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A NEW
EXAMINATION OF
SAMARITAN ORIGINS AND IDENTITY
IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

by

CHOON SHIK CHANG, M.Th., M.A.

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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March, 1990

목사의 딸이요
목사의 아내이시며
목사들의 어머니이신
사랑의 어머니 김 율라 부령님과

사십여년 성직을 받드신 후
지금도
이른 새벽마다
산에 오르시어

나라와
섬기시는 교단 구세군과
자녀들을 위하여
기도하시는

목회자이시요 학자이신
아버지 장 형일 부령님께
이 논문을 바칩니다

Preface

In 1929 Laurence E. Browne, in his *Early Judaism*, decided to present another theory about the 'Rejected Samaritans', giving as a reason, that many divergent theories existed:

... one would hesitate greatly before proposing any new theories, but for one fact -- that all these authorities have reached different conclusions. The great divergences of opinion ... suggest that the truth has not yet been discovered. That is the excuse for the new interpretation now offered.

Hence, the writer also attempts to use the same excuse as Browne to further discuss Samaritan origins and identity in a diachronic fashion, from the earliest time that the people could have originated, down to the period that the people separated themselves from their fellow Jews.

This writer had an opportunity to research at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, as a Crusade scholar at the beginning of 1980s. It was from that period that this writer has been concerned about the origin and identity of the Samaritans. In general, the Samaritans have been considered as northern Israelites, Judaeans, or foreigners. However, this writer suggests that the Samaritans came into being in the vortex of the destruction of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. That is to say, the Samaritans comprised from all parts of the

population of the *Erets Israel*, viz. Israelites, Judaeans, and foreigners.

The present study is the result of the research of the last three years under the guidance of Prof. Alan D. Crown. The Hangang Methodist Church in Seoul, Korea, generously granted the writer a study leave of three years. For the abbreviations used in the present study the writer adopts those in the lists in Prof. Crown's *A Bibliography of the Samaritans*, unless otherwise indicated. And the footnotes are put at the end of each chapter.

Finally, this writer wishes to express his deep gratitude to Dr. & Mrs. Alan D. Crown, for their loving care, encouragement, and scholarly insights. This writer and his family owe to the debt of their love. This writer also wishes to record his appreciation to Dr. M. Broshi, Dr. C. Goodwin, Dr. N. K. Weeks, Dr. P. Stenhouse, Mrs. I. Beer, and Mrs. Nancy Hickson, for their generous assistance given to him. He is aware of a great debt to the Rev. Graham Brookes, the General Secretary of the Board of Mission, the Uniting Church in Australia, and to the Rev. Kil Bok Hong, the senior pastor of Sydney Cheil Korean Church, for the scholarship of two years fitting to the overseas student charge. This writer and his family express their gratitude to Prof. Boo Woong Lee, Mr. Sung Hoon Hong, Dr. Chang Duk Son, and Mr. Sang Sun Lee, for

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
INTRODUCTION	xiii
A. The Previous Studies	xiv
1. Nutt	xiv
2. Montgomery	xiv
3. Thomson	xv
4. Gaster	xvi
5. Bowman	xvii
6. Macdonald	xviii
7. Bonn�	xviii
8. Purvis	xix
9. Kippenberg	xx
10. Coggins	xxi
11. Alon	xxii
12. Dexinger	xxii
13. Fossum	xxiii
14. Crown	xxiv
B. The Problems	xxv
C. The Purpose	xxx
D. The Plan	xxxi
 Chapter	
I. II KINGS 17 AND THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN AN EXILE	1
A. Preamble	1
B. The Exile	3
C. The Redaction of II Kings 17	10
II. SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN ARCHAEOLOGY	21
A. Campaigns of Assyria	22
B. Campaigns of Babylon	27
C. The Population of Israel and Judah	34
D. The Exile	38
E. The Remnant	46
F. Continuity of Material Culture	53
III. SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE WRITINGS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	69
A. The Remnant	69
B. Restoration	83
C. The Identity of the Samaritans	90
D. The Samaritan Schism	105

IV.	SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE ELEPHANTINE POPYRI	125
	A. Background of Elephantine	125
	B. The Origin of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine	126
	C. The Jews at Elephantine	135
	D. Size of the Jewish Colony	136
	E. The Relevance of the Elephantine Papyri to Samaritan Origins	137
V.	SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS	150
	A. The Problems	150
	B. The Terminology	154
	1. <i>Samareis</i>	154
	2. <i>Samareitai</i>	157
	3. Other Terminologies	163
	C. The Samaritan Schism in Josephus	165
VI.	SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE	180
	A. The Background of the First and Second Centuries A. D.	180
	B. The Tannaitic Definition of the Jew	187
	C. The Procedure of Conversion	191
	1. Circumcision	193
	2. Immersion	195
	3. Sacrifice	196
	D. Jewish Self-Definition	197
	E. The Status of the Samaritans in the Tannaitic Literature	198
	1. Genuine Converts	199
	2. Doubtful Class	201
	3. Gentiles	204
	F. Corruption of the Samaritans	205
VII.	SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS	225
	A. Jews and Christians	226
	1. Separation between Jews and Christians	226
	2. The Jewish Attitude	230
	3. The Christian Attitude	233

B. Samaritans and Christians	236
1. The Samaritan Attitude	236
2. The Evangelization of Samaria	241
C. Samaritans in the Early Christian Writings	250
1. Matthew	251
2. Luke-Acts	253
3. John	258
4. Patristic Writings	268
a. Justin Martyr	269
b. Tertullian	274
c. Origen	275
d. The Samaritan Gnostics	279
CONCLUSION	321
BIBLIOGRAPHY	327

ABBREVIATIONS

- AIRE *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honour of Frank Moore Cross*, edited by Patrick D. Miller, Jr., et al., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987)
- ALGHJ Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums
- ANET *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament*, Third Edition with Supplement, edited by James B. Pritchard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)
- ANF *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1951-56)
- Ant *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, vols. IV-IX, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann)
- ATLA The American Theological Library Association
- AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies* (Berrien Springs, Michigan)
- BCH Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenèque (Paris)
- BHT Beiträge zur historischen Theologie (Tübingen)
- BJ *Josephus: The Jewish War*, vols. II-III, The Loeb Classical Library, With an English Translation by H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann)
- BWANT Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament (Leipzig, Stuttgart)
- BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Giessen, Berlin)

- CCWJCW 200 Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- CHJ *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. I: *Introduction: The Persian Period*, edited by W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- CRINT Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
- DB *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark)
- DCB *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines: During the First Eight Centuries*, edited by W. S. Smith and H. Wace (London)
- Dio Cassius Dio
- EAEHL *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, English Edition, edited by Michael Avi-Yonah and Ephraim Stern (Oxford University Press, 1978)
- ERT Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark)
- Eus., HE *Eusebius: Historia Ecclesiastica*
- FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments (Göttingen)
- IASH The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Jerusalem)
- IB *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press)
- ICC The International Critical Commentary
- IDB *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by G. A. Buttrick et al., (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1962)
- IJH *Israelite and Judaeon History*, The Old Testament Library, edited by John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977)
- ISBE *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, fully Revised, illustrated in four vols, edited by G. W. Bromiley et al., (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1982-88)

- JCSD *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. Two: *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, edited by E. P. Sanders et al., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981)
- JHCR *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, edited by Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper, 1970-71)
- JPFC *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, vol. Two, CRINT, Section One, edited by S. Safrai et al., (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976)
- KS *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1953)
- MDMAG *Magnalia Dei The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, edited by Frank Moore Cross et al., (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976)
- NIDBA *The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology*, edited by E. M. Blaiklock and R. K. Harrison (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1983)
- NIDNTT *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, edited by Colin Brown (Zondervan)
- OTWSA *Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria)
- RelAnt *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, edited by J. Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968)
- RGVV *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
- SH *Scripta Hierosolymitana* (Jerusalem)
- TDNT *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76)
- TDOT *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. R. Ringgren (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1978)

WHJP

The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times, The Age of the Monarchies: Political History, vol. Four-I, edited by A. Malamat (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1979)

WUNT

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen)

INTRODUCTION

Since James Alan Montgomery proposed the question -- Who were the Samaritans? -- in his Bohlen Lectures which appeared in 1907 as a publication, considerable research on the Samaritans has been carried out.¹ One consequence, in recent times, has been the encyclopaedic volume of Samaritan studies, entitled *The Samaritans* (1989) edited by Alan D. Crown. But there has been no consensus yet on the origin of the Samaritans. Hence, the purpose of the present study is to explore the identity of the Samaritans from the earliest time that the sect could have originated, down to the time that the sect clearly appears in a well-defined form. However, while the nature of the problem is recognisable, a proper definition of all its parts depends, to an extent, on an analysis of work done by several generations of scholars who have considered the same problems. If we are to have the temerity to add to their work we must first examine it and offer such insights into its limitations as the present state of our information might allow us to do. Thus, we deal first with previous discussions of the literature and only then take up the detailed descriptions of the purpose and plan of the present study.

A. The Previous Studies

1. John W. Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature* (London: Trübner, 1874).

Nutt considers II Kings 17 as the actual history explaining the origin of the Samaritans. Accordingly, he believes that the Samaritans were the descendants of the 'lion-converts' (p. 7). According to him, the Samaritans offered to assist the returned exiles in the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple. But Zerubbabel's refusal of the proposal of the Samaritans brought about a hostile relationship between the two groups (p. 7). Finally the Samaritan schism was completed with the erection of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim (p. 16).

2. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect, Their History, Theology and Literature* (New York: KTAV, 1907; reprinted 1968).²

Concerning the origin of the Samaritans, Montgomery believes that the Samaritans descended from some few thousands of northern Israelite Yahwists who 'had not bowed the knee to Baal' after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. (p. 54). Montgomery assumes that the Yahwists in the territory of the erstwhile northern kingdom of Israel were able to preserve their faith in Yahweh with the help of Judaeans (p. 54). This implies, according to Montgomery, that the two communities had maintained a good relationship until the period of the second restoration of

Ezra and Nehemiah. On the origin of the Samaritan schism, Montgomery follows the broad outlines of the biblical narratives in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. At the same time, he accepts the story of the son-in-law of Sanballat in the writings of Josephus as shedding light on the origin of the schism (pp. 67-69). Hence the people who gathered around Shechem and formed a new sect came generally to be called Samaritans or Shechemites (p. 70). But a definite break between the Samaritans and the Jews was caused by the Jewish promulgation of 'the Prophets' around 200 B.C. (p. 73). Generally, as the title of his publication implies, Montgomery attempts to demonstrate Samaritanism to be 'nothing else than a Jewish sect' (p. 27).

3. J. E. H. Thomson, *The Samaritans: Their Testimony to the Religion of Israel* (Oliver and Boyd, 1919).

Thomson considers the Samaritans as (the descendants of) the northern schismatics who revolted from the dynasty of David under the leadership of Jeroboam (pp. 25 f.).³ That is to say, the Samaritans were originally the people of the ten tribes belonging to Ephraim and Manasseh. The Samaritans, in the postexilic period when the returned exiles attempted to rebuild the Temple, offered them their assistance. But the returned exiles rejected their help. Thomson argues that the Samaritans identified themselves with the Assyrian colonists (p. 28). Hence, the rejection

of the offered help caused a tension between the two groups. But the final religious schism between Samaritans and Jews was completed by the prohibition of intermarriage by Ezra who doubted the Samaritans as members of the new Israel (p. 29).

4. M. Gaster, *The Samaritans: Their History, Doctrines and Literature*, The Schweich Lectures (Oxford University Press, 1925).

Gaster believes that the Samaritans were the oldest dissenting sect among the Jews. They were northern Israelites who held similar religious convictions and who could not easily be distinguished from the rest of the Jews except by the fundamental difference of the place of the Temple (p. 21).⁴ Hence, according to him, the Samaritans were neither the foreign settlers in the area of Samaria nor the idol-worshippers as presented in II Kings 17. That is to say, the Samaritans were neither *Kutim* nor *Shomronim* (pp. 4 f. and also p. 20). As for the origin of the Samaritans, it seems that Gaster accepts the view of the account of the Samaritans themselves.⁵ According to the Samaritan tradition, the first schism took place in the time of Eli in the eleventh century B.C., and the complete break of Samaritans from Jews at the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. According to rabbinic and Samaritan traditions, the Torah was originally written in characters similar to those preserved by the Samaritans, and Ezra is credited with the transliteration

into an alphabet more akin to the Aramaic. It seems, therefore, that Gaster regards it to be one of the chief reasons which caused the final break between two parties. He puts it down as follows:

There could only have been one reason for such a drastic step, namely, to break completely and to eliminate the Samaritan text from circulation among the Jews, to relegate it to a place of inferiority or declare it spurious as well as incorrect and unreliable, as was often declared in the Rabbinic writings, and to wean the people from any contact or any knowledge of the old script. The new alphabet formed the impassable barrier between the two (p. 28).

5. J. Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem: Studies in the Relationships of Samaritanism, Judaism, and Early Christianity*, Franz Delitzsch Lectures 1959, Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, no. 4 (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975). 6

According to Bowman, *Shomronim* in II Kings 17:29 means⁷ inhabitants of Samaria, i.e., the northern Israelites. At the same time, he believes that the Samaritans descended from those northern Israelites who were faithful to⁸ Yahweh. He argues that the term 'Samaritans' did not exist until the period of the fourth century B.C., since Samaritanism in its earliest form emerged in the period of Ezra (p. xii). According to him, the Samaritan schism was caused by a series of events such as the exclusion of the high priest, Eliashib's grandson, i.e., the son-in-law of Sanballat (Neh. 13:28), and the prohibition of intermarriage in accordance with Moses' Law (cf. Neh. 9). He believes that the old enmity between the Israelites and

the Judaeans motivated the returned exiles to reject the Samaritans (pp. 4-5).

6. J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (London: SCM Press, 1964).

This volume deals with Samaritanism as 'Pentateuchal religion evolved along lines which have an affinity with Christianity, but with help from ideas current in the Near East over a long period of time' (p. 14).⁹ Concerning the origin of the Samaritans, Macdonald appears to accept the accounts of the Samaritan Chronicles as quite convincing historically.¹⁰ Therefore, he considers that the Samaritans were originally the Josephites who were separated from the other Israelite tribes before the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. (p. 15). The Samaritans were the *Shamerim*, the guardians of the Law who followed Uzzi, the high priest, instead of Eli, the dissenter who allegedly transferred Israel's cultic centre from Shechem to Shiloh. This was then the first schism between the Samaritans and the other Israelites.¹¹ The second and the final schism then broke out at the period of Ezra. 'From now on Samaritans and Judaists are enemies' (p. 21).

7. Batsheva Bonné, 'Are There Hebrews Left?', *AJPA*, 24/2 (1966), 135-45.

According to James Montgomery, 'the Samaritans are shown by anthropology to be Hebrews of the Hebrews'.¹² He came

to this conclusion from the anthropological data which mostly came from the observations of the travellers who visited Nablus for a short time.¹³ Fortunately, from the turn of this century, more scientific reports concerning anthropometric estimates as well as physiognomic characters¹⁴ of the Samaritans have been published.

Since 1961 when Bonn  suggested that the Samaritans represent a true genetic isolate in contrast with the other population in Israel, she has published more results of her researches on the Samaritans using such measures as blood tests, tests for PTC sensitivity and G6PD deficiency, anthropometric measurements, morphological observations,¹⁵ and so on. From all this, Bonn  considers the modern Samaritans as having their own typical features which are not parallel with any other Jewish communities or other non-Mediterranean populations (p. 141). This may have led her to adopt the account of the Samaritans themselves concerning their origin: the Samaritans are the people descended from the old Hebrew kingdom, not from the whole population of the Israelite kingdom, but from a small branch of it (p. 144).

8. J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Harvard University Press, 1968). 16

In this volume Purvis argues for the origin of Samaritanism as a Jewish sect which evolved in Palestine

during the Hasmonaean period. He maintains that this is supported by a sectarian redaction of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the period of the Hasmonaean. The script of the Samaritan Pentateuch developed from the palaeo-Hebrew of this period (pp. 18-52). In addition, it is evident that its orthography also was the standard full orthography of the same period (52-69). Finally, the textual tradition of the Samaritan Pentateuch was not only known from this time, but completed the development of its characteristics during the Hasmonaean period (pp. 69-87).¹⁷ On the identity of the Samaritans as well as the development of the schism as a sect, Purvis states:

The Samaritans may be seen as an Israelitic sect which developed out of that northern Palestinian community which had rebuilt Shechem in the late fourth century B.C.E. The devastation of the Gerizim shrine by Hyrcanus in 128 and the final devastation of Shechem in 107 B.C.E. resulted in the community's defining self ... as the only surviving branch of the ancient Israelite community.... The vehicle through which this affirmation was expressed was the Samaritan sectarian redaction of the Pentateuch. The Samaritan religious community did not come into being as the result of a schism from Judaism, but rather from their self-definition.... The social dynamics which resulted in this affirmation are to be seen in the long history of mutual antipathies between Samaria and Judah terminating in Hyrcanus' actions.¹⁸

9. H. G. Kippenberg, *Gerizim und Synagoge*, RGVV, 30 (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971).

In the discussion of the origin of Gerizim cult, Kippenberg considers that the source of Josephus, Ant. XI, 312 has historical reliability (p. 56). Thus Kippenberg

maintains that the cult at Gerizim was established not by the result of the political tension between Samaritans and Jerusalemites, but by the discord of priesthood in Jerusalem (pp. 58 f.). That is to say, the Samaritan religious community was developed by the Jerusalemite priests who moved themselves to ancient Shechem and connected themselves to the religious traditions of the northern Israelites (pp. 56 f.). According to Kippenberg, the Assyrian colonists were assimilated with the indigenous inhabitants of Samaria before the emergence of the Gerizim cult (p. 37).

10. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975). 19

The main purpose of the book is 'to attempt a fresh examination of Samaritan origins' (p. 4). According to Coggins, the term *Shomronim* in II Kings 17:29 signifies simply 'the inhabitants of Samaria', i.e., the Samaritans who were transplanted into the area of Samaria by the Assyrians (p. 9). It was with the representatives of these foreigners of Samaria that the Jerusalemites always disagreed and were in tension (p. 15). On the other hand, the Samaritans were associated not with Samaria but only with Mt. Gerizim or Shechem. Hence he concludes that the Samaritans were a conservative group within Judaism, who began to form Samaritanism from the third century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era (p.

11. G. Alon, 'The Origin of the Samaritans in the Halakhic Tradition', in *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple and Talmud*, translated from the Hebrew by Israel Abrahams, pp. 354-73 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1977). 20

Alon suggests that 'rabbinic tradition in its entirety negates the Israelite origin of the Samaritans' (p. 354). In other words, the halakhic sources as well as extra biblical materials clearly demonstrate that the Samaritans, or a part of them, were the descendants of the ancient Canaanites, the indigenous inhabitants of the land (p. 359). For example, this can be supported by the epithet 'Sidonians living in Shechem' which appears in the epistle sent by the Cutheans to Antiochus Epiphanes (pp. 359 f.). According to Alon, 'It is entirely a Jewish polemical creation ... which seeks to attribute to the Samaritans a confession of their non-Jewish origin, their tainted Judaism, and their apostasy in the days of the religious persecution by the Graeco-Syrians' (p. 360).

12. F. Dexinger, 'Limits of Tolerance in Judaism: The Samaritan Example,' in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, Vol. Two: Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, pp. 88-114, edited by E. P. Sanders with A. I. Baumgarten and Alan Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981). 21

Dexinger maintains that the *Shomronim* in II Kings 17 refer

to the northern Israelites, but chapters of II Kings 17 and Ezra 4 had primarily nothing to do with the origin of the Samaritans, but only referred to the Samaritans, i.e., the Gentile inhabitants of Samaria (p. 91). The Samaritan ruling class were in tension with the authority of Jerusalem due to their political interests. As a consequence, the Samaritans were motivated to erect the proto-Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim in the last third of the fourth century B.C. (p. 99). Dexinger uses the term 'proto-Samaritans' to denote the Jewish population of the north, from which the Samaritans later developed, from the period of Ezra onwards (p. 92). It was then from the beginning of the Maccabean period that those chapters of II Kings 17 and Ezra 4 were considered polemically, as referring to the Samaritans in a later period (p. 107-108). Dexinger believes that it was from this period on that the proto-Samaritans came to be known as the Samaritans without any distinction between them and the Samaritans, and that the break between Jews and Samaritans was finally considered as the complete one (p. 107).

13. Jarl E. Fossum, 'The Origin of Samaritanism' *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, vol 36 (Tübingen: J.C.H. Mohr, 1985), pp.27-45. 22

Fossum regards the Samaritans as a branch of the Jewish people (p. 44). He believes that the ancestors of the Samaritans, i.e., the proto(?)Samaritans, were the

northern Israelites from Bethel who resettled at Shechem during the period in which Bethel was depopulated, and erected the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim at some time between 400 and 200 B.C. (pp. 34, 37, 40-42). He understands that the name of the Samaritans, meaning *Shamerim* in the Samaritan, i.e., the 'keepers' of the Law, is derived from the territorial name of their land, *Samerina* in the Akkadian language. Accordingly he urges that 'we must distinguish between the Samaritans ... and the Samaritans, meaning the inhabitants of Samaria. We obviously must understand II Kings xvii. 29 to speak of Samarians' (p. 31).

14. Alan D. Crown ed., *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989).

As mentioned above, this encyclopaedic volume deals with Samaritan studies by twenty-three modern Samaritanologists around the world. Alan D. Crown has written two of these chapters: the introductory chapter, *The Samaritan Diaspora*, and *The Samaritan history: The Byzantine and Moslem Period*. He has also published over thirty other scholarly articles on Samaritan studies. According to him, the Samaritans were the northern Israelites who were rejected by Ezra due to their different religious calendar. However, the final schism between Samaritans and Jews was completed under the leadership of Baba Rabba who adopted another different religious tradition in

contrast with that of Judaism. Alan D. Crown argues for the date of Baba Rabba as being in the third century A.D.²⁵

B. The Problem

In general we can indicate two major problems in relation to the origin of the Samaritans: one is the terminological problem and the other is the date concerning the origin of the Samaritans. This will be discussed presently.

First, we have several names in the ancient languages referring to the inhabitants of Samaria or the religious community in Shechem: *Samerina-a-a*, *Shomronim*, *Shamerim* (*Shomerim*), and *Samareitai* or *Samareis*. The Akkadian appellation *Samerina-a-a* is found in the Assyrian inscriptions.²⁶ This term clearly means the inhabitants of Samaria as a people of Israel.²⁷ The Hebrew term *Shomronim*, which appears only once in II Kings 17:29, is then rendered as *Samareitai* in the LXX. Josephus refers to them either as *Samareitai* or *Samareis* in his writings.

It has generally been agreed that the term *Shomronim* was applied to the religious community in Shechem of a much later period with the purpose of accusing them of being syncretistic worshippers as well as a mixed people.²⁸ On the other hand, the Samaritans themselves have insisted that their name derived from the Samaritan *Shamerim*

Table 1: Various Terminologies, Translations, and Identities concerning Samaritans

A. Terminologies

1. *Shomronim*
2. *Shamerim*
3. *Samareitai*
4. *Samareis*
5. *Samerina-a-a*
6. Samaritans
 - a. Proto-Samaritans 29
 - b. Biblical Samaritans
 - c. Later Samaritans
- 30
7. *SRG*

B. Translations

1. Samaritans
 - a. Northern Israelites
 - b. Foreigners
 - c. Modern Samaritans
2. Samaritans
 - a. Northern Israelites
 - b. Foreigners
 - c. Inhabitants of Samaria

C. Identities

1. Israelites
 - a. Northern Israelites
 - b. Yahwists of Samaria
 - c. Residents of Shechem
 - d. Shechemites
2. Foreigners
 - a. Colonists from foreign countries
 - b. Cutheans
 - c. Sidonians
 - d. Canaanites
 - e. Arabs 31
3. Judaeans
4. Miscellaneous
5. *Am haarets*

32

(*Shomerim* in Hebrew), the keepers (of the Torah). It is likely that the term *Shamerim* was developed for the purpose of defence against the accusations of the Jewish people.³³

The problem then lies in the exact translation of the term *Shomronim* in II Kings 17:29. So far there has been no agreement among scholars on its translation nor on its meaning. Besides, the various identities given to the Samaritans have exacerbated the problem. As we see in the Table 1, the problem can be summarized as follows:

1. various terminologies on the Samaritans;
2. different meanings of the same translation
3. different identities given to the Samaritans

At the same time, the incoherent usage of the same term by a single author aggravates the terminological problem. For example, H. Tadmor translates *Samerina-a-a* as 'the Samaritans' meaning the former inhabitants of the northern Israelite kingdom. As he argues, the word *Shomronim* in II Kings 17:29 is not 'an anachronistic coinage based upon the name of the Assyrian province *Samerina*, but only the translation of the gentilic *Samerina-a-a*'.³⁴ Thus he distinguishes the Samaritans from the Samaritans, i.e., the inhabitants of Samaria in the later period.³⁵ He is, however, not consistent in drawing a distinction between the two terminologies as can be seen from the following

quotations:

The present translation [the 'Samaritans' in II Kings 17:29] is meant to distinguish between the former Israelite population, referred to here as *Someronomim* and the Samaritans of the Second Temple period. 36

A problem is posed by the reference to the people of Cuthah, a term designating Samaritans in mishnaic and talmudic sources. 37

This would explain the prevalence of the designation 'Cuthean' for Samaritans in the post-biblical period. 38

... these deportees from Erech, Babylon, and Susa....
these inhabitants of Samaria ... 39

The Samaritans rebelled against Alexander the Great ... 40

Finally, the use of the term without any comment on it has caused a problem. Julius Wellhausen separates, for example, the *Samarier* (Samaritans), inhabitants of the heathen town of Samaria, from the *Samariter* (Samaritans),⁴¹ members of the religious community at Shechem. But it is not clear whether he has considered the term *Shomronim* as making a distinction between the *Samarier* and the *Samariter*.

The other problem concerns the date of the origin of the Samaritans. Traditionally, it has been suggested that the Samaritans came into being as the result of the settlement of foreign colonists who were brought into Samaria from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim after the fall of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.

However, modern biblical critics have proposed various other periods as well as other key events to account for the Samaritan schism: the sixth century, in association with the return of the exiles from Babylon; the fifth century, in relationship with either the policy of Ezra or the opposition to Nehemiah; the fourth century, in connection with the construction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim; the third century, in connection with the establishment of the religious group at Shechem; the second century, in combination with either the redaction of the Samaritan Pentateuch or the destruction of the Samaritan temple.⁴² On the other hand, the Samaritans themselves have argued that the schism took place in the period of Eli, in the eleventh century B.C.

In any case, the *tendenz* of the modern biblical scholarship such as Purvis and Coggins has considered the Samaritan schism as having resulted from not the sudden and dramatic event but from the gradual estrangement between Samaritans and Jews, and has put the date of the schism in a much later period. However, it is worth mentioning that it was not the origin of the Samaritans themselves but that of Samaritanism as a sect that they have dealt with.

C. The Purpose

In the light of the problems mentioned above, it is clear that the best solution to an understanding of how the Samaritans came into being is to undertake a fresh examination of their identity in a diachronic fashion, from the time that they are first said to have appeared to the time that we know of a Samaritan group in full bloom. The thrust of the present study is to start from an examination of the suggestion that the Samaritans came into being in the vortex of the destructions of both the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. We consider the merit of the argument that the Samaritans consisted of the people remaining in the land of Israel after the destruction, meaning that the Samaritans comprised from all parts of the population of the land of Israel, viz. Israelites, Judaeans and foreigners. It is evident that we must begin here, for the Bible indicates that there was a schism between Judaeans and Samaritans in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. We do recognize though that between the state of being schismatics, heretics and sectarians or even a people with a separate identity there is a substantial gulf. And we do acknowledge that the process of separation which gave Samaritans a clear identity was not complete until the time of Baba Rabba. In this study we consistently use the term Samaritans to apply to the people who congregated around and were religiously tied to Mt. Gerizim.

D. The Plan

From this statement of purpose it follows clearly that our plan must be a series of chapters designed to be as self contained as possible and yet advancing the argument to another stage so that the conclusions drawn from one chapter may be extrapolated to the next and then the final set of conclusions may be used on the whole series of analytic processes. Thus the chapters are as follows:

The first chapter: An examination of the traditional (biblical and fundamentalist) view of the origin of the Samaritans on the basis of the report in II Kings 17 which says that the northern Isrelite kingdom was conquered by Assyrians in 722 B.C., and that, as a consequence, the entire inhabitants of the kingdom were carried away to Syria. The king of Assyria then transplanted people from Babylon, Cutha, Avva, Hammath and Sepharvaim to take their place in northern Israel. However, the colonists, as the lion converts to Yahwism, practised syncretism because they brought their indigenous gods with them. According to the Judaeo-Christian tradition concerning the origin and identity of the Samaritans, these colonists were the Samaritans themselves. This first chapter of close examination of the text is followed with a wider analysis that takes into account non-textual elements.

In the second chapter, *Samaritan Origins in Archaeology*, we concentrate mostly on the question of the actual size of the captivity, since the traditional view has argued for the total deportation of the Israelites. In order to arrive at the actual size of the captivity, we will briefly consider the archaeological evidence of the military campaigns of Assyria and Babylon against the land of Israel and the size of the whole population of Israel and Judah. From all this we will see that it was not the entire population of Israel but only a small portion of its people, i.e., those from the upper class, who were exiled into foreign countries. At the same time, it will have become clear that a number of Judaeans also remained in the devastated land after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Finally, the dominance of the Israelite material culture in the land of Israel will be demonstrated from the archaeological data.

In the third chapter, *Samaritan Origins in the Writings of the Old Testament*, we examine the biblical materials relating to the Samaritans outside II Kings 17, especially the nature of the biblical themes of the exile, the remnant, and the restoration of Israel and Judah, since these are clearly germane to our focus. We conclude that those themes were the polemics of the returned exiles against the remaining people in the land of Israel. In addition, we suggest that the remaining people in the land of Israel consisted of all parts of the population in the

land of Israel such as Israelites, Judaeans, foreigners, and returned exiles. It was with this remaining people in the land of Israel that the returned exiles were in tension in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is evident that the Samaritan schism began from this period, although it was completed around the third century A.D., because the Samaritans adopted a different religious tradition from that of Judaism.

The following chapter, Chapter Four: *Samaritan Origins in the Elephantine Papyri*, concerns the question of the relevance of the papyri to the origin of the Samaritans. We argue that the Elephantine papyri slightly show the fact that the Samaritan schism had already begun in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. However, it is clear that the schism was not finalized in this period.

In the chapter of *Samaritan Origins in the Writings of Josephus*, we will deal with the terminological problems concerning the Samaritans. At the same time, we will see that the mixed feeling of the contemporary Jews towards the Samaritans came from the ambiguity of the Samaritans themselves towards the Jews. This implies that Josephus was still in a period of ambiguous attitude towards the Samaritans. That is to say, the Samaritan schism was not yet finalized in this period and the Samaritans in the period of Josephus were still regarded as fellow Jews within the boundary of Judaism.

The next chapter, Chapter Six, deals with *Samaritan Origins in the Rabbinical Literature*. Here we consider the identity of the Jews according to the Tannaitic definition. Then it will be suggested that the Samaritans in the Tannaitic literature refer to three groups: 1. Genuine Converts, 2. the Doubtful Class, 3. Gentiles. It will be apparent that it was from the second and third centuries of Tannaim that the identity of the Samaritans began to be regarded as suspicious, like that of the Gentiles. Lastly, we will consider what the nature of the Samaritan corruption was in the rabbinic literature.

In the final chapter, *Samaritan Origins in the Early Christian Writings*, we will deal with each occurrence of the term Samaritans in the New Testament as well as in the patristic writings of Justin, Tertullian, and Origen. This will show that the ambivalent attitude towards the Samaritans continued down to the period of the formation of the New Testament and that the Church Fathers adopted the traditional Jewish attitude towards the Samaritans.

From all this we will suggest that the Samaritans emerged during the Iron Age II C, from the end of the eighth century B.C. down to the period of repatriation of the golah, and that they were primarily the northern Israelites, but inevitably accepted (or were assimilated with) the other parts of the population such as Judaeans,

foreigners, returned exiles, and the dissenters from the later Jewish community. At the same time, we will suggest that the Samaritan schism began at the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, but was completed around the third century A.D., under the leadership of Baba Rabba.

Notes to Introduction

1. For the Samaritan researches up to now, see Alan D. Crownl, *A Bibliography of the Samaritans* (hereafter *A Bibliography*), ATLA Bibliography Series, No. 10 (Metuchen, N.J., and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1984) and idem., *Two Years Supplement to A Bibliography of the Samaritans* (Sydney, 1986, unpublished). 3,117 items in total are assembled in the two volumes.
2. Hereafter *The Samaritans*.
3. At the first time when Thomson published an article, entitled 'The Samaritans' [*ET*, 11 (1899-1900), 375-77], he considered the Samaritans as those people who intermarried with Assyrian colonists. According to him, 'It is evident that those colonists were soon absorbed by the remnant of the Israelites and commingled with them. This mixed people are the Samaritans of the New Testament and the Apocrypha' (p. 375).
4. See also 'The Samaritans', *JC*, 3rd. Feb, 1899, 21.
5. According to Gaster, 'There is no necessity of acceptance their claim as resting upon an historical basis, but from a psychological point of view it cannot be entirely disregarded, especially when it governs the whole historical development and explains many an incident mentioned in the Bible to which hitherto insufficient attention has been paid' (p. 6).
6. Hereafter *Problem*. For a critical review on this volume, see Choon Shik Chang, *A Survey of Samaritan Studies from 1950 to 1982* (hereafter *A Survey*), (M.A. Thesis, Drew University, 1984), pp. 67-84.
7. J. Bowman, 'The History of the Samaritans' (hereafter 'The History'), *Abr-Nahrain*, 18 (1978-79), 101.
8. *Ibid.*, 102.
9. See also the last chapter, 'An Assessment of the Samaritan Religion', pp. 447-56.
10. According to Macdonald, 'Have we the right to assume when there is no proof, that it is more biased or less reliable than the Judaeans?' (p. 15).
11. See Judges K*-Y* and 1 Samuel #B (A*-F*) in John Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (or: Sepher*

Ha-Yamim) From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), pp. 112-14 (hereafter *Chronicle II*).

12. J. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 27.
13. See *ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
14. For the previous studies of the anthropological approach to Samaritans, see Bonnè, 'Are There Hebrews Left?' *AJPA*, 24/2 (1966), 136-39 and *idem.*, 'The Samaritans: A Living Ancient Isolate', in *Population Structure and Genetic Disorders*, Proceedings of the 7th Sigfred Juselius Foundation Symposia, edited by A. W. Erikson et al., (London, 1981), pp. 28-30.
15. For the literature of Bonnè's researches on Samaritans, see Alan D. Crown, *A Bibliography*, pp. 28 f.; See also A. B. -- *The Samaritan News*, 16th Dec, 1979, 48.
16. Hereafter *The Samaritan Pentateuch*. Also see *idem.*, 'The Samaritans and Judaism', in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, edited by R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 81-98. Here Purvis raises the question whether there was a schism (pp. 87-88).
17. For the opposing view to this, see Alan D. Crown, 'Redating the Schism Between the Judaeans and the Samaritans' (hereafter 'Redating'), (Sydney, unpublished), 32-34. According to him, the Samaritan Pentateuch took its shape at the period between 135 and Origen's citation of the *Samaritikon*, i.e., approximately in the period of Baba Rabba. On the other hand, for the recent studies on the Samaritan Pentateuch, see Chapter VII, 'Samaritan Literature', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 390-516. The works of Robert T. Anderson, E. Tov, S. Noja, A. Tal, G. Wedel, and H. Shehadeh are included here.
18. J. D. Purvis, 'The Samaritan Problem: A Case Study in Jewish Sectarianism in the Roman Era', (hereafter 'The Samaritan Problem') in *Traditions in Transformations: Festschrift honoring Frank Moore Cross*, edited by B. Halpern and J. D. Levenson (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1981), pp. 348 f.
19. Hereafter *Samaritans*. For a review of the volume, see Choon Shik Chang, *A Survey*, pp. 104-121.
20. Hereafter 'The Origin'.
21. Hereafter 'Limits'.

22. Hereafter *The Name of God*.
23. See Alan D. Crown, *A Bibliography*.
24. For the other researches of Dr. Crown on the problem of the Samaritan schism, see 'The Origins of the Samaritans', in *A Critical Re-evaluation of the Samaritan Sepher Yehoshua* (Ph. D. Dissertation, The University of Sydney, 1966), pp. 7-137 (hereafter *A Critical*); *Judaeans, Samaritans and Samaritans: The Biblical Origins of the Samaritans* (Sydney, 1968, unpublished) (hereafter *The Biblical*); 'Possible Relationships Between Israel & Judah 721 B.C. -- 400 B.C.' (Sydney, unpublished) (hereafter 'Possible Relationships'); 'Redating' (Sydney, unpublished); 'The First Century Schism Between Judaeans and Samaritans' (Sydney, unpublished); 'Samaritan Religion in the Fourth Century A. D. (This paper was presented in an abridged form at the meeting of the International Association for the History of Religions, Sydney, 1985). I would like to thank to Professor Crown for allowing me to use his unpublished materials in the present study.
25. See Alan D. Crown, 'Redating', 32-34.
26. See S. Page, 'A Stela of Adad-nirari III and Nergal-eres from Tell Al Rimah', *Iraq*, 30/2 (1968), 142, line 8 and D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926-27), p. 772.
27. According to Noel K. Weeks (The University of Sydney), the case vowel '-aya' in the term *Samernaya* is an ethnicon ending implying people from that area. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Weeks for this.
28. See Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, pp. 11-13. See also P. R. Ackroyd, 'Samaria', in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, edited by D. Winton Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 349.
29. See F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 92.
30. *Samaritanische Religionsgemeinschaft*. See Rita Egger, *Josephus Flavius und die Samaritaner: Eine terminologische Untersuchung zur Identitätsklärung der Samaritaner*, *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*, 4 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986), p. 20 (hereafter *Josephus*) and also 'Josephus Flavius and the Samaritans', *First General Congress for Samaritan Studies*, Tel-Aviv, April 11-13, 1988. This paper is printed in the preliminary proceedings of the conference.

31. Michael C. Astour, 'The Origin of the Samaritans: A Critical Examination of the Evidence', *The First International Symposium on Palestine Antiquities* (Beirut, 1981, unpublished) (hereafter 'The Origin').
32. See Hasanein Wasef Kahen, *Samaritan History, Identity, Religion and Subdivisions, Literature and Social Status* (Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1966), p. 10 and also Alan D. Crown, 'The Samaritan Diaspora', *AJBA*, 2/3 (1974-75), 108.
33. Purvis (*The Samaritan Pentateuch*, p. 120, n. 5) suggests that the term *Shamerim* is obviously a pun on the gentile *Shamrim*, *Shomrim* or *Shomronim*. Whereas T. R. Hobbs [*2 Kings*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 13 (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985), p. 238] considers *Shomronim* as a parody on the term *Shamerim*.
34. Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 11 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1988), p. 211 (hereafter *II Kings*).
35. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
37. Hayim Tadmor, 'Some Aspects of the History of Samaria during the Biblical Period' (hereafter 'Some Aspects'), *The Jerusalem Cathedra*, 3 (1983), 5.
38. *Ibid.*, 6.
39. *Ibid.*, 9.
40. *Ibid.*, 10. For the other example of inconsistent use of the term, see M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974), p. 100, ns. 20 and 21.
41. Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, Neunte Auflage (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1958), p. 180, n. 1.
42. For various proposals on the origins of the Samaritans, see R. Pummer, 'Aspects of Modern Samaritan Research', *E. et T.*, 7 (1976), 173-79 and *idem.*, 'The Present State of Samaritan Studies: I', *JSS*, 21/1-2 (1976), 48-55.

Chapter I

II Kings 17

and the Traditional View

of Samaritan Origins in an Exile

A. Preamble

In writing a thesis the convention is observed of strict analytic order. Yet, in making judgements about the material, we employ all the information available to us, otherwise we make errors of judgement. Although this chapter is an examination of the biblical traditions concerning Samaritan origins, this writer must be aware of his conclusions in Chapter II regarding the study of the archaeology of the period of the Assyrian onslaught against Samaria, otherwise the textual examination becomes too subjective and deficient. It is as well, then, to anticipate the conclusions of the succeeding chapter before embarking on our study of the text of II Kings 17, as those conclusions must be a factor in our evaluation of the text. The study of the archaeology of the period shows that a considerable remnant of the population was left in *Erets Israel* after the fall of both kingdoms, Israel and Judah.¹ In comparison with the major cities which show the levels of severe destruction or abandonment through war, most of the small sites in rural areas betray

that they were not touched by war and were continuously settled. Furthermore, the continuity of the Israelite material culture through the Iron Age down to later periods clearly supports the view that Judah and Israel were not totally depopulated.

However, we learn from the biblical texts of the Old Testament that total deportation is taken as fact and is treated polemically. For example, in II Kings 17 it reads as if the entire population of Israel were exiled due to their sins against Yahweh. The two tribes of the Southern Kingdom also were implied to have sinned. The people of Judah, like the Israelites, were unfaithful to Yahweh. Therefore, Yahweh rejected *all* the people of Israel (17:20). Elsewhere in the Old Testament, however, it is said that it was not the whole people of Judah but only a small portion of the upper class who were carried away by the Babylonians.² The polemical character of II Kings 17 is also apparent in the descriptions concerning the remnant, as well as in the prophetic oracles about the future reuniting of the South and the North. The survivors who escaped the exile are described as 'the bad figs'³ or 'the poorest of the people'.⁴ Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that the emphasis in the prophetic messages for the future restoration of the nation is always on those people in exile.⁵

Hence in this chapter we will consider the nature of the

biblical theme of the exile first, and in Chapter III the remaining biblical themes of the remnant and the future restoration, as reflected in the writings of the Old Testament from the exilic period onwards. Then, we will see how the Samaritans were described in those themes.

B. The Exile

Traditionally II Kings 17 has been interpreted as portraying the deportation of the entire population of the northern Israelite kingdom.⁶ It is said that the Israelites had sinned against Yahweh (v. 7), so Yahweh was angry with them and removed them from his presence (v. 18). In other words, the ten tribes were completely carried away into Assyria and their existence in Assyria was confirmed until the time of the redactor of II Kings in the words, 'until this day' (v. 23).⁷ Only two tribes of Judah were left (v. 18).

The tradition that the ten tribes of the northern Israelite kingdom were exiled is also found in the extra-biblical literature as well, such as II Esdras, Josephus, Talmud. II Esdras 13:39-50 retains the legend of the exile of the ten northern tribes. According to the text, the ten tribes were taken off into exile in the period of Hoshea. Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, deported the Israelites and settled them in the place of Arzareth which is located beyond the River and has never yet been

inhabited by human beings.⁸ Next, the same tradition concerning the deportation of the ten tribes is preserved in the writings of Josephus as well as in the rabbinic literature. According to Josephus, the ten Israelite tribes as a whole did not return to Palestine and remained beyond the Euphrates until his own day.⁹ Similarly, the tradition is also alluded to in the rabbinic debate between Aqiba and Eliezer on the return of the ten tribes in the later period.¹⁰ Finally, modern scholarly interest concerning the ten lost tribes of Israel may demonstrate the fact that the same tradition has been continued until today.¹¹ Recently Henri Noach has supported Y. Ben-Zvi's argument for the Israelite origins of two million Pathans, one of the Afghan tribes.¹²

On the other hand, we need to notice the other tradition of II Kings 17 that the two tribes of Judah were also exiled. It seems that the modern critics who dealt with II Kings 17 in relation to the origins of the Samaritans have not considered the importance of this tradition.¹³ According to II Kings 17: 19-20, Judah too sinned against Yahweh, and Yahweh rejected *all* the seed of Israel, i.e., Israel and Judah.¹⁴ In fact, that 'Judah was exiled from its land' (II Kings 25:21) is paralleled with the exile of Israel (Cf. II Kings 17:23).¹⁵ Furthermore, the Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch gives the same tradition concerning the exile of the two tribes of Judah who also sinned against Yahweh and will be carried away into

captivity. The text is as follows:

Have you seen all that this people are doing to me, the evil things which the two tribes which remained have done - more than the ten tribes which were carried away into captivity? For the former tribes were forced by their kings to sin, but these two have themselves forced and compelled their kings to sin. Behold, therefore, I shall bring evil upon this city and its inhabitants. And it will be taken away from before my presence for a time. And I shall scatter this people among the nations ... 16

What we are concerned with in II Kings 17 then is the idea of the total deportation of the people of the both nations, Israel and Judah. Interestingly, the theme of the complete exile of *all* the people of Israel, not only the northern kingdom but also the southern kingdom, is found conspicuously in the Book of Deuteronomy 4:27; 28:36-37, 41; 29:28; cf. 30:1-5. The first four verses of Deut. 4:27 and 28:36-37 explain the curse of the covenant which will follow on Israel's disobedience to Yahweh. In other words, they are predictive of the total exile of the nation: If the people disobey the commandments of Yahweh, then He will 'scatter' or 'drive' them to the foreign country.¹⁷ At the same time, according to Deut. 29:25-28, the exile of the people, as it was predicted, was inevitable due to their disobedience of Yahweh. They abandoned the covenant of Yahweh and worshipped other gods. Accordingly, Yahweh was so angry with them that he uprooted them from their homeland and thrust them into the foreign country. Finally, Deut. 30:1-5 deal with Yahweh's

deliverance of his people when they repent and obey the commandments of Yahweh in the banished countries. Yahweh will gather them and bring them back to their homeland. In brief, we can confirm that the foregoing passages of Deuteronomy generally show total deportation of all the inhabitants of Israel and Judah. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that they do not evince any hostility specifically towards the ten tribes of the northern kingdom.

It has been a general consensus of the scholars that the above-mentioned passages are additions by the later deuteronomistic editor.¹⁸ This may suggest that the theme of the exile of all the people of Israel in the Book of Deuteronomy is used for a moral lesson by the later deuteronomist.¹⁹

The question then arises as to whether II Kings 17 follows the tradition of the later deuteronomist concerning the theme of the exile. In support of the view that II Kings 17 is a piece of the work of the deuteronomist, we can consider the fact that the deuteronomistic character of II Kings 17 has been fully demonstrated from its literary analysis by modern critics. M. Noth, in his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*,²⁰ proposed the hypothesis of the deuteronomistic History (Dtr), being that Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, I and II Samuel, and I and II Kings were composed by a single author in Palestine

about the middle of the sixth century B.C. Since then, there has been a general consensus among modern biblical critics that II Kings 17 is a piece of the deuteronomistic history.

The critical researches on the redactional history of the deuteronomistic writings have further complicated the literary problem of II Kings 17. For example, F. M. Cross²¹ has suggested the double redaction hypothesis. According to him, there were two editions of the deuteronomistic history: a pre-exilic edition which should be dated in the time of Josiah and considered as a 'programmatically document of his reform and of his revival of the Davidic state', and an exilic edition of about 550 B.C. which is addressed to Judaeans exiles in a form of homily. The double redaction theory has been worked out in more detail by Richard D. Nelson in his *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*.²² According to him, II Kings 17:1-6 belong to the pre-exilic author, while vv. 7-20, 24-28, 34b-40 are regarded as additions of the exilic editor. At the same time, vv. 21-23 are considered as secondary to vv. 7-20 and to both the historian and the exilic editor,²³ and vv. 29-34a are a later expansion upon vv. 24-28. On the other hand,²⁴ other scholars such as Rudolf Smend,²⁵ and his students Walter Dietrich²⁵ and Timo Veijola²⁶ have argued for a series of exilic redactions of the deuteronomistic history. Smend distinguishes the law oriented

Deuteronomist (DtrN) from the main body of the deuteronomistic history (DtrG, but lately as DtrH). He considers that Joshua 1:7-9; 13:1b-6; 23; Judges 1:1-2:5, 17, 20-21, 23 should be separated from the basic work of the deuteronomistic historian, because of their consideration in the law and the nation after the conquest.²⁷

Another layer of the deuteronomistic tradition has been proposed by Walter Dietrich. He has argued for the prophetic redactor (DtrP) between DtrH and DtrN. According to his analysis of II Kings 17, vv. 7-11, 20 are considered as DtrG, vv. 12-19 are DtrN, and finally vv. 21-23 belong to DtrP.²⁸ This view has then recently adopted by G. H. Jones.²⁹ In general, DtrH is regarded as being composed soon after 587 B.C. DtrP is then dated between 580 and 560 B.C. Finally, DtrN is attributed to the period after the release of Jehoiachin in 561 B.C. or soon after this.³⁰

With respect to the fact of the exile, if we accept vv. 1-6, 24, 30, 31, 34a as the primary source, then it can be argued that they give evidence for no complete deportation and generally fit to the annalistic records of the Assyrian kings concerning the exile of the former Israelites. At the same time, it is evident that it was only the cream of the upper class of the northern Israelite kingdom who were carried away as captives into

the foreign country by Assyrians. This is described in Hosea 3:4, saying,

For the Israelites will live many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or sacred stones, without Ephod or Teraphim.

Even though there have been different theories on the redactional problem of II Kings 17, it is clear from the foregoing argument that II Kings 17 as a whole can be regarded as a piece of the deuteronomistic history. Hence it may be argued that the tradition of the complete exile of *all* the people of Israel in the final form of the text of II Kings 17 also adopts the same polemical position as the later deuteronomistic editor(s).³²

Concerning the theme of the exile of Judah in II Kings 17:19-20, however, it is difficult to decide whether these verses belong to the work of the deuteronomistic history. Some biblical critics, although they have not agreed with one another on the literary problem of vv. 19-20, have considered vv. 19-20 as the same literary unit with vv. 7-17 belonging to the exilic editor.³³ Others, on the other hand, have proposed these passages are from the hand of the same post-exilic deuteronomist.³⁴ In addition, a number of scholars have argued for vv. 19-20 as later glosses.³⁵

C. The Redaction of II Kings 17

As well as the suggestion that vv. 19-20 are later additions, some scholars put the composition of the whole text of II Kings 17 in a very late period. For example, Talmon maintains that the text of II Kings 17 as it stands was finalized at the period after the return of the *golah*. He considers 17:(3-4), 5-6, 24, 29, 30, 31 as a factual report from the Ephraimite Northern Chronicle, while 17:7-22, 25-28, 32-41 he regards as parenetic and hortatory sources added to the basic Northern Chronicle for the purpose of the polemics.³⁶ He concludes that II Kings 17 'was incorporated into the Book of Kings at a considerably later stage in the Israelite history, decidedly after the destruction of Jerusalem, and actually after the return from the Exile.'³⁷ Pfeiffer even brings the date of II Kings 17:34b-40 to 550 and 200 B.C.³⁸ If the argument that the final text of II Kings 17 was formulated at a later period is accepted, then it may be suggested that the polemical character of II Kings 17, even though it is accepted as a piece of the deuteronomistic history, also reflects the *Sitz im Leben* of the later period. In other words, the similarity of deuteronomistic phraseology between vv. 7-17 and 19-20 may suggest the continuity of³⁹ the tradition of deuteronomistic history in II Kings 17. However, despite this fact, it is also apparent that the theme of the exile of the two nations in a final form of II Kings 17 was employed again as propaganda by the

returning community in the later period against the remnant who had not experienced the exile.

Those scholars who argue for II Kings 17:7-23 as showing the deuteronomistic theological standpoint suggest that it was to give an admonition to the Judaeans. According to R. J. Coggins, 'This sermon, clearly intended for the southern audience to whom the books of Kings were addressed, is most probably to be seen either as a warning that similar punishment would be inflicted upon them if they did not mend their ways, or, perhaps more likely, as an explanation of why they had already been punished in a like fashion'.⁴⁰ Similarly, Pauline A. Viviano has recently contended that II Kings 17 was addressed to Judah: 'The deuteronomistic historian speaks of the experience of the Northern Kingdom, but not simply to comment on that experience. Rather he speaks of Israel to Judah'.⁴¹ On the other hand, not all scholars agree that II Kings 17 addressed to Judah. According to Mordechai Cogan, it was the Israelite exiles to whom II Kings 17, especially vv. 34-40 was addressed. Cogan believes that the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. may serve as the *terminus ad quem* for the polemic of II Kings 17 and that the purpose of the polemic was to deny the Israelite exiles' legitimacy: 'their exile is proof of rejection'.⁴²

However, if we consider the text of II Kings 17 as a later composite with various hands, it cannot simply be argued

that II Kings 17 was addressed either to the Judaeans or to the Israelite exiles. Rather it is likely that II Kings 17 reflects a strong polemic by the community of the returnees in a later period. That is to say, II Kings 17 as it stands was employed as a propaganda document by the returnees to negate the other people, i.e., the remnant of the former Israel and Judah, who had not experienced the exile. Hence it seems that Talmon is correct when he characterizes the nature of II Kings 17 as the polemic of the post-exilic writer who attempted 'to prevent integration into the returning exiles' community of groups in the Palestinian population who had not shared the experience of the Exile,...'⁴³ But he may be wrong when he ascribes the remnant simply to the northern Israelites who remained⁴⁴ in their former place after the fall of Samaria.

It has generally been agreed that one of the purposes of the composition of the deuteronomistic history was to explain the national disaster of 586 B.C.⁴⁵ The exile was the inevitable result of the rebellion of Israel and Judah against Yahweh. As far as the theme of the exile is involved, it is worth observing that the anti-northern bias is not displayed at all in the deuteronomistic history.⁴⁶ Instead, what is emphasized in the deuteronomistic history is the sins of Israel and Judah which caused Yahweh to feel aggravated and to have all of the people of Israel carried away into a foreign country.

However, the other purpose of the deuteronomistic history was definitely to encourage the remnant and give them a new hope of Yahweh's salvation: If the exiles repent of their sins, then Yahweh will bring them back to their former land (Cf. Deut. 30:1-10). For our discussion, it is then very important to notice the meaning of the term 'remnant' in the deuteronomistic history. Interestingly, those survivors who were left in Palestine are not considered as the remnant, but the term 'remnant' in the deuteronomistic history refers to only the exiles who were carried away into a foreign country.

This is understandable if we consider the theological scheme of the deuteronomistic history: apostasy-punishment (exile)-repentance-deliverance.⁴⁷ According to the deuteronomistic history, all the people of Israel were deported to a foreign country due to their sins against Yahweh, the land was now filled with foreign colonists who were brought by the enemy, and with lions.⁴⁸ Accordingly, those people who remained in Palestine were not considered as the body of the true Israel, but pejoratively were called *am ha-arets* who were spared not by Yahweh himself but by Babylonians (cf. II King 25:12; Jer. 39:10). In any case, that the only remnant whom Yahweh spared as the seed of the true Israel were the exiles is especially emphasized in the writings of the exilic prophets as well as in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. This will be dealt with in the next section.

In brief, if we turn to II Kings 17, it is apparent, as Alan D. Crown argues, that the primary source of the chapter (vv. 1-6, 24, 30, 31, and 34a) supports the view that Assyrians carried Israelites as captives away into foreign countries and transplanted foreign settlers into Samaria. It is then worth observing that this source says nothing of a total deportation of the northern kingdom of Israel.⁴⁹ In recent times, Jeffrey H. Tigay has demonstrated from the onomastic and epigraphic evidence that Israel formed 'an overwhelmingly Yahwistic society in the heartland of Israelite settlement' during the monarchical period until the downfall of the Judaeen kingdom.⁵⁰ Hence it may be argued that the primary source reflect the historical realities after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. However it is also clear that the general picture of II Kings 17 with the additions of a later period is exaggerated with a polemical intention as if the whole population were deported due to their sins against Yahweh. Thus it is correct for Tigay to suggest that the sweeping biblical indictments of the sins of Israel betray the theological axioms rather than the historical fact.⁵¹ Hence, we can conclude that II Kings 17 was employed as the polemic of the returned exiles. In other words, its purpose was not simply to give an explanation concerning the exile of the both nations, but to discriminate against the survivors in the land of Israel who had not experienced the exile and to reject

their status as true Israelites.

