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TEACHER AND RABBI IN THE NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD

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Joseph Klausner¹ observed that Graetz² holds the view that the name rabbi 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 rabbi (literally "my master") or the Greek equivalent 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 rabbi in the time of Christ," based on the claim that this was a Tannaic development—such arguments are negated by Sukenik's discovery of the term 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 didaskalos, both archaeologically and linguistically, needs to be made,⁵ and it is our purpose to make such an investigation of both rabbi and 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 Gospels⁶ 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 10:51⁷ and John 20:16.

That the terms rabbi and didaskalos are understood in the Gospels as equivalents is seen in John 1:38⁸ and John 20:16.⁹ The complex of rabbi-didaskalos and mathētēs (disciple, learner), that is, the master-teacher and his group of followers,¹⁰ 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 Simeon¹² and of Jesus the high priest).¹³

As a possible equivalent of rabbi, Josephus uses the term sophistēs (J.W. I, 648, 650; II, 10: Ant. XVII, 152; XVIII, 155),¹⁴ 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).¹⁵

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 manthanō (On the Change of Names, 270, 88; Special Laws IV, 107; cf. Special Laws I, 318), and also of sophistēs¹⁶ (an equivalent of didaskalos) with manthanō (Posterity and Exile of Cain, 150), as well as the use of huphēgētēs 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 episēmos, famous teacher (Martyrdom of Polycarp, XIX, 1).

Rabbi does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls material¹⁷ although there are a number of references to rab ("much, many, great"),¹⁸ which word also occurs in the Old Testament Hebrew text.

The Syriac Peshitta of the 5th century A. D.¹⁹, although bearing late testimony, interestingly translates didaskalos by rabbi where pronominal suffixes were added.²⁰

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,²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ The other group consists of inscriptions found on archaeological remains inside Palestine,²⁴ these being written in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.²⁵

There are some instances in this group when two of the languages are used together on the same stone remains.²⁶

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.²⁷

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);²⁸ 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.²⁹ It reads: "Here lies Eusebis, ho didaskalos nomomathēs (the teacher, learned in the law)... " (Frey, No. 333).

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).³⁰ An Aramaic inscription in a mosaic at Sepphoris in Galilee, dated in the third or fourth centuries A. D.³¹ 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).³² 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.³³ 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.³⁴ Among the Greek inscriptions, of interest is the spelling ribbi³⁵ for rabbi in two cases (Frey, Nos. 1006 and 1052).

In coastal Palestine a Joppa Jewish necropolis yields a considerable quantity of inscriptions (70)³⁶ 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.³⁷ Of the four inscriptions which

contain the word rabbi, three are in Aramaic and one in Greek, the former 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 Dók) near Jericho there was found an Aramaic inscription 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 interest. Sukenik dates it at the time of Christ.⁴⁶ The fact that the inscriptions on this ossuary are bilingual, Theodotion in Aramaic being on one side and didaskalou on the other, suggests the possibility that as the Aramaic 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 Jerusalem 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 epistatēs 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 (Rabbouni, 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 import 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, nomomathēs, 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.⁵³ 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 teachers⁵⁴ such as John the Baptist and Jesus by their inner circle of disciples (mathētai) 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.

DOCUMENTATION

1. Joseph Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, translated by H. Danby (New York: Macmillan, 1945), p. 43, footnote 93, and p. 256, footnote 16.
2. Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, III, 2⁵, 759; IV³, n.9, pp. 399-400; through Klausner, op.cit., pp. 29, 43.
3. Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Vol. 1, (New York: Pantheon Books, Bollingen Series, XXXVII, 1953), p. 90, footnote 200.
4. W. F. Albright, "Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, Studies in Honor of C.H. Dodd, edited by W.D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1964), pp. 157, 158.
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 rabbinic expression, is a caritative of rabbi standing for *rabboni, 'my (dear [or] little) master.'" Albright, op.cit., p. 158.
6. Dalman observes: "The interchange of u and o in pronunciation can also be seen in other cases...sousanna, Luke 8:3 for shōshannah and the Palmyrenian lakoubos for the name Jakob." G. Dalmen, The Words of Jesus, authorized English version by D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 324, footnote 3.
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 Θ latt. have rabbōni.
10. In the Tosefta it is stated: "He who has disciples and whose disciples again have disciples is called 'Rabbi'..." I. Broydé, "Rabbi," in The Jewish Encyclopedia, I. Singer, ed., vol. X (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1912), p. 294.
11. Disciples of John begin to follow Jesus at this point.
12. Life, 190, 191.
13. Ant. XX, 213, 223.
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

Classical Library, Vol. II (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), pp. 306, 7, footnote. It is to be observed further that the term sophistēs would be better understood by Roman audiences.

