

www.bibalpress.com
P.O. Box 821808
North Richland Hills, TX 76182
817-281-1281
info@bibalpress.com



And God Said, “You Are Fired”

Elijah and Elisha

Editors

Michael M. Caspi and John T. Greene

BIBAL PRESS
NORTH RICHLAND HILLS, TEXAS



BIBAL Press
An imprint of D. & F. Scott Publishing, Inc.
P.O. Box 821653
N. Richland Hills, TX 76182
817 788-2280
info@dfscott.com
www.dfscott.com

Copyright © 2007 by BIBAL Press

All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission of the publisher except for brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

Printed in the United States of America

11 10 09 08 07 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Control Number: 2007931257

ISBN 978-1-930566-66-8

Contributors

<i>Mishael M. Caspi</i>	Bates College
<i>Tova Forti</i>	Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel
<i>John T. Greene</i>	Michigan State University, East Lansing
<i>Gilas Hamel</i>	University of California at Santa Cruz
<i>Rachel S. Havrelock</i>	University of Illinois, Chicago
<i>Martin O'Kane</i>	University of Wales, Lampeter, UK
<i>Stefan Schorch</i>	Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel, Brelefeld, Germany
<i>Yael Shemesh</i>	Bar Ilan University Ramat Gan, Israel
<i>Max Stern</i>	College of Judea and Samaria

Stefan Schorch

Elijah and Elijah-Tradition in Maccabees

Abstract

Within the First and Second books of Maccabees, Elijah is mentioned only once, in 1 Macc 2:58. Although this is the only explicit reference to that famous figure, a further passage seems worthy to be discussed if we search for Elijah traditions preserved by these two books: 2 Macc 1:20–23. The paper will ask whether this passage should be seen within the context of the Elijah tradition and will analyze the picture of Elijah emerging from the two books mentioned.

Within the first and second books of Maccabees, there is only one explicit mentioning of Eliah, contained in 1 Maccabees. Although 1 Maccabees has been transmitted in the Christian Bible only, it is originally a Hebrew text,¹ composed most probably around 120 BCE in Jerusalem.² The Hebrew original, still known to Jerome, got lost. The book of 1 Maccabees reflects clear pro-Hasmonean tendencies.³

The reference to Elijah as transmitted in 1 Maccabees consists of one sentence only (1 Macc 2:58):

Ηλιας ἐν τῷ ζηλώσει ζῆλον νόμου ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν

Elijah, because of great zeal for the law, was taken up into heaven.

Although thus short, this saying seems to present a very complex picture of Elijah: Elijah is praised for his zeal, which was focused on the law, and his ascent to heaven appears as the reward for this zeal. The image of Elijah presented in this saying, therefore, connects at least three different elements quite prominent in Jewish tradition:

- 1 Zeal
- 2 The Law
- 3 Ascent to heaven

In the following, I will first focus on these three elements, afterwards move to an analysis of the literary context of the verse under discussion, and finally discuss the relation between the traditions on Elijah and on Phinehas.

1. Elijah's Zeal

Elijah's zeal is the first of the three elements appearing in the verse under discussion. Although not preserved, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek formula ἐν τῷ ζηλωσάμιν ζήλου "because of great zeal" may be reconstructed with a high degree of certainty as **בְּקִנְיָהוּ קִנְיָהוּ**.⁴ The motif of Elijah's zeal goes back to the Hebrew bible: In 1 Kgs 19:10 and 14, Elijah is complaining before God at Horeb:

קִנְיָהוּ קִנְיָהוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת כִּי־עָזְבוּ בְרִיתְךָ בְּנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־מִזְבְּחֶיךָ הָרְסוּ
וְאֶת־נְבִיאֶיךָ הָרְגוּ בַחֶרֶב וְאוֹתָר אֲנִי לְבַדִּי וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ
אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לְקַחְתָּהּ

I have been very zealous for the LORD, the God of hosts; for the Israelites have forsaken your covenant, thrown down your altars, and killed your prophets with the sword. I alone am left, and they are seeking my life, to take it away.