Notes to Chapter I

1. See especially sections D and E of Chapter Two.
2. Cf. II Kings 24:14-16; 25:12; Jer. 52:28.
3. Cf. Jer. 24:1-10; 29:17.
4. II Kings 24:14; 25:12; Jer. 39:10; 52:15.
5. For example, see Jer. 30-31, Eze. 37:15-23.
6. For example, see the modern use of the term *Shomronim* as the 'Samaritans' in RSV, NEB, and JB. See also W. Emery Barnes, 'History of Israel', in *DB*, p. 512 and G. van Gronigen, *First Century Gnosticism: Its Origin and Motifs* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 201.
7. For studies of the term, 'until this day', see I. Seeligman, 'Etiological Elements in Biblical Historiography', *Zion*, 26 (1961), 153-55 (Hebrew); B. S. Childs, 'A Study of the Formula, "until this day"', *JBL*, 82 (1963), 279-92; and Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, 'Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser in the Book of Kings: Historiographic Considerations', *Bib*, 60/4 (1979), 493-99 [Originally published in Hebrew in *EI*, 14 (1978), 55-61].
8. Some oriental versions of Esdras and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch have a reading of 'nine and a half tribes'. For this see, Jacob M. Myers, *I & II Esdras*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 42 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), p. 306 and p. 311; R. J. Coggins and M. A. Knibb, *The First and Second Books of Esdras*, The Cambridge Bible Commentary New English Bible (Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 267-68; A. F. J. Klijn, 'The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch', in *Outside the Old Testament*, CCWJCW 200, vol. 4, edited by M. de Jonge (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 199.
9. *Ant*, VI, 133.
10. *M. San.* 10:3.
11. For the studies on the ten lost tribes, see C. R. Condor, 'The Ten Tribes', *PEFQS*, (July 1888), 144-50; A. Neubauer, 'Where are the Ten Tribes?', *JQR*, (1889), 14-28, 95-114, 185-201, 408-23; H. G. May, 'The Ten Lost Tribes', *BA*, 6/3 (1943), 55-60.

12. Henri Noach, 'In Pursuit of the Lost Ten Tribes: An Odyssey to the East', *Forum on the Jewish People, Zionism and Israel*, 61 (Spring, 1988), 40-45.
13. For example, see R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, pp. 13-15; *idem.*, 'The Old Testament and Samaritan Origins', *ASTI*, 6 (1967-68), 37.
14. See Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 207. However, Pauline A. Viviano ['2 Kings 17: A Rhetorical and Form-Critical Analysis, *CBQ*, 49 (1987), 553], considering v. 19 as a footnote, suggests that 'all the people of Israel' (v. 20) refer only to the northern Israelites.
15. Richard Nelson, *First and Second Kings: Interpretation, A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1987), p. 231.
16. Quoted from A. F. J. Klijn, *loc. cit.*, p. 196.
17. Cf. also Jer. 4:28; 13:6.
18. See A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy, The New Century Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), pp. 41-47.
19. Cf. note 37 of Chapter III.
20. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*, Third Edition (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967). This was published first in 1943 and the second edition in Tübingen, 1957; *idem.*, *The Deuteronomistic History, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Series*, 15 (Sheffield, 1981). For an introductory study concerning the deuteronomistic compilation, see G. H. Jones, *I and 2 Kings, The New Century Bible Commentary*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), pp. 28-44 (hereafter *Kings*).
21. F. M. Cross, 'The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History', in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 274-89. Cf. Richard Elliott Friedman, 'The Impact of Exile on the Character of the Deuteronomistic History' in *The Exile and Biblical Narrative: The Formation of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly Works*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, 22 (Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 1-43.
22. Published by Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, vol. 18, 1981 (hereafter *Double*).

23. Ibid., pp. 143-44.
24. Rudolf Smend, 'Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte', in *Probleme Biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70 Geburtstag*, edited by Hans Walter Wolff (München: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1971), pp. 494-509; *idem.*, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978), pp. 110-25.
25. Walter Dietrich, *Prophezie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk*, FRLANT, 108 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).
26. Timo Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, 198 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977).
27. R. Smend, loc. cit., pp. 494-509.
28. W. Dietrich, loc. cit., p. 42.
29. G. H. Jones, *Kings*, vol. II, p. 543.
30. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 43 f.
31. See Adolphe Lods, *The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism*, translated by S. H. Hooke (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), p. 24 (hereafter *Prophets*). See also Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 6.
32. For example, see John Gray, *I & II Kings; A Commentary*, Third, Fully Revised, Edition (London: SCM Press, 1977), pp. 638-56.
33. Rudolf Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, 1/5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), pp. 274-78; John Skinner, *I & II Kings*, *The Century Bible* (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1904), pp. 375-82; recently Richard D. Nelson, *Double*, pp. 55-62. However, according to Gray (loc. cit., p. 649), vv. 19-20 are possibly independent of vv. 7-17.
34. C. F. Burney [*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), pp. 330-33] has ascribed 17:7-23 to the preexilic deuteronomistic redactor, except for vv. 19-20 which are considered as an insert by the exilic and post-exilic editor(s).
35. See John Macdonald, 'The Structure of II Kings xvii', *TGUOS*, 23 (1969-1970), 29-41. However, according to Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor (*II Kings*, p. 207),

vv. 19-20 are possibly from 'a later, third writer who saw the fate of all Israel as inextricably exile bound'.

36. S. Talmon, 'Polemics and Apology in Biblical Historiography -- 2 Kings 17:24-41', in *The Creation of Sacred Literature: Composition and Redaction of the Biblical Text*, Near Eastern Studies, vol. 22, edited by R. E. Friedman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 60-62.
37. *Ibid.*, 67.
38. Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1948), pp. 378 ff.
39. See Richard D. Nelson, *Double*, pp. 55-63. For deuteronomistic phraseology, see especially Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 320-65.
40. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 14.
41. Pauline A. Viviano, *loc. cit.*, 559.
42. Mordechai Cogan, 'Israel in Exile -- The View of a Josianic Historian', *JBL*, 97/1 (Mar 1978), 43.
43. S. Talmon, *loc. cit.*, 67.
44. *Ibid.*, 68.
45. For the purpose of the deuteronomistic history, see Jorge Mejia, 'The Aim of the Deuteronomistic Historian: A Reappraisal', in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (1972), pp. 291-98.
46. This may support the view that the anti-northern bias in II Kings was the polemic of a later period.
47. Norman K. Gottwald, *A Light to the Nations: An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), pp. 167 f.
48. Cf. II Kings 17:24-25.
49. Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, pp. 13 f., and also *The Biblical*, pp. 8-9.
50. Jeffrey H. Tigay, *You shall have no other gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions*, Harvard Semitic Studies, 31 (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), p. 36 [Reprinted as the title of 'Israelite Religion: The Onomastic and Epigraphical Evidence' in *Ancient Israelite Religion:*

Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross (hereafter *AIRE*), edited by Patrick D. Miller, Jr., et al., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 157-94].

51. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Chapter II

Samaritan Origins in Archaeology

The Judaeo-Christian tradition concerning the origin of the Samaritans is grounded in the interpretation of II Kings 17. The general impression of II Kings 17 is that the kingdom of Israel was totally depopulated after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C., and that foreigners from various countries were assimilated with the indigeneous inhabitants of the former territory of the Israelite kingdom. Accordingly, this has been regarded as the origin of the Samaritans. At the same time, according to Ezra 4:1 ff., the colonists were blamed for being syncretistic worshippers in the land of Israel and were not allowed to share the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple. Hence they hindered the rebuilding of the Temple by the returned exiles. This has been interpreted as the beginning of the Samaritan schism.

Since the traditional view concerning the origin of the Samaritans has emphasized the total deportation as well as the assimilation of the Israelites, it will be necessary to continue our discussion of the origins of the Samaritans by reexamining the Israelite history of the whole period from the eighth century to the fifth century, especially taking account of the evidence from archaeology. In this chapter we will briefly consider the

military campaigns of Assyria and Babylon against the land of Israel. Then we will deal with the size of population as well as the captivity during the Iron Age II C. Finally, the existence of the remnant and the continuity of the Israelite material culture will be discussed separately.

A. Campaigns of Assyria

There is no doubt that the first direct contact between Assyria and Israel started in the period of Ahab of Israel. In 853 B.C. Ahab joined a south Syrian confederacy consisting of 12 western countries including Armaeans, Arabians, Ammonites, and various Phoenician states. They confronted Shalmaneser III at Qarqar on the Orontes river in 853 B.C.¹ According to the annalistic records of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian forces opposed to the mighty coalition combined '... 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalymen, 20,000 foot soldiers of Adad-'idri of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 cavalymen, 10,000 foot soldiers of Irhuleni from Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite,...'² Shalmaneser claimed a victory and boasted of killing 14,000 soldiers of the combined army.³

It is then Jehu who appears after Ahab in the annalistic records of Shalmaneser III. An Assyrian annalistic report depicts, interestingly, that Jehu degraded himself as a vassal king of Assyria and brought tribute to Shalmaneser,

although the biblical historians are silent about Jehu's submission to the Assyrian king.⁴ If we suppose that Jehu led a rebellion in 841 B.C., it is likely that the decline of the dynasty of Omri, and Jehu's coup d'etat, had something to do with the policy of the expansion of Assyria.⁵ M. Astour argues that Jehu revolted to concilliate Shalmaneser III and to save the Israelites from Assyrian retaliation when the Assyrian forces invaded the land of Isrel in 841 B.C.⁶

There are indications that it was later, from the period of Tiglath-pileser III, that the Northern Kingdom of Israel began to collapse. We know that Menahem paid homage to Tiglath-pileser III in order to secure his kingship as well as the position of his son, Pekahiah (II Kings 15:19),⁷ when the Assyrian king attacked the west. If we accept, for the identification of 'Azriyau of Yaudi' mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's annals, that he was the very king in the Bible, i.e., Azariah of Judah,⁸ it is evident that Judah also submitted to Assyria in this period and that a number of inhabitants were deported from their cities.⁹ Assyria's reaction to the rebellious movements of the small countries in the west was always immediate. Hence, when a new anti-Assyrian coalition was formed among the western countries including Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel, and when Ahaz of Judah called the Assyrian troops for help in the peril of Syro-Ephraimite war,¹⁰ they acted promptly. First of all, the

Assyrian army marched through Philistia to the border of Egypt in 734 B.C. for the purpose of blockading Egypt. Tiglath-pileser then made his military campaign against Israel, conquering Galilee, Gilead, and the coastal region at the end of 733 or early in 732 B.C.¹¹

The archaeological evidence clearly shows that the bulk of the sites were completely destroyed in this period: Hazor (V A), Megiddo (IV A), Beth Shan (IV), Gezer (V I), Tel Dan (II), Tell Abu Kudeis, Shikmona, En-Gev, and Tell Kinneret. Most sites were, however, resettled after the destruction, but a few towns such as Beth Shan and Tell Abu Kudeis never recovered.¹²

The events of this period are attested both by passages in the Bible and in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions. According to II Kings 15:29, Tiglath-pileser took Ijon, Abel Beth Maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali and 'deported the people to Assyria'. Assyrian annalistic records also list the names of the conquered towns as well as the number of prisoners from those places:

...x captives from the city of [. . .]-bara. 625 captives from the city of [. . .] [. . .] captives from the city of] hannathon, 650 captives from Ku[. . .] captives from the city of Joltbah, 656 captives from the city of Sa[. . .] the cities of Aruma and Merum [. . .] 13

A fatal blow was, however, given to Israel when Hoshea adopted a pro-Egyptian policy in 724 B.C. Shalmaneser V launched a campaign immediately and besieged the capital of Samaria for about two years. Finally Samaria fell into the hands of Shalmaneser in August or September 722 B.C. shortly before he died in December of the same year.¹⁴

The question then arises as to the extent of the deportation of the Israelites and this issue will be discussed in detail later. At this point it will suffice to mention briefly the evidence concerning the Assyrian deportation. As Tadmor argues, the exile of the Israelites was carried out in the year of 720, when Sargon II quelled the rebellion in Syria and also reconquered Samaria which had joined the rebels, rather than in 722 B.C. soon after the death of Shalmaneser V.¹⁵ The Assyrian inscriptions record that Sargon deported 27,290 inhabitants from Samaria and rebuilt it as an Assyrian administrative city.¹⁶ At the same time, he transplanted Arabian tribes to replace the Israelite deportees after conquering the revolt in Mannai in 715 B.C.¹⁷

That the Northern Kingdom experienced severe devastation during the last two decades of the eighth century is clearly evidenced from the excavations at the major archaeological sites such as Samaria and Shechem. The building of Stratum VII in Israelite Shechem was captured so suddenly in 724 B.C. that its occupants probably could

not take away any objects from the inside of the building.¹⁸ Similarly, Dothan (II), Tell el-Far'ah (II), and Bethel were destroyed shortly before the final conquest of the city of Samaria.¹⁹

When the Northern Kingdom of Israel was destroyed in 722 B.C., the Southern Kingdom of Judah was already a vassal kingdom of Assyria like the other small nations in the west. But the rebellion to throw off the yoke of Assyria by all the southern states, including Judah, Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Egypt, brought another disaster to them. The Assyrians marched against Ashdod in 712 B.C. As a consequence, Judah was defeated and Hezekiah had to pay tributes to Sargon II.²⁰

Hezekiah revolted, however, against Assyria in 701 B.C.²¹ Sennacherib retaliated against Judah without delay and devastated the entire country. In his inscription he boasted of taking 46 Judaeen cities as well as countless small villages and derided Hezekiah as being in Jerusalem 'like a bird in a cage'.²² The inscription also reports that Sennacherib carried away 200,150 people, and that the boundary of Judah was reduced, while her tribute was increased.²³

After Sennacherib's campaign, Judah was loyal to Assyria, especially in the period of Hezekiah's two sons, Manasseh and Amon. Then, according to the biblical passages,

Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, who continuously engaged in warfare, mostly with Egypt brought foreigners to the area of Samaria.²⁴ It was in the period of Josiah, however, that Judah was liberated from the foreign policy of mighty nations and expanded her territory again.

From the middle of the ninth century B.C., when Assyria expanded her power to the west, there were a number of political changes in Israel and Judah: the dynasty of Israel changed six times from Omri to Hoshea, and five kings in Israel as well as two in Judah were assassinated by usurpers, who might have been influenced by the foreign policy of Assyria or Egypt. As a result the kingdom of Israel was totally destroyed in 722, while Judah was reduced both in power and territory. It is important to note that within around a half century, from the rule of Tiglath-pileser III to that of Sennacherib, there were seven major Assyrian campaigns against Israel and Judah, and also three important deportations, two from Israel and one from Judah.

B. Campaigns of Babylon

After Assurbanipal died in 663 B.C., the Assyrian empire began to decline. As a consequence, a new dynasty, the neo-Babylonian kingdom was established in Mesopotamia. In the struggle for hegemony in Syro-Palestine, Babylon defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 B.C. and

confirmed her suzerainty over the entire area of the Near
East.²⁵

Though there has been no consensus among scholars yet on the exact date of the Babylonian subjugation of Judah, it is likely that Jehoiakim submitted to Nebuchadnezzar in 603 B.C.²⁶ Jehoiakim was loyal to Babylon for three years (II Kings 24:1), but he revolted against Babylon in 600 B.C., seeing that the Babylonian campaign against Egypt in 601/600 B.C. had failed. According to the Babylonian chronicles, Nebuchadnezzar in his fifth regnal year stayed at home to reinforce a large force of chariots and horses. But in his sixth regnal year Nebuchadnezzar had the successful military march against Arabs. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar devastated Judah in full force in his seventh regnal year, 598/597 B.C.²⁷

The military campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah is worth discussing in detail. Firstly, it seems that Nebuchadnezzar had Chaldaean garrison troops in Syria as well as irregulars from the Transjordanian countries -- Edom, Moab, and Ammon-- who raided Judaeen territory before he himself appeared in the front line.²⁸ The bands from such nations could be conscripted during the military campaign against them by Nebuchadnezzar in his sixth regnal year.²⁹ Biblical passages seem to reflect such attacks by the garrison troops as well as those from Judah's neighbouring countries. For instance, in the book

of Jeremiah the rustic Rechabites escaped to Jerusalem to
avoid of the invasion of Chaldaeans and Aramaeans. ³⁰ It
is noteworthy that the biblical tradition strongly
reflects deep animosity toward 'all wicked neighbours'
(Jer. 12:14) who took the territory of Israel during and
after this period. ³¹ A Hebrew ostrakon from Arad also
supports the argument that Judah was attacked by garrison
troops. It describes an expected Edomite attack and an
urgent command to dispatch the soldiers from Arad and
Kinah to Ramath-Negeb in order to resist the march of
Edomites. ³²

After harassing Judah with his vanguards, Nebuchadnezzar
then mustered his own forces to punish the rebellious
king, Jehoiakim, and marched for Jerusalem in 598 B.C.
The fourth century A.D. historian, Eusebius, records
details about the campaign as follows:

Nabuchodonosor, the king of the Babylonians, hearing
Jeremiah's prophecies, invited Astibares the king of
the Medes to join him in a military campaign.
Enlisting Babylonians and Medes, and gathering
180,000 infantry, 120,000 horses, and 10,000
chariots, he first overwhelmed Samaritis, Galilee,
Scythopolis, and the Jews dwelling in Galaditis, and
then took Jerusalem and captured alive the Jewish
king, Jonachin. ³³

The historical accuracy of this report is questionable.
J. R. Barllett argues that the size of the Babylonian
troops here was in reality that of the Persian army. ³⁴
Moreover, there is no evidence that the Medes co-operated

with the Babylonian forces to attack Jerusalem. However, even though the report is inaccurate in some respects, it seems that it gives us valuable information in reconstructing the route of the Babylonian campaign. If Babylonians marched for Jerusalem taking a route south from Syria, then they probably passed through Galilee, Beth Shan, Gilead, and Samaria.³⁵ Depending upon the LXX version of II Chronicles 36:5, Malamat suggests a possibility that these areas, previously annexed by Josiah into Judah, were invaded by the Babylonians in this period.³⁶

Further light is shed on the Babylonian campaign by an Aramaic letter found in Saqqarah in Egypt. It describes an urgent call for reinforcements from Egypt against the approaching Babylonian troops:

That [I have written to my lord is to inform thee that the troops] of the king of Babylon have advanced as far as Aphek and have be[gun to . . . For Lord of Kingdoms Pharaoh knows that [thy] servant [can not stand alone against the king of Babylon. May it therefore please him] to send a force to succour me.
37

If we accept Aphek on the plain of Sharon as the place of the composition of this letter,³⁸ then it is evident that the Babylonian army marched along the via Maris. Malamat maintains that Aphek was an advanced base for the Babylonians from which to attack Judah and the Philistine cities, because of Aphek's strategical and geographical

position between the Yargon river and the mountains.

There have, however, been different opinions about the exact date of the letter. The earliest date, of 605 B.C., when the Babylonians pursued the defeated Egyptians from Carchemish to Hamath was offered by Dupont-Sommer.⁴⁰ But John Bright suggests 604, when the Babylonians sacked Ashkelon.⁴¹ Ginsberg, however, held 603/2, while Malamat convincingly connects the event to the Babylonian campaign of 599/8.⁴² Finally D. W. Thomas contends that the letter dates from the last years of the fall of Jerusalem.⁴³ An interesting factor which Malamat points to is the words, 'they came and arrived', on line 4 of the letter. Malamat suggests that 'first the vanguard of the Babylonian army went up to Jerusalem to surround and cut off the city and that later Nebuchadnezzar himself arrived with his main forces'.⁴⁴ If this is accepted, then we can conclude that Nebuchadnezzar had his garrison troops attack central Palestine, his auxiliary forces from Judah's neighbouring countries devastated the south and the east of Judah, and finally all forces surrounded the city of Jerusalem. After this the king marched for Jerusalem.

The foregoing argument will help us to explain the archaeological evidence that most fortified cities in Palestine were sacked by the Babylonian garrison troops as well as by the auxiliary forces from the neighbouring countries during 598, and soon after the surrender of

45
Jehoiakim. According to Babylonian chronicles, the king with his heavy forces marched for Jerusalem on the 18th of December, 598 B.C. in his seventh regnal year. 46 This implies that it took Nebuchadnezzar only two months to arrive at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, hardly thinkable that Nebuchadnezzar himself attacked the other Judaeen cities during such a short period of campaign in 598 B.C. Alternatively, the fact that the punitive expedition against Jerusalem took only a short period of two months may suggest that the king had almost no resistance from the Judaeen cities. That is to say, most fortified cities were already conquered by Nebuchadnezzar's vanguards before he appeared at Jerusalem. In any case, there is a biblical passage which decisively reports that the officers of Nebuchadnezzar advanced on Jerusalem and 47 besieged it before the king himself came up to the city.

As a consequence, Judaeen territory was much reduced and annexed into a province of Babylon. It is likely that the northern territory, formerly reunited into Judah by 48 Josiah, was again cut off from Judah during this period.

In addition, it is also possible that the territory of Benjamin was conquered by the Babylonians as early as 597 49 B.C. and was annexed to become a province of *Samerina*.

Finally, it is manifest that the Negeb too was taken by 50 the Edomites in this period. It seems that such a passage as 'the cities in the Negeb will be shut up' (Jer. 13:19a) implies the destruction of Negeb by the Edomites

in this period. Furthermore, the list of Judaeen boundaries as 'the territory of Benjamin, the villages around Jerusalem, the towns of Judah, and the towns of the hill country, of the western foothills and of the Negeb' (Jer. 32:44; cf. 17:26, 33:13) seems to reflect the area conquered by the Babylonians in 597 B.C. Interestingly, the sites of the destroyed cities in the Iron Age II C, fit the list of the boundaries in Jeremiah. It is, therefore, generally agreed that the eastern Negeb as well as those towns located in between Mt. Ephraim and Jordan valley were mostly destroyed during this period or soon⁵¹ after the surrender of Jehoiakin.

Judah was now confined to a small area between the Benjaminite territory and the frontier of Hebron. It may be argued that Lachish and Azekah remained alone when Nebuchadnezzar seized the city of Jerusalem again in⁵² 588. Though Jerusalem resisted the Babylonian attack desperately, the wall of the city was finally breached on the 18th of July, 586 and the Temple was destroyed on⁵³ 14/17th August, 586 B.C.

Needless to say, the inevitable results of the incessant wars during the Iron Age II C in the land of Israel were the exile of the people of the upper class as well as the collapse of the national economy of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah. In addition, we can suggest that the loss of nationality due to the repeated fall of the

kingdoms as well as the territorial annexation should be considered as the most important factors in relation to the origins of the Samaritans.

As a result of the campaigns by the Assyrians and the Babylonians, Israel and Judah were conquered and their people were carried away to foreign countries. Therefore we are going to deal with the problems of the actual size of the population of Israel and Judah, and what portion of their people were exiled, in the next two sections.

C. The Population of Israel and Judah

In the Bible we have several pieces of demographic information about the total population of Israel in the period of Israelite I and II. For example, Exodus 12:37-38 describes how 600,000 foot-soldiers came out of Egypt, besides women, children, and many other people who were with them. According to a census in Numbers, Israel had 603,550 men, who were twenty years old or more, and able to serve in the army, after the time of Exodus (Num. 1-2); 22,000 Levites over a month old (Num. 3:39) as well as 8,580 men between the ages of thirty and fifty years were counted separately (Num. 4:48). This number was, however, slightly reduced during the life of wilderness. Hence a second census counted in the Desert of Sinai reports that the total number of the men of Israel was 601,730 (Num. 26), not including 23,000 Levites over a month old

(26:62). Finally, in the period of David the population increased so rapidly that there were 1,300,000 fighting men, 800,000 in Israel and 500,000 in Judah (II Sam. 24:9). In the parallel passage the Chronicler counts 1,000,000 soldiers in all Israel including 470,000 in Judah except the number of Levi and Benjamin (I Chron. 21:5), while in Rehoboam's numeration Judah and Benjamin had 180,000 fighting men (II Chron. 11:1). All these figures, then, would mean at least four or five million people for Israel which seems an extraordinarily high number.⁵⁴

However, we do not have any clear demographic statistics about population size during the period of Samaria's fall, except for a piece of information in II Kings 15: 19-20. It is said then that when Tiglath-pileser III invaded the Hatti land, Menahem exacted a thousand shekels of silver by imposing fifty shekels of silver on every wealthy man in Israel which was to be paid to the Assyrian king for his own safety. Based upon this number, scholars, although they have not agreed with one another, have then deduced the number of the northern Israelites. By calculating three thousand shekels to the talent some have maintained that there were 60,000 landowners in that period.⁵⁵ Hence, de Vaux supposed 800,000 Israelites⁵⁶ and Baron proposed 800,000-1,000,000 Israelites.⁵⁷ However, other scholars have estimated 3,600 shekels to the talent rather than 3,000 shekels, and have inferred

7,200 heads of families. A. D. Crown has suggested 360,000 inhabitants in Israel by estimating the average number in the family of the rich as five persons,⁵⁸ while R. Brinker has surmised a figure of 3,000,000 for the entire population of Israel, but reduced this to 1,500,000 Israelites at the time of the fall of Samaria by allowing⁵⁹ for the reduced territory as well as other disasters.

In contrast with the various calculations mentioned above, archaeologists have proposed a new method of estimating the size of ancient populations based upon a comparative analysis of the architectural and archaeological evidence.⁶⁰ In other words, they deduce the density coefficient from a number of sample settlements of various periods and then estimate the total population on that basis. Y. Shiloh, for instance, suggests the figure of 40-50 persons per dunam as a fixed-density coefficient for the Iron Age settlements.⁶¹ Accepting this density as reasonably accurate, Broshi and Gophna estimate 106,500 (rounded off to 100,000) for the population of MB II A and 138,000 (rounded off to 140,000) for that of MB II B.⁶² Broshi himself again estimates 372,000 for the population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine period, i.e., almost one million for the whole population of Palestine.⁶³

Concerning the number of the Israelites at the end of the eighth century as well as that of the Judaeans at the

destruction of Jerusalem, scholars are still of divergent opinions. Baron estimated 1,100,000-1,300,000 people-- 800,000 Israelites and 300,000-350,000 Judaeans-- at the end of eighth century B.C., and 150,000 in the period of the fall of Jerusalem.⁶⁴ However, Albright assumed 900,000 people --600,000 Israelites and 250,000-300,000 Judaeans -- by the end of the eighth century, but only half that number between 597 and 586, and not more than 20,000 inhabitants in 522 B.C.⁶⁵ Finally, Shiloh has contended recently that the population of the Iron Age should be set at a lower figure than those numbers.⁶⁶

As reviewed above, the size of population of Israel and Judah has been variously estimated as from several millions to less than a million. For the discussion of this chapter the most conservative number of around 560,000 individuals, i.e., 360,000 Israelites and 200,000 Judaeans, will be taken tentatively as the whole population of Israel and Judah. There is good evidence for this. According to the archaeological survey of the areas of Judaea and Samaria, the total size of about 150 sites in the Iron Age is approximately 2,400 dunams.⁶⁷ This indicates about 16 dunams as the average per site for the settlement of the Iron Age. We do not know exactly how many cities or towns were in Ancient Israel. The archaeologists have, however, found around 300 Iron Age sites which were mostly located in the rural area.⁶⁸ If we suppose that there existed at least 400 cities in

Ancient Israel apart from those 300 rural areas, the size of the settlements of Ancient Israel could be calculated as 11,200 dunams (16 x 300 + 400). This would suggest that, if we accept the density coefficient of the archaeologists, the total number in Israel at the period of the Iron Age was approximately 560,000 (11,200 x 50).

D. The Exile

The biblical accounts conflict with each other over the size of captivity after the fall of both kingdoms. On the one hand, the message of the Bible asserts that the depopulation as well as the devastation of each country were complete by the judgment of Yahweh.⁶⁹ Other passages, on the other hand, clearly indicate that the exile was not total and that a number of people were left in Palestine.⁷⁰ Likewise, it is interesting to find that scholars are in disagreement with each other concerning the extent of the damage to the land of Israel. Albright has insisted that 'there is not a single known case where a town of Judah proper was continuously occupied through the exilic period',⁷¹ whereas S. A. Cook has argued that '...in no circumstance can we suppose that the districts were denuded of their inhabitants'.⁷² Hence in this section we will determine what was the real picture of the fall of both kingdoms. The prophet Jeremiah speaks of four kinds of destroyers of the Judaeen people: plague, slaying, starvation, and exile (15:2-3). Therefore we

will consider firstly the physical damage of Israel and Judah from the end of the eighth century to the period of the downfall of Jerusalem. Then, the actual size of the exile of both kingdoms will be discussed.

Firstly, given the continuous oracles for plague, slaying, and starvation of the Judaeen people in the prophetic passages, it may be argued that a number of people died from these causes. According to the biblical material, Jerusalem was destroyed not merely by Babylonians but by the devastating famine which plagued its inhabitants.⁷³ The situation of the city of Samaria was probably similar to that of Jerusalem. Samaria too had been besieged for two years by Assyrian troops, and doubtless also suffered from plague and starvation.

The question then arises as to how many people of Israel and Judah lost their lives during wars. We can consider the estimate of the number who died in each city and the number of the cities engaged in war separately. There is a piece of information on the number of the war dead from Ashdod. Groups of skeletons and bones in secondary burials with some funeral offerings were discovered at Stratum VIII of Ashdod. The remains belong to some three thousand individuals who probably died during the conquest of the city by Sargon II.⁷⁴ The settlement area of Ashdod was about 350 dunams, which means the city had 17,500 dwellers.⁷⁵ This indicates that about 17% of the

population of Ashdod died during war.

Another source concerning the number of the dead during war in general comes from Lachish. It was reported that excavators found at least 1,500 bodies from a large pit which had once been a tomb (no. 120) on the north-west slope of Lachish.⁷⁶ It is very likely that the bodies were cast into the pit when the city was cleared up after the Sennacherib's military campaign.⁷⁷ At the same time, it may be supposed that the bodies in the pit possibly included all those who died from plague, starvation, and slaying during the war. According to the archaeologists, the size of Lachish in the Iron age was about 150 dunams for its settlements. This suggests that Lachish had approximately 7,500 inhabitants.⁷⁸ In other words, it may be argued that about 20 % of the total population of Lachish were killed during the war between Judaeans and Assyrians. Therefore, we will consider an average of 20% as the number of the dead of each city which engaged in war.

How many cities were then engaged in war? We know that around 64% of excavated sites belong to those which have an occupational gap in the Persian period or no occupational stratum at all after the Iron Age II C.⁷⁹ Thus this number can be taken as a proportion of the engaged cities or towns. In addition to this we have to consider the other destroyed cities--around 6%-- , which

have not been calculated in the report. We can then conclude that about 70% of the entire towns in Ancient Israel belong to this group. Thus we have 50,400 dead in Israel, i.e., 14% of the whole population of Israel. This percentage should be increased to around 30% for the estimate of the dead in Judah, if we suppose that most cities in Judah were destroyed at least twice.

Next, let us consider what was the actual size of exile during the middle of the eighth century B.C. until the end of the kingdom of Judah. Assyro-Babylonian sources as well as the biblical material give us several pieces of numerical information about the size of the deportation.

Firstly, one passage which describes Tiglath-pileser's campaign in 733 enumerates only the number of captives from each of six Israelite towns,⁸¹ but a fragment of another Assyrian annal shows that a total of 13,520 prisoners were carried away from Galilee, Reuben, Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh in Transjordan during the campaign.⁸² Then, in 720 B.C. there were 27,290 (or 27,280) captives from the city of Samaria. This means that a total of 40,810 Israelites were exiled by the Assyrians. Hence we can conclude that the total number of the captives and the dead would be 91,210 souls (40,810 captives + 50,400 dead). This indicates about 25% of the whole population of Israel. A. D. Crown once suggested the figure 90,140 (46,640 captives + 43,500 dead) during

the two decades of warfare between Israel and Assyria. He concluded, therefore, that some 70 % of the population remained in Israel.⁸⁴

In the case of Judah the first deportation took place in the period of Hezekiah. According to the Assyrian annals, Sennacherib boasted of the captivity of 200,150 Judaeans in 701 B.C.⁸⁵ However, this writer adopts, tentatively, the number 2,150 for the Judaeans captives in this period.⁸⁶ The exact number of the Babylonian captivity is not clear because of contradiction in the biblical sources.⁸⁷ If we follow Malamat's reconstruction of the last years of the kingdom of Judah, the first Babylonian captivity was in Nubuchadnezzar's seventh regnal year, 598 B.C.⁸⁸ He deported 3,025 Judaeans at that time (Jer. 52:28). Major deportation of 7,000 of the upper classes began early in the next year (II Kings 24:12). There were 832 captives from Jerusalem in 587 and finally 745 in 582 B.C. (Jer. 52:29-30). Therefore it can be estimated that there was a total of 13,344 (roughly 13,400) exiles in Judah.⁸⁹

Through all the campaigns mentioned earlier, Assyrians as well as Babylonians employed the policy of mass deportation. According to B. Oded there had been an estimated total of four and a half million deportees resulting from 157 different cases of deportation over a period of about three centuries from Ashur-dan II to

Ashurbanipal.⁹⁰ Approximately 80% of the total deportees were carried away between the period of Tiglath-pileser III and the decline of Assyrian kingdom.⁹¹ It is noteworthy that the mass deportations of Israelites as well as Judaeans occurred in this period.

H. Donner describes how the policy of mass deportation was carried out at three stages: firstly, the beginning of a vassalage by military campaign; secondly, deportation of the upper classes to prevent a further rebellion, and thirdly, a final deportation as well as degrading the state into a province.⁹² Now it is likely that Israel and Judah had experienced all these stages, but it is probable that only a small portion of the population, mostly the people from the upper class, were carried away to foreign countries.⁹³ To be more exact, it seems that about 10% of the whole population in Palestine -- 11% of the Israelites and 7% of the Judaeans-- were involved in the captivity.

Next, it will be helpful to comment on refugees, since we have many references to them either in the Bible or from the extra-biblical sources.⁹⁴ It is possible then that the number of refugees is the most important factor in estimating the actual size of the population in Israel and Judah. It seems that there were three kinds of refugees in Palestine. First, there were deserters. It is likely that the doorkeepers in the last days of Judah had kept the people under surveillance lest they surrender to the

95. enemy. Even Zedekiah had in mind to surrender himself to Babylonia, though he did not dare to do that, because he was afraid of the former deserters.⁹⁶ From all these facts we can assume that there were probably a large number of deserters in Judah in the last days of the kingdom. Next, it can be supposed that there were those who escaped temporarily to hiding places on the mountains or to the neighbouring countries.⁹⁷ In support of this are the archaeologists' excavations in the Judaeen Desert Caves. They discovered Iron Age finds in several caves and they believe that these sites served as a temporary refuge rather than a permanent settlement.⁹⁸

Finally, we can be sure that there were a large number of migrants to foreign countries. Archaeologists argue that there was an influx of Israelite migrants into Judah after the fall of Samaria.⁹⁹ This is because it was noticed that many new sites were settled and the former city sites were generally expanded in the process of urbanization. For instance, Jerusalem was enlarged to three to four times its former size.¹⁰⁰ There were, in addition, Jewish migrants to Egypt (Jer. 44:1, cf. 41:17-18). In short, it is clear from various sources that Jewish people migrated to foreign countries during the turmoil of the nation from the eighth century B.C.¹⁰¹ Several scholars maintain that there were migratory currents in the world from the eighth and seventh century, and that a large number of Jewish people flowed into foreign countries in such waves of

migration. C. C. Torrey's following argument about the migration, therefore, can be accepted.

Upon the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, fugitive companies swarmed forth in all directions. Many were only trying to escape the immediate danger, and soon found their way back; but a large number, certainly, continued their flight into foreign parts, and never returned. 103

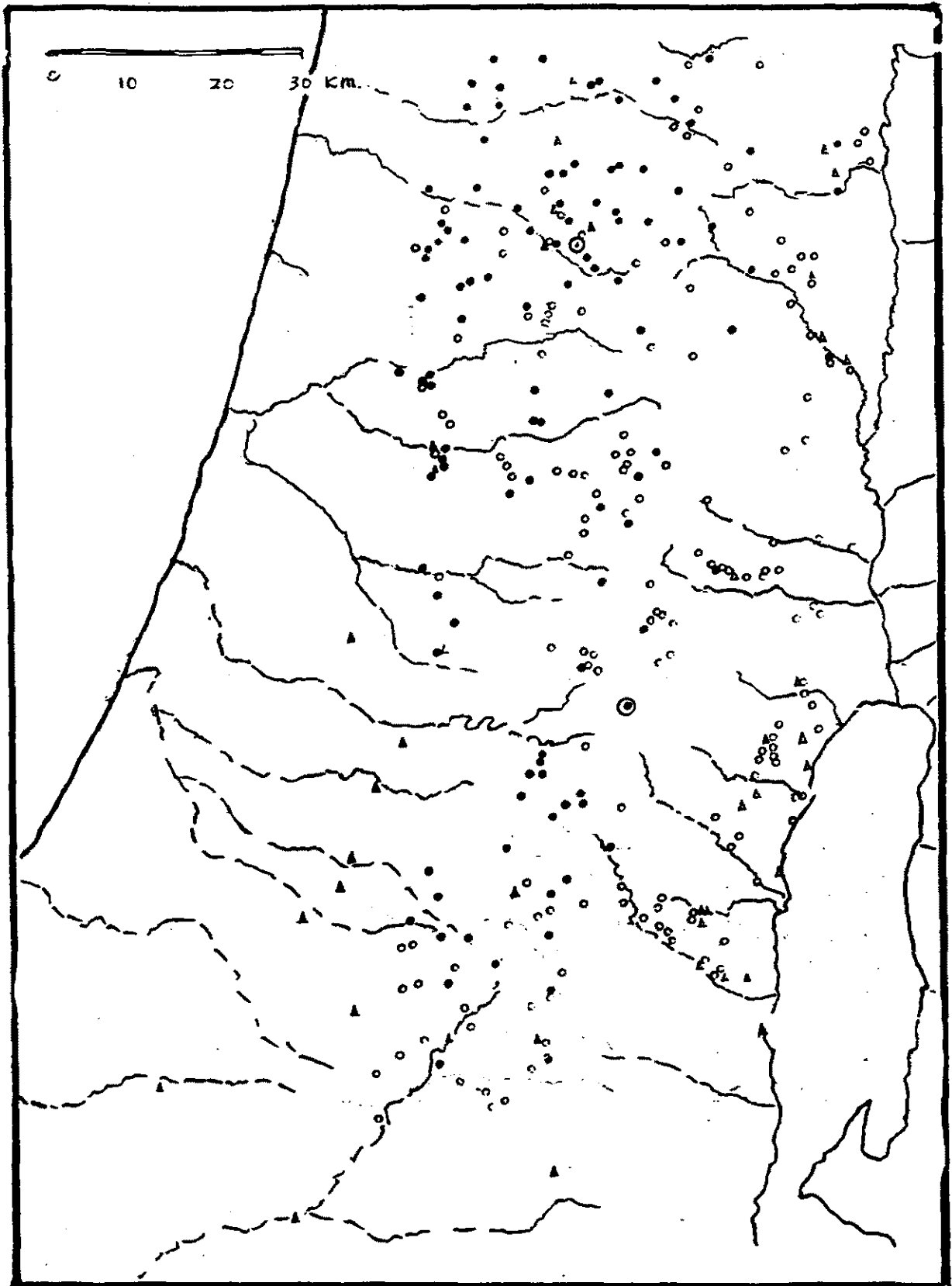
The question then arises as to how large a portion of the population were involved in the immigration to the foreign countries. If we conjecture that 54% of the sites which had shown no occupation stratum belonging to the Persian period were involved in the migratory stream, it would seem that around 192,900 people left their homeland after destruction of the Temple.

To sum up, in the case of the kingdom of Israel, it is likely that about 75% of her entire population remained in their former territory. It is most probable that the former Israelites continued their identity with the southern Judaeans, especially when Josiah reunited the erstwhile northern territory. The population of Judah was much increased due to the reunification with the former Israelite kingdom. The territory of Judah also was expanded in the middle of the 7th century. At that time, the sum of the whole population would be 469,000 inhabitants (200,000 Judaeans + 269,000 former Israelites). Of these, 13,400 prisoners were carried away and 98,400 individuals (about 30% of the 70% of the total

population) died during military campaigns. This represents about 24% of the Jewish people. If we suppose that 54% of the remaining people (76%) took refuge in foreign countries, there were, then, probably only 164,300 Jewish people, i.e., about 35 %, who remained alive in the devastated land of Palestine.

E. The Remnant

The existence of a large portion of the remaining people in the land of Israel can be ascertained by the archaeological evidence. As mentioned earlier, when Tiglath-pileser III razed the northern part of Israel in 733-732 B.C., it seems that he destroyed virtually all of the fortified cities including Tel Dan (II), Hazor (V A), Megiddo (IV A), and Gezer (VI). The major part of the sites, however, were recovered and continued as Israelite dwellings after the destruction. According to A. Biran, walls, stone floors, ovens and pottery of the Israelite II period were found at the seventeenth season of excavations at Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) in 1983-1984.¹⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that building remains of the last phase from the end of Israelite period which were discovered at Stratum I of Area M (centre of the site) strongly support the view that the city remained as an Israelite city until the end of Iron Age II period.¹⁰⁵ The pottery assemblages such as stone jars, cooking pots, and jugs from the seventh and early sixth century B.C. additionally confirms



- : Continuous Settlement
- : No Persian Period
- : No Israelite II Period
- : No further Continuity
(Stop at I-II)

ISRAELITE SETTLEMENTS AFTER 722 B.C.

the Israelite settlement in Dan after the destruction of
the Northern Kingdom.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, it seems that the inhabitants of Hazor began to reoccupy the site after it was destroyed by the Assyrians (stratum V). It was discovered that poor structures at stratum IV were built above the ruined citadel or on the top of the city-wall, and that the town itself was unwalled and thinly populated. Based upon the fact that the pottery associated with stratum IV is identical with that of stratum V, Yadin concludes that the occupants in stratum IV were most probably Israelite squatters who returned there after the fall of the city.¹⁰⁷ Thus this gives us straightforward evidence that all of the Israelites were not taken away into exile.

Further clear evidence about the Israelite remnant comes from Megiddo. At Megiddo, stratum IV discloses that the entire town was laid waste, while stratum III shows a revolutionary change in the lay out of the city. There was apparently a complete architectural break between stratum IV and III. It appears that the change was due to the Assyrians or to their foreign settlers.¹⁰⁸ The evidence of pottery, as well as the other finds of stratum III, however, demonstrate the continuity of the Israelite culture. Hence it has been generally agreed that stratum III was Israelite, whereas stratum II, which was probably destroyed in 609, was Assyrian.¹⁰⁹ But if we consider

Hebrew inscriptions on jars found in a pit and attributed to stratum II, it is most probable that the composition of the population of Megiddo was not completely changed by the new foreign settlers. Thus Graham I. Davies maintains that the Israelites persisted in the city alongside the newcomers even after the rule of the Assyrians.¹¹⁰ This means again that the erstwhile northern Israelites lived in their hometown after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.

Finally, the archaeological evidence from Gezer needs to be considered. Gezer (stratum VI) was brought to an end in a conflagration, but it was built again. And stratum V was also destroyed by the Babylonians at the end of the sixth century. Pottery finds, however, indicate the continuity of the Israelite occupation after the invasion of the Assyrians (stratum VI). Occupation of the site continued in the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and later periods, except for a short gap following the end of stratum V.¹¹¹ From all this it is clear that most archaeological sites evince the continuity of Israelite occupation after the fall of Samaria. In other words, archaeological evidence demonstrates that not all of the Israelites were carried away by the Assyrians but the bulk of the people were left alive in their homeland.

That a large number of Israelites lived in their hometowns continuously after the fall of Samaria to the later

periods is also evidenced from the archaeological researches of R. Gophna and Y. Porat. They surveyed the sites in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh and discovered 119 Iron Age II sites.¹¹² Of these sites 11 showed no further continuity after the end of the Israelite period and 39 were reoccupied after the Persian period, while the other 69 sites (nearly 60% of the whole sites) had continuous settlement through the Israelite, Persian,¹¹³ Hellenistic, and later periods. It is apparent that, of the untouched 69 sites, 17 are located within a radius of 10 km from the city of Samaria and 14 sites within a radius of 15 km.¹¹⁴ The remaining sites are scattered in the area of western Samaria from the Jezereel valley down to the boundary of Judaea. At the same time, the size of the continuous settlement varies from the largest of 90 dunams, Kh. Bal'ame (Ibleam) to the smallest of 1.5 dunams such as Kh. Bajura and Kh. Mayyase, and that the average size of the settlement is 13 dunams per site, i.e., 650 people. The sites under 10 dunams consist of 70% of the continuous settlement. This may imply that most of the continuous settlements were in the small towns which had around 500 inhabitants.

Similarly, Simon Dar also suggests the continuity of the Israelite settlement in the area of Samaria. He surveyed Iron Age II farms and dwellings in western Samaria in the years 1971-1981.¹¹⁵ The survey demonstrates that early Iron Age farmsteads were distributed over the whole of

western Samaria and that its occupation continued down to the Hellenistic period. He believes that the evidence of pottery displays a continuity of material culture without decisive changes in the basic plan of the farmstead¹¹⁶ through the Iron Age to the Second Temple period. Thus we can conclude again that the archaeological evidence rejects the idea of a total deportation of Israel as presented in II Kings 17. Certainly most of the Israelites were not carried away into foreign countries, but remained in their homeland even after the destruction of the Temple.

Not only continuity in the former territory of Israel but also in the province of Judaea can be evidenced by archaeological excavations. It is worth mentioning the continuous settlement of Judaeans after the fall of the kingdom of Judah. There are a few pieces of evidence for this. Firstly, archaeologists have discovered 106 sites belonging to the Iron Age II in the land of Judah,¹¹⁷ Benjamin, and Mt. Ephraim. Of these sites, virtually all the towns in the wilderness of Judaea were totally destroyed, while around 40% of the sites were preserved their settlement mostly in the area between Mt. Judah and¹¹⁸ Hebron.

Next, excavations at several towns in the Benjaminite territory clearly give evidence that its people were spared their lives during the last days of the kingdom of

Judah. It seems that Bethel, Anathoth, Mizpah, and Ramah escaped the Babylonian destruction during Jerusalem's conquest. ¹¹⁹ Similarly, Gibeon ¹²⁰ as well as Gibeon ¹²¹ continued until the end of the sixth century. From this evidence Malamat assumes that either the Benjaminite territory may have been cut off from Judah in 597 or else the Benjaminites yielded earlier, before the Babylonian attack in 589/8 B.C. ¹²² It seems, therefore, that in either case there were a considerable number of Judaeans left in this region.

A further piece of evidence for the Jewish remnant being in certain areas comes from the list of towns mentioned in 'the rest of Israel' (Neh. 11:25-35). However, there have been various proposals concerning this. According to Malamat, the fact that the first returnees settled in Benjaminite towns (Neh. 11:31-35) suggests that they were not destroyed by the Babylonians, but continued as the settling places for the remaining people in the land of Israel. ¹²³ Aharoni thinks that the towns in the district of Negeb (Neh. 11:25-30) were separated from Judah in 597 B.C. and, accordingly, its inhabitants avoided the Babylonian deportation. ¹²⁴ Likewise, A. F. Rainey regards those people in the list as the rural population left by Nebuchadnezzar. ¹²⁵ It may also be argued that the archaeological evidence supports the existence of the continuous settlement of the Judaeans, even though their number was not great. Finally, in recent times,

archaeologists have excavated sites of continuous occupation through the Iron Age to later periods: Tel Anafa, Tel Batash, Tel Nurit, Tel Yin'am, Ma'lul, and 'En Ya'el.¹²⁶ This provides further evidence for us to conclude that a considerable number of the remaining people lived in the land of Israel after the fall of the kingdom of Judah, and that both extreme ideas--a total deportation or no depopulation-- should be rejected.

F. Continuity of Material Culture

The conflicting views of scholars concerning the extent of the exile are also found in the debate over the continuity of the Israelite material culture in the land of Israel. For example, some scholars maintain that 'the homogeneous Israelite culture was thus broken up,...'¹²⁷ whereas others argue that the Israelites 'preserved a continuous and undisturbed religious tradition'.¹²⁸

However, it is clear that, as the Jewish remnant had survived in Palestine in the vortex of war, so their material culture was preserved through the Israelite period to later periods. Above all things, the ceramic evidence demonstrates the continuance of Israelite culture after the destructions of both kingdoms, Israel and Judah. Firstly, of great interest among the ceramic finds in Palestine is Assyrian ware discovered in Samaria, Shechem, Jemmeh, Tell el-Far'ah, and so on.¹²⁹ The pottery then

disappeared after a short period of time. Hence, concerning the ephemeral character of Assyrian pottery, K. Kenyon conjectured that it was due to the new settlers who adopted the local pottery,¹³⁰ whereas A. D. Crown explained that it was caused by the withdrawal of the Assyrian garrison troops early in the seventh century.¹³¹ However, J. S. Holladay, basing his judgment on the evidence of the Assyrian ware in the late seventh century Palestinian stratification, put the date of this pottery as the last days of the Assyrian empire and argues for a Babylonian influence on the local culture.¹³² In conclusion, it is apparent that the discovering of the Assyrian ware does not imply any break of Israelite culture. According to A. D. Crown,

the new pottery [Assyrian ware] proved to be ephemeral, for it soon adapted to local traditions. In other words, the native Israelite culture proved to be dominant perhaps because of numerical superiority. 133

At the same time, it is worth observing that most of the local pottery group such as the bowls, cooking pots, jars, jugs, flasks, lamps, and funnels preserved the Palestinian tradition. It is apparent, for instance, that the cooking pot continued from the Bronze Age to the later period.¹³⁴ It usually had a carinated body, a rounded base, an elongated rim with triangular section, and no handles in Iron Age I. But the type was slightly changed in Iron Age II A-B. Two handles can be observed in the cooking pot of

Iron Age II A-B. In contrast, the general shape of the vessel in Iron Age II C was a small stocky body with two handles and a stepped or a ridged rim.¹³⁵

The former two types were then persistently used in the various sites such as Megiddo(VI), Hazor (XI-XII), Beth-shemesh (III), and Samaria (S Tombs).¹³⁶ Thus according to the Megiddo editors, 'they illustrate in a marked way¹³⁷ the strong cultural continuity Stratum I [of Megiddo]'.¹³⁷

The later cooking pot (Iron Age II C) which evolved from the former types was, then, continuous in Samaria (E 207), Hazor (V A), Megiddo (IV-I), and Beth-shemesh (II) until the seventh century.¹³⁸ However, the Israelite cultural tradition continued in Tell el-Ful, Taanach, and Mugharet Abu Shinjeh in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh through the Babylonian period to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, though it is very difficult to distinguish the type of Iron Age II C from that of later periods.¹³⁹

Finally, examination of the pottery vessels in the Babylonian period also shows continuity of Iron Age II pottery traditions. Thus E. Stern estimates that some 70-80% of every pottery group are associated with those of the latest phase of the Israelite period.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the discovery of the sites of the continuous occupation in the sixth century, as well as the pottery which falls typologically between the latest Iron Age II and the fifth century Persian pottery, supports the continuity of the

material culture in Israel. 141

Notes to Chapter II

1. William W. Hallo and William Kelly Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 126-28; Herbert Donner, 'The Separate States of Israel and Judah', in *Israelite and Judaeon History* (hereafter *IJH*), edited by John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977), p. 400.
2. ANET, pp. 278 f.; A. Malamat assumes that the enormous force under Ahab consisted of auxiliaries from Jehoshaphat of Judah (cf. I Kings 22:4, and also II Kings 3:7) as well as those of Ammon and Moab. See A. Malamat, 'The Aramaeans' in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, edited by D. J. Wiseman (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 144.
3. ANET, p. 279. However, it seems that it was in 841 B.C. that Shalmaneser finally conquered the western lands in continuous campaigns in 849, 848, 845, and 841. See also n. 6 below.
4. ANET, p. 280
5. William W. Hallo and William Kelly Simpson, loc. cit., p. 128 and Herbert Donner, loc. cit., p. 412.
6. See Michael C. Astour, '841 B.C.: The First Assyrian Invasion of Israel', *JAO*, 91 (1971), 383-89.
7. For a discussion of the exact date of Menahem's subjugation, see Edwin R. Thiele, 'The Contacts of Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah and Menahem', in *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (The Paternoster Press, 1965), pp. 90-117 and also H. Tadmor, 'Azriyau of Yaudi', *SH*, 8 (1961), pp. 232-71.
8. Thiele and Tadmor (*ibid*) identify Azriyau with Azariah of Judah. However Donner (loc. cit., pp 424 f.) and Na'aman ['Sennacherib's "Letter to God" on His Campaign to Judah', *BASOR*, 214 (1974), 25-39] maintain that Azriyau and Azariah were two different individuals.
9. According to the inscriptions, Tiglath-pileser settled 1,223 prisoners who were taken from Azariah's allies, in Ullaba. See ANET, p. 282.
10. Concerning the Syro-Ephraimite war and a short

bibliography of it, see Herbert Donner, 'The Syro-Ephraimite war and the end of the Kingdom of Israel', in *IJH*, pp. 421-34.

11. See Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (London: Burns & Oates, 1966), pp. 327-35 (hereafter *The Land*); E. Stern, 'Israel at the Close of the Monarchy', *BA*, 38/2 (1975), 31; Y. Yadin, 'Hazor', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 474-95; Y. Yadin, 'Megiddo', *EAEHL*, vol. III, 847-56; E. James, 'Beth-Shean', *EAEHL*, vol. I, 215-25; W. G. Dever, 'Gezer', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 439-42; J. E. Jennings, 'Dan', *DBA*, 148-49; J. Elgavish, 'Tel Shiqmona', *EAEHL*, vol. IV, 1101-1104; B. Mazar, 'En Gev', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 381-85; Y. Aharoni, 'Tel Kinneret', *EAEHL*, vol. III, 719.
13. Quoted from M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 175. See also ANET, p. 283 and Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, pp. 329 ff.
14. H. Tadmor, 'The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study', *JCS*, 12 (1958), 22-40, 77-100.
15. *Ibid.*, 37-38.
16. *Ibid.*, 34.
17. See ANET, p. 286 and also A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria, Part I: The Annals* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1929), pp. 20 and 22.
18. G. Ernest Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 162 (hereafter *Shechem*).
19. See E. Stern, *loc. cit.*, 32-33. See also D. Ussishkin, 'Dothan', *EAEHL*, vol. I, 237-39; R. de Vaux, 'El-Far'a, Tell, North', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 403-4; J. L. Kelso, 'Bethel', *EAEHL*, vol. I, 191-93.
20. ANET, p. 287. See also Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, pp. 334 f.
21. H. Reviv, 'The History of Judah from Hezekiah to Josiah', in *The World History of the Jewish People, The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, vol. Four-1 (hereafter *WHJP*), edited by A. Malamat (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1979), pp. 193-99 and B. Oded, 'Judah and the Exile', in *IJH*, pp. 446-51.
22. ANET, p. 288; Cf. A. F. Rainey, 'The Biblical Shephelah of Judah', *BASOR*, 251 (Summer 1983), 15-16.
23. A. F. Rainey, *ibid.*, 15-16.

