

## The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ

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After the catastrophic destruction, the two schools that survived were the Rabbinical and the Christian. Theologically, they had their differences, but they were both Jewish as surely as Josh and Ben are both brothers in the same family. Their differences were, as we say, all in the family, and they remained all in the family not just for a few decades but, Boyarin boldly asserts, for the first few centuries of the common era. It took that long for gradually escalating mutual polemics to overcome an underlying sense of fraternity on either side and to create two reciprocally settled identities where before there had been just one identity, albeit unsettled. What Boyarin regrets is that these two identities were polemically simplified and coarsened as each side learned to repudiate, as if on deepest principle, practices and beliefs that, at an earlier stage, either side would have admitted as unproblematically its own

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### **p. viii**

Most (if not all) of the ideas and practices of the Jesus movement of the first century and the beginning of the second century—and even later—can be safely understood as part of the ideas and practices that we understand to be "Judaism."... The ideas of Trinity and incarnation, or certainly the germs of those ideas, were already present among Jewish believers well before Jesus came on the scene to incarnate in himself, as it were, those theological notions and take up his messianic calling. However, the Jewish background of the ideas of the Jesus movement are only one piece of the new picture I'm sketching here. Much of the most compelling evidence for the Jewishness of the early Jesus communities comes from the Gospels themselves. Counter to most views of the matter, according to the Gospel of Mark, Jesus kept kosher

### **p. viii – Xiv**

The Pharisees were a kind of reform movement within the Jewish people that was centered on Jerusalem and Judaea. The Pharisees sought to convert other Jews to their way of thinking about God and Torah, a way of thinking that incorporated seeming changes in the written Torah's practices that were mandated by what the Pharisees called "the tradition of the Elders."... It is quite plausible, therefore, that other Jews, such as the Galilean Jesus, would reject angrily such ideas as an affront to the Torah and as sacrilege.

### **p. xiv**

Boyarin's reading of Mark 7, in which he turns what Christianity has traditionally interpreted as an attack on Jewish dietary and purity laws into a distinct kind of defense

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of them, is one of many stunningly persuasive but utterly surprising readings of what in his hands does indeed become "compelling evidence for the Jewishness of the early Jesus communities . . . from the Gospels themselves." There is no denying, and Boyarin does not deny, that Jesus attacks the Pharisees, the forerunners if not the founders of Rabbinical Judaism, but few Christian commentators have recognized how clear a distinction Jesus draws between them and Moses and how much he is at pains to defend Moses and therewith to defend the Torah. It is by stressing that distinction that Boyarin brings the quarrel back into the Jewish family.

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### p. xv

Jesus said to the crowds and to his disciples, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat; therefore, do whatever they teach you and follow it; but do not do as they do, for they do not practice what they teach. They tie up heavy burdens, hard to bear, and lay them on the shoulders of others; but they themselves are unwilling to lift a finger to move them. They do all their deeds to be seen by others; for they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long. They love to have the place of honor at banquets and the best seats in the synagogues, and to be greeted with respect in the marketplaces, and to have people call them rabbi. But you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all students. And call no one your father on earth, for you have one Father—the one in heaven. Nor are you to be called instructors, for you have one instructor, the Messiah. The greatest among you will be your servant. All who exalt themselves will be humbled, and all who humble themselves will be exalted. (**Matthew 23:1-12**; New Revised Standard Version)

### p. xvi

most Christian interpreters slide with equal ease past Jesus' injunction: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses's seat; therefore, do whatever they teach you and follow it" I myself have read and heard this passage for years but only on October 30, 2011, thinking about my draft of this foreword, did I really lock on to do whatever they teach you and follow it. Post-Boyarin, I can only read this passage as a defense of un-sanctimonious, un-self-righteousness, un-hypocritical adherence to the Law of Moses against sanctimonious, self-righteous, hypocritical exploitation of it.

### p. xvi-xvii

reread the quoted first paragraph of Boyarin's chapter 3, especially its ending: Foreword xvii **"The ideas of Trinity and incarnation, or certainly the germs of those ideas, were already present among Jewish believers well before Jesus came on the scene to incarnate in himself, as it were, those theological notions and take up**

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**his messianic calling." The Trinity a Jewish idea? The incarnation a Jewish idea? Yes, indeed.** And if such thoughts as these seem unthinkable, I can only urge: read on. They may seem more thinkable after you read Boyarin's deeply informed analysis of the Jewish background to Jesus' application to himself of the strange title Son of Man, a designation that ought to mean simply "human being" but clearly, and paradoxically, bespeaks divinity far more than does the more modest, merely royal or messianic designation Son of God.

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### p. xix

It is to recognize further that the Jewish engagement with Christianity has never, in fact, stopped at the null position of "what is new is not true, what is true is not new."

### p. xx

Thus did the Word of the Lord come to the prophet Zechariah saying: Thus said the LORD of Hosts: In those days, ten men from nations of every tongue will take hold—they will take hold of every Jew by a corner of his cloak and say "Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." (Zechariah 8:23; Jewish Publication Society Tanak) Ten goyim clinging to the elbow of every yid? How many Jews are ready for that? There is something undeniably comic about Zechariah's vision

### p. xxi

In the Book of Isaiah, the Lord God "who gathers the dispersed of Israel" does not stop there. He concludes, "I will gather still more to those already gathered" (Isaiah 56:8; Jewish Publication Society Tanak), a line that comes at the end of a passage envisioning that the self-hating eunuchs and the cowed foreigners who imagine that they are unwelcome in the Temple of Solomon will someday know otherwise, for "My House shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples/ thus declares the LORD" (56:7).