According to the narrative framework of the biblical account in 1 Kgs 18–19, the phrase **קִנְיָהוּ קִנְיָהוּ**, "I have been

very zealous,” most probably refers to Elijah’s killing the prophets of Baal at Nahal Kishon. In other words, “being zealous” seems to be a euphemism⁵ for carrying out acts of physical violence against supporters of non-Jahwistic cults in favor of the God of Israel.

The motif of Elijah’s zeal is not known from any other Jewish source of the second century BCE. It appears, however, in the *Vitae Prophetarum* (“Lives of the Prophets”), a composition that most probably originates in the first century CE.⁶ There, Elijah is called “zealous” (ζηλωτης),⁷ obviously employing this designation in a very positive and approving way.⁸

As to rabbinical literature, the motif of Elijah’s zeal appears in a number of texts, especially in the *Mekhilta de Rabbi Yishmael*, *Shir ha-Shirim Rabba*, *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer* and *Yalkut Shim’oni*.⁹ It is notable, however, that, in all these references, a positive undertone is very rare, and, among the texts that understand Elijah’s zeal as physical violence, only one reference in *Yalkut Shim’oni* sees it in a positive light:¹⁰

מסה בער עובדי ע"ז שנאמר שימו איש חרבו על
ירכו ואלהו בער עובדי ע"ז וחפש נביאי
הבעל ושחטם משה קנא מי לה' אלי ואליהו קנא
שנאמר ויאמר אליהו לכל העם גשו נא אלי

Moses removed the worshippers of idolatry, as it is written (Exod 32:27): “Put your sword on your side, each of you!” and Elijah removed the worshippers of idolatry, seized the prophets of Ba’al and slaughtered them. Moses had been zealous (Exod 32:26): “Who is on the Lord’s side? Come to me!,” and Elijah had been zealous, as it is written (1 Kgs 18:30): “Then Elijah said to all the people: Come closer to me.”

As clearly appears from the quotation, the context of this reference to Elijah’s zeal is a comparison between Elijah and Moses, postulating almost equality between the two: Elijah had been zealous as Moses had been, and, therefore,

his zeal is as justified as Moses' zeal is. The comparison between Moses and Elijah as well as the claim that Elijah is something like a new Moses is a prominent line of rabbinic thinking,¹¹ but, as far as I am aware, only here extends to the motif of zeal, attributing a positive flavor to Elijah's zeal.

Contrary to the tendency inherent in the passage from the *Yalkut* quoted above, the majority of rabbinic references to Elijah's zeal express disapproval:¹²

אליהו תבע כבוד האב ולא כבוד הבן שנאמר קנא
קנאתי ליי' אלהי צבאות וגו' (מלכים א'
י"ז) ומה נאמר שם ויאמר ה' אליו לך שוב לדרכך
מדברה דמשק וגומד ואת יהוא בן
נמשי תמשח למלך על ישראל ואת אלישע בן שפט
תמשח לנביא תחתיד שאין תלמוד
לומר לנביא תחתיד אלא שאי איפשי בנבואתך.

Elijah expressed the glory of the father (= God), but not of the son (= Israel), as it is written (1 Kgs 19:10): "I have been very zealous for the Lord etc.," and what is written there (1 Kgs 19:15f): "Then the Lord said to him, Go, return on your way to the wilderness of Damascus etc., Also you shall anoint Jehu son of Nimshi as king over Israel; and you shall anoint Elisha son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah as prophet in your place."—The expression "as prophet in your place" can only be understood as "I do not like your prophecy."

The reason given in this saying for disapproving Elijah's zeal is that Elijah is too inhuman a prophet, focusing solely on the demands of God while neglecting the needs of men. That's why, according to the rabbis, Elijah's prophetic power should be transferred to Elisha.

