

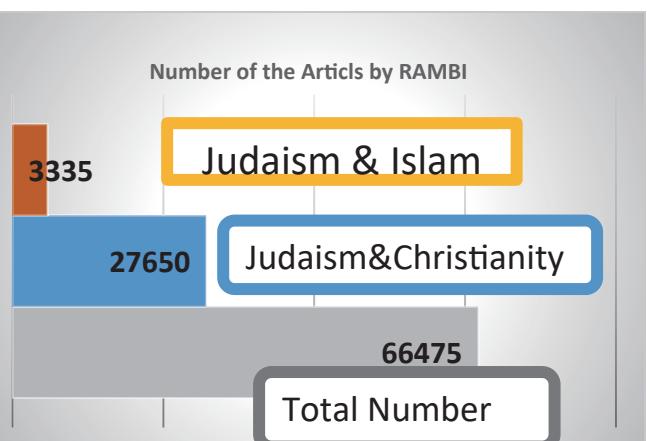
Christianity from the Perspective of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*: Jesus and Christianity According to Abraham Geiger¹

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1. Introduction

Judaism and Christianity have a long common history dating back to the time of Jesus' birth within the Jewish community and when the followers of Jesus then spread the message of Christianity worldwide. Christianity and Judaism have always confronted one another, both historically and theologically. In the field of modern academic research, studies of the relationship between these religions have generated great interest. According to RAMBI (Index of Articles on Jewish Studies; founded in 1966), a selective bibliographic database of academic articles covering all fields of Jewish studies as well as the study of Eretz Israel and the State of Israel, a search for articles on Judaism since 1966 returned 66,475 results; within these, there were 27,650 results for "Judaism and Christianity." The search term "Judaism and Islam," meanwhile, only returned 3,335 results. A search on RAMBI for articles solely about Christianity showed 25,687 results; likewise, for Islam, the number of hits was 5,006. Thus, there appears to be a stronger interest in Christianity than in Islam in Jewish Studies.²

The academic and scientific study of Judaism began with the Wissenschaft des Judentum toward the end of the 19th century. A topic that was highly debated in the early days of Jewish scientific studies was historical Jesus. This correlated with the growing interest of Christian scholars in the historical aspects of Jesus. Jewish scholars also worked to



promote the legitimacy of Judaism in German Christian society in order to liberate themselves from the persecution they suffered. For example, Leopold Zunz, a pioneer in the attempt to establish a faculty of academic Jewish studies in universities rather than in rabbinical seminaries, believed that

the recognition of Judaism in Europe, especially in Germany, as a mature culture would bring Jews complete freedom as citizens.³

In this short paper, I investigate Abraham Geiger's understanding of Jesus and Christianity. Geiger was a leading historical scholar of Wissenschaft des Judentums and is considered the father of Reform Judaism which is a branch of modern Judaism. Here, I present Geiger's perspective on ancient Judaism during the time of Jesus based on some of his most significant works. Through this, it will be possible to understand his ideal conception of Judaism. On what points does Geiger attempt to connect Christianity to Judaism and with what nuance? Our ultimate purpose is to reveal Geiger's understanding and ideal image of rabbinic Judaism.