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Rabbis' law applies only to Jews, Jesus' extension of it is a product of the radical apocalyptic moment within which the Gospel of Mark is written, a moment in which the Torah was not rejected but expanded and "fulfilled"—to use Matthean terminology—a moment in which the Son of Man was revealed and claimed his full authority.<sup>41</sup> The Son of Man, according to Daniel, was indeed given jurisdiction over all of the nations, and I would suggest gingerly that this explains the extension of the Sabbath (and thus Sabbath healing) to them. Here in Mark we find a Jesus who is fulfilling the Torah, not abrogating it. The Gospels are testimony to the antiquity of themes and controversies that later

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appear in rabbinic literature. Since there is little reason to believe that the Rabbis actually read the Gospels, it follows that we have independent witnesses to these controversies.

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Mark, by contrast, understanding the story as being about the special privileges of the Messiah, pushed it in the direction that he did. On this account, the reason for the absence of v. 27 in Matthew (and Luke) is that Mark's messianic theology was a bit too radical for the later evangelists. I think that the problems of this sequence of verses are best unraveled if we take seriously its context following Mark 2:10, as I have just discussed. If Jesus (the Markan Jesus, or the Jesus of these passages) proclaims himself as the Son of Man who has ἐξουσία by virtue of Daniel 7:14, then it is entirely plausible that he would claim sovereignty over the Sabbath as well. Extending the clearly controversial notion that healing is permitted on the Sabbath by virtue of various biblical precedents and arguments, Jesus makes a much more radical claim: not only does the Torah authorize healing of the deathly sick on the Sabbath, but the Messiah himself, the Son of Man,

The point is surely not—as certain interpreters give it—that David violated the Law and God did not protest, so therefore the Law is invalid and anyone may violate it. Rather, it is that David, the type of the Messiah, enjoyed sovereignty to set aside parts of the Law, and so too does Jesus, the new David, the Messiah. This is not an attack on the Law or on alleged pharisaic legalism but an apocalyptic declaration of a new moment in history in which a new Lord, the Son of Man, has been appointed over the Law. Paying attention to the Danielic allusion implicit in every use of the phrase "Son of Man," one can see that in all those situations the Markan...

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Jesus is making precisely the same kind of claim on the basis of the authority delegated to the Son of Man in Daniel as he does in Mark 2:10.<sup>45</sup> This enables me to propose a solution to the sequence of vv. 27–28. One objection could be that the Sabbath is not "under the heavens" but in heaven and thus not susceptible to the transfer of authority from the Ancient of Days to the one like a son of man. This objection is entirely answered by the statement that the Sabbath was made for the human being; consequently the Son of Man, having been given dominion in the human realm, is the Lord of the Sabbath.<sup>46</sup> It is actually a necessary part of the argument that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath, for if the Sabbath is (as one might very well claim on the basis of Genesis 1) in heaven,

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then the claim that the Son of Man, who has sovereignty only on earth, can abrogate its provisions would be very weak.

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The halakhic arguments in Jesus' mouth here and in chapter 7 are too well formed and well attested historically to be ignored; Jesus, or Mark, certainly knew his way around a halakhic argument.

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They are not a relic but represent, I believe, actual contests from the first century, and as such, they provide precious evidence that such halakhic discourse and reasoning was extant already then. But that is not all there is here, of course. There are two elements that mark off the Gospel mobilization of these arguments from a purely halakhic controversy. The first is that in both cases, Jesus uses the argument itself and the halakha itself as a sign of an ethical reading, a kind of parable (called such explicitly in chapter 7); the second and most exciting is that the apocalyptic element of the Son of Man is introduced here, as in the story of the paralytic, to bring home the messianic nature, the divine-human nature, of the sovereignty of Jesus as the Son of Man now on earth. The comparison to David is, of course, very pointed and does suggest that the Redeemer of Daniel 7:13–14 is indeed understood as the

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...messianic king, son of David. I would find here, therefore, clear evidence of identification of the Davidic Messiah with the Son of Man, an identification that clearly does not require a human genealogical connection between the two, for the Son of Man is a figure entirely heavenly who becomes a human being. There were other ancient Jews from around the time of the earliest Gospel writings who also read Daniel 7 in the way that I am suggesting Jesus did. On this reading, Mark's saying about the Son of Man being Lord of the Sabbath is precisely a radical eschatological move, but not one that is constituted by a step outside of the broad community of Israelites or even Jews. If Daniel's vision is now being fulfilled through the person of Jesus as the incarnation of the Son of Man, some radical change is exactly what would be expected during the end times.

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times. The sovereign, we are told by modern political theorists, is the one who can make exceptions to the law when judged necessary or appropriate. It is exactly for such judgments that the Son of Man was given sovereignty. The sovereignty is expressed by extending the permission granted to Jews to violate the Sabbath to save the lives of other Sabbath observers by Jesus the Messiah to include all humans. This eschatological move is one that many Jews would have rejected not because they did not believe that the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath but because they did not believe that Jesus was the Son of Man. I would argue that this divine figure to whom authority has been delegated is a Redeemer king, as the Daniel passage clearly states.<sup>52</sup> Thus he stands ripe for identification with the Davidic Messiah, as he is in the Gospel and also in non-Christian contemporary Jewish literature such as Enoch and Fourth Ezra.

