

during the Nazi time, but he persisted in claiming anti-Judaism as a necessary part of Christianity.

**Bibliography. Primary:** ■ Kittel, G., *Jesus und die Rabbinen* (ed. F. Kropatscheck; BZSF 9.7; Berlin/Lichterfelde 1912). ■ Kittel, G., *Die Oden Solomon: Überarbeitet oder Einheitlich?* (BWANT 16; Leipzig 1914). ■ Kittel, G., *Jesus und die Juden* (Stimmen aus der deutschen christlichen Studentenbewegung 42; Berlin 1926). ■ Kittel, G., *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums und das Urchristentum* (1926). ■ Kittel, G., *Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum* (Gütersloh 1931). ■ Kittel, G., "Die Stellung des Jakobus zu Judentum und Heidenchristentum," ZNW 30 (1931) 145–57. ■ Kittel, G., *Die Judenfrage* (Stuttgart 1933). ■ Kittel, G., *Christus Imperator: Das Urteil der Ersten Christenheit über den Staat* (Stuttgart 1939). ■ Kittel, G., *Die historischen Voraussetzungen der jüdischen Rassenmischung* (Schriften des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands; Hamburg 1939). ■ Kittel, G., "Die geschichtliche Ort des Jakobusbriefes," ZNW 41 (1942) 71–105. ■ Kittel, G., "Meine Verteidigung," *Universitätsarchiv Tübingen* 162/31.1 (Tübingen 1946). ■ Kittel, G., "Der Jakobusbrief und die Apostolischen Väter," ZNW 43 (1950) 54–112.

**Secondary:** ■ Ericksen, R. P., *Theologians under Hitler: Gerhard Kittel, Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch* (New Haven, Conn. 1985). ■ Ericksen, R. P., "Christians and the Holocaust: The Wartime Writings of Gerhard Kittel," in *Remembering for the Future* (ed. Y. Bauer et al.; Oxford 1989) 2400–414. ■ Gerdmar, A., *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann* (Leiden 2009). ■ Horst, J., *Die Verwissenschaftlichung der "Judenfrage" im Nationalsozialismus* (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Ludwigsburg der Universität Stuttgart 19; Darmstadt 2011). ■ Rese, M., "Antisemitismus und neutestamentliche Forschung: Anmerkungen zum Thema 'Gerhard Kittel und die Judenfrage,'" *EvT* 39 (1979) 557–70. ■ Siegele-Wenschkewitz, L., "Die Evangelisch-theologische Fakultät Tübingen in den Anfangsjahren des Dritten Reichs, II. Gerhard Kittel und die Judenfrage," *ZTK* 4 (1978) 53–80. ■ Siegele-Wenschkewitz, L., *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft vor der Judenfrage: Gerhard Kittels theologische Arbeit im Wandel deutscher Geschichte* (TEH 208; Munich 1980).

Anders Gerdmar

See also → Dalman, Gustaf Hermann; → Kittel, Rudolf; → Schlatter, Adolf

## Kittel, Rudolf

Rudolph Kittel (1853–1929) was a German HB/OT scholar, renowned in particular for his edition of the Hebrew Bible. He studied theology at the University of Tübingen under the theologians Johann Tobias Beck and Karl von Weizsäcker. Subsequent to his educational training he had a variety of short-term clergy and academic positions, in 1888 he was appointed as Professor of Old Testament in Breslau; in 1898 he became Professor at the University of Leipzig.

The *Biblia Hebraica Kittel* (BHK), a critical edition of the HB, was published in 1906, subsequently revised and renamed as the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (1977), and now the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (2004). But Kittel was also an important figure of his day

for his commentary work on books of the HB/OT, his work on the history of Israelite Religion, and his contributions to OT theology.

As an interpreter of the HB and a historian of ancient Israel, Kittel's use of archaeology was a prominent part of his methodological approach, an interdisciplinary method that was not so obvious during his time. Moreover, contrary to Hermann Gunkel's form-critical approach and its emphasis on genre as the key for understanding the literature of the HB/OT, Kittel focussed on the understanding of the intellectual history and life that triggered the production of the biblical texts (Campbell: 133–34). Kittel is also famous for his 1921 lecture at Leipzig, where he called for an organized and systematic presentation of the religious ideas of the OT in an effort to make it relevant for the discipline of theology (Hayes/Prussner: 153).

