

Galilee Through the Centuries:  
Confluence of Cultures

ed. Eric M. Meyers

Duke Judaic Studies Series 1

Eisenbrauns 1999

Joseph of Tiberias Revisited  
Orthodoxies and Heresies in  
Fourth-Century Galilee

STEPHEN GORANSON  
Durham, North Carolina

This title, "Joseph of Tiberias Revisited," arises in part because some years ago I wrote about Joseph, the fourth-century Galilean, but the study is all carefully hidden away in a dissertation, so I will not assume familiarity with his story and the historical disputes about it. I thought the published version of this paper would provide the occasion for me to gather the relevant new bibliography of the last six years, and to list corrections and additions. But it turned out that there is so much relevant new literature and there are so many corrections and additions to my dissertation and to the bibliography that it would not all fit in an article. Revisiting my dissertation research after six years reminds me how many questions I deferred to future research. But for now, I will sketch his story, note some questions it raises, comment on two groups of heretics known as *minim* and Anthropomorphites, and provide speculation, questions, and suggestions for study of the history of these so-called heretics.<sup>1</sup>

1. My 1990 Duke University dissertation is *The Joseph of Tiberias Episode in Ephraim: Studies in Jewish and Christian Relations*.

I hope to publish revisions of at least portions of the dissertation. The dissertation bibliography (pp. 173–202), includes most of the relevant older bibliography, and in this article I have drawn on arguments made in the dissertation without repeating all of the documentation given there. In addition to literature in the following notes, relevant literature since the dissertation includes: Marinus de Jong, "Robert Grosseteste and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JTS* 42 (1991) 115–25; and idem, "The Transmission of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993) 1–27 (both of which discuss the Cambridge University manuscript codex in which *Hypomnestikon* by Joseph, discussed below, appears); Frédéric Manns, "Joseph de Tibériade, un juiféo-chrétien du quatrième siècle," in *Archaeological Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo, ofm* (ed. G. C. Bottini et al.; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 36; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1990) 553–60; Bargil Pixner, "Die Kirchen der Brotvermehrung: Die Kirche des Joseph von

The story of Joseph of Tiberias comes to us from Epiphanius, a writer scholars love to hate. Epiphanius wrote a huge book, the *Panarion*, which laboriously reports on 80 heresies. The fourth century was a great time for disputes about orthodoxies and heresies—and for Jewish and Christian self-definitions. Epiphanius was born in Judea (in or near Beth Guvrin) and wrote *Panarion*, intended as a source of remedies for heresies, after he became a bishop in Cyprus. He was abundantly confident in his ability to defend his version of orthodox Christianity and to prove all heretics wrong. As freely and as fully as he could, he described and quoted the literature of his opponents (such as Marcionites, Gnostics, Montanists, Ebionites, and Nazarenes). In many cases, ironically, he has preserved for us disapproved literature that would otherwise be lost. He was a plodding, unimaginative writer, unless one counts as clever his invention of a snake or lizard or insect name for each of his opponents. But Epiphanius reported what he found in his extensive research; this includes hearsay. Fortunately, his own speculations are often distinguishable from his sources.

He met Joseph of Tiberias when the latter was living in Scythopolis (Beth-Shean, the one Decapolis city west of the Jordan river) in about the year 353, which was after the Gallus revolt and before the reign of Julian the Apostate and the big earthquake. Joseph told Epiphanius his life story. Joseph evidently embellished his story, but Epiphanius reports, as well as he can remember, approximately two decades later, in 375. Historians frequently begin by declaring that they find Epiphanius insufferable but then go on to use some of his uniquely-valuable information. There does not yet exist a good, comprehensive study of Epiphanius (which my dissertation did not attempt). However, we can say the *Panarion* is not the sort of book that later scribes could easily emend to change its point of view. Consequently, we have a good account of what Joseph claimed.

Joseph claimed that he had been a close assistant of the patriarch, the *nasi*, or the leading rabbi in Tiberias, namely Judah III. Judah III is called *katan* (small) in the Palestinian Talmud (y. B. Bat. 8, 2, 16a), indicating that he was not highly regarded. After Judah died, Joseph worked for his young son, the next *nasi*, Hillel II. (Hillel II is the one who fixed the calendar, bypassing certified lunar sightings in 358.) Joseph was sent to collect money from synagogues; he was an *apostolos*, apostle (*shaliah* in Hebrew). Apparently he was not a rabbi himself. In the Tiberias genizah, he found some Christian books in Hebrew. These books were kept in order to dispute Christian claims.