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The usage of 'Son Man' in the Gospels joins up with the evidence of such usage from these other ancient Jewish texts to lead us to consider this term used in this way (and, more important, the concept of a second divinity implied by it) as the common coin—which I emphasize does not mean universal or uncontested—of Judaism already before Jesus.

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In these ideas lie the seed that would eventually grow into doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation in all of their later variations, variations that are inflected as well by Greek philosophical thinking; the seeds, however, were sown by Jewish apocalyptic writings.

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\* Note that at least some of the later Rabbis also read this passage as a theophany (self-revelation of God). The following passage from the Babylonian Talmud (fifth or sixth century) clearly shows this and cites earlier Rabbis as well as seeing an important moment

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in the doctrine of God emerging here. One verse reads: "His throne is sparks of fire" (Dan. 7:9) and another [part of the] verse reads, "until thrones were set up and the Ancient of Days sat" (7:9). This is no difficulty: One was for him and one was for David. As we learn in an ancient tradition: One for him and one for David; these are the words of Rabbi Aqiva. Rabbi Yose the Galilean said to him: Aqiva! Until when will you make the Shekhina profane?! Rather. One was for judging and one was for mercy. Did he accept it from him, or did he not? Come and hear! One for judging and one for mercy, these are the words of Rabbi Aqiva. [BT Ḥagiga 14a] Whatever the precise interpretation of this talmudic passage (and I have discussed this at length elsewhere), there may be little doubt that both portrayed Rabbis understood that the Daniel passage was a theophany.

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perceives two divine figures in heaven, one God the Father and one an apotheosized King David. No wonder that "Rabbi Yose the Galilean" was shocked. In an article in the Harvard Theological Review, I have presented the bases for my own conclusion that such was the original meaning of the text as well; see Daniel Boyarin, "Daniel 7, Intertextuality, and the History of Israel's Cult," forthcoming. \* Adela Yarbro Collins has recently distinguished two senses of "divinity": "One is functional. The 'one like a son of man' in Daniel 7:13–14, 'that Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch, and Jesus in some Synoptic passages are divine in this sense when they exercise (or are anticipated as exercising) divine activities like ruling over a universal kingdom, sitting on a heavenly throne, judging human beings in the end-time or traveling on the clouds, a typically divine mode of transport. The other sense is ontological." Adela Yarbro Collins, "'How on Earth Did Jesus Become God': A Reply," in *Israel's God and Rebecca's Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal*, ed. David B. Capes et al. (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 57. It is that former sense to which I refer throughout this book, as I believe that the very distinction between "functional" and "ontological"

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Chapter 2: The Son of Man in First Enoch and Fourth Ezra: Other Jewish Messiahs of the First Century

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At about the time of the Book of Daniel, Ezekiel the Tragedian, an Alexandrian Jew, wrote: I had a vision of a great throne on the top of Mount Sinai and it reached till the folds of heaven. A noble man was sitting on it, with a crown and a large sceptre in his left hand. He beckoned to me with his right hand, so I approached and stood before the throne. He gave me the sceptre and instructed me to sit on the great throne. Then he gave me the royal crown and got up, from the throne.<sup>1</sup> Here we have the crucial image of the divine throne and the emplacement of a second figure on the throne alongside of or even in place of the Ancient One. Within the context of Second Temple Judaism, "if we find a figure distinguishable from God seated on God's throne itself, we should see that as one of Judaism's most potent theological symbolical means of including such a figure in the unique divine identity."<sup>2</sup> Following this principle, we see that in this text Moses has become God. Not such an impossible thought, then, for a Jew, even one who lived long before Jesus. If Moses could be God in one version of a Jewish religious imagination, then why not Jesus in another? Jews at the same time of Jesus had been waiting for a Messiah who was both human and divine and who was the Son of Man, an idea they derived from the passage from Daniel 7. Almost the entire story of the Christ—with important variations to be sure—is found as well in the religious ideas of some Jews who didn't even know about Jesus. Jesus for his followers fulfilled the idea of the Christ; the Christ was not invented to explain Jesus' life and death. Versions of this narrative, the Son of Man story (the story that is later named Christology), were widespread among Jews before the advent of Jesus; Jesus entered into a role that existed prior to his birth, and this is why so many Jews were prepared to accept him as the Christ, as the Messiah, Son of Man. This way of looking at things is **quite opposite to a scholarly tradition that assumes that Jesus came first and that Christology was created after** the fact in order to explain his amazing career. The job description—Required: one Christ, will be divine, will be called Son of Man, will be sovereign and savior of the Jews and the world—was there already and Jesus fit (or did not according to other Jews) the bill. The job description was not a put-up job tailored to fit Jesus! The single most exciting document for understanding this aspect of the early history of the Christ idea is to be found in a book known as the Similitudes (or Parables) of Enoch.

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This marvelous text (which seems to have been produced at just about the same time as the earliest of the Gospels) shows that there were other Palestinian Jews who expected a Redeemer known as the Son of Man, who would be a divine figure embodied in an

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exalted human. Because it is unconnected with the Gospels in any direct way, this text is thus an independent witness to the presence of this religious idea among Palestinian Jews of the time and not only among the Jewish groups within which Jesus was active.