2. Jesus and Christianity according to Geiger

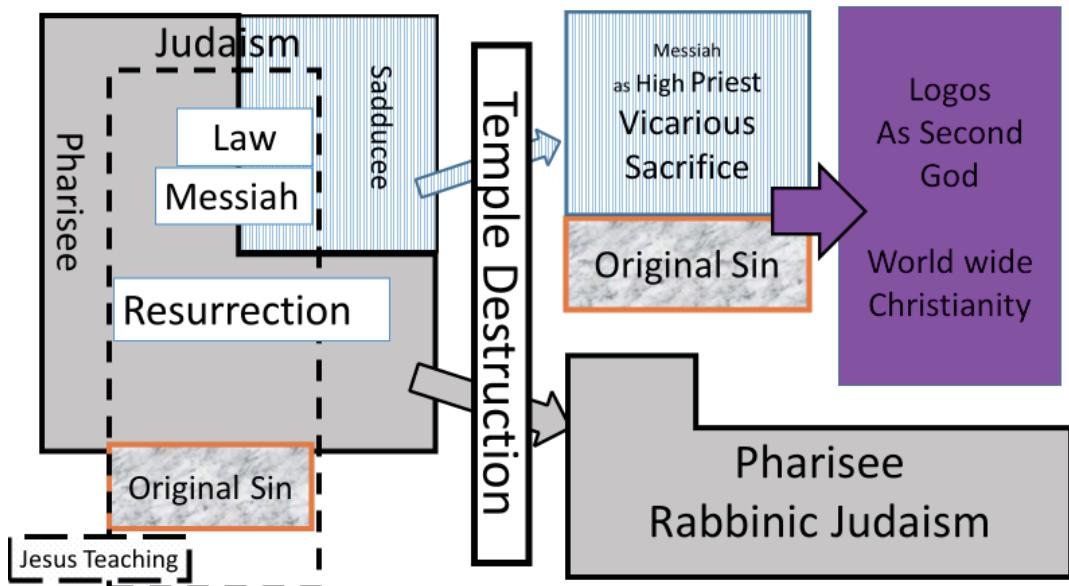
In the paragraph below, taken from his "Origin of Christianity," Geiger's understanding of Jesus and later Christianity is clearly expressed.

A. But it was from Judaism that the main teachings of the new creed had been derived: these included detailed and conceptual development in terms of contemporary conditions. The idea of Messiah and Resurrection was taken from the Pharisees; that of the high priest and of vicarious sacrifice from the Sadducees; and Logos, the "second god," from adherents of Alexandrianism.⁴

This statement illustrates how Geiger believed that Jesus emerged from the very milieu of Judaism. Jesus grew up as a typical Jewish person, and his teaching, behavior, and life were quite representative of Pharisaic Judaism. Jesus and his followers accepted the Pharisee's doctrines about the Messiah and the resurrection, which are themes at the very core of Christianity. Jesus' teaching also absorbed aspects of the Sadducees' Judaism, such as the concept of a new spiritual priesthood, in contrast to Aaron's lineage. After the destruction of the temple, followers of Jesus adapted the concept of Logos as a second God in order to persuade people who were already accustomed to this concept of Logos and also adapted to the rational traditions of the Roman world.⁵ There are three significant aspects to highlight in Geiger's account of Christianity's development, all of which, Geiger claimed, originated with Jesus and ancient Christianity:

- a. Pharisaic aspects
- b. Sadducean or Priestly aspects
- c. Hellenistic aspects

The flow chart below represents Geiger's scheme of the development of Christianity, including some elements that he discussed elsewhere.



The intention of this figure is to show the process of the emergence of Christianity in the milieu of Judaism.

According to Geiger, most of Jesus' teachings originated in Judaism. The notion of a Messiah and the Law are themes common to both the Pharisees and Sadducees, but Geiger identifies the concept of original sin as unique to Christianity. After the destruction of the Second Temple, the priesthood lost its hegemony over Judaism and was enfolded into Christianity in the concept of the original sin. Thereafter in order to gain acceptance in the Hellenistic world under the sever persecution from the Roman World, Christianity adopted the concept of the Logos, which is an aspect of what allowed it to become so dominant worldwide. In Judaism, meanwhile, the priestly Sadducees were usurped by the Pharisees through rabbinic and “liberal Judaism”, both Pharisees and Sadducees having managed to survive the temple destruction.

In the following sections, we discuss in detail the nuances of Geiger's connection of Pharisaic and Sadducean elements to Christianity as the Jewish roots of Christianity. Our purpose is not to elucidate how Christianity developed in a historical sense but rather to elucidate how Geiger understood this development. On what points does Geiger attempt to connect Christianity to Judaism

and with what nuance? Our purpose is to reveal Geiger's understanding and ideal image of rabbinic Judaism.