24. Assurbanipal (Ezra 4:10) and Esarhaddon (Ezra 4:2; Is. 7:8b). See also A. Lods, *Prophets*, p. 25.
25. See William W. Hallo and William K. Simpson, loc. cit., p. 144-45.
26. A. Malamat, 'The Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah' (hereafter 'The Last Years'), in *WHJP*, vol. Four-I, p. 208.
27. Ibid., p. 215. See also B. Oded, loc. cit., p. 471.
28. Cf. II Kings 24:2; cf. 24:10-11. See also M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 223.
29. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1956), pp. 31-32 (hereafter *Chronicles*).
30. Jer. 35:11; See John Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 757 f.
31. Zeph. 2:8-10. See J. M. Myers, 'Edom and Judah in the Sixth-Fifth Centuries B.C.', in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, edited by Hans Goedicke (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), pp. 379-87.
32. Y. Aharoni, 'Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad', *BASOR*, 197 (Feb. 1970), 27 f; idem., 'The Negeb and the Southern Borders', in *WHJP*, vol. Four-I (1979), pp. 302-303 (hereafter 'Negeb').
33. Quoted from John R. Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristaeus, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus*, CCWJCW 200, vol. 1, Part 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 69.
34. Ibid., pp. 70 f.
35. A. Malamat, 'The Last Wars of the Kingdom of Judah', *JNES*, 9 (1950), 222 (hereafter 'The Last Wars').
36. A. Malamat, 'The Last Years', p. 209.
37. Quoted from H. L. Ginsberg, 'An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters', *BASOR*, 111 (Oct 1948), 25 f.
38. For a discussion concerning the identification of the place of the composition of the letter, see D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1983 (Oxford University Press, 1985) pp. 25 f., (hereafter *Nebuchadrezzar*); H. L. Ginsberg, loc. cit., 24-27; John Bright, 'A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to a

- Pharaoh of Egypt', *BA*, 12/2 (May 1949), 46-52; D. Winton Thomas, 'The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery', *PEQ*, 82 (1950), 8-15.
39. A. Malamat, 'The Last Wars', 222.
 40. A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Un papyrus arameen d'epoque Saite decouvert a Saqqarah', *Semitica*, 1 (1948), 61.
 41. John Bright, loc. cit., 326 f.
 42. A. Malamat, 'The Last Wars', 223.
 43. D. Winton Thomas, loc. cit., 13.
 44. A. Malamat, 'The Last Wars', 223.
 45. Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, p. 353 and J. M. Myers, loc. cit., pp. 390-92.
 46. See D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 32-33. See also A. Malamat, 'A New Record of Nebuchadrezzar's Palestinian Campaigns', *IEJ*, 6 (1956), 246-56 (hereafter 'A New Record').
 47. II Kings 24:10.
 48. A. Malamat, 'The Last Years', p. 209.
 49. Cf. Jer. 38:19. See A. Malamat, 'The Last Years', pp. 217-18; idem., 'The Last Wars', 226-27; W. F. Albright, 'The Biblical Periods', in *JHCR*, p. 48.
 50. D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar*, p. 27; M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 280-84; Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, p. 356. Aharoni ('Negeb', 303), based upon the dates on two ostraca from Arad, argues that the Edomites began to control over the Negeb from 595 B.C., whereas Malamat ('The Last Years', p. 351, n. 23) suggests that Arad was destroyed in 586. See also W. F. Albright, loc. cit., p. 48.
 51. See Y. Aharoni, 'Negeb', 296-303.
 52. Jer. 34:7.
 53. A. Malamat, 'The Last Years', p. 220; D. J. Wiseman, loc. cit., pp. 36 f.
 54. Moreau de Jonnes in the middle of the nineteenth century proposed 3,757,000 as the entire population of Israel and Judah in the days of king David (See Uriah Zevi Engleman, 'Sources of Jewish Statistics', in *JHCR*, p. 1516). But S. W. Baron put the figure

even higher. According to him, the census list indicates over four million in the period of king David. However, conjecturing that the list probably included the non-Israelite people, he suggested 1,500,000-1,800,000 for the actual Israelite population. See S. W. Baron, 'The Israelite Population under the Kings' (hereafter 'Israelite Population'), in *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History*, edited with a Forward by Leon A. Feldman (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), pp. 23-73 [This was originally published in Hebrew in *Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes* (Vienna, 1933), pp. 76-136].

On the other hand, W. M. Flinders Petrie, interpreting the census lists in Numbers, proposed that *elef*, i.e., thousands, in the lists indicates *alaf* 'group' or 'family'. According to him, 'the column of thousands would be numbers of tent in a tribe, and the column of hundreds the numbers of people' [See *Egypt and Israel* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1911), pp. 42-46]. Hence he suggested, for example, that 46,500 of Reuben (Num. 1:) implies 46 tents for 500 people. Finally he concluded that only 598 families with 5,500 people (or 596 families with 5730) people came out of Egypt, but they multiplied to 1,300,000 inhabitants including 430,000 men in the kingdom of David (See *ibid.*, pp. 57-60).

However, W. F. Albright argues for the number of 600,000 for the total of David's census including the whole inhabitants, men, women, and children. That is to say, he suggests 500,000 for cisjordanic Israel except for 100,000-120,000 belonging to Reuben, Gad and half-Manasseh, 200,000 for the southern part of the coastal plain, and approximately 50,000 for southern Phoenician. Therefore, Albright arrives at a total of 750,000 people for the entire population of Israel and Judah in the days of David and Solomon. See W. F. Albright, 'Administrative Divisions of Israel and Judah', *JPOS*, 5/1 (1925), 20-25. For a general discussion of the population in ancient Israel, see also C. C. McCown, 'The Density of Population in Ancient Palestine', *JBL*, 66/4 (Dec 1947), 425-36.

55. See R. Kittel, *A History of the Hebrews*, vol. II (London: Williams and Norgate; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 334 and Donner, *loc. cit.*, p. 424. However, Max Vogelstein [*Fertile Soil: Political History of Israel under the Divided Kingdom* (New York: American Press, 1957), pp. 122 f., n. 36.], supposing that the payment had been spread over three years, suggests the number of 20, 000.

56. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), p. 66.
57. S. W. Baron, 'Israelite Population', p. 61.
58. A. D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 3.
59. R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1946), pp. 214 f.
60. R. Gophna and J. Portugali, 'Settlement and Demographic Processes in Israel's Coastal Plain from the Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age', *BASOR*, 269 (Feb 1988), pp. 11-28; Yigal Shilo, 'The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of a Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas and Population Density', *BASOR*, 239 (Summer 1980), 25-35. For the other methods of estimating the size of ancient population, see Yigal Shilo, *ibid.*, 26-27.
61. See Yigal Shilo, *ibid.*, 26. See also M. Broshi, 'The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh', *IEJ*, 24 (1974), 24, n. 20 (hereafter 'Expansion') and *idem.*, 'Estimating the Population of Ancient Jerusalem', *BAR*, 4/2 (June 1978), 10 (hereafter 'Estimating').
62. M. Broshi and R. Gophna, 'Middle Bronze Age II Palestine: Its Settlements and Population', *BASOR*, 261 (Feb 1986), 73-90.
63. See M. Broshi, 'The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period', *BASOR*, 236 (Fall 1979), 1-10.
64. S. W. Baron, 'Israelite Population', pp. 62-63.
65. W. F. Albright, 'A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great', *BA*, 9/1 (Feb 1946), 4, and 8.
66. Yigal Shilo, *loc. cit.*, 33. According to the private communication with M. Broshi, in a paper titled 'The Population of Palestine in 734 BCE', I. Finkelstein and Broshi arrived at the following figures that (1) the population of western Palestine was ca. 400,000, and that (2) the population of the kingdom of Israel, west of the Jordan 215,000, and with the Transjordanian territories 350,000. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Broshi for sending me the information before the article was printed.
67. See M. Kochavi ed., *Judaea Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967-1968* (Jerusalem: Carta,

1972) (hereafter *Archaeological Survey*).

68. According to *Archaeological Survey* (ibid), the figures of the Israelite settlement are as follows:

	<u>Settlement</u>				
	I	II	NP	NF	CON
The Land of Judah:		55	30	1	24
The Judaeen Desert and Plain of Jericho:		69	51	16	2
The Land of Benjamin and Mt. Ephraim:		51	39		12
The Land of Ephraim and Manasseh:		119	39	11	69
	Total	<u>294</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>107</u>
	%		54	10	36

*I II: Iron Age II

* NP: No Persian Period

* NF: No Further Settlement after Iron Age

* CON: Continuous Settlement from Iron Age to a later Period

69. Cf. II Kings 25:11.

70. Cf. II Chron. 30:6, 11, 18.

71. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine: A Survey of the Ancient Peoples and Cultures of the Holy Land*, Penguin Books (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1949), p. 142 (hereafter *The Archaeology of Palestine*). Cf. idem., 'The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Pre-exilic History of Judah, with some Observations on Ezekiel', *JBL*, 51/2 (June 1932), 103-104.

72. S. A. Cook, 'The Fall and Rise of Judah', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III: *The Assyrian Empire*, edited by J. B. Bury et al., (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1954), p. 404.

73. II Kings 25:3; Jer. 52:6; Cf. Jer. 37:21; Ezek. 5:10; Lam. 4:4-10.

74. M. Dothan, 'Ashdod', *EAEHL*, vol. I, 115.

75. Concerning the size of Ashdod, see Y. Shiloh, loc. cit., 31.

76. See Olga Tufnell, *Lachish III: The Iron Age: Text*

(London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 193-94 and G. Ernest Wright, 'Judaean Lachish', in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1964), pp. 304 f.

77. Such was the argument of the excavator, J. L. Starkey. However, Miss Tufnell (loc. cit., p. 194) suggested another possibility that this was caused by 'a wholesale clearance of idolatrous burials during the religious reformation of Josiah'.
78. Concerning the size of various sites of Iron Age, see Y. Shiloh, loc. cit., 31 and O. Tufnell, loc. cit., p. 35.
79. See n. 68 above.
80. Such as Debir, Ramat Rahel, Tell esh Sharia, Azekah (Tell Zakariya), Tell el-Full, Ain Shems, Beit Mirsim, Beth-Shemesh (Sheph.), Beth-Zur, El-Buqei'a, En-Gedi, Gezer, Lachish, Tel Malhata, Shilo.
81. ANET, p. 283.
82. Cf. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 175.
83. Alan D. Crown (*The Biblical*, 22) puts the figure as follows:

Deported/Slain

Campaign against Philistia 743 B.C.

13 coastal towns at 650 captives each	1,950	
Ibid, slain 1,500 each		4,500

Campaign against Galilee 733 B.C.

8 towns at 650 captives each	5,200	
Captives in the countryside	10,400	
Slain in cities at 1,500 each		12,000

Shalmaneser V's campaigns 734-722 B.C.

Slain in Shechem		1,500
Slain in hill country		16,000
Captured in Shechem, notables only	1,300	
Israelite king and entourage captured	500	

Sargon II's Campaign 720 B.C.

From Samaria and environs	27,290	
Slain in Samaria		1,500
Slain in hill country		8,000

Sub-Total 46,640 46,500

Total 90,140

84. Cf. A. D. Crown, *The Biblical*, 23.
85. ANET, p. 288.
86. For the discussion of the number of 200,150, see S. Stohlmann, 'The Judaeen Exile after 701 B.C.E.', in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method*, edited by W. W. Hallo, J. C. Moyer, and L. G. Perdue (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 147-75.
87. II Kings 24:14, 16; 25:19; Jer. 52:28-30.
88. See A. Malamat, 'A New Record', 253.
89. Malamat assumes two consecutive stages of the deportation. According to him, 'the number 7,000 [II Kings 24:12] may well be intended for the main deportation, at the later stage; while the number 10,000 [II Kings 24:14] would represent the total of the two deportations, including the 3,000 captives from the initial phase'. See A. Malamat, 'The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian Babylonian Maelstorm', *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 28 (1974), 134.
90. B. Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1979), pp. 18-22.
91. Ibid., p. 21.
92. H. Donner, loc cit., p. 419.
93. A. Lods, *The Prophets*, pp. 178 f.
94. See J. Gray, *Archaeology and the Old Testament World* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962), pp. 191 f.; P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C.* (London: SCM Press, 1972), p. 24 and p. 24, n. 27 (hereafter *Exile*); idem., *Israel under Babylon and Persia* (Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 280 (hereafter *Israel*); B. Porten, 'The Jews in Egypt', *CHJ*, vol. I, pp. 375 f.
95. Jer. 37:13-14.
96. Cf. Jer. 38:19.
97. Jer. 16:16. Cf. Jer. 38:22; 40:14.
98. E. Stern, 'Judaeen Desert Caves -- Wadi Murabba'at',

EAEHL, vol. III, pp. 691-94.

99. See M. Broshi, 'Expansion', 21-26; idem., 'Estimating', 10-15; M. Avi-Yonah, 'Excavations in Jerusalem -- Review and Evaluation', in *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City 1968-1974*, edited by Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1975), pp. 21-24; M. M. Eisman, 'A Tale of Three Cities', *BA* 41/2 (1978), 51-53. On the other hand, M. Silver, in *Prophets and Markets: The Political Economy of Ancient Israel* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983), p. 117, argues that the rapid growth of the population was resulted from the economic development in this period. According to him, therefore, 'this [the argument of Broshi] is not unreasonable, but neither is it ironclad.'
100. See M. Broshi, 'Expansion', 21-26 and idem., 'Estimating', 10-15.
101. See J. A. Sanders, 'Dispersion', *IDB*, vol. I, 854-56 and see also n. 94 above.
102. C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, (New York, 1970), p. 296.
103. Ibid.
104. See A. Biran, 'Tel Dan - 1983/1984', *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1984*, vol. 3 (1984), 17-21 (hereafter *ESI*). See also *ESI*, vol. 1 (1982), 19-21 and *ESI*, vol. 2 (1983), 21-23; idem., 'Tel Dan', *EAEHL*, vol. I, 313-21.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Yigael Yadin, *Hazor*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1970 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 183-84 and idem., 'Hazor', *EAEHL*, vol. II, pp. 474-95.
108. See K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (London: Benn, 1960), p. 286 (hereafter *Archaeology*) and also idem., *Royal Cities of the Old Testament* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1971), pp. 130-32.
109. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, pp. 129 f.
110. Graham I. Davies, *Megiddo* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1986), p. 102.
111. W. G. Dever, 'Gezer', *EAEHL*, vol. II, pp. 428-43.

112. See Moshe Kochavi, ed., *Archaeological Survey*, pp. 196-243.
113. See n. 68 above.
114. Ref. the map in p. 46 of this thesis.
115. Shimon Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria 800 B.C.E. - 636 C.E.*, parts i-ii, BAR International Series, 308 (Oxford, 1986).
116. Shimon Dar, *ibid.*, part i, p. 8.
117. Moshe Kochavi ed., *Archaeological Survey*, pp. 19-91, 153-95. For a recent survey of the land of Benjamin, see 'Land of Benjamin, Survey', in *ESI*, vol. 3 (1984), 71 f.
118. See *ESI*, vol. 3 (1984), 71 f.
119. Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, p. 356.
120. L. A. Sindair, 'Gibeah', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 444-46.
121. J. B. Pritchard, 'Gibeon', *EAEHL*, vol. II, 450.
122. A. Malamat, 'The Last Years', p. 218.
123. *Ibid.*
124. See Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, pp. 355 f.; O. Eissfeldt [*The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 550] maintains that the list probably derives from a later period. However, he did not exclude the possibility of a pre-exilic origin.
125. A. F. Rainey, 'Biblical Shephelah', 18.
126. *Ibid.*
127. K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology*, p. 297.
128. R. Brinker, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.
129. For the Assyrian ware, see Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Rutgers University Press, 1970), pp. 291-93.
130. K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology*, p. 285.
131. A. D. Crown, *The Biblical*, pp. 39-40.
132. J. S. Holladay, 'Of Sherds and Strata: Contributions toward an Understanding of the Archaeology of the Divided Monarchy', in *MDMAG*, p. 272. E. Stern (*loc.*

cit., 42 f.) suggests that the Assyrian ware was a local imitation.

133. A. D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 6.

134. See Ruth Amiran, loc. cit., pp. 227-32.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid.

137. See J. W. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935, no. 3, *The Objects from Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), p. 192.

138. Ibid., pp. 187-92.

139. Paul W. Lapp, 'The Pottery of Palestine in the Persian Period', in *Archaeology und Altes Testament*, Festschrift für Kurt Galling, edited by Arnulf Kuschke and Ernst Kutsch (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1970), p. 186.

140. E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.*, English Edition (Warminster Aris & Phillips, 1982), p. 229 (hereafter *Material Culture*).

141. See W. G. Dever, 'Archaeological Methods and Results: A Review of Two Recent Publications', *Or*, 40 (1971), 469, and n. 16 in the same page.

Chapter III

Samaritan Origins in the Writings of the Old Testament

In this chapter we will deal with the nature of the biblical themes of the remnant and the future restoration, as reflected in the writings of the Old Testament from the exilic period onwards. We will see that they were nothing but the polemics of the returned exiles against the survivors in the land of Israel. Then, we will see how the Samaritans were described in those themes and who really they were. Finally, the questions as to the date, purpose, and motive of the Samaritan schism will be discussed.

A. The Remnant

On the basis of our study in Chapters I and II we can say that it is a matter of fact that the majority of the people in the former kingdom of northern Israel remained in their hometowns even after the fall of Samaria. This is evidenced from the passages concerning the two cultic reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. According to II Chron. 30, Hezekiah appealed to the remnant of the former Israelite kingdom to come to the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem in order to celebrate the Passover(v. 1).

Accordingly, the messengers were sent to each town in Ephraim and Manasseh, as far as Zebulun (v. 10). Next, II Chron. 34:6 states that Josiah tore down the altars in the towns of Manasseh, Ephraim and Simeon, as far as Naphtali. In addition, his deuteronomistic reform also extended beyond the borders of Israel to all the territory belonging to the former kingdom of Israel (II Chron. 34:33). These clearly imply that a large number of the erstwhile Israelites who had not gone into exile lived in their hometowns.

That the survivors of the erstwhile northern Israelite kingdom, then, were intermingled with Judaeans and formed a united body is well attested by literary evidence as well as archaeological evidence. Firstly, the Israelites' scornful refusal of the Hezekiah's invitation to come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (II Chron. 30) may reflect that the tension under the divided kingdoms, Israel and Judah, had not evaporated among most of the former Israelites who were left in their hometown after the fall of the kingdom. Nevertheless, it is likely that the Chronicler's narratives concerning the celebration of the festival by all the people of Israel, i.e., the Judaeans (II Chron. 30: 25; 31:6), some Israelite pilgrims from the north (II Chron. 30:11, 25; 31:1), and the Israelite refugees who settled in the cities of Judah (II Chron. 31:6), imply that the process of rapprochement between the former Israelites and Judaeans was already

under way from the period of Hezekiah. Furthermore, it is manifest that 'the remnant of Israel and Judah' in the period of the seventh century B.C. (II Chron. 34:21) finally formed one nation under the leadership of Josiah. Josiah incorporated the former Israelite territory into the Judaean kingdom.¹

Fortunately, the excavations of the old city of Jerusalem during 1968-1974 have exposed the interesting fact that the residential area of Jerusalem, which was limited to the Lower City, the Ophel and the temple Mount until the eighth century B.C. had abruptly expanded to three to four times its former size around 700 B.C.² With regard to the reasons for this expansion M. Broshi indicates the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. as well as Sennacherib's Palestine campaign in 701 B.C. According to him, these caused a mass immigration of Israelites from the northern kingdom and an influx of dispossessed refugees from the territories that Sennacherib took from Judah.³ M. Kochavi also demonstrates, in his survey in the Judaean hills, that almost 50% of Iron Age II settlements were established in the last hundred or so years of the First Temple period.⁴ Finally, M. M. Eisman even holds that the great inflow of the northern Israelites had an effect on the religious reforms during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah.⁵ Thus we can suggest that the archaeological evidence too supports the contention that some of the erstwhile Israelites were intermingled with the Judaeans.

Similarly, when the southern kingdom of Judah collapsed, it is also clear that it was not all the people of Judah but only a small portion of the people, mostly from the upper class, who were taken captive and were carried away by Babylonians. According to Jer. 52: 28-30, the Babylonians took a total of 4,600 Judaeans into captivity during the three major military campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah. Jer. 41:5 concerns eighty pilgrims who came from Shechem, Shiloh and Samaria after the fall of Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem. If these men are considered as the descendants of the former Israelites, then this will be further evidence to support the existence of the Israelite remnant and their close relationship with the Judaeans in terms of their religion and national self-identification.⁶

At the same time, if the foregoing argument is accepted that the Israelite remnant was intermingled with Judaeans after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C., then we can suggest that the survivors of the land of Israel after the destruction of Jerusalem might have included as one element, the erstwhile Israelite refugees who settled in the cities of Judah after the fall of Samaria. This should be kept in mind whenever we deal with the problem of the remnant in relation to the discussion of the origins of the Samaritans.

Finally, the fact that the survivors also included the foreign element in their community should be noted. In fact, the Assyrian annals clearly show the influx into Samaria of foreign colonists from various places. It was Sargon II who transplanted most of the colonists into Samaria. This is described as follows:

I restored the city of Samaria and settled it more densely than before (and) brought there people from the lands of my conquest.... 7

Based upon the evidence of the ephemeral duration of the Assyrian pottery in the seventh century B.C., A. D. Crown argues then that the colonists consisted of military personnel or garrisons. He believes that they withdrew from Samaria soon after the first campaign of Ashurbanipal against Egypt.⁸ However, we cannot exclude the possibility of the transfer of foreign civilians into the province of Samaria, since Sargon II had Arabs dwelling in Samaria according to his economic policy in 715 B.C.⁹ Furthermore, the literary evidences of the Bible such as II Kings 19 (cf. Isaiah 36) and Ezra 4 allude to the other exiles in Samaria.¹⁰ Therefore, it can be safely concluded that the foreign element was included in 'the entire assembly of Judah' as described in II Chron. 30:25.

All the assembly of Judah rejoiced, along with the priests, the Levites and all who had gathered from Israel, including the aliens who had come from Israel or lived in Judah.

In addition, we can suggest that the foreign element was intermingled with the indigenous people and had come to form a group who had not gone into exile. The distribution of various types of pottery in the postexilic period provides clear evidence for this.¹¹ The pottery findings show that the various people lived together intermingling with one another in the land of Israel down to the period of Ezra and Nehemiah, although we can trace the dominance of the material culture of the Israelite people. The fact that the survivors in the land of Israel intermingled with the various peoples of the lands is clearly alluded to in the policy of Ezra concerning the prohibition of intermarriage between the returned exiles and foreigners (Ezra 9-10). This reminds us of the important factor that the identity of the survivors, as the members of the devastated Israel, was not questioned seriously until the period of Ezra-Nehemiah.

The question then arises as to whether we can discern each independent communal group in the postexilic period. Sara Japhet proposes a Jehudite remnant as well as an Israelite remnant, neither of which were exiled, as separate, independent community in the land of Israel.¹² However, it is not likely that the erstwhile Israelites still existed as a separate entity distinguished from the Judaeans after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. Rather, it may be argued that the two large components, Israelite and Judaeans survivors, including the foreign element, had come to form

a group of the *am haarets*.

Now, despite the fact of the existence of the survivors in the land of Israel, it is interesting to see that in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah it is described as if they did not exist at all. At the same time, it is also worth observing that they are never considered as the true body of the Israel. What was then the negative picture of the remaining people in the land of Israel?

Firstly, let us consider the term *dallat am haarets* which is appeared in II Kings 24:14.

He [Nebuchadnezzar] carried into exile all Jerusalem: all the officers and fighting men, and all the craftsmen and artisans--a total of ten thousand. *Only the poorest people of the land were left.*

Other similar forms are found in II Kings 25:12 and Jer. 40:7 as *dallat haarets*, in Jer. 52:15 as *dallot haam*, and in Jer. 39:10 as *haam hadalim*. The general impression of the passages is that all the Judaeans were exiled and only 'the less important of the population' was left in the land of Judah.

However, as mentioned above, it was not *dallat am haarets* only who remained in the devastated land of Israel. In fact, we learn from Jer. 41 that Nebuzaradan, the commander of the imperial guard, left Gedaliah and the

king's daughters (v. 10) along with the Jews at Mizpah (v. 3), apart from 'the poorest of the land'. Furthermore, according to Jer. 40: 7 and 13, all the army officers and their men in the open country also came to Gedaliah at Mizpah after Babylonians withdrew into their country. Finally, Jer. 40:9-12, which describes Gedaliah's exhortation to the officers and their men, and the report concerning the return of the Jewish refugees from neighbouring countries to the land of Israel, clearly demonstrate the existence of the new community which was composed of 'a remnant in Judah' (v. 11) after the¹⁴ destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

The question then arises as to what was the nature of the term *dallat am haarets*. Most critics have considered II Kings 24:13-14 as a later insertion. For example, according to Nelson, vv. 13-14 are redundant because the same subject is treated in the following verses 15-16. In addition, vv.13-14 betray a different hand from that of II Kings 20:12-19 which deal with the visit of Babylonian envoys to Hezekiah as well as Isaiah's prophecy both for the plundering of all the treasures of the Temple and the Babylonian captivity of the loyal family. Hence Nelson agrees that vv. 13-14 are 'really a post-redactional¹⁵ insertion' into II Kings 24. On the other hand, it is worth observing that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX of Jer. 40:7 does not have a reading *dallat haarets*.¹⁶ In recent studies on Jeremiah, the argument of nineteenth-century

scholars such as F. C. Movers, A. Scholz, and A. W. Streane that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was 'an older and more pristine text than that preserved in the MT' has been confirmed by Louis Stulman.¹⁷ If this is so, this would imply that the term *dallat am haarets* might have been inserted into the MT in a later period than that of the composition of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. In conclusion, we can suggest that the later insertion of the term to the present text clearly support the view that the term *dallat am haarets* was used as a piece of the polemic¹⁸ in the later period.

There have been different views concerning the exact identity of the term *dallat am haarets*. Some scholars have regarded the term as implying 'peasantry'.¹⁹ Others however have considered it as describing 'the propertyless' people who became 'landholders or tenants under the Babylonian authority'.²⁰ E. Janssen maintains that the Babylonians gave *dallat am haarets* a preferential²¹ treatment in order to consolidate their power in Judah.

In sum, it is manifest that the repeated use of the term was to discriminate against the remaining people by depicting them as the poorest people who were left in the land of Israel, not by Yahweh himself, but by the Babylonians.²² Therefore, it may be argued again that the term *dallat am haarets*, as denoting a socio-political aspect of Judah after the exile, was the polemical one which was used to denounce the status of the remnant as

the members of Israel.

Similarly, the term *am haarets* in Ezra 4:4 is also considered as a polemical one to discriminate against the remaining people in the land of Israel as if they were the foreign syncretistic worshippers. This will be discussed in detail later.

Another piece of the polemic of the returning community against the survivors in the land of Israel is well described in the vision of the prophet Jeremiah on two baskets of figs (Jer. 24:1-10). It is apparent that the vision depicts the situation after the first Babylonian deportation in 597 B.C.²³ The prophet contrasts good figs, meaning the Babylonian exiles, with putrid ones, i.e., the remnant in Judah. According to his vision, the exiles were given the promise of protection, repatriation, and divine knowledge (24:4-7). For the remnant in Judah, however, reproaches and curses are promised (vv. 8-9). Eventually they will perish by the hand of Yahweh in their homeland:

I will send the sword, famine and plague against them until they are destroyed from the land I gave to them and their fathers (v. 10)

There has been no easy agreement among scholars concerning the date and the purpose of Jer. 24:1-10. Some have maintained the authenticity of the text. For example,

William L. Holladay urges the authenticity of the original form of the passage and dates it to the summer of 594 B.C. within the reign of Zedekiah. He estimates the date of the passage from Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in 29:4-23 as well by assuming that the 'bad figs' mentioned again in 29:17 is an authentic part of Jeremiah's letter.²⁴ Accordingly, Holladay believes that the crucial issue of Jer. 24:1-10 is that 'Yahweh had positive plans for the exiles, and that those who stay at home should not feel superior' because of their escaping of the exile. On the other hand, others have argued for Jer. 24:1-10 as the redactional composition of the exilic deuteronomists. Hence, J. Phillip Hyatt places them in the later period, ca. 550 B.C.²⁵ E. W. Nicholson agrees with this and argues that the composition of Jer. 24 and 29 was 'motivated primarily by a specifically theological and polemical intention' to proclaim the Babylonian exiles as the true remnant of Israel.²⁶ Finally, Herbert G. May considers the date of Jer. 24 to be much later. He sees it as 'purely the biographer's composition' which can be dated from the first half of the fifth century B.C. He believes that the composition of Jer. 24 was influenced by the exclusive attitude of Ezra 4. That is to say, the biographer of Jer. 24 adopted the position found in Ezra 4 that only the returned exiles are the true body of the restored Israel.²⁷ In any case, it is clear that the theme of 'the bad figs' in Jer. 24:1-10 and 29:17, whether they are authentic part of Jeremiah's prophecy, was used as a

piece of propaganda to strengthen the position of the Babylonian exiles in the vortex of the post-exilic period. In other words, it can be argued that the polemic of Jer. 24 was also to refute the status of the survivors in the land of Israel as the body of Israel.

The theme of the opposing identities of the survivors and exiles which is present in Jer. 24:1-10 in the form of the good and bad figs is found again in the book of Ezekiel. The simile in Ezekiel 24:3 ff., which is dated at the end of 589 B.C., describes the population in Jerusalem as a metaphor of the contents of the cooking pot, i.e., water, meat, and bones. At the same time, the parable of the cooking pot, vv.3-14, signifies the deportation of the entire inhabitants of Jerusalem as well as its destruction.²⁸ However, if we accept that Ezekiel 11:1-21 portrays the situation of the remaining people in the land of Israel after the destruction of Jerusalem,²⁹ then it may be argued that the meat in 11:3b refers to those who escaped the exile in contrast the dry bones, implying the deportees (Ezekiel 37). Some scholars have maintained that it is not necessary to consider the meat and the bones as implying the survivors and the exiles,³⁰ because of the usage of both terms in Ezekiel 24:3 ff. However, if we consider the different date and situation of the two texts, and the polemical character of the editorial work of Ezekiel 11:1-21, it may be suggested that the remaining people in the land of Israel are

boasting of the fact that they were treated specially with the favour of Yahweh, who let them possess the vacant land of Israel.

The city is a cooking pot, and we are the meat (11:3).

.....

They [the exiles] are far away from Yahweh; this land was given to us as our possession (11:15).

In conclusion, it is clear that the survivors identified themselves as the special ones who were the meat in the cooking pot. ³¹ The last point that they were also blessed to possess the land of the exiles will be dealt with in the next section.

Finally, we can argue that the term 'remnant' was also a polemical one to enhance the claim and identity of the returned exiles. In brief, Roland de Vaux has correctly classified the term 'remnant' in three stages according to its use in the writings of prophets:

1. In the writings of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah before the pre-exilic period, the term is regarded as implying the erstwhile Israelites who were left in Palestine;
2. In the writings of Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel during the Babylonian exile, it was not the survivors in Palestine but the exiles who were described as the remnant;
3. In the post-exilic period the term 'remnant' refers only to the returned exiles under Ezra. 32

Roland de Vaux has then concluded as follows on the theological concept of the term 'remnant':

... we can say that at each period the Remnant signifies those who will escape from present danger. But beneath this first level, where contemporary events are uppermost in the prophet's mind, there is a second level dominated by the person of the Messiah. At this second level the Remnant is identified with the new Israel dwelling in the Promised Land and forming a holy community,... And beyond this there is yet another level, much deeper and more significant still. On the last horizon of time, the Remnant will be formed not only the new Israel, but of the spiritual Israel, which will comprise not only the scattered people of God but all the converted among the nations. 33

Hence it may be argued that the term 'remnant' implies, theologically, 'a sign of God's mercy' upon those who were left in the land of Palestine. In this sense, it can be suggested again that the remnant are considered as 'a new whole which possess all potentialities of renewal and regeneration' as well as 'the kernel of a new Israel faithful to Yahweh and his covenant requirement'. However, it is no doubt that, in spite of the existence of the survivors in the land of Israel, the shift of the object of the remnant from the Israelites to the deportees as well as to the returned exiles in the later period clearly betrays the fact that the term 'remnant' was employed as the ideology of the *golah* in that period. In other words, we can maintain that the term 'remnant' in the post-exilic period was used polemically to identify the returned exiles only as the new Israel, i.e., the true

inheritors of the land which Yahweh promised to them.
According to George W. Anderson,

For the prophets ..., the Remnant is in general the community of those who respond in faith and repentance and who survive the destructive judgement. In Jeremiah and Ezekiel, however, the *idea* of the Remnant is embodied in the Babylonian *gōlāh*, the community with whom the future lies. This is evident in Jer. xxiv (cf. xxix), where the good figs represent the exiles and the bad figs those who have remained in Judah, and where *š'ērīt* is applied in a neutral sense to those who emphatically are not the Remnant in the theological sense (xxiv 8). In Ezek. ix 8; xi 13, the word is again used in a neutral or negative sense; and if there is any Remnant doctrine, it is to be found in the prophet's teaching that that part of the nation which went into exile will one day constitute the restored people of Yahweh. 36

B. Restoration

The polemic of the returned exiles against the survivors of the land of Israel is fully developed in the prophetic oracles concerning the rehabilitation and reunion of the divided kingdoms.³⁷ Of course, we know that most commentators have considered those prophetic oracles in the writings of the exilic or the post-exilic prophets as implying the ideal future of Israel, i.e., the eschatological future of Israel. It is also clear that the theme of the prophetic passages expresses the theologizing of the future history of Israel, i.e., the ideology of the returned exiles to identify them as the true Israel. Hence we need to be cautious in accepting the theme of the restoration as its face value. However, it will be worth

observing the nature of the polemic of the prophetic oracles in order to understand the *Sitz im Leben* of the period of the Return.

Let us then examine the theme of the restoration of future Israel firstly from Jeremiah. According to Jer. 3:18,

In those days the house of Judah will join the house of Israel, and together they will come from a northern land to this land I gave your forefathers as an inheritance.

We learn from the prophetic oracles that the theme of the restoration is composed of divine promises and blessings for the reunion between the two nations, the return, and the possession of the land. This theme is also found in Jer. 23: 3-8: Yahweh will gather the remnant of his flock out of all the countries (v. 3) and will bring them back to their pasture (v. 4). The prophetic oracle of vv. 5-6 declares the rise of a righteous branch from David's line as well as Yahweh's deliverance of Judah and Israel. Finally, vv. 7-8 confirm the return of the remnant out of the land of north and out of all the countries. At last, the theme concerning the divine promises of the reunification of Judah and Israel, their repatriation and prosperity, and security is remarkably expressed in the so-called 'Book of Consolation' (Jer. 30-33).

Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel: Write in a book all the words which I have spoken to you: The days are coming, says Yahweh, when I will bring my people

Israel and Judah back from captivity and restore them to the land which I gave to their fathers and they shall possess it (Jer. 30:2-3).

Whether the oracles in Jeremiah came originally from the prophet himself or the literary composition of the later period, it has generally been believed that the theme was developed in the later period after the destruction of Jerusalem.³⁸ Furthermore the continuous use of the theme in the writings of the post-exilic prophets may be evidence for its importance in the later period.

In general, the prophetic oracles for the future restoration reflect a rapprochement between Israel and Judah. In other words the reunification between Israel and Judah as one nation under one leader is emphasized. This is especially manifested in Ezekiel 37:21-22:

I will take the Israelites out of the nations where they have gone. I will gather them from all around and bring them back into their own land. I will make them one nation in the land, on the mountains of Israel. There will be one king over all of them and they will never again be two nations or be divided into two kingdoms.

It is apparent then that 'the land of the north' refers to³⁹ those countries to which the exiles were carried away.

In fact, we need to be cautious not to misunderstand the prophetic passages on the issue of the reunification between two divided kingdoms, Judah and Israel. The prophetic oracles deal with the exiles only as the subject

of reunification between the former two nations. Thus it is hardly plausible to interpret the theme of restoration between Judah and Israel as demonstrating either the existence of the erstwhile Israelites as Yahwists or Samaritans, or the reunion between Jews and Samaritans. ⁴⁰

The other prophetic passages of Zechariah in the post-exilic period also consider the exiles only as the subject of the reunion between Judah and Israel.

I will strengthen the house of Judah
and save the house of Joseph (Zech. 10:6).

.....

I will bring them back from Egypt
and gather them from Assyria (Zech. 10: 10).

At the same time, the term 'remnant' (Hag. 1:12, 14; 2:2; Zech. 8:6, 11, 12) implies originally the returned exiles, although we can accept its concept as the spiritual Israel ⁴¹ in the eschatological future of the nation.

In brief, with regard to the actual remnant in the land of Israel, there are several intriguing factors in the prophetic passages on the restoration between Judah and Israel. First, it is interesting to see that in the prophetic oracles it is the exiles only in the foreign countries who are described as the true remnant of Israel whom Yahweh spared for his own purpose. At the same time, it is again the returnees only who are called the remnant

after the return of the *golah*. Second, the actual remnant in the land of Israel are excluded from the components of reunification between Israel and Judah. Third, the divine promise to the exiles for their possession of the land will be the final intriguing factor in the theme of the restoration. This shall be discussed in detail later. From all this it is evident that the theme of the restoration emphasizes the exiles as a real presence in the future political body of Israel, while the remnant in Palestine are not considered as a part of the restored Israel. The remaining people in the land of Israel are totally disregarded in the theme of the restoration. In other words, the emphasis of the theme is only on exiles, not on the remnant in Palestine. Accordingly, the promise of future salvation, unity, and security of the nation was only for those people in exile. Therefore, we can maintain again that the theme of the restoration is also another piece of polemic of the returned exiles against the survivors in the land of Israel.

So far we have argued that the theme of the exile was the polemic of the returning Jewish community against the remnant who had not shared the experience of the exile. The purpose of the theme was then to negate the existence of the survivors in the land of Israel, as if there were no one left except the foreigners who were brought into the former places of the exiles, and the wild animals in the devastated land. As a consequence, the real remnant

in the land of Israel is intentionally discriminated against as if they were foreigners or idol-worshippers. They were rejected as members of the restored Israel. Finally we have argued that the theme of the restoration was also the same kind of propaganda by the returned exiles used to consolidate their position in the province of Judaea after the return from the Babylonian captivity.

We have then a question as to what was the real cause of the development and application of such polemics by the later returning community. There are two general positions on this. Some scholars have considered the religious factor as the cause of the tension between assimilationists and separatists.⁴² Others, on the other hand, have emphasized the political and economic rivalry⁴³ between Samaria and Jerusalem. Dexinger, for example, contends that the political and economic situation of the post-exilic period in Samaria and Judaea brought the religious factors to the foreground.⁴⁴ However, we need to be cautious about dividing the Palestinian parties simply into two religio-political parties. Rather, as mentioned above, it may be safer to conclude that the tension originated due to the dispute between the exiles who lost their property in Judaea and the remnant who became the new owners of the lost property of the exiles.

According to Ezekiel 11:15, the remnant in Jerusalem said of the exiles: 'They are far away from Yahweh: this land

was given to us as our possession'. The same theme then reappears in Ezekiel 33:24. There it is the remnant living in the ruins in the land of Israel who claim the right to the land:

Abraham was only one man, yet he possessed the land. But we are many; surely that land has been given to us as our possession.

It has generally been agreed that the former (11:14-21) dates from the period when the Jerusalem Temple was still standing, i.e., before the year 587 B.C., while the latter (33:23-29) from the period after the destruction of Jerusalem.⁴⁵ As for the exiles, the former declares that Yahweh is a sanctuary for them (v. 16) and also that he will give them back the property in Israel (v. 17). On the other hand, the latter predicts curses--the sword, wild animals, plague and devastation--for those remaining who took the property of those who had been deported. Thus it seems that Zimmerli is correct when he interprets v. 15 as 'not merely an argument about property', but as a 'contestation in the full sense'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the continuous emphasis on the divine promise to the exiles, that they shall possess their property again, further supports our argument that the ownership of the lost property in Palestine was the main problem between the returned exiles and the survivors in the land of Israel. This dispute between the two groups reminds us of the narrative of the Shunammite's land claim in II Kings 8:1-

6. According to the the story, Elisha advised the Shunammite woman to take refuge to avoid a seven-year famine. So she lived in the land of the Philistines for seven years. At the end of the seven years she returned to her home town and appealed to the king to restore her lost property.⁴⁷ The king questioned the woman and finally he ordered as follows:

Restore everything that belong to her and all the income from her field from the day she left the country until now (v. 6).

In conclusion, we understand that the lost property was the main concern for the exiles and that the theologizing of the biblical texts, as discussed above, was to restore the lost property of the exiles. At the same time, this propaganda clearly reflects the socio-economic situation of the post-exilic period.

C. The Identity of the Samaritans

The polemical character of II Kings 17 has been accepted by most modern critics. But there has been no easy agreement concerning the question as to against whom its polemic is directed. Hence, as seen above, various groups such as the northern Israelites, the foreign inhabitants of Samaria, the Judaeans, and finally the exiles have been suggested as the object of the polemic. The question as to whether II Kings 17 is concerned with the Samaritans

is, therefore, a matter of dispute. While II Kings 17 has been considered by some as nothing to do with the origin of the Samaritans, other scholars have argued that it was interpreted polemically to imply the Samaritans in a later period. R. J. Coggins, for example, charges Josephus with being the first one who began to use II Kings 17 polemically to discriminate against the Samaritans.⁴⁸ Similarly, F. Dexinger regards II Kings 17 as 'a post-exilic polemic with the purpose of justifying the rejection of the Gentile worshippers of the God of Israel', but considers the original anti-Gentile polemic as transformed into a polemic against the Samaritans from the beginning of the Maccabean period.⁴⁹

However, there has been a general consensus among the modern biblical critics that the term *Shomronim* in II Kings 17 refers to the inhabitants of Samaria and should be translated as the *Samarians*.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, scholars are of divergent opinions concerning the exact identity of the term *Shomronim*. In other words, it has not been clarified yet to whom, the term *Shomronim* refers, whether to the northern Israelites or the Gentile inhabitants of Samaria who were brought into Samaria by Assyrians. Some scholars maintain that the term refers to the Gentile inhabitants of Samaria. According to R. J. Coggins, the term applies 'not so much to the native inhabitants as to those who were introduced into Israel by the imperial authorities of Assyria'.⁵¹ Accordingly, he suggests that

II Kings 17 throws no light on the Samaritans who were associated with Mount Gerizim or Shechem in a later period. He believes that it was by Josephus that the term in II Kings 17 was contemptuously applied to the later Samaritans.⁵² On the other hand, others contend that the term *Shomronim* refers to the northern Israelites.⁵³ Evidence for this lies, firstly, in the Akkadian appellation of the eighth century B.C. which designates the northern kingdom of Israel as *Samerina* and its people as *Samerina-a-a*.⁵⁴ According to the Assyrian annals, the northern kingdom of Israel was called either *Samirina* or *Bit-Huumria* and sometimes the kings such as Joash and Menahem were titled as 'the Samaritan'.⁵⁵ Hence, scholars such as Cogan and Tadmor have maintained that the term in II Kings 17 should be regarded as deriving not from the name of the Assyrian province *Samerina* but from the Akkadian form of the appellation of the northern Israelite, although after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel its territory was named again as *Samerina* and was incorporated into one of the Assyrian provinces.⁵⁶ A second piece of evidence supporting the argument that the *Shomronim* were the northern Israelites comes from the context of II Kings 17:29, which seems to express that the foreigners who were transplanted into the places of the Israelite exiles reused the shrines which the *Shomronim* had made at the high places.⁵⁷ It has therefore been suggested that the term *Shomronim* originally refers to the northern Israelites.

However, consideration of the use of another term in II Kings 17 --*bnei Israel*-- suggests reasons for rejecting this conclusion. V. 24 preserves the correct term *bnei Israel* instead of the *Shomronim* for describing the erstwhile northern Israelites. According to Richard D. Nelson, it is due to a difference in the sources that v. 24 and v. 29 have different terms describing the northern Israelites. He suggests that the source of v. 24 is earlier than vv. 29-34a and that the whole unit vv. 24-34a reflects the exilic editor's intention to embroider upon his theme of deportation (23b).⁵⁸ In any case, if we remember that the polemic of II Kings 17 was to assert the claims of the exiles as the true Israel, and was, eventually, to negate the identity of the remnant in the land of Israel as the members of the new Israel, then it is likely that the term *bnei Israel* in v. 24, as it stands, denotes that the whole population of the Israelites were exiled, and that it is the exiles who can be called as the true Israel. Here it is worth mentioning that the returned exiles call themselves *bnei Israel* in order to separate themselves from the other groups in the land of Israel. In contrast with the term *bnei Israel* in v. 24 which identifies the exiles as the true members of Israel, it is likely that the term *Shomronim* in v. 29 was applied to discriminate against the survivors in the land of Israel as if they were the descendants of the northern schismatics as well as the mixed people with the foreign

colonists. This point will be discussed in more detail later. At present it may be argued that the polemical purpose of the unit, vv. 24-41 was to give some impressions that:

1. the *Shomronim* were unfaithful northern Israelites to Yahweh (v. 29), since they built the shrines;
2. the colonists in v. 24a were the syncretists;
3. the syncretistic colonists who were replaced the place of the exiles were the only remnant in Palestine, i.e., the *Shomronim*, in a concealed meaning of the polemic of the unit.

In brief, since the whole section of II Kings 17 was employed as the polemic of the later *golah* community against the remnant who had not shared the experience of exile, we can suggest that the term *Shomronim* was originally a polemical term to discriminate against the remnant in Palestine as being idol-worshippers as well as the descendants of the Gentiles. Therefore, we can suggest that the term *Shomronim* refers neither to the foreign inhabitants of Samaria nor the northern Israelites. Rather the term a *hapax legomenon* was applied intentionally to designate the remnant in the land of Israel in contrast with the *bnei Israel*, i.e., the returned exiles. In other word, we can conclude that the term *Shomronim* was a polemical one to negate the identity of the remnant who had not gone into exile, as the true body of the Israel.

Similarly, Ezra 4 too can be regarded as a polemic of the returned exiles. Some scholars have considered Ezra 4:1-5 as simply an invention of the Chronicler.⁵⁹ On the other hand, others have suggested that these verses are grounded on the actual history of the fifth century B.C.⁶⁰ Recently H. G. M. Williamson has confirmed 4:1-3 as based on an earlier, independent source, while vv. 4-5 as not the direct continuation of vv. 1-3, but as the 'summary notation' of 3:3.⁶¹ Hence Williamson has warned us not to identify 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' (v. 1) with 'the people of the land' (v. 4).⁶²

However, no matter whether the original form of Ezra 4 was a factual report or not, it is immediately apparent that the text of Ezra 4:1-5, as it stands, reflects a strong polemic by the returned exiles against the survivors of the land of Israel. Sara Japhet argues that the intention of the book of Ezra was to identify the returned exiles as only one Israelite community exiles in the land of Israel and as the sole inheritors of the promised land as well.⁶³

This is well illustrated in the consistent use of terminology 'the exile'⁶⁴ as referring to 'Israel'⁶⁵ while the other survivors in the land of Israel are treated as if they had not existed at all. For example, according to Japhet, Ezra 2 clearly depicts the total depopulation of 'the people of the province' i.e., 'the citizens of Judah' and the repatriation of the people to their former hometowns. She believes that this was to

give an impression as if 'Their towns had been left vacant, empty, waiting for them to come back. No people settled in these towns in the meantime and no problems of land-possession arose'.⁶⁶ At the same time, the other survivors in the land of Israel are considered as colonists from various places (4:9-10) or as 'the people of the land'.⁶⁷ Thus we can suggest that Ezra 4, like II Kings 17, is also a piece of ideology from the returned exiles to negate the identity of the survivors in the land of Israel as members of the true Israel. This can be supported by tracing the exact identity of 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' as well as that of 'the people of the land'.

There have been various proposals for the exact identity of 'the adversaries' of Judah and Benjamin. First, the Judaeo-Christian's traditional attitude has been to consider 'the adversaries' as the Samaritans.⁶⁸ At the same time, that 'the adversaries' refer to the Samaritans is also suggested by some modern biblical critics. However, as discussed already in the introduction, there has been no general consensus among scholars concerning the exact definition of the term 'Samaritans'. This consequently implies that each scholar has a different suggestion about the identity of 'the adversaries'. For example, Parrot⁶⁹ and Bickerman⁷⁰ identify the Samaritans with the Assyrian colonists who had intermarried with the Israelites. But, it is already well-established that the

traditional view concerning the Samaritans cannot reliably be accepted as a scholarly opinion. Another view is that of Eybers who suggests that the Samaritans were the inhabitants of neighbouring countries, i.e., Edomites, Arabians, and Ammonites.⁷¹ Finally, Macdonald even maintains that the Samaritans were the northern Israelites who kept the ancient Israelite religious tradition.⁷² However, it is evident that the Samaritans were not a branch of the Israelite tribes as he believes.

A second suggestion is that 'the adversaries' were 'Samaritans', i.e., the foreign inhabitants of Samaria. P. R. Ackroyd considers 'the adversaries' as the ruling groups in Samaria.⁷³ Likewise, Dexinger maintains that the Samaritans were the ethnically and religiously mixed population in Samaria.⁷⁴ Both Ackroyd and Dexinger conclude that Ezra 4 evinces no anti-Samaritan bias, since the Samaritans as a religious group had not existed at all at the period of Ezra.⁷⁵ However, it is not likely that 'the adversaries' signifies the descendants of the Gentile inhabitants of Samaria only. At the same time, it is not with the Samaritans but with the survivors in the land of Israel that the returned exiles had a uncomfortable relationship.⁷⁶ Furthermore, we should be careful not to simply equate the colonists who might have been intermingled with the indigenous inhabitants of the land of Israel with the government officials in the period of restoration.⁷⁷

A third interpretation of 'the adversaries' is that they were the northern Israelites. Some scholars have maintained 'the adversaries' as the Israelite remnant in the former territory of the northern kingdom of Israel. It is likely that they believe the Samaritan schism resulted from the tension between the Israelites and the Judaeans.⁷⁸ However, it seems that the northern Israelites after the fall of Samaria had gradually intermingled with the Judaeans and had been absorbed in the body of the Judaeian kingdom. Therefore, it is not likely that the descendants of the former Israelites had kept a political and religious body down to fifth century B.C. This means that we should be cautious in asserting simply that the survivors were the northern Israelites. Furthermore, it can be suggested that the implication that 'the adversaries' were the northern Israelites was intended by the polemic of the returned exiles who charged the survivors with being the descendants of the rebels of ancient schism between North and South. This point will be discussed further later.

Finally, 'the adversaries' are also regarded as local Judaeans who had not shared the experience of the exile. According to M. Smith, the descendants of the Judaeian remnant who were left in the land of Israel in 582 B.C., or those who returned to the land, soon thereafter, formed a local party. They were the adherents of the syncretistic cult of Yahweh. In addition, they had a

close relationship with the neighbouring peoples, but deep hostility to the returned exiles.⁷⁹ It seems that Smith is correct when he sees the problem of Ezra 4 as resulting from the tension between the local Judaeans and the returned exiles concerning the right of the possession of the land.⁸⁰ But, as mentioned already, if we remember the fact that the local Judaeans included the elements of the former Israelites as well as the foreigners, we can avoid the conclusion that 'the adversaries' were originally the local Judaeans not the Samaritans.⁸¹

An alternative view of Ezra 4:1-5 is given by some scholars who see it as a caricature of the Samaritans by the Chronicler and as having nothing to do with the Samaritans.⁸² They may be right in arguing for the polemical character of Ezra 4, but it is still an open question as to whether the Chronicler can be accepted as the author of the book of Ezra-Nehemiah.⁸³ If we agree with the view of modern biblical scholarship which argues for the universality of the Chronicler who tried to embrace all the inhabitants of Palestine under the name of 'Israel',⁸⁴ it is not likely that the Chronicler was hostile towards the Samaritans. We should therefore be cautious again in regarding Ezra 4:1-5 as the polemic of the Chronicler against the Samaritans in his own day.

As mentioned above, the intention of the polemic of II Kings 17 was to degrade the survivors in the land of

Israel as the foreign colonists. Furthermore, by equating them with the northern Israelites too, the polemicist(s) attempted to discriminate against the survivors as the syncretistic worshippers descended from marriages between the northern schismatics and the colonists after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. If this is accepted, then it is manifest that 'the adversaries' (Ezra 4:1), which are identified with 'the people of the land' (4:4), refer to the survivors in the land of Israel. At the same time, the survivors were deliberately denounced as the foreign colonists (4:2b) who were transplanted into the devastated land by the Assyrian kings.

That the survivors of the land of Israel were charged as if they were the descendants of the schismatics in ancient Israel in 922 B.C. is possibly supported by Nehemiah's declaration to his adversaries. According to I Kings 12:16 (=II Chron. 10:16), the northern Israelites, when they parted from the other southern Israelites, stated to Rehoboam: 'What share do we have in David?' Interestingly, around 450 years later, Nehemiah declared resolutely to his adversaries, Sanballat and his colleagues, who might have wanted to share the land with the returned exiles: 'You have no share, right, or traditional claim in Jerusalem' (Neh. 2:20).⁸⁵

Finally, let us discuss the nature and identity of the term *am haarets* in Ezra 4:4. There have been various

86

proposals concerning the exact meaning of the term. For example, E. Würthwein⁸⁷ and Talmon⁸⁸ suggested that the *am haarets* were the free Yahwists who supported the Davidic dynasty such as being shown in their *coup d'états* to enthrone Josiah (II Kings 21:24) as well as Jehoahaz (II King 23:30). Hence, according to scholars such as Coggins⁸⁹ and Meyers,⁹⁰ it was these kind of loyal Yahwists who are referred to in the term *am haarets* in Ezra 4:4, Haggai 2:4, and Zechariah 7:5. Coggins believes that 'the theological presuppositions of the Chronicler debased them from loyal Yahwists to the "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin"⁹¹'. However, as discussed in the previous section, we have come to know that the term *dallat am haarets* was used pejoratively to designate the survivors of the land of Israel. Likewise, it is clear that the term *am haarets* in Ezra 4:4 too was employed polemically to degrade the identity of the remaining people who had not gone into exile as the foreign syncretistic worshippers.⁹² At the same time, it is clear again that the use of the term *am haarets* is contrasted with the other polemical term, the remnant in Ezra 9:8, 14, 15 (Cf. Neh 1: 2-3). Despite the existence of those people who remained in the land of Israel, it is described how the returned exiles assert themselves as the true remnant: 'We are left this day as a remnant'. Therefore, the polemical usage of the term in the (post)exilic period warns us not to apply hastily the same meaning to every occurrence of the term in the Old Testament. That is to

say, we should be very cautious in identifying the *am haarets* simply with the Yahwists, i.e., the northern Israelites or the Jehudites. Rather it can be suggested that the term generally refers to all the (descendants of) the remaining people who had not shared the experience of exile. Hence, A. D. Crown is correct when he maintains as follows:

If we may extrapolate to Zechariah from Ezra, the meaning given to *am haarets* in Ezra, then Zechariah 7:15 implies that the cooperation between the remnants of the two nations had continued throughout the dark years of the mid-6th century B.C. Haggai likewise accepts the *am haarets* into the fold (2:4).

93

In the book of Ezra-Nehemiah we have the other forms in Hebrew concerning 'the people of the land': one is *ammei haarets* (Ezra 10:2, 11; Neh. 10:31, 32; Cf. 9:24) and the other is *ammei haaratsot* (Ezra 3:3; 9:1, 2, 11; Neh. 9:30; 10:29, 30). According to F. I. Anderson, *ammei haarets* were foreigners living in Judah, while *ammei haaratsot* were considered as those foreigners living outside the province of Judah.⁹⁴ H. G. M. Williamson considers the term *ammei haaratsot* in Ezra 3:3 as equivalent with the *am haarets* in 4:4 which refers to 'those who were not part of the returned community both those within the province of Judah and their near neighbors'.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Jacob M. Myers argues that the term refers to the leaders of the different districts or to outside landholders who took over after the Exile.⁹⁶ Whoever they were, if we

consider the status of *ammei haaretsot* and *ammei haarets*, it is evident that they regarded themselves as the people of the devastated country, Jehudah until they were rejected totally as members of new Israel by the community of the returned exiles. But their claim that they were the same people of the land of Israel was simple enough in that they lived in the same land, worshipping same God of Israel: 'like you, we seek your God and have been sacrificing to him...' (4:2). Thus it may be argued that the term *am haarets* in Ezra 4:4, in a broad sense, includes all those foreign elements in its meaning.

From all this we can suggest that the term *Shomronim* in II Kings 17:29 is originally a polemical term denoting the survivors in the land of Israel after the destructions of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah. It is likely that the implication of the term in the post-exilic period was to allege that the survivors were the descendants of northern schismatics or syncretistic colonists: the *Shomronim* were neither the '*bnei Israel*' (cf. II Kings 17:24) nor 'the holy seed' (Ezra 9:2). It was with these survivors in the land of Israel that the returned exiles had to compete for survival, especially in the matter of the true identity of Israel.

The question then arises as to the identity of the survivors in the land of Israel. It is a matter of fact that a large number of northern Israelites continued to

live on in their territory after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. Likewise, it was a small portion of the upper class only who were carried away by Babylonians during the last two decades of the sixth century B.C. In addition, we can consider the element of the foreigners who assimilated themselves with the indigenous inhabitants of the land of Israel. Hence we can conclude that the *Shomronim* refer to all the components of the population settling in the land of Israel in the vortex of the destructions of Israel and Judah. They were northern Israelites, Judaeans, and foreign settlers who adopted the Jewish religious custom. Similarly, as Alan D. Crown argues, the terms 'the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin' and '*am haarets*' in the post-exilic period are nothing but polemic comments referring them to the Samaritans.⁹⁷

For the exact translation of the term *Shomronim* some scholars have proposed the term *Samaritans*, although they did not agree with each other for the meaning of the term. However, if the polemical character of the term *Shomronim* and also its Greek translation, *Samareitai*, are considered, then it is necessary to translate the Hebrew term into 'Samaritans' implying the people who congregated around and were religiously tied with Mt. Gerizim in a later period.