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Present opinion is almost entirely solid that the Book of the Watchers is the oldest bit of Enoch (third century B.C.) and the Similitudes, our present concern, the youngest, dating from the mid-first century A.D. All of the pieces are couched as visions beheld or shown to that ancient sage Enoch, and thus the text as a whole is an apocalypse, a revelation, similar to the Book of Daniel or the canonical New Testament book of Revelation.

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In the Similitudes of Enoch, a Jewish writer of sometime in the first century A.D.<sup>3</sup> makes extensive use of the term "Son of Man" to refer to a particular divine-human Redeemer figure eventually incarnated in the figure of Enoch, thus exhibiting many of the elements that make up the Christ story.<sup>4</sup> Enoch's "Son of Man" is the descendant in the tradition of Daniel's "one like a son of man."

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almost the same wording, there are two divine figures, one again who is ancient and one who has the appearance of a man, the appearance of a "son of man," a young man, or so it seems in contrast to the Ancient One. It is clear that Enoch knows exactly who the "head of days" is, but he wonders who Son of Man is. There is dramatic irony here. Although Enoch does not know who the Son of Man is, we do—the one who in Daniel comes with the Ancient of Days of the snowy beard and two thrones as well. By the end of the Similitudes of Enoch, as we shall see below, Enoch will have become that Son of Man, much as Jesus does in the Gospels. This book provides us with our most explicit evidence that the Son of Man as a divine-human Redeemer arose by Jesus' time from reading the Book of Daniel. Chapter 46 of the book actually provides an exciting demonstration of the process of that reading. We can see there how the chapter of Daniel has been used in the making of a new "myth," in the case of the Similitudes; for other Jews, no doubt, the myth of the Messiah formed in the same way. The interpretative process that we observe in this case is an early form of the type of Jewish biblical interpretation later known as midrash.<sup>7\*</sup> Strikingly, however, Enoch's angel contradicts Daniel's. While Daniel's angel explains that the Son of Man is a symbol for the holy ones

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of Israel (the Maccabean martyrs), Enoch's angel explains the Son of Man as a righteous divine figure. As we have seen in chapter 1 of this book, this seems to have been the original meaning of the vision, a meaning the author/redactor of the Book of Daniel sought to suppress by having the angel interpret the Son of Man allegorically. What we learn from this is that there was controversy among Jews about the Son of Man long before the Gospels were written. Some Jews accepted and some rejected the idea of a divine Messiah. The Similitudes are evidence for the tradition of interpretation of the Son of Man as such a divine person, the tradition that fed into the Jesus movement as well. It is only centuries later, of course, that this difference in belief would become the marker and touchstone of the difference between two religions.

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This piece of beautiful religious poetry [Enoch 48] forms an absolutely pivotal text for illuminating the Christology of the Gospels—as well as for demonstrating the essential Jewishness of that phenomenon. First of all, we find here the doctrine of the preexistence of the Son of Man. He was named even before the universe came into being. Second, the Son of Man will be worshipped on earth: “All who dwell on the earth will fall down and worship before him, and they will glorify and bless and sing hymns to the name of the Lord of Spirits.” Third, and perhaps most important of all, in v. 10 he is named as the Anointed One, which is precisely the Messiah (Hebrew *mashiah*) or Christ (Greek *Christos*). It seems quite clear, therefore, that many of the religious ideas that were held about the Christ who was identified as Jesus were already present in the Judaism

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And Enoch Was with God:

The Apotheosis of Enoch One of the most striking aspects of the doctrine of Christ is the combination in one figure of man and God. Even this radical idea, however, is not unique among Jews to followers of Jesus. We find it in the Similitudes as well. In the main body of the Similitudes, Enoch is not the Son of Man. This is emphatically the case, since in chapter 46 and throughout the main body of the text, he is the one who sees the Son of Man and to whom is revealed the description of the Son of Man as the eschatological

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Redeemer and Messiah; therefore Enoch cannot be identical with him.<sup>11</sup> In the end, however, in chapters 70 and 71, Enoch becomes the Son of Man—he becomes God.<sup>12</sup>

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Notwithstanding later theological niceties, the Gospels also comprise a story of a God who becomes man (theophany) and another of a man who becomes God (apotheosis). That is, we can still observe within the Gospel (especially in Mark, which has no miraculous birth story, and also even in Paul) the remnants of a version of Christology in which Jesus was born a man but became God at his baptism. This idea, later named the heresy of adoptionism (God adopting Jesus as his Son), was not quite stamped out until the Middle Ages. Seeing the doubleness of the narrative of the Son of Man in the Enoch book thus helps us understand the doubleness of the story of Jesus in the Gospels as well. It helps us make sense of the multiple acts of the Christ story: his becoming of God at his baptism, his death and resurrection as a living human once again, teaching on earth, and then his exaltation to the right hand of God for eternity. It is almost as if two stories have been brought together into one plot: one story of a God who became man, came down to earth, and returned home, and a second story of a man who became God and then ascended on high. Looking at Enoch in detail will teach us much about the religion and religious history of these Jews who believed that a man became God (or that God became a man). The roots of Enoch's apotheosis seem to go back very far in the ancient Near East. I hope to uncover the outlines of a fateful moment in Jewish religious history, the one in which the doctrine of the Messiah as an incarnate divine person and as an exalted human is formed.

