Thus pray thrice daily.” This reminds us of the rabbinic main prayer said three times daily. The contrast with the primary version in Matthew then creates the impression of a shift in polemical orientation from ‘Gentiles’ to ‘Pharisees’.³⁹

Nor does this concern prayer only. Both Matthew and the Didache also oppose the way of fasting taught by Jesus to that of the ὑποκριταί.⁴⁰ And

³³ See esp. 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29 γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί; cf 15:7; 22:18. Lk 13:15 is an isolated occurrence as compared with the Matthean evidence; the reading ὑποκριτά (P⁴⁵ etc., as undisputed in Lk 6:42) must be seriously considered. The intention of Lk 12:56 ὑποκριταί is unclear.

³⁴ Mt 6:2, 5, 16. See LUZ 320–323 on the redacted form and possible sources. Parallels like Tob 12:8 ms B A, ‘prayer, fasting and alms / righteousness’ are illuminating and make the impression of Matthew’s opposition to Pharisaic institutions stronger.

³⁵ An Aramaic background *sharka* meaning ‘populace’, as suggested by BLACK 1967: 176f (1954: 133f), is interesting (cf ἔθνικός ‘of the people’, 3Jn 7) but not convincing; cf DAVIES–ALLISON 589. The parallel ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ (Lk 11:2, ms D) cited in support sounds like a softening of the hard to explain anti-Gentile ring of the saying. On the other hand, denouncing the Jewish populace is the opposite of what Jesus was out for.

³⁶ Mk 7:24–30 // Mt 15:21–28; Lk 7:2–10 // Mk 8:5–13.

³⁷ Similarly LUZ 330.

³⁸ Cf the saying on the priority of ‘the sheep of Israel’ Mt 10:5f; 15:24, and the negative ring of ἔθνικός in Mt 5:47; 18:17. Cf BETZ 364, who also refers to Mt 6:32. Moreover the story of Peter and Cornelius in Acts 10 implies a boundary for the disciple to be crossed which was well observed by his master, who according to Lk 7:1–10 never even spoke with the centurion (contrast the edited form of Mt 8:5–13).

³⁹ Cf LUZ 332, quoting Origen. The singular tradition in Lk 11:1 informs us that Jesus taught his disciples a formulated prayer at their request, *as also John the Baptist did to his*. Though this would imply both prayers henceforth existing side by side, no trace of rivalry between them is expressed here. The question about the fasting of John’s disciples *as those of the Pharisees* in Mk 2:18–22 also belongs here; maybe also the textually enigmatic Jn 3:25.

⁴⁰ Did 8.1; Mt 6:16–19. Whether Did 15.4, almsgiving ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν relates to Mt 6:2–4 must be left undecided. For the whole issue

again, the Didache adds ritual exactness: the ‘hypocrites’ do not fast on the correct days, Wednesday and Friday, but on Monday and Thursday – the days we know are singled out in rabbinic tradition.⁴¹ In both cases, a ritual from the tradition of Jesus is maintained against what seems to be an institutionalised Pharisaic custom.⁴² We also recall that the final redaction of both Matthew and the Didache is usually dated towards the end of the first century.⁴³

All of this evokes the patriarchate of Rabban Gamliel which around that time replaced the leadership of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai at Yavne following the destruction. Gamliel’s rule appears to have acquired official backing from the Roman administration,⁴⁴ which may explain the prestigious adornment distinguishing him and his family.⁴⁵ In contrast to Yohanan’s peaceful character, rabbinic literature portrays Gamliel as an autocrat, a domineering ruler keen on uniformity and clear borderlines. As things go, his centralism may have come as a godsend in the chaotic situation following the destruction of the Temple. Though belonging to the House of Hillel, and as against a clear tendency among most of his colleagues, Gamliel tended, as Shmuel Safrai has pointed out,⁴⁶ towards the often more restrictive opinions of the school of Shammai. His directives, notably in the domains of public worship and calendar, more than once provoked protest, to which he could respond rudely.⁴⁷ We are told that one of these

cf DRAPER, who posits a shift in the Didache itself from an anti-Gentile to an anti-Pharisaic position.

⁴¹ mTaan 2.9 (as a self-understood rule); tTaan 2.4, 8.

⁴² See JAUBERT on the importance of Wednesday and Friday in the ancient solar calendar. The impression is not altered by the likelihood that in his own day, Jesus had had stiff discussions with the Pharisees, although he was much closer to them than to any other group.

⁴³ LUZ 62–76; DAVIES–ALLISON 127–138; STANTON 113–145; STRECKER 35f; taking varying views as to whether the frame of reference of Matthew’s final redaction was still inner-Jewish; cf TOMSON 2001: 279–289. The same can be mooted about the Didache, cf VAN DE SANDT – FLUSSER 291–296, 325–329 and TOMSON 2001: 380–391.

⁴⁴ ALON 1: 120–124; SAFRAI 1996: 332; for a general presentation SAFRAI 1976: 322f. On the exact dating see below. The problem of the Sages’ travels to Rome is crucial here, see ALON *ibid.* and SAFRAI *ibid.* 365–381.

⁴⁵ tMK 2.16, “Yehuda and Hillel, Rn Gamliel’s sons, went out wearing gildec sandals on *erev shabbat*” (see LIEBERMAN 1955-88 *ad loc.*); tSot 15.8 (bSot 49b; bBK 83a): “The family of Rn Gamliel were permitted to teach their children Greek because of their relations with the government”; see LIEBERMAN 1965: 20.

⁴⁶ SAFRAI 1996: 390ff.

⁴⁷ mRH 2.8f, a calendar dispute with R. Yoshua, who had to give in; tBer 4.15 and tYomTov 2.12, a dispute over berakhot with R. Akiva and “the majority”, where Gamliel did not insist, probably after his temporary deposition; similarly tYad 2.17, a dispute over the admissibility of an Ammonite proselyte with Yoshua, who was backed by the Sages (“on that day”, when Rn Gamliel was deposed and he gave in on this point thus

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