The final question then arises as to when and why did the survivors and the returned exiles come to a parting of the

ways.

D. The Samaritan Schism

It is the modern scholarly *tendenz* to consider the Samaritan schism as resulting from the gradual estrangement between Jews and Samaritans in a later period, rather than as a dramatic, sudden, and specific event. It seems that modern scholars explain the schism as the emergence of Samaritanism as a sect. Hence, according to Coggins, Samaritanism was certainly formed by the last three centuries before the Common Era.⁹⁸ However, if we define the meaning of the term 'schism' as referring to the definite separation of two parties in terms of the different religious tradition, we can suggest the period of Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century B.C. as the beginning of the schism between the returned exiles and those who had not gone into exile and remained in the land of Israel.⁹⁹

If the date, 458 B.C., as the year of the arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem is accepted,¹⁰⁰ then there is no doubt, despite the debate over the land, that there was some attempt at cooperation between the returned exiles and the remnant in the land of Israel during the eighty years of the early post-exilic restoration period.¹⁰¹ It seems reasonable to suppose that it was 'this people' (Hag. 1:2) including 'house of Judah and house of Israel' (Zech.

8:13) that Haggai and Zechariah urged to build the Temple.¹⁰² At the same time, it is worth observing the number of the twelve he-goats presented as a sin-offering at the ceremony of the dedication of the Temple in 515 B.C. (Ezra 6:17). This implies definitely that there was still a belief in the union of the twelve Israelite tribes until this period.¹⁰³ Finally, the fact that the returned exiles and the remaining people in the land of Israel had kept the continuous relationship of mutual cooperation, even to the period of Ezra and Nehemiah is clearly demonstrated in the following incidents:

1. the proposal of the remnant of assistance in the rebuilding of the Temple, though it was rejected by the returned exiles (Ezra 4:2);
2. celebrating the festival together (Ezra 6:21);
3. mixed marriages (Ezra 9);
4. the sojourning of Tobiah in the Temple (Neh. 13: 4 - 9).

However, the relationship between the two parties began to dissolve when Ezra arrived in Jerusalem in 458 B.C. It is a matter of question as to what extent the Jewish people in Palestine were influenced by the political instability of the 'Beyond the River' province in the early post-exilic period. Some scholars contend that the rebuilding of the Temple as well as the refortification of Jerusalem were possibly motivated by the revolts of Babylon and Egypt against the rule of Persia.¹⁰⁴ Others, on the other hand, suggest that the Jewish people remained stable and

loyal to the Persian control. That is why Artaxerxes himself sent Ezra to Jerusalem in 458 B.C. to assure their loyalty to him. ¹⁰⁵ In any case, it is evident that Ezra was sent by Artaxerxes to rule the all the people in the province 'Beyond the River' according to its own traditional laws or customs (Ezra 7:25). In other words, Artaxerxes officially sanctioned the Torah as the civil law code of the people in Palestine. According to A. F. Rainey,

In the Aramaic letter carried by Ezra, the Hebrew word Torah is translated by the Persian loan word *data*, "decree, royal command." Thus the Torah ("instruction") achieved a status in the Jewish millet comparable to the "laws of Medes and Persians" which could not be altered or changed (Dan. 6:8). 106

It is beyond the limits of the present study to argue the nature and content of the Torah which Ezra brought to Jerusalem. What is worthy of notice in relation to the Torah is the fact that Ezra brought with him the cultic functionaries who consisted of the Zadokite-Aaronite priestly party. In other words, this implies that Ezra and his associates introduced the different religious calendar to the returned exiles, in contrast with that of the remaining people in the land of Israel (Cf. Ezra 7:6-7). ¹⁰⁷ According to Morgenstern, there were three different calendars in ancient Israel. Calendar I was a purely solar calendar borrowed from the Canaanites and Phoenician neighbours used in regard to the conditions of simple,

agricultural life. Calendar II was then a luni-solar one, based apparently upon Assyro-Babylonian models. It designated the months by number. But Calendar II was definitely developed under the deuteronomic program in the seventh century B.C. to rid the older Canaanite and foreign religious influences, and the old non-Yahwistic festivals. Calendar II was observed until the period of Ezra and Nehemiah. Finally, Calendar III was also a luni-solar calendar and had much the same with Calendar II, but had different system of intercalation, especially in the different order and dating of the main festivals. Morgenstern then maintains that it was from the period of Ezra and Nehemiah that Calendar II was transposed by Calendar III.¹⁰⁸ For example, Neh. 8 records the incident of Ezra's reading of the Torah as well as the celebration of the Sukkot festival according to the Torah. It is apparent that the reading of the Torah to the people during the first day of the seventh month is in conformity with Deut. 31:10-11. However, as shown in Table 2, the method of celebrating the festival was quite a different, innovative one in comparison with the old manner as presented in Lev. 23: 39-43.¹⁰⁹ 'The Israelites had not celebrated it like this from the days of Joshua ... until that day'. (Neh. 8:17). Morgenstern believes that the transition from Calendar II to Calendar III signifies the triumph of Ezra and his Zadokite priestly party against those non-Zadokite levitical priests.¹¹⁰ They were once expelled from the priesthood of the sanctuary at

Table 2: Variance of the two different calendars of the Sukkot festivals

	<u>Neh 8</u>	<u>Lev. 23:39-42</u>
1. Date:	VII/1-10	VII/15-22
2. Process:	VII/1: reading the Law; celebrating the day with special food, sweet drinks, and gifts to the needy;	VII/15: a day of rest; preparing booths;
	VII/2: reading the Law; preparing booths;	
	VII/3-9: FESTIVAL	FESTIVAL
	VII/10: (the eighthday) assembly	a day of rest
3. Materials for booths	branches of olive, wild olive, myrtle, palm, leafy tree	branches and fruits of <i>hadar</i> , palm, leafy tree, willow

Jerusalem, but regained their power after the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.

Avoidance of mixed marriages was the other practice which Ezra and Nehemiah attempted under the name of the Torah. Concerning the matter of the mixed marriages (Ezra 9) K. Koch believes that Ezra was anxious to dismiss the wives who came from the Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and possibly Edomites. He maintains that the purpose of the Ezra's mission was to establish one Israel as the nation of twelve tribes including the later Samaritans.¹¹¹ Accordingly, Ezra had no intention to break up marriages with Samaritan women, 'because in his time they are not yet Samaritans but in his view only members of the northern tribes of Israel'.¹¹² However, Koch's argument is hard to accept. What Ezra and Nehemiah intended to do was to protect 'the holy seed' (Ezra 9:2). They did not intend the reunion of the Palestinian communities, but rather the complete separation of the *golah* community from 'the peoples of the land' (Ezra 9:2).

It is worth mentioning that there were 112 persons in total -- 18 priests, 6 Levites, 1 singer, 3 gatekeepers, and 84 Israelites -- who had married foreign women in the community of the returned exiles (Ezra 10:18-44). If we assume four persons as the average number of each family (cf. Ezra 10:44), then approximately 1 % of the whole community, i.e., 42,360 of the returned exiles were

contaminated in the mixed marriages (Ezra 2:64; Neh. 7:66). It is interesting again to see that there were 84 persons only -- 23 priests, 17 levites, and 44 leaders -- who made a binding agreement to accept the ban of mixed marriages (Neh. 9:38 - 10: 27). Needless to say, there were also those who stood against the ban on mixed marriages (Ezra 10:15). In any case, it is apparent that the promulgation of the law forbidding mixed marriages was considered by the remnant as implying exactly the same as the proclamation of their exclusion from the *golah* community. In conclusion we can suggest, as Alan D. Crown argues, that the religious schism between the two parties began from the period of Ezra. According to Crown, Ezra's mission was twofold: to engender 'a careful purging by separation of the people to create a body politic of Judaeans only' and 'a revamping of the law code to ensure the separation of those acknowledged the sanctity only of another form of the text'.¹¹³

The question then arises as to what was the motive of the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the first place, we can indicate the fact that the returned exiles had to survive from the poor socio-economic situation of the post-exilic period. Neighbouring countries posed a constant threat to the security of the returned exiles. Furthermore, the deterioration in social justice as well as in the economy exacerbated the problems of the community of the returned exiles. Among the returned

exiles, the distribution of wealth was unequal, with those who were already rich benefitting from those in poverty within their community. Overall though, the economic situation of the whole community was disastrous, as we read in Neh. 9:36-37:

And so now we are slaves today, slaves in the land you gave to our ancestors so they could eat its fruit and the other good things it produced. Because of our sins, its abundant harvest goes to the kings you have placed over us. They rule over our bodies and do as they please with our cattle while we are in great distress.

Finally, it seems that the temple economy collapsed due to the unconcern of the people including the cultic functionaries. Because of the Temple's economic insolvency, the Levites and singers could not but go back to their own fields for survival (Neh. 13:10).

Next, the religious factor can be considered as motivating the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah. It may be argued that various streams of religious traditions in Palestine in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem engendered different pattern of leadership, belief, and practice. If we consider the protests against the exclusive policy of the post-exilic period as reflected in Isaiah 56:3-8; 60:7; 63:15-19; 65:1-16, then it is especially clear that the assimilationists were regarded as being threatening to the preservation of 'the holy seed'.

Finally, it is a matter of question as to whether the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah was motivated by foreign policy of the Persian empire to weaken the movement of uniting the former twelve tribes of Israel and of establishing the kingdom of Davidic line. But the fact that the Persian authorities directed the detail of the religious matter of Jewish people is clearly evidenced from the Elephantine papyri.¹¹⁴ According to the so-called 'Passover papyrus' dated in 419 B.C.,¹¹⁵ the command to celebrate the festival in the prescribed manner emanates from the king himself. The text is as follows:

Now therefore count fourteen days of the month Nisan and keep ... and from the fifteenth day until the twenty-first day of Nisan ... Be ritually clean and take heed. Do not work ... nor drink ... and anything at all in which there is leaven ... sunset until the twenty-first day of Nisan ... do not bring it into your houses, but seal it up during those days. 116

According to Cowley, this decree generally implies that the festival had never been celebrated in this manner in Elephantine.¹¹⁷ As mentioned above, the Sukkot festival which was proposed by Ezra and Nehemiah was also a totally inovative one to the returned exiles in the mid-fifth century B.C. The question then arises as to the purpose of the introduction of new religious calendar by the Persian authorities to the Jewish people in this period. If we consider the incessant revolts of the countries in the satrapy 'Beyond the River' in the fifth century B.C.,¹¹⁸ it may be argued that the introduction of the new

religious calendar by the Persian authorities was to consolidate their power and to protect also their subjects in the areas which were exposed of the threat of the rebels. It is clear that the small province of the returned exiles was surrounded by their 'adversaries', who interfered in all the matters of the Jewish community. At the same time, we cannot exclude a possibility that the exiled Jews in Persia may induced the authorities to promulgate the Torah with the new religious calendar, in order to assume the hegemony over the other Jewish groups including the remnant in the land of Israel.¹¹⁹

In conclusion we can describe the post-exilic period as the period of crisis in Jewish identity. It is understandable that the returned exiles of Ezra and Nehemiah had to compete with the remnant of the land of Israel for their survival in the predicament mentioned above. What Ezra and Nehemiah attempted, therefore, was to proclaim their identity as 'the holy seed' to protect themselves. Hence we can maintain that from this time on those who were negated as the members of 'the holy seed' could not but go their own way for their survival.

Notes to Chapter III

1. That Josiah reunified the former territory of the Northern Israelite Kingdom is supported by the discovery of the *lmlk* or royal jar stamps. See A. D. Tushingham, 'A Royal Israelite Seal(?) and the Royal Jar Handle Stamps', *BASOR*, 200 (1970), 71-78, and 201(1971), 23-35. However, H. Darrell Lance ('The Royal Stamps and the Kingdom of Josiah', *HTR*, 64 (1971), 332) opposes the above-mentioned view. He argues that 'the total absence of the stamps in the north can only mean that in the time of Josiah not even trade was carried on with the territory of the former northern kingdom'. See also Y. Aharoni, *The Land*, pp. 34 f., and *idem.*, *Israel*, pp. 266-69.
2. See M. Avi-Yonah, 'Excavations', pp. 21-24.
3. M. Broshi, 'The Expansion', 21-26 and *idem.*, 'Estimating', 10-15.
4. See M. Broshi, 'The Expansion', 26.
5. M. M. Eisman, 'A Tale of Three Cities', *BA*, 41/2 (1978), 51-53.
6. According to Sara Japhet ['People and Land in the Restoration Period' in *Das Land Israel in Biblischer Zeit: Jerusalem-Symposium 1981*, Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten, 25, edited by Georg Strecker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), p. 105 (hereafter 'People')], 'It is possible to elaborate further on the actual number of Israelites represented by those eighty, on the kind of organization, religious or otherwise, which coordinated the common journey of people from different towns, or the like'.
7. Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 336; Cf. *ANET*, pp. 284-85.
8. See Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, pp. 20-27.
9. For the economic policy of Sargon II, see Israel Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), pp. 107-108. On the other hand, according to the Annals [See Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 337 and also A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II King of Assyria, Part 1: The Annals* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul

Geuthner, 1929), pp. 20-231, '(In the seventh year of my rule. . .), the Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsimani, Haiapa, the far-off Arabs, desert dwellers who know neither overseer nor commander, who had not brought any king their tribute, I defeated them with the aid of Ashur, my lord, and exiled their remnant; I settled them in Samaria. I received tribute from the pharaoh of Egypt, Samsi, queen of the Arabs, It'amra the Sabaeen, and from kings of the seashore and desert...'

10. H. Tadmor, 'Some Aspects', 5-6.
11. Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture*, p. 229.
12. Sara Japhet, 'People', pp. 104-105.
13. For a detailed discussion of the term *dallat*, see H. -J. Fabry, 'dal', *TDOT*, vol. III (1978), 208-30.
14. For the existence of the newly established Judaeen government at Mizpah (Jer. 40:7-41:18), see Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1986), pp. 701-713. See also A. Lods, *Prophets*, p. 175. He believes that the community seems to have included even priests (Lam. 1:4) and elders (Lam. 2:10).
15. Richard D. Nelson, *Double*, p. 88. See also G. H. Jones, *Kings*, vol. II, p. 637.
16. See Louis Stulman, *The Other Text of Jeremiah: A Reconstruction of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Greek Version of the Prose Sections of Jeremiah With English Translations* (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1986), p. 143.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
18. E. Janssen argues that the term carries a theological interpretation of the disaster of 586 B.C. See *Juda in der Exilszeit: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums*, *FRLANT*, 69 (1956), pp. 49-54; See also Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, p. 23, n. 25, and p. 66.
19. John Gray, *loc cit.*, p. 761.
20. Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, pp. 23 f.
21. E. Janssen, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.
22. T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 13 (Waco, Texas, Word Books, 1985), p. 353.
23. John Bright, *Jeremiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, *The Anchor Bible* (Garden

- City, New York: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 192-94.
24. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25*, Hermeneia -- A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, edited by Paul D. Hanson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), pp. 656-57.
 25. J. Philip Hyatt, *The Book of Jeremiah*, IB, vol 5 (Abingdon Press, 1956), p. 998.
 26. E. W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), p. 110 (hereafter *Preaching*).
 27. Herbert Gordon May, 'Towards an Objective Approach to the Book of Jeremiah: The Biographer', *JBL*, 61/3 (Sep 1942), 148, and 152.
 28. Walter Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1970), p. 339.
 29. However, Walther Zimmerli [*Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1-24*, Hermeneia--A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible, translated by Ronald E. Clements, edited by Frank Moore Cross et al., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 263 (hereafter *Ezekiel 1*)] argues that 'Chronologically the oracle...goes back to the period when the Jerusalem sanctuary was still standing, i.e., before the year 587 B.C.'
 30. See *ibid.*, p. 258 and W. Eichrodt, *loc. cit.*, p. 137.
 31. According to Eichrodt, *ibid.*, pp. 136 f., 'The proverbial expression about the meat in the cauldron is undoubtedly intended to suggest both the high worth of Jerusalem's present rulers and also their security from all external dangers. Cauldrons are used to cook the more expensive articles of diet, on which their owners set a high value'.
 32. Roland de Vaux, 'The "Remnant of Israel" According to the Prophets', in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, translated by Damian McHugh (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1972), pp. 15-30 [Originally published in *RB*, 42 (1933), 526-39].
 33. *Ibid.*, pp. 29 f.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 35. See Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah* (Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1972), pp. 388 and 391.

36. George W. Anderson, 'Some Observations on the Old Testament Doctrine of the Remnant', *TGUOS*, 23 (1969-70), 8.
37. For the literature concerning the theology of the post exilic period, see Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*; E. W. Nicholson, *Preaching*; Thomas M. Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgment/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); and Ralph W. Klein, *Israel in Exile: A Theological Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); James D. Newsome, Jr., *By the Waters of Babylon: An Introduction to the History and Theology of the Exile* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979).
38. Robert P. Carroll, loc. cit., p. 571 and Nicholson, *Preaching*, p. 86.
39. See J. Philip Hyatt, 'The Peril from the North in Jeremiah', *JBL*, 59/4 (Dec 1940), 499-513.
40. See ns. 118 f. of Chapter VII.
41. See Douglas Rawlinson Jones, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 42 and also Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1987), p. 81.
42. See Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 185 (hereafter *Palestinian*) and also Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 30.
43. H. H. Rowley, 'The Samaritan Schism in Legend and History', in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, edited by B. W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (London: Preacher's Library, 1962), pp. 215-16 (hereafter 'The Samaritan Schism').
44. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 113.
45. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48*, *Hermeneia -- A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, translated by James D. Martin, edited by Paul D. Hanson with Leonard Jay Greenspoon (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 198-201, and see also Sara Japhet, 'People', p. 107.
46. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, p. 261. Sara Japhet ('People', p. 108) argues that 'The issue ... is not merely one of possession or dispossession of the

land,... but moreover, who are the people of God: the exiles or those who remained in the land?'. However, it is manifest that the debate concerning the ownership of the land, i.e., the socio-economic factor, brought the problem of the identity of the new Israel, i.e., the religious factor, to the foreground. Hence we can suggest that the problem of the identity reflect simply the polemical situation between the remaining people in the land of Israel and the returned exiles'.

47. For the socio-economic situation of the *golah* community, see A. Lods, *Prophets*, p. 190.
48. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 107.
49. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 91.
50. See Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 211.
51. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 15.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
53. See S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. II, *Christian Era: The First Five Centuries*, Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 28 (hereafter *A Social*); John Bowman, *Problem*, pp. 2 f.; *idem.*, 'The History', p. 101; Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships'; F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 91; Richard D. Nelson, *Kings*, p. 231.
54. See n. 25 of the Introduction.
55. *ANET*, p. 284. See also n. 24 of the Introduction.
56. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 211.
57. Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, p. 14.
58. Richard D. Nelson, *Double*, p. 63.
59. For example, according to C. C. Torrey (*Ezra Studies*), 'The Babylonian exile of the Judean Hebrews ... has been made, partly through mistake and partly by the compulsion of a theory, to play a very important part in the history of the Old Testament (p. 285). He also argues that 'the story of the restoration of the Jewish worship in Jerusalem ... is just as untrustworthy as the Chronicler's own "history"' (p. 301).
60. See I. H. Eybers, 'Relations between Jews and Samaritans in the Persian Period' (hereafter 'Relations'), in *Biblical Essays*, 1966, Proceedings

of the Ninth Meeting OTWSA (Potcheftersroom, 1967)', 74, and H. Tadmor, 'Some Aspects', 6.

61. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 16 (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985), p. 44 (hereafter *Ezra, Nehemiah*). This was originally suggested by S. Talmon in his 'Ezra and Nehemiah (Books and Men)', in *IDB*, Supplementary Volume, (1976), p. 323.
62. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. 49.
63. Sara Japhet, 'People', p. 112.
64. Ezra 9:4, 14; 10:6, 8.
65. Sara Japhet, 'People', p. 113.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
67. *Ibid.*
68. See, for example, the title, 'Work on the Temple Suspended because of Samaritan opposition' in Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 30.
69. Andre Parrot, *Samaria: The Capital of the Kingdom of Israel*, Studies in Biblical Archaeology, No. 7 (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 90-91.
70. E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), p. 42 (hereafter *From Ezra*).
71. I. H. Eybers, 'Relations', 73. See also J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 60
72. For the review on John Macdonald's *Theology of the Samaritans*, see Choon Shik Chang, *A Survey*, pp. 85-103.
73. Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, p. 151.
74. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 94.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 94; Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, p. 152. See also John Bowman, *The Samaritan Problem*, p. 4; Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 30; William J. Dumbrell, 'The Theological Intention of Ezra-Nehemiah', *RTR*, 45/3 (1986), 67.
76. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 15.
77. A. Alt [Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums', *KS*, II (München, 1964), pp. 316-37]

- suggested that the colonists from foreign countries formed an upper class in Samaria. For a critical view against the argument of Alt, see M. Smith, 'Alt's Account of the Samaritans' in *Palestinian*, pp. 193-201.
78. W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, 'The Samaritans and the Jews', in *A History of Israel*, vol. II: *From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, A.D. 135* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1932, 1957), pp. 142-158; M. Noth, *A History of Israel*, pp. 352-54; Donald E. Gowan, *Bridge Between the Testament: A Reappraisal of Judaism from the Exile to the Birth of Christianity* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1976), 164-69.
 79. Morton Smith, *Palestinian*, pp. 99-126.
 80. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 81. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
 82. *Ibid.* See also P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, p. 149, n. 49; *idem.*, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah: Introduction and Commentary*, The Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1973), p. 228; M. C. Astour, 'The Origin', p. 8; F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 93 and M. Mor, 'Samaritan History' in *The Samaritans* (ed. A. D. Crown), p. 6.
 83. For the recent literature concerning this matter, see Tamara C. Eskenazi, 'The Structure of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Integrity of the Book', *JBL*, 107/4 (1988), 641-56.
 84. H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Recently Raymond B. Dillard has maintained the same position. According to him [*2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 15 (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1987), p. 243], 'the Chronicler's attitude to the North was not one of exclusivism, but ... inclusivism. The Chronicler was not part of some anti-Samaritan polemic'. See also R. L. Braun, 'A Reconsideration of the Chronicler's Attitude toward the North', *JBL*, 96/1 (1977), 59-62 and *idem.*, 'Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History', in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 30 (1979), 52-64.
 85. See Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, pp. 273 f. and also H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. 193. He interprets this as showing that 'Nehemiah is denying to his opponents civic, legal, and cultic rights in the Jerusalem community'.

86. For the literature and the various meaning on the term *am ha-arets*, see Peter. R. Ackroyd, *Exile*, p. 150, n. 50; B. Oded, 'Judah and the Exile' in *IJH*, pp. 456-58; A. Oppenheimer, *The 'Am ha-aretz: A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, LGHJ, vol. 8, translated by I. H. Levine (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977).
87. E. Würthwein, *Der 'Am Ha'arez im Alten Testament*, BWANT, vol. 17 (Leipzig: Stuttgart, 1936).
88. S. Talmon, 'The Judean 'am ha'ares in Historical Perspective', *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (1967), 71-76.
89. R. J. Coggins, 'The Interpretation of Ezra IV. 4', *JTS*, 16 (1965), 124-27.
90. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 25 B (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1987), pp. 50 f. and p. 387.
91. R. J. Coggins, loc. cit., pp. 126 f.
92. Morton Smith, *Palestinian*, p. 107 and F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 94.
93. A. D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 13.
94. F. I. Anderson, 'Who Built the Second Temple?', *ABR*, 6 (1958), 28-29.
95. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. 46.
96. Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, p. 25 and p. 77.
97. Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, vol. I, pp. 90-91.
98. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 164.
99. Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 16-17.
100. See J. Morgenstern, 'The Dates of Ezra and Nehemiah', *JSS*, 7/1 (1962), 1-11 and also A. F. Rainey, 'The Satrapy "Beyond the River"', in *AJBA*, 1/2 (1969), 62. For the argument dating Ezra in the beginning of the fourth century, see Ralph W. Klein, 'Ezra and Nehemiah in Recent Studies', in *The Mighty Acts of God: In Memoriam G. Ernest Wright* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 370-72.
101. For this, see Eric M. Meyers, 'The Persian Period

- and the Judaeen Restoration: From Zerubbabel to Nehemiah', in *AIRE*, pp. 509-514.
102. See Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, loc cit., p. 19, and p. 424.
 103. Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationships', 14.
 104. See A. F. Rainey, loc. cit., 56-57.
 105. Ibid., 62.
 106. Ibid.
 107. J. Morgenstern, 'Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel', *HUCA*, 10 (1935), 1-148 (hereafter 'The Calendars'). For the other researches on the Israelite Calendars, see J. Van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars*, Second Revised Edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961); M. D. Herr, 'The Calendar', in *JPFC*, pp. 834-64 (includes a detailed bibliography); Elias J. Bickerman, 'Calendars and Chronology', in *CHJ*, pp. 60-69. Especially for the Samaritan Calendar, see Maurice Baillet, 'Le Calendrier Samaritain', *RB*, 85 (Oct 1978), 481-99 and also Sylvia Powels, 'The Samaritan Calendar and the Roots of Samaritan Chronology', in *The Samaritans* (Alan. D. Crown, ed.), pp. 691-742.
 108. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 5-15.
 109. Ibid., 133-43. See also Adam C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, The Baird Lecture for 1934 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1935), pp. 265-74.
 110. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 121-33.
 111. K. Koch, 'Ezra and the Origin of Judaism', in *JSS*, 19 (1974), 193-94.
 112. Ibid., 194.
 113. Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationaships', 17.
 114. Peter R. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 288; H. H. Rowley, 'Papyri from Elephantine', in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, edited by D. Winton Thomas (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), pp. 258 f.
 115. H. H. Rowley, loc. cit., pp. 258-59. However, Ackroyd (*Israel*, p. 289) argues that it is 'a dangerous assumption' to consider the letter as the 'Passover papyrus'.
 116. Cowley, no. 21, lines 4-9 (For the abbreviation,

Cowley, see n. 26 of Chapter IV).

117. Ibid., p. xxv, and also p. 61.
118. See E. Stern, 'The Persian empire and the political and social history of Palestine in the Persian period', in *CHJ*, pp. 70-77.
119. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 113 f.

Chapter IV

Samaritan Origins in the Elephantine Papyri

A. Background of Elephantine

Elephantine is an island lying just below the First Cataract of the Nile, opposite the ancient town of Syene (Assuan).¹ In ancient times the Egyptians named the island as Yeb, and then the Greeks translated it as 'Elephantine'. It was believed that certain rocks on the southern tip of Elephantine island which look like elephants may have given rise to its name, whilst Egyptologists hold that its name was derived from the island's ivory trade.²

At any rate, in ancient Egypt, Elephantine was considered to be one of their important strategic places.³ There was a fortress from the Third Dynasty. In the period of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of Egypt, Elephantine belonged to Nubia until the Assyrian empire ruled over Egypt, and posted a garrison there for the purpose of defending the frontier that faced Nubia. After that, Elephantine was taken again into Egyptian territory for a period of a century. It was then conquered again by the Persian king Cambyses in 525 B.C. It seems that Elephantine was under

the control of the Persian kings until the end of the fifth century B.C. No documents dated later than 399 B.C. have been found at Elephantine yet.

The publication of the Aramaic documents collected by A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley took place in 1906,⁴ although the existence of the Elephantine papyri had been known since 1893 and those collections by Charles Edwin Wilbour⁵ were printed by the Brooklyn Museum only in 1953. Another collection of papyri was published by E. Sachau⁶ in 1911.

As a result of those publications we have come to understand that there were Jews who spoke in Aramaic in Elephantine, and that they also had their own temple worshipping the God Yahu. But several questions have been raised about the Jewish colony at Elephantine: when were they established there? Who were these colonists? What was the size of the Jewish colony? And what light do the Elephantine papyri throw on the problem of the origins of the Samaritans? These questions will be discussed in the following sections.

B. The Origin of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine

The problem of the origin of the Jewish colony at Elephantine is as complicated as that of the origins of the Samaritans. Starting from the time of the Exodus,

various periods have been suggested by scholars for the origin of the Jewish people at Elephantine. Hence, this writer thinks that it will be necessary to review the different arguments briefly before we discuss the problem in detail.

Firstly, E. C. B. Maclaurin's work suggests the earliest dating of the establishment of the Jewish colony at Elephantine as from the period of the Exodus, in the thirteenth century B.C.⁷ On the basis of the prophetic traditions against Egypt (Ezek. 16:26; 23:2-4, 8, 19, 27; Jer. 2:20; 3:4) as well as the archaic form of worship at Elephantine, Maclaurin assumed that the Jews at Elephantine were descended from the Hebrews who probably were left in Egypt at the time of the Exodus. The problem that the Jews at Elephantine spoke in Aramaic was explained by the fact that they were the descendants of the patriarchs who used the same language,⁸ Aramaic. Then, C. H. Gordon indicated that Solomon established Judaeen enclaves in his northern provinces (II Chron. 8:2-6; II Kings 14:28), and that the Jews at Elephantine came from Yadi in Anatolia which was founded by Solomon.⁹ However, Gordon did not clearly indicate any period when they came down to Elephantine.

Next, some scholars have suggested an origin at the end of the eighth century, a period associated with the Assyrian campaigns as well as with the fall of Samaria in

722 B.C. It has been argued that Arameans and Israelites or Samaritans found shelter at Elephantine due to the national disasters in that period.¹⁰ W. O. E. Oesterley, on the other hand, proposed that the Jews at Elephantine were the second generation of the former Israelites who were carried away into the Mesopotamian provinces, and that they were brought into Egypt at the campaign of Ashurbanipal.¹¹ However, others argue the period of Manasseh as the origin of the Jewish colony.¹² According to the biblical literature, the Jewish kings sent 'the people to return to Egypt in order to multiply horses'.¹³ This implies that they carried on a military trade for horses. It has been believed that Manasseh continued this trade and that the Jewish colony was founded due to this policy.¹⁴ Alternatively, in accordance with the report of the Assyrian historical documents, it has been assumed that Manasseh supplied the Jewish troops for the Egyptian campaign of Ashurbanipal and that they remained as the garrison troops at Elephantine after the campaign.¹⁵

Interestingly, the writer of the letter of Aristeas mentions the brief history of Jewish mercenaries to Egypt. He writes that:

... the number of those whom he [Ptolemy I (Lagus) 322-285 B.C.] transported from the country of the Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this large numbers of Jews had came into Egypt with the Persian, and in an

earlier period still others had been to Egypt to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)¹⁶

Thus the letter has been seen as hinting at the period of Psammetichus as the time of establishment of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. The history of Herodotus also describes how Egyptian soldiers at Syene deserted to Ethiopia in spite of the king's efforts to stop them. Herodotus writes as follows:

These deserters are Egyptians of the warrior caste, who to the number of two hundred and forty thousand, went over to the Ethiopians in the reign of king Psammetichus. . . three garrisons were maintained in Egypt at that time, one in the city of Elephantine against the Ethiopians, another in the Pelusiae Daphnae, against the Syrians and Arabians, and a third, against the Libyans, in Marea.¹⁷

But the vexing problem is that there has been no agreement among scholars on which Psammetichus is referred to in the letter of Aristeas, Psammetichus I (664-609 B.C.) or Psammetichus II (594-588 B.C.) Porten believes that it was Psammetichus I who campaigned against Ethiopia when Assyria had been troubled with rebellion close to home (652-648), and who placed his Asiatic mercenaries, including a Jewish contingent as new garrison troops at Elephantine in place of those who deserted to Ethiopia.¹⁸ Others, on the other hand, argue that the Psammetichus referred to can hardly be Psammetichus I, for in his day relations between Egypt and Ethiopia were peaceful.¹⁹ The

Greek inscription at Abu Simbel states that Psammetichus II employed a mercenary army including Jews under the general Potasimto when he attacked Nubia.²⁰

The time of deuteronomic reformation by Josiah has also been considered to be one of the possible periods in the settlement of the Jews at Elephantine.²¹ All the high places were abolished in the cities of the former Israelite kingdom and only one temple of Jerusalem was reinforced. Hence it has been contended that such drastic changes evoked great dissatisfaction in those dissenters who followed the old tradition and made them seek new shelter in Egypt.

Finally, the period of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem has been considered as one of the factors to fix the date of the beginning of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. The fall of the Judaeen kingdom and the murder of Gedaliah caused a number of refugees to migrate to Egypt. Hence some scholars, especially W. F. Albright, suggested that the Jewish garrison was founded under Apries (588-568 B.C.), i.e., Hophra of Jer. 44:30, who was the pharaoh of Egypt during the end of the Judaeen kingdom.²² The inscription of Nesuhor which describes a rebellion of Elephantine troops has been viewed as evidence showing a possible change of garrison troops including a Jewish element.²³ E. G. Kraeling, however, insists that the rebellious troops at Elephantine under

Apries may have been Greek mercenaries, and that the Syrians mentioned in the inscriptions of Nesuhor could have been Phoenicians.²⁴ Thus he concludes that, even if the replacement of garrison troops was carried on in the period of Apries, the Jews were introduced later, perhaps under Amasis (568-526 B.C.).²⁵

As the above review of the scholarly arguments shows, a number of different periods, each raising various issues, has been suggested for the origin of the Elephantine Jews. But there are still several factors which need to be reconsidered for a possible solution of the problem on the origin of the Jewish garrison. Firstly, we need to examine the historical information carefully. According to the Elephantine papyrus, Yedoniah, the head of the Jewish community at Yeb sent a letter to Bagoas, the governor of Judah, in the 17th year of Darius II, i.e., 408 B.C. It is stated in the letter that the destruction of the temple at Elephantine took place three years before the date of the composition of the letter and was the result of a plot between the priests of Khnum and Waidrang, the Persian governor at Elephantine. Thus Yedoniah made a petition to the governor of Judah who had influential friends in Elephantine for the rebuilding of the temple. In the papyrus Yedoniah wrote that:

26

Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt he found that

temple built,...

When Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. so the above letter states, he found the Jewish temple already in existence at Elephantine. This implies that the Jewish colony had been established before the military campaign of Cambyses. Concerning the mentioning of the name, Cambyses, in the letter, E. Bresciani assumes that it was to give the impression that the temple at Elephantine was built in the earlier days.²⁸ He therefore dates the origin of the colony much later in 538 B.C. But, it could be argued that the name mentioned to emphasize the suzerainty of the Persian empire over Egypt in the period of Cambyses and accordingly, to win the favour of the governor. Furthermore, although we do not know exactly when the temple was built, it is explicit in the letter that the ancestors of the Jewish colony had lived at Elephantine in the days of native Egyptian rulers. This signifies possibly that the origin of the Jewish colony was before the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Thus this writer believes that the argument for the post-exilic origin of the Jewish colony at Elephantine cannot be sustained. It is apparent that the letter of Aristes reflects the old tradition about the period when the Jewish mercenaries came down to Egypt to help Psammetichus' campaign against Ethiopia.²⁹ Similarly the history of Herodotus preserves the same tradition.³⁰ If we accept that the Psammetichus referred to in those

traditions was Psammetichus I, the origin of the Jewish colony would be in the pre-exilic period.

Next, the religious tradition of the Jewish colony can be examined as one of the important elements for establishing the settling period of the Elephantine Jews. It is said that the colonists had a temple to Yahu, which has generally been agreed as an earlier form of Yahweh.³¹ They believed that Yahu was actually present in his temple, for Yahu was the god who dwells in Yeb the fortress. This means that the Jewish people at Elephantine preserved the tradition of the ancient Hebrew religion. In addition, the usage of the ancient phrase 'Yahweh of Hosts', in Elephantine suggests that they remained in their ancestral faith.³² Then, the colonists worshipped not only Yahu, but also other deities, 'Anath, Bethel, Ishun, and Herem. This practice of worshipping strange gods has also been said to indicate a continuation of the pre-exilic Judaism.³³ Furthermore, it is evident that the colonists retained the pre-deuteronomic element of the ancient Hebrew religion. For instance, they kept Passover in a more primitive form before the promulgation of the deuteronomic law.³⁴ Therefore, we can tentatively conclude that the Jewish colony was established before Josiah's reform.

Finally, the reason why the Jews at Elephantine used Aramaic as their mother tongue should be discussed. The

Aramaic language, especially the official Aramaic written in the Elephantine papyri, continued in use throughout the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian period.³⁵ When Sennacherib attacked Jerusalem in 701 B.C., although it would seem that most of the inhabitants in Jerusalem did not know Aramaic, the officers of King Hezekiah were possibly able to understand the official Aramaic (II Kings 18:26; Is. 36:11). Besides, Aramaic inscriptions are found in Egypt from as early as the reign of Esarhaddon. It was in the period of the Persian empire that the official Aramaic was dominant as *lingua franca* among the other languages.³⁶

On the other hand, Hebrew was continuously used in Palestine until the period of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. This is evidenced through the findings of Hebrew ostraca excavated from the various sites. Thus we can conjecture that the Jewish people at Elephantine would not have needed to speak only Aramaic, if they were the descendants of the Jewish migrants who came down to Egypt after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Besides, the fact that the Aramaic used by Jews at Elephantine had no direct relationship to Hebrew implies that either the Jews at Elephantine were the descendants of the Israelite captives who were exiled into the Mesopotamian provinces or they were the second generation of those who were living under the control of the Assyrian government for a long time. In the former case, we do not have any

concrete evidence about when their descendants came into Egypt, even though several scholars have argued that the descendants of the Israelite captives joined Ashurbanipal's campaign against Egypt in 667 B.C. In the latter case, Ashurbanipal seemed to conscript the auxiliary troops from his vassal kings including Manasseh of Judah according to their custom.³⁷ If Manasseh supported Ashurbanipal's campaign with his troops and those Jewish people were left as garrison troops in Egypt under the control of Assyrian empire, the period of Manasseh can be suggested as the most probable time of the Jewish settlement at Elephantine.

C. The Jews at Elephantine

Who, then, were the Jews at Elephantine? In the earlier days of scholarship, the Jews at Elephantine had been identified as both Samaritans or the Israelites.³⁸ However, if we accept that the origin of the Jewish colony at Elephantine had been established around the middle of the seventh century B.C., then they might have been the descendants of the erstwhile Israelites who remained in the former Israelite territory. This writer thinks that that is why the Jews at Elephantine identified themselves as the 'Jews' --neither Israelites nor Judaeans.³⁹ If they had been either the descendants of the Israelite captives who had been moved to foreign countries or the second generation of the refugees who came into Egypt after the

fall of Judaeen kingdom, then they would have identified themselves as either the Israelites or the Judaeans.

D. Size of the Jewish Colony

The present-day Elephantine island consists of two Nubian villages with a total population of 1,814 persons.⁴⁰ But what was the size of ancient Jewish colony at Elephantine?

The Jews at Elephantine were a garrison composed of a *degel*.⁴¹ B. Porten assumed that 1,000 families and/or⁴² adult males were enrolled in the *degel* at Elephantine.

He argued that the *degel* at Elephantine was a socio-military unit. Then de Vaux suggested that although it meant 1,000 men in the Qumran text, the *degel* in Elephantine was smaller because it was subdivided into⁴³ several small groups. However, he did not suggest any

concrete number for the smaller size of *degel* in Elephantine. On the other hand, Geo Widengren maintained⁴⁴ that the *degel* in Elephantine was a company of 100 men.

But he may have meant the *century*, a subdivision of the *degel* in Elephantine. Finally, T. Eric Peet proposed, on the basis of 100 souls each for smaller groups, about 600 inhabitants including women and children for the total of⁴⁵ the Jews at Elephantine.

However, if we consider the numerical information in the collection list,⁴⁶ the total number of the Jews at

Elephantine could be lower than 600 souls. The collection list enumerates those in the Jewish garrison who offered two shekels of silver each to Yahu. It seems that each family in Elephantine was represented in the list. But there has been, unfortunately, no agreement among scholars about the exact number of the donors in the papyrus.⁴⁷ The difference in the proposed figure are slight. Hence we will take the round number 120 heads in the papyrus. Then,⁴⁸ if we suppose that each had four families, the whole Jewish population at Elephantine was probably 480 souls. Therefore, this writer concludes that the Jewish colony at Elephantine was perhaps a small garrison composed of around 500 persons.

E. The Relevance of the Elephantine Papyri to Samaritan Origins

When the temple of Yahu was destroyed in the 14th year of Darius II, i.e., 411 B.C., the Jews at Elephantine probably firstly petitioned for its restoration to Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Since there was no mention of the name of the addressee or the date of its composition, it has been assumed that the letter was sent to Jerusalem in the same year that the temple of Yahu was destroyed or shortly after, and that the letter was addressed to Arsames, the governor of Egypt. But the present writer would argue that the letter was sent to Bagoas, because of the following points: first, the title given to the person addressed was

the same one which was applied to Bagoas in the next
letter; ⁵⁰ second, the letter implies that the disaster
happened during the absence of Arsames; ⁵¹ third, it was
emphasized that 'Arsames knew nothing' about the matter in
the letter of 408 B.C.; ⁵² fourth, the Jews at Elephantine
in the letter of 408 B.C. reminded Bagoas of the fact
that they sent an earlier letter to Bagoas himself and to
other celebrities in Jerusalem. ⁵³ Since there was no reply
from Jerusalem for about three years, the Jewish leaders
at Elephantine sent another petition to Bagoas in the 17th
year of Darius the king, i.e., 408 B.C. ⁵⁴ In the former
letter the Jews at Elephantine tried to vindicate
themselves concerning what happened in the fortress of Yeb
and expressed briefly their desires for protection of
themselves and their property as well as for the
rebuilding of the temple. In contrast, the latter
petition of 408 B.C. gives full particulars about the
disaster and supplicate Bagoas to build their temple in
its former place. It even suggests giving bakhshish to
Bagoas at the end of the letter. ⁵⁵ However, the most
interesting thing in this letter is another postscript
which informs Bagoas that the Jews at Elephantine sent a
letter in detail to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of
Sanballat, ⁵⁶ governor of Samaria. It is not stated when
they sent a letter to Samaria, but it is likely that the
letter was sent in the same year of 408 B.C. or shortly
before. ⁵⁷ Then, a mutual consent by Bagoas and Delaiah was
delivered in the form of a memorandum noting that the

temple was to be built on its former site and that the meal-offering and incense except holocaust were to be offered to Yahu.⁵⁸

Several questions have been raised in considering the facts mentioned in those letters:⁵⁹

1. Why did the Elephantine Jews send a letter first to the officials of Jerusalem?
2. Why did the Jerusalem authorities not answer for three years?
3. Why did the Elephantine Jews make a petition to Bagoas again and to the authorities of Samaria?
4. Why did the both authorities reply together by agreement?
5. Why did both authorities refuse the Elephantine Jews permission for burnt-offering?

It may be helpful to recapitulate a few points before we attempt to answer those questions about the relevance of Elephantine papyri to the Samaritan origins. Firstly, it seems that there was good communication between the Jews in Palestine and those in Elephantine. As the Babylonian *golah* was closely connected with the fellow inhabitants of Palestine, so were the Jews at Elephantine.⁶⁰ This is evidenced by the fact that when they had great trouble in Yeb, the leaders of the Jewish community at Elephantine sent a letter immediately to the celebrities in Jerusalem. In other words, all the important internal affairs in Palestine -- the return of *golah*, reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, tension between the returned exiles

and the remnant, expulsion of those who had mixed marriages, and promulgation of the Law -- were probably well known to the Jews at Elephantine. Thus it is hard to believe that the Elephantine colonists did not know⁶¹ anything about the tension between Samaritans and Jews. Secondly, it was during the period of transition from harmony to disharmony, when the Elephantine Jews sent letters to their homeland.⁶² As has been clearly discussed by A. D. Crown, there might have been rapprochement between the former Israelites and Judaeans after the destruction of both the kingdoms with their religious centre at Jerusalem.⁶³ Certainly this harmonious movement continued in Palestine down to the period of Ezra and Nehemiah.⁶⁴ But it is likely that there had already begun a religious propaganda against those who had not been exiled in the period when the Jews at Elephantine sent a letter to Jerusalem.⁶⁵

Now, let us turn to the questions and discuss them briefly. Firstly, why did the Jews at Elephantine appeal to the Jerusalem authorities first? As mentioned above, it would seem that the harmonious spirit of the post-exilic period, especially the movement to regard Jerusalem as a religious centre, was also spread over all the Jews in foreign countries.⁶⁶ That is probably why the Jews at Elephantine wrote to Jerusalem first. In addition, considering the fact that the letter was to ask for the exertion of influence of celebrities in Jerusalem to

support their request before Arsames, the Persian governor of Egypt, it is apparent that the Jews at Elephantine considered the political factor in sending the letter to Jerusalem. This is clearly demonstrated from the use of the Babylonian month names such as *Tammuz*, and *Marheshwan* without their corresponding Egyptian equivalents in the letter which addressed Arsames in 408 B.C. According to Morgenstern, the use of the Babylonian month name in the letter was secondary and artificial to get favour from the Persian governor by affirming that 'their loyalty to him and his government ... and their adherence to Babylonian cultural influences and policies'.⁶⁷ It is likely that the Jews at Elephantine maintained their loyalty to the Persians, due to their close affiliation with the Jews of Persia and Palestine until 402 B.C. or even 401 B.C.⁶⁸ In any case, it is worth mentioning that the Jews at Elephantine were concerned with the fact that the Jerusalemite leaders in this period were strongly supported by the Persian authorities.

Next, why did the Jerusalem authorities not reply to the first petition? Some scholars have contended that the appeal could not but be rejected by the Jerusalem authorities, for the Jews at Elephantine were the Samaritans or the syncretists.⁶⁹ But we cannot find any clear evidence that the Jews at Elephantine were Samaritans. In any case, it was the period when the returned exiles in Palestine began to attack fellow Jews

through religious propaganda. Could this have been, then, a reason why the Jerusalem authorities were not able to answer for three years?

Another question then arises as to why the leaders of Jewish community also send a letter to Samaria. What is intriguing in the letter to Samaria is the fact that the Jews at Elephantine informed Bagoas that they had also sent a letter in a full detail to Delaiah and Shelemiah. Was it intended to report all the things which had happened in Yeb to Bagoas so that he could discuss the problem with Delaiah and Shelemiah? If the Jewish colonists understood that their petition was something which should be discussed with Samaria, then they would have written earlier to Samaria. Hence, we can suggest that the reason the Jewish community wanted Bagoas to know about the letter to Samaria was to get consent for rebuilding of their temple taking all the means possible in their power. This can explain why mention was made of bakshish after informing the two sons of Sanballat.⁷¹ They might simply have been eager to get consent for the rebuilding of their own temple.

On the other hand, it is possible that the fact that the letter was sent to Samaria implies that the Samaritan schism had begun because of the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah. However, it seems that those scholars who have tried to answer this question have, generally, erred

in their definition of the Samaritans. In other words, they have regarded the inhabitants in the district of Samaria to be the Samaritans as defined by association with the administrative district. Furthermore, they assumed that the Jews at Elephantine could send a letter to Samaria because they were the Samaritans.⁷² But if we consider the fact that the leaders of Samaria were not necessarily living in the district of Samaria, we cannot define the Samaritans according to the division of the district only. This will be discussed in detail later. In fact, that the Jews at Elephantine sent a letter to both places, Jerusalem and Samaria, signifies that the Jews in Palestine, the returned exiles and the remnant, were regarded by the overseas Jews as being one and the same Jewish people. It was in a much later period that the overseas Jews were influenced by the dispute between Samaritans and Jews in their homeland.⁷³ However, the other fact that the memorandum was issued jointly by both authorities in agreement on the religious matter raised by the Jews at Elephantine clearly betrays that the Samaritan schism had just begun in this period. Furthermore, that the Samaritan schism was not finalized in this period is also evidenced from the fact that both authorities gave their sanction to the existence of the temple at Elephantine, and also that they agreed with each other not to permit burnt-offering at the temple in Elephantine.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. VIII, The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 127 f.; According to Elias Bickerman (*From Ezra*, p. 34.), the Second Isaiah (49:12) mentions the Jews in the land of Sinim, that is, Syene. See also W. Witakowski, 'The Origins of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine', *Orientalia Suecana*, 27-28 (1979), 38.
2. Cf. E. G. Kraeling, 'New Light on the Elephantine Colony', *BA*, 15/3 (1952), 50 (hereafter 'New Light'); Peter R. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 279.
3. For a brief sketch of Elephantine in the history of Egypt, see E. G. Kraeling, 'New Light', 52-54.
4. A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London: Alexander Moring, 1906).
5. E. G. Kraeling ed. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953) (hereafter *The Brooklyn*).
6. E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911).
7. E. C. B. Maclaurin, "Date of the Foundation of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine," *JNES*, 27 (1968), 89-96.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
9. Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Origin of the Jews in Elephantine," *JNES*, 14 (1955), 56-58.
10. Boulos A. Ayad, *The Jewish-Aramaean Communities in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: The Institute of Coptic Studies, 1975), p. 63 and W. Witakowski, *loc. cit.*, 39 f.
11. W. O. E. Oesterley, 'The Elephantine Papyri', In *A History of Israel*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), pp. 159-65.
12. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 11-12 (hereafter *Archives*).

13. Deut. 17:16. Cf. Is. 18:20, 30:1 ff., 16, 31:1 ff., 36:9.
14. E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), pp. 34 f.; T. Eric Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), pp. 192 f.
15. B. Porten, *Archives*, p. 13.
16. Quoted from 'The Letter of Aristeas', In *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. II: Pseudepigrapha, edited by R. H. Charles (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 96.
17. Herodotus, II, 30.
18. B. Porten, *Archives*, p. 12; see also idem, 'The Jews in Egypt', in *CHJ*, vol. I, p. 379.
19. Cf. E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn*, p. 445.
20. Sir A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 359; William W. Hallo and William Kelly Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), p. 294.
21. E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn*, p. 44; A. Cowley suggests that the colonists left their country before 621 B.C. See A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), p. xxiv (hereafter *Aramaic Papyri*). See also J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars,' 109.
22. W. F. Albright, 'A Brief History of Judah from the Days of Josiah to Alexander the Great', *BA*, 9/1 (Feb, 1946), 5; idem., *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Fifth Edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), p. 168; J. Gray, *Archaeology and the Old Testament World*, pp. 191 f; R. E. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 280; J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, Third Edition (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), pp. 346 f.
23. Cf. E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn*, p. 47.
24. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 48.
25. E. G. Kraeling, 'New Light', 65; See also E. Bresciani, 'Egypt, Persian satrapy', in *CHJ*, vol. I, p. 368; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1948), p. 89.
26. In the first draft of the letter [Cowley, no. 30,

line 13 (hereafter the abbreviated form *Cowley* is used to refer the Aramaic papyrus in the book)], it is written 'in the days of a king' while in the duplicate of the letter (*Cowley* no. 31. line 12) it is described as 'in a day of kings'. Most scholars, however, read 'kings' instead of 'a king' and prefer 'days' to 'a day'. See A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 116 and p. 121; E. Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (Berlin: Verlag der Königl., 1908), p. 30.; A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), p. 3 and p. 7.

27. *Cowley*, no. 30, lines 13-14.
28. E. Bresciani, loc. cit., 368.
29. The letter of Aristeas, line 13.
30. Herodotus II, 30.
31. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri.*, p. xviii; Peter R. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 281.
32. Peter R. Ackroyd, *ibid*, p. 281; E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn*, p. 84.
33. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri.*, pp. xviii-xx; J. D. Purvis (*The Samaritan Pentateuch*, p. 9, n. 13) argues that the Jewish community at Elephantine preserved northern Israelite Yahwism rather than Judaeen religion.
34. See *Cowley*, no. 21.
35. See J. Naveh, 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period', in *CHJ*, vol. I, p. 119; see also W. S. Lasor, 'Aramaic', *ISBE*, vol. One: A-D, pp. 229-33.
36. J. Naveh, loc. cit., pp. 115 f.
37. M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974), p. 93.
38. For the list of those scholars who argue that the Jews at Elephantine were the Samaritans, see B. Porten, *Archives*, pp. 18 f., n. 66 and *idem.*, 'The Jews in Egypt', p. 378. According to S. Lowy [*The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, *Studia Post-Biblica*, vol. 28 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), pp. 243 f.], however, 'the superficial similarities adduced to show that these colonists were Samaritans are not at all convincing.'

39. A. Cowley (*Aramaic Papyri*, p. xv) thinks that the self-identification of Elephantine colonists as 'Jews' did not necessarily imply that they were either Samaritans or Israelites. See also J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, p. 327.
40. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 4, Fifteenth Edition (1986), p. 443.
41. For a further discussion of *degel* in Elephantine-Syene garrison, see 'Degel -- A Socio-Military Unit', in B. Porten, *Archives*, pp. 28-35 and idem., 'The Jews in Egypt', pp. 380-83.
42. Ibid.
43. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 226.
44. Geo Widengren, 'The Jewish Colony at Elephantine', in *IJH*, p. 533.
45. T. Eric Peet, loc. cit., p. 193.
46. Cowley, no. 22; see Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 65-76.
47. Cf. B. Porten, *Archives*, p. 161, n. 37.
48. For the two children in a family, see Cowley, nos. 20 and 25.
49. Cowley, no. 27.
50. Cowley, no. 30:4-5.
51. Cowley, no. 27:4-5.
52. Cowley, no. 30:18; 31:17
53. Ibid.
54. Cowley, no. 30.
55. Cowley, no. 30:28.
56. Cowley, no. 30:29.
57. The present writer does not agree with Dexinger who argues that the Jews at Elephantine made a petition to Samaria first and only later to Jerusalem. See F. Dexinger, 'Limits', p. 92.
58. Cowley, no. 32.
59. For the questions in relation to the letter, see Porten, *Archives*, pp. 293-94, n. 29.

60. Cf. Jer. 29:1, 25, 31; Neh. 1:2-3.
61. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 130-31, n. 212; According to I. H. Eybers ('Relations' 78), 'since it is clear that the Jews in Elephantine did not keep it a secret from the Samaritans that they were approaching the authorities in both Jerusalem and Samaria, the natural conclusion would be that they did not know of any antagonism between them,...'; See also H. H. Rowley, 'Sanballat and Samaritan Temple (hereafter 'Sanballat')', in *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1963), p. 267 [Originally printed in *BJRL*, 38 (1955-56): 166-98].
62. Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 36; Peter R. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 287.; I. H. Eybers, 'Relations', 78.
63. Alan D. Crown, *A Critical*, pp. 84-100; See also W. O. E. Oesterley, 'The Samaritans and the Jews', loc. cit., pp. 142-58.
64. Ibid.
65. See the sections A and B of Chapter III.
66. Alan D. Crown, 'Possible Relationship', 13-14.
67. J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 110-11.
68. P. E. Ackroyd, *Israel*, p. 287.
69. J. Morgenstern ('The Calendars', 129) argues that Johanan, the high priest, with particularistic and separatistic zeal ignored the petition of the Elephantine Jews on the ground that, on the one hand, the erection of the temple outside Jerusalem was contrary to the spirit of the Deuteronomic Code and that, on the other hand, the Jews as Elephantine were regarded 'as in the same clans with the Samaritans, not pure, but only mongrel Jews at the very best, the offspring of intermarriages'. See also Morton Smith, *Palestinian*, pp. 171 f., and Menachem Mor, 'Samaritan History: The Persian, Hellenistic and Hasmonaean Period'(hereafter 'Samaritan History'), in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), p. 4.
70. See J. Morgenstern, 'The Calendars', 129-32.
71. D. Winton Thomas [*Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), p. 261] maintains that in this period the affairs of the Samaria province were administered by Sanballat's two sons.