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...idea of the Messiah originally centered around an ordinary, human king of the House of David who would restore that longed-for monarchy, while the idea of a divine Redeemer developed separately. It is around the time of Jesus (or actually somewhat earlier) that these two ideas are combined into the concept of a divine Messiah. The best evidence for this is that in the Similitudes, we find the same combination of religious notions that we find in the contemporaneous Gospels.

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hand, in the earlier chapters of the Similitudes, the Son of Man does get to sit on that throne; here we have the notion of the theophany, the divine figure who will reveal himself in the man. In these chapters, the Son of Man, who also carries, as we have seen, the title of Messiah, has the role of eschatological judge (judge at the final assizes). This clearly comes out from a way of reading Daniel 7:14—"To him was given dominion and kingdom. All peoples, nations, and languages will serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which will not pass away, and his kingdom is indestructible"—in which the assignment of sovereignty to the Son of Man is

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primarily constituted via his role as this judge at the last time.<sup>16</sup> In these chapters, the Son of Man is made, like Moses, to sit on the divine throne itself (62:2, 5; 69:27, 29; 61:8). Following the principle just articulated—that one who sits on the divine throne either alongside or sometimes in place of God is himself divine and a sharer in God's divinity—then the Son of Man certainly fits this description in the Similitudes. He is, moreover, clearly the object of worship in this text also (46:5; 48:5; 62:6, 9). But he is not yet Enoch. Enoch in these chapters is the seer, not the seen. We can observe, then, two parallel Enoch traditions, growing out of 1 Enoch 14 and Daniel 7: a tradition of an exalted divinized human, on one hand, and on the other, a tradition of a second God-like Redeemer who comes down to save Israel. What we don't have yet is the identification or merging of that divinized human with the anthropized

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divinity, such as we find in the Gospel of Mark and its followers. Where this comes together is in chapters 70–71 of the Similitudes, which must be seen as an independent strand of very ancient tradition, in which the two originally separate ideas of God becoming man and a man becoming God are fused.<sup>17</sup> In the first part of the work, the Son of Man is explicitly described as preexistent to creation, while Enoch is the seventh born human after Adam.

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The whole story of Enoch as the Son of Man all begins with the verses about Enoch in the Book of Genesis. The story of Enoch as we have it in those few enigmatic verses of Genesis 5 reads: 21And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: 22And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 23And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: 24And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him.

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Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1336-1344). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

The story of Enoch as we have it in those few enigmatic verses of Genesis 5 reads: 21And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat Methuselah: 22And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 23And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years: 24And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him. This terminology is unique in the Bible; of no one else is it said that "he was not." It cannot be interpreted, therefore, to mean simply that he died. Something special happened to Enoch: not only was he shown visions and wonders and given understanding, but he was with God and he was not; he was taken by God.

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Chapters 70–71 likely were added to the Enoch text from some other version to answer this very question, precisely because they fill out the story of Enoch's apotheosis. They explain what happens when Enoch walks with God; he becomes the Son of Man, and that is why he was no longer among humans. This literary move, interpreting the obscure text of Genesis by splicing together two apparently originally separate texts about Enoch, has had an enormous theological effect. This movement of the theology is indicated precisely at the difficult textual moment in which "that angel came to me and greeted me with his

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voice and said to me, 'You are that son of man who was born for righteousness, and righteousness dwells on you, and the righteousness of the Head of Days will not forsake you.'" Two traditions are combined in the Similitudes of Enoch: the preexistent, second God, Redeemer of Daniel, now not only described as the Son of Man but so named, and

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the exalted seventh antediluvian sage, Enoch, who went up to heaven because he walked with God, and God took him, and he was not.

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This theological innovation must have taken place before the actual writing of the Similitudes of Enoch in the first century A.D.; it is of major importance for understanding the similar development that we can observe in the Christology of the New Testament. Just as the Son of Man in the Similitudes is a preexistent divine figure holding the dignity of the second divine throne and afforded all the privileges and sovereignty of the one like a son of man in Daniel, so too the preexistent Son of Man who lies behind the Gospels. This divine figure became ultimately identified with Enoch in two ways, one via his becoming Enoch when Enoch is exalted into heaven and one in his being revealed as having been Enoch all along. This is the paradox that inhabits the Gospel story of the Christ as well: on one hand, the Son of Man is a divine person, part of God, coexistent with God for all eternity, revealed on earth in the human Jesus; on the other hand, the human Jesus has been exalted and raised to divine status.

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Enoch and the Christ Son of Man The second book of 1 Enoch, the Similitudes of Enoch, is a product roughly of the same time as the Gospel of Mark—but there is a still earlier first book. Known as the Book of the Watchers,

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In chapter 71 of the Similitudes we observe these two traditions being combined into one and the two figures of Enoch and the Son of Man coming together. The complex, doubled story of the Son of Man had already been prepared for in pre-Jesus Jewish speculation and was extant at the time of his life: it already included the two elements of a Son of Man who was the preexistent, transcendent Messiah and the element of the human being who would be the embodiment of that Messiah on earth and be exalted and merged with him. Thus was born the Christ, not quite a historical virgin birth or creation out of nothing but the fulfillment of the highest and most powerful aspirations of the Jewish people. The Wisdom elements of the newly born Messiah figure come in, I think, together with Enoch, carrying in their wake the early readings of Proverbs 8 and the Logos tradition as well.

