Joseph Klausner\(^1\) observed that Graetz\(^2\) holds the view that the name \textit{rabbī} used in the Gospels is an anachronism, the reason for this conclusion being given, as Goodenough observes, "because it does not follow later rabbinic usage," the anachronism lying "in taking the later rabbinic usage as valid in the early period since for this period we have only the New Testament to certify."\(^3\) Of course we do not accept as necessarily valid such a conclusion even if the New Testament were to present the only known evidence, on the grounds that other evidence might be forthcoming. As a matter of fact, we believe there is other evidence from contemporary literature and archaeology to verify the accuracy of the New Testament picture of a Rabbi-teacher-pupil complex in the early part of the first century A.D.

Albright, in commenting on the ascription to Jesus of the Aramaic name \textit{rabbī} (literally "my master") or the Greek equivalent \textit{didaskalos} (literally "teacher") in John, states that the arguments that the number of passages where such terms are so ascribed show the relative lateness of that Gospel to the Synoptics since "these terms are much more frequent... in the former than in the latter" and "that a teacher would not be called \textit{rabbī} in the time of Christ," based on the claim that this was a Tannaitic development—such arguments are negated by Sukenik's discovery of the term \textit{didaskalos} inscribed on a pre-A.D. 70 ossuary referring to the person whose bones were interred therein.\(^4\)

Albright goes on to say that further study of \textit{didaskalos}, both archaeologically and linguistically, needs to be made,\(^5\) and it is our purpose to make such an investigation of both \textit{rabbī} and \textit{didaskalos} using evidence such as that set forth by Sukenik.

The above article was delivered at the 14th general meeting of the Midwestern Section of the Evangelical Theological Society, held at Fort Wayne Bible College, Fort Wayne, Indiana, on April 18, 1969.
The words rabbi and didaskalos used in literature of the New Testament period

In the New Testament the word rabbi is restricted to the Gospels in which it is learned that it was a title sought by Jewish religious leaders (Matthew 23:7), was employed in a popular or semi-popular manner by the crowds (John 6:25), and even by a religious leader such as Nicodemus (John 3:2). Jesus is addressed a number of times as "Rabbi" by His disciples (Matthew 26:25; Mark 9:5; 11:21; 14:45; John 1:49; 4:31; 9:2; 11:8), and even by women in Christ’s group (John 20:16). Even a wilderness preacher, such as John the Baptist, is called "Rabbi" by his followers (John 3:26). A caritative form, rabbouni (rabboni) is found in Mark 10:51 and John 20:16.

That the terms rabbi and didaskalos are understood in the Gospels as equivalents is seen in John 1:38 and John 20:16. The complex of rabbi-didaskalos and mathētēs (disciple, learner), that is, the master-teacher and his group of followers, is presented regarding Jesus and His disciples in John 1:37-38; 4:31; 9:2; 11:8, and also of John the Baptist and his group (John 3:26).

That Josephus does not use the term rabbi can be explained by observing that this author is writing in defense of his Jewish nation at least in part from a Roman viewpoint in which he stresses major military and political matters. He brings in religious material, as in his discussion of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, when necessary explanation is needed. It is to be observed that this first century A.D. Jewish author does not even mention Hillel, Shammai, or Gamaliel (except, as far as the last name is concerned, as father of Simeon and of Jesus the high priest).

As a possible equivalent of rabbi, Josephus uses the term sophistes (J.W. I, 648, 650; II, 10: Ant. XVII, 152; XVIII, 155), and possibly exēgētēs (Ant. XVII, 214, 149). That this kind of substitution in terms is made is not too startling when it is realized that Josephus does the same with the word sunagōgē which he uses only in Life 277 and 280 (in the latter section the participle sunagomenon is employed), his normal term for the concept being proseuchē (Life, 293).

Not too frequently does Josephus employ the term didaskalos, one interesting use being his reference to Jesus as didaskalos of men (Ant. XVIII, 63).