3. Pharisaic aspects

In his sermons on the origin of Christianity, Geiger often stressed that Jesus was a typical person within the Jewish society of his time. Geiger emphasized that Jesus never intended to abolish traditional Jewish Law:

B. Jesus has no intention of abrogating the Law: he is opposed only to the exaggerated notions of Pharisees concerning percepts of ritual purity... He also upholds the law pertinent to fasting, divorce and to the observance of the Sabbath.⁶

This statement illustrates Geiger's supposition that Jesus' teaching was completely within the scope of the Judaism of his time. In particular, by emphasizing Jesus' observance of the Law, Torah, and Shabbat (the core of Judaism), Geiger firmly places Jesus within the Jewish tradition.

C. In view of his close attachment to Israel, his belief in demons and in resurrection, and his adherence to all of Jewish Law, it is hardly likely that, under ordinary circumstances, he would have brought into being anything of greater consequence than another Jewish sect.⁷

Geiger then argues that Jesus' adherence to the Law, as well as his concepts of demons and resurrection are connected to Judaism. Adherence to the Law was, as Geiger states, particularly essential to Judaism after the destruction of the Temple:

D. But let us stop and consider: is it on Moses, or upon any other human participant in Jewish history that Judaism depends? There is a Torah; it is there that the faith of Judaism is imbedded, and there it will be preserved. Regardless of how the Torah came into Judaism, regardless of whether it was a being free of sin or a mortal subject to human weakness- the fact remains that the Torah exists. This is why Judaism was able to preserve the character of its mission even later on; its history did not cease with the beginning of Christianity.⁸

This statement demonstrates the importance of the Law for Geiger.⁹ By declaring that both Jesus and Judaism focused on adherence to the Law as the core of Judaism, Geiger intended to fix Jesus in

the Judaic milieu.

A special focus is needed here to understand how Geiger recognized Judaism as a singular, unified world. Within this unified world, he included some Christian teachings of Jesus, including those about demons and resurrection. However, there were a variety of perspectives concerning demons. Various scholars have already pointed out that various popular beliefs in demons ran counter to sages' warnings.¹⁰ Furthermore, resurrection was a controversial issue between the Sadducees and Pharisees.¹¹ Nevertheless, Geiger treated these three elements in unity, and thus considered Judaism a unified world out of which Jesus emerged. By combining claims from a variety of perspectives (demons and resurrection) with adherence to the Law (the core of Judaism), Geiger's argument regarding Jesus' Jewish origin seems highly persuasive.

Geiger placed Jesus' concept of the Messiah in the context of Israel as well. After comparing Jesus' use of the term in the four Gospels and discovering the original narrative, Geiger stated that even in the Gospels, Jesus was not a universal Messiah but a Messiah only for the people of Israel.

E. He is therefore, the Messiah, but for the people of Israel only. Thus, he promise his disciples that they will be seated upon twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.¹²

Thus, Geiger identified Jesus as the Messiah for Israel alone therefore denying that Jesus was a universal Messiah as later claimed by Christianity. However, according to Geiger, Jesus and his disciples might have remained within Judaism and become another of its sects.

The concept of the Messiah and resurrection were not united in Judaism during Jesus' time, although both were important issues and were often discussed. However, Jesus' disciples' claim that Jesus had been resurrected were indeed radical theses of Christianity. Yet, Geiger remained convinced that these beliefs were within the scope of Judaism. What altered Jesus' teaching and his followers most decisively, according to Geiger, was their encounter with the Hellenistic world, particularly the Jewish community in Greece.

A comment made by Susannah Heschel is significant here. According to Heschel, Geiger's claims about the Jewish origin of Christianity was anything but apologetic.¹³ Geiger's aim was to rescue the Jewish tradition from Christian misinterpretation and challenge Christians' poor understanding of ancient Judaism, especially that of New Testament scholars. It was an attempt to protest against the Christian interpretation of Jesus as transcending or repudiating Jewish tradition. In short, Heschel revealed Geiger's struggle to illustrate the anti-Jewish undercurrents of research on Jesus by New Testament scholars and built on that work in her later writings about Jesus' origins¹⁴, which

Christian scholars found difficult to accept, despite all of Geiger's efforts.

I believe Geiger challenged not only Christian scholars but also the priestly, aristocratic aspects of Judaism during the period of the Second Temple, as is clear when we consider Geiger's view of the Sadducees and the priesthood after the destruction of the Second Temple. Geiger seemingly attributed Sadducean features to Christianity in order to wipe Sadducean or priestly aspects away from Judaism afterwards. Let us discuss this point next.