A number of rabbinical texts identify Elijah with Phinehas son of Eleazar,¹³ who, according to Num 25, in his zeal killed an Israelite man and a Midianite woman at Shittim. In these references, both Phinehas's zeal in Shittim and Elijah's zeal at Nahal Kishon are condemned, attributed to the same person Phinehas-Elijah, e.g.:¹⁴

ואמר לו מה לך פה אליהו, ויאמר קנא קנאתי,
א"ל לעולם אתה מקנא קנאת בשמים על
גלוי עריות, וכאן את מקנא, חייך שאין ישראל עושין
ברית מילה

And he (= God) said to him (1 Kgs 19:9): "What are you doing here, Elijah?" He answered: "I have been very zealous." Then he said to him: "You are always zealous. You have been zealous in Shittim because of a forbidden sexual relation, and here you are zealous because Israel does not circumcise."

In light of the material presented above, it seems that the saying of 1 Maccabees to be analyzed here is the oldest evidence for the existence of a tradition focused on the motif of the zealous Elijah. Both 1 Maccabees and the earlier tradition of the *Vitae Prophetarum* employ it in a positive way, while this feature was removed in the later tradition of the *Vitae Prophetarum*.¹⁵

Within rabbinic literature, remnants of this approving tradition with regard to Elijah's zeal still may be recognized. The majority of rabbinic sources, however, clearly condemn it.¹⁶

Josephus's portrait of Elijah seems to show that the removal of the zeal elements from the Elijah tradition already happened in the first century CE. "The key feature in Josephus' remolding of the character of Elijah is his elimination of the features of a Zealot."¹⁷ As with regard to rabbinic literature, this negative attitude towards zeal seems to be a critical reaction to the movement of the Zealots.¹⁸

2. Elijah and the Law

The second traditional element which can be separated in the saying from 1 Maccabees to be analyzed here is the law as the focus of Elijah's zeal. It seems that, in comparison to the zeal motif, this element is much less frequent within the context of postbiblical Elijah traditions.

Nevertheless, as the motif of Elijah's zeal, Elijah's commitment to the law seems to have a clear anchor in the biblical text, since the final section of the Dodekapropheton, Mal 3:22–24, draws a close connection between Moses, the Law, and Elijah:

זכרו תורת משה עבדי אשר צויתי אותו
בחרב על-כל-ישראל חקים ומשפטים:
הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא
לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא:
והשיב לבראבות על-בנים ולב בנים על-אבותם
פן-אבוא והכיתי את-הארץ חרם:

Remember the teaching of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb for all Israel. Lo, I will send you the prophet Elijah before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes. He will turn the hearts of parents to their children and the hearts of children to their parents, so that I will not come and strike the land with a curse.

According to this passage, the prophet Elijah, after his eschatological returning to earth, will reinstall the observance of the Law of Moses. Although Elijah's commitment to the law as expressed in 1 Maccabees, seems to have some points of contact with the passage from Malachi, both are very different insofar as the Elijah verse from 1 Maccabees entirely lacks the eschatological background of the prophetic text.

Apart from 1 Maccabees, the motif of the historical, not the eschatological, Elijah committing himself to the observance of the law appears in some manuscripts of the *Vitae Prophetarum*: In continuation of Elijah's designation as "zealous" (ζηλωτής), quoted above, he is called a "guardian of the divine commandments" (φύλαξ τῶν θεοῦ ἐντολῶν).¹⁹

Further Elijah traditions seem to have common elements with the tradition of Elijah's commitment to the law, but are not identical. This seems especially true for the

claim referred to above that Elijah was very similar to Moses.²⁰ Additionally, Elijah appears as a teacher of the oral Torah in some rabbinical texts. Both of these traditions, however, lack the point of Elijah fighting for the general observance of the law, which seems so prominent in the quotations from 1 Maccabees and the *Vitae Prophetarum*. On account of this observation, one may conclude that Elijah's commitment to the law has been part of the imagery of Elijah in Late Second Temple Judaism, but seems to have disappeared afterwards. Additionally, this motif seems to always have been connected with the zeal motif.