Tiberias," in *Wege des Messias und Stätten der Urtirche. Jesus und das Judentum in Licht neuer archäologischer Erkenntnisse* (ed. R. Riesner, Gießen/Basel: Brunnen, 1991) 102–13, esp. 102–3; Aline Pourkier, *Li téstologie chez Epiphane de Salamine* (Christianisme antique 4, Paris: Beauchesne, 1992); Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and T. C. Thornton, "The Stories of Joseph of Tiberias," *Vigiliae Christianae* 44 (1990) 54–63.

Epiphanius includes Joseph's story in his chapter (Heresy 30) on the Ebionites, one of the so-called Jewish-Christian heresies, because Epiphanius reports that the Ebionites use a Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, and this provides the link to the Joseph story.

Joseph himself was not an Ebionite. Joseph was a Jew who became an orthodox Christian, probably one of the few such converts or apostates at the time in Galilee. On the other hand, Galilee included numerous Ebionites and Nazarenes.<sup>2</sup> The presence of Jewish-Christians (meaning here those who observed Jewish religious law as well as Christian belief) is attested both by Christian writers like Epiphanius (and Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome) and in many rabbinic texts. Though historians have to face the deep presuppositions of the writers, the Jewish-Christians were rejected by both sides and in ways that overlap. One can follow the dual trajectories of developing rabbinic Judaism and orthodox Christianity. For example, Epiphanius regarded the Ebionites as the more heretical group of the two because they were more Jewish (in practice) than the Nazarenes. A rabbinic story (in *b. Šabb.* 116a and *b.*) has exactly the opposite opinion. In an argument about whether to save books from a fire (allowing for a very slight and intentional misspelling to disguise the referents, *Be Abadan* and *Be Nisrepe*), all the rabbis cited say that they would let books in the house of the Nazarenes burn, but Shmuel says maybe one should save Ebionite books. In other words, this view is the opposite and confirming preference of the view in Epiphanius.

Of course, speaking about religious approvals and disapprovals and conversion and apostasy runs the risk of stirring contemporary presuppositional differences. But it may help if we can agree that in the broad context of the early years of what is now called Christianity, even Paul was called (in Acts 24:5) a Nazarene; in the fourth century, the word *Nazarenes* (*Nazarēnoi* and *Nazoratōi* in Greek, *Nosrim* in Hebrew, and *Nasrayya* in Aramaic, etc.) had more than one meaning. In the late Second Temple Period, the first century C.E., the Greek word for heresy (*hairesis*) was a neutral term for a chosen group; at the same time, the Hebrew term *min* retained its biblical sense of merely a kind or a species (only later referring to a kind, a disapproved kind, of Jew). The terms *minim*, with the sense of heretics, and *minut* (heresy) do not appear, for instance, in the Qumran or Dead Sea Scrolls. There is an interrelated calculus of change in the Greek and Hebrew terms and perspectives over time. In the twentieth century there is no group or individual who stands in a continuous historical tradition with the fourth-century Jewish Christian varieties. They did not triumph, which obviates at least one motive for tendentiousness.

Using rabbinic literature for history is surely difficult, given problems of dating and attribution, and because the interests of the rabbis focused elsewhere. But there is a cumulative attestation of disputes between Jews and

2. See my "Ebionites" and "Nazarenes," in *ABD* 2.260–61 and 4.1049–50.

Christians in Galilee. We need to begin, not with atomistic studies, but with the overlapping trends. For example, Rabbi Yohanan is known from several accounts to have disputed with *minim* who were Jewish-Christians (as well as perhaps with Origen). According to the Palestinian Talmud, Rabbi Yohanan, who lived in Sepphoris and then in Tiberias in the third century, said, "Israel did not go into exile until there were twenty-four sects [*kitot*] of *minim*." This is presented as part of a discussion of Ezekiel but is often regarded as referring to the Second Temple destruction. Yohanan is not conducting a census or counting groups here but using symbolism (as suggested in Talmud commentary). The number 24 represents, to Yohanan, the 12 tribes of Israel, divided. If we look at the Jewish-Christian book Apocalypse of John we see that 24 is presented in a favorable light; there are 24 elders around the throne in heaven, and the new Jerusalem, it says, will have not only the 12 gates representing the 12 tribes but an additional 12 foundations representing the 12 apostles. Here we have two sides of an argument: Christianity represents either Judaism divided or Judaism augmented.<sup>3</sup>