15. It is to be observed, however, that this is a disputed passage.
16. The term Josephus also used; see above.
17. See Karl Georg Kuhn, ed., Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960).
18. Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1907), "rab."
19. F. F. Bruce, The Books and the Parchments, rev. edition (Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1963), pp. 194, 5.
20. G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, authorized English version by D.M. Kay (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902), p. 338.
21. E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, The Gospels, vol. 1, ed. by W. Schneemelcher, tr. by R. McL. Wilson (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), pp. 478, 9; also Actas de Pilato, red. latina B, I, 1, 5, in Los Evangelios Apocrifos, ed. by Aurelio de Santos Otero, 2nd edition (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1963), pp. 455-458.
22. Following the division given by P. J.-B. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, vol. I, Europe; vol. II, Asia-Africa (Rome: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936 (vol. I), 1952 (vol. II)).
23. "Outside Palestine the names and little inscriptions are predominantly in Greek till the third or fourth centuries, then in Latin." E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vol. 12 (New York: Pantheon Books, Bollingen Series XXXVII, 1965), p. 51.
24. 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.
25. 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." R.H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), p. 175.
26. Compare Gundry, op.cit., p. 176.
27. 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.
28. Thēgatēr lakōb 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.
30. See Goodenough, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 241.
31. See M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, London, II (1932), p. 178; III (1933), p. 40.
32. Compare also Goodenough, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 213; and Avi-Yonah, Q.D.A.P. X (1942), plate XXVI, 8, and p. 131.
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.
34. Compare Goodenough, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 90.
35. Compare the remarks of Dalman: "In the time of Jesus rabbōn had not yet become ribbōn." Dalman, op.cit., p. 324, footnote 3.
36. Frey, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 118.
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.
39. "The title 'Rab' is Babylonian and that of 'Rabbi' is Palestinian." I. Broydē, "Rabbi" in The Jewish Encyclopedia, I. Singer, editor, vol. X, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1912), Rabbi, p. 294.
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 Dûk,'" Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement (1920), pp. 86, 87.
41. Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 245.
42. Compare Dalman's remarks, "The Targumic mode of using ribbōn is recalled in Mark 10:51, John 20:16, by the term addressed to Jesus, rabbounei (another reading, rabboni; D Mark, rabbei; John rabbōnei...) Dalman, op.cit., p. 324. Charles in a note on Pirkē Aboth 1:16 says that Rabban was a title first used for Gamaliel to indicate his being the head of the house of Hillel. R.H. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, vol. 2 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 686.
43. See Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 305, who refers for this inscription to Sukenik, Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt, 1931.

44. It is interesting that in Acts 5:34 Gamaliel is called nomodidakalos timios panti tōi laōi.
45. The word there is somewhat deformed ΔΕΣΔΕ^{??}ΚΑΛΛΟΥ, which Frey readily recognized as didaskalou. Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 267, 8.
46. Sukenik, Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt (1931), pp. 17f., through Frey, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 266.
47. Frey takes didaskalos in Nos. 1266 and 1269 as equivalent to rabbi. 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.
50. Luke 9:33. P 45 has didaskale.
51. See Dalman's discussion, op.cit., pp. 327, 328.
52. Compare Goodenough, op.cit., vol. 12 (1965), p. 53.
53. Compare the fading use in the New Testament of another Jewish religious term, synagogue, as the New Testament ekklēsia becomes dominant.
54. Goodenough says, "the word was very casually used in early Christian circles with no reference to 'scholarship' of any kind...." Op.cit., vol. 1, p. 90.