Philo, the Alexandrian Jew, does not use the term rabbi, but this is no wonder since the word was just coming into use in Palestine at his time, and this author writes from an Alexandrian and, in part, a Greek
philosophical viewpoint. He uses frequently the Septuagint which, of course, was written at a time before the use of the term rabbi. Philo does, however, show understanding of the rabbi—didaskalos complex in the employment in his writing of the word didaskalos with manthanó (On the Change of Names, 270, 88; Special Laws IV, 107; cf. Special Laws I, 318), and also of sophistes (an equivalent of didaskalos) with manthanó (Posterity and Exile of Cain, 150), as well as the use of huphegetes with the same verb (On the Change of Names, 217).

The Apostolic Fathers do not use the term rabbi, which would be expected since the New Testament church, especially after the fall of Jerusalem, was developing in a way distinct from Judaism. Didaskalos does occur but rather infrequently, one use being a reference to "Jesus Christ our only didaskalos" (Ignatius, Mag. IX), and another to Polycarp as a didaskalos episêmémos, famous teacher (Martyrdom of Polycarp, XIX, 1).

Rabbi does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls material although there are a number of references to rab ("much, many, great"), which word also occurs in the Old Testament Hebrew text.

The Syriac Peshitta of the 5th century A.D., although bearing late testimony, interestingly translates didaskalos by rabbi where pronominal suffixes were added.

The second Latin recension of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus: The Descent of Christ Into Hell relates that three Galilean rabbis witnessed the ascension of Jesus, but this witness is late and proves nothing.

RABBI AND DIDASKALOS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSCRIPTIONS

The evidence for rabbi and didaskalos in archaeological inscriptions can be examined in two groups. First, there are those inscriptions found outside Palestine in Europe, the materials here being basically Greek (although sometimes Aramaic is found) until the third or fourth centuries A.D. when Latin became more and more prominent. The other group consists of inscriptions found on archaeological remains inside Palestine, these being written in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.

There are some instances in this group when two of the languages are used together on the same stone remains.

In connection with European Jewish inscriptions, most of which are located in Italy, didaskalos is to be found among those in Venosa and those in or near Rome, the former inscriptions being basically from the 5th or 6th centuries A.D., while those from Rome come from the earliest centuries of the Christian era.
From Venosa comes an Aramaic inscription (Frey, No. 594) with a questionable reading which may be translated, "Severa, daughter of Jacob. Peace"; but the expanded Greek on the same remains reads, "Here lies Severa, daughter of Jacob, the teacher (didaskalos); may her sleep be in peace."

From Rome (via Portuensis) there is an inscription on a plaque of marble which might possibly be from the first or second centuries A.D. It reads: "Here lies Eusebis, ho didaskalos nomomathês (the teacher, learned in the law)"

The inscriptions in Palestine regarding rabbi—didaskalos are more numerous and revealing. One of the latest is an Aramaic inscription from a sixth century synagogue at Beth Alpha in Galilee (Frey, No. 1165), which in a broken text includes the word rabbi. Another Aramaic inscription from the fifth century in the synagogue at El-Hammeh in Transjordan speaks of a Rabbi (rab) Tanhum, the Levite (Frey, No. 857). An Aramaic inscription in a mosaic at Sepphoris in Galilee, dated in the third or fourth centuries A.D. speaks of Rabbi Judan, the son of Tanhum (Frey, No. 989), and in the same area a funeral inscription also mentions the same Rabbi (Frey, No. 990). From Er-Rama in Galilee comes an Aramaic third century grave inscription which speaks of Rabbi Eliezer, son of Tedeor (Theodor) (Frey, No. 979). The considerable number of inscriptions in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Palmyrene, found in the Jewish necropolis (dated in the first four centuries A.D.) at Beth-Shearim in Galilee, have several references to rabbi both in Greek and Aramaic from about the third century A.D. Some of these inscriptions are mixed Aramaic and Greek (e.g., Frey, Nos. 1039, 1041, 1052, 1055, 1158), although the majority are in Greek. The Aramaic inscriptions speak of Rabbi Isaac (Frey, No. 994) and of another rabbi whose name is not preserved in the incomplete inscription (Frey, No. 1055). The Greek inscriptions given by Frey speak of Rabbi Isakos (Nos. 995, 1033), Rabbi Paregorios (Nos. 1006, 1041), Rabbi Joseph (No. 1052), and Samuel, the didaskalos (No. 1158). This last inscription in the midst of the others, which in Greek and Aramaic speak of rabbi, suggests that at this date the two terms, rabbi and didaskalos, could be taken as equivalents. As a matter of fact, the rather frequent reference to rabbi in this grave complex suggests that here we have buried a family of scholars.