4. Sadducean or priestly aspects of Christianity

Geiger also attributed Sadducean Jewish elements to Jesus and Christianity. According to Geiger, Christianity adopted the practices of the high priesthood and vicarious sacrifice from the Sadducees. In Geiger's treatment of the Sadducees, the priesthood, and Christianity, we find a kind of contradiction, a double standard regarding the relationship between the Sadducees and Christianity.

First, Geiger rather admired Jesus speaking for the *demos*, (people), the *am-haaretz* (the people of the land), and that Jesus socialized with ordinary human beings:

F. Jesus was a spokesman of the *demos*, of the *am-haarez*, as he himself points out to the high priest. Much to the displeasure of the Pharisees, he sat down at table with the common man. As such a “man of the people” he incurred the hostility of the priestly aristocracy in particular.... The Sadducees disliked him because he put such great stress on the Resurrection.¹⁵

Interestingly, while Geiger admitted that Jesus' behavior among the common people earned the antipathy of the Pharisees, he also emphasized the Sadducees' hostility toward Jesus. Geiger contrasted Jesus' intimacy with the people to the attitudes of the Sadducean aristocracy. Geiger highlighted how Jesus pointed out his attitude towards the common people to the high priest in order to contrast Jesus' behavior with that of the high priests. At the time, the priests and Sadducees had deemed behavior such as sitting among the *am-haarez* to be inappropriate.

The sages namely rabbis did not pay close attention to the common people in general. It is interesting that Geiger should choose the term *demos* in the above citation, as it was not commonly used to describe “the common people” in rabbinic literature, according to my research.¹⁶ Furthermore, sages in general gave no special nuance to the word *demos*, nor did they have much sympathy for them. Geiger seems to use this word with intention—probably for its association with democracy—as part of his conception of the ideal Judaism. Geiger seems to have shifted the distance between the common people and Judaism in general, including the Pharisees, to that

between the common people and the Sadducees.

In this sense, Geiger admitted that there was an anti-Sadducees aspect to Jesus' teaching, which he considered to be a rather positive feature of Christianity. Geiger admired the Pharisaic aspects of Judaism more, considering it a form of liberal Judaism.¹⁷

After the destruction of the temple and the abolition of the priesthood, early Christians adopted the notion of sacrificial atonement from the Sadducees. According to Geiger, this notion led to the concept of original sin, something with which Geiger seriously disagreed. An overview of Geiger's attitude toward priesthood and the origins of the Sadducees' sacrificial services reveals that Geiger connected some of Christianity's negative features with these negative features of Judaism.

Original sin, vicarious sacrifice, and the Sadducees

As the following citation shows, Geiger was strictly opposed to the concept of original sin, since it denied human dignity.

G. It [Judaism] has resisted every effort to graft onto it the concept of Original Sin, which others have attempted to read into its Scriptures. Judaism has not permitted its patent of human nobility and dignity to be destroyed. It has remained steadfast in its conviction that God has given to the man the power of free self-determination and self-refinement; that, despite the animal lust which is part of his nature, man also has the strength to overcome it... Moreover, since the belief in original sin as a corruption of human nature has remained alien to it, Judaism does not feel the need for a redemption accomplished from without to regain its purity. Judaism has not exchanged its own concept of a God of mercy for the God of that peculiar love which, in order to appease its wrath, requires a great vicarious sacrifice on behalf of the sinful masses. Judaism has not taken the development of all of mankind to a higher goal to mean a denial of itself.¹⁸

According to Geiger, God gave man the power of free self-determination and self-refinement. The idea of Original Sin denies and destroys human nobility and dignity. The Original Sin brought the idea of vicarious sacrifice on behalf of the "sinful masses." On this ground, Geiger then argued that Christianity took over the system of sacrifices from priesthood and Sadducees as we saw in citation A. They developed the system of sacrifices into vicarious sacrifice on behalf of the sinful masses. Then, they realized that someone special would be required to communicate between God and the sinful man through self-sacrifice, determining that this individual should be a high priest. Thus,

Christianity adopted the idea of vicarious sacrifices. Meanwhile, Judaism did not permit anyone to come between God and Man; only the Torah stood between the two, as in citation D.