The story of Joseph of Tiberias is of a conversion from one orthodoxy to another, skipping over middle groups, more numerous at the time in Galilee. Joseph was made a count (*komes* 'companion') by Constantine and was given permission (and presumably money, which could have been a motivating factor in Joseph's visit to Constantine) to build churches in Sepphoris, Tiberias, Capernaum, and Nazareth, none of which, according to Panarion, had Christian churches, that is, Catholic churches. Epiphanius did not credit Nazarenes and Ebionites as Christians. First, they had synagogues not churches, he says. Of the Nazarenes he writes, "they are nothing but Jews themselves."<sup>4</sup> Then he asserts that (other) Jews "stand up . . . three times a day when they recite their prayers in synagogues, and curse and anathematize them."<sup>5</sup> This is the earliest extant reference to the version of the *Birkat ha-Minim*, the Blessing or Curse on Heretics, which explicitly includes *Nosrim*, which is also known from six Cairo Genizah manuscripts and an Oxford manuscript of Seder Rav Amran. Of course, Epiphanius has a category problem: Jews are cursing Jews. But he preserves this tension. Here are two related examples. First, in Heresy 53, he describes Sampsaeans and wrongly speculates that their name has to do with sun-worship rather than being Aramaic for 'servant' (*samaš* not *šemeš*). The Sampsaeans use the book of the Elkesaites, as do the Ossenes, Nazarenes, and Ebionites, he writes. Then he

3. For further discussion of Jewish-Christian aspects of the Apocalypse, see my "Text of Revelation 22.14," NTS 43 (1997) 154–57; idem, "The Exclusion of Ephraim in Rev. 7:4–8 and Essene Polemic against Pharisees," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995) 80–85; and idem, "Essene Polemic in the Apocalypse of John," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Quran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 453–60.

4. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy 29.9.1.

5. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy 29.9.2.

declares that "Sampsaeans . . . are neither Christians, Jews nor pagans; since they are merely in the middle, they are nothing."<sup>6</sup> Second, Epiphanius describes the flight of early Christians before the war with Rome, from Jerusalem to Pella, east of the Jordan. The next thing we hear from him about Pella, despite the divinely delivered warning to get out of Jerusalem, is that it is a hotbed of Ebionite and Nazarene heresies.<sup>7</sup> Epiphanius does not recognize that the church has in the interim, from the first to the fourth centuries, decided that Ebionites and Nazarenes are heretical.

Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Capernaum—three of the four places mentioned by Epiphanius as Joseph's church-building goals—all had Jewish-Christian *minim*, according to the rabbis. Why Nazareth is not mentioned in early rabbinic literature remains speculative: perhaps it was small (though it did have a priestly course at least by ca. 300, the date of the *mishmarot* [priestly courses] inscription from Caesarea), perhaps it had two names, perhaps it was named after Jesus rather than vice versa, perhaps it was censored out by Jews, perhaps it was censored out by Christians, or perhaps it is accidental. But three of Joseph's four locations had *minim*, and perhaps the fourth, Jesus' hometown, did as well.

Now, parts of Joseph's story can be questioned. There is not enough space here to recount his long adventures before becoming a Christian, including his healing (exorcising) a naked maniac and having contests of magic with Jews in Tiberias and at the Gader hot baths, stories that resemble others in the Palestinian Talmud (for example, *y. Sanh.* 25d). The element of his story that most invites doubt is his claim that the *nasi* Judah III converted to Christianity on his deathbed. Hearsay accounts of deathbed conversions, though surely not impossible, are approximately as certain as, say, new hearsay claims on an intended change of will in the estate of Doris Duke. Epiphanius reported this hearsay. But Joseph's attempt to build the first Catholic churches in these four towns is credible, even if we do not know precisely how far he succeeded; it appears likely that his foundations were not long-lasting, partly because the congregations of Catholic Christians to fill them did not yet exist.

What then about the population in Sepphoris at the time? It was a place where the *Birkat ha-Minim*, including the type that added *Nosrim* ("may the *nosrim* and *minim* speedily perish," to exclude Jewish-Christians from synagogue), would fit. This was not in Asia Minor, to bother the final author of the Gospel of John.<sup>8</sup>

6. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy 53.1.2.

7. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy 29.7.7–8; Heresy 30.2.7; and *Weights and Measures* 15.