3. Elijah's Ascent to Heaven

The motif of Elijah's ascent to heaven is of course the most famous feature of Elijah traditions. As compared with both the biblical text to which this motif goes back and the many postbiblical Jewish texts in which the motif reappears, the verse from 1 Maccabees names only the fact itself, that Elijah was taken up into heaven, but is free of any additional details, as e.g., the whirlwind or the chariot with horses of fire, by which Elijah was taken to heaven, according to 2 Kgs 2:11:

ויהי המה הלכים הלוך ודבר והנה רכב
אש וסוסי אש ויפרדו בין שניהם ויעל אליהו
בסערהן השמים:

As they continued walking and talking, a chariot of fire and horses of fire separated the two of them, and Elijah ascended in a whirlwind into heaven.

Although the absence of details in 1 Maccabees seems to follow the poetic structure of the passage in which the verse to be discussed here appears (see below), it certainly indicates an abstraction and avoids any speculation about exactly how Elijah's ascent to heaven happened. That the absence of the concrete circumstances under which Elijah disappeared from earth is not just due to the poetic structure of the

passage seems to be corroborated by the observation that 1 Maccabees generally avoids metaphysical speculation. It is interesting to note that the same tendency appears in Josephus's account of Elijah.²¹

In the following, I'd like to analyze the literary context of the saying to be discussed here.

4. Elijah within the Context of the "Testament of Mattathias"

The context of this verse on Elijah in 1 Maccabees is the so-called "Testament of Mattathias," containing the last words of Mattathias, father of Judas Maccabeus, directed to his sons.²² This testament extends over verses 2:49–68, containing in verses 52–60 a list of glorious men from the history of ancient Israel who are supposed to serve as examples for the sons. All of these examples are well known from the Hebrew Bible. One of these examples is Elijah:

- (51) Remember the deeds of the ancestors, which they did in their generations; and you will receive great honor and an everlasting name.
- (52) **Abraham**, when tested, was he not found faithful, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?
- (53) **Joseph** in the time of his distress kept the commandment, and became lord of Egypt.
- (54) **Phinehas** our ancestor, because he was deeply zealous, received the covenant of everlasting priesthood.
- (55) **Joshua**, because he fulfilled the command, became a judge in Israel.
- (56) **Caleb**, because he testified in the assembly, received an inheritance in the land.
- (57) **David**, because he was merciful, inherited the throne of the kingdom forever.

Elijah and Elijah-Tradition in Maccabees

(58) **Elijah**, because he was deeply zealous for the law, was taken up into heaven.

(59) **Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael** believed and were saved from the flame.

(60) **Daniel**, because of his innocence, was delivered from the mouth of the lions.

(61) And so observe, from generation to generation, that none of those who put their trust in him will lack strength.

One verse is devoted to each example. In the Greek text, obviously following the Hebrew original, every single verse has the same structure: The name of the respective figure appears at the first position of the verse, followed by a formula introduced with the preposition ἐν “in,” corresponding to **בְּ** in the Hebrew *Vorlage*: ἐν πειρασμῷ—“in testing” (Abraham), ἐν καιρῷ στενοχωρίας αὐτοῦ—“in the time of his distress” (Joseph), ἐν τῷ ζηλωσῶν ζηλοῦν—“in being zealous” (Phinehas), ἐν τῷ πληρῶσαι λόγον—“in fulfilling the command” (Joshua), etc. Only one sentence deviates from this structure, verse 59, where a participle follows the name: Ἀνανίας Ἀζαριᾶς Μισαὴλ πιστεύσαντες—“Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael believing . . .” The following verse, however, which closes this passage, immediately returns to the usual structure: Δανιηλ ἐν τῇ ἀπότητι αὐτοῦ—“Daniel in his innocence.”