72. See n. 69 above.

73. John Bright, *A History of Israel*, p. 407.

Chapter V

SAMARITAN ORIGINS IN THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS

A. The problems

Flavius Josephus, a Jewish priest, soldier, and writer in the first century A.D. is the most important historian who gives us the history of the Samaritans through his writings. But his accounts of the origins of the Samaritans have been regarded as so confused that we may need to clarify the nature and cause of this confusion in Josephus.¹

Firstly, it has been generally agreed that one of the most confusing elements in the writings of Josephus is his use of two Greek terms --*Samareis* and *Samareitai* -- which he applies interchangeably to refer the Samaritans.² In fact, we find two different geographical names --*Samareia* and *Samaritis*³ related to those terms of *Samareis* and *Samareitai* in the literatures of Josephus: The term *Samareia* means the city of Samaria in the northern Israelite kingdom. It was *Samareia* (*Shomron*) that was the capital of the northern Israelite kingdom since Omri (Ant. VIII, 312-313, 316, 364, 387, 398-99; IX, 18, 46, 173, 177, 205), and which was settled by Cuthaeans after

the Israelites were exiled into the foreign country (X, 183; XI, 16; IX, 288), and which was finally destroyed by Hyrcanus in 107 B.C. (BJ. I, 64-65; Ant. XIII, 280-281). On the other hand, the term *Samaritis* refers to the district of Samaria. It is said that the district of Samaria(*Samaritis*) lies between Galilee and Judaea extending from Gema (Jenin) at the head of Esdraelon plain⁴ in the north to about nine miles south-east of Shechem. It was from this province as well as other places that Ptolemy Soter transplanted a number of captives to Egypt (Ant. XII, 7). In a later period the descendants of the Samaritans and those of the other Jews in Egypt disputed with each other on the issues of which temple their sacrifices be sent to. The Jews argued that the offerings should be sent to Jerusalem, while the Samaritans favoured Mount Gerizim (Ant. XII, 10). It is likely that the terms *Samareis* and *Samareitai* were the gentilic names for those⁵ two places of *Samareia* and *Samaritis*, but it has been argued that Josephus is inconsistent in his use of the names and it is true that the usage of *Samareis* and *Samareitai* in Josephus is so variable that they denoted different peoples in Palestine.

The second problematic element in the tracing the origins of the Samaritans in Josephus concerns the various designations for the Samaritans as a religious community. Sometimes the *Samareis* or the *Samareitai* were called⁶ Cuthaeans, Shechemites, and Sidonians. However, as Rita

7
Egger correctly points out , the usage or the context of each designation for the Samaritans does not make in clear whether the very religious group in Shechem is implied. For instance, in the account where the Samaritans court Alexander the Great, there appear several names for the Samaritans used indiscriminately (Ant. XI, 340-347). According to this account, the *Samareitai* settled in Shechem at the time of Alexander (XI, 340). They consisted of the Jewish dissenters (XI, 340, 346), but observing Alexander's favour towards the Jews, they decided to identify themselves as Jews (XI, 340). Then, the episode continues in a sarcastic tone that such was the nature of the *Samareis* (XI, 341). However that may be, after being received by Alexander, the *Sikimitai* at this time entreated the king to visit their city and honour their temple as well as to remit their tax in the seventh year (XI, 342 f.). However, when they were asked by Alexander about their identity, they confessed that 'they were Hebrews but were called the Sidonians of Shechem' (XI, 344).

Thirdly, it can be argued, in brief, that the English translation of the two terms *Samareis* and *Samareitai* exacerbated the problem of the origins of the Samaritans. For example, Ralph Marcus tried to distinguish the two terms and so translated the *Samareis* as the 'Samaritans' in several places (IX, 61, 125, 126; XI, 114, 117; XII, 262), while the name *Samareitai* was translated as the

'Samaritans' (XI, 116, 118).⁸ However, both these terms are translated in most cases by the word 'Samaritans', although they do not always refer to the members of the Samaritan sect.

Finally, we can say, in general, that there have been different scholarly positions concerning the accounts of the Samaritans in the writings of Josephus. Some scholars make use of the Samaritan accounts in Josephus without any critical examination. Hence, for example, in the volume of Parrot,⁹ it is stated that the Samaritans were the descendants of the Assyrian colonists who had intermarried with the indigenous inhabitants and that the breach between Jews and Samaritans finally resulted from the erection of the Samaritan Temple in about 325 B.C. Others believe that the discussion of Samaritan affairs in Josephus has basic historical reliability, although it is contradictory in delivering the historical report.¹⁰ On the problem of the episode of Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat (Ant. XI, 302-325), Montgomery argues that the story of Josephus is based upon the Samaritan traditions and accepts the identity of the two stories despite the discrepancy between the dates.¹¹ Similarly, most writers accept the Samaritan account as grounded in historical situations.¹² They generally regard the Samaritans as the former northern Israelites.

However, we should admit that Josephus' Samaritan accounts

are not always acceptable to all the scholars. A number of critics reject the accounts of the Samaritans in Josephus as garbled and unreliable history.¹³ Delcor, for example, thinks that Josephus' account (Ant. XI, 302 ff.) is not trustworthy because of its inaccuracy.¹⁴ Likewise, Morton Smith disregards the accounts retailed by Josephus in Ant. XI, 302-47 as practically worthless, for 'they project onto earlier periods the hostilities of his own day'.¹⁵

In fact, in the scholarly literature Josephus' discussion of the Samaritan affairs have been regarded as reflecting deep antipathy to the Samaritans.¹⁶ But currently this position is being supplanted by the view that Josephus was not an anti-Samaritan writer.¹⁷ Hence we conclude that we need to be cautious in taking at face value the traditions of the origins of the Samaritans given in the writings of Josephus. In our reappraisal of Josephus' writings on this subject let us begin with an examination of the terminology

B. The Terminology

1. *Samareis*

This term was used forty seven times in the writings of Josephus.¹⁸ It is interesting to see that nearly half of the total uses of the term were included in a single

episode about the quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, which was caused by the murder of Galilaeen pilgrims by the Samaritans in Gema (Ant. XX, 118-135; cf. BJ. II, 232-245).¹⁹ The question then arises as to what was the usage of the term *Samareis* in Josephus. In the first place, it is obvious that the term was used as a geographical designation indicating the people of the city of Samaria. In other words, the *Samareis* were the northern Israelites who lived within the wall of Samaria in the earlier period before the fall of the kingdom in 722 B.C. (IX, 61, 125, 126). However, the term was not limited to the northern Israelites but was applied to the foreign settlers who were brought into the city of Samaria from the other countries (XI, 303). Accordingly, the Cuthaeans were called the *Samareis* (X, 183, 184). In addition, the foreign settlers in the city of Samaria were designated as the *Samareis* in the period of John Hyrcanus (XIII, 275, 277).

In addition to its geographical use, the term was also used socio-politically: the *Samareis* were characterized as an upper class in the post-exilic period. In other words, they were considered as those who organized a better established community in terms of finance and social power than the returned Jewish exiles from the Babylonian captivity. The *Samareis* boasted of their wealth and wielded authority over the returned exiles as if they were associated with the Persians. It is stated

that the *Samareis* inflicted many injuries on the returned exiles for this reason (XI, 114, XII, 156.).²⁰ At the same time, it is worth mentioning that it was these *Samareis* whom John Hyrcanus hated as 'scoundrels because of the injuries which... they had done to the people of Marisa,²¹ who were colonists and allies of the Jews' (XIII, 275). However, in relation to the origin of the Samaritans, it is worth mentioning again that it was not the matter of religion which was of central importance in the account of Hyrcanus. Furthermore, we can suggest that it was not Shechem but Samaria which was emphasized in the account of Hyrcanus. Finally, we need also to observe the fact that it was not Shechem but Samaria which was destroyed completely by John Hyrcanus at the beginning of the second century B.C. (BJ. I, 64-65; Ant. XIII, 275-283). Concerning the severity of what John Hyrcanus did to Samaria, Josephus reports as follows:

And so Hyrcanus captured the city after besieging it for a year, but not being content with that alone, he effaced it entirely and left it to be swept away by the mountain-torrents, for he dug beneath it until it fell into the beds of the torrents, and so removed all signs of its ever having been a city (Ant. XIII, 281).

Finally, as with geographical and political usage the term *Samareis* had a religious association. It was used in association with the Samaritan sect. On one occasion the term was applied to the *Samareis* who identified themselves as Sidonians in Shechem in the period of

Antiochus Epiphanes (Ant. XII, 262). It was then used twice for the *Samareis* in Alexandria of Egypt. They disputed with Jews about the true temple each group arguing that their own temple was built in accordance with the laws of Moses (XIII, 74-75). The other two occasions were used for the *Samareis* who shared with the Jews the national disaster in 67 A.D. when the Romans devastated the northern part of Israel (BJ. III, 307, 312). Although the term was used five times in this case, it is not clear whether all of them were intended to denote the members of the Samaritan community in Shechem.

To sum up, the term *Samareis* was primarily the geographical designation for the dwellers of the city of Samaria. It was then in the post-exilic period that the term was used as socio-politically. Interestingly, it was only in the second century B.C. that this term was applied for the first time to the members of the Samaritan sect.

2. *Samareitai*

In contrast with the forty seven occasions of the term *Samareis* was used in the writings of Josephus, we can find the term *Samareitai* in only eighteen places including two uses of the singular form of the term.²³ There is no mention of the term *Samareitai* at all in Josephus' Jewish War, except the single use of the singular form in Book I, 192. The other singular form appeared in Ant. XVII, 69.

In the writings of Josephus the term *Samareitai* appears first in the aetiological account concerning the origin of the Cuthaeans who were transplanted into Samaria by Assyrians after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel in 722 B.C. According to Josephus, the Cuthaeans in Hebrew are the very *Samareitai* in Greek (IX, 290). It was to these *Samareitai* including the other peoples living in Coele-Syria that the king Darius gave the order to support the first Babylonian returnees in their settlement as well as the rebuilding of the Temple (XI, 61). But the *Samareitai* were antagonistic to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and continuously harrassed the returned exiles. When their suggestion 'to join in constructing the Temple and to have a share in the building', (XI, 84) was rebuffed by the Jews, the *Samareitai* even sent a letter to Darius to hinder the Jews in their rebuilding of the Temple (XI, 97, cf. XI, 19 f.; 116, 118) Furthermore, they killed a number of the Jews when Nehemiah tried to fortify Jerusalem (XI, 174). But the use of the term *Samareitai* in association with Mt. Gerizim appears for the first time in the days of Alexander, when the *Samareitai* were reproached as the band of apostates from the Jews (XI, 340). After that in the later period of Antiochus Epiphanes, the *Samareitai* were repeatedly accused as being colonists from the Medes and Persians. Thus Josephus condemns the nature of the *Samareitai* as follows:

But when the Samaritans (*Samareitai*) saw the Jews suffering these misfortunes, they would no longer admit that they were their kin or that the temple on Garizein was that of the Most God, thereby acting in accordance with their nature, as we have shown; they also said they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, and they are, in fact, colonists from these peoples. (Ant. XII, 257)

The *Samareitai* were also charged with defiling the Temple of Jerusalem in the days of procuratorship of Coponius. The *Samareitai* secretly entered the Temple on the eve of Passover and scattered human bones in porticoes of the Temple (XVIII, 30). In addition, the term is found in the much later period of Pilate (XVIII, 89) and Cumanus (XX, 118, 136). Therefore, we can suggest that the term in Josephus was applied polemically, and that the term *Samareitai* reflects anti-Samaritan feeling.

From the review above, it looks apparent that the two terms -- *Samareis* and *Samareitai* -- had different colouring in their usage in the writings of Josephus. Nevertheless, it seems that the confusion has resulted from the common characteristics which the both terms share in the following respects:

- (a) the origins of both peoples are traced to the Cuthaeans.
- (b) the relationship of both peoples with the Jews is hostile until much later period.
- (c) both of the terms are connected with Mt. Gerizim.

However, we can show the disparity on each point between the use of the term *Samareis* and that of the term *Samareitai*. Firstly, even if both the *Samareis* and the *Samareitai* were regarded as (the descendants of) the Cuthaeans in the writings of Josephus, it is important to observe the different points of view expressed by Josephus in arguing about the origins of the two groups. In fact, it is said in Josephus that the Cuthaeans were transplanted to *Samareia* (Ant. IX, 288) and they were, consequently, called *Samareis*, because 'they assumed the name of the country in which they were resettled' (Ant. X, 194) In this sense, the *Samareis* in the later period were also regarded as being the descendants of the Cuthaeans race (XI, 303). In other words, the *Samareis* were called the Cuthaeans aetiologically as well as ethnically. But it was the *Samareitai* who were condemned religiously as the Cuthaeans accused of worshipping the idol gods. The *Samareitai* as the Cuthaeans were blamed as the syncretists (Ant. IX, 290). It is very important to note the different emphasis of the two terms in relation to the term *Chuthaioi*. The term *Samareis* when it is related to the Cuthaeans simply describes their origin ethnically,²⁴ whereas the term *Samareitai* is always used²⁵ in the condemnation of their religious difference. Secondly, it should also be observed that the cause of hostility between the two groups was explained differently. In the case of the term *Samareis* the antagonism between the Jews and the *Samareis* was probably

caused by the prosperity of the *Samareis*. Although they were wealthy and prosperous they did not pay the tax to the Jews which was commanded by the order of the king, Darius (XI, 115). It is manifest that the religious matter was not considered at all in the use of the term *Samareis*. However, the use of the the term *Samareitai* indicates that the hostile relationship between the Jews and the *Samareitai* was aggravated by the returned exiles' rebuff of the *Samareitai* over the building of the Temple.²⁶ A further cause of the hostility lies in the fact that the *Samareitai* continuously interrupted the restoration of the Temple.²⁷ They were also accused of profaning the Jerusalem Temple even in a later period.²⁸ On the matter of both of the two terms being connected with Mt. Gerizim, it is worth noting that, although they were used to imply the Samaritan community in Shechem, each term was connected with them in a particular period. As we mentioned before, it was in the period of Antiochus Epiphanes that the term *Samareis* appeared for the first time in connection with Shechem. But they were also called the Sidonians in Shechem (XII, 262). Besides this, several codices have a different reading: *Samareitai*²⁹ instead of *Samareis*. Therefore, the terms can not be regarded as denoting the Samaritan sect.³⁰ It was, then, in the period of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181-145 B.C.) that the *Samareis* in Egypt were described as the members of the Samaritan community in Shechem.³¹ In contrast with the case of the *Samareis*, the term *Samareitai* linked with

Shechem was employed in the period of Alexander. According to Josephus, the main city of the *Samareitai* at that time was Shechem, which is located beside Mt. Gerizim (XI, 340). From all this, we can safely conclude that Josephus tried to distinguish the two terms in his writings, although we admit the fact that they were in a later period used interchangeably as a designation for either the Samaritans or the Samaritans.³²

To sum up the evidence: first, it is apparent that Josephus used the term *Samareis* as a geographical designation. Thus the term meant the foreign settlers in the district of Samaria including the inhabitants of the city of Samaria, in the first period after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. until the second century B.C. It was only after the second century B.C. that the term *Samareis* was used to refer the Samaritans in Shechem. Second, as has been implied already, the term *Samareitai* was applied for polemical effect. This is further proved by the evidence from the redactional point of view expressed in several parts of Josephus' writings.³³ The incident between the Jews and the Samaritans in the period of Cumanus (Ant. XX, 118-136) is one of the best examples of such evidence. The account starts with an explanatory remark on the cause of the quarrel between two groups as follows: 'Hatred also arose between the Samaritans (*Samareitai*) and the Jews for the following reason'. Then we find that only the term *Samareis* was used fourteen

times in the text between its beginning and the conclusion. The account closes with the condemnation of the Samaritans by the Roman emperor. Here we need to observe the fact that the account begins and ends with the use of the term *Samareitai* (XX, 118, 136). Originally, this account seems to describe an incident between the Jews and the *Samareis*.³⁴ However, with the insertion of the term *Samareitai* at the beginning and end of the text, it is evident that the story was used for the purpose of the blaming the *Samareitai*.³⁵

3. Other Terminologies

In this section we will briefly sketch the usage of the other designations -- *Chuthaioi*, *Sikimitai*, and *Sidonioi* -- especially, in association with the terms *Samareis* and *Samareitai*.

It is said that the *Chuthaioi*, in the biblical tradition in II Kings 17, were the colonists settled in the city of Samaria from the foreign countries after the fall of Israelite kingdom in 722 B.C. The *Chuthaioi* also lived in the area around the temple on Mt. Gerizim in later period. (BJ. I, 63; Ant. XIII, 255). According to Josephus, this Cuthaeon race could be called the *Samareis* (the Samaritans) in the use of the term in a geographical sense (IX, 288; X, 184). However, as we have shown before, the term *Samareitai* was emphasized in Josephus only in conjunction

with the different religious custom of the Cuthaeans (IX, 290). In other words, the *Samareitai* were discredited as being the Cuthaeans who were the syncretists as well as the half-converts (IX, 288, 290).

Now let us consider the usage of the term Sidonians in Josephus. It is clear that the term Sidonians in Josephus usually described the people of Sidon. But, it is again only in the connection with the term *Samareitai* that we can find the Sidonians in Shechem (XII, 258).³⁶ According to Josephus, it were these *Samareitai* who identified themselves as the Sidonians in Shechem (XII, 258). It is manifest that this was intended to disgrace the *Samareitai* as the foreign settlers. The *Samareitai* are the foreign settlers! Thus we conclude again that the term *Samareitai*³⁷ was used for polemical purposes here.

There is a similar pattern in the case of the term Shechemites. The term *Samareitai* was only connected with the Shechemites in Egypt (XII, 10).³⁸ But, here, it is important to observe the change of the form of the accusation toward the *Samareitai*. That is, the *Samareitai* were denounced not as the foreigners who kept their own religious rites, but as the Jewish schismatics who separated themselves from Jerusalem (XI, 346).

C. The Samaritan Schism in Josephus

If we accept the argument already given that the use of the term *Samareitai* was a polemical one, then we have several questions: who were those people regarded as the *Samareitai* in the writings of Josephus? And what can we learn from Josephus' history of the Samaritans which uses the term *Samareitai* in this way? Finally in what period is the origin of the Samaritan schism according to Josephus?

Let us consider the first problem of identifying the Samaritans. Firstly, the Samaritans were the foreign settlers, i.e., the Chuthaeans and Sidonians or the Greek settlers. This implies that the Samaritans were the syncretists as well as the half-converts. They were allowed to participate in the worship in the Jerusalem Temple if they wanted, but their appeal to have a share in the Temple was totally rejected. In any case, the first appearance of the term *Samareitai* is found in the place where Josephus confirms the biblical tradition in II Kings 17 concerning the origin of the Samaritans (IX, 288 ff.). As most scholars in recent times have agreed, it is obvious that Josephus reflects the attitude towards the Samaritans of his own days. This can be evidenced by the Greek words used by Josephus. To exemplify this point we can examine the adverbial phrase, 'to this day', which was mentioned in IX, 288 and 290, where Josephus refers to

the Cuthaeans. It is noteworthy that he did not follow the formula *he tes hemera* in the biblical account.⁴⁰ Instead, he used *mechri deuro*, (IX, 288) and *eti kai* (IX, 290) which express a continuing situation.⁴¹ In fact, this appearance of anti-Samaritan feeling continued until the Maccabean period.⁴² Hence we conclude that this antipathy towards the Samaritans in the days of Josephus had been handed down from generation to generation. Secondly, the Samaritans were not always regarded as the foreign colonists. For Josephus they were also fellow Jews, although they were denounced as the apostates from the Jewish community. It was from the fourth century B.C. that we can observe this change of attitude towards acknowledging the Samaritans as their kin. However, the Samaritans were still objects of suspicion in the eyes of the Jews. The final point is that the Samaritans were accepted as same as the Jews in the first century, although there existed conventional mutual animosity between the two groups. Generally speaking, they shared the same beliefs and practices, even though we admit the difference between them.⁴³ The two groups even experienced the national disaster together.⁴⁴

It now became manifest that the *Samareitai* were the Jewish people, although they were discriminated against by the returned exiles from the Babylonian captivity. Hence, in relation to the second question, we can draw at least three points from the history of the Samaritans in the

writings of Josephus. First, it seems evident that the anti-Samaritan attitude in the writings of Josephus reflects the fact that there was a dispute between the Samaritans and Jews in the earlier period. The polemical use of the term *Samareitai* was probably the result of that dispute. As mentioned before, the term *Samareitai* appears for the first time in Ant. IX, 290, where Josephus follows the biblical interpretation of II Kings 17 about the origin of the Samaritans. Most scholars have agreed that II Kings 17 is a piece of the deuteronomistic writings which gives an edifying explanation for the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel in terms of the unfaithfulness of the northern Israelites and the need for the southerners to repent from their betrayal to Yahweh. The northern Israelites were condemned as the Samaritans who built the high shrines in II Kings 17:29.⁴⁵ However, it is noticeable that, in the text of Josephus, we cannot find any condemnation of the northern Israelites as the Samaritans or against the Judaeans such as in the biblical tradition of II Kings. Although the Samaritans as *Chuthaioi* were accused as opportunists who react according to their circumstances, it is apparent that this reflects the ambiguous attitude to the Samaritans in the period of Josephus himself.⁴⁶ The second point concerns the ambiguity about the Samaritans in the writings of Josephus which was probably caused by two factors. One is the ambivalent position of the Jews to the Samaritans within the limits of tolerance in Judaism.⁴⁷ Since the sixth

century B.C. until the period of the final break in the
third century A.D.,⁴⁸ it seems that the Jews did not
maintain an unequivocal attitude to the Samaritans. The
other reason for the ambiguity of the Jews was the
ambiguous attitude of the Samaritans themselves. If we
accept the accounts of Josephus at face value, the
Samaritans used to pretend to be foreigners whenever they
wanted to be identified with these foreigners in their
given circumstances.⁴⁹ In addition, this ambiguity of
the Samaritans can still be seen in their rituals today.
According to the report of Thomson, who observed the
Samaritans' Passover ceremony at the beginning of this
century, the Samaritans pretended to be Muslims when they
were under threat of attack by the angry Muslims.
Thomson describes the situation as follows:

... when the Moslems were specially troublesome, the
high priest turned towards them and began to recite
in Arabic a prayer for long life and prosperity to
the Sultan, to which the Moslems responded with
vehement amens.⁵⁰

As A. D. Crown argues correctly, the Samaritans were
religiously eclectic and used to adapt themselves to
changing environments and circumstances.⁵¹ Hence we can
suggest that the ambiguity in the writings of Josephus
reflect the ambiguity in the history of the Samaritans. At
the same time, it would be right to say that he was still
in a period of ambiguous attitude towards the Samaritans.
In addition, it seems improbable to argue that Josephus

had an anti-sectarian feeling towards the Samaritans only among the other sectarians in his days.

From this discussion of the origins of the Samaritans in Josephus' writings, it is possible to form a judgment on Samaritan schism. It has already been pointed out earlier that the first dispute between Jews and Samaritans happened in the earlier period when the returnees tried to restore the Jerusalem Temple. But there is no hint to suggest a definite break between Jews and Samaritans. Even if the Samaritans were rejected as having a share in the building, they were accepted to worship in the Temple. Scholars have related the origin of the Samaritan schism to the construction or destruction of the Samaritan Temple.⁵² However, the analysis of the Josephus text on the construction of the Samaritan Temple (Ant. XI, 302-47); demonstrates that the erection of the Temple was not⁵³ important as a factor in the Samaritan schism. Furthermore, it is important to observe that the destruction of the Samaritan Temple was described in only a single statement in the writings of Josephus.⁵⁴ As H. H. Rowley argues that 'the erection of the Samaritan Temple and the Samaritan schism are two quite separate questions,⁵⁵ and the one may not have synchronized with the other', we cannot accept neither the construction of the temple nor its destruction as the origin of the Samaritan schism. In fact, the writings of Josephus clearly confirm that there had been a continuous relationship between Jews and

Samaritans up till the period of Josephus himself. Therefore, we can maintain that the Samaritan history in the writings of Josephus supports Alan D. Crown's argument that the Samaritans were a sect of the Jews and were regarded as fellow Jews within the boundary of Judaism until the final break between Samaritans and Jews at the third century A.D. Crown contends that:

While Josephus speaks of the mutual antipathies of Samaritans and Jews and later Rabbinic sources confirm that there was a clear breach between them there is reason to suggest that the cementing bond was stronger than the centrifugal forces at least until the second century A.D. and that the ties were not broken until the third century. 57

Table 3: the list of the terms

1. *Samareia*:

BJ: I, 64, 65, 156, 213, 229, 299, 302, 303, 314, 333, 344, 396; II, 69, 234, 247;
Ant: VII, 103; VIII, 312, 313, 316, 364,* 387, 398, 399, 416; IX, 18, 46, 57, 61, 62, 74, 79, 81, 125, 130, 133, 134, 138,* 160, 173, 177, 185, 202, 205, 215, 229, 233, 247, 248, 251, 277, 278, 279, 288,*; X, 183; XI, 16, 19, 21, 26, 118, 119, 167, 302, 310; XII, 133, 136, 154, 168, 175, 224, 287; XIII, 50, 125, 275, 278, 280, 396; XIV, 75, 88, 284, 408, 411, 413, 431, 437, 457, 467; XV, 217, 246, 292, 296; XVII, 289, XIX, 274, 351; XX, 118, 129.

2. *Samaritis*:

BJ: I, 403, 562; II, 96, 232; III, 37, 48, 309; IV, 449; V, 50;
Ant: VII, 103; XII, 7; XIII, 127; XIV, 468.

3. *Samareis*:

BJ: I, 65; II, 111, 232, 233, 237,* 239, 242, 243, 245,* III, 307, 312;
Ant: IX, 61, 125, 126; X, 184; XI, 114, 117, 303, 341; XII, 156, 262; XIII, 74,* 75, 275, 276, 277; XVII, 20; XVIII, 85, 88, 167; XX, 118, 119, 121, 122, 125, 127,* 129,* 130,* 132, 134, 135.

4. *Samareitai*:

BJ: I, 192 (sing);
Ant: III, 315; IX, 290; XI, 61, 84, 88, 97, 116, 118, 174, 340; XII, 10, 257; XVII, 69 (sing); XVIII, 30, 89; XX, 118, 136.

5. *Chuthaioi*:

BJ: I, 63;
Ant: IX, 288, 290; X, 184, XI, 19, 20, 88, 302; XIII, 255.

6. *Sikimitai*:

Ant: I, 337, 340; IV, 305, V, 235, 240, 241, 243,
247, 248, 250, 251, 253; VI, 140, XI, 342, 344,
346; XII, 10.

7. *Sidonioi*:

BJ: I, 249, 539; II, 479;

Ant: VII, 335, VIII, 52, 191, 317, IX, 138, XI, 78,
344; XII, 258, 260, 262; XIII, 329, XIV, 190,
323, 333, XVI, 361; XVII, 324; XVIII, 153.

* implies double occurrences

Notes to Chapter V

1. For a general discussion of the life as well as the writings of Josephus, see H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1929, 1967); Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (London: Duckworth, 1983); Harold W. Attridge, 'Josephus and His Works', in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, CRINT, Section Two, *The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud* (Philadelphia: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), pp. 185-232; And also for a full bibliography of Josephus in relation to Samaritans, see Louis H. Feldman, 'Religious Movements: The Samaritans', in *Josephus and Modern Scholarship, 1937-1980* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 528-41.
2. For the research of the terminological problem of the writings of Josephus, see Rita Egger, *Josephus*.
3. Ref. Table 3: the list of the terms.
4. BJ. III, 48 f.; cf. BJ. III, 37.
5. James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 318 f.
6. Ref. Table 3.
7. See Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 20-21.
8. See Ralph Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, The Loeb Classical Library, vols. VI and VII. References to Josephus in this chapter are from the same edition of the Loeb Classical Library.
9. A. Parrot, *Samaria: The Capital of the Kingdom of Israel*, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, no. 7 (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 95 (hereafter *Samaria*).
10. P. R. Ackroyd, 'Samaria', in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, edited by D. Winton Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 351, and also J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, p. 11, n. 18.
11. James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 67 f., and pp. 156-57.
12. Menachem Mor, 'Samaritan History', pp. 4 f. He argues that recent archaeological evidence gave

- legitimacy to the story of Ant. XI, 302 ff.; Also for the writers who accepted that the Samaritan account has a historical reliability, see *ibid.*, p. 5, n. 24; See also J. D. Purvis, 'Ben Sira and the Foolish People of Shechem', in *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, p. 122; *idem.*, 'The Samaritan Problem', pp. 331-32; J. Gray, 'Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Their Bearing on the Old Testament', in *Tradition and Interpretation*, edited by G. W. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 78.
13. H. H. Rowley, 'Sanballat' 256-58. For the scholars who regarded Josephus' account as unhistorical, see *ibid.*, p. 250, n. 1; B. T. Dahlberg, 'Sanballat', *IDB*, vol. 4, p. 210; and also H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, pp. 400f.
 14. M. Delcor, 'Vom Sichern der Hellenistischen Epoche zum Sychar des Neuen Testaments', *ZDPV*, 78 (1962), 34-48.
 15. Morton Smith, *Palestinian*, p. 184; For the different scholarly position on this, see Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 66 f.
 16. Stanley Jerome Isser, *The Dositheans: A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), p. 7 (hereafter *The Dositheans*); Menachem Mor, 'Samaritan History', p. 5; J. D. Purvis, 'The Samaritans and Judaism', in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, edited by R. A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 84 f.
 17. Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 311-13.
 18. See *ibid.*, p. 48. Also see A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus. A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus. Supplements, I*, edited by K. H. Rengstorf (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 105; L. H. Feldman, 'General Index', in *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX, The Loeb Classical Library, vol IX* (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 778-79; Christa Möller and Götz Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus, Beihefte zum Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients Reihe B, No. 14* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976), pp. 165 f.
 19. See J. M. Ford, *My Enemy is My Guest* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1984), pp. 84-86. For the differences between Josephus and Tacitus, see "Appendix II: The Conflict Between the Samaritans and the Jews under Cumanus According to Josephus and Tacitus" in 'The Province of Judaea' *JPFC*, vol. one, 374-76, and also n. 34 below.

20. Morton Smith (*Palestinian*, pp. 280-81, notes, 197 and 210) assumes that the pagan inhabitants of the city of Samaria are referred to in Ant. XII, 156. See also R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 102 and Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 82-84.
21. For a discussion of the people of Marisa, see Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 102-107 and also Ralph Marcus, *Josephus*, vol. II, p. 366, n. a.
22. Morton Smith, *Palestinian*, p. 282, n. 219.
23. Ref. Table 3.
24. Ant. X, 184; XI, 302.
25. Ant. IX, 290; cf. XI, 19 f., 85, 88.
26. Ant. XI, 84-87.
27. Ant. XI, 88.
28. Ant. XVIII, 29-30.
29. Codices F, L, V, prefer the reading of *Samareiton*. See Ralph Marcus, *Josephus*, vol. VII, p. 134.
30. For the people mentioned in Ant. XII, 257, 262, Rita Egger (*Josephus*, pp. 93-95) suggests the term 'Samar', which implies those who were able to be identified with neither 'Samaritans' nor 'Samaritans' yet.
31. Ant. XIII, 74-75. For a discussion concerning this passage in relation to a Dosithean Samaritan sect, see Stanly Jerome Isser, *The Dositheans*, pp. 5-11.
32. For Rita Egger the passages which could be assigned to the members of the Samaritan community in Shechem are Ant, XII, 7, 10; XIII, 74, 75; XVIII, 85-89; BJ. III, 307-315 (*sephus*, p. 310). She argues that Josephus probably knew that the Samaritans were not identical with the other Samaritans (p. 312), but that Josephus and the other writers of the early Jewish and Rabbinic period may have not differentiated exactly between the Samaritans and the Samaritans in the district of Samaria (p. 313).
33. It seems that the term *Samareitai* was used polemically in BJ. III, 307-315; Ant. XII, 257-62; and Ant. XX, 118-36.
34. According to the report in BJ. II, 232-34, a single Galilaeen pilgrim was murdered, but two authorities in Samaria and Jerusalem tried to cool down the

- problem. For the relationship between Galilee and Jerusalem, see S. Freyne, 'Galilee-Jerusalem Relations According to Josephus' Life', *NTS*, 33 (1987): pp. 600-609.
35. There are two accounts of the incident at Ginae -- Ant. XX, 118-35 and BJ. II, 232-45. According to Alan D. Crown, however, in the former account the number of those killed would appear to have been exaggerated by Josephus, quite deliberately. See Alan D. Crown, 'Redating', 12, n. 36.
36. K. Haacker, 'Samaritan, Samaria', in *NIDNTT*, vol. 3, p. 450. E. Bickerman (*From Ezra*, p. 44) assumes that the name 'Sidonians' implies 'Canaanites', which may be used in opposition to the newcomers. Likewise, G. Alon ('The Origin', pp. 360-67 and 369-72.) maintains that 'there was an ancient Jewish tradition that regarded the Samaritans as partly descended from the early Canaanites'. However, according to Rita Egger (*Josephus*, p. 265), the above theory ignores the difference of terms and the content. She argues that Ant. XI, 340-42a and XI, 342b-46 concern with each different people and that Josephus inserted the different name at the beginning and the end at Ant. XII, 258 ff.; J. D. Purvis ('The Samaritan Problem', p. 333) tentatively proposes the Sidonians of Shechem as the Hellenistic party against the orthodox in Jerusalem. For a scholarly discussion concerning Ant. XII, 257-64, see E. Bickerman, 'Un document relatif a la persecution d'Antiochos IV Epiphane', in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History, II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), pp. 105-35; A. Schalit, 'Die Denkschrift der Samaritaner an König Antiochos Epiphanes zu Beginn der grossen Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion im Jahre 167 v. Chr.', *ASTI*, 8 (1972), 131-83; H. Jagersma, *A History of Israel from Alexander the Great to Bar Kochba*, translated by John Bowden from the Dutch (London: SCM Press, 1985), pp. 50 f.; Rita Egger, *Josephus*, pp. 260-83 and also H. G. Kippenberg, *Garizim*, pp. 77-80; For a brief criticism about Kippenberg, see Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, pp. 34 f.
37. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, pp. 98 f.
38. According to M. Smith (*Palestinian*, p. 188), Ant. XII, 10 refers to Shechemites who were the Yahwistic inhabitants of the district of Samaria. R. J. Coggins (*Samaritans*, pp. 97 f.) sees this as the first evidence of a widening of the dispute between Jews and Samaritans.
39. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, pp. 259-60 and also see *idem.*, 'The Samaritans in Josephus', in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, edited by Louis H. Feldman

- and Gohei Hata (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), pp. 257-73.
40. Cf. II Kings 17:34, 41.
 41. See William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957).
 42. See F. Dexinger, 'Limits', pp. 96-106.
 43. See, A. D. Crown, 'Jews and Samaritans in the First Century', This paper was delivered at *Jews and Christians: The First-Century Dilemma*, A Weekend General Interest Seminar, April 14-15, 1989, conducted by the Society for Early Christianity within the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, Sydney p. 4 (hereafter 'Jews and Samaritans'), and see also idem., 'The Biblical Samaritans in the Present Day', *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, 7 (1987-88), 40-49.
 44. Cf. Ant. XVIII, 85-87; BJ. III, 307-315. See also Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, translated from the Hebrew by I. H. Levine (Tel-Aviv, Am Hassefer and Massada, 1967), p. 30 and Bruce W. Hall, 'From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabba', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 37-38.
 45. Cf. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', pp. 106-107.
 46. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans*, p. 94 and especially see idem., 'The Samaritans in Josephus'.
 47. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', 109-14; R. J. Coggins, 'The Samaritans in Josephus', pp. 270-71.
 48. Alan D. Crown ('Jews and Samaritans', 27) argues that Judaism had its limit of toleration of Samaritanism after the period of Baba Rabba, i.e., in the middle of the third century. For a discussion on a third century date for Baba Rabba, see idem., 'Redating', 1-34 (unpublished); idem., 'Review' -- J. M. Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle*, *Studia Post-Biblica*, vol. 30 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981) -- *JQR*, 402-405; idem., 'The Byzantine and Moslem Period', in *The Samaritans*, p. 56; Paul Stenhouse, 'The Reliability of the Chronicle of Abu'l Fath, with Special Reference to the Dating of Baba Rabba', in *Etudes samaritaines Pentateuque et Targum* (Paris: E. Peeters, 1988), pp. 235-57; Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion from John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabbah*, (University of Sydney, 1987), pp. 2-14 (hereafter

Samaritan Religion); Saul Lieberman and Isaiah Sonne also maintained that the final schism between Jews and Samaritans was not broke until the third century. For a scholarly debate between them on the Samaritan problem, see S. Lieberman, 'The Martyrs of Caesarea', *JQR*, 36 (1946), pp. 239-53; idem., 'Palestine in the Third and Fourth Centuries', *JQR*, 37 (1946-47), pp. 31-54; I. Sonne, 'The Use of Rabbinic Literature', *JQR*, 36 (1945): 146-69; idem., 'Word and Meaning--Text and Context', *JQR*, 37 (1946-47), pp. 307-28.

49. Cf. Ant. IX, 291, 114; XI, 341; XII, 257.
50. John E. H. Thomson, 'The Samaritan Passover', *PEFQS*, (1902), 86.
51. See, Alan D. Crown, 'The Samaritans in 1984', *Yod* (= Revue des etudes hebraiques et Juives modernes et contemporaines), 20 (1985), 9-32.
52. According to Egger (*Josephus*, p. 310), 'the historian reported objectly concerning the Samaritans without any definite emotional or accused feeling'.
53. F. Dexinger, 'Limits', pp. 96-102. Through a careful analysis of the text concerning the construction of the Samaritan temple in Ant. XI, 302-47, he argues that Josephus does not use his sources at all for the purpose of establishing the origin of the Samaritans. See also J. D. Purvis, 'The Samaritans and Judaism', pp. 88-89.
54. Ant. XIII, 256; cf. BJ. I, 63.
55. H. H. Rowley, loc. cit., p. 265; For annotated bibliography concerning the building of the Samaritan temple, see L. H. Feldman, 'Religious Movements', pp. 537-39.
56. Cf. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, p. 167. However, Dexinger ('Limits', p. 108) argues that the limits of tolerance of the Jews towards the Samaritans were broken down at the period of the destruction of the Samaritan temple by John Hyrcanus. Similarly, J. D. Purvis ('The Samaritans and Judaism', pp. 90-91) dates the date of the Samaritan schism in the period of the destruction of the Samaritan temple. He argues that the sectarian redaction of the Samaritan Pentateuch took place around at the period of the destruction of the Samaritan temple. For the criticism of Alan D. Crown about the arguments of Dexinger and Purvis, see Alan D. Crown, 'The First Century Schism', 32, ns. 99 and 100.

57. Alan. D. Crown, 'The First Century Schism', 26.

Chapter VI

Samaritan Origins in the Rabbinical Literature

The Tannaitic passages concerning the Samaritans reveal the same ambivalent attitude to the identity of the Samaritans as in the writings of Josephus. The Samaritans were considered as 'Mittelding'¹ between Gentiles and Jews and as the lowest class among the Jewish people.² Hence in this chapter we will discuss the nature of the status of the Samaritans in the rabbinical literature, mostly in the Mishnah. Firstly, the historical background of the first and the second centuries A.D. will be sketched in relation to the formation of the Mishnah. Secondly, the identity of the Jewish people according to the halakhic regulations will be examined to enable us to understand better the status and identity of the Samaritans in the rabbinic literature. From the Jewish self-definition in halakhic passages we will, finally, look at how the Samaritans were treated in rabbinic literature, and why, when, and how the Samaritans were separated from Judaism.

A. The Background of the First and Second Centuries A.D.

As the Mishnah illustrates in its bitter comment: 'From the day on which the Temple was destroyed, there is no day

on which there is no curse,...',³ the period after the fall of Jerusalem was a period of suffering for the Jewish people. They suffered great losses through the destruction of the Temple and two Jewish revolts in the first and second centuries A.D. According to Josephus, 97,000 prisoners were captured in Jerusalem and 1,100,000⁴ were killed by Titus during the first war (66-74). Then during the second revolt Eusebius says that Tineius Rufus, the legate of Judaea, killed tens of thousands of Jewish men, women and children.⁵ Cassius Dio also reports the result of the second revolt with the lists of the numbers of killed in battle and of villages destroyed. According to him, 580,000 Jews were killed and fifty forts and 985⁶ villages were destroyed during the revolt of Bar Cochba. If we consider the victims of disease, famine, and fire during the seventy years between the two wars as well as the total of the casualties, it is clear that the actual losses may have exceeded this number.⁷ In addition, a number of Jewish people were captured and were sold as slaves.

The damage was, however, not confined to the loss of lives of Jewish people but extended to their land itself. Many Jewish peasants were deprived of their land by the Roman authorities or tax-collectors.⁸ Vespasian not only confiscated the property belonging to the rebels, but also commanded his procurator in Judaea to 'farm out all Jewish territory'.⁹ Converting Jerusalem into Aelia Capitolina,

Hadrian also dispossessed the Jews who lived in the city of their land and other property.¹⁰ According to Eusebius,¹¹ Tineius Rufus enslaved the territory of the Jews. Thus Jerusalem became a completely pagan city. Hence this period can be characterized as one of great losses for Jews in Palestine.

However, this period was, ironically, a fruitful period for rabbinic Judaism which was being formed within the paganized environment. The Mishnah was formed at the end of the second century A.D.¹² The rabbinic school, which was founded first at Javneh after the first revolt of the Jewish people and established at Galilee soon after the second revolt, was the centre of rabbinic learning. Pharisee rabbis guided these schools throughout the agonized periods after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. It was their study which precipitated the formation of the codification of the oral Law in the Mishnah.¹³ Thus we can argue that the great losses which were caused by the destruction of Jerusalem with its Temple and the subsequent events in the following periods included the following two results for Jews: one was the paganization of Jewish soil, and the other was the formation of the Mishnah. The paganization during the first and second centuries A.D. will be examined in respect of three categories: political, religious, and socio-economic. After that we shall see how the Tannaim reacted to this paganization in relation to the status of

Jews as well as that of the Samaritans.

Firstly, the paganization of Jewish politics is clearly seen after the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 A.D., and especially after the revolt of Bar Cochba. The inner cohesion of the Jewish people in terms of self-government collapsed with the loss of the Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70.¹⁴ The office of the Sanhedrin, a priestly one with sacrificial worship, and the authority of the Sadducees could no longer be exercised in Jerusalem.¹⁵ Instead, the rabbinic school, which was constituted by seventy elders, appeared as the supreme Jewish religious authority in Jamnia (Javneh) under Roman auspices.¹⁶ Accordingly, rabbinic learning, such as the study of the minutiae of the Law and the pursuit of moral perfection, which were guided by the Pharisee rabbis, replaced the worship at the Temple.¹⁷ This was then supported by Flavian emperors who suspected and discouraged any tendency towards military aspirations and hopes of independence and freedom from the yoke of the Roman empire.¹⁸ Thus Jewish self-government was essentially restricted to the realm of religion.

Israelite territory was now administered by Vespasian as an imperial province under the official name of Judaea.¹⁹ Vespasian established two Roman military colonies: Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus) near the ancient Shechem, and Emmaus just outside Jerusalem.²⁰ He also refounded other

cities such as Joppa and Caesarea, but the Judaeen fortresses--Herodium, Masada, and Machaerus--were reduced²¹ shortly after the destruction of the Temple. Furthermore, the province of Judaea was renamed as Syria Palestina soon after the second Jewish revolt in order to²² discourage Jewish national consciousness. Jerusalem was left in a state of devastation for several decades until Hadrian converted it into the Greco-Roman city of Aelia²³ Capitolina. Hadrian built temples of Jupiter and of²⁴ himself as Olympius on the site of the Temple of Yahweh. However, as a punishment for the revolt of Bar Cochba (132-5), Jewish people were not allowed to enter Jerusalem except for the ritual wailing on the ninth of the month²⁵ Ab. Similarly, Antipatris and Samaria (Sebaste) were destroyed during the first Jewish revolt (66-74).²⁶ Antipatris was not revived until the Severan age, while Samaria was enlarged and elevated as a colony with the²⁷ title Lucia Septimia Sebaste probably about 201 A.D. The Samaritan sanctuary, a temple of Jupiter, was built on²⁸ the summit of Mt. Gerizim after the second revolt. From this brief review, it seems evident that most important cities in Judaea were paganized by the policy of the Roman empire to weaken any nationalistic movements against her.

Paganization also involved religious matters. The state of Judaism was regarded as a *religio licita* in this period. Since the Roman authority did not want the Jewish people to have political autonomy, those elements of

national significance in the Jewish religion were interrupted by the Romans.²⁹ Vespasian imposed the *didrachmon*, the Jewish tax, on all Jews, Palestinians and the Diaspora, as a price for the privilege of religious liberty.³⁰ Hadrian decreed a prohibition on circumcision, partly to punish the Jews, as well as to undermine their national and religious unity after the revolt of Bar Cochba.³¹ Although this ban on circumcision was finally relaxed for the Jews in the Antonine period, the circumcision of a Gentile, castration or conversion to Judaism was severely punished.³² Besides this, the appointments of the Nasi or patriarch, who replaced the High Priest as the Jews' leader, were to be ratified by the Roman authorities.³³ As well as this, there was a strong Hellenization which endangered the Jewish religion in this period. This is clearly evidenced by the rabbinical regulations against idolatry and by the archaeological finds of various idol-images.³⁴

However, as mentioned before, the detailed study of the Law was carried out by the rabbinic schools, the more important of which was founded first in Jamnia and then moved to Galilee after a conference in Usha 'at the end of the great persecution',³⁵ and this brought about the codification of the oral Law in the form of Mishnah and the Tosephta at the end of the second century.³⁶

Lastly, the subordination of the Jewish economic system to

the Roman empire should be mentioned. This caused several changes in Jewish socio-economic history. Firstly, there was the inevitable economic depression, together with the breakdown of normal trade and industry.³⁷ The loss of revenue from the Temple tax also increased economic difficulties and poverty for some time.³⁸ Secondly, there was social unrest due to the economic problems. It is improbable that the frequent uprisings or the messianic movements among sectarian groups had nothing to do with the insecure economic situation in this period.³⁹ Thirdly, there was the emergence of a new social class, the *matzirim*. They were new types of landlords, or their agents, who extorted heavy exactions from the Jewish peasants and finally degraded them as tenants or expelled them from their land.⁴⁰ In addition, landed proprietors of foreign origin increased in number.⁴¹ Fourthly, there was the trend of urbanization from the Severan period onwards.⁴² It seems that this urbanization accelerated the paganization of Jewish economics.

To sum up, the period after the destruction of the Temple can be characterized as a period of paganization of Jewish politics, economics, and religion by the Roman authorities. Jerusalem was totally paganized after the second revolt, and even the Torah can be said to have been paganized through the different interpretations given to it by Gentile Christians. It was the rabbis who struggled against this paganization. For example, rabbinic

enactments from the Antonine period tried to prevent the permanent alienation of Jewish land. Rabbis also strove to restrain would-be emigrants by stressing the spiritual blessings of residence in the holy land. The halakhic regulations on the Jewish identity also can be understood in this context.

B. The Tannaitic Definition of the Jew

How did the rabbis define the status of the Jew? ⁴³ We will examine M.Qid. 3:12 for an understanding of the halakhic definition of a Jew. According to M. Qid. 3:12 each child born might have one of four types of personal status. First, the status of the male who is the child of a legitimate marriage among priest, Levite, and Israelite; second, the status of the impaired [inferior] party who is the child of a legitimate marriage involving the commission of a transgression; third, the status of the *mamzer*, the offspring of a prohibited marriage; and fourth, the status of the child of a slave girl or a Gentile girl. Of these four kinds of status, the first three are considered as born or hereditary Jews, but the last one is not accepted as a member of the Jewish community. This ruling formulates the status of the child of a non-Jewish mother and a Jewish father as follows:

But any situation in which a woman has no right to enter into betrothal with this man or with any other man--the offspring is in her status. And what is

such a situation? It is the offspring of a slave girl or gentile girl. 44

The question arises then as to the identity of a child who was born to a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father? The rabbinic decision is that the child is definitely a Jew. In other words, the child follows not the status of father but that of mother. Hence we can draw the conclusion from this fact that the Mishnah emphasizes the status of woman, not man, in deciding the identity of Jewish people. The status of a Jewish woman is also stated as the major factor in marrying into the priesthood in M. Qid. 4: 7:

But a male proselyte who married a female proselyte--his daughter is invalid for marriage into the priesthood. All the same are proselytes and freed slaves, even down to ten generations--[the daughters cannot marry into the priesthood] unless the mother is an Israelite.

It is worth mentioning that only the non-Jewish wives and their children were not considered as the members of the Jewish community in the period of Ezra. The proposal to condemn these foreign wives and their children was raised as follows:

Now let us make a covenant before our God to send away all these women and their children, in accordance with the counsel of my lord and of those who fear the commands of our God. Let it be done according to the Law. 45

Consequently, only the foreign wives and their children

were excluded from the Jewish community.

What was the reason underlying this regulation of the Mishnah? At first, it seems that M.Qid. 3:12, IV implies the prohibition of intermarriage.⁴⁶ According to several biblical passages, the intermarriage of Israelites with the former inhabitants of Canaan was totally forbidden. Deut. 7:1-4 specifies seven nations of the former inhabitants of Canaan --the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites-- with the sons or daughters of whom the Israelites were not intermarried in order to keep their sons to follow Yahweh. In the post-exilic period Ezra and Nehemiah prohibited mixed marriages between the returnees from Babylonia and the people of the land.⁴⁷ However, regarding the fact that the Mishnah discusses only the status of a child of non-Jewish father and a Jewish mother, and the child was considered a Jew following the status of the mother, we can conclude that the Mishnah here does not deal with the problem of intermarriage. In reality we see that a number of people were assimilated through intermarriage or conversion in the land of Canaan. The case of Boaz and Ruth is the best example of this.⁴⁸

Next, we find several Talmudic interpretations for the Gentile woman who was mentioned in the halakha of the Mishnah.⁴⁹ In the Babylonian Talmud, for example, Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai says that 'scripture stated "For he will

turn away your son from following me" (Deut. 7:4)-- your son born from an Israelite woman is called "your son", but your son born of a Gentile woman is not called "your son", but rather "her son". To explain the rabbinic emphasis on the status of a Jewish mother in deciding the identity of a Jew, scholars agree that it was due to 'the historical reality of frequent capture and rape of Jewish women.'⁵⁰

On the other hand, Z. W. Falk notes a cultural conflict between the customs of Hellenized Jews and the Palestinian legal tradition which is reflected in the halakhic regulations of *Qiddushin*. The halakha does not recognize the validity of marriages between Gentiles unless consummated by cohabitation.⁵¹ In other words, biblical and halakhic traditions require money and cohabitation for the validity of betrothal, whereas Roman law was satisfied only with a promise of marriage given verbally or in writing as the essence of the betrothal and did not regard an annulment of the betrothal as constituting a betrayal of the marriage.⁵² Hence Falk understands that the halakha, which does not acknowledge the validity of betrothal, could be considered as an attempt to defend Judaism against dangerous foreign influence.⁵³ Thus, we can be sure that the tradition of the halakha was to keep the Israelites and their faith in Yahweh affiliated in certain circumstances such as the period of the beginning of the settlement in the land of Canaan, the period of resettlement after the return, and the period of new era after the fall of Jerusalem. These periods were important

days for the formation of the Israelite community in the paganized environments. Thus we can conclude that the view of Jewish identity by birth in the Mishnah was formulated to protect the Jews from the evil paganization of the Jewish world.

C. The Procedure of Conversion

Besides being a Jew by birth, a person can become a Jew by conversion, i.e., proselytism.⁵⁴ Originally the Israelite community did not require particular ceremonies to receive a proselyte or a convert. Therefore, whoever separated himself or herself from idols, accepted Yahweh as the God of the universe, and finally joined the Jewish community⁵⁵ was accepted as a Jew.

S. Zeitlin believes that it was the Jewish religion which united all the Jews as one people before the destruction of the Temple. Everyone who accepted the same beliefs could be regarded as a member of the Israelite community.⁵⁶ But for Nicholas de Lange the religious beliefs are secondary in the formation of the Jewish identity. He argues that 'to be a Jew means first and foremost to belong to a group, the Jewish people',⁵⁷ and also that 'Judaism must be defined in terms of the Jewish people, and a people is defined historically, as a group of people sharing a common history.'⁵⁸ However, whichever one --religion or history-- is emphasized in the formation

of the Jewish identity, it may be argued that the most important event in the creation of the identity of Jewish people in both their history and religion was the covenant at Mt. Sinai.⁵⁹ The Torah was given as the content of the covenant. In this light we understand that the proselyte's acceptance of the Torah must be total and unreserved as emphasized in the following tDem. 2:5:

We do not accept a convert who has accepted upon himself all the laws of the Torah except one. R. Jose son of R. Judah says: Even a minor law of the subtleties of the scribes (rabbinic ordinances).

The proselyte's acceptance of the Torah meant for them⁶⁰ participation in the history of the Jewish people. Hence the status of the convert was considered as a Jew exactly the same as a Jew by birth.

Since the time of the Second Commonwealth, there have been three basic procedures for conversion to Judaism:⁶¹ circumcision, immersion, and sacrifice. These requisites are well demonstrated in *Sifre Num.* 108 as follows:

Rabbi says: Just as Israel did not enter the covenant except through three things, through circumcision, through immersion, and through the acceptance of a sacrifice, so it is the same with the proselytes.

We find that many laws from the Tannaitic period deal with the conversion procedure as described in a long baraita in

62

bYeb. 47a-b. The circumstance for becoming a proselyte was so changed after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. that the new converts could no longer bring an offering and the practice of circumcision was also banned for a long time. Therefore, in this section we will examine the status of the new converts which is reflected in the conversion procedure.

1. Circumcision

From the source of the Pentateuch, it is evident that the ceremony of circumcision was a symbol of the covenant which Yahweh made with Israel.⁶³ Every male Israelite as well as all the male slaves in the Israelites' household were commanded to undergo circumcision.⁶⁴ During the Hellenistic period the performance of this rite was probably endangered partly due to the influence of Hellenized culture, and partly due to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes who forbade Jewish circumcision.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, after the success of the Maccabean revolt, circumcision became the most important sign of Jewish identity, although it was also widely practiced among various other peoples.⁶⁶

Just as the Jewish history of the second century B.C. was closely mirrored, so was the Jewish history of the second century A.D. During this period the Jewish people again suffered Gentile attacks on the observance of

circumcision. One was Hadrian's edict to prohibit
circumcision.⁶⁷ However, although the ban was a universal
prohibition on circumcision and was relaxed for Jews only
by Antoninus Pius, this was regarded by the Jewish people
as directed against them to prevent them having a sign of
their identity as Jews. The other attack on the observance
of circumcision was the polemics of Christians against the
circumcision of Jewish people. This can be demonstrated,
for example, by the quotation from Justin Martyr's
Dialogue with Trypho.

If circumcision had been necessary, as you suppose,
God would not have created Adam uncircumcised, nor
would he have looked with favour on the sacrifice of
Abel which he offered in uncircumcision, nor would
Enoch have been pleasing to God in uncircumcision--
who 'was not found because God took him'. Lot,
uncircumcised, was delivered out of Sodom ... Noah is
father of the human race; but with his children while
he was uncircumcised he entered into the ark.
Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High, was
uncircumcised, to whom Abraham, the first to receive
circumcision after the flesh, gave tithes, and
Melchizedek blessed him. It was according to his
order that God declared through David that he would
make him a priest for ever.⁶⁸

We have much evidence that in this predicament the rabbis
and their teaching emphasized consistently the importance
of the ceremony of circumcision.⁶⁹ The Mishnah formulated
at length the legislation concerning the practice of
circumcision on the Sabbath.⁷⁰ Even the blessing of
circumcision was emphasized in this period.⁷¹ According to
S. Zeitlin, before the destruction of the second Temple,
the acceptance of the Torah was regarded as sufficient for

the new convert in joining the Jewish community. However, if we consider the fact that the Maccabeans circumcised the Idumeans to make them proselytes, then it is hard to believe this. In conclusion, it was due to the disturbing circumstances of the second century A. D. that the Jewish community emphasized again the importance of circumcision. Accordingly, any foreigner who wished to become a Jew was, of necessity, required to undergo circumcision as a sign of sincerity to God as well as a sign of determined willingness to join the Jewish community. Thus we can suggest that circumcision became a *sine qua non* for the convert after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D.⁷³

2. Immersion

Concerning the origin of immersion it is generally maintained from the evidence of M. Pes. 8:8 that the practice was performed before the destruction and in the late first century B.C.⁷⁴ The Samaritan chronicle also states that 'the Jews used to baptize all who wanted to become Jews' in the early days of the first century A.D.⁷⁵

There is a scholarly debate concerning the purpose of the immersion of new converts. One opinion is that the ritual bath is purificatory.⁷⁶ In this sense the proselyte would purify himself or herself from the impurity of the pagan world to enter the new life of the Jewish people. According to Zeitlin, the conclave in 65 A.D. decreed

77

uncleanness of all Gentiles in the category of a *Zab*.
He believes that, from that time, immersion became a *sine*
qua non for new converts for the purpose of
purification.⁷⁸ The alternative view is that the function
of immersion is initiatory just like the concept of
Christian baptism.⁷⁹ However, if we understand that the
ceremony implies the beginning of a new life as well as
the separation with former things in terms of cleanness,
immersion for the proselytes should be regarded as
combining the two elements of purification and
initiation.⁸⁰ In any case, we can maintain that the bath
ritual for new converts was underlined to give them a
Jewish identity.⁸¹

3. Sacrifice

Besides circumcision and immersion, the last ritual which
was required of the new converts to Judaism was the
sacrificial offering. Just as in the case of immersion,
scholars are divided as to whether the main purpose of the
sacrifice was initiatory or purificatory.⁸² Whereas the
former point of view considers the convert as not a Jew
until the sacrifice is offered, the latter sees the
convert as fully Jewish without the sacrifice.⁸³ It seems
that the ceremony of sacrificial offering by the new
convert had both meanings: initiatory and purificatory.
Another issue concerns the date when sacrifice was
required as one of the conversional procedures. Zeitlin

argues that the sacrifice was required for proselytes after 65 A.D. because they could be no longer considered *zabim* by the other conversion procedure.⁸⁴ Schiffman dates the origin of the conversion offering to around early 30 A.D.⁸⁵ The sacrifice was abolished soon after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. as reflected in *bKer.* 9a.