**Bibliography:** ■ Campbell, A. F., "The Emergence of the Form-Critical and Traditio-historical Approaches," in *HB/OT*, vol. 3/2 (ed. M. Sæbø; Göttingen 2015) 125–47. ■ Dahm, C., "Kittel, Rudolf," *BBK* 3 (Hamm 1992) 1548–50. ■ Hayes, J. H./F. Prussner, *Old Testament Theology* (Atlanta, Ga. 1985). ■ Kittel, R. (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica* (Leipzig 21913). ■ Kittel, R., "Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 84–99.

Robert C. Kashow

See also → *Biblia Hebraica*

## Kittim

- I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- II. Judaism

### I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Kittim is variously identified in the historical sources. Some equate it with Macedonia (1 Macc 1:1; 8:5) and others with Italy (e.g., *TPsf*). Biblical references, however, indicate that it was an island (Jer 2:10; Ezek 27:6). According to the 1st-century CE historian Josephus (*Ant.* 1.128), the name Kittim (*kittim*, *kittīyīm*) derives from the name of Kitti (*k-t-y*), a Phoenician city located on the southeast coast of Cyprus known to the Greeks as Kition (Κίτιον), modern day Larnaca.

The term is first used in the HB/OT in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:1–32), which identifies the Kittim as the descendants of Javan, the grandson of Noah (v.4; cf. also 1 Chr 1:7), whose name became the designation for the area he settled, which was the region between Aeolia and Doria. In the Hellenistic period, the name Javan came to refer to all of Greece, apparently including the Greek Isles.

Several oracles include references to Kittim. For example, the oracles of Balaam conclude with a prophecy that ships would come from Kittim to afflict "Asshur and Eber," before they come to ruin themselves (Num 24:24). Some have suggested that this is an allusion to the invasion of the Sea Peoples

during the Late Bronze–Iron I transition. Jacques de Vaulx, however, argues persuasively that this oracle originally referred to peoples settled in the south of Palestine (e.g., Gen 25:3, 18; Josh 13:2; 2 Sam 2:9). With the passage of time, such oracles may have been reinterpreted and adapted to provide new meanings for new situations. A 7th-century BCE author, for example, may have understood references to Asshur as applicable to Assyria (de Vaulx: 295–97). In another example, Deutero-Isaiah, in an oracle against the island city of Tyre, names Kittim (NRSV: “Cyprus”) as one of its trading partners (Isa 23:1, 12). And Ezekiel contains a lament over Tyre, in which the prophet mentions Kittim (NRSV: “Cyprus”) as a source of cypress wood for ships (Ezek 27:6).

In the midst of an accusation that Israel has abandoned God and gone after idols, God challenges Israel to “cross over to the coasts of Kittim and look, send to Kedar and observe carefully; see if there has ever been anything like this. Has a nation ever changed its gods, even though they are not gods?” (Jer 2:10–11a). In this passage, Kittim is contrasted with Kedar, a son of Ishmael whose name came to designate a nomadic tribe that thrived in the Syro-Arabian desert from the 8th to the 4th centuries BCE. Kittim and Kedar are clearly paired as geographical opposites and are intended to represent the outer limits of east and west. God wants the Israelites to travel to the far east and the far west to find out whether any other nations have ever changed their gods. Ironically, while other nations have not changed their gods, YHWH complains that “my people have changed their glory for something that does not profit” (v. 11b).

Josephus explains that, over time, the name Kittim came to be used not only for the island of Cyprus, but for “all islands, and the greatest part of the seacoasts” (*Ant.* 1.128). Later texts attest to broader applications of the term. In the 7th-century BCE Arad Ostraca, for example, men with Greek names are mentioned as having come from Kittim. These appear to be references to mercenaries employed by the king of Judah who may have come from either Greece or Cyprus. In the book of Daniel, in the prophet’s climactic revelation, (10:1–12:13), the author describes the reign of a “contemptible person” (11:21), usually presumed to be Antiochus IV Epiphanes (11:21–45). The text states that he would venture into the south, but that “ships of Kittim shall come against him, and he shall lose heart and withdraw” (v.30). This is generally understood to be a reference to Antiochus’ launch of a second campaign against in Egypt in 168 BCE. He besieged Memphis, but the Egyptians appealed to Rome for help and, as Antiochus approached Alexandria, ships arrived from Rome and he withdrew.