8. Reuven Kimelman has provided a very helpful study of *minim*, showing, among other things, that the term refers only to kinds of Jewish heresy until Amoraitic Babylonian literature, making some of Adolf Büchler's efforts to dismiss Jewish-Christian identifications as really "Bible-reading heathen" impossible. See Büchler, "The *Minim* of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the Second and Third Centuries," in *Studies in Jewish History: The*

Stuart Miller has gathered many sources and provided useful philological observations on some of the relevant rabbinic literature, but—and it is no surprise to him that I think this—historically, he has worked minimalism on *minim*. He argues for the smallest number of *minim* possible and presents this as a corrective. But what does it correct? A corrective is not history; a historian must strive for the most plausible reconstructions. Miller at first considers only the accounts that explicitly name Sepphoris and *minim*, putting aside many related accounts. If we wanted to know about, for example, American Colonial Jews in Providence, Rhode Island, would we limit ourselves and our research only to the texts that explicitly include the words “Jews” and “Providence”? I do not think we would. The rabbis do not always give the location. Rabbinic literature does not mention everything of historical interest; for example, the writers never mention the theater in Sepphoris. By Miller’s method, there are four relevant stories. Three of these he dismisses as not Jewish-Christian *minim*, because they involve magic, gnosticism, and disrespect for authority, as if these were unknown in Christianity. To the contrary, having four explicit Sepphoris *minim* stories identifies Sepphoris, relatively, as a mecca for *minim*, along with Tiberias and Capernaum, among the most frequently named places. As for the fourth story, of Jacob the *min*, who is ineluctably presented by the rabbis as a Jewish Christian, we read in Miller’s treatments, including the museum catalog,<sup>9</sup> that he was merely visiting (his

Adolph Bechtler Memorial Volume (ed. I. Brodie; London: Oxford University Press, 1956) 245–74.

In my view, one of the best published studies of *minim* is Kimelman’s “Birkat Ha-Minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Prayer in Late Antiquity,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2: *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period* (ed. E. P. Sanders et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981) 226–44 and 391–403. My unpublished dissertation, *The Joseph of Tiberias Episode in Ephraïm*, discusses *minim* and related terms on pages 74–97. See also Kimelman’s 1977 Yale Univ. Ph.D. dissertation, *Rabbi Yohanan of Tiberias: Aspects of the Social and Religious History of Third Century Palestine*.

However, I would question two aspects of Kimelman’s “Birkat Ha-Minim” article, taken together with his paper read at this conference. First, though he demonstrated that *minim* evolved, and that the term had a different range of meaning for writers of differing times and places, he does not fully take into account the fact that the meaning of the terms *nosrim* and *Nazarenes* also evolved, and that the group *nosrim* referred to in some forms of the *Birkat ha-Minim* must have been large enough to justify being mentioned in the liturgy. Second, in emphasizing the welcome early Christians may have received in some synagogues, I think that he underestimates the amount of regional variation and that he overestimates as universally-clear a dividing line between Jewish and Gentile Christians. For example, Antioch was different than Sepphoris: Pauline Christianity arrived at Sepphoris much later than in Antioch, which Paul himself visited. Also, his conference paper might lead one to think that in a given ancient synagogue, Gentile Christians were heartily welcomed at the same time Jewish Christians were officially invited “to speedily perish.” If such a sharp distinction was the case in some time and place, it, nonetheless, I would think, could not have been universal at any time.

9. Stuart Miller, “Jewish Sepphoris: A Great City of Scholars and Scribes,” in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (ed. R. M. Nagy et al.; Raleigh: North Carolina Museum

itics), as though being from Kfar Shihin were like being from Timbuktu or Chicago. But Shihin, as James Strange and colleagues have persuasively demonstrated, was the pottery-making village a kilometer or two distant from Sepphoris, and near the St. Anne property. Sepphoreans put out a fire there. Rabbi Yose of Sepphoris consulted on their questions. There is dispute about the spellings of the town name, but the location closest to Sepphoris is the most probable.<sup>10</sup> It is not a question, in my view, whether *minim* lived in Sepphoris, but whether we can recognize them and their material remains.<sup>11</sup>

Early Jewish Christians, *minim*, Ebionites, and Nazarenes are difficult to find in early material remains, which look like Jewish material culture. It was many decades before distinctive Christian iconography developed (present for instance in Dura-Europos in the third century). But we are not likely to find them if we do not ask questions. For instance, the reading of the so-called Maria ostrakon is not certain; it is misspelled (and, please note, the catalog entry has four typographical errors<sup>12</sup>). It is not only uncertain but late.

of Art, 1996) 59–63, here p. 61. See also Stuart Miller, “The *Minim* of Sepphoris Reconsidered,” *HTR* 86 (1993) 377–402, esp. 380–81, 399, and 400; and idem, “Further Thoughts on the *Minim* of Sepphoris,” in *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, division B / vol. 1: *The History of the Jewish People* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994) 1–8, esp. p. 4.