D. Jewish Self-Definition

The question then arises as to the identity of a Jew: who was a Jew? Firstly, a Jew was, as it has been reviewed above, one who was born from a Jewish mother only. If a mother was not Jewish, the offspring could not be regarded as a Jew, although the status of the father was definitely Jewish. Secondly, one who was not born a Jew could become a member of the Jewish community through conversion procedures. Anyone who accepted the activity and the providence of God in the history of Jewish people, or anyone who was circumcised or baptized and offered a sacrifice in order to follow the life of Jewish people was treated as a fully fledged Jew.

However, what spoke for the status and identity of Jews as the people of God was, in essence, the Torah as well as the rabbinic interpretation or oral Law which was given at Mt. Sinai. Hence, from the beginning of the Jewish nation those who offended against the regulations of the Torah

could not but be excluded from their community. Exclusion could be temporary or permanent, according to the degree of their offences, although no individual nor no Jewish authority could deprive them of their identity as Jews.⁸⁶ Likewise, during the Tannaitic period, anyone who did not follow the ritual laws formulated by rabbis was rejected from the Jewish community in order to protect the Jewish religion and the people. We can briefly mention four groups, according to T. Sanh. 12:5, which were deprived of their legal status as Jewish people during the Tannaitic period. They are: (a) *minim*,⁸⁷ (b) *meshummadim*,⁸⁸ (c) the informers,⁸⁹ (d) *'apiqorot*.⁹⁰ All these people were regarded as heretics or apostates by the Jewish authority.⁹¹ Nevertheless, they were still Jewish people, although they disregarded all the commands of the Torah.

It is obvious that the foregoing survey will help us to understand the status and identity of the Samaritans in Tannaitic literature.

E. The Status of the Samaritans in the Tannaitic Literature

According to the halakhic definitions of the Jews, the Samaritans were 'neither in nor out'.⁹² Generally speaking, the Samaritans were regarded as Jewish people by the early generations of the Tannaim, whereas the later Tannaim considered them as Gentiles.⁹³ This is

exemplified by the different attitude to the Samaritans of the rabbis of different generations. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, i.e., Simeon II b. Gamaliel II, the father of Rabbi Judah the Nasi, took the view that a Samaritan is like a Jew in all respects.⁹⁴ But Judah, the son of Simeon II b. Gamaliel, considered a Samaritan as a non-Jew.⁹⁵ There is considerable evidence that the generation of Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel was the very watershed period which developed the negative ruling concerning the Samaritans.⁹⁶ Therefore, in this section we will, firstly, deal with the status of the Samaritans according to the halakhic definition of the Jews. Then, we will discuss the reason for the change of the rabbinic attitude to the Samaritans in the period of the later Tannaim.

1. Genuine Converts

The Samaritans are identified as *Kutim* in the halakhic tradition.⁹⁷ The Tannaim took the biblical account of the Cutheans in II Kings 17 as the origin of the Samaritans and negated their Israelite origin.⁹⁸ According to II Kings 17, the king of Assyria took all the Israelites into foreign countries and brought into Samaria some foreigners from various places including Cutha, to replace the Israelites. These foreigners, then, became the lion-converts to Yahweh, although they worshipped their own gods. It is worthy of observation that the term *Kutim*

rather than the term *Shomronim* is continuously used in rabbinic literature, though sometimes the term *Kutim* is applied to Christians and not Samaritans. Every usage, therefore, must be evaluated separately.

There is the Tannaitic dispute whether the Samaritans are *gere 'arayot* ('lion converts') or *gere 'emet* ('genuine converts').⁹⁹ The Tannaim are divided on this question: R. Ishmael and R. Eliezer considered the Samaritans as lion-converts, whereas R. Akiba and R. Meir regarded them as genuine converts.¹⁰⁰ It is probably correct that the dispute is an Amoraic creation.¹⁰¹ However, as Montgomery has suggested,¹⁰² this Tannaitic debate concerning the status of the Samaritans may be understood as related to the development of the negative ruling by the Tannaim to the Samaritans. This will be discussed later.

However, the continuous use of the appellation *Kutim* for the Samaritans as well as the rabbinic debate on the status of this people may imply that the Tannaim were embarrassed about the existence of the Samaritans. Moreover the use of the term *Kutim* in the rabbinic literature clearly shows a discriminative attitude towards the Samaritans. If the Samaritans were converts to Yahwism during the late eighth century B.C., they should have been assimilated as Jewish people. Hence we can agree with G. Alon who argues that the Tannaim only considered 'their [Samaritans] Jewishness from the religious aspect, but not

their historical beginnings and descent, which are not
103
Israelite'.

One halakha of *Massekhet Kutim* can be exemplified to demonstrate the rabbinical change in the use of the term *Kutim*:

Why are the Samaritans forbidden to marry into Israel? Because they are mingled with the priests of the high places. R. Ishmael said: They were genuine converts at first. Wherefore were they forbidden? Because of their bastards, and because they do not marry the brothers's widow.104

There is no doubt that the Tannaim began to suspect the Samaritans in all respects from the middle of the second century A.D. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Samaritans were regarded as the genuine converts until this period. They were considered as more scrupulous in observing the commandments than the Israelites¹⁰⁵ and as standing 'on same footing as the Israelite in respect to all damages laid down in the law'.¹⁰⁶ They were like full¹⁰⁷ Jews.

2. Doubtful Class

According to the Mishnah, the Samaritans were regarded as the doubtful class among the Jewish people. This is well attested by the derogatory use of the term *Kutim* at the end of the doubtful Israelite classes.¹⁰⁸ M.Qid. 4:1

enumerates ten castes who returned from Babylonia as follows: (a) priests, (b) Levites, (c) Israelites, (d) impaired priests, (e) converts, and (f) freed slaves, (g) mamzers, (h) Netins, (i) silenced ones [shetuqil], and (j) foundlings. Of these classes, silenced ones and foundlings are those who are of doubtful status. According to halakhic definition, a silenced one is one 'who knows the identity of his mother but does not know the identity of his father',¹⁰⁹ while a foundling is one 'who was discovered in the market and knows neither his father nor his mother'.¹¹⁰ Interestingly, M.Qid. 4:3 classifies the Samaritans at the end of the list of members of the doubtful class and requires the avoidance of marriage of the Israelites with the Samaritans.

All those who are forbidden from entering into the congregation are permitted to marry one another. R. Judah prohibits. R. Eliezer says, "Those who are of certain status are permitted to intermarry with others who are of certain status. "Those who are of certain status and those who are of doubtful status, those who are of doubtful status and those who are of certain status, those who are of doubtful status and those who are of doubtful status-- "it is prohibited." And who are those who are of doubtful status? The "silenced one," the foundling, and the Samaritan.

Because of the fact that the anonymous stratum of M.Qid. 4:1 mentions only ten classes among the Jewish people, it has been maintained that the term Samaritans was inserted at the end of the listing of the three doubtful classes by a later redactor in M.Qid. 4:3. Schiffman put the date of this halakha into the Yavnean period.¹¹¹ Thus, if we

accept the above arguments, it is clear that the use of the term Samaritans in the later period of the Tannaim was much more discriminative and polemical towards the Samaritans.

Similarly, M.Ket. 3:1 put the Samaritans at the end of the list of the girls who are eligible to require a monetary fine from their seducer.

These are the girls [invalid for marriage to an Israelite] who [nonetheless] receive a fine [from the man who seduces them]: He who has sexual relations with (1) a mamzer girl, (2) a Netin girl, or (3) a Samaritan girl.

A *mamzer* here is an offspring who was born from the union of a non-Jew or slave and Jewish woman.¹¹² A Netin is a descendant of the Gibeonites i.e., Temple slaves.¹¹³ They are considered, theoretically or halakhically, as members of the Jewish people. Therefore, as in the case of M.Qid. 4:3, the Jewish status of the Samaritans is not rejected in this halakha either. But we know that they are under suspicion by the Tannaim as the doubtful class. Again Schiffman dates this halakha into the Yavnean period.¹¹⁴ Hence we can conclude that this is more evidence which shows the doubtful status of the Samaritans in the mid-second century A.D. It seems that from this period on the Samaritans were suspected in all matters. They were seen as no longer scrupulous over the fine points of the Law.¹¹⁵ M.Nid. 7:5 E states that if there was something

of which the Samaritans were suspected they were not believed.

3. Gentiles

So we find that the Samaritans were regarded as Gentiles around the late mid-second century A.D. The term Samaritans is paralleled with Gentiles or listed after the Gentile.¹¹⁶ Rabbi Meir even considers the Samaritans were of lower status than Gentiles. He says that it was better for the Israelites to be circumcized by a Gentile than by a Samaritan.¹¹⁷ If we bear in mind the fact that the Jewish woman is the most important factor in deciding the status of the Jews according to the halakhic definition of Jews, M.Nid. 4:1, which says, 'the Samaritan women are deemed menstruants from their cradle', indicates a complete condemnation of the Samaritans. As we mentioned before, the Jewish people who did not keep the regulations of the Torah could be expelled from the Jewish community. Hence we understand that this halakha is a declaration of exclusion of the Samaritans from the community. According to Aboda Zara Jer. 44d, it is stated that the land, the gatherings of the water, the dwellings, and, finally, the roads of the Samaritans are clean. But, now the situation was completely changed. R. Eliezer says that 'one who eats bread [baked by] Samaritans is like one who eats pork'.¹¹⁸ The Samaritans were stigmatized as unclean. The Tannaim prepared to exclude the Samaritans from the

community. They established the historical foundation in support of their decision which is mentioned in M. Sheq. 1:5;

Even though they have said, 'They do not exact pledges from women, slaves, or minors', if they paid the sheqel, they do accept it from them. A gentile and a Samaritan who paid the sheqel--they do not accept it from them. Nor do they accept from them bird offerings for male Zabs, bird offerings for female Zabs, bird offerings for women who have given birth, sin offerings, or guilt offerings. But [offerings brought by reason of] vows and freewill offerings they accept from them. This is the governing principle: Anything which is vowed or given as a freewill offering do they accept from them. Anything which is not vowed or given as a freewill offering do they not accept from them. And so is the matter explained by Ezra, since it is said, You have nothing to do with us to build a house unto our God (Ezra 4:3).

F. Corruption of the Samaritans

So far we have reviewed the status of the Samaritans in the Mishnah. They were definitely regarded as being of the Jewish people before the destruction of the Second Temple. But, in the lapse of time, the Jewish status of the Samaritans gradually become suspect until they were considered by the later Tannaim as being corrupt Gentiles. The change of the rabbinic attitude to the Samaritans is well illustrated in Abodah Zarah Jer. 44d:

The Samaritans of Caesarea asked R. Abbahu: 'Your ancestors asked to buy things from us, why do you not buy things from us?' He answered them: 'Your ancestors were not corrupt, but you are corrupt'.

What, then, was the reason for the change of the rabbinic attitude to the Samaritans? We know that the term 'corruption' in reference to the Samaritans was used from the beginning of the second century A.D. in rabbinic literature.¹¹⁹ Hence the corruption of the Samaritans has been considered as the most important element to the change of rabbinic attitude of the Samaritans. Schiffman, firstly, assumes that the Samaritans supported the Romans during the Bar Cochba revolt and considers this as corruption of the Samaritans.¹²⁰ This is supported by the Talmudic tradition which blames the Samaritans for the fall of Bethar. It is interesting to observe the relationship between Hadrian and the Samaritans which is reflected in the legendary traditions of both Jews and Samaritans. The Jewish source from Genesis Rabbah, LXIV, 10 denounces the Samaritans who had Hadrian abandon his plan to build the temple in Jerusalem. Likewise, Lamentations Rabbah, II, 2 and 4 also keep the tradition which blames the Samaritans for the Jewish defeat at Bethar.¹²¹ On the other hand, the Samaritan Chronicle preserves the tradition in which two Samaritan brothers-- Ephraim and Manasseh -- assisted Hadrian to besiege Jerusalem.¹²² It seems that the assistance of the Samaritans to Hadrian is the common element of all these sources. Hence this may be considered as a factor which explains the deterioration in relations between Jews and Samaritans in the second century A.D., although the historicity of all these sources has not been accepted as

convincing.¹²³ A. Oppenheimer argues that the Talmudic tradition on the defeat of Betar is 'merely anachronisms reflecting the deterioration that took place in Jewish-Samaritan relations in the period following the revolt'.¹²⁴ It has also been suggested that the Samaritans were corrupt in their denial of the Jewish faith during the Hadrianic persecutions.¹²⁵ However, we do not have any concrete evidence for this. On the contrary, the Samaritans shared the Hadrianic persecution with the Jews.¹²⁶ M. Mor suggests that 'the Samaritans rebelled against Hadrian at the same time as the Judaeans insurgents fought the Bar Cochba revolt, even though they never fought together'.¹²⁷

Other scholars find the cause of corruption to be from the demographic changes after the Bar Cochba revolt.¹²⁸ The population of Caesarea at the outbreak of the first Jewish revolt consisted of the Jews and of the Greeks.¹²⁹ But the Jews had established a more prosperous and larger community than the pagan community. Josephus states that 'the latter [the Jews] had the advantage of superior wealth and physical strength, the Greeks that of the support of the military'.¹³⁰ A Gentile Christian community appeared in Caesarea at the end of the third decade of the first century.¹³¹ However, it is quite clear from Josephus that a number of Jews were killed in the war or fled to the other places before and during the Jewish revolt. Josephus claims more than 20,000 Jews were

massacred within an hour in a single day in Caesarea at the beginning of the war in 66 A.D. and the city was completely emptied of Jews.¹³² He claims also some 2,500 Jewish prisoners died for the entertainment of the Roman celebrities after the war.¹³³ Further evidence that Caesarea changed its demographic composition is that Caesarea was the Roman military headquarters during the war. Cestius Gallus established his military base at Caesarea with the bulk of his army.¹³⁴ Caesarea was, then, elevated to become the Roman administrative capital and was titled Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea after Vespasian had been proclaimed as emperor there.¹³⁵ Hence we conclude that Caesarea became a pagan city *par excellence*, and that the Jewish community in the city was reduced to a very small number of people, if any remained at all,¹³⁶ at the end of the first century A.D. At the same time, from the fact that the toparchy of Narbatene between Sebaste and Caesarea disappeared, A. H. M. Jones infers that Vespasian may have annexed parts of district of Samaria to the territory of Caesarea in order to provide lands for the colonists.¹³⁷ If so, then it is also possible to understand that the Samaritans may have had a good pretext to migrate into this area.

It is evident that the revolt of Bar Cochba also effected a demographic change to the Jews in the second century. According to Eusebius, Tineius Rufus killed tens of thousands of Jewish people during the revolt.¹³⁸ Dio

reports 5,800 Jews fell dead in battles and the whole
Judaeen territory was, as a consequence, depopulated.¹³⁹

In addition, there was such a large number of Jewish
prisoners that they were sold as slaves at the price of a
horse.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, literary evidence clearly indicates
that several Jews in Caesarea including Rabbi Akiba were
martyred during the Hadrianic persecution.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, if we consider the fact that Caesarea, as a
Roman colonial city, was attacked by the Jews, we can
safely conjecture that the revolt of Bar Cochba and the
Hadrianic persecution caused severe damage to the size of
the Jewish community in Caesarea.¹⁴² In any case,

Caesarea as a colonial capital continuously expanded and
flourished throughout the second century. But the Jewish
community in Caesarea may not have emerged as an important
centre of Jewish life in this period. According to the
passage of the rabbinic literature, the Jews in Caesarea
used to offer sacrifice for idolatrous purposes.¹⁴³

Levine suggests that this implies that 'at least some
Jews in the city had assimilated to the extent that they
were active participants in pagan culture practices'.¹⁴⁴

The Jewish community in Caesarea appeared to play an
important role in the history of Jewish people. It is
evident that there were four distinct communities--
Jewish, Christian, Samaritan, and pagan groups-- in
Caesarea during the third and fourth centuries A.D.¹⁴⁵ But
no single group seemed to be predominant numerically, for
the rabbinical passage states that 'Jews together with

Gentiles outnumber the Samaritans (in Caesarea)'.¹⁴⁶ This may imply that the Jews also migrated into the district of Caesarea. Scholars agree that the turmoil at the end of the second century--*Judaicum et Samariticum bellum motum*-- could have caused the Jews to move towards the coastal cities and the north.¹⁴⁷

Samaritans began to migrate from their native places to the district of Caesarea from the end of the first century. They moved to the southern coastal plain, the Beth-shan and Jezreel valleys, and the district of Caesarea.¹⁴⁸ According to P. Yebamot VIII, 3, 9d, Rabbi Abbahu says that thirteen towns were settled by the Samaritans during the period of Hadrianic persecution. This was evidenced by the archaeological research of Adam Zertal¹⁴⁹ who shows the settlement of the Samaritans in the district of Caesarea. He contends that 'Caesarea was the symbol of Roman rule and an embodiment of the Greco-Roman spirit and philosophy' and that, as a consequence, the migration of the Samaritans to this area brought about their corruption and the change of the rabbinic attitude towards them.¹⁵⁰ This is exemplified by the new ruling on the Samaritan wine.¹⁵¹ In the period of the earlier Tannaim the wine of the Samaritans was not forbidden unless it came from villages adjoining pagan ones. But after the second revolt all the wine of the Samaritans was forbidden except that in sealed bottles.¹⁵² Hence it has been argued that the Samaritans took advantage of the

Jews' misfortune during the war and then took possession¹⁵³ of what were Jewish settlements previously.

Most scholars agree that the migration of the Samaritans into the district of Caesarea during the Hadrianic persecution had the Samaritans themselves exposed to Hellenization or paganization and that this was regarded¹⁵⁴ by the Tannaim as a danger to the Jewish community.

However, we need to observe that it was not only the Samaritans who were exposed to the danger of the influence of Hellenization in the paganized cities, but also the¹⁵⁵ Jews who experienced the same challenge in Caesarea.

With the encouragement of the rabbis, the Jews returned to¹⁵⁶ Caesarea from the third century A.D. It was from around this period that the Tannaim began to condemn the Samaritans as corrupt. According to the rabbinic tradition of the late first and early second century, the Jewish people as well as the area of Caesarea were considered as unclean. Caesarea was 'the daughter of¹⁵⁷ Edom' which shall perish. However, from the third century Caesarea appeared as a part of Jewish territory¹⁵⁸ and all products from the city were subjected to tithe.

It was mostly from this period that the Tannaim began to change their attitude towards the Samaritans and consider them as Gentiles. Hence we can argue that the corruption of the Samaritans was neither related to the Bar Cochba revolt, nor to the migration of the Samaritans to the¹⁵⁹ district of Caesarea.

The real motive for the final break between Jews and Samaritans at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries A.D., according to Saul Lieberman, is that the Samaritans complied with the decree of Diocletian and offered libations.¹⁶⁰ However this interpretation was strongly rejected by Isaiah Sonne as 'the ritual-legalistic yardstick'¹⁶¹ to the procedure against the Samaritans. Instead, he suggests that the reason for the break was the stubborn persistence of the Samaritans in their own group-entity. Sonne assumes that the stubbornness of the Samaritans, despite the Diocletian persecutions, caused a change in Abbahu's attitude towards them.¹⁶² He concludes as follows:

The Samaritans were not condemned as individuals, heretics, or transgressors of the Law, but as a schismatic group which persisted in its ardor to preserve its own group-entity despite all handicaps in so doing. 163

If there is any credibility in Sonne's argument that the Samaritans were schismatics, then we have a question concerning the circumstances which led the Samaritans to cling to their own group-entity.

The first two centuries after the fall of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. was a period of great losses for the Jewish people as well as a period of paganization of the native soil of the Jews in all respects. In other words,

the Jews had to survive within an afflicted socio-economic-political environment in this period. The Jews had to compete with the other neighbouring groups for their survival. It is worth observing that in this predicament those who gained from the losses of the Jewish people were condemned as pagan and corrupt. If we consider the first Samaritan schism in the post-exilic period of the return from Babylon,¹⁶⁴ we find the same thing repeated in the history of the Jewish people. That is, as the first *golah* excluded from the community the Samaritans, who took the property of the former exiles, as unclean people, so the Tannaim from the third century A.D. did the same thing to the Samaritans who took the vacant place of the former inhabitants of the district of Caesarea. As mentioned above, from this period on the Samaritans may have persisted in their own group-entity and the rabbinic authority had begun to condemn their behaviour as corrupt. This may be understood as inter-related with the problem of survival in this period. Thus we can argue that the corruption of the Samaritans was nothing but a Jewish polemic to protect the Jews from their predicament.

It was, especially, the later generation of the Tannaim who tried to protect the people, the land, and the religion of the Jews against an unfavourable position in the paganized world. The Tannaitic protection was, therefore, followed by spiritualization of the Jewish

community itself and the codification of the Law into the Mishnah. Hence, from this period all the heretics and apostates including the Samaritans were to be excluded from the Jewish community. As a consequence, the Samaritans were considered as Gentiles and corrupt in their behaviour. Nonetheless, we can say that the Jews did not shut the door on the Samaritans. The Samaritans could be accepted as full Israelites if 'they renounce Mount Gerizim and confess Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead'¹⁶⁵. However it was the Samaritans who separated themselves from the Jewish tradition and confirmed the schism under the guidance of Baba Rabba in¹⁶⁶ the third century A.D.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 178. See also L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans in Tannaitic Halakhah,' *JQR*, 75/4 (April 1985), 323 (hereafter 'The Samaritans') and Alan D. Crown, 'The First Century Schism', 6-7.
2. See Joachim Jeremias, 'The Samaritans,' in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, translated by F. H. and C. H. Cave from the German, Study Edition (London: SCM Press, 1969), pp. 352-58.
3. M. Sot. 9:12; Cf. M. Sot. 9:15.
4. BJ. VI, 420.
5. Eus., *He.* iv, 6, 1.
6. Dio. lxxix, 14, 3. See Emil Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, vol. 1, A New English Edition, revised and edited by Geza Vermes and et al., (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), p. 553 (hereafter *The history*); also Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social*, vol. II, p. 102.
7. Baron, *ibid.* Cf. BJ. VI, 421 ff.
8. E. E. Urbach, 'The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the Second and Third Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts', *IEJ*, 9/3 (1959), 157 (hereafter 'Rabbinical Laws').
9. BJ. VII, 216. For the argument concerning the correct translation and its meaning on *apodosai* see, Benjamin Isaac, 'Judaea after AD 70.' *JJS*, 35 (Spring 1984), 44-50 and E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian: A Study in Political Relations*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, vol. 20 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), p. 340 (hereafter *The Jews*).
10. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 463.
11. Eus., *He.* iv, 6, 1.
12. Jacob Neusner, 'The First Stage in the Formation of Judaism: The Mishnah. From 70 to 200', in *Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Exile and Return in the History*

- of Judaism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987), pp. 62-98; idem., *The Mishnah: A New Translation*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. xvi (hereafter *Mishnah*).
13. See Jacob Neusner, 'The Mishnah in Context: Israelite History in the Late First and Second Centuries', in *Mishnah*, pp. xv-xix.
 14. See Jacob Neusner, 'Judaism after the Destruction of the Temple', in *IJH*, pp. 663-77 and E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 331.
 15. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200*, CCWJCW 200, vol. 7, p. 121 (hereafter *The Jewish*); M. Noth, *The History of Israel*, pp. 445 f.
 16. M. Noth, *ibid.*, p. 446; E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 348-51; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Jewish*, p. 121.
 17. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 349 f.
 18. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Jewish*, pp. 121 f.
 19. M. Noth, *loc. cit.*, p. 445.
 20. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 463.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 341-42.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-39; M. Noth, *loc. cit.*, pp. 443 f. Emil Schürer, *The history*, vol. I, pp. 508-13.
 23. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 459-62.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60.
 26. S. Applebaum, 'Economic Life in Palestine,' in *JPFC*, p. 667 and also p. 693 (hereafter 'Economic').
 27. J. W. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, pp. 35-37.
 28. See R. J. Bull, 'Er-Ras, Tell (Mount Gerizim),' in *EAEHL*, vol. IV, pp. 1015-22.
 29. Benjamin Isaac and Aharon Oppenheimer, 'The Revolt of Bar Kokhba: Ideology and Modern Scholarship.' *JJS*, 36/1 (Spring 1985), 59.
 30. For a discussion on the Jewish tax, see E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 371-76.
 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 429-31.

32. Ibid., pp. 429, 469, 500.
33. Ibid., p. 349.
34. See E. E. Urbach, 'Rabbinical Laws', *IEJ*, 9/3 (1959), 149-165 and 229-45.
35. Ibid., 474.
36. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 499.
37. For the economic situation after 70 A.D., see S. Applebaum, 'Economic', pp. 692-99.
38. Ibid., p. 679; E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 344.
39. S. Applebaum, 'Economic', pp. 691 f., and p. 699. Richard A. Horsley ['Ancient Jewish Banditry and the Revolt against Rome, A.D. 66-70,' *CBQ*, 43/3 (July 1981), 409-32] argues that banditry in Judaea became a Jewish peasant rebellion against Roman rule.
40. S. Applebaum, 'Economic', pp. 694 f.
41. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, Second Edition, revised by P. M. Fraser (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 270 and vol. II, pp. 663-64, n. 32.
42. For the Hellenization practice of the urbanization of the Roman Empire, see 'The Economic and Social Policy of the Flavians and Antonines', in *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 353-92.
43. For a general discussion of the halakhic definition of a Jew, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism' (hereafter 'At the Crossroads'), in *JCSD*, vol. II, pp. 117-22; *idem.*, *Who was a Jew: Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish Christian Schism* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1985); *idem.*, 'The Samaritans', 323-50; Solomon Zeitlin, 'Proselytes and Proselytism During the Second Commonwealth and the Early Tannaitic Period,' in *Studies in the Early History of Judaism*, vol. II, pp. 407-17 (hereafter 'Proselytes'); *idem.*, 'The Offspring of Intermarriage', in *ibid.*, pp. 418-24; *idem.*, 'The Jews: Race, Nation, or Religion?' in *ibid.*, pp. 425-69 (hereafter 'The Jews'); *idem.*, 'Who is a Jew? A Halachic-Historical Study', in *ibid.*, pp. 470-99; *idem.*, 'The Names Hebrew, Jew and Israel: A Historic Study', in *ibid.*, pp. 500-14.
44. M. Qid. 3:12 IV.

45. Ezra 10:3; Cf. Ezra 9:2; 10:10; Neh. 13:23.
46. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 121.
47. Ezra 9-10; Neh. 13:23 ff.
48. See Bernard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (New York: KTAV, 1968), pp. 174-220 (hereafter *Proselytism*). See also A. Brenner, *The Israelite Woman* (JSOT, 1985), pp. 115-22.
49. Ze'ev W. Falk, 'On the Historical Background of the Talmudic Laws Regarding Gentiles', *Immanuel*, 14 (Fall 1982), 102-13.
50. *Ibid.*, 113.
51. *Ibid.*, 106-10.
52. *Ibid.*, 108 f.
53. *Ibid.*, 110.
54. Bernard J. Bamberger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31-37.
55. S. Zeitlin, 'Proselytes', 411 and James Parkes, *The Foundations of Judaism and Christianity* (London: Vallentine. Mitchell, 1960), p. 21.
56. S. Zeitlin, 'The Jews', 463.
57. Nicholas de Lange, *Judaism* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 4.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 7; See also Walter Kaufmann, 'The Future of Jewish Identity', in *Existentialism, Religion, and Death: Thirteen Essays* (New York: New American Library, 1976), p. 172. According to him, 'What Jewish identity comes to in the end in the acceptance of the history of the Jewish people as one's own. And if anyone accepts that, it is inhuman to refuse to consider him a Jew merely because his mother was not Jewish'.
59. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', pp. 138 f.
60. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 124.
61. This writer does not agree with those scholars (such as L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 122 and B. J. Bamberger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31-32) who take the acceptance of the Torah as one of the conversional procedures. As we shall see it, the three basic procedures for conversion to Judaism --circumcision, immersion, and sacrifice-- were negotiable for the converts according to the change of the circumstance,

whereas the Torah was not negotiable to the converts in the Biblical and the Tannaitic periods. On the other hand, T. M. Taylor argues that the order for the acceptance of a proselyte could have been (a) circumcision, (b) sacrifice, (c) immersion. See his 'The Beginnings of Jewish Proselyte Baptism', *NTS*, 2 (1955-56), 195.

62. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', pp. 122 f.
63. Gen. 17:9-14; 23-27; Exod. 12:48-49; Lev. 12:3. For the origin of circumcision, see J. P. Hyatt, 'Circumcision', *IDB*, vol. I, p. 629.
64. Gen. 17:12-13.
65. I Macc. 1:48; II Macc. 6:10.
66. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 127.
67. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 430-31.
68. Quoted from John Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 196 f.
69. For the evidence of the importance of circumcision, we can illustrate the rabbinical insertions in Ps. Jonathan on Genesis (see John Bowker, *ibid.*): Gen. 45:4, Come near to me, I pray you (and see the place of my circumcision); Gen. 47:29, put, I pray thee, thy hand (on the place of my circumcision); Gen. 48:20, In thee, (Joseph my son, shall the house of) Israel bless (the child on the day of circumcision); Gen. 50:23, the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh (Joseph circumcised when they) were born.
70. M. Shab. 19.
71. See John Bowker, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.
72. S. Zeitlin, 'Who is a Jew?', 479.
73. *Ibid.*, 480.
74. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 128. However, W. F. Flemington ('Baptism', *IDB*, vol. I, p. 348) dates the origin of immersion not later than the first century A.D.
75. Paul Stenhouse, *The Kitab al-Tarikh of Abu'l-Fath*, Studies in Judaica, no. 1 (University of Sydney, 1985), p. 148.
76. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', pp. 127-28.

77. S. Zeitlin, 'Proselyte', 413 f., and idem, 'Who is a Jew?', 480 f.
78. Ibid.
79. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 128.
80. Ibid, p. 128.
81. S. Zeitlin, 'Proselyte', 413.
82. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 132.
83. Ibid, p. 132.
84. S. Zeitlin, 'Proselytes', 414.
85. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 133.
86. According to Schiffman ('At the Crossroads', p. 139), 'what must be asked now is whether anyone can be excluded from the Jewish people and lose his Jewish status as a result of any beliefs or actions. Instead, it will be shown conclusively that this cannot occur...' However, this writer understands that Schiffman does not distinguish national identity from the legal status of Jewish people in this period.
87. For the meaning of *minim*, see Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', pp. 144 and 149-55; Ephraim E. Urbach, 'Self-Isolation or Self-Affirmation in Judaism in the First Three Centuries: Theory and Practice.' in *JCSD*, vol. Two, pp. 288-93; Asher Finkel, 'Yavneh's Liturgy and Early Christianity', *JES*, 18/2 (Spring 1981): 241.
88. L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', pp. 144-46.
89. Ibid., p. 144.
90. Ibid., p. 142.
91. See *ibid.*, pp. 139-46 and also Solomon Zeitlin, 'The Jews', 464 f.
92. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 323.
93. For the division of the Tannaitic generation, see Emil Schürer, *The history*, vol. I, pp. 74-76 and John Bowker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 323 f.
94. Tos. Ter. 4:14.
95. Tos. Ter. 4:12.

96. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 344.
97. See *ibid.*, 325 f. and also J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 166, n. 2.
98. See Gedalyahu Alon, 'The Origin', p. 354 and Benard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism*, p. 133.
99. Bernard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism*, pp. 133 f.
101. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 327.
102. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 177.
103. G. Alon, 'The Origin', p. 354.
104. no. 27. Quoted from J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 203.
105. *Qid.* 76a; *Ber.* 47b; *Git.* 10a; *M. Ned.* 3:10.
106. *Masseket Kutim*, no. 18 in J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 201.
107. *Jer. Ket.* 27a; *Jer. Dem.* 9.
108. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, 'The Structure of the National Community,' in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, pp. 275-7 and Emil Schürer, *The history*, vol. II, pp. 19 f.
109. *M. Qid.* 4:2 B.
110. *M. Qid.* 4:2 D.
111. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 330.
112. Cf. *T. Qid.* 4:16. For the detailed meaning of *mamzer*, see J. Jeremias, *loc. cit.*, pp. 337-42.
113. *Josh.* 9:27; *M. Qid.* 4:1 ff.
114. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 333.
115. See especially section F of this chapter.
116. For a general attitude of Jews in halakhah towards Gentiles, see Yehezkel Cohen, 'The Attitude to the Gentile in the Halakhah and in Reality in the Tannaitic Period.' The English Abstract on Cohen's Dissertation, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975. *Immanuel*, 9 (Winter 1979), pp. 32-41.
117. *B. Aboda Zara* 26b.

118. M. Sheb. 8:10 A.
119. See Adam Zertal, 'The Samaritans in the District of Caesarea', *Aerial*, 48 (1979), 98-116.
120. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 350.
121. Menachem Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhbah Revolt', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 19-24.
122. Paul Stenhouse, loc. cit., pp. 155-59; See also J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 91, n. 32.
123. Menachem Mor, loc. cit., pp. 20-27.
124. Aharon Oppenheimer, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt', *Immanuel*, 14 (Fall 1982), 72.
125. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 188 f.
126. Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, vol. VII (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 109 (hereafter *Caesarea*) and S. Safrai, 'The Era of the Mishnah and Talmud (70-640)', in *A History of the Jewish People*, edited by H. H. Ben-Sasson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 331; Alan D. Crown, 'The Samaritans in Byzantine Orbit', *BJRL*, 69/1 (Aut 1986), 98-99.
127. Menachem Mor, loc. cit., p. 30; See also idem., 'The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants', *JJS*, 36/2 (Autumn 1985), 200-209.
128. Adam Zertal, loc. cit., 98-116.
129. For the Jewish community in Caesarea, see Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea*, and idem., *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study*, *Qedem*, 2, 1975 (hereafter *Roman Caesarea*).
130. BJ. II, 268.
131. See L. I. Levine, *Caesarea*, pp. 24-26 and Saul Lieberman, 'The Martyrs of Caesarea', *JQR*, (1946), 239-53.
132. BJ. II, 457; VII, 362.
133. BJ. VII, 37-38.
134. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, pp. 296-97.
135. Ibid., p. 343.
136. L. I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, p. 40.

137. A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Second Edition (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 277. Martin Goodman [*The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 233] argues that the elevation of Caesarea as a capital city and the annexation of Caesarea with the area of Narbatene brought out the collapse of the ruling elite of Jews in Caesarea.
138. Eus., *HE*, iv, 6, 1.
139. Dio, lxi, 14, 1-2.
140. Chron. Pasch. I, 474.
141. Cf. L. I. Levine, *Caesarea*, p. 44.
142. See *ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
143. T. Hullin II, 13; Tosefet Rishonim II, 225.
144. L. I. Levine, *Caesarea.*, p. 45.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
146. J. Demai II, I, 22c.
147. L. I. Levine, *Caesarea*, pp. 63-67.
148. *Ibid.*, pp. 107 f.
149. Adam Zertal, *loc. cit.*, 96-116.
150. *Ibid.*, 108 and 110.
151. *Ibid.*, 110-111.
152. Jer. Aboda Zara, 5:44; Cf. B. Aboda Zara, 31a.
153. L. I. Levine, *Caesarea*, p. 107.
154. L. H. Schiffman, 'The Samaritans', 350; A. Zertal, *loc. cit.*, 108-110; M. Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhbah Revolt', 31.
155. See 'The Second Century: Caesarea as a Roman Colony', In Levine's *Caesarea*, pp. 34-45.
156. Cf. L. I. Levine, *ibid.*, pp. 63-68.
157. B. Megilla 6a.
158. T. Demai I, 11.

159. Menachem Mor, 'The Samaritans and the Bar-Kokhbah Revolt', p. 31.
160. Isaiah Sonne, 'The Use of Rabbinic Literature as Historical Sources', *JQR*, 36 (1945), 161.
161. See *ibid.*, 154-62 and also *idem.*, 'Word and Meaning--Text and Context', *JQR*, 37(1946-47), 311-13. Cf. Saul Lieberman, 'The Martyrs of Caesarea', *JQR*, 36 (1946), 239-53.
162. Isaiah Sonne, *loc. cit.*, 162, n. 27a.
163. *Ibid.*, 162.
164. See section D of Chapter III.
165. Masseket Kutim, no. 28 in J. A. Montgomery's *The Samaritans*, p.203.
166. For the final schism of the Samaritans, see footnotes 24 and 25 of the Introduction.

Chapter VII

SAMARITAN ORIGINS

IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS

Our sources concerning the Samaritans in the early Christian writings are limited to a small number of scattered descriptions, in the Gospels, Acts, and early patristic literature.¹ For example, the term *Samareites* in the New testament is used only once in Mt. 10:5 and Acts 8:25, three times in Luke, and finally four times in John. These uses reflect, mostly, the mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans. On the other hand, sources in patristic literature are almost passing references to indicate the Samaritan sects or to rephrase scriptural quotations. However, since the early Christian writings were formed under tension between Jews and Christians, and betray strong anti-Jewish feeling, the sources also may reflect the Christians' polemic against Jews. Hence, in order to understand the origin and the status of Samaritans in the early Christian writings, it is first necessary to review the relationship between Jews and Christians as well as between Samaritans and Christians in the period of the formation of the early Christian writings. Then, the nature of the identity as well as the status of the Samaritans which are reflected in the early Christian writings will be examined.

A. Jews and Christians

It may be argued that the messianic movement of Jesus and his followers was one of several streams within Judaism and that the earliest Christians as Jews, generally had a good relationship with the other Jewish people in the infancy of the movement.² But a number of slanderous remarks against each other in the Talmudic and the early Christian writings betrays the fact that the good relationship between Jews and Christians did not last long.³ If this was so, we can ask several questions: What was the reason for the antipathy between Jews and Christians? When did they come to a parting of the ways? How they did discriminate against each other? And finally, what was the place of the Samaritans in the mutual antipathy between Jews and Christians, or, what was the effect of this parting on the Samaritans? All these questions will be briefly discussed in this section.

1. Separation between Jews and Christians

As to the reason for the separation between Jews and the early Christians, some scholars suggest different interpretations on the Temple, Torah, and salvation of God.⁴ It seems that the early Jewish Christians disregarded the worship at the Temple. To them, the temple made with hands was not the dwelling place of God,⁵ but the place of idolatry of the apostate Jews.

Furthermore, the Jewish Christians might have considered the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. to be God's rejection of Jews, and have condemned their fellow Jews as rebellious, whereas the Tannaitic leaders regarded the fall of Jerusalem as a punishment for the people.⁶ Similarly, Torah, which was 'the complete revelation of the life of the holy community' was considered invalid as being a dead letter by early Christianity, while faith in the salvific role of Jesus was emphasized.⁷ According to Rosemary Radford Ruether, for example, it was the new principle of salvation by the early Jewish Christians that was the crux of the conflict between Jews and Christians.⁸

Other scholars, on the other hand, consider political factors to be more important than theological ones for the break between Jews and Christians.⁹ That is to say, the non-participation by Jewish Christians in the Jewish wars caused Jews to consider their fellow Jewish Christians differently. According to Eusebius,¹⁰ the Christian community in Jerusalem escaped to Pella in the Decapolis at the dawn of the first Jewish war and there they declared in favour of neutrality. It was from the last two decades of the first century A.D. that the Tannaitic authority denounced some fellow Jews including the Jewish Christians and Samaritans as heretics in the *Birkat ha-minim*.¹¹ It is probable that the Jewish Christians in Pella had returned to Jerusalem at this period.¹² Moreover, most scholars agree that the Jewish Christians

had not supported Jews during the revolt of Bar Cochba. According to Christian tradition, Bar Cochba ordered the punishment and even execution of Jewish Christians who did not join the army or who did not renounce Jesus Christ.¹⁴ Hence it has been contended that the refusal of Jewish Christians to participate in the Jewish wars, especially in the revolt of Bar Cochba, caused the final separation between Jews and Christians.

However, the fact that the early Christian messianic movement spread within the boundary of Judaism at first suggests that it could have been tolerated with the other heretical movements within the Jewish community.¹⁵ This again implies that the cause of the separation between Jews and Christians can not be fully explained by the theological factor alone. Likewise, it was not only the Jewish Christians who fled from Jerusalem, but also many eminent Jews abandoned the city as 'swimmers desert a sinking ship'.¹⁶ Even Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai was smuggled out of the besieged city to Yavneh.¹⁷ There were probably also Jewish pacifists and other opportunists who did not take part in the wars.¹⁸ Thus again it cannot be argued that non-cooperation of the Jewish Christians in the Jewish wars was the fundamental reason for the break between Jews and Christians. The above-mentioned arguments --theological and political factors--can therefore be accepted, not as the real cause of the break, but as additional elements which aggravated the relationship

between Jews and Christians.

What then was the real cause of the final separation between Jews and Christians? We can suggest the gentilization of Jewishness as the most likely reason for the break. As mentioned elsewhere,¹⁹ the first two centuries of the common era was the period of the paganization of native Jewish soil by the Roman empire. In other words, it was the period during which 'Israel's sense of identity' was challenged, not by 'a wide variety of haggadic and halakhic nonconformity within its midst',²⁰ but by gentilization and assimilation. At the same time, since Hadrian paganized Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina and prohibited Jews from entering the city, a considerable proportion of the Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem could not but be replaced by Gentile Christians, for prohibition was also applied to Jewish Christians.²¹ This change in the Jerusalem church brought about the gentilization of Jewish Christianity so rapidly that after the revolt of Bar Cochba, Christianity was no longer Jewish but Gentile.²² Moreover Gentile Christians were not concerned with Jewish laws, customs and religion. As its followers were no longer Jewish people, so Christianity no longer remained within the boundary of Judaism. Hence this writer would agree with Douglas R. A. Hare in maintaining that:

Early Christian preaching, with its christological

exegesis of the scriptures, may have aroused ridicule and/or disgust in Jewish hearers, but in itself it was not designed to produce that kind of hostility which resulted in the *Birkath ha-Minim* and the total separation of church and synagogue. The causes of that hostility were multiple, but they converged around the central issue of Jewish distinctiveness in an alien world. By subordinating all the primary symbols of Jewish identity--Torah, temple, circumcision, Sabbath, food laws-- to a rank below the central Christian symbol of the crucified and risen Jesus, Christian Jews challenged ethnic solidarity too severely to be tolerated. By accepting Gentiles as brothers and sisters in the faith apart from circumcision and Torah, these Jews appeared to the majority as apostates who were breaching the dike that had been so painstakingly erected against gentilization and assimilation. 23

Therefore it can be concluded that the final break between Jews and Christians was provoked by the gentilization of Jewish Christians. In addition, it should be briefly mentioned that the gentilization of the Jewish Christians, as well as the break between the two groups, were related to the foreign policy of the Roman empire. 24

2. The Jewish Attitude

How did the Jews and the Christians discriminate against each other? In the first place, let us examine the Jewish attitude towards the Christians. *Birkat ha-minim* can be suggested as one of the official denunciations of the Tannaitic authority against (Jewish) Christians. The 'Blessing concerning the *minim*' is the twelfth liturgical piece of the 'eighteen benedictions' or '*amidah*' which was recited three times a day on weekdays. It is more than probable that '*amidah*' was edited at Yavneh not long after

the destruction of the Second Temple. In the Palestine recension of Genizah fragments *Birkat ha-minim* reads as follows:

For the apostates let there be no hope. And let the arrogant government be speedily uprooted in our days. Let the *nosrim* and the *minim* be destroyed in a moment. And let them be blotted out of the Book of Life and not be inscribed together with the righteous. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant.²⁷

The original wording of the 'amidah as well as the exact meaning of the terms *nosrim* and *minim* are still debatable.²⁸ Current scholarly consensus favours the view that the synagogal prayer was a malediction against Jewish Christians and that this can be regarded as a definite break between Jews and Christians in the first century A.D.²⁹ However, Reuven Kimelman suggests that *minim* does not refer to Gentile Christians but to all Jewish sectarians including Jewish Christians,³⁰ and the term *nosrim*, which is unlikely to be a later interpolation,³¹ refers to Nazoraeans. Thus he translates *ha-nasrim ve-ha-minim* as 'the Nazoraeans who are the *minim* (i.e., heretics of our day)'.³² He concludes, therefore, that *Birkat ha-minim* could not have effected the final separation between Jews and Christians.³³ Asher Finkel also argues that *minim* are Jewish heretics who were associated with schismatics, separatists, rejecters of the Torah, and dualistic Gnostics.³⁴ On the other hand, he insists that *minim* are not synonymous with Jewish

Christians, and *nosrim* is a later addition in the original text.³⁵ According to him, it was after the revolt of Bar Cochba that the definition of *minim* was changed.³⁶ Hence Finkel concludes that Yavneh's liturgy did not formulate an anti-Jewish Christian prayer, but constituted the test for 'those schismatics who denied the doctrine of resurrection and the hope of restoration of Jerusalem'.³⁷

However, if we bear in mind that the first two centuries A.D. were the period of paganization which threatened the existence of Jewishness, it may be argued that the original purpose of *Birkat ha-minim* was to have all Jews confirm their identity as Jewish people everyday and to protect them from the plague of *minim*.³⁸ The *minim* were to be separated or excluded from the Jewish community. According to Alon, the main intention of *Birkat ha-minim* was 'to make all Jews aware of the fact that the Minim were to be regarded as apostates, and could no longer be called Jews'.³⁹ However, given the facts that the definition of *minim* was changed after the Bar Cochba revolt, and that the terms *nosrim* and the *minim* were primarily directed against Jewish Christians, we can conclude that *Birkat ha-minim* could be regarded as amounting to voluntary exclusion of the Christians from the synagogue,⁴⁰ and as open discrimination even against Gentile Christians who began to flourish from that time.⁴¹

The other possible condemnation against the Christians is

the official instruction which was issued from the Jewish authority to the diaspora at the end of the first century.⁴² According to the Church Fathers, the letter contained a formal denial on the teaching and resurrection of Jesus, who was a deceiver; it laid charges against Jesus' disciples who had stolen his body and spread the rumour that Jesus was risen from the dead, and it contained a copy of the *Birkat ha-minim* and an order to have no fellowship with Christians. Thus James Parkes thinks that the letter was a 'dignified but firm denunciation of the Christians'.⁴³

3. The Christian Attitude

It is still a matter of scholarly debate as to whether the Gospels of Matthew and John were written as a Christian response to the rabbinic Judaism of Yavneh.⁴⁴ However, the animosity of Christians towards Jewish people is clearly seen in the New Testament as well as in the early patristic writings. As James Parkes indicates, the accusations of the early Christian writers towards Jews would be more vehement and more voluminous than those of the Jews towards Christianity.⁴⁵ Hence in this part we will briefly sketch out the picture of Jews which emerges in the theme of their rejection in the early Christian writings.

Firstly, the main theme of the discrimination against Jews

in the early Christian writings can be summarized as the negation of Jews.⁴⁶ That is to say, Jews were rejected by God because they denied the messiahship of Jesus and murdered him. They rejected the Gospel. They also killed the prophets because Jews were rebellious and ignorant of the teachings of the Scriptures. The consequence was the rejection of the Jews and the election of the Gentiles. The idea of the rejection of the Jews was, then, antedated⁴⁷ even to the beginning of the history of human beings.

Alongside this negation of Jews, it may be suggested that one of the most severe denouncements against Jews in the early Christian writings was the malicious usage of the term *ethne* in the Fourth Gospel.⁴⁸ The term *ethnos* or *ethne* refers to all peoples, in the general sense, including the Jewish people.⁴⁹ At the same time *ethne* clearly refers to Gentiles as distinct from the Jews or Christians.⁵⁰ However it is interesting to find in the Fourth Gospel the term *ethne* does not refer to Gentiles, but to the Jews because of anti-Jewish bias. In their denial of the faith in Jesus Christ the Jews are discriminated against as *ethne*.⁵¹ The anti-Jewish attitude in the Fourth Gospel is also evidenced in the usage of the term 'Jews'. According to the description of the Jews in the Gospel, they are equated with 'darkness' or 'this world'.⁵² They are ignorant of the Scriptures⁵³ as well as unbelievers in God.⁵⁴ Hence they tried to kill Jesus⁵⁵ and put anyone who believed in Jesus as Messiah out of the

56
synagogue. Even worse, the Jews are described in allusions to devil, murderer, liar, and sinners in 8: 44-45.

You belong to your father, the devil, and you want to carry out your father's desire. He was a murderer from the beginning, not holding to the truth, for there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks his native language, for he is a liar and the father of lies.

It may be correct that the original Fourth Gospel did not have any anti-Jewish tradition, if we accept the scholarly consensus that the earlier edition of the Fourth Gospel was formed at different stages with different hands within a Johannine circle.⁵⁷ According to the reports of the Fourth Gospel,⁵⁸ Jesus was a Jew,⁵⁹ addressed as rabbi,⁶⁰ and had many Jewish followers. Therefore, the anti-Jewish sources would have been inserted into the original text when the tension between Jews and the Johannine community broke out and, as a consequence, they were expelled from the synagogue community.⁶¹ If we consider the date of editing of the liturgical piece of *Birkat ha-minim* at Yavneh as well as that of the edition of the Fourth Gospel in the first century,⁶² it would seem that the Johannine community no longer considered itself Jewish at the end of the first century A.D. There is no doubt that originally the derogatory usage of the terms *ethne* and *Ioudaios* in the Fourth Gospel resulted from inter-Jewish tension. However, as Townsend writes, 'the anti-

Jewish teaching of the Fourth Gospel did not stop with its final redaction. John soon became one of the most influential writings in the early Church'.⁶³ Therefore, we can understand that the discrimination against fellow Jews by the Johannine community could soon be transformed into that of Gentile Christians against Jews with the canonization of the Gospel. In this light it is clear that the early church had the same tradition as the Fourth Gospel. Jews and Gentiles in Paul are alike in rejecting Christ (1Cor. 1:23).

B. Samaritans and Christians

The question then arises as to where was the place of the Samaritans amidst the mutual antagonism between Jews and Christians. This will be discussed, in detail, in the next section. Here we will give an outline concerning the attitude of the Samaritans towards the earliest Christians. Then the evangelization of Samaria will be discussed for the attitude of the earliest Christians towards the Samaritans.

1. The Samaritan Attitude

The attitude of the Samaritans towards the earliest Christians is seen to be ambivalent in the New Testament. At first, the Samaritans were definitely hostile towards the earliest Christians. The Samaritans at a certain

village did not welcome Jesus and his disciples when they were on a journey to Jerusalem.⁶⁴ The Samaritan woman also at Jacob's well did not willingly give Jesus a drink.⁶⁵ However, the New Testament gives a different picture of the Samaritans who had a friendly relationship with the earliest Christians by accepting the Gospel of Jesus. The evangelist of the Fourth Gospel describes the acceptance of Jesus by the Samaritans as 'many of the Samaritans from the town believed in him...'⁶⁶ 'They' even 'urged him to stay with them'.⁶⁷ In addition, 'many more Samaritans became believers' through Jesus' teaching.⁶⁸ Finally the evangelist concludes the story with the statement that the Samaritans confessed Jesus as 'the Saviour of the world'.⁶⁹ Likewise, it is said in Acts 8 that there was great joy in a certain Samaritan town, when Philip proclaimed the Christ to them.⁷⁰ It is likely that all this gives an impression that there arose a sudden change in the attitude of the Samaritans towards the Christians: from rejection to acceptance. However, we need to observe that Samaritans' acceptance of Jesus is always described in parallel with Jews' rejection of Jesus. Interestingly, analysing the geographical symbolism of the Fourth Gospel, Wayne A Meeks suggests Jerusalem as 'the place of judgment and rejection', and Galilee and Samaria as 'the places of acceptance and discipleship'.⁷¹ This is then followed by Purvis.⁷² But he emphasizes 'acceptance of Jews in Samaria (iv 39-42)'⁷³ more than their acceptance of in Galilee, while Meeks

underestimates Samaria as having a smaller rôle than Galilee in the Fourth Gospel.⁷⁴ Purvis argues that 'Jesus is not rejected by Jews to be accepted by Gentiles, but accepted by Israelites (i.e. Samaritans and Galileans) to be rejected by Jews.⁷⁵ In this sense Meeks and Purvis contend that the term *Israelite* may refer to Galilean Jews such as Nathaniel (1:47) or to Samaritans in contrast with unbelieving Judaeans, and that the Galileans are equated with the Samaritans in John.⁷⁶ However, in the Fourth Gospel it is likely that Nathaniel appears in contrast, not with unbelieving Judaeans, but simply with unbelieving Jews in general. If this is so, the term *Israelite* may refer, not to Galileans or Samaritans, but to the members of the Johannine community. This will be discussed later. In any case, if we turn to the main point, it is evident that the acceptance of Jesus by the Samaritans in John 4 is contrasted with the Jews' rejection of Jesus. Likewise, Luke depicts the good Samaritan (10:33) as a Christian ethical model in contrast with the Jewish leaders who failed in the demonstration of God's command to love one's neighbour. In the same way the Samaritan leper (Lk. 17:15-18), who praised God and thanked Jesus, is contrasted with the other nine ungrateful Jews. Finally, according to Acts 8:1, the evangelization in Samaria was provoked by the the Jewish persecution of the church at Jerusalem. Hence the sources in the New Testament may lead us to conclude that the attitude of the Samaritans towards the earliest Christians is somewhat

coloured by the Christian bias against Jews.

The other Samaritan attitude towards the earliest Christians is found in the description of Jesus and his disciples in the Samaritan chronicles. In 1971 John Macdonald published an extract from the Samaritan chronicle no. II,⁷⁷ which deals with the earliest history of Christianity such as the birth and death of Jesus, his twelve disciples, John the Baptist, Paul, and the evangelists. He argues for the text being composed of 'at least two main sources'. The first is the earlier source which 'makes no obviously critical remarks about Jesus', whereas the second, later source in verses 2b, 3c-4, 5c-6, 7b-c, 9, 16 clearly expresses a critical attitude to the earliest Christians.⁷⁸ In addition, Macdonald suggests verses 81-85 which demonstrate 'Samaritan non-participation in the condemnation of Jesus' as atypical of the Samaritans.⁷⁹ The text is:

Now Jesus the Nazarene did not consult the community of the Samaritan Israelites at any time in his life. He did not stand in their way, nor did they stand in his. They did not impose upon him, nor he on them in any way. He was, however, the subject of vengeance on the part of his own people, his own community, from whom he rose, that is, the Judaist community. They hated him wholeheartedly, so much so that they were the cause of his execution, his crucifixion.⁸⁰

The above-mentioned arguments, however, have been questioned by Stanley Isser.⁸¹ In his article, 'Jesus in the Samaritan chronicles', Isser proposes four different

patterns of strata instead of two sources: (a) early (pre-medieval) source based on earlier traditions in relation to the New Testament, apocryphal, and patristic writings; (b) Addenda from the New Testament and other works; (c) Editorial insertions for an apologetic purpose; (d) Corrections.⁸² Isser then argues that verses 81-85 in the chronicle no. II are later editorial insertions which may reflect the contemporary historical situations during the period⁸³ of the Crusaders or modern European travellers. Hence he considers the verses as serving to protect Samaritans themselves from such a historical context. According to Isser, their attitude is 'not so much neutrality toward Jesus and the early Church, as protectiveness toward the Samaritans and hostility toward the Jews'.⁸⁴ As mentioned elsewhere,⁸⁵ if we remember the eclecticism of the Samaritans, we can conclude that Isser is probably correct in his argument.