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Richard Baukham so well phrased it, "It can readily be seen that early Christians applied to Jesus all the well-established and well-organized characteristics of the unique divine identity in order, quite clearly and precisely, to include Jesus in the unique identity of the one God of Israel."<sup>26</sup> In the worship of the Messiah/Son of Man/Enoch in the Similitudes of Enoch, we find the closest parallel to the Gospels. Since there is no reason in the world to think that either of these texts influenced the other, together they provide strong evidence for the confluence of ideas about the human Messiah, the son of David, and the divine Messiah, the Son of Man, in Judaism by at least the first century A.D. and probably earlier.

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In another text from the same time as the Similitudes and the Gospel of Mark, the apocalypse known as Fourth Ezra, we also find a divine figure based on Daniel 7 and identified with the Messiah.

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4<sup>th</sup> Ezra passage makes absolutely clear the combination of the divine Son of Man and the Redeemer or Messiah—a high Christology indeed, and, of course, one that is independent of the Jesus movement entirely.\* Two different strands of the religious imagination, one in which the ancient binitarianness of Israel’s God is essentially preserved and transformed and one in which that duality has been more thoroughly suppressed, live side by side in the Jewish thought world of the Second Temple and beyond, being mixed in different ways but also contesting each other and sometimes seeking to oust the other completely. This background, I think, explains much of the religion of the Gospels as a continuation and development of a strand of Israelite religion that is very ancient indeed.

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1438-1465). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

The Gospel of Mark and the Similitudes of Enoch are independent witnesses to a Jewish pattern of religion at their shared time.

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1469-1470). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

Jesus’ Judaism was a conservative reaction against some radical innovations in the Law stemming from the Pharisees and Scribes of Jerusalem.

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1530-1531). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

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if Mark was himself a member of a Jewish community and so was his Jesus, then the beginnings of Christianity can be considered in a very different light, as a version, perhaps a radical one, of the religion of the Jews. Jesus, in this view, was fighting not against Judaism but within it—an entirely different matter. Far from being a marginal Jew, Jesus was a leader of one type of Judaism that was being marginalized by another group, the Pharisees, and he was fighting against them as dangerous innovators. This view of Christianity as but a variation within Judaism, and even a highly conservative and traditionalist one, goes to the heart of our description of the relations in the second, third, and fourth centuries between so-called Jewish Christianity and its early rival, the so-called Gentile Christianity that was eventually (after some centuries) to win the day.

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Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1540-1547). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

Jesus was, according to the view I defend here, not fighting against the Jews or Judaism but with some Jews for what he considered to be the right kind of Judaism. As we have seen in the past two chapters, this kind of Judaism included the idea of a second divine person who would be found on earth in human form as the Messiah (and in the person of that Jesus). The only controversy surrounding Jesus was whether this son of the carpenter of Nazareth truly was the one for whom the Jews were waiting. Taking himself to be that very Jewish Messiah, Son of Man, however, Jesus surely would not have spoken contemptuously of the Torah but would have upheld it.

As read by most commentators, Mark 7 establishes the beginning of the so-called parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity.

Mark 7: In essence, Jesus "makes all foods clean." In his commentary in the time-honored Anchor Bible, Joel Marcus writes that "anyone who did what the Markan Jesus does in our passage, denying this dietary distinction and declaring all food to be permissible (7:19), would immediately be identified as a seducer who led the people's heart astray from God (cf. 7:6) and from the holy commandment he had given to Moses (cf. 7:8, 9, 13)."

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1573-1577). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

Reading the text backward from later Christian practices and beliefs about the written Torah and its abrogations, interpreters and scholars have found a point of origin, even a

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legend of origin, for their version of Christianity in this chapter. In contrast, reading the text through lenses colored by years of immersion in the Jewish religious literature of the times around Jesus and the evangelists produces a very different perspective on the chapter from the one that has come to be so dominant. Anchoring Mark in its proper historical and cultural context, we find a very different text indeed, one that reveals an inner Jewish controversy, rather than an abrogation of the Torah of Judaism.

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Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1579-1584). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

while the readers of Mark are clearly expected

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1612-1613). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

“clean” and “unclean” to refer both to the laws of permitted and forbidden foods and to the laws of pollution or impurity and purity. These translate two entirely different sets of Hebrew words, muttar and tahor. It

Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1633-1634). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

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Boyarin, Daniel. The Jewish Gospels (Kindle Locations 1633-1634). The New Press. Kindle Edition.

Throughout the Dialogue, Justin is very concerned to define the Jews as those who do not believe in the Logos. This permits me to introduce here one of the major axes of my argument. Belief in the Logos of God as a second divine person is taken by most authorities, ancient and modern, as a virtual touchstone of the theological difference of Christianity from Judaism. In contrast to this consensus, a major part of the argument of this book is that prior (and even well into) the rabbinic period, most (or at any rate many)

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non-Christian Jews did see the Logos (or his female alter ego, Sophia) as a central part of their doctrines about God

Boyarin, Daniel. *Border Lines (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion)*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc.. Kindle Edition. Page | 19

Timaeus. Kister himself supplies a better explanation on “Let Us,” 53, namely, that the Jewish Logos/Sophia doctrine grew up in Second Temple theology as a way of deflecting polytheistic understandings, out of reading Genesis with Proverbs 8. See also M. J. Edwards, “Justin's Logos and the Word of God,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 261–80; and Virginia Burrus, “Creatio Ex Libidine: Reading Ancient Logos Differently,” *Other Testaments: Derrida in Religion* (London: Routledge, 2004), on this point. Cf. BT Sanhedrin 38b, where “heretical” interpretation of Gen. 1:26 as implying two creators is “refuted.”