In coastal Palestine a Joppa Jewish necropolis yields a considerable quantity of inscriptions (70) to be dated in the first centuries, a good number appearing to be from the second and third centuries A.D. It has been shown that a number of the names of rabbis inscribed here are of those known from Jewish literature. Of the four inscriptions which
contain the word rabbi, three are in Aramaic and one in Greek, the for­
mer speaking of Rabbi Tarphon (or Tryphon) (Frey, No. 892), Than(k)­
oum, the son of the Rabbi (Frey, No. 893),38 and Hanania, son of Rabbi
[Laza]rus, of Alexandria (Frey, No. 895). Actually the inscription in
which the Greek form of rabbi (rab) is to be found (Rab Juda) is in both
Aramaic and Greek, (Frey, No. 900).39

At Noarah (Ain Đûk) near Jericho there was found an Aramaic in­
scription with the name of Rabbi Safrah (Frey, No. 1199), which inscription
has been dated on the one hand as late as the fourth to sixth centuries
A.D. (by Frey and Clermont-Ganneau) and on the other as early as the
time of Herod the Great, (argued by Vincent). 40

A group of Jerusalem ossuary inscriptions, some of which refer to
rabbi or didaskalos, are dated between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200.41

The Aramaic ones refer to Rabbi Hana (Frey, No. 1218) and Ben
Rabban42 (Frey, No. 1285). Although the title Rabbi is not given to the
name, reference to a Gamaliel is made in an Aramaic ossuary inscription
(Frey, No. 1353), which Sukenik takes to be from around the time of
Christ,43 such a reference possibly being a reference to the Gamaliel who
taught Paul (Acts 22:3).44

Two Greek inscriptions found on ossuaries among several others
containing both Greek and Aramaic writing, discovered on the slopes of
the Mount of Olives (Frey, Nos. 1264-1272) seem to speak (the words are
abbreviated or misspelled) of Theomnas, the d(i)[da](s)kalou (No. 1269)
and of some other didaskalos not specifically identified (No. 1268).45

Another in the same group (Frey, No. 1266) is of particular in­
terest. Sukenik dates it at the time of Christ.46 The fact that the inscrip­
tions on this ossuary are bilingual, Theodotion in Aramaic being on one
side and didaskalou on the other, suggests the possibility that as the Ara­
maic Theodotion is equivalent to Greek theodotion so the Greek didaskalos
(which does not seem to have been used in transcription into Aramaic) is
equivalent to the Aramaic rabbi. Here is evidence that didaskalos was
used in the New Testament period in a capacity as teacher-Rabbi.47

Of uncertain date are Aramaic inscriptions found in and near Jerusa­
lem with the words, R. Kaleb, . . . R. Joseph48 (Frey, No. 1403, El-Aqsa) and
Rabbi Jehuda (No. 1410, from the northwest of Jerusalem near the way to Jaffa,
and a Greek inscription with the words rabbi Samuel (No. 1414, from unknown
origin). Also of uncertain date are Aramaic inscriptions found at Naoua on
the wall of a mosque which has only a possible questionable reference to
Rabbi Judan and Rabbi Levi (Frey, No. 853); and another on a pillar before
a synagogue at Thella49 which speaks of Rabbi Mathiah (Frey, No. 971).
The testimony to the occurrence of both rabbi and didaskalos in Jewish inscriptions is consistent from the sixth century A.D. back to the time of Christ, both in the few references in Rome-Venosa inscriptions, and the more numerous ones of Palestine. In two or three instances the conclusion is to be drawn that rabbi and didaskalos are equivalent, not only in the later time of the third century A.D. at Beth Shearim (Frey, Nos. 994, 1055, 1006, 1041, and 1052), but also at the time of Christ in Jerusalem (Frey, No. 1266), this usage showing up to be the same as that described in the New Testament where rabbi can be interchanged with teacher.