10. James F. Strange, Dennis E. Groh, and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, “Excavations at Sepphoris: The Location and Identification of Shikhin,” *IEJ* 44 (1994) 216–27 and 45 (1995) 171–87. There are many spelling variations and confusions between the town names Shihin, Shihin, Sikhaya, Sikhama. See, e.g., Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim . . .* (New York: Judaica, 1985) 992 (two entries) and 1559; and Frédéric Manns, “Jacob, le Min, selon la Tosephta Hulin 2, 22–24: Contribution à l’étude du christianisme primitif,” *Cristianesimo nella storia* 10 (1989) 449–65. I suggest that the name Shihin became conflated with the town better known to later rabbis, Sikhanya, which is a few miles farther north.

11. Furthermore, the rabbinic accounts do not say Jacob was visiting Sepphoris. Though he may have been visiting, he may also have been going to a daily job in Sepphoris, say, selling pottery. Or he may have moved to Sepphoris and was known from his place of origin. (This often occurs with ancient names; e.g., the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea, Syria, actually lived in Rhodes during much of his adult life.) We do not know how often Jacob was to be encountered in Sepphoris, despite Stuart Miller’s choosing to insist that he was “visiting,” a choice which tends to reify the minimal interpretation. Then Miller uses this minimalist assertion to support another unfounded assertion. On p. 400 of “The *Minim* of Sepphoris Reconsidered,” Miller wrote that Jacob, “. . . a visitor himself to Sepphoris, can hardly be regarded as a member of a Jewish-Christian community in the city. . . .” But, if Jacob lived nearby, he could indeed have been a member of such a community. The rabbis do not explicitly tell us whether he was or not, but either is possible. And, given the fact that such communities existed, and given the fact that people learn a religious tradition, ordinarily, from others in some sort of community, Miller’s conclusion is not persuasive.

12. Stephen Coranson, “Ostrakon with Maria(?) Graffito,” in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (ed. R. M. Nagy et al.; Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996) 69. The transcription of the ostrakon should have a *rho*, not a *pi*. The phonetic representation was *mar̄ta*, not *m\_1\_a*. The bibliographic reference, truncated in the catalog,

An earlier uncertain question concerns the Late Hellenistic or Herodian shard that may read in Aramaic letters *epimēletes* (a common Greek word for 'overseer' or 'administrator').<sup>13</sup> This may relate to one of the five Synhedria of Gabinius, one of which was located in Sepphoris in the first century B.C.E.<sup>14</sup> Gabinius appointed Antipater *epimēletes* at the "Judean" Sanhedrin in Sepphoris. But here is an alternate possibility that perhaps you will consider after you reject it: Josephus calls the Essene *mebadger* an *epimēletes*.<sup>15</sup> Do I think it is an Essene inscription? No. It was more likely addressed to a Roman employee by a Jew. But Josephus and Philo do say that Essenes lived in various towns in Syria-Palestine, possibly including, for example, Sepphoris and/or Shihin.<sup>16</sup> Would we recognize them? At the early end of the trajectory, some Essenes became Christian or Nazarene and were later called *minim*.

The St. Anne Greek inscription reading is not settled.<sup>17</sup> I do not claim to have the final reading, and it has frequently been remarked how difficult it is. (For instance, where is the verb?) It is indeed anomalous in some of its collocations. But we can ask: is it from a synagogue or a burial lintel? Why is it said to come from the same synagogue as the Rabbi Yudan Aramaic inscription? It includes the word *archisynagogos* 'head of a synagogue' three times. Epiphanius wrote, "Ebionites have elders and *archisynagogoi*, and they call their church a synagogue, not a church."<sup>18</sup> The inscription apparently includes the term *komes* (abbreviated) twice. Joseph was a *komes* (or 'count'). When did Jews stop receiving that honorific title from Roman emperors? In other words, is the proposed fifth-century date possible? Avi-Yonah said that the *chirho* on this inscription abbreviates the end of the word *lamprotatos* ('illustrious'). Perhaps so, but he gives no parallels, and it is differently abbreviated the first time.<sup>19</sup> *Chirho* surely can be an abbreviation for words other than

is Bellarmino Bagatti, *Gli Scavi di Nazaret* (SBF Collectio Maior 17/1; Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1967) 150-52.