Boyarin, Daniel. *Border Lines (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion)*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc.. Kindle Edition.

89. Tannaitic texts are the rabbinic literature that cites the opinions of the Rabbis who lived before the promulgation of the Mishna in the beginning of the third century. Amoraic literature, the literature following them through the third, fourth, and fifth centuries and into the sixth. The tannaitic texts were edited earlier than the amoraic ones, but only—paradoxically—after the Mishna, which is represented as their culmination. Thus, based on either the date of the materials projected by the texts themselves or the dates of redaction projected by scholars, the tannaitic is earlier than the amoraic.

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The Manual of Discipline describes a ritual which could be mistaken for the Christian Communion. The many striking resemblances between the Essene and Christian creeds have best been summed up by A. Dupont-Sommer, a professor at the Sorbonne : Everything in the Jewish New Covenant heralds and prepares the way for the Christian New Covenant. The Galilean Master, as He is presented to us in the writings of the New Testament, appears in many respects as an astonishing reincarnation of the Teacher of Righteousness. Like the latter, He preached penitence, poverty, humility, love of one's

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neighbor, chastity Like him, He prescribed the observance of the Law of Moses, the whole Law, but the Law finished and perfected, thanks to His own revelations. Like him, He was the Elect and the Messiah of God, the Messiah Redeemer of the World. Like him, He was the object of the hostility of the priests, the party of the Sadducees. Like him, He was condemned and put to death. Like him, He pronounced judgment on Jerusalem, which was taken and destroyed by the Romans for having put Him to death. Like him, at the end of time, He will be the supreme judge. Like him, He founded a church whose adherents fervently awaited His glorious return. In the Christian Church, just as in the Essene Church, the essential rite is the sacred meal, whose ministers are the priests. Here and there, at the head of each community, there is the overseer, the "bishop." And the ideal of both Churches is essentially that of unity, communion in love—even going so far as the sharing of common property.

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Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (pp. 144-145). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

The Teacher of Righteousness died about 65-53 B.C.; Jesus the Nazarene died about 30 A.D. In every case in which the resemblance compels or invites us to think of a borrowing, this was on the part of Christianity. But on the other hand, the appearance of the faith in Jesus—the foundation of the New Church—can scarcely be explained without the real historic activity of a new Prophet, a new Messiah, who has rekindled the flame and concentrated on himself the adoration of men.

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 145). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

them. In 1864 a British scholar with the unlikely name of Christian D. Ginsburg published a monograph entitled *The Essenes: Their History and Doctrines*, in which he intuitively asserted what the Dead Sea Scrolls prove. But this too was dismissed as the meaningless work of a foolish scholar who -speculated about something for which he had no concrete evidence. But with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the scholars were vindicated. Josephus, Philo, Pliny, Ginsburg—all had been right. "Christianity" had existed at least two hundred years before Jesus, its greatest and noblest spokesman, but not its originator.

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (pp. 145-146). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

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Instead of a loud reverberation through Christian and Jewish institutions at this momentous discovery, there was nothing but silence. The Christians were not anxious to impute to Jewish rabbis the total origin of their religion, feeling it enough that Jesus was Jewish. Neither were the Jews anxious to assume credit for the complete authorship of Christianity, feeling they had contributed enough by providing the central figure in the Christian religion. Thus the Essene Dead Sea Scrolls remained the property of little-known scholars who continued to write about this great discovery in esoteric magazines, or became the playthings of popularizers who diluted their essential meaning with so many soothing cliches that their importance was reduced to trivia.

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Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 146). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

In the troubled land of Judea, in the first century A.D., bleeding under Rome's tyrannical rule, many prophets, preachers, and holy men, representing most of the twenty-four religious sects in the country at the time, went about proclaiming the coming of a messiah who would deliver the Jews from the evil of the Roman yoke. Each sect preached its own brand of salvation, but the most numerous of these itinerant prophets and preachers were the Essenes. History has shown us that the most important of them all was Jesus. Jesus Christ is Greek for "Joshua the messiah," and the word "messiah" comes from the Hebrew word mashiah, meaning "one who is anointed," that is, a messiah. As scholars disagree about the dates of Christ's life, we will give only approximate ones. Depending, then, upon what authority is used, Jesus was born between 7 and 4 B.C. either in Bethlehem or Nazareth<sup>23</sup> during the reign of Herod the Great in Judea, and was crucified either in 30 or in 33 A.D.

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 146). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

eight hundred years before Jesus. In the days of Jesus there existed, side by side, two Judaisms, one the Judaism of temple and sacrifice, the other the Judaism of synagogue and prayer, just as two Christianities exist side by side today, one Catholic, the other Protestant. Jesus, then, was not the first reformer of the Temple cult. When he appeared on the scene, the reforms instituted by the Prophets were already doing away with the entire Temple cult itself. In this dying Temple cult, Jesus aimed to do away with two practices, the selling of sacrificial animals and the handling of money on Temple grounds.