In my opinion, for Geiger, Original Sin was the crucial point that divided Judaism and Christianity. The concept of Original Sin and vicarious sacrifice were not conceptual issues but fundamental issues related to the freedom and dignity of human beings. For Geiger, dignity, freedom, and individual liberty were foremost. Indeed, he mentions liberty and freedom in several places. It is important for people to be in an existence where they can renew themselves. The concept of the Original Sin, however, cannot presuppose such human development occurring by itself. Judaism does not deny the higher goal of all humankind and therefore does not need anyone to communicate between God and humankind. What is important is the fact that the Torah exists regardless of who gave it, what personality transmitted it, and how it came into being.

Geiger's opinion on this issue was very powerful and full of pride for Judaism. As we see from the expression "sinful masses," Geiger is very critical of Christianity's understanding of the concept of humanity. Clearly, we know that he did not agree with the concept of vicarious sacrifices. Rather, Geiger regarded these ideas as disdaining human dignity.

Then, the very original sin according to Geiger "requires a great vicarious sacrifice on behalf of the sinful masses" as we observe in the above citation. Original sin was a totally peculiar idea to the Judaism that came to be combined with the Sadducee, namely priestly elements of Judaism after the destruction of the temple.

The next citation demonstrates how, according to Geiger, Christianity, priestly aspects, and the Messiah were combined.

H. But certainly, there must have been some who, deprived of the very ground beneath their feet by the catastrophe that befell the nation, clung to the belief in the Messiah. Perhaps, they reasoned, he had really been the sacrifice to cancel all other sacrifices: perhaps he had been a new high priest who, by offering himself in sacrifice, abolished the old priesthood and founded a new one. With the abolition of the priesthood, they said, all the Ancient Law which had meaning for the Sadducees only in connection with a Temple, a priesthood and a ritual of sacrifices, was no longer in force. This was another type of Judeo-Christianity. To the adherents of this view, the Messiah was high priest and sacrifice, both at the same time; and once the old Law was abrogated, the New Kingdom was accessible to all man....In this manner there came into being a number of concepts which had particular appeal for the heathens; a new god, a universal sacrifice, and thus universal atonement without the burden of cumbersome commandments. This concept met with resistances from the Jews, however,

so that its acceptance was restricted to the heathen world.¹⁹

As the expression, “abolished the old priesthood”, “the abolition of the priesthood”, “a priesthood and a ritual of sacrifices, was no longer in force” shows, we see that Geiger observed very simply that the priestly class lost everything after the destruction of the Second Temple. Instead of priestly families, who had laid siege to Jewish society while the Temple stood, the rabbis now took control of Jewish society. Indeed, Geiger makes a variety of statements regarding the circumstances of the priestly families after the destruction of the temple. Geiger believed that the influence of the priestly class was directed away from the Jewish liberal community. He raises the same issues with regard to the priestly aspects of Christianity, as is implied in the label Judeo-Christian. Geiger seems to suppose that the priesthood and system of sacrifices were things of the past that had been overcome by new Judaism, which proposed a new center for the religion, the Torah.

Therefore, Geiger claims both that Jesus’ teachings were rooted in Pharisee Judaism, and that Christianity later absorbed an aspect of priestly Judaism that Judaism itself had overcome. This means that Christianity’s core concepts were rooted both in normative Judaism of the time and in a concept that Geiger viewed as a negative aspect of Judaism.

Next, I will discuss Geiger’s scheme regarding the development of Judaism during the Second Temple period and his general concept of history.

5. Geiger’s scheme for the development of Judaism

The fundamental feature of Geiger’s approach to the history of Judaism and Christianity is his dichotomic presentation. He presents a series of contrasting elements: Pharisees and Sadducees, sages and priests, and commoners and aristocrats. Geiger, thus, easily erased the influences of the second elements of these pairs, namely the influences of priests, after the destruction of the temple. Then, because of Original Sin, the self-sacrifice of the Messiah was required, and so the priestly aspects of Judaism were transferred to Christianity. Thus, Geiger presented a picture of Judaic development from the priestly to the aristocratic and then to the pharisaic; the people’s Judaism prospering by being centered on the Law. In this scheme, aristocratic and priestly Judaism vanished and were succeeded by Christianity in the form of the vicarious sacrifice of the Messiah as a high priest. The later addition of the concept of Logos as a second God helped Christianity to become a worldwide phenomenon.