As regards the phrase following the preposition, it is interesting to observe clear differences: In verses 52 and 53, a noun follows, referring to difficult situations in the life of Abraham and Joseph—Abraham’s testing and Joseph’s distress.

In verses 54 to 58, however, an infinitive phrase follows, referring to remarkable deeds of the respective biblical figures: ἐν τῷ ζηλωσῶν ζηλοῦν—“in being zealous” (Phinehas), ἐν τῷ πληρῶσαι λόγον—“in fulfilling the command” (Joshua), ἐν τῷ μαρτύρασθαι—“in testifying” (Caleb). The only exception is the verse devoted to David: ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ, usually translated as “in his mercy.” Within the Septuagint, however, ἔλεος

is the usual Greek equivalent to Hebrew דָּוִד, and, therefore, we may suppose that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the present Greek passage was דָּוִד בַּחֲסִדוֹ, meaning “David in his pioussness.”²³ Maybe, the author had in his mind David’s “acts of pioussness,” again expressing an activity. A second possibility, expressing exactly this meaning, is that the Hebrew *Vorlage* contained דָּוִד בְּחֲסִדָיו “David in his acts of pioussness.” In favor of this suggestion is that in the Septuagint of 2 Chr 32:32 and Neh 13:14 ἔλεος (singular) indeed corresponds to חֲסִדִים in the Masoretic Text. In the following and last verse of this passage, devoted to Elijah, the text returns to an infinitive phrase: ἐν τῷ ζηλωσάει ζῆλον νόμου—“in being very zealous with regard to the law.”

The two last examples are both taken from the book of Daniel and do not refer to remarkable deeds, as the preceding five examples do, but to remarkable attitudes—belief and innocent uprightness—in difficult situations.²⁴ This forms a parallel to the two opening verses 52 and 53, praising Abraham’s faith and Joseph’s keeping the divine commandment and hereby creating a frame, although the structure of the opening and the closing verses is different.

As to the saying on Elijah, it is the final verse of the passage enclosed by this frame, most obviously paralleling the opening verse, devoted to Phinehas. This parallel is remarkable, since Phinehas and Elijah are identified one with the other in a number of Jewish sources. Therefore, the analysis of the Elijah traditions in 1 Maccabees should include the relation between the image of Elijah and the image of Phinehas.

5. Elijah and Phinehas

Apart from the observation that the verses on Phinehas and Elijah are parallels due to the literary structure of the Testament of Mattathias, both biblical figures, Phinehas and

Elijah and Elijah-Tradition in Maccabees

Elijah, are praised with the same formula: ἐν τῷ ζηλωσῶσι ζῆλον—“in being very zealous.” Most obviously, therefore, Phinehas and Elijah are intentionally paralleled on the levels of both form and content.

The identification of Phinehas and Elijah is known from rabbinical sources, one of which has been quoted already:²⁵

ואמר לו מה לך פה אליהו, ויאמר קנא קנאתי, א"ל
לעולם אתה מקנא קנאת בשטים על
נלוי עריות, ובאן את מקנא, חייד שאין ישראל עושין
ברית מילה

And he (= God) said to him (1 Kgs 19:9): “What are you doing here, Elijah? He answered: I have been very zealous.” Then he said to him: You are always zealous. You have been zealous in Shittim because of a forbidden sexual relation, and here you are zealous because Israel does not circumcise.

The oldest clear attestation for the identification of these two biblical figures, however, comes from the first century CE and is therefore much earlier than the rabbinic texts. It is contained in Pseudo-Philos *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*.²⁶

Although the Testament of Mattathias does not seem to attest the complete identification of Phinehas and Elijah, it nevertheless shows that these two figures have been seen in a very close relationship as early as in the late second century BCE. Being therefore an early document for the formative phase of a new tradition—the identification of Phinehas and Elijah—the separation between the common and the distinctive elements of the images of Phinehas and Elijah may help to determine how this new tradition developed.