THE USE AND MEANING OF RABBI—DIDASKALOS

Having established the fact that the terms rabbi and didaskalos are to be found in and belong to the first century A.D., we then observe that in the New Testament one of the clearest illustrations that the two terms are to be taken as equivalents in meaning can be seen in Matthew 23:8 where Christ warns His disciples against their taking the title, "Rabbi," because (gar) He alone is their didaskalos, and in John 1:38 and 20:16 where rabbi (John 20:16, rabbouni) is interpreted as didaskalos. That the equation is to be taken at face value in John 1:38 is to be seen in a similar obvious equation between Messias and Christos in John 1:41. Sometimes, however, kurios and epistates are equivalents of rabbi (Mark 9:5, rabbi compared with Matthew 17:4, kurie, and Luke 9:33,50 epistata; and Mark 10:51, rabbouni with Luke 18:41, kurie) and didaskalos (Mark 4:38, didaskale compared with Matthew 8:25, kurie and Luke 8:24, epistata; and Mark 9:17, and Luke 9:38 didaskalos compared with Matthew 17:15, kurie).51

In the New Testament the title "Rabbi" was one sought by religious leaders, evidently for its flattering effect (Matthew 23:2, 7), is used by disciples of their teacher (John 9:2), is used in a popular general sense by the general public (John 6:25), is a term of respected authority (Mark 9:5) of one coming from God himself (John 3:2), and is a term of endearment (Rabboni, John 20:16).

In the contemporary New Testament literature the "doctors" or teachers (sophistai) were considered to be experts in the law (Josephus, J.W. I, 648) and they (hoi didaskontes) were to be respected and obeyed (Philo, On Dreams II, 68). In the Apostolic Fathers special attention is called to Christ, our only teacher (didaskalos) (Ignatius, Mag. IX) and to Polycarp, a famous teacher (Martyrdom of Polycarp XIX, 1).

Although inscriptions could not be expected to yield much in the way of doctrine52 in relation to the fuller meaning attached to rabbi and didaskalos, they now and again reveal additional information as to the importance of the concepts and to the type of person who bore the title. In the third and fourth centuries A.D. rabbis were honored as having helped mon-
etarily with a building (as at Sepphoris, Frey, No. 989) such as an inn (at Er Rama in Galilee, Frey, No. 979). In an inscription of questionable date Rabbi Mathiah is commemorated for having given money for the construction of a pillar before the synagogue at Thella (Frey, No. 971). It cannot be proved, however, that the persons were addressed as "rabbi" for having contributed such funds. One rabbi (Tanhum) is identified as being a Levite (Frey, No. 857), and one (Rabbi Samuel) on a Jerusalem inscription is called chief of the synagogue (Frey, No. 1414). On one of the early Roman inscriptions the title didaskalos is enriched with the adjective, nomo-mathēs, learned in the law (Frey, No. 333, Rome, via Portuensis).

In summary, it is to be observed that rabbi together with didaskalos began to be used for the idea of teacher-master at about the time of Christ, as is evidenced by the New Testament Gospels and some early archaeological evidence from inscriptions, and the corroborative evidence from Josephus and Philo in the use of equivalent terms. Then as the transition between the Jewish economy and Christian Church continued, the term rabbi no longer had a place in the latter as is evidenced by the lack of the use of the term rabbi in the New Testament outside of the Gospels. Even didaskalos outside the Gospels is sparingly used in the Acts and the Epistles; this latter term seeming to be reserved basically for Jesus (compare also Ignatius, Mag. IX, Jesus Christ, our only didaskalos). This is corroborated in the Apostolic Fathers where rabbi doesn't occur at all and where didaskalos is used but relatively infrequently.

But on the other hand, as Judaism continued and developed in its own way, the title "Rabbi" became increasingly important in Jewish practice and tradition as is evidenced by Talmudic tradition.

How much official technical significance the title rabbi—didaskalos carried in the New Testament period would be hard to determine on the basis of the literary and archaeological records. We do know that, according to the New Testament Gospels, the scribes and Pharisees desired the title (Matthew 23:2, 7), that it was used of formally unschooled teachers such as John the Baptist and Jesus by their inner circle of disciples (mat-θētaί) and by the crowds, and that it carried with it a sense of respect and authority. Beyond that, the early evidence does not allow us to go.