However, the situation is not as simple as this. The Judaic society of that time contained significant variety and complexity. Studies on Jewish history after the destruction of the Second

Temple have revealed the influence of the priestly lineage in various respects.²⁰ Archeological findings testify to the perpetuation of the priestly class in occupations related to the synagogues.²¹ Therefore, the priestly classes did not immediately lose all of their power after the destruction of the temple. Even rabbinic Judaism clearly shows the continued influence of the priesthood.²²

Indeed, in Geiger's time, these traces might not yet have been found. However, Geiger might still have accounted for the more ambiguous situation within ancient Judaism. Geiger always accounted for the Jewish elements in Jesus' teachings, the Gospels, and his followers' teachings; yet, he does not present as complex a picture of Jewish society at that time. Interestingly, he did not mention the Minim-the heretics- in rabbinic literature in any of the works that I have read. It is possible that, even in the Jewish world of the early Christian era, this division was not clear. Indeed, Midrash testify to the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. When the early Christians are discussed in rabbinic literature, the subject of the Minim is unavoidable, and so it is strange that Geiger ignores the Minim. I have already discussed the relationship between the Minim and the rabbis elsewhere.²³ In rabbinic sources, we find various episodes concerning Minim. It is true that we have no clear idea who they were or any definition for the term "Minim." Indeed, there was no clear division between the Jewish and Christian religion for some time. The figure of the healer Yeshu the son of Pandera reminds us of Jesus as a healer.²⁴ The story of R. Eliezer reveals the tension between the Judaism of proper sages and the Minim. Even a famous sage, such as R. Eliezer, could lose his way in the Minut.²⁵ These episodes relate the ambiguous division between Jewish people and gentiles. However, it is clear that there were various opportunities for sages to meet gentiles in the market, on the streets, and even in the synagogues.

From these perspectives and through my study of rabbinic literature and its history, I claim that Geiger's scheme of history was relatively simplistic; he considered ancient Judaism only from the point of view of the conflict between the Pharisees and Sadducees or, in other words, the conflict between the sages and the priests, or liberal and aristocratic Judaism, from a dichotomous angle. However, I believe that Geiger's use of this historical scheme can be attributed to his enthusiastic efforts to renew Judaism and achieve legitimacy for it by appealing to the Western Christian world.

Conclusion

Geiger's understanding of Jesus and his followers was, for the most part, an attempt to place his followers within the scope of Judaism. This was his method for proving the importance of Judaism for Christianity to the Christian scholar. Furthermore, his intention was to proclaim how the priestly influences were erased from Jewish history; however, Geiger was blind to the ambiguities

of society during the time of the sages, during which priests continued to have influence and Minut prevailed. Of course, this is not to deny Geiger's sincere effort to renew Judaism. However, clearly, there is a need to reveal and revise the portrait of ancient Judaism and focus on its diversity so that the achievements of these great scholars can be accepted unconditionally and without apologetic interests.