The most important common element is the zeal motif. In the case of Elijah, the zeal focuses on the general observation of the law. While the parallel saying on Phinehas misses the latter element, it nevertheless appears with regard to Phinehas in another mentioning of this figure in 1 Macc 2:26:

Thus he (= Mattathias) burned with zeal for the law (καὶ ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ), just as Phinehas did against Zimri son of Salu.

This verse not only shows that the observance of the law has been seen as the focus of Phinehas's zeal as it has been the case with regard to Elijah, but it additionally demonstrates that the zeal for the law, even reappearing in 2:27, has been an ideal of 1 Maccabees. Therefore, the figures of both Phinehas and Elijah appear to have been important points of departure for the creation of Hasmonean identity. Moreover, according to the Testament of Mattathias, the only point of contact between Phinehas and Elijah is their zeal for the law. Therefore, it must have been the Hasmoneans who initially identified Phinehas and Elia.²⁷

In deference to Elijah, however, Phinehas is called "our father" (ο πατήρ η μῶν) by Mattathias. This shows that the Hasmoneans regarded Phinehas as their ancestor. Thanks to this ancestor, the Hasmoneans could legitimize their priesthood as being based on an everlasting covenant, as the continuation of the verse on Phinehas indeed tells: "(He) received the covenant of everlasting priesthood."

However, Phinehas not only has been the ancestor of the Hasmonean priests, but the personification of their political ideals as well—zeal for the law. At this point, Elijah could be compared to him. Thus, the figure of Elijah has been incorporated into the Phinehas tradition, and not the reverse way.

To the broad stream of Elijah traditions during the second temple period, this integration obviously meant a clear restriction: Focusing on Elijah's commitment to the observation of the law, it deprived him of his supranatural power as well as of his messianic potency, both of which are anchored in the biblical text and have been very prominent in other sources from the second temple period.²⁸ As has been discussed above, even Elijah's ascent to heaven

appears without any speculations and has been provided Elijah's zeal as its ratio.

As to the integration of the Elijah tradition into the Phinehas tradition, one may ask why at all it happened, since it does not seem to have added any new element to the Phinehas tradition that has been important to the Hasmonean identity and the justification of their political activity. The most probable reason is that the integration followed an attempt to restrict the Elijah tradition and to intentionally remove from it all messianic and supranatural undertones as part of an attempt to gain more support for the political ideology of the Hasmoneans.

While the Hasmoneans claimed Elijah as a forerunner of their own political ideology, they tried to take him at the same time out of the hands of Jewish groups concurring with this ideology. As is apparent from sources from the first century CE onwards, the reception of Elijah which had been started by the Hasmoneans became less and less attractive and even seems to have been opposed.

Notes

- 1 Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 9f; Schunck, 1. "Makkabäerbuch," 289.
- 2 Schunck, 1. "Makkabäerbuch," 292.
- 3 Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 33; Schunck, 1. "Makkabäerbuch," 291f.
- 4 Compare the Hebrew translation of Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 136.
- 5 From a pragmalinguistic perspective, this is a "euphemism of pretension," cf. Schorch, *Euphemismen*, 4–17.
- 6 Schwemer, "Vitae Prophetarum," 547.
- 7 Schwemer, "Vitae Prophetarum," 647 note 12b (comp. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 168 note 5) and similarly 645 note 3e.
- 8 This is suggested by the continuation of the passage, see below, note 19.