5. He states, "It should be added that the treatment of this term in G. Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. II (1935), p. 154 (and in general on pp. 150-62) needs further amplification archaeologically and linguistically; e.g., it should have been emphasized that rabbounei (John 20:16) like the corresponding rabbinc expression, is a caritative of rabbi standing for 'rabboni, 'my (dear [or] little) master.'" Albright, *op.cit.*, p. 158.


7. MSS. D it. have kurie rabbi.

8. I.e., "Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, didaskalos)."

9. Where the form is rabboni: "Rabboni, which is to say, didaskalos." MSS. D Æ latt. have rabbōni.


11. Disciples of John begin to follow Jesus at this point.


14. On J.W. I, 648, the Loeb note translates sophistai "doctors" and comments, "'Greek sophists.' The Greek term originally free from any sinister associations, for a paid professor of rhetoric, etc. is employed by Josephus as the equivalent of the Jewish 'Rabbi.'" Josephus, *The Jewish War* in *The Loeb
It is to be observed further that the term *sophistes* would be better understood by Roman audiences.

It is to be observed, however, that this is a disputed passage.

The term Josephus also used; see above.


According to Frey’s second volume on Asia-Africa (*op. cit.*), occurrences of *Rabbi—didaskalos* in that volume are to be found only on Palestinian inscriptions.

Gundry notes that from archaeological data "proof now exists that all three languages in question - Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek - were commonly used by Jews in first century Palestine."


Compare Gundry, *op. cit.*., p. 176.

For the inscriptions of Venosa, dating from the sixth century after Christ, still present us with substantially the same picture as those of Rome, the oldest of which probably belong to one of the earliest centuries of our era." Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Second Division, tr. S. Taylor and P. Christie, vol. II (New York: Chas. Scribner’s Sons, 1891), p. 247.

*Thēgater Iakŏb didaskalou.*
29. Frey says that "the catacomb was certainly now in use in the first century; but the second and third centuries was the period of greatest activity." Frey, op.cit.; vol. 1, p. 211.


33. M. Schwabe in his work on Greek inscriptions found at Beth-Shearim in the fifth excavation season of 1953 suggests a date of the third or the first half of the fourth century A.D. for these inscriptions. Israel Exploration Journal, IV (1954), p. 260.


35. Compare the remarks of Dalman: "In the time of Jesus rabbôn had not yet become ribbôn." Dalman, op.cit., p. 324, footnote 3.


37. Ibid., p. 119.

38. Frey says in a note that "biribi is a contraction for bir ribi (Jerusalem dialect), son of Rabbi, with which they would honor the doctors of the law." Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 121.


40. While granting some problems regarding the paleography of the inscription, Vincent argues epigraphically and archaeologically for a date not later than the time of Herod, the Great, seeing in the Jordan Valley a blend of Jewish settlers (possibly the Idumeans) and free artistic energy in which animals and even the human figure are portrayed in architecture which fits in with this time. L.H. Vincent, Revue Biblique, XXVIII (1919), p. 558; S. A. Cook, "The 'Holy Place' of 'Ain Dîk,"' Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement (1920), pp. 86, 87.


44. It is interesting that in Acts 5:34 Gamaliel is called nomodidas-
kalos timios panti toī laōi.

45. The word there is somewhat deformed ΔΕΙΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΔΟΥ, which
Frey readily recognized as didaskalou. Frey, op.cit., vol. 2,
p. 267, 8.

46. Sukenik, Jüdische Gräber Jerusalem's um Christi Geburt (1931),

47. Frey takes didaskalos in Nos. 1266 and 1269 as equivalent to
rabbī. Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, pp. 267, 8. See also Albright,
op.cit., p. 158.

48. The text here is uncertain.

49. See Josephus. J.W., III, 3, 1 for the location of this place.


51. See Dalman's discussion, op.cit., pp. 327, 328.


53. Compare the fading use in the New Testament of another Jewish
religious term, synagogue, as the New Testament ekklēsia be-
comes dominant.

54. Goodenough says, "the word was very casually used in early
Christian circles with no reference to 'scholarship' of any