On the other hand, in order to discuss the Samaritan attitude towards the Christians, Isser turns his attention to the passage which describes Jesus as *he called himself* a prophet.⁸⁶ Comparing the passage with those in the Old Testament, New Testament, and patristic writings, he suggests that the passage implies the fact that 'Jesus is placed in the same category as the Old Testament prophets, i.e., false prophets'.⁸⁷ Hence he concludes that the passage 'could have been regarded with disdain, whether or not a chronicler actually added explicit words of

condemnation'.⁸⁸ It may be argued that the passage expresses the negative attitude of the Samaritans to the Christians. However, it is not still clear how far the Samaritan tradition goes back in their history, although Macdonald believes that Chronicle II is 'particularly valuable for the Roman period and for its knowledge of Christian literature'.⁸⁹ Furthermore there has been a strong scholarly doubt as to the historical reliability of the Samaritan chronicles. For example, according to Z. Ben-Hayyim, the Chronicle II is a compilation made at the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore we need to be cautious about accepting the material in the Samaritan chronicles.⁹⁰

2. The Evangelization of Samaria

It is likely that Jesus, according to Mt. 10:5f.,⁹¹ instructed his disciples to not preach to non-Jews during his lifetime and limited his own activity to Israel. However, despite the Matthaean prohibition which Jesus gave to his disciples as 'Do not enter any town of the Samaritans', the existence of Samaritan Christians is evinced in John 4:39-42, Acts 8:1-25, 9:31, and 15:3. At the same time, the frequent references concerning the Samaritan heresiarchs in patristic writings as well as the constant exertions of the early church to have the Samaritans converted (cf. Acts 13:9-13) would make it possible to deduce the existence of Samaritan Christians.

Archaeological findings, although they are not adequate for the moment, also support the evidence of the presence of the Samaritan Christians.⁹² Then, in relation to the problem of the Christian attitude towards the Samaritans, questions arise as to when and how the Samaritans were evangelized and as to who preached the gospel to them.

According to Acts 8, it was a persecution against the church at Jerusalem that inaugurated the mission in Samaria after the death of Stephen. It says, 'all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judaea and Samaria... Those who had been scattered preached the word wherever they went'.⁹³ It was then that Philip, one of the seven, went down to Samaria and had the Samaritans converted.⁹⁴ The apostles in Jerusalem, later on, sent Peter and John to confirm the mission in Samaria.⁹⁵ On the other hand, in John 4 the mission in Samaria is described as being already begun in the lifetime of Jesus.

It is a matter of scholarly debate as to whether the earliest Christians already contained the Samaritan element before they started the mission in Samaria and, especially, as to whether Acts 7 and John 4 have a Samaritan influence.⁹⁶

Oscar Cullmann argues that the evangelist of the Fourth Gospel in John 4 demonstrates that 'the sowing (John 4) and the reaping (the future mission in Samaria) go back to

97
Jesus'. However, he suggests that there was a link
between the Johannine community who had the converted
Samaritans and the Hellenists of Acts, and that it was the
Hellenists who evangelized the region of Samaria. 98
As to
the reason why the Christians chose the region of Samaria
as their mission place, he suggests the common negative
attitude to the Jerusalem Temple and the mutual sympathy
between the Hellenists and the Samaritans under the Jewish
persecution. 99
At the same time, he believes that the
Hellenists and the Johannine circle were already increased
by the affiliation of converted Samaritans as well as
other Jewish heterodox groups before the mission to
Samaria. 100
That is to say, this can be added as an
another reason for the successful mission of the
Christians in Samaria.

However, according to Robin Scroggs, the earliest church
in Jerusalem consisted of the Jewish-centred church and
the Gentile-centred church. 101
It was, then, the Gentile-
centred/Hellenistic church that conducted a mission to
Samaria. 102
Stephen was a leader of the Hellenistic
church and his speech was 'a fragment of a Christian
proclamation to the Samaritans'. 103
But Stephen's
rejection of the Temple caused his own death as well as
the Jewish persecution against the Hellenistic church. 104
Scroggs believes that it was the same anti-temple feeling
between the Hellenists and the Samaritans that brought
about the successful mission in Samaria. 105

On the other hand, a number of scholars argue for the influence of Samaritanism on the Fourth Gospel.¹⁰⁶ John Bowman¹⁰⁷ believes that the Gospel was designed for the conversion of the Samaritans. According to his argument, the Fourth Gospel 'sets out the teaching of Jesus in a way that would make it more attractive to the Samaritans ... it professes that even Jews regarded it as such'.¹⁰⁸ Indicating the similarity between Jesus' teaching and that of the prophet Ezekiel such as one flock/one shepherd and water/spirit, Bowman thinks that the evangelist of the Fourth Gospel tried to depict Jesus as the fulfillment of all Israel's hope.¹⁰⁹ It was just as Ezekiel had envisioned the unification of divided Israel. Hence Bowman concludes that the purpose of the Gospel was to 'make a bridge between Samaritans and Jews in Christ'.¹¹⁰

Bowman's thesis is followed by E. D. Freed.¹¹¹ He argues that the purpose of the Gospel writings was, if not to make a bridge between Samaritans and Jews in Christ, then 'to make Christianity ... appeal to Samaritans as well as to Jews in the hope of winning converts from both'.¹¹² G. W. Buchanan¹¹³ suggests that the term *Israelite* in the Gospel of John was referring to the Samaritans. He thinks that the evangelist, John, was the apostle in charge of the mission in Samaria, and that the Gospel was produced by Samaritan Christians.¹¹⁴ But, C. H. H. Scobie contends that the Gospel emanated from the 'Galilean and Samaritan-

Christian community, stemming from the Stephen-Philip¹¹⁵ movement'. For the term *Israel* Scobie suggests that it 'may be intended more an ideal term' for the¹¹⁶ eschatological reunion between Jews and Samaritans. Finally Gerard S. Sloyan believes that the Fourth Gospel, which was formed on the ground of tension between north and south, was to 'teach wisdom to the learned of the¹¹⁷ South, *hoi Ioudaioi*, the Judeans'.

Bowman considers the theme of one flock and one shepherd in John 10 as an influence from the prophet Ezekiel and as¹¹⁸ implying the reunion of Jews and Samaritans. However, elsewhere this writer argues that it was not the remnant in the land of Israel, but those people in exile who are emphasized in the prophetic passages for the future¹¹⁹ restoration between Israel and Judah. In other words, the remaining Jewish people in the former Israelite territory are not considered as a part of Israel. In addition, it is evident that in the Jewish writings the Samaritans are always under suspicion with regard to their origins and they are never regarded as being a body which represents the northern Israelites. Hence it is not likely, as Bowman argues, that in John 10 the evangelist hopes for the reunification of Northern Israel and Judah. If we accept that '*aposynagogos*' (9:22, 12:42, cf. 16:2) is, as the cursing of heretics, no mere excommunication but total expulsion from the national and religious fellowship of the Jews, a result of the *birkat ha-*

120
minim, it can be argued that John 10 expresses simply the tension between the earliest Christians and unbelieving Jews.

Likewise, it may be argued that, as Buchanan suggests, the term *Israel* was still used in the New Testament era as denoting the Northern Israel.¹²¹ Alternatively, however, it can be argued that the term *Israel* generally emphasizes the religious aspect of the Jewish people as 'God's chosen people' or polemic usage against other groups.¹²² It is of interest to see the use of the term *Israelites* from Delos inscriptions such as: 'The Israelites on Delos who make offering to hallowed *Argarizein*...' ¹²³ This suggests that a well-organized Samaritan community was established on the island of Delos in the second century B.C. The question then arises as to the using of the term *Israelites* by the Samaritan community on Delos. A. T. Kraabel¹²⁴ thinks that the term implies 'those from (the Northern Kingdom) Israel'. At the same time he explains the reason why the Samaritans are using the term *Israelites* as follows:

they [the Samaritans] are using the term ... to lay claim to it, lest the Jews on Delos gain full possession of it. The fact that both inscriptions refer to "Israelites" associated with Mount Gerizim may indicate that this has already occurred. Without the reference to Gerizim most Delians might have thought that these "Israelites" were Jews. 125

It seems that Kraabel argues that the Samaritans were

using the term to avoid confusing the Delians as to their identity. They did not want to be confused with the other groups. However, if we understand that the Samaritans on Delos were keeping their self-designation as 'Israelites' amidst the other groups including the Jewish people, the term may be explained not as the derivative appellation that the Samaritans come from the Northern Kingdom of Israel, or not as simply giving 'a religious and ethnic communal identity',¹²⁶ but as a polemic usage against the other groups. It may be argued, as L. Michael White does, that 'on Delos' in the phrase of 'the Israelites on Delos', reflects to the ethnic status of the Samaritans.¹²⁷ At the same time, it may also be correct to argue the term *Israelite* as emphasizing the Samaritans' own claim as they are the true worshippers of God on Mt. Gerizim. If we consider the strong hostility of Jews towards the Samaritans in the second century B.C., it can be safely argued that the term *Israelite* was the Samaritan polemic against the other groups including the Jewish people.

Similarly, we can suggest the use of the term *Israel* on the coins minted during the Bar Cochba War as evidence of a polemic usage of the term *Israel* by the Jews as against the dominant Gentiles. According to Leo Mildenberg, the reason for the creation of Bar Cochba coinage definitely lay in the desire of Jewish revolutionaries to proclaim their independence and propaganda, alongside the need for

money. Thus he concludes that:

Finally the real reason for the Bar Kokhba coinage emerges from beneath the need for money and the simple desire for state propaganda. With a political astuteness to match Hadrian's, Bar Kosiba and his men chose coins, the best mass media of the time, to publicize loudly and proudly the national and cultural rebirth of the Jewish state. Written in the old script and proclaimed in the Jew's own language, the coin legends became eloquently assertive: "Year One of the Redemption of Israel," "Year 2 of the Freedom of Israel," and last, but not least, "For the Freedom of Jerusalem." 129

Here the inscription 'Israel' clearly demonstrates the morale of the Jewish rebels as the chosen people of God. Hence it may be argued that the terms 'Israel' or 'Israelite' was also used polemically among the Jews, Samaritans, and Christians.

If the above argument is accepted, it is then unlikely that in the Fourth Gospel the terms, *Israel* (1:31, 49, 3:10, 12:13) and *Israelite* (1:47) refer specifically to the northern Israelites or Samaritans in contrast to the *Ioudaioi* who worshipped at Jerusalem. Rather, it is likely that the term *Israel* is used polemically to claim the legitimacy of the earliest Christian movement against orthodox Judaism. Nicodemus, a member of the Jewish ruling council (3:1) as well as a teacher of Israel (3:10), is contrasted with a Samaritan woman. What is intended in the given text is that the author of John firstly tries to negate the Jewish and Samaritan claims on their legitimacy as true Israelites. The acceptance of

the Gospel by the Samaritans is then introduced in comparison with the rejection of Jesus by Jews. These matters will be discussed in a next section. In any case, in this sense the term 'king of Israel' (1:49, 12:13) may imply Jesus as the Lord of spiritual Israel. Likewise, it is not likely that the term *Ioudaioi* means simply the Judaeans in South in contrast to the people in Samaria. In the Fourth Gospel the term is used in various ways. In the positive usage of the term it is employed for referring to the Jews who have a special responsibility for the salvation of God¹³⁰ or who believe in Jesus as Christ.¹³¹ Furthermore Jesus is also described as a Jew. On the other hand, the term as an adjective refers to the Jewish land or custom.¹³² But in the places where the term is used as describing the hostile attitude of Jews to Jesus, it implies generally opponents of Jesus.

In conclusion, it is most plausible to argue, as Purvis tentatively proposes, that the purpose of the Gospel was 'essentially self-serving to the community which produced it' in order to strengthen the faith of its members in Jesus Christ.¹³³ Hence it may be argued that the passages in Acts and John explain the legitimacy of transferring the Christian mission from Jews to Gentiles, regardless of whether we accept the Samaritan influence on Acts and John. In other words, the Samaritans might have been employed for a Christian polemic against Jews. In this sense it seems evident that the earliest Christians had an

ambivalent attitude towards the Samaritans. This is clearly expressed in the following points: (a) the contradictory attitude of the earliest Church in the Synoptic traditions towards the Samaritans and Gentiles; (b) the bewildered attitude of Jesus' disciples to Jesus who is talking with a Samaritan woman and the use of the circumlocution *alloi* for those who evangelized Samaria; (c) the suspicious attitude of the apostles in Jerusalem to the mission in Samaria; finally (d) the contradictory attitude concerning the Samaritans as 'the guardian of the Law' and as 'the idolators' in patristic writings. These will be discussed in detail in the next section in respect to the identity and status of the Samaritans in the early Christian writings.

C. Samaritans in the Early Christian Writings

In this section we will see how the above mentioned hostilities between Jews and Christians did affect the relationship between Samaritans and Christians. As well, the following questions will be examined: how did the early Christian writers portray the Samaritans? In other words, what can we know of the origins of the Samaritans from the early Christians writings? Finally, what tradition did the early Christian writers have concerning the Samaritans?

1. Matthew

According to Mt. 10:5f., Jesus commands his disciples to 'go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.' For the nature of this negative instruction of Jesus, some scholars argue that it reflects the historical fact that the earliest Christian mission before the resurrection of Jesus was in fact limited to Jews. On the other hand, others think that it was only to emphasize the mission to Jews first.¹³⁵ O. Cullmann, for example, sees the command as 'respect for the purpose of God that salvation should begin among the Jews (John 4:22)'.¹³⁶

Alternatively, N.T. exegetes who regard the Samaritans as the descendants of foreigners from the various places of Mesopotamia consider Mt. 10:5f. as showing racial prejudice,¹³⁷ or as illustrating the exclusive standpoint of early Jewish Christianity to non-Jews.¹³⁸ Whereas others think that Jesus' prohibition was to prevent the animosity of his disciples towards the Samaritans and that the Samaritans would have been regarded as being among 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel.'¹³⁹ However, if we take notice of the usage of the term Samaritans, as in the case of Mishnah, after the term Gentiles, it is possible to argue that it was intended to express the lower status of the Samaritans.¹⁴⁰ In that case, the use of the term is evidently pejorative. Nevertheless, the

juxtaposition of Gentiles, Samaritans, and the house of Israel demonstrates that the Samaritans are being considered here as *Mittelding* rather than as non-Israelites.¹⁴¹ However, if we accept that the earliest Jerusalem church was composed of both of the Jewish-centred church and the Gentile-centred church,¹⁴² then it can be argued that Mt. 10:5 f. betrays the attitude of the Jewish-centred church towards the Gentiles, including the Samaritans.

The question arises as to what tradition Matthew follows concerning the origins of the Samaritans. We know that Josephus regards the Samaritans as *Mittelding* who change their attitude according to circumstance. According to him, the Samaritans stand on their rights as kinsmen of the Jews whenever they think that it would be advantageous for them to have connexion with Jews. However they would no longer admit that they were the same race or they had a friendly relationship with Jews when they see the Jews in trouble.¹⁴³ Similarly, as discussed elsewhere, we have evidence that the Tannaitic leaders also considered the Samaritans as *Mittelding*.¹⁴⁴ Hence we can understand this was one of the Jewish traditions concerning the Samaritans and it was this Jewish view that Matthew follows in 10:5 f. which considers the existence of the Samaritans as an embarrassment.

On the other hand, scholars have contended that the

command of 10:5 f. does not necessarily mean 'a purely geographical limitation of the mission of the disciples to Galilee'.¹⁴⁵ However, if we bear in mind that the foreigners such as Greeks, Syrians, Romans as well as the Samaritans settled in the compound in specific areas in the first and second centuries,¹⁴⁶ and also that the terms Gentiles and Samaritans are used in contrast with the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel', Jesus' prohibition according to Matthew may be understood to allude to a strong anti-Samaritan feeling and a geographical limitation on the missionary activity by the earliest Jewish-centred church.¹⁴⁷ Therefore we can conclude that Matthew evinces the mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans of his period, and also the traditional Jewish view concerning the Samaritans.

2. Luke-Acts

Another tradition concerning the Samaritans in the early Christian writings is that they were foreigners. The narrative of Samaritan opposition (Lk. 9:51-56) may suggest that the reporter of the Gospel was acquainted with the incident at Gema during the period of Cumanus.¹⁴⁸ According to Josephus, one of the Galilaean pilgrims going up to the festival of Jerusalem was murdered at Gema and the resulting riot between Jews and Samaritans was followed by the execution of three eminent Samaritans by the order of Caesar. Samaritans would not have forgotten

this incident, for it is said that the reason why Jesus was opposed by Samaritans was not because he was a Jew, but simply because he was heading to Jerusalem. ¹⁴⁹ Therefore, there is no doubt that the story betrays the contemporary mutual animosity between Jews and Samaritans. Moreover, the mutual antagonism which is reflected in the rejection of Jesus by the Samaritans and in the hostile retort of the disciples to the behaviour of the Samaritans indicates that the disciples of Jesus, having a Jewish ethnic and religious background, followed the conventional Jewish discrimination against the Samaritans on the grounds that latter were the descendants of foreigners. This is repeated in the use of the term Samaritan in the parable of the Good Samaritan and in the narrative of the Samaritan leper.

The parable of the Good Samaritan has been interpreted in such various ways --as allegorical, Christological, ecclesio-logical, sacramental, soteriological and so on-- that the exposition of the figure of the Samaritan in the parable has differed according to each exegesis. ¹⁵⁰ However, we do not need to discuss here all the different biblical criticisms. Rather we will concentrate on the status and identity of the Samaritan in the parable. Firstly, it would seem that the appearance of the Samaritan in the parable is too illogical and unnatural to be fitted into the contemporary situation of the Samaritans. Joseph Halévy suggested that in the original

source the triad was not priest, Levite, Samaritan but
priest, Levite, Israelite.¹⁵¹ This conclusion was
accepted by C. G. Montefiore.¹⁵² Another point is that,
in order to demonstrate the universalistic character of
Pharisees in contrast with the character of the Samaritan
in the parable, I. Abrahams referred to the collocation
'priest, Levite, Israelite', found in the Sifrâ on
Leviticus 18:5.¹⁵³ According to Abrahams, the teaching of
the Pharisees would embrace all human beings including
even a pagan, who keeps the law in his heart.¹⁵⁴ It is
worth observing that a Gentile is contrasted with the
collocation of 'priest, Levite, Israelite'. This will be
discussed later. In any case, the comment runs like this:

Which if a man do. Rabbi Jeremiah was wont to say:
Whence does one infer that even a heathen who
performs the Law is accounted as a High Priest? The
text proves this, when it says, "which, if a man do,
he shall live by them." Similarly, the Scripture
says: "This is the law" -- it does not say "This is
the law of Priest, Levites, and Israel," but "This is
the law of man, O Lord God" (2 Sam. vii. 19). Thus
also the text does not say 'Open ye the gates that
Priests, Levites and Israelites may enter,' but "Open
ye the gates, that the righteous heathen which
keepeth truth (or faithfulness) may enter in" (Isaiah
xxvi. 2). Similarly the Psalmist (cxviii. 21) does
not say: "This is the gate of the Lord; Priests,
Levites, and Israelites shall enter into it," but,
"This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall
enter into it." So, too, with Ps. xxxiii. 1, the
call is not to Priests, Levites and Israelites, but
to the righteous to rejoice in the Lord. Nor does
the text (Ps. cxxv. 4) say: "Do good, O Lord, unto
Priests, Levites and Israelites," but "Do good, O
Lord, unto those that be good, and to them that are
upright in their hearts." Hence even a heathen who
performs the law is accounted as a High Priest. 155

As discussed above, in the original material the triad was

perhaps 'priest, Levite, Israelite' and this sequence would be logical in the real setting of the Jewish community. However that may be, considering the ethical or theological intention of the parable of the Good Samaritan, it is also understandable that the appearance of the Samaritan in the parable dramatizes its effect as a story and that, moreover, the very status and identity of the Samaritan increases the effect of the story which the evangelist of the Gospel intended to have on his readers. According to Fitzmyer, the Samaritan was a schismatic, who is contrasted with 'Law-inspired insouciance of two representatives of the official Jewish cult,...'¹⁵⁶ He argues that the depiction of the Samaritan as a schismatic shows the ethical model of Lucan universalism. Hence the parable may be interpreted as atypical of the contemporary mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans.¹⁵⁷

However, the similarity between the parable of the Good Samaritan and the Pharisaic one in respect of literary style and theology, then the Samaritan in the Lucan parable can be regarded as a foreigner rather than a schismatic. As mentioned before, it is not hard to find in the Pharisaic materials a contrast between an Israelite and a pagan in order to admonish the former.¹⁵⁸ I. Abrahams refers to a Pharisaic story from the Talmud which puts forward a foreigner as the model of love towards his parents.¹⁵⁹ If this argument is accepted, it would seem that the Lucan parable describes the Samaritan as a

foreigner within the structure of its theology that Jews rejected Jesus, whereas Gentiles accepted him. Therefore, it may be argued that the purpose of the parable is not so much 'an implicit condemnation of race prejudice', as Cullmann argues, but as propaganda for the mission in Samaria.¹⁶⁰ That the Samaritans were foreigners is more clearly expressed in the story of the Samaritan leper.

The passage, 17:18,¹⁶¹ about the Samaritan who gives thanks for the healing of his leprosy states: 'Was no one found to return and give praise to God except this foreigner (*allogenes*)?'. It can presumably be argued that Luke adopts here, theologically, a local Jerusalem tradition which was going to justify the Samaritan mission undertaken by certain group in the early church.¹⁶²

Moreover, the term *allogenes* was probably used to support the early church's theologizing of the mission to the Gentiles in that God rejected Jews and elected Gentiles.¹⁶³ At the same time, it is clear that Luke follows the traditional Jewish view that the Samaritans had foreign origins. According to the view, the Samaritans were the descendants of the Median and Persian colonists and were called, contemptuously, Cuthaeans.

Finally, it may be argued that the use of the term Samaritans in Acts corresponds with that of Luke's Gospel.¹⁶⁴ It was the Jewish persecution against the church in Jerusalem that caused the evangelization of

Samaria (8:1). According to Acts, Philip preached the word of God to the Samaritans (8:5) and the news that Samaria was evangelized was reported to the council of the apostles in Jerusalem (8:14). Then, the fact that the Samaritans accepted the word of God might have been so embarrassing to the apostles in Jerusalem that the council sent Peter and John to Samaria in order to confirm the truth of a report (8:14). On the other hand, the apostles' attitude may demonstrate the attitude of the earliest Christians/Jews towards the Samaritans. They considered the Samaritans as Gentiles who were deemed to have no eligibility to share anything with the Jews. It may be argued that this is expressed in Acts 15:3, saying, 'as they [Paul and Barnabas] travelled through Phoenicia and Samaria, they told how the *ethnoi* had been converted'. It is worth observing that Samaria is used in parallel with Phoenicia, the Gentile territory and the term *ethnos*. In brief, we can conclude that the Samaritans in Luke-Acts are treated with the early Christian bias against the Jews, and that the Samaritans, in this context, are regarded as foreigners or Gentiles.

3. John

Of the total usages of the term 'Samaritan' in the New Testament, over half are found in the Fourth Gospel, especially, in the long dialogue of Jesus with the Samaritan woman. It seems that they betray, in general,

the contemporaneous circumstance of reciprocal animosity between Jews and Samaritans. Examples are the refusal of the Samaritan woman to give a drink to Jesus (4:9); the embarrassment of the disciples who returned from shopping and found Jesus talking with a Samaritan woman (4:27), and, finally, the use of the contemptuous word, 'Samaritan', to Jesus by a Jew (8:48). Thus it is likely that the hostile relationship between Jews and Samaritans was continuously kept during the period of the Fourth Gospel. However, it may be argued that the use of the term 'Samaritan' in the Fourth Gospel clearly shows that the earliest Jewish Christians held the attitude that the Samaritans were heretics. In any case, it is interesting to find that the usage of the term 'Samaritan' in the Gospel preserves a variety of traditions concerning the origins of the Samaritans. Therefore, in this section each view concerning the identity or the status of the Samaritans will be reviewed. In addition, the attitude of the earliest Christians towards the Samaritans will be sketched, where necessary.

Firstly, the contemporary Jewish and the earliest Christians attitudes towards the Samaritans as well as the avoidance of Jews by the Samaritans are found in 4:9.¹⁶⁵

When Jesus asked the Samaritan woman to give him a drink, she retorted that 'You are a Jew and I am a Samaritan woman. How can you ask me for a drink?' It seems to imply that she refused his suggestion by expressing the

feeling, 'Are you crazy? Don't you know that Jews have no dealings with us?' In other words, she seems amazed at his absurd suggestion, which was not in keeping with common sense coming from an ordinary Jew. Hence it has been argued that the verse expresses the mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans.¹⁶⁶ However, apart from the traditional translation that 'Jews have no dealings with Samaritans',¹⁶⁷ various proposals have been suggested for the exact meaning of the Greek verb *synchraomai* in the last part of the verse 9. For example, D. R. Hall prefers 'have dealings with, associate on friendly terms with someone' to the meaning of 'make use of'. Thus he tries to demonstrate that Jesus attempted to redress the hostile relationship between Jews and Samaritans rather than breaking a ritual prohibition.¹⁶⁸ J. Duncan M. Derrett, on the other hand, adopts 'make use of' as the meaning of the verb in which the sentence is interpreted as 'Jesus came to "make use of her", wanting her to serve him, at least, with water'. He argues for the verse as giving 'a mythical betrothal scene'.¹⁶⁹ However, if we translate the verb in the light of the current historical situations in the first and second centuries A.D., the verb may be read as having the meaning of 'to use together'. We understand that the purpose of the decree of 65 or 66 A.D. was to declare that the Gentiles, including the Samaritans, were ritually impure. Moreover, there was a Jewish spiritualization movement against all factors threatening the Jewish identity in the period of the

formation of the Gospel of John. This allows us to argue then that this verse discloses a Jewish view that Samaritan women are impure because they are menstruants from their cradle.¹⁷⁰ D. Daube believes that the last part of the verse reflects a rabbinic regulation of 65 or 66 A.D. which formulated the Samaritans as impure from the point of view of the law of purity.¹⁷¹ Hence his translation is 'for Jews do not use vessels together with Samaritans', rather than 'Jews have no dealings with Samaritans'.¹⁷² On the other hand, if the above-mentioned midrashic translation is accepted, then it can be argued that the Samaritans, who were usually stricter than the Jews in keeping halakhic regulations, might have developed their own halakhic tradition against that of their rivals.¹⁷³ According to Alan D. Crown, 'we are aware from John 4:9 that Samaritan laws of purity were known to the early Christians...'¹⁷⁴ Hence it may be argued that the verse also evinces the attitude of the Samaritan woman who was accustomed to rejecting Jews.¹⁷⁵ This may explain why the Samaritan woman was to avoid a general contact with a Jew. In any case, whatever the correct translation of the verse is, one thing that is clear is that this betrays that there was no definite break between Jews and Samaritans until the formation of the Fourth Gospel.

Next, let us examine the nature of the Samaritan tradition in John 4:12. The tradition clearly shows the

Samaritans' own claim about their origins.

Are you greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well and drank from it himself, as did also his sons and his flocks and herds?

It is interesting, because this is the only evidence in the New Testament that the Samaritans were the descendants of the Israelites. The woman's testimony that Jacob was her ancestor would imply that the Samaritans at Sychar were also the offspring of Jacob, i.e., the Israelites. According to the Samaritans' self-affirmation, they assert themselves as the descendants of Joseph as well as the true 'keepers of the Law'. All the Samaritan materials depict them as Israelites who acknowledge the cult on Mt. Gerizim. For example, the Samaritans describe themselves as 'the congregation of Jacob' or 'Thy people Israel' at the conclusion of the *Kataf of Genesis*.

Moses commanded us the Torah, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. There is none like God, O Jeshurun. Praised be our God. The LORD, merciful and gracious God; forgive Thy people Israel who prostrate themselves towards Mount Gerizim, and whom Thou hast redeemed. O LORD, there is no God but One, there is no God but One. 178

That the Samaritans were the Israelites is further evidenced indirectly by Josephus when he describes their nature as opportunistic. According to Josephus, whenever the Samaritans see some great fortune coming to Jews, they claim themselves as descendants of Joseph or trace their

line back to Ephraim and Manasseh. Hence it seems that the argument in 4:12 fits into the the tradition of the Samaritans themselves on their origin.

However, we need to observe that the specific mention of the northern Israelites in contrast with the Judaeans in the south of Israel was not implied in John 4:12. On the contrary, what is emphasized in the woman's testimony is that she is simply an offspring of Jacob, and that her ancestors worshipped on Mt. Gerizim. In other words it could be said that this is the Samaritan apologetic which argues that they are true Israelites. As discussed elsewhere, the first two centuries of the common era were marked as a period of crisis in Jewish identity within the context of the paganization of Jewishness. The formation of the Mishnah could be interpreted as regulating the identity of true Israelites in the light of rabbinic Judaism. Similarly one of the common characteristics of all the Jewish sectarian groups was to claim their own identity as that of the true Israelites.

180

Having discussed the Samaritan tradition in John 4:12, we can turn to the negative attitude of the earliest Christians towards the Samaritans. Let us examine the attitude of Jesus towards the Samaritans. In the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan woman in 4:22 we find him following the Jewish tradition which condemns the Samaritans as foolish.

181

According to 4:22 Jesus declared

that 'you Samaritans worship what you do not know; we worship what we do know for salvation is from the Jews'. It is noticeable that the deprecation of the Samaritans as being ignorant is reflected in the usage of 'you (Samaritans) do not know' in contrast with 'we (Jews) do know'. K. Haacker rightly maintains that 'the accusation of a defective knowledge of God stands in the broader context of a Jewish polemic which characterized the Samaritans as "a foolish people"¹⁸². Interestingly, Sir. 50:25 f. states:

My whole being loathes two nations, the third is not even a people: Those who live in Seir and Philistia, and the foolish folk who dwell in Shechem. 183

If we accept the last phrase as implying the Samaritans, then it would be clear that the Samaritans are regarded as foolish people.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, Testament of Levi 7¹⁸⁵ describes the Samaritans as foolish. According to Montgomery, the epithet 'Samaritan' in John 8:48 also expresses the meaning of 'fool', which appears as 'a byword of common application to the Samaritans'.¹⁸⁶ He argues that this is implied in the Jews' contention in the subsequent conversation with Jesus in v. 51 ff., a point which will be dealt with later. At present it is clear that all these statements tell us that this Jewish discrimination against the Samaritans had been spreading for a long time from the Maccabean period.

But the interesting thing here is that the evangelist of the Gospel uses the very same Christians' polemic against Jews when he describes the status of the Samaritans. As discussed earlier, the phrase 'you do not know' was one of John's polemics against Jews in which the Jews were disparaged as ignorant of the teachings of the Scriptures. This might be the reason why the Samaritans are treated as foolish just as the Jews are unjustly discriminated against by the earliest Christians. This may imply that the earliest Christians considered the identity of the Samaritans to be exactly the same as that of the Jews, while they treated them as foolish people.

Then what was the attitude of Jesus' disciples towards the Samaritans? Their attitude is portrayed in v. 27 as follows:

Just then his disciples returned and were surprised to find him talking with a woman. But no one asked, "What do you want?" or "Why are you talking with her?"

The passage betrays that the disciples might have been surprised or embarrassed when they returned from buying food and found him talking with a Samaritan woman. ¹⁸⁷

Hence we can understand this as giving the meaning that the disciples, as Jewish people, regarded the Samaritans as impure according to the Jewish tradition. This implies that the earliest Christians did not differ in attitude

from the contemporary Jewish condemnation of the Samaritans. In other words, we can say that they remained as Jewish people in their attitude to the Samaritans. At the same time, the acceptance of Jesus and his disciples by the Samaritans clearly shows the later Christian bias against the Jews on the grounds that the Jews rejected Jesus, but the Samaritans accepted him as Messiah.

Finally, in 8:48 we can find another Jewish tradition concerning the origins of the Samaritans. Here Jesus was accused by Jews as being a Samaritan as well as demon-possessed. This Jewish charge against Jesus is also found in a writing of Tertullian. It is stated that: 'this is that carpenter's or hireling's son, that Sabbath-breaker, that Samaritan and devil-possessed'.¹⁸⁸ We need to examine the meaning of the epithet applied to Jesus. It has generally been agreed that the term Samaritan here was a gross insult to Jesus. Hence various explanations have been given for the use of the epithet. As mentioned above, Montgomery suggested 'a fool' for the meaning of the epithet. Some scholars give the intimate relationship of Jesus with the Samaritans as the reason why Jesus was accused of being a Samaritan.¹⁸⁹ H. Hammer even suggested that Jesus and his disciples were Samaritans.¹⁹⁰ Origen explains that the meaning of the term Samaritan is a 'guardian' and that Jesus regarded himself as the guardian for the souls of people. Hence, Origen argues, Jesus kept silent in the face of the Jewish charge that he was a

Samaritan.¹⁹¹ Other opinion suggests the epithet as charging Jesus with being illegitimate.¹⁹² However, on the ground that the leaders of the Samaritan sects, such as Simon and Dositheus, had been treated as being demon-possessed, most scholars follow the interpretation that the term 'Samaritan' may simply denote the demon-possessed.¹⁹³ However, as the evangelist of the Gospel views the Samaritans as having a different religious tradition, therefore being heretics, it may be argued that the epithet 'Samaritan' also expresses the same idea.

To sum up, it seems that the Samaritans in the Gospel of Matthew are an unidentified people between Jews and Gentiles. The use of the term 'Samaritans' after the term 'Gentiles' may reflect the Jewish tradition which degraded the status of the Samaritans as being lower than that of the Gentiles.

However, in Luke-Acts the Samaritans are definitely stated as 'different race' (*allogenes*). It was this *allogenes* who was depicted in the parable of the Good Samaritan and the story of the Samaritan leper as the very model of the early Church's ideology towards Jews. If the Christian bias against Jews provoked the evangelization of Samaria, this would support the other evidence that the evangelists regarded the Samaritans as being the Gentiles.

The only evidence of the Samaritans themselves that they

are the Israelites is found in John 4:12. But it may be argued that the Samaritans' own claim on their origins was their apologetic to protect themselves from the polemics of rabbinic Judaism including that from the other Jewish sectarian groups. On the other hand, the Samaritans are described as ritually impure and foolish in other places of the Fourth Gospel. In the attitude of Jesus towards the Samaritans, we can not find the evidence that he negated the identity of the Samaritans as Jewish people, although he seemed to regard them as ignorant of the Scripture. But the attitude of Jesus' disciples clearly shows that they had Jewish prejudice against the Samaritans.

From all this we can conclude that the pictures of the Samaritans in the New Testament betray, in general, the mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans as well as the Christian bias against Jews. Montgomery argues that the Samaritans in the New Testament appear to be Israelites.¹⁹⁴ However, as discussed above, it is more likely that the Samaritans appear in the New Testament as an unidentified people rather than Israelites.

4. Patristic Writings

So far as we have discussed the usages of the term Samaritans in the New Testament, it is evident that it was employed generally for the Christians' polemic against Jews. However, in the early patristic writings most of

the usages of the term occur in relation to the Samaritan sects. In this section we will see, especially in the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen how the Samaritans were treated and what their identity and status was in the intensified animosity of the early Christianity to Judaism. Then the problem of Samaritan Gnostics will be discussed.

a. Justin Martyr

Justin was born about the early second century A.D. in Flavia Neapolis (modern Nablus), which had been established by Vespasian as a Roman military colony during the first Jewish war.¹⁹⁵ As indicated in the introductory passage of the *First Apology*, 'I, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, present this address and petition...'¹⁹⁶ Justin was probably the offspring of the Roman colonists in Flavia Neapolis. Moreover he confessed himself that he was an uncircumcised man.¹⁹⁷ However it is interesting to observe that he always identified himself as a Samaritan whenever he mentioned the Samaritans in his writings.¹⁹⁸ Let us turn to the usage of the term 'Samaritan' in his writings in order to understand the identity and status of the Samaritans in patristic writings.

In Chapter 53 of the *First Apology*, the term 'Samaritan'

is used three times in parallel with the other terms 'Gentiles' and 'Jews'. One occasion is as follows:

For all the other human races are called Gentiles by the Spirit of prophecy; but the Jewish and Samaritan races are called the tribe of Israel, and the house of Jacob. 199

At first glance, the Jews and Samaritans seem to be referred to as the same people, i.e., the Israelites. But elsewhere Justin on one occasion calls the Samaritans 'my people',²⁰⁰ and on another occasion, he terms Samaria as 'my own nation'.²⁰¹ We need to observe that he never identified himself as a Jew, although he was born on native Jewish soil. Hence we can argue that the above-mentioned passage shows that Justin distinguished the Samaritans from the other races such as Gentiles and Jews. Nevertheless he considered the two races of Jews and Samaritans as having the same religious tradition inherited from the prophets.

On the other hand, according to Justin, Jews and Samaritans did not recognize Jesus as the Messiah and, accordingly, they rejected him.²⁰² Here we can find that the Christian polemic against Jews is applied also to the Samaritans. As a consequence, it is interesting to find that the antipathy towards the Samaritans is expressed in the following exaggeration: 'almost all the Samaritans... worship him [Simon]' who was misled by demons.²⁰³ Justin says, 'I despised the wicked and deceitful doctrine of

Simon of my own nation'.

It seems that Justin was not an adherent of the Samaritan religious group on Mt. Gerizim, although he was born in Flavia Neapolis near the ancient city of Shechem. Eric Francis Osborn argues that Justin always regarded himself as a Gentile rather than as a Samaritan. ²⁰⁵ Osborn refers to the following passage from the *Dialogue with Trypho* for his argument:

[So] He [the Lord] then speaks of those Gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifice to Him, i.e., the bread of the Eucharist, and also the cup of the Eucharist, offering both that we glorify His name, and that you profane [it]. 206

However, here the term 'Gentiles' clearly means the Gentile Christians. This is definitely the Christian polemic against Jews that God elected Gentiles because Jews rejected Him. Furthermore we can suggest the same usage of the term 'Gentiles' whenever it is used in parallel with the terms 'Samaritans' or 'Jews'. Therefore, we can suggest that Justin identified himself as a Samaritan, even if he converted to Christianity and considered himself as one of the Gentiles in respect of being a Christian.

Similarly, it is likely that, when Justin used the term Samaritans, he had no intention at all of distinguishing the native Samaritans in the area of Samaria from the

members of the Samaritan religious group. Hence we agree with S. Lowy's contention that Justin used the term in the loosest possible sense.²⁰⁷ But Lowy, on the one hand, argues that the term in Chapter 120 of the *Dialogue with Trypho* may represent the inhabitants of Samaria rather than the members of the Samaritan ethnic group. According to him, the Samaritans mentioned above are 'no Samaritans, even ethnically, but belong to the Greco-pagan people of Sabaste and its district'.²⁰⁸ This point is then followed by Bruce W. Hall. He contends that the name Samaritans in Chapter 53 of the *First Apology* means the members of the Samaritan ethnic group, whereas the term Samaritans in other places designate natives/inhabitants of Samaria.²⁰⁹ However, there are a number of points to remember: Justin converted to Christianity, his writings are the Christian apology to the Jews with a strong anti-Jewish bias, and finally the Samaritans were treated unjustly by Justin with the same animosity as shown to the Jews. From all this we may argue that all the uses of the term simply imply the Samaritans in general. Moreover, his testimonies of 'my people, and 'my own nation' indicate that he was deeply assimilated with the native Samaritans who worshipped on Mt. Gerizim. This is supported by the fact that he expresses Samaritanism unconsciously when he refers to Judaism in his writings.²¹⁰ At the same time, whenever he refers to Dositheus and Simon as the Samaritans, he seems not to distinguish the inhabitants of the city of Samaria from the Samaritan religious group on

Mt. Gerizim. In addition, as discussed earlier, if the use of the epithet 'Samaritan' to Jesus in John 8:48 is accepted as having the meaning of 'demented' in relation with the condemnation against the Samaritan heresiarchs, then it will be further evidence that Justin did not use the term 'Samaritan' in separating the natives from the Samaritan ethnic group.

On the other hand, Lowy proposes that 'all these testimonies of Justin and others about "Samaritans" refer to those who are "heretics", those who one way or other have already embraced a certain deviant type of Christianity'.²¹² However, considering the *adversos*²¹³ *Judaeos* tradition in the early patristic writings, it is hard to accept, as Lowy suggests, that the Samaritan sectarian movements were considered as 'Christian (and not Samaritan) heresies' by the Church Fathers. Hence it is safe to maintain that Justin regards the Samaritans as including the people on Mt. Gerizim as well as the people belonging to the other Samaritan sects. In any case, Justin may follow the Judaeo-Christian tradition in II Kings 17 that the Samaritans are the offspring of the foreign colonists. This is why he distinguishes Jews and Samaritans as different races, while he argues for them as having the same religious tradition.

b. Tertullian

According to Tertullian, the Samaritans were the schismatics who revolted from Israel under the leadership of Jeroboam as well as idolaters who worshipped false gods.²¹⁴ About the city of Samaria, Tertullian says that 'He [God] designated idolatry under the name of Samaria, as that city was shameful for its idolatry,...'²¹⁵ Similarly, he refers to the magi as Samaritans in his argument of prophetic signs for Christ:

Now it was in accordance with this style that He called the magi by the name of Samaritans, because (as we have said) they had practised idolatry as did the Samaritans.²¹⁶

Hence it is conceivable that Tertullian considers the Samaritans as idolaters and connects this to one of the Judaeo-Christian traditions which regards the schism between North and South as the sin of the northern Israelites.

At the same time, we need to observe the purpose of the use of the term Samaritans by Tertullian. In Chapter 35 of *Against Marcion*, where Tertullian deals with the cure of the ten lepers, the Samaritans are described as 'the disaffected nine tribes' who had revolted from Israel.²¹⁷ But the purpose of the healing of the Samaritan leper by Jesus was to 'strike at the unbelief or the pride of Israel', such as the case of Naaman the Syrian, in the

218
period of the prophet Elisha. Therefore it is evident
that Tertullian exemplifies the idolatrous Samaritan in
order to demonstrate the Christian polemic against Jews
that 'the stone which the builders rejected, is become the
head-stone of the corner'.²¹⁹ In *A Treatise on the soul*
Tertullian comments upon the Samaritans as 'all dull-
witted'.²²⁰ Hence it may be argued that Tertullian, on
the ground of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, regarded
the Samaritans as the descendants of the northern
Israelites who practised idolatry.

c. Origen

It is from the writings of Origen that we have clear
knowledge concerning the Samaritans. According to Origen,
the Samaritans were Jewish heretics who accepted the five
books of Moses only²²¹ and denied the doctrine of
immortality as well as the survival of the soul after
death.²²² They insisted upon Mt. Gerizim as the only
proper and holy place for the worship of God.²²³ They
were always proud of being the descendants of Joseph, the
patriarch of Israel.²²⁴ They were even persecuted due to
their insistence on the practice of circumcision under the
Roman rule.²²⁵

Nonetheless it seems evident that Origen regards the
Samaritans as Jewish heretics. According to his
allegorical interpretation of John 4, the former five

husbands of the Samaritan woman symbolize the five senses, while the present man implies the false doctrine of the heretics. Thus Origen believes that Jesus saved the woman
226
from her misbelief.

On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that Origen introduces the Samaritan tradition concerning the meaning of the term Samaritan. According to him, the term
227
Samaritan means *swter*, the guardian, because the Assyrian kings had the Samaritans keep the land of Israel after the Israelites were carried away into Assyria due to
228
their sins. However, if we understand the context in which the meaning of the term is being used, then the intention of Origen in introducing the meaning, *swter*, was not to praise the Samaritans, but to explain why Jesus did not deny that he was a Samaritan when he was attacked as demon-possessed as well as a Samaritan. Origen may suggest that Jesus did not answer to the Jewish charge that he was a Samaritan, because he considers himself as
229
the *swter* for the souls of people. Hence it is likely that Origen follows the Judaeo-Christian tradition concerning the origin of the Samaritans that they were brought by the Assyrians after the destruction of Samaria at the end of the eighth century B.C. At the same time, it is evident that he was acquainted with the contemporary Samaritan tradition that they were not *Shomronim* but *Shamerim*, although he employs the meaning of the term Samaritan as the Christian polemic against the Jews.

Finally, it is likely that the description of the Samaritans in the writings of Origen is generally influenced by the Christian bias against the Jews. ²³⁰ In other words, Origen reproaches the Jews as those who denied that Jesus was the Messiah and killed him with their ignorance of the Scriptures. Accordingly, he tries to refute Scriptural interpretation of rabbinic Judaism. Then, it seems to him that the Samaritans as a Jewish sect were worse than the Jews. This can be exemplified from *Contra Celsum* 1:49 in the following passages:

But perhaps he did not even know the prophecies about Jesus. If he had understood what Christians affirm,... he would not have put into the mouth of the Jew statements which would be more appropriate to a Samaritan or a Sadducee.... And even if the Samaritans and Sadducees, who accept only the books of Moses, say that the Messiah has been prophesied in those books, yet even so the prophecy was not spoken in Jerusalem, which in Moses' time had not yet been mentioned. I wish that all opponents of the gospel were in such ignorance not merely of the facts but even of the mere text of scripture, and would attack Christianity in such a way... fall away not from their faith, but from their little faith. 231

Here we can briefly observe the following points:

- (1) the Samaritans are regarded as being a Jewish sect like the Sadducees;
- (2) the Samaritans are described more contemptuously than Jews;
- (3) the Samaritans are also considered as one of the opponents to Christianity;

- (4) the Samaritans are regarded as ignorant of the Scriptures.

Origen's disregard of the Samaritans is further betrayed in his ambivalent attitude towards the persecution of the Samaritans due to their practice of circumcision. In his *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*,²³² Origen may be suggesting the persistence of the Samaritans in keeping both the law of Moses and circumcision as the causes of their persecution. But in *Contra Celsum* II:13 Origen denounces the fact that the Samaritans were persecuted for their religion. He seems to imply that the Samaritans were persecuted because of their illegal circumcision contrary to the established laws which allowed only Jews²³³ to conduct circumcision. Hence, again, we can observe that the Samaritans are described more pejoratively than Jews, in the Christian polemic against Jews.

The question then arises as to why the Samaritans were discriminated against more harshly than were the Jews. According to Alan D. Crown, this is probably due to the fact that 'the Church felt far more threatened by the Samaritans than by the Jews'.²³⁴ In other words, the early Church Fathers might have conceived that the Gnostic threat to Christianity was being caused by the influence of Samaritanism. Thus, in the next section the problem of Samaritan Gnostics reflected in the patristic writings will be discussed.

d. The Samaritan Gnostics

According to the Church Fathers, it was Simon Magus²³⁵ who developed Gnosticism in the first century A.D.²³⁶ In his *First Apology* 26 Justin states that Simon was a Samaritan magician from the village of Gitta. He was considered to be a god because of his magic wonders in Rome during the reign of Claudius. Furthermore, Simon was followed by 'nearly all the Samaritans' as well as 'a few among other peoples'. They even worshipped Simon as the First God (*protos theos*) and also considered a certain Helen, a former prostitute from Tyre, to be the First Thought (*ennoia*). Then Irenaeus also gives an account of Simon²³⁷ Magus. According to his *Adversus Haereses*, Simon Magus of Acts 8 founded the sect, the Simonians, from which all sorts of heretics took their origin. He also persuaded people that he himself 'appeared among the Jews as the Son, while in Samaria he descended as the Father, and in the rest of the nations he came as the Holy Spirit'. In addition, Simon claimed that Helen was the 'first conception of his Mind, the Mother of All'. It was then Helen (the First Thought) who came down to the lower regions and generated the angels and powers, by whom the world was created. But Helen was detained by the angels and powers, because they did not recognize Simon as the supreme god. Finally it was to redeem Helen as well as to give the promise of salvation to human beings by his knowledge that Simon appeared himself as a man.

It is worth observing that Irenaeus persistently accuses Simon Magus of Samaria of being 'the father of all heretics'. According to him, it was Simonians who first spread 'the Gnosis, falsely so called'.²³⁸ Furthermore, they caused 'a multitude of Gnostics' to be sprung up from them just like 'mushrooms growing out of the ground'.²³⁹ Similarly, in Hippolytus' *Philosophumena* 6:7 we can find the same tradition that Simon Magus was the progenitor of all heresies. There, it was from Simon, the Samaritan, that all the heretics got their inspiration and developed the same system of Simon with their own different terminology. Hence if we accept that there was a literary tradition among the early heresiologists, then it may be concluded that, from the period of Justin Martyr, Church Fathers developed the same tradition of accusing Simon Magus of Acts of being a magician as well as being the founder of all the Gnostics in their times.²⁴⁰

However, it is evident that the early Christian heresiologists did fight against numerous heretics including the Simonians. For example, we can enumerate eighty heresies in *Panarion*, written by Epiphanius, the Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus in the fourth century A.D.²⁴¹ The question then arises again as to why did the early Christian Fathers ascribe the origins of all Gnostics to Simon Magus and his followers among such a large number of heresies in their times. In addition, as

mentioned already, in the patristic writings Samaritans are described more pejoratively than Jews, in the Christian polemic against Jews. Can we then argue that this fact gives a clue on the question? Fortunately, a possible suggestion has been given by Alan D. Crown who considers that the manifest threat of Gnosticism to Christianity caused the early Christian heresiologists to attach suspicions to the Samaritans as the carriers of the disease of the Gnosticism.²⁴² Here we need to turn our attention to the problem of the Samaritan Gnostics before we discuss the main question of the Christian bias against the Samaritans. The problem can be summarized, first, as the question of the identity of Simon appearing in Acts 8 and in the writings of Christian heresiologists, and, second, as the influence of Samaritanism on Simon.

Firstly, let us examine the problem of Simon's identity as to whether the Simon of Acts 8 was the same person as the heresiarch in the patristic writings. Generally speaking, according to the interpretation of the early Church Fathers, it has traditionally been maintained that the two Simons are the same person. It is clear that most of the Church Fathers such as Irenaeus, Pseudo-Tertullian, Hippolytus, Philastrius, Epiphanius, Hieronymus and Theodoretus refer to Simon of Acts 8, in order to prove the wickedness as well as the sorcery of Simonians in their times. In this sense the Simon of Acts 8 has been identified as the same person as in the patristic

writings. Justin and Origen, although they do not refer to Acts 8 directly, also imply that the Simon who appeared 'after the time of Jesus' ²⁴³ or 'in the time of the Apostles' ²⁴⁴ was the same one of Acts 8.

The traditional view which regards the Simon of Acts as the one in the heresiological writings is still supported by modern scholars. For example, most German scholars believed that Simon was a Gnostic in the first century A.D. ²⁴⁵ Recently Bruce Hall ²⁴⁶ and Gerd Lüdemann ²⁴⁷ have also argued for the identification of the Simon of Acts with the Simon of the second century heresiarch. Lüdemann insists that 'the Gnostic system of the Simonians that must be assumed for the middle of the second century seems to have been presupposed already in Acts 8.' ²⁴⁸ Hence he assumes that the same person is involved in each period.

However, as we can sense in the argument of R. McL. Wilson that 'All attempts so far made have failed to bridge the gap between the Simon of Acts and the Simon of the heresiologists', ²⁴⁹ there has been also serious refutation against the above-mentioned argument. Wilson suggests that Simonian Gnostic doctrines are later systems which were wrongly attributed to Simon by his own followers or by the heresiologists. Hence he maintains that the historical Simon of Acts can not be regarded as the Simon of heresiologists. ²⁵⁰ In addition, Wilson believes that the later Simonianism was developed under the strong

influence of paganism. According to his argument:

It is clear ... that Simon's system is nothing more or less than an assimilation of imperfectly understood Christian doctrines to a fundamentally pagan scheme. Something is due to Stoicism, something to the Orient, something to Christianity, but the Christian elements play a relatively small part. 251

Likewise, Robert M. Grant distinguishes the Simon of Acts 252 from the Simonian Simon of patristic writings.

Finally, the view that the Simon of Acts was not a Gnostic but a magician has been held also by other scholars such as S. Pétrement, 253 K. Beyschlag, 254 and E. Yamauchi. 255

Accordingly it has been suggested that the Simon of Acts, a magician, is different from that of heresiologists, a Gnostic.

In general, the nature of the Simonian sources can be described as a polemic against Gnosticism. 256 In particular, the polemical character of the sources is well attested by a number of inconsistencies among the sources. First, let us take the report on the number of Simonians as an example. Justin states that 'nearly all the Samaritans' believed Simon to be the first god. However, according to Acts, all the Samaritans who followed Simon believed the teaching of Philip and converted with baptism. 257 It is apparent that the former is trying to emphasize that a large number of Samaritans were heretics, whereas the latter argues the opposing position. Another

inconsistency is that in *Contra Celsum* 1:57, Origen reports that there were fewer than thirty Simonians left in the world in his day. On the other hand, in *Contra Celsum* 6:11, he affirms that 'There are no Simonians anywhere in the world, although to gain more adherents Simon relieved his disciples of any risk of death,...' Thus Origen's reports are contradictory and historically are unconvincing, because of other reliable information about the existence of Simonians until the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Hence we can argue that such discrepancies among the sources may imply the polemical character of heresiological writings. Next, the story of the confrontation of Simon with Peter in the heresiological writings also can be taken as showing the strong polemical tendency of the sources. When Simon, according to Acts 8:20, attempted to buy the Holy Spirit with money, Peter rebuked him:

May your money perish with you, because you thought you could buy the gift of God with money! You have no part or share in this ministry, because your heart is not right before God. *Repent of this wickedness and pray to the Lord. Perhaps he will forgive you for having such a thought in your heart.* For I see that you are full of bitterness and captive to sin.

Then Simon repented and begged Peter to pray to God for him. The story ends abruptly here. However, it is interesting to observe that, in *Adversus Haereses*, I. xxiii. 1, Irenaeus omits v. 22 (*Italics in above*) intentionally in order to depict Simon as an imposter who

deserves eternal punishment. Thus, as indicated already by G. R. S. Mead at the end of the last century, in the story of Acts Simon is described as a Christian and the apostles 'display no hate for his [Simon] personality'.²⁵⁹

The Christian heresiologists, however, criticize Simon as a pretender who 'refused to believe in God'²⁶⁰ or a 'sorcerer, full of insanity'.²⁶¹ Therefore, what is hinted in the above-mentioned examples is that we should be cautious when dealing with the heresiological sources. In addition, we should remember that there has been a strong suspicion among scholars concerning the historical reliability of the sources.²⁶²

As reviewed above, it seems that the scholarly concern has, so far, been in the question of the Gnostic elements of Simon Magus. Hence most German scholars such as E. Haenchen,²⁶³ W. Schmithals,²⁶⁴ H. M. Schenke²⁶⁵ and K. Rudolf,²⁶⁶ on the one hand, argue that Simon Magus of Acts was the earliest Gnostic. On the other hand, the other scholars such as R. Bergmeier²⁶⁷ and K. Beyschlag²⁶⁸ are unable to trace any Gnostic doctrines in the account of Acts.

However, if we consider the polemical character of our sources, then we can argue that the same figure is involved in the sources, whether or not Simon was a Gnostic. It is certain that there are a number of inconsistencies among the sources. In addition, there is

a gap of time between the Simon of Acts and the one of Justin. As well, it may be correct that the Simonian doctrinal system developed in a later period. But, despite all these facts, it is also manifest that the Christian heresiologists allude to Simon Magus of Acts with their polemics. Hence, it is not likely that the various differences between the sources of Acts and the patristic writings suggest two or three different Simons. On the contrary, it may be argued that they imply simply the polemical character of the sources and, accordingly, the same figure is referred to in all the sources.

Another problem concerning Simon's identity is the question of whether he belonged to the Samaritan religious community. Some scholars have suggested that Simon Magus was related to the Hellenistic elements of Samaria. According to Montgomery, 'Simon Magus appears not as a type of Samaritanism, but only as an incident;... he probably found his following rather amongst the Hellenistic population of Samaria, than in the Samaritan sect'.²⁶⁹ Similarly, Haenchen thinks that the appearance of Simon with the Simonian doctrine of incarnation which identified the highest god with himself could be appealing, not to the Samaritans, but only to the pagan population of Samaria, and that the pure Greek name Simon²⁷⁰ 'says nothing to the contrary'. Finally, the view that Simonianism had nothing to do with Samaritanism and was of pagan origin is still held by Bruce Hall. He maintains,

from the evidence of heresiological writings, that Simon addressed his teachings to the native inhabitants of Samaria and that, accordingly, Simonianism in the second and third centuries was exclusively a Gentile movement. ²⁷¹

Others, on the other hand, argue for the Samaritan provenance of Simon Magus. In recent times, Jarl Fossum has suggested that Simon Magus addressed not the inhabitants of Samaria (Samaritans), but the circumcised Samaritans. ²⁷² At the same time Fossum demonstrates the influence of Samaritanism on the Simonian teaching as such:

- (1) the Simonian teaching of God's hypostasized Thought (*Ennoia*) appears to be an adaptation of a Samaritan teaching;
- (2) the title 'the Great Power' is a divine epithet appearing in Samaritanism;
- (3) Simon's title 'the Standing One' also reveals a Samaritan background, for God is designated as 'the Standing One' in Samaritanism.