**Bibliography:** ■ Karageorghis, V., *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus* (London 1976). ■ Karageor-

ghis, V., *Cyprus: From the Stone Age to the Romans* (London 1982). ■ Pardee, D., “Arad Ostraca,” *COS 3* (Leiden 2003) 81–85. [Esp. 82] ■ Peltenburg, E. (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh 1989). ■ Schmitt, H.-C., “Der heidnische Mantiker als eschatologischer Jahweprophet: Zum Verständnis Bileams in der Endgestalt von Num 22–24,” in *Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern? Studien zur Theologie und Religionsgeschichte Israels*, FS O. Kaiser (ed. I. Kottsieper et al.; Göttingen 1994) 180–98. ■ Vaulx, J. de., *Les Nombres* (Paris 1972). ■ Witte, M., “Der Segen Bileams: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Problemanzeige zum ‘Jahwisten’ in Num 22–24,” in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Der nichtpriesterliche Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J. C. Gertz et al.; BZAW 315; Berlin/New York 2002) 191–213.

Ralph K. Hawkins

## II. Judaism

**1. Early Jewish Literature.** In the Hellenistic-Roman period the meaning of “Kittim” broadens (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.128). The connotation of the term to indicate Greeks may be implied in Jub 37:10 (Eshel: 31). In 1 Macc 1:1; 8:5, the Kittim are situated in Macedonia. Elsewhere, the Kittim are associated with Italy (e.g., Num 24:24 in TNeof, TPsf, Vg.) and Rome (e.g., Num 24:24 in TO; Dan 11:30 OG; Vg.).

The Kittim occur forty-five times in the Qumran DSS, mostly in sectarian writings. They feature in the context of eschatological warfare (1QM; 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>; 4Qserekh haMilhamah; 4QM<sup>a</sup>; 4QM<sup>b</sup>) and the interpretation of prophetic/poetic Scripture (1QpHab; 1QpPs; 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>; 4QpNah). Many passages in the scrolls exhibit intertextual links with Dan 11 and Num 24, which underscore the eschatological character of the Kittim.

In the *War* texts, “Kittim” refers either to Hellenistic troops (e.g., “the Kittim of Ashur” and “the Kittim in Egypt” in 1QM I) or to the Romans (1QM XV–XIX). In the Pesharim, “Kittim” always refers to the Romans. These differences may reflect a semantic development of the term (Schultz).

The scrolls present the Kittim as adversaries of either the enemies of the Qumran movement (e.g., 1QpHab IX 2–7) or the movement itself (e.g., 4Q161 8–10 1–10; the *War* material). These divergent attitudes towards the Kittim may echo an increasing hostility towards the Romans within the Qumran movement (Lim: 470).

**2. Later Jewish Writings.** The “Kittim” play no role of significance in later Jewish writings. Yet, the broader phenomenon that the development of the term illustrates did not die out. The equation of “Edom” with the Romans in rabbinic literature is just one example of the ongoing revival of scriptural toponyms to refer to contemporary groups or locations.

**Bibliography:** ■ Brooke, G. J., “The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim,” in *Images of Empire* (ed. L. Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield 1991) 135–59. ■ Eshel, H., “The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmonians to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea*

*Scrolls* (ed. D. Goodblatt et al.; STDJ 37; Leiden 2001) 29–44. ■ Lim, T. H., “Kittim,” *EncDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman/J. C. VanderKam; Oxford 2000) 469–71. ■ Schultz, B., “Not Greeks but Romans: Changing Expectations for the Eschatological War in the War Texts from Qumran,” in *The Jewish Revolt Against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSup 154; Leiden/Boston, Mass. 2011) 107–27.

Bárry Hartog

See also → Cyprus; → Kition

## Klausner, Joseph

Joseph Klausner (1874–1956) was a Jewish historian and prominent Zionist whose approach to the NT was profoundly shaped by his nationalist ideology. Born near Vilna, Lithuania, Klausner studied in Germany, and from 1925 taught Modern Hebrew Literature and later the History of the Second Temple Period at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Not Orthodox, Klausner would probably have identified with Conservative Judaism, if it had existed in Palestine at that time. In addition to establishing a reputation as a literary critic and philologist, and for his contribution to the revival of the Hebrew language in the nascent State of Israel, he is perhaps best known for his historical writings on early Christian history. His classic studies *Jesus of Nazareth* (1922) and *From Jesus to Paul* (1939) were among the first comprehensive treatments of these topics in Hebrew. Klausner’s interest in the central figures of the NT stemmed from a concern to reclaim influential Jews for Jewish history or, more precisely, to utilize them in the Zionist project to construct a strong nationalist identity.