13. Joseph Naveh, "A Fragment with Inscription in Hebrew," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (ed. R. M. Nagy et al.; Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996) 170.

14. According to Josephus *Ant.* 14.127 and 14.139, Gabinius gave Antipater the title of *epimēletes*. Note that Sepphoris here is conceived as part of Judea, in a Roman administrative sense. For an example of Judea used as including Judea proper and Galilee and Perea, see Philo *Natural History* 5.70.

15. Josephus *J.W.* 2.123, 129, and 134.

16. Philo *Every Good Man Is Free* 75 and *Apologety for the Jews* 1; Josephus *J.W.* 2.119. 17. See F. Hittinmeister and G. Reeg, *Die Antiken Synagogen in Israel* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977) 1.400-407; and Lea Roh-Cerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak ben-Tsvi, 1987) 105-10 [Heb.]. See also Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "Archisynagogoi: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *JRS* 83 (1993) 75-93, esp. 91.

18. Epiphanius *Paranion, Heresy* 30.18.1.

19. Michael Avi-Yonah, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (The Near East, 200 B.C.-A.D. 1100)* (Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine Supplement to vol. 9; Jerusalem: Government of Palestine / London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

*christos*, though more often for the beginning of a word than the end of one.<sup>20</sup> Also, what rabbinic Jew in Sepphoris (or in Tyre or Sidon, which, in some readings, are mentioned in the inscription) would not know about and avoid this possible association in the fifth century? There may be more than two buildings represented on the St. Anne property, property near Shihin. Did Shihin have a synagogue? Or did its residents walk to Sepphoris?

More on the Christian side of heresies, I would be remiss not to mention an important new book that I regard as relevant to Joseph. Robert Grant and Glen Menzies have edited and translated a text called *Hypomnestikon*, which they also call *Joseph's Bible Notes*.<sup>21</sup> It includes discussions of heresies, obviously based in part on Epiphanius, but with interesting differences. Grant and Menzies have done a good service providing a critical Greek text and translation. I say that the *Hypomnestikon* was written approximately 380 and possibly by our Joseph. They say I am wrong. I respond that, though I could be mistaken, their arguments for a later dating are not persuasive. The dating involves the Anthropomorphic heresy, the last and maybe latest heresy mentioned by Joseph. Epiphanius may have been an Anthropomorphite; at least he was accused of this. He had already tried to finesse the issue in *Paranion*, written approximately 375.<sup>22</sup> And he was also an iconoclast, before that term existed. The author Joseph may have been an Apollinarian, one with an excessively high Christology. Both considered themselves orthodox. To be brief, it is my view that Grant and Menzies date the beginning of the Anthropomorphic heresy too late.<sup>23</sup> They also propose Alexandria as the place of writing, perhaps under-appreciating the literary and cultural possibilities of Scythopolis. We do agree that it is interesting that this book by Joseph says that the Anthropomorphic heresy had its origin in Eleutheropolis, that is, Beth Guvrin, where Epiphanius was born and set up a monastery.<sup>24</sup>

There is more, I think, for historians of religion in Galilee to learn from Epiphanius and the newly-edited book by Joseph. In conclusion, Shihin and the St. Anne property, I would think, are promising excavation sites.<sup>25</sup>

20. Pasquale Colella, "Les abréviations *taw* and *chirho*," *RB* 80 (1973) 547-58.

21. Robert M. Grant and Glen W. Menzies (ed. and trans.), *Joseph's Bible Notes (Hypomnestikon)* (Texts and Translations 41, Early Christian Series 9, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

22. In *Paranion, Heresy* 70.2, where Epiphanius made a gingerly attempt to correct their views about "the image of God" without being too severely condemning.

23. I hope to return to this issue in a future study.

24. *Hypomnestikon* 140.62; see Grant and Menzies (eds.), *Joseph's Bible Notes (Hypomnestikon)*, 302 for the Greek text and 303 for an English translation.

25. A related article, which came to my attention after this essay was written, is Simon C. Mimouni, "L'Hypomnesticon de Joseph de Tibériade: Une oeuvre du IV<sup>ème</sup> siècle?" *Studia Patristica XXXII* (12th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1995; ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, Leuven: Peeters, 1997) 346-57.