Notes

- 1 This paper is supported by the JSPS KAKEN Grant Number JP16K02221b. In this paper, I used the following abbreviation; NS: Ludwig Geiger ed., Abraham Geiger's Nachgelassene Schriften, Volume 4, Creative Media Partners, 1875-; Liberal Judaism: M. Wiener, *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism: The challenge of the nineteenth century*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1996. The citations from Geiger's work in this paper are dependent on the translation by E. J. Schlochauer in the above *Liberal Judaism*. In each citation, pages are mentioned from NS and *Liberal Judaism*.
- 2 http://merhav.nli.org.il/primoexplore/search?query=any.contains,judaism%20Islam&tab=default_tab&search_scope=RAMBI&vid=NLI_Rambi&lang=en_US&offset=0, (accessed 14 February 2020).
- 3 In the preface to his milestone work, Zunz emphasized that freedom requires civilization and that culture and science are related. See L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden histrisch entwickelt: ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte*, (Frankfurt: Verlarge von J. Kauffmann, 1892). As for WJ's intention to establish the legitimacy of Judaism in modern German society, see my article, E. Katsumata, "Images of Prophets and Prophecy in the Rabbinic Age and the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*" in AJBJ, 2017.
- 4 NS, II, p. 117; Liberal Judaism, p. 166.
- 5 Some Christian theologians may take exception to the idea that Christianity ever had a second God; the concept of Logos as written about in the Book of John was the Word of God which he considered to be part of the Trinity; it was therefore enveloped into the concept of the Christian God, but it was not separate from it.
- 6 NS, II, p. 112; Liberal Judaism, p. 163.
- 7 NS, II, p. 116; Liberal Judaism, p. 164.
- 8 A. Geiger, (trans. M. Mayer) *Judaism and Its History* (Thalmessinger & Cahn; Trübner & Co, 1866), 267–8; Liberal Judaism, p. 189.
- 9 In these statements, Geiger seemed to defend himself against the criticisms of the modern world toward Judaism's too much adherence to the Mizvot.
- 10 See, A. Cohen, *Everyman's Talmud*, Bnpublishing.Com, 20073, Chapter 9.
- 11 Regarding the controversy on the resurrection between Sadducees and Pharisees, Mishnah Berachot 9. 5, Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 90b-91a, Ibid., A. Cohen, Everyman's Talmud, Ch. 11; E. E. Urbach, (trans. I. Abrahams), *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Harvard University Press, 1987), 652ff.

- 12 NS, II, p. 112; Liberal Judaism, p. 163.
- 13 S. Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago University Press, 1998), especially Chapter 5.
- 14 For example, C. Montefiore, *Judaism and St Paul*, M. Goshen, 1914; L. Baeck, (trans. W. Kaufman) "Romantic Religion," in *Judaism and Christianity* (Jewish Publication Society, 1958); J. Klausner (trans. H. Danby), *Jesus of Nazareth* (Macmillan, 1925). Concerning for the follower of Geiger, see S. Heschel, Abraham Geiger, p. 236ff.
- 15 NS, II, p. 115; Liberal Judaism, p. 164.
- 16 See my paper, E. Katsumata, "Toward Investigation of Democracy in Jewish Thought: Freedom, Equality, and *Dimos* in the Rabbinic Literature," *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religion*. vol. 14 (2019), 27–44.
- 17 S. Heschel, Abraham Geiger, p. 129.
- 18 A. Geiger, *Judaism and Its History*, pp. 265-266, Liberal Judaism, p. 188.
- 19 NS, II, pp. 117–8; Liberal Judaism, p. 165.
- 20 The Sadducean priestly lineage was thought to be an advantage in promotion to a higher status, even in the sages' world, as is the case with Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai. As for the influence of the priestly lineage even after the destruction of the Second Temple, see, Ben-Haim Trifon, "הכהנים מהורבן בית שני ועד עליית נצרות", היבור לשם קבלת התואר דוקטור לפילוסופיה, תל אביב תשמ"ה.
- 21 Numerous inscriptions from Diaspora synagogues indicate that the heads of the synagogues were not sages but priests and members of various groups with whom the priests were involved. See S. J. D. Cohen, "Epigraphical Rabbis," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 72 (1981), 1–17.
- 22 It has become clear that the priestly circle continued to contribute to the creation of piyyutim, liturgy poets, mysticism and Targumic literature, and so on. See J. Yahalom, "Temple and the City in Liturgical Hebrew Poetry," in *The History of Jerusalem*, eds. J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai, (New York, 1996), 270–294; R. Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford, 2004). As for recent studies on priestly influence after the destruction of the Second Temple, see E. Katsumata, *Priests and Priesthood in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* (Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011).
- 23 Etsuko Katsumata, "Rabbi and Minim: Tosefta Chulin 2.20-24, Kohelet Rabbah 1.8" *Namal* (2006), 35–54, (Japanese).
- 24 Tosefta Chulin 2. 22.
- 25 Tosefta Chulin 2. 24.