**1. Jesus.** In distancing themselves from Jesus’ distinctive thought, pre-World War II Jewish commentators on the NT rarely focused upon those aspects of Jesus that distinguished him from his contemporaries, unless, for polemical reasons, they intended to criticize him and thus, by association, Christianity. Klausner was a case in point. He wrote admiringly of Jesus and appeared to hold his originality in high regard:

In [Jesus’] ethical code there is a sublimity, a distinctiveness and originality in form unparalleled in any other Hebrew ethical code.... If ever the day should come and this ethical code be stripped of its wrappings of miracles and mysticism, the *Book of the Ethics of Jesus* will be one of the choicest treasures in the literature of Israel for all time. (1925: 413–14)

But, for Klausner, while Jesus had obviously not been a Christian during his lifetime, he had become one (or should be regarded as one), for history had severed him from Judaism. Worse still, his impractical teachings, such as his instruction to “Give to the emperor the things that are the emperor’s and to God the things that are God’s” (Matt 22:21), effectively undermined the authority of the civil authorities. For Klausner,

Jesus is the most Jewish of Jews ... more Jewish even than Hillel. Yet nothing is more dangerous to national Judaism than this exaggerated Judaism; it is the ruin of national culture, the national state, and national life. (1925: 373–74)

**2. Paul.** The Zionist concern with the differences between Jewish and non-Jewish worldviews provides the key to Klausner’s understanding of Paul. The apostle grew up in the worlds of Hellenistic Judaism and paganism. Far from the land of Israel, Paul had been “detached from authentic, living Judaism, which was rooted in its own soil.” (1943: 465). This accounted for his message, “a whole new doctrine which was not Judaism, [but] which was in fact anti-Judaism, the complete antithesis of Judaism” (ibid.: 443). Specifically, it accounted for his teachings regarding dying and rising gods.

At the same time, Klausner evinces a desire to reclaim Paul the Jew as a significant player in world history, to recognize even in the Apostle to the Gentiles the genius and power of authentic Judaism. Klausner was appreciative of certain of Paul’s “lofty and beautiful” teachings (ibid.: 603), and he acknowledged that the influential Christian thinker’s dependence upon Torah (and even the Oral Law) had helped protect Judaism down through the centuries. He also recognized that the apostle’s *Realpolitik* approach had made possible the success of Christianity. The apostle’s talent for adaptability (“a thorough-going opportunist ... a clever politician,” ibid.: 312) had allowed Paul to appeal to the Gentiles by teaching of the Jewish messiah without reference to Jewish nationality. Since Klausner believed that Jesus’ teaching would not have won over the non-Jewish world, he regarded Christianity as the creation of Paul, “who was much more denationalized and divided in soul than was Jesus – the latter being a Jew of Palestine only, and hence not affected by foreign or conflicting influences” (ibid.: 590).

At the same time Klausner accepted that, at least as Paul understood his mission, the subordination of Israel’s Torah to Christ had not cut him off from the people of Israel. Thus Paul’s inauthenticity was rooted in his lack of intimacy with the land, and his creation of a world religion was made possible only by denationalizing Judaism, something that neither the prophets nor Jesus had sought to do. And yet, after all was said and done, Paul was a Jew and a significant figure in the national history of the Jewish people. The unresolved tension accounts in part for Klausner’s somewhat confusing claim that Paul’s new religion was “Judaism and non-Judaism at the same time” (ibid.: 465).

**Bibliography. Primary:** ■ Klausner, J., *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teaching* (trans. H. Danby; New York 1925); trans. of id., *Yeshu ha-Notsri: zemano, hayyaw, we-torato* (Jerusalem 1922). ■ Klausner, J., *From Jesus to Paul* (trans. W. F. Stinespring; London 1943); trans. of id., *Mi-Yeshu ‘ad Paulus* (Tel Aviv 1939). ■ Klausner, J., *The Messianic Idea in Israel:*