Stefan Schorch

- 9 *Mek. Y. Pisha*, 1; *Cant. Rab.* 1; *Pirqe R. El.* 28; *Midr. Zut.* 8; *Midr. Ag. Bamidbar*, 28; *Yal.* Josua, 15 and 1 Kings, 209.
- 10 *Yal.* 1 Kings, 209.
- 11 See Galley, “Elija,” 32–36.
- 12 *Mek. Y. Pisha*, 1 (comp. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 175). Further references with similar disapproval are *Pirqe R. El.* 28 // *Yal.* Josua, 15; *Cant. Rab.* 1.
- 13 For further inquiries into this identification, see Thon, *Pinhas*, 12–14.
- 14 *Pirqe R. El.* 28 // *Yal.* Josua, 15.
- 15 See Schwemer, “Vitae Prophetarum,” 647 note 12b and similarly 645 note 3e.
- 16 A different attitude may be recognized in the legends current among the Haside Ashkenaz, in which the motif of Elijah fighting for his people was very popular, comp. Galley, *Elija*, 30–32.
- 17 Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrait,” 81.
- 18 See Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 181.
- 19 Schwemer, “Vitae Prophetarum,” 647 note 12b (comp. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 168 note 5). The fact that in this passage the term ἐντολαί, “commandments” appears instead of νόμος “law” is of minor importance only and does not change the general picture.
- 20 See above, note 11.
- 21 Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrait,” 74–81.
- 22 Cf. Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 30.
- 23 See Keil, *Commentar über die Bücher der Makkabäer*, 67.
- 24 Most probably, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek ἐν τῇ α ἰσότητι αὐτοῦ was כַּתְּוִבָּה (comp. 2 Sam 15:11).
- 25 *Pirqe R. El.* 28 // *Yal.* Josua, 15.
- 26 LAB 48,1; see Dietzfelbinger, “Pseudo-Philo,” 230f and comp. Öhler, *Elia*, 26.
- 27 That the identification of the two “zealots,” Phinehas and Elijah, already happened in the time of the Hasmoneans has already been suggested by Öhler, *Elia*, 25 as opposed to an earlier suggestion made by Hengel that the identification of Phinehas and Elijah emerged only during the first century CE.: “Da das früheste schriftliche Zeugnis über eine Identifizierung gegen 100 n. Chr. vorliegt, ist die Entstehung dieser Vorstellung im Laufe des 1. Jh. n. Chr. wahrscheinlicher als zu

einem wesentlich früheren Zeitpunkt." (Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 172). However, the "Testament of Mattathias" proofs, according to our analysis, that this tradition dates earlier.

- 28 See the account of Öhler, *Elia*, 2–22, dealing especially with the Septuagint, the book of Ben Sira and texts from Qumran.

Bibliography

- Dietzfelbinger, Christian: "Pseudo-Philo: Antiquitates Biblicae" (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum), in: *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Band II: *Unterweisungen in erzählender Form*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1975. 89–271.
- Feldman, Louis H.: "Josephus' Portrait of Elijah." *SJOT* 8 (1994), 61–86.
- Galley, Susanne: "Elija: Eine Exkursion durch die jüdische Religionsgeschichte." *Judaica* 61 (2005), 20–41.
- Hengel, Martin: *Die Zeloten: Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961 (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums; 1).
- Keil, Carl Friedrich: *Commentar über die Bücher der Makkabäer*. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke: 1875 (Supplement zu dem Biblischen Commentare über das Alte Testament).
- Öhler, Markus: *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchung zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum*. Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1997. (BZNW, 88).
- Rappaport, Uriel: *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Commentary* [Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2004.
- Schorch, Stefan: *Euphemismen in der Hebräischen Bibel*. Wiesbaden: Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 2000 (OBC; 12).
- Schunck, Klaus-Dietrich: 1. "Makkabäerbuch," in: *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Band I: *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980. 287–373.

Stefan Schorch

- Schwemer, Anna Maria: "Vitae Prophetarum," in: *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Band I: *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997. 579–658.
- Thon, Johannes: *Pinhas ben Eleasar—der levitische Priester am Ende der Tora: Traditions- und literargeschichtliche Untersuchung unter Einbeziehung historisch-geographischer Fragen*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006. (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte, 20).