Thus, he concludes that 'In the line of tradition from the Acts of the Apostles to the *Acts of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines* ... the Samaritan provenance of "the father of all heretics" comes quite clearly into view'. ²⁷³

That Simon Magus was a Samaritan has been suggested by the textual evidence from the patristic writings which shows the affiliation of Simon with Dositheus, ²⁷⁴ the Samaritan

heresiarch, in the first century A.D. In the first place, Hegesippus, a Christian writer of Jewish origin in the second century A.D. and quoted by Eusebius, lists Simon as a contemporary with the other Samaritan heresiarchs including Dositheus.²⁷⁵ Accordingly, this has been suggested as implying that Simon Magus was a Samaritan.²⁷⁶

Then, Origen also indicates that Dositheus and Simon were Samaritans appearing at the period of the mid-first century A.D.²⁷⁷ However, it is interesting to notice that

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and *Recognitions* show Dositheus and Simon as having a rival relationship with each other. According to the texts, they were two of thirty disciples of John the Baptists. But, after John was killed, acknowledging that Simon is 'the Standing One', Dositheus withdrew his leadership and worshipped Simon, although he became the leader of the sect first. Finally, the episode ends with the report that Dositheus himself died not long after this.²⁷⁸

Jarl Fossum contends that this episode admits Simon's Samaritan origin,²⁷⁹ whereas Isser considers it as a fiction created as a polemic against the Baptist's sect.²⁸⁰ In any case, even if we accept the association of Simon with Dositheus as indicating their Samaritan origin, we need to understand that this association may have been due to the Christian bias against the Samaritans. This will be discussed shortly in this section.

It is likely that the divergent scholarship, reviewed

above, is based on the logic of *either/or*. However, if we consider the polemical attitude of the sources, we can rather suggest *both/and* instead of *either/or* for the problem of the identity of Simon Magus. The *either/or* perspective can be exemplified again by two recent scholars' arguments: Firstly, Bruce Hall suggests that, since the term Samaritans in the *Dialogue with Trypho* 120 and the *First Apology* 26 is not used to designate members of the Samaritan ethnic group but inhabitants of Samaria, Simon was followed by his own people, i.e., the inhabitants of Samaria and Simonianism was an exclusively Gentile movement.²⁸¹ On the other hand, according to Jarl E. Fossum, who indicates that (1) Samaria was evangelized before the decision of the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem to preach to the pagan world; (2) Simon was obviously a Samaritan, 'it does not seem likely that Simon addressed the heathen population of Samaria'.²⁸² On the contrary, he insists that Simon primarily tried to win his own people, i.e., the circumsized Samaritans.

However, it is likely that the term Samaritans in Justin may reflect, in a loose sense, the people of Samaria including both the Samaritan ethnic group and the inhabitants of Samaria.²⁸³ For it is hardly conceivable that Justin, in his writings, used the term with any distinction between Samaritans or Samaritans. Rather, if we accept that Simon was followed by the people of Samaria and the people elsewhere in the world, especially in Rome,

it would be probable that Simon appealed to both Samaritans and Samaritans. For the identity of Simon, it is interesting to observe that Justin regards him as his fellow countryman. At the conclusion of the *Second Apology*, Justin, although he criticizes Simon's doctrine, describes him as a person of his own nation. At first glance, it seems that Simon was also a native of Samaria like Justin, who was born in Flavia Neapolis in Palestine. However, in the *First Apology* 1:26 Justin mentions the birthplace of Simon as Gitta in Samaria.²⁸⁴ It is unfortunate that we do not know the exact location of the place, although some scholars try to identify it with modern Jett.²⁸⁵ This implies that the description of the birthplace of Simon does not help us to decide as to whether Simon was a Samaritan or Samaritan.²⁸⁶ In addition, with the discovery of the base of a statue inscribed *Semoni Sancto Deo Fidio* on an island of the Tiber in 1574, it is the modern scholarly consensus that Justin confused Simon with the Sabine god, Semo Sanctus, when he wrote to the Romans that a statue bearing the inscription of *Simoni Deo Sancto* was erected to honour Simon as a god.²⁸⁷ He even exaggerates that nearly all the Samaritans believed Simon. Hence we can argue that all this information from Justin concerning Simon is not reliable historically, although it is evident that Simon was described as both a Samaritan and a Samaritan.

Similarly, it is not likely that the mission to the pagan

world started after the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem.

On the contrary, it may be argued that the evangelization of Samaria was starting point for the mission to the pagans.²⁸⁹

Furthermore, it is highly probable that Philip's mission to the Gentiles in the 'cities of the Philistines' was also already expected from his mission to Samaria.²⁹⁰

Finally, the report of Acts which gives an impression that the foreign mission to the pagans started by the Apostles may reflect the strife between the Gentile-centred church and the Jewish-centred church.²⁹¹

Hence we can argue that the evangelization of Samaria was not necessarily confined to the Samaritan ethnic group, but probably, included both Samaritans and the Gentiles in the area of Samaria.²⁹²

If this position is accepted, then we can say that the terms such as 'the Great Power' and 'the Standing One' may also not necessarily appear either under the influence of Samaritanism or other religious literature. The term 'the Great Power' was widespread in the Syrian and Palestinian areas as denoting a god.²⁹³

On the other hand, it is possible to suggest that the concept of 'the Standing One' was derived from the early Christian traditions,²⁹⁴

although it has been argued that the term 'the Standing One' has a clear resemblance to terms in the Samaritan literature.²⁹⁵

At the same time, it is beyond doubt that the designation was also influenced by philosophical background of Philo of Alexandria.²⁹⁶ This may imply

that, if Simon claimed divine honours, he could have appealed to both Samaritans and Samaritans including the other foreign elements. In conclusion, we do not have any exact evidence to decide as to whether Simon was a Samaritan or a Samaritan. But, one thing that is clear is that all the sources concerning Simon show the polemical character of the early Christian writers. Hence it seems correct to say that 'The quest for the historical Simon (and Helena!) is even less promising than the quest for the historical Jesus'.²⁹⁷

Let us then turn to the main question as to why did the Church Fathers describe Simon Magus as the father of all heresies. Several reflections on the history from after the revolt of Bar Cochba up to the rise of Christianity as the national religion of the Roman empire may be helpful to understand the question. Firstly, we need to bear in mind the drastic changes in the socio-politico-economical situation of Palestine due to the defeat of the Bar Cochba war and the Hadrianic persecutions against Jews. For example, we can indicate demographic changes in Palestine:²⁹⁸ Tens of thousands of Jews were killed during the war. The Roman authority had the Gentiles resettled in Judaea. According to Avi-Yonah, only 700,000-800,000 Jews were left after the war and they formed 'about three-quarters of the population of Galilee and about one-quarter of the population of the coastal plain and the lands east of the Jordan'.²⁹⁹ Jewish settlement

remained mostly in the area of Galilee and partly in the districts of *Darom*, Lydda, Jamnia, and Azotus, but was totally destroyed in Judaea proper. However, Samaritans moved mainly into the coastal area, especially into the district of Caesarea. Alfredo M. Rabello contends that Samaritans extended their communities, mostly agricultural and farming villages, to Yavneh, Emmaus, Scythopolis and to all the coastal cities from Tyre down to Gaza in the Roman-Byzantine period. At the same time, he suggests that we should see the conflict between Samaritans and Christians in the fourth century A.D. from this socio-economic foundation of the Samaritans rather than as a purely religious matter. This point will be discussed later. Secondly, the codification of the oral Law in the form of Mishnah and the Tosephta, the canonization of the Christian literature, and the emergence of Samaritan literature should be considered as the other characteristics of this period. It is worth mentioning that the parting among the Jews, Samaritans, and the Jewish Christians also began in this period with the development of mutual animosity. In addition, it is interesting to observe that each group argues for itself as representing the only lawful heir of true Israel, and that this clearly betrays the polemic against one another. Hence the Mishnaic sanctity of the Holy Land and the regulations not to sell the Jewish landed property to the Gentiles, or the Christian claim over the Holy Land in the later period can be considered in the same context.

Thirdly, as mentioned elsewhere, it is clear that this period was one of a struggle for survival among Jews, Samaritans, and Christians. They had to compete, politico-religiously, with one another for their survival under the oppression of the Roman empire.³⁰⁵ Interestingly, recent archaeological excavations in Palestine have provided us the sites where Jews, Christians, Samaritans, pagans, and Jewish-Christians all lived together.³⁰⁶ According to Eric M. Meyers, this demonstrates that 'both the Jewish and (Jewish-)Christian communities apparently continued to live in harmony until the seventh century C.E'.³⁰⁷ However, it is alternatively conceivable from the same archaeological evidence that each group in the same area had to compete with one another. In any case, this fact should always be kept in mind whenever we discuss the problem in this period. Finally, we can describe this period, in respect of the membership of Christianity, as the period of transition from the Jewish Christians to the Gentile Christians. The Christian leadership also transferred from Jewish Apostles to Gentile Church Fathers in this period.³⁰⁸ Furthermore, Christianity arose, at last, as the national religion of the Roman empire, while Judaism was regarded as a *religio licita* and Samaritanism was considered by both Jews and Christians as heresy.

It is worth observing that in this period the Church Fathers maintained an ambivalent attitude towards Jews,

even though we can feel a strong anti-Jewish feeling in the patristic writings, because of the necessity to preserve Jews as 'witnesses for the Christian truth' of the Scriptures.³⁰⁹ But it is clear that the early Church Fathers adopted the Jewish view concerning the Samaritans that they were the syncretists as well as the descendants of the colonists who intermingled with the former Israelites after the destruction of Samaria in 722 B.C. Furthermore, it is evident again that the Church Fathers, following the Jewish prejudice against the Samaritans, discriminated against them as heretics and treated them more harshly than Jews. In other words, the early Church Fathers may have considered Samaritanism, in being related to the emergence of Gnosticism, as more dangerous to Christianity than Judaism. From the heresiological treatises of Church Fathers and also from the rescripts of the Christian Byzantine rulers against Gnosticism it can be evidenced that early Christianity felt the Gnostic threat seriously and fought a bitter battle against Gnosticism in order to protect the orthodox Apostolic and Catholic church.³¹⁰ It is worth observing that edicts of Theodosius II and Valentinian III in the fifth century A.D. regulate that the outlawed Nestorians 'should be called Simonians, since they have loved Simon's blasphemy'.³¹¹ At the same time, in the letter of Marcian in the mid-fifth century A.D. a certain Theodosius, a monk who disturbed the churches in Palestine, is also described as the imitator of Simon's error.³¹² These may be hints

that the polemic of the early Church Fathers who considered the Gnostic threat as originating from heterodox Samaritanism continued until a later period. ³¹³

In any case, from the heresiological writings concerning Simon Magus, we can be aware of the Gnostic threat against early Christianity as well as the Christian polemic against Samaritans. It is likely that the two factors are inter-related with each other in the heresiological writings. In conclusion, it is quite understandable that the early Christian movement had to battle against all heresies which endangered its existence under the religious intolerance of the Roman empire until the beginning of the fourth century. In addition, it may be argued that the early Church Fathers had a geographical ³¹⁴ confusion about the place of the origin of Gnosticism. They may have regarded the area of Samaria as the cradle of Gnosticism and regarded Simon as its founder.

However, with the Christianization of the Roman empire from the fourth century A.D., it seems that the Church Fathers denounced Samaritans as Gnostics ^{more} systematically and opposingly. ³¹⁵ According to Rabello, expansion of Christianity from this period onwards inevitably encountered the Samaritans in two different ways; first, the Church had to deal with a large number of the Samaritans who converted to Christianity for reasons of opportunism, but who continued to remain faithful, in ³¹⁶ hidden ways, to their ancient religion; second, the

Church competed with the Samaritans for the control over the Holy Land, especially the sacred sites in the territory of Samaritans.³¹⁷ As mentioned above, the Samaritans had well organized communities along the coast of Palestine which were based upon the intensive cultivation of the soil and competed in every respect with the other peoples such as Jews and Christians who lived in Palestine. Hence a violent clash between Samaritans and Christians was inevitable when the Church attempted, with the help of the Roman authority, to take possession of the the sacred sites of the Old Testasment and, especially, of the tomb of John the Baptist, the tomb of Joseph, and Jacob's well near Shechem.³¹⁸ It may be argued that the Christians used their political advantage to claim control over the Holy Land and in this process discriminated against the Samaritans as Gnostics. This can be evidenced from the discriminative legislations in the later period of the sixth century which described the special disabilities of the Samaritans and attacked them as the Gnostics.³¹⁹

Finally, it would seem to be an open question as to whether the development of the Christian bias against Samaritans was provoked by the political disadvantage of the Samaritans from the second century A.D. onwards. For example, the Samaritans were punished by Septimius Severus because they sided with Niger, the emperor's rival.³²⁰ As well, it is said that the Samaritans were also persecuted

severely by Commodus. In any case, from this period onwards Church Fathers described Simon as the father of various forms of Gnosticism. According to Vallée, Irenaeus attacked Gnosticism because of its strong revolutionary impetus. ³²² It is also interesting to see that the Samaritans are described more pejoratively than Jews in the writings of Origen which are considered as reflecting the events under Commodus.

To sum up, the Samaritans in the patristic writings, on the one hand, are described as the idol-worshippers according to the Judaeo-Christian tradition in II Kings 17. However, Jewishness of the Samaritans is not negated at all. On the other hand, comparing the description of Jews by the Church Fathers, the Samaritans are always described more pejoratively than Jews. Hence we can conclude that this may imply that:

- (1) the Samaritans appeared to the early Christians as the same people as the Jews;
- (2) the early Christian Fathers had a strong bias against Samaritans for various reasons which we disussed above.

Notes to Chapter VII

1. See K. Haacker, 'Samaritan, Samaria', in *NIDNTT*, vol. 3, 449-67.
2. See S. W. Baron, *A Social*, vol. II, p. 62; Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age (70-640 C. E.)*, vol. I, edited and translated by Gershon Levi (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984) p. 305 (hereafter *The Jews*); John G. Gager, 'Judaism as Seen by Outsiders', in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, edited by Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 100; Raymond Apple, 'What would a first-century Jew have made of the Christians?', in *Jews and Christians: the First-Century Dilemma*, A Weekend General Interest Seminar, Conducted by the Society for Early Christianity within the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University (Sydney, 14-15 April, 1989), p. 33.
3. See John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Towards Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 134-59 and R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (Clifton, NJ: Reference Book, 1966), pp. 35-96.
4. See Rosemary Radford Reuther, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1974), pp. 64-95 (hereafter *Faith*). See also R. Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) and J. Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age in Luke-Acts* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988). I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. R. T. Anderson for giving me this information.
5. Cf. Mk. 14:58; Acts 7:48; 17:24; Hebrews 9:11.
6. James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism* (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 77 (hereafter *The Conflict*). See also M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1984), pp.141, 145-49 (hereafter *The Jews*), and Robert L. Wilken, 'The Jews and Christian Apologetics After Theodosius I *Cunctos Populos*', *HTR*, 73/3-4 (July-October 1980), 451-71.

7. James Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 36. See also Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith*, p. 76.
8. Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith*, p. 78.
9. See n. 13 below.
10. Eus., *HE*. iii, 5, 2-3.
11. James Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 77-92.
12. E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 298, n. 10 and p. 433, n. 20.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 460 and see also Aharoni Oppenheimer, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt', 73.
14. Aharoni Oppenheimer, *ibid.*, 73. However, for the possibility of non-Jewish participation in the revolt, see M. Mor, 'The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants', *JJS*, 36/2 (1985), 200-209.
15. See n. 2 above.
16. BJ. II, 556.
17. J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai*, ca. 1-80 C.E. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp. 157-66.
18. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, p. 141. Furthermore, 'some, like Rabbis Meir, Yose bar Halafta and Yohanan the sandal-maker had fled abroad' (*ibid.*, p. 15).
19. See section A in Chapter VI.
20. Douglas R. A. Hare, 'The Rejection of the Jews in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts', in *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (hereafter *Anti-Semitism*), edited by Alan Davies (New York; Ramsey; Toronto: Paulist Press, 1979), p. 31.
21. See E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews*, p. 460 and L. H. Schiffman, 'At the Crossroads', p. 156.
22. James Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 96.
23. Douglas R. A. Hare, *loc. cit.*, pp. 31 f.
24. See n. 18 in Chapter VI.
25. For this, see William Horbury, 'The Benediction of the *Minim* and Early Jewish-Christian Controversy', *JTS*, New Series, 33/1 (April 1982), 19-61; Reuven Kimelman, 'Birkat Ha-Minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity', in *JCSD*, vol. II, pp. 226-44 (hereafter

'*Birkat Ha-Minim*'); Asher Finkel, 'Yavneh's Liturgy and Early Christianity', *JES*, 18/2 (Spring 1981), 231-50; R. Travers Herford, *loc. cit.*, pp. 361-97; G. Alon, 'Jewish Christians: The Parting of the Ways', in *The Jews*, pp. 288-307.

26. Reuven Kimelman, '*Birkat Ha-Minim*', p. 226.
27. Quoted from Reuven Kimelman, *ibid.*, p. 226.
28. Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews*, p. 290.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.
30. Reuven Kimelman, '*Birkat Ha-Minim*', pp. 228-32.
31. The Hebrew was originally *nasrim* and thus more closely associated with Nazoraeans. See Reuven Kimelman, *ibid.*, p. 240.
32. Reuven Kimelman, *ibid.*, p. 244.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
34. Asher Finkel, *loc. cit.*, 238 f.
35. *Ibid.*, 238 f.
36. *Ibid.*, 242.
37. *Ibid.*, 239.
38. G. Alon, *The Jews*, p. 307.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
40. James Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 87.
41. G. Alon, *The Jews*, p. 306.
42. James Parkes, *The Conflict*, pp. 79-81.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 81
44. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
46. See especially 'The Negation of the Jesus in the Church Fathers', in Rosemary Radford Reuther, *Faith*, pp. 117-82.
47. See James Parkes, *The Conflict*, p. 97, and p. 100.
48. For *ethnos*, see Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *ethnos* in the NT', *TDNT*, vol. II, 369-72 and H. Bietenhard, *ethnos*,

NIDNTT, vol. II, 790-95.

49. Luke 7:5; 23:2; Acts 10:17, 22; 24:2; 26:4; 28:19.
50. Mt. 6:32
51. John 11:48,50,51,52; 18:35.
52. 'darkness' (1:5; 8:12; 12:46; cf. 3:19), 'the world' (1:10; 8:23; 14:22; 15:18-19; 16:20; 17:25)
53. 'do not know' (4:22; 7:28; 8:19, 55; 9:30; 15:21; 16:3; 17:25); 'do not understand' (3:10; 8:27; 10:6)
54. 3:12; 5:38,47; 6:36, 64; 8:45; 10:26, 38; 12:37, 39.
55. 5:18; 7:1, 19, 25; 8:37, 40, 59; 10:31, 32, 33; 11:8.
56. 9:22, 12:42. Cf. 16:2. See also below n. 120.
57. See Oscar Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle: Its Place in Judaism, among the disciples of Jesus and in early Christianity*, translated by John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1976), pp. 1-11 (hereafter *The Johannine Circle*), and J. Louis Martyn, *The Gospel of John in Christian History: Essays for Interpreters* (New York et al: Paulist Press, 1978), pp. 90-121.
58. 4:9; cf. 1:11.
59. 1:38, 49; 3:2, 26; 4:31; 6:25; 9:2; 11:8. cf. 20:16.
60. 2:23 f.; 4:53; 7:40; 8:31; 10:42; 11:45; 12:42.
61. John T. Townsend, 'The Gospel of John and the Jews: The Story of a Religious Divorce', in *Anti-Semitism*, p. 83. See also J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*. Second Edition: Revised and Enlarged (Nashville: Abingdon, 1985).
62. See Asher Finkel, 'Yavneh's Liturgy', 231-46.
63. John T. Townsend, *loc. cit.*, p. 88. For the development of the NT Canon to the end of the second century A.D. see W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, Revised Edition (London: SCM Press, 1975), pp. 475-93.
64. Luke 9:53
65. John 4:9
66. John 4:39
67. John 4:40

68. John 4:41
69. John 4:42
70. Acts 8:4-8
71. Wayne A. Meeks, 'Galilee and Judea in the Fourth Gospel', *JBL*, 85 (1966), 169.
72. See James D. Purvis, 'The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans', *NT*, 17/3 (1975), 170-71 (hereafter 'The Fourth Gospel').
73. *Ibid.*, 170.
74. Wayne A. Meeks, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.
75. James D. Purvis, 'The Fourth Gospel', p. 172.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 171; Wayne A. Meeks, *loc. cit.*, p. 168.
77. John Macdonald and A. J. B. Higgins, 'The Beginnings of Christianity according to the Samaritans' *NTS*, 18(October 1971), 54-80.
78. *Ibid.*, 55.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Quoted from *ibid.*, 65.
81. Stanley Isser, 'Jesus in the Samaritan Chronicles', *JJS*, 32 (August 1981), 166-94.
82. *Ibid.*, 189.
83. *Ibid.*, 190.
84. *Ibid.*
85. See n. 51 of Chapter V.
86. Stanley Isser, *loc. cit.*, 191-94.
87. *Ibid.*, 194.
88. *Ibid.*
89. John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, p. 44.
90. Z. Ben-Hayyim, 'A Samaritan Text of the Former Prophets?', *Leshonenu*, 35 (1970/71), 292-302. See also W. A. Meeks, 'A Review of J. Macdonald's Samaritan Chronicle II', *JBL*, 89 (1970), 481-83 and Paul Stenhouse, 'Samaritan Chronicles' in *The*

Samaritans (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 222 f.

91. For a discussion of the negative command of Jesus, see Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, The Franz Delitzsch Lectures for 1953, *Studies in Biblical Theology*, no. 24 (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 19 f., 26-28, 72. Cf. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (München, 1922), pp. 538-60.
92. Reinhard Pummer, 'New Evidence for Samaritan Christianity?' *CBQ*, 41 (Jan 1979), 98-117, and P. E. Dion and R. Pummer, 'A Note on the "Samaritan-Christian Synagogue" in Ramat-Aviv', *JSJ*, 11/2 (Dec 1980), 217-22.
93. Acts 8:4
94. Acts 8:6
95. Acts 8:14
96. For the annotated bibliography on this, see Choon Shik Chang, *A Survey*, pp. 59-64.
97. Oscar Cullmann, 'Samaria and the Origin of the Christian Mission', in *The Early Church*, edited by A. J. B. Higgins (London: SCM Press, 1956), p. 189 (hereafter 'Samaria').
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
100. Oscar Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle*, p. 57.
101. Robin Scroggs, 'The Earliest Hellenistic Christianity', in *RelAnt*, pp. 176-206.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-200.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 200.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
105. *Ibid.*
106. See subject index in Alan D. Crown, *A Bibliography*, p. 96.
107. For a review of John Bowman's *The Samaritan Problem*, see Choon Shik Chang, *A Survey*, pp. 67-84.
108. John Bowman, 'Samaritan Studies', *BJRL*, 40 (1958), 308.

109. Ibid., pp. 301-2.
110. Ibid., p. 302.
111. Edwin D. Freed, 'Did John write his Gospel partly to win Samaritan Converts?', *NT*, 12/3 (1970), 241-56.
112. Ibid., p. 256.
113. G. W. Buchanan, 'The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John', in *RelAnt*, pp. 149-75.
114. See also below n. 121.
115. Charles H. H. Scobie, 'The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity', *NTS*, 19 (July 1973), 398 f., and 408.
116. Ibid., 407.
117. Gerard S. Sloyan, 'The Samaritans in the New Testament', *Horizons*, 10/1 (Spring, 1983), 21. Elsewhere Sloyan suggests that Jesus was the healer of the ancient schism between North and South. See *idem.*, *John, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988), p. 6, and also pp. 104 f.
118. John Bowman, 'Samaritan Studies', *BJRL*, 40 (1958), 301-302 and *idem.*, *The Samaritan Problem*, pp. 61-62.
119. See Section A in Chapter III.
120. W. Schrage, 'apostynagogos' *TDNT*, vol. 7, pp. 848-52. See also John T. Townsend, 'The Gospel of John', 84-88 and J. Louis Martyn, *History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 156-60.
121. G. W. Buchanan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 158-62.
122. See R. Mayer, 'Israel', *NIDNTT*, vol. II, 311-12, and K. G. Kuhn, 'Israel', *TDNT*, 359-65.
123. For recent discussions, see P. Bruneau, '"Les Israélites de Délos" et la juiverie délienne', *BCH*, 106 (1982), 465-504; A. T. Kraabel, 'New Evidence of the Samaritan Diaspora has been Found on Delos', *BA*, 47/1 (March 1984), 44-46; L. Michael White, 'The Delos Synagogue Revisited: Recent Fieldwork in the Graeco-Roman Diaspora', *HTR*, 80/2 (1987), 133-60; R. Pummer, 'Argarizin: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?' *JSJ*, 18/1 (June 1987), 18-25; *idem.*, 'Samaritan Material Remains', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 150-51.

124. A. T. Kraabel, loc. cit., 45.
125. Ibid., 45.
126. L. Michael White, loc. cit., 154.
127. Ibid., 145 f.
128. Leo Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, Typos Monographien zur antiken Numismatik, Band VI, edited by Patricia Erhart Mottahedeh (Aarau and Frankfurt: Verlag Sauerländer, 1984), pp. 69-72.
129. Ibid., p. 72. For a discussion of the Bar Cochba coinage, see also Ya'akov Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967), pp. 92-101 and idem., *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, vol. II: *Herod the Great through Bar Cochba* (New York: Amphora Books, 1982), pp. 132-65 and Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews*, vol. II, pp. 620-25.
130. John 4:22.
131. John 2:23; 7:40; 8:30 f.; 10:42; 11:45-48; 12:11, 19.
132. 3:22; 2:6, 13; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 11:55; 19:40, 42.
133. James D. Purvis, 'The Fourth Gospel', 191.
134. See David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*. New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1972), p. 185; William Hendrikson, *The Gospel of Matthew*. New Testament Commentary (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 456; R. T. France, *The Gospel According to Matthew*. The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 178.
135. Joachim Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, p. 72.
136. O. Cullmann, 'Samaria', p. 185.
137. J. Massyngbaerde Ford, *My Enemy is My Guest*, p. 88.
138. H. Benedict Green, *The Gospel According to Matthew in the Revised Standard Version*, The New Clarendon Bible (Oxford, 1975), pp. 108-111.
139. W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 26 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), p. 119.
140. See section 3 in Chapter VI.
141. For the use of the term *Mittelding*, see J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 178.

142. Cf. Francis Wright Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew, A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p. 242. According to K. Haacker (*loc. cit.*, p. 454), 'the parallelism with "the Gentiles" (*ethne*) and the juxtaposition with "the house of Israel" show unmistakably that the Samaritans are here not recognized as Israelites'.
143. Ant. XI, 291, 341; XII, 257.
144. See section 2 of Chapter VI.
145. K. Haacker, *NIDNTT*, 454.
146. See Emil Schürer, *A History*, vol. I, pp. 57-148 and Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews*, vol. I, pp. 132-51.
147. R. T. Frances (*loc. cit.*, p. 178) correctly argues that Matthew here apparently reflects a traditionally Jewish view towards the Samaritans.
148. See ns. 19 and 35 in Chapter V.
149. Lk. 9:53.
150. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'The Parable of the Good Samaritan (10:29-37' in *The Gospel According to Luke (x-xxiv)*, *The Anchor Bible*, vol. 28 A (Garden City, New York: Doubleday), pp. 882-90.
151. Joseph Halévy, 'Sens et origine de la parabole évangélique dite du bon Samaritain', *REJ*, 4 (1982), 249-55. See also Morton S. Enslin, 'The Samaritan Ministry and Mission', *HUCA*, 51 (1980), 29-38.
152. Morton S. Enslin, *ibid.*, 35.
153. I. Abrahams, 'The Good Samaritan', in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Second Series, Library of Biblical Studies, edited by Harry M. Orlinsky (Originally published 1924 by Cambridge University Press, reprinted in New York: KTAV, 1967), p. 35.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
155. Quoted from *ibid.*, pp. 35 f.
156. Joseph A Fitzmyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 883 f.
157. *Ibid.* See also J. Massynbaerde Ford, 'Reconciliation and Forgiveness in Luke's Gospel', *Political Issues in Luke-Acts* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 80-98.
158. I. Abrahams, *loc. cit.*, pp. 36 f.

159. Ibid.
160. O. Cullmann, 'Samaria', p. 186. At the same time it is not likely that Luke opposes, as R. T. Frances (*loc. cit.*, p. 178) argues, the traditional Jewish hostility to the Samaritans.
161. For a literary analysis of Luke 17:11-19, see Hans Dieter Betz, 'The Cleansing of the Ten Lepers (Luke 17:11-19)', *JBL*, 90/3 (Sep 1971), 314-28, and O. Glombitza, 'Der Dankbare Samariter: Luk. XVII 11-19', *NT*, 11 (1969), 241-46.
162. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (London: SCM Press, 1982), p. 72.
163. Hans Dieter Betz, *loc. cit.*, 319.
164. For the theology and the structure of Luke-Acts, see Norman Perrin and Dennis C. Dubling, *The New Testament: An Introduction*, Second Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), pp. 301-11.
165. Rudolf Schnackenburg [*The Gospel according to St. John*, vol. I, trans. by Kevin Smyth (New York: Herder & Herder; London: Burns & Oates, 1968), p. 425] suggests that the last part of John 4:9 may be a later interpolation. See also Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 159. However, C. K. Barrett [*The Gospel According to St. John*, Second Edition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1978), p. 232] argues that the verse was added by the Evangelist himself in his own day.
166. J. Jeremias, *The Samaritans*, p. 354.
167. In recent times Hendrikus Boers [*Neither on This Mountain nor in Jerusalem: A Study of John 4*, The Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, No. 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988)], applying A. J. Greimas' semiotic theory to the study of John 4, has drawn a conclusion that 'she [the Samaritan woman] draw his [Jesus] attention to the fact that a Jewish man does not ask such a thing of a Samaritan woman, a convention which is then formulated in the more general terms of Jews and Samaritans not associating with each other' (p. 84). See also *ibid.*, pp. 132-36.
168. D. R. Hall, 'The meaning of *synchraomai* in John 4:9', *ET*, 83/2 (1971), 56-57.
169. J. Duncan M. Derrett, 'The Samaritan Woman's Pitcher', *The Downside Review*, 102 (Oct 1984), 254.

170. M. Nid. 4:1
171. David Daube, 'Samaritan Woman, in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Jordan Lectures 1952 (London, 1956), p. 372.
172. Ibid., 375-82.
173. For a discussion of the Samaritan halakha, see I. R. M. Boid, 'The Samaritan Halachah', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 624-49.
174. Alan D. Crown, 'Qumran or the Samaritans: Which has the Closer Relationship with Early Christianity?', Paper for the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, 1989), 7 (hereafter 'Qumran').
175. According to Jarl Fossum ['Sects and Movements' in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed), p. 348], 'the Samaritans traditionally frown upon Gentiles, who ...are considered unclear, because of the Samaritans' fear of contact with aliens, the Muslims called them *La-Mesasiyye*, "the Touch-Me-Nots"'.
176. For Jacob tradition, see Jerome H. Heyrey, 'Jacob Traditions and the Interpretation of John 4:10-26', *CBQ*, 41/3 (July 1979), 419-37 and also W. Ewing, 'Jacob' in *DB*, vol. II, 526-37.
177. See n. 30 of the Introduction.
178. Quoted from John Bowman, tr. and ed., *Samaritan Documents Relating To Their History, Religion and Life*, Pittsburgh Original Texts & Translations Series, No. 2 (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1977), p. 35. For the use of the term 'Israel' by Samaritans, see also J. Macdonald, *Memar Margah: The Teaching of Margah*. vol. I: The Text; vol. II: The Translation. BZAW 84 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1963), pp. I, 52 and II, 83.
179. Ant. XI, 341.
180. Cf. L. M. Muntingh, '"Israel" in Old Testament and Jewish Apocalyptic Literature', in *OTWSA* 25 (1982) and *OTWSA* 26 (1983), *Old Testament Essays, The Exilic Period: Aspects of Apocalypticism*, 109-29.
181. According to Gerard S. Sloyan (*John*, p. 54), 'John confines himself to the Judean reality of his own day that Jerusalem had within its limits the right mountain for worship for Jews, Samaria the wrong one (vv. 20-21)'.
182. K. Haacker, *NIDNTT*, 461.

183. Quoted from Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), p. 556. For a comment on the couplet (50:25-26), see *ibid.*, p. 558.
184. See James D. Purvis, 'Ben Sira' and the Foolish People of Shechem', in *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, pp. 119-29.
185. See John J. Collins, 'The Epic of Theodotus and the Hellenism of the Hasmoneans', *HTR*, 73/1-2 (Jan-April 1980), 91-104. However, R. Pummer rejects Collins' theme for anti-Samaritan polemic in the Jewish writings in the Hellenistic period. Pummer argues that no anti-Samaritan *Tendenz* can be traced in Testament of Levi, Jubilees, Judith, Theodotus, Josephus, Philo, and Pseudo-Philo. See R. Pummer, 'Genesis 34 in Jewish Writings of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', *HTR*, 75/1 (Jan 1982), 177-88.
186. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 155; cf. *ibid.*, p. 193. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that Hippolytus, in his *Philosophumena* vi. 7 and 18, used the term 'foolish' for Simon and his followers.
187. For the feminist theological perspective concerning the attitude of the disciples, see Raymond E. Brown, 'Women in Fourth Gospel' *TS*, 36/4 (Dec 1975), 699.
188. *The Shows, or De Spectaculis*, xxx. For the translation, see *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, edited by Alexander Roberts et al., vol. III (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963), p. 91 (hereafter *ANF*).
189. *Ibid.*
190. Heinrich Hammer, *Traktat vom Samaritanermessias* (Bonn, 1913).
191. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, p. 85.
192. For the notes on 8:48, see C. K. Barrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 350.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 350. See also Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (i-xii)*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 29 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), p. 357.
194. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 164.
195. Eric Francis Osborn, *Justin Martyr, Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie*, 47 (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1973), p. 6.

196. *The First Apology of Justin*, I. For the translation, see ANF, vol. 1, p. 163.
197. *Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho, a Jew*, xxviii. For the translation, see ANF, vol. I, p. 208.
198. Ibid. cxx, 6.
199. For the translation, see ANF, vol. I, p. 180.
200. *Dialogue with Trypho*, cxx, 6.
201. *The Second Apology of Justin*, xv. See ANF, vol. 1, p. 193.
202. *The First Apology of Justin*, liii. See ANF, vol. i, pp. 180 f.
203. *The Second Apology*, xxvi. See M. Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), p. 207, n. 133. However, Gerd Lüdemann ['The Acts of the Apostles and the Beginnings of Simonian Gnosis', *NTS*, 33 (1987), 422] considers this as Justin's convincing personal information.
204. *The Second Apology*, xv.
205. E. F. Osborn, loc. cit., p. 6.
206. *Dialogue with Trypho*, xli, 3.
207. S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, *Studia Post-Biblica*, vol. 28 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), p. 247.
208. Ibid., pp. 247 f.
209. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, pp. 46 f., 101, 103.
210. For this, see P. R. Weis, 'Some Samaritanisms of Justin Martyr,' *JTS*, 45 (1944), 199-205.
211. However, according to Edwin M. Yamauchi [*Pre-Christian Gnosticism: A Survey of the Proposed Evidences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), p. 58], l. Cerfaux believes that Simon was a pagan from the area of Samaria, while G. Quispel regards Simon as a member of the Samaritan religious group.
212. S. Lowy, loc. cit., p. 248.
213. For this, see Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith*, pp. 117-82.

214. *Tertullian Against Marcion*, book III, xiii (ANF, vol. III, p. 332) and book IV, xxxv (ANF, vol. III, p. 408).
215. *Against Marcion*, III, xiii
216. For the translation, see ANF, vol. III, p. 332.
217. *Ibid.*, book IV.
218. *Ibid.*
219. Lk. 20:17.
220. *A Treatise on the Soul*, xxv, 7.
221. *Contra Celsum*, I:49, *Commentary on John*, xiii, 26.
222. *Commentary on Matthew*, xvii, 29, *John*, xx, 35.
223. *Commentary on the Gospel of John: Tome Thirteen*, xii-xiii. For the text, see PG 14, cols. 417 BCD, 420 A.
224. *Ibid.*, xcvi. PG 14, col. 445 A.
225. *Contra Celsum*, II:13, *Commentary on Matthew*, xvii, 29-30. Cf. N. R. M. de Lange, *Origen*, p. 166, n. 98.
226. Cf. Joseph Wilson Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church* (SCM Press, 1985), p. 150.
227. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, p. 85.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
229. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
230. For this, see S. Krauss, 'The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers', in *Judaism and Christianity, Selected Accounts, 1892-1962. The Jewish People: History. Religion. Literature*, edited by Jacob B. Agus et al., (New York: Arno Press, 1973), pp. 139-57 [Originally published in *JQR*, 5-6 (1893-94)] and Reuven Kimelman, 'Rabbi Yohanan and Origen on the Song of Songs: A Third-Century Jewish-Christian Disputation', *HTR*, (July-October, 1980), 567-95.
231. Quoted from Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965), p. 46.
232. xvii, 29-30.
233. See Henry Chadwick, *loc. cit.*, p. 79, n. 3. However, according to Alan D. Crown ['The Samaritans

in the Byzantine Orbit', *BJRL*, 69/1 (Aut 1986), 99 (hereafter 'Orbit']), Origen reflects here events, not under Antoninus, but under Commodus (180-193 A.D.) who treated the Samaritans severely.

234. Alan D. Crown, 'Orbit', 102 and also idem., 'Qumran', p. 5.
235. For studies on the problem of Simon Magus, see G.N. L. Hall, 'Simon Magus', *ERT*, vol. 11, 514-25; George Salmon, 'Simon Magus', in *DCB*, vol. IV (London, 1887), pp. 681-88; G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus: An Essay on the Founder of Simonianism Based on the Ancient Sources with a Re-evaluation of His Philosophy and Teachings* (London:1892: Reprinted in Chicago: Ares, 1979) (hereafter *Simon Magus*); Robert P. Casey, 'Simon Magus', in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, pp.151-63. K. Beyschlag, 'Zur Simon-Magus Frage', *ZTK*, 68(1971), 395-426; Bruce Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, pp. 262-75; Jarl Fossum, 'Sects and Movement', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 357-89 (hereafter 'Sects and Movements').
236. For a general survey of modern scholarship on the question of Samaritan Gnostics, see Edwin M. Yamauchi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56-68 and Reinhard Pummer, 'Aspects', 181-83; idem., 'The Present State of Samaritan Studies: II', *JSS*, 22 (Spring 1977), 27-33.
237. For the translation, see G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus*, pp. 8-10.
238. *Adversus Haereses*, I. xxiii. 4.
239. *Ibid.*, I. xxix. 1; Cf. I. xxiii. 2; II. preface.
240. Cf. Gérard Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius*, *Studies in Christianity and Judaism: 1* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), pp. 5 f., n. 5.
241. *Ibid.* p. 68.
242. Alan D. Crown, 'Orbit', 102 and idem., 'Qumran', 5.
243. *Contra Celsum*, I, 57.
244. *Commentary in Matthew*, 33.
245. Cf. R. Pummer, 'The Present State: II', 27.
246. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, pp. 262-75.
247. Gerd Lüdemann, *loc. cit.*, 420-26.
248. *Ibid.*, 420.

249. R. Mcl. Wilson, 'Simon and Gnostic Origins', *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, redaction, théologie, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, 48,, edited by J. Kremer (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1979), p. 490.
250. *Ibid*, p. 491. See also *idem*, *Gnosis and the New Testament* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), p. 49.
251. R. Mcl. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem: A Study of the Relations between Hellenistic Judaism and the Gnostic Heresy* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958), p. 100.
252. Robert M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity, Revised Edition* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 73-75.
253. Simone Pètrement, *Les Dieu séparé: Les origines du gnosticisme* (Paris: Cerf, 1984), pp. 305-324. For the review of this volume, see Birger A. Pearson, 'Early Christianity and Gnosticism: A Review Essay', *RSR*, 13/1 (Jan 1987), 4-6.
254. See below n. 268.
255. Edwin M. Yamauchi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 56-62.
256. C. H. Talbert [*Luke and the Gnostics* (Nashville, 1966), p. 16] suggests that 'Luke-Acts was written to serve as a defense against Gnosticism'. See also John W. Drane, 'Simon the Samaritan and the Lucan Concept of Salvation History', *EQ*, 47/3 (July-Sep 1975), 131-37 and G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus*, pp. 38-49.
257. However, Hans Conzelmann maintains that the narrative is not historical. See Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles Hermeneia--A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, translated by James Limburg et al., edited by Eldon Jay Epp with C. R. Matthews (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 64.
258. See below nos. 305, 306, and 308. See also Eus., *HE*, ii. 13.
259. G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus*, p. 38.
260. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I, xxiii. 1.
261. Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, vi. 7.
262. Cf. for example, Gedaliah Alon (*The Jews*, p. 442) criticizes Epiphanius as follows: 'He is neither a creative historian nor a reliable copyist, and certainly his insight and his respect for the truth

- do not rate very high. His testimony, therefore, cannot be taken at face value, but must be examined with a critical eye'.
263. E. Haenchen, 'Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?', *ZTK*, 49 (1952), 316-49.
 264. W. Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church* (1969), p. 137.
 265. H. -M. Schenke, 'Das Problem der Beziehung zwischen Judentum und Gnosis', *Kairos*, 7 (1965), 124-33.
 266. Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of an Ancient Religion*, translated and edited by Robert McLachlan Wilson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983), p. 297.
 267. Roland Bergmeier, 'Quellen vorchristlichen Gnosis?', in *Tradition und Glaube*, Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn, edited by G. Jeremias et al., (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), pp 202-208.
 268. K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, WUNT, 16 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1975). See also for a critical review on the writings of Haenchen, Beyschlag, and Lüdemann, see Wayne A. Meeks, 'Simon Magus in Recent Research', *RSR*, 3/3 (July 1977), 137-42 (hereafter 'Simon Magus').
 269. J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 268.
 270. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 307.
 271. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, pp. 265-73. See also Robert P. Casey, 'Simon Magus' in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, The Acts of the Apostles*, edited by F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. V, *Additional Notes to the Commentary*, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1979), p. 152. Casey argues that 'the supposition that Simon was a member of the Samaritan sect has no support in Acts', and that Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho* 120 and *Apology II*, 15 uses the term Samaritan as 'a strictly geographical sense' to imply the inhabitants of the district of Samaria.
 272. Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 163 and also *idem.*, 'Sects and Movements', pp. 362-65.
 273. Jarl E. Fossum, 'Sects and Movements', pp. 364-89.
 274. Generally, there have been two different views on the origin of Dositheus: the pre-Christian period and the

mid-first century A.D. The former date has been held by some scholars who argue that there were two or three persons named Dositheus, according to the different literary traditions. Hence, S. Krauss [*'Dosithee et les Dositheens'*, *REJ*, 42 (1901), 27-42], assuming three Dositheus in Abu'l Fath and in the patristic writings, regarded the Dositheus, a pre-Christian Samaritan heresiarch, in Abu'l Fath as a proto-Sadducee. This idea then has been followed by other scholars. For example, J. A. Montgomery (*The Samaritans*, pp. 260-63) supposed two different Dosithean sects 'founded by and named after different Dosithei: one is proto-Sadducean sect which originated in Egypt and kept the ancient Samaritan doctrine of the denial of the resurrection, while the other is ascetic and encratic Dositheanism in the first century A.D. Similarly, T. Caldwell suggests two different Dositheus according to the different traditions in the patristic writings. See T. Caldwell, 'Dositheos Samaritanus', *Kairos*, 4/2 (1962), 105-17 and also S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans*, pp. 121-24.

However, the pre-Christian date of Dositheus, i.e., the association of Dositheus and the Sadducees, is strongly rejected by modern scholars. For example, Jarl Fossum (*'Sects and Movements'*, pp. 295-97) contends that the tradition of pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Philaster which regards Dositheus as a proto-Sadducee 'would seem to be a mistake derived from the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus'. In other words, Fossum assumes that Hippolytus simply ascribed the denial of the resurrection as well as the emergence of the Sadducean heresy to Dositheus, because he knew that Dositheus was the first Samaritan schismatic (*ibid.*, p. 296). In addition, it is apparent in modern scholarship that the account of Abu'l Fath concerning the arrival of Dusis in Samaria in the period of Baba Rabba is considered to be 'a propagandistic literary motif than history' (S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans*, p. 96), and to be 'grossly postdated the heresiarch' (Fossum, *ibid.*, p. 300).

Briefly, on the other hand, the view that Dositheus was a person of a pre-Christian period is also maintained by others who saw the Samaritan sectarianism in the early history of Israel. For example, John Bowman [*'The Importance of Samaritan Researches'*, *ALUOS*, 1 (1958-59), 47, and 54 and *idem.*, *The Samaritan Problem*, pp. 38-39] believes that Dositheus(Dusis), who was the Jewish dissenter from Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem, came to Shechem and founded a new sect at the period of John Hyrcanus, for Abu'l Fath mentions of the Dustan sect at that time. However, Alan D. Crown, although he dates the emergence of the Dosithean movement in the

- early third century B.C., argues that Dositheanism had new form by Dositheus, a Messianic figure like Joshua, in the first century A.D. See Alan D. Crown, 'Dositheus, Resurrection and a Messianic Joshua', *Antichthon*, 1 (1967), 70 ff.
275. Eus. *HE*, iv. 22. 4 ff.
276. S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans*, pp. 15-16.
277. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 57; VI, 11.
278. *Homilies*, II. 22-25 and *Clementine Recognitions*, II, 7-12.
279. Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 48.
280. S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans*, p. 23.
281. Bruce W. Hall, *Samaritan Religion*, pp. 266-73.
282. Jarl E. Fossum, 'Sects and Movement' p. 363.
283. See the section of 'Justin Martyr' in this chapter.
284. For a discussion of the location of Gitta, see E. Haenchen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 301 f. Wendt refers to Sebaste, while Wellhausen, Zahn and E. Meyer insist Shechem. On the other hand, a city which is questioned in Acts 8:5 has been suggested to imply Gitta. See Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Part I. *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. IV, *English Translation and Commentary*, p. 89 and F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmann, 1951), p. 183.
285. W. F. Albright, 'Simon Magus as "the Great Power of God"' in J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostle*, *The Anchor Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 305.
286. G. R. S. Mead, *Simon Magus*, p. 38.
287. G. N. L. Hall, *loc. cit.*, p. 515.
288. See n. 282 above.
289. According to Jerome Crowe [*The Acts*, *New Testament Message*, vol. 8 (Dublin: Veritas, 1979), p. 53], 'The mission of Philip is connected backwards (v. 4) with persecution in Jerusalem and forwards (11:19) to the foundation of the church in Antioch, making it out as the first step on the road from Jerusalem to Antioch'.
290. M. Hengel, *Earliest Christianity: Containing Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity, Property and*

- Riches in the Early Church* (London: SCM Press, 1986), pp. 79-80.
291. See n. 101 above.
292. According to Alan D. Crown ('Qumran', 4), 'There is no doubt that Philip and others who worked and preached in Samaria would have been fully aware of Samaritan traditions and rituals both those Samaritans who were Yahwists and those Samaritans who were pagans or syncretists'.
293. R. M. Grant, loc. cit., p. 72 and K. Haacker, loc. cit., 457.
294. Alan D. Crown, 'Qumran', 9 f.
295. Jarl E. Fossum, 'Sects and Movements', pp. 384-88.
296. See Pieter F. Goedendorp, '"If you are the Standing One, I also will worship you" (Pseudo-Clementine Homilies II 24, 6)', Paper submitted at the First International Congress for Samaritan Studies, (April 10-14, 1988, Tel Aviv/Jerusalem).
297. Wayne A. Meeks, 'Simon Magus', 141.
298. For the demographic and economic situation after the revolt of Bar Cochba, see M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, pp. 15-25 and Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews*, vol. II, pp. 748-57.
299. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, p. 19.
300. Ref. a map of Palestine after 135 in *ibid.*, p. 17.
301. For the Samaritan settlement, see Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews*, vol. II, pp. 742-46 and also Alan D. Crown, 'The Byzantine and Moslem Period (hereafter 'The Byzantine')', in *The Samaritans* (ed. by *idem.*), pp. 59 f.
302. Alfredo M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani: Alla Luce Delle Fonti Storico-Letterarie, Ecclesiastiche e Giuridiche. Monografie del Vocabolario di Giustiniano*, vol. I (Milano: Dott. A. Giuffre Editore, 1987), p. 141. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul Stenhouse for his reading the volume with me.
303. Alan D. Crown, 'Qumran', 117. For this, see Abraham Tal, 'Samaritan Literature', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), pp. 413-67.
304. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, p. 147.

305. Cf. Interestingly, Vallée (loc. cit., p. 3) states that '...the analogy between ancient heretics and contemporary minorities struggling for survival is too striking to be overlooked or dismissed.'
306. See Eric M. Meyers, 'Early Judaism and Christianity in the Light of Archaeology', *BA* 51/2 (June 1988), 69-79 and also Dennis E. Groh, 'Jews and Christians in Late Roman Palestine Towards a New Chronology', in *ibid.*, 80-96.
307. Eric M. Meyers, loc. cit., 76.
308. See M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, pp. 137-73.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
310. See P. R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State and Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, 3 vols. (London: S. P. C. K., 1966).
311. *Ibid.*, pp. 762-63, n. 459; Cf. pp. 700-701, no. 422. and p. 704, n. 423.
312. *Ibid.*, no. 487, pp. 845. Cf. no. 485, p. 841.
313. Alan D. Crown, 'Orbit', 103.
314. I had this information from the private communication with Dr. Crown.
315. Alfredo M. Rabello, loc. cit., pp. 143 f. See also Alan D. Crown, 'The Byzantine', p. 66.
316. Alfredo M. Rabello, loc. cit., p. 144. See also M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, p. 160.
317. For the Samaritan report about conflict between two groups over the tombs of the Patriarch, see Paul Stenhouse, *The Kitab al-Tarikh*, pp. 236-39.
318. Alfredo M. Rabello, loc. cit., p. 144.
319. See P. R. Coleman-Norton, loc. cit., no. 574, pp. 1007-8 and no. 575, pp. 1008-11. See also Alan D. Crown, 'The Byzantine', pp. 63-64.
320. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews*, p. 78 and Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 94.
321. See Bruce Hall, 'From John Hyrcanus to Baba Rabbah', in *The Samaritans* (Alan D. Crown ed.), p. 52. For the Samaritan report about the persecution during the rule of Commodus, see Paul Stenhouse, loc. cit., pp. 165-68.

322. Gérard Vallée, loc. cit., p. 70.

Conclusion

This study has focused on the problem of Samaritan origins and identity in a diachronic fashion, from the earliest time that the people could have originated, down to the period that the people separated themselves from the Jewish community. In other words, we have argued that the Samaritans came into being in the vortex of the destructions of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The loss of nationality due to the repeated fall of the kingdoms, as well as the territorial annexation, the collapse of the national economy, and finally the struggle for survival among various peoples in the land of Israel during the post-exilic period, can be considered as the most important factors in relation to the origins of the Samaritans. At the same time, we have suggested that the Samaritans consisted of the people remaining in the land of Israel after the destruction, that is that the Samaritans comprised from all parts of the population of the land of Israel, viz. Israelites, Judaeans and foreigners.

Traditionally, II Kings 17 has been interpreted as portraying the deportation of the entire population of Israel. In addition, it has been considered as giving the account of the origin of the Samaritans as the syncretistic foreigners. However, that a considerable

number of inhabitants remained in *Erets Israel* after the fall of both kingdoms, is clearly demonstrated from the archaeological evidence. It is apparent that most of the small sites in rural areas betray that they were hardly touched by war and were continuously settled, and that the Israelite material culture dominated through the Iron Age down to the post-exilic period.

On the other hand, the literary analysis of II Kings 17 has shown us that the primary source preserved the historical core concerning the fall of the northern Israelite kingdom. But the composition of II Kings 17 in a later period was to polarise those who had not gone into exile. Similarly, we have traced the same polemic against the survivors in the biblical themes of the exile, the remnant, and the future restoration as reflected in the prophetic writings from the exilic period onwards as well as in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. From all this we have argued that the term *Shomronim* in II Kings 17 was originally the polemical term which was used to discriminate against the survivors in the land of Israel, as if they were the descendants of northern schismatics or syncretistic colonists. Accordingly, it is our contention that the term in II Kings 17 should be translated as 'the Samaritans'.

It is then clear that the first Samaritan schism resulted from the exclusive policy of Ezra and Nehemiah. Their

reforms were carried out with the introduction of the new religious calendar, which was introduced by the Persian authorities. It is likely that the Persian authorities attempted to consolidate their power and to protect their subjects with the introduction of the new religious calendar to the Jews. However, it is possible that the returned exiles used this calendar to take the leadership and exercise hegemony over the survivors who had not experienced the exile. This may have caused a great tension between the two groups. However, the separation was not the final and complete one, but just a beginning of a long period of mutual antagonism which culminated in the period of Baba Rabba.

The fact that the Samaritans were still regarded as fellow Jews is clearly suggested in such literary materials as the Elephantine papyri, Josephus, the Rabbinic literature, and the early Christian writings.

In the Elephantine papyri, those things such as the appeal of Jews to both places of Jerusalem and Samaria, and the sanction for the rebuilding the temple at Elephantine, and the general agreement on a certain religious matter in the Jewish colony by both authorities can be accepted as showing the fact that there had been no final schism in the early fifth century B.C.

In the writings of Josephus Samaritans are described interchangeably with the two Greek terms. *Samareis* and

Samareitai. The term *Samareis* was primarily the geographical designation for the inhabitants of the city of Samaria. It was only after the second century B.C. that the term was used to refer to the Samaritans in Shechem. On the other hand, the term *Samareitai* was applied for polemical effect, with anti-Samaritan feeling. The Samaritans then are designated by the other terms such as *Chuthaioi*, *Sikimitai*, and *Sidonioi*. These designations were definitely employed to give an impression that the Samaritans were the foreigners. However, we have argued that the writings of Josephus evince the fact that the schism was not finalized by the construction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim nor by its destruction by Hyrcanus in 108 B.C. It is apparent that there had been a continuous relationship between Jews and Samaritans, although the relationship varied in nature and was sometimes ambiguous.

The ambivalent attitude of Jews towards the identity of the Samaritans is also revealed in the rabbinic literature. It is worth mentioning that the Samaritans were regarded as Jewish people by the early generations of the Tannaim, whereas the later Tannaim considered them as Gentiles. According to *Aboda Zarah Jer.* 44d, the Samaritans were even accused of being corrupt. However, it is worth observing again that the Jewish identity of the Samaritans was not negated. The first two centuries after the fall of the second Temple in 70 A.D. was a

period of great losses for the Jewish people as well as a period of paganization of the native soil of the Jews in all aspects. In other words, the survival of Jews within an adverse socio-econo-political environment in this period, like the case of the first schism in the fifth century B.C., prompted the rabbinic authority to condemn those who gained from the losses of the Jewish people as pagan and corrupt. From this period on, the Samaritans began to persist in their own group identity, and developed their own literature including a Torah variant with that of their fellow Jews.

The Samaritans in the New Testament generally betray the mutual antagonism between Jews and Samaritans in association with Christian bias against Jews. The early Church Fathers such as Origen, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian describe the Samaritans more pejoratively than Jews. However, the Samaritans appeared to them to be the same people as the Jews.

From all this we can safely conclude that the Samaritans were nothing but the descendants of the survivors in the land of Israel, from the end of the eighth century B.C. It is evident that the final schism began from the third century A.D., when Baba Rabba adopted a different religious tradition to that of orthodox Judaism. The reunion, however, between Jews and Samaritans is expected in the eschatological future as reflected in *Masseket Kutim* as follows:

When shall we take them [Samaritans] back? When they renounce Mount Gerizim, and confess Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead.

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