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JESUS AND THE PHARISEES

JOHN BOWKER

LECTURER IN DIVINITY, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, AND
FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

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For Margaret

שלי שלך

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PREFACE

This book has been written to serve as a companion to studies of the Pharisees, and in particular to discussions of the Pharisees as they occur in the New Testament. It consists of an Introduction, an additional note on the controversies between the Pharisees (and others) and the Sadducees, and a translation of original source material bearing on the discussions.

The main part of the book consists of the translations, from both Greek and Semitic sources (though not from Bible or apocrypha which are more easily available). Obviously, not *all* the passages of possible relevance could be included, since that would have required at least another volume; but an attempt has been made to include the passages which are indispensable for an understanding of the Pharisees, and which occur frequently in discussion. It must, however, be borne in mind that the passages necessarily occur out of context, and may require the context for their full understanding.

The translations have been grouped in nine separate sections (see the list of Contents). Throughout the book, references without further specification of a particular work are to the translations, by section and number within the section (for example, I.1, I.2, I.3, etc. refer to the section of translations from Josephus).

The book is deliberately intended to be introductory: to understand the Pharisees is not easy, and the purpose of this book is to offer some initial bearings in very difficult country. For this reason, the Introduction has been kept as direct and simple as possible: it represents the structure of a possible argument, rather than the full argument itself, since almost every point in it could be given much more detailed elaboration, and no doubt much more cautious qualification as well. But that kind of elaboration would probably prove confusing to those who are not already familiar with the field. As it is, the Introduction outlines a solution to the difficult problem of identifying the 'Pharisees' in the different sources, and it suggests a new approach to the understanding of Jesus in relation to the Pharisees (particularly as recorded in Mark), and to his 'trial'. Even if these suggestions seem unconvincing, the Introduction may nevertheless still help to make clear what the problems are. I hope,

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at the very least, that New Testament discussions will cease to talk (as some undoubtedly have) of the Pharisees as though they were an undifferentiated group without a history of their own.

The Introduction presupposes at least some knowledge of the history of the period in question, even if only in narrative or outline form. It also presupposes my earlier book, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature*, Cambridge, 1969, the Introduction of which was equally intended to offer some initial bearings in the field of rabbinic biblical exegesis, together with the briefest possible description of rabbinic works and references.

So far as possible (and where they exist) existing translations have been used, but they have been corrected where necessary, particularly in the interests of uniformity. For the Bible, the translation is that of the New English Bible, for Josephus it is that of the Loeb translation, for the Mishnah, it is that of H. Danby (since this is the most widely used; but note the translation of P. Blackman which frequently corrects it), and for the Babylonian Talmud, it is that of the Soncino translation.

My thanks are offered to Dr Knopf and Dr de Langhe, who looked at parts of the translation and suggested corrections and improvements. They are not, of course, responsible for the mistakes that undoubtedly remain. Translations can, at best, serve as indications of possible meaning, but in the end there is no substitute for the text itself. Nevertheless, I hope that these translations will make the discussion of the Pharisees, and of the relation of Jesus to his contemporaries, easier for those who find the original texts difficult, either to find, or to understand. But ultimately, reference to the texts is indispensable.

My thanks are also offered to Miss J. M. Gurley, who typed what was often a complicated manuscript; and above all, to Margaret, my wife, who encouraged me to persist with this book in circumstances which made it seem likely that the writing of it would not be possible. Whatever its shortcomings, I hope it may at least be of some service to others.

June 1972

J.W.B.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Ant. Antiquities*
 A.R.N. Aboth deRabbi Nathan
 Ass. Mos. Assumption of Moses
 A.Z. Abodah Zarah
 B. Babli
 B.B. Baba Bathra
 Baḥod. Baḥodesh
 Bek. Bekoroth
 Bem.R. Bemidbar Rabbah
 B.Q. Baba Qamma
 Ber. Berakoth
 B.Z. *Biblische Zeitschrift*
 C.D.C. The Damascus Rule
 Dem. Demai
De Prov. De Providentia
De Spec. Leg. De Specialibus Legibus
 Eduy. Eduyyoth
 Erub. Erubin
 Gitt. Gittin
 Ḥag. Ḥagigah
 Hor. Horayoth
H.S.S. Harvard Semitic Series
H.T.R. Harvard Theological Review
H.U.C.A. Hebrew Union College Annual
 Hull. Hullin
 J. Jerushalmi
J.B.L. Journal of Biblical Literature
J.Q.R. Jewish Quarterly Review
 Kasp. Kaspā
 Kel. Kelim
 Ket. Ketuboth
 M. Mishnah
 Makk. Makkoth
 Maksh. Makshirin
 Meg. Ta'an. Megillath Ta'anith
 Men. Menaḥoth
 M.Sh. Ma'aser Sheni
 Nidd. Niddah
N.T.S. New Testament Studies
 Par. Parah
 Pes. Pesahim
 Pes.R. Pesiqta Rabbati
Proc.I.A.S.H. Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
 Qid. Qiddushin
 Qoh.R. Qoheleth Rabbah
 R.H. Rosh haShanah
 Rn. Rabban
 San. Sanhedrin
 Shab. Shabbath
 Sheb. Shebi'ith
 Sheq. Sheqalim
 Sot. Sotah
 Sukk. Sukkah
 T. Tosefta
 Tanḥ.B. Tanḥuma (Buber's edn.)
 Toh. Tohoroth
 Vay.R. Vayyiqra Rabbah
 Yad. Yadaim
 Yeb. Yebamoth
 Yom. Yoma
 Zeb. Zebahim
Z.N.T.W. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS

No attempt has been made to achieve consistency in the transliteration of Semitic words. In the Introduction, transliterations have been given in full (i.e. with vowels supplied), in order to assist those without a knowledge of Semitic languages to read the text in a straightforward way. In the Translations, the transliteration is mainly consonantal, but not in the case of words or phrases which have become standard (e.g. *dibre sopherim*, *‘am haArez*); but in the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the vocalisation has been given, because this indicates the reading adopted as a basis for the translation. *Perushim* becomes, in the Translations, *prushim* to serve as a reminder that each occurrence of the term has to be separately evaluated, and not taken to mean ‘Pharisees’ without further reflection.