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 149). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

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Any person familiar with Jewish judicial procedure in biblical times will find it difficult to take the Gospel accounts literally. According to Jewish law at that time, no one could be arrested at night. It was illegal to hold court proceedings after sundown on the eve or the day of the Sabbath or a festival. The Great Sanhedrin could convene only in the Chamber of Hewn Stones, never in the palace of a High Priest or in any other dwelling. Nor could the Sanhedrin initiate an arrest. No one could be tried before the Sanhedrin unless two witnesses had first sworn out charges against him. As there was no prosecuting attorney, the accusing witnesses had to state the nature of the offense to the court in the presence of the accused, who had the right to call witnesses in his own behalf. The court then examined and cross-examined the accused, the accusers,

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Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (pp. 150-151). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

defense witnesses. The Talmud, in fact, decreed that even as a condemned man was led to his place of execution, a herald had to precede him crying out to all: "So and so, the son of so and so, is going forth to be executed because he has committed such and such an offense, and so and so are his [accusing] witnesses. Whoever knows anything in his favor, let him come and state it."<sup>27</sup> These facts make it very unlikely that a Jewish High Court would defy every law in its own code and act contrary to time-honored custom.

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 151). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

Pilate's cruelty and rapacity became so notorious that the Emperor Tiberius had to remove him because he brought dishonor to Rome. It demands too much credulity to think that this Pontius Pilate, a Roman general in command of many legions surrounding the city, was cowed by a Jewish "multitude" armed with nothing more fearful than phylacteries (small amulets wrapped around one arm during prayer). Does it not seem more probable that Jesus was arrested by the Jews to protect him from the Romans (who never had any compunction about crucifying one Jew more or less), that this protective arrest was to no avail, and that the Romans demanded that the Jews turn Jesus over to them for punishment? There is evidence in the Gospels

Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (pp. 151-152). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

themselves for such a theory. According to the Gospels, it was the Roman soldiers who scourged and tortured the body of Jesus. It took Roman fiendishness, not Jewish compassion, to press a crown of thorns on his head, and to hang the mocking sign, "King of the Jews," on his body. We cannot but be touched by the poignancy of Christ's agony,

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when he turned his eyes heavenward and uttered the now familiar cry, “Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani”—My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?<sup>29</sup> The Gospels themselves relate that it was the Jewish multitude that wept at the scene of his crucifixion, not the Romans. The Romans were busy playing dice for his mantle. All the internal evidence points to a Roman atrocity, not a miscarriage of Jewish justice. Jews never in their history crucified anybody, nor ever demanded crucifixion for anyone. In fact the Jews came out in the defense of the Christians, evidenced in the New Testament itself. Acts 5:34-39 states that the Pharisee Rabbi Rabban Gamaliel openly opposed the Roman persecution of the Christians. Josephus mentions that when James, the brother of Jesus, was executed by the Romans, it was none other than the Pharisees who risked their lives by protesting this wanton killing. With Jesus dead, Christianity seemed doomed. It was saved by the Jewish doctrine of resurrection. Jews throughout Judea were familiar with the idea of resurrection after death, and freely speculated about the hereafter. We find innumerable references to this in the apocryphal writings of the Pharisees and in the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Essenes, written at least a century before the time of Jesus. We should, therefore, not be surprised to read in the Gospels that on the Sunday following the crucifixion of Jesus some women went to his tomb to pray and found the stone in front of it

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Dimont, Max I.. Jews, God, and History (p. 152). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.

In the first two decades after the death of Jesus, from 30 to 50 A.D., all Christians were Jews, and Christianity as a Jewish sect differed little from the many other Jewish sects. New converts came mostly from the ranks of other Jews, and those pagans who joined the new religion had to become Jews first before they could be accepted into the Christian faith. All Christians were regarded as Jews in the same way that a Catholic turned

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Protestant, or a Protestant turned Catholic, is still regarded as a Christian. The great schism between Christians and Jews did not occur until after 50 A.D., when the Christian sect was taken to the pagans and made a world religion. This was both the decision and the accomplishment of one man, another Jew, the real builder of the Christian Church. His name is Saul of Tarsus, generally known by Christians as Paul. He became to Jesus what the Talmud became to the Torah—a commentary and a way of life.

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conversion to Christianity, little is heard of Paul for fourteen years, until a disciple named Barnabas, in the year 45 A.D., asks Paul to accompany him on a journey for the new Church. It is now that Paul's remarkable missionary work begins, and he soon surpasses his mentor, Barnabas. After his return from this first mission Paul made his fateful decision to break with the Jews. Twice he had appealed to the Apostolic Church in Jerusalem to make him an apostle, and twice it had refused him this honor. Then he had a quarrel with James, the brother of Jesus, about the procedure in converting pagans. The custom had been for non-Jewish converts to become Jews first, then be admitted into the Christian sect. Paul felt that pagans should become Christians directly, without first being converted to Judaism. Rebuffed by the apostles of the Church,

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Paul made three decisions which eliminated the Jewish element from the Christian sect and made it a separate religion. Since the Jews would not have Christianity, Paul took it to the pagans. To make it easier for them to join his new religion, he made a second decision, that of abandoning Jewish dietary laws and the rite of circumcision. His third decision was to substitute Christ for the Torah, and this was the most crucial one, for it caused the final and unalterable break between the Father and the Son religions. The Jews believed then, as they do now, that man can know God only through the word of God as revealed in the Torah. The Pauline doctrine stated that man could know God only through Christ. The schism between Jew and Christian was total.

Dimont, Max I.. *Jews, God, and History* (p. 155). Penguin Publishing Group. Kindle Edition.