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The Power of the Rabbis: Reading Urban Stories of Late Antiquity

Abstract: The rabbis living in the cities of Late Antique Palestine were a sort of local intellectual elite devoted to certain religious practices and learning the traditional disciplines of the rabbinic Judaism. In the complexity of the political life of Roman Palestine the rabbis probably were not a leading group, but a significant minority which often played the role of mediators between jewish people widely defined, non-oriented from the religious point of view and others, i.e. various sectarians, including Christians, as well as Roman pagans, and rabbinic jews. As a minority and an intellectual group, or – in Bryan Stock's words – at textual community the rabbis were led by the need to express their identity in their literary creation through a constant dialogue with their sacred text. In a series of short concise accounts, they expressed a typological religious use of the figure of God of Israel in the formation of their own identity and in determining the identity of the others. Looking closely at the others, in order to determine their own identity, they composed stories in which the atmosphere of the Mediterranean cities, staured with religious inquires finds expression. The paper will analyse these stories behalf of Pierre Bordieu's concept of symbolic violence and symbolic capital.

Keywords: Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, Rabbi Aphas, Babylonian, Palestine scholars

There is a proverbial problem that everything we know about the ancient world is based on evidence that is both incomplete and difficult to interpret.[1] The history of the Jews during the first centuries is a case of this problem. Rabbinic literature, for all its vast dimensions, its preoccupation with the realia of social and economic life, and its immense cast of named characters, is notoriously unhelpful for writing a history of the Jews during the centuries when the rabbis flourished and when the literature associated with them was set down. Given the lack of other sources, the history of the Jews during the second through fifth centuries mostly must be painted with a very broad brush. However, I believe, it might provide the basis for a sociology of the rabbinic movement, as it would be explained further.

The Rabbis lived in the cities of Late Ancient Roman Palestine and they were a sort of local intellectual elite devoted to certain religious practices and to the learning of the traditional disciplines of the rabbinic Judaism. In the complexity of the political life of

1 Draft of this paper was read on the conference in Kiel, I am very grateful to organizers for the invitation and to the audience for the notes and questions, which I cordially embraced.

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Roman Palestine the rabbis were, probably, not a leading group,[2] but a significant minority. They often played the role of mediator between a Jewish people widely defined, non-oriented from the religious point of view, vis-a vis others, i.e. various sectarians, including Christians, as well as Roman pagans, and rabbinic Jews. As a minority, and an intellectual group, or, in Bryan Stock's language, a textual community, the rabbis were led by the need to express their identity in their literary creation through a constant dialogue with their sacred text.[3] In a series of short concise accounts, they expressed a typological religious use of the figure of God of Israel in the formation of their own identity and in determining the identity of the others.[4] Looking closely at the others, in order to determine their own identity, they composed stories in which the climate of the Mediterranean cities, saturated with religious inquires, finds expression. In this article I analyse these stories with the help of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and symbolic capital. Bourdieu sees symbolic capital (e.g., prestige, honour, attention) as a crucial source of power. When holders of symbolic capital use it against agents who hold less power of this sort, and seek thereby to alter their actions, they exercise symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is fundamentally the imposition of categories of thought and perception upon dominated social agents, who then take the social order to be just. It is the incorporation of unconscious structures that tend to perpetuate the structures of action of the dominant agent. Symbolic violence is in some senses much more powerful than physical violence in that it is embedded in the very modes of action and structures of cognition of individuals.

Bourdieu contends that the relations of "domination" are rarely solely secured and legitimated through overt physical violence and uses the concept of 'symbolic power' to refer to the capacity of individuals, groups, and institutions to shape social life.[5] Symbolic power is "the power to make the world by imposing instruments for the cognitive construction of the world".[6] The efficacy of symbolic power, according to Bourdieu, reflects the tendency for particular modes of vision to be so deeply rooted within both the individual habitus, and surrounding social fields, that they are no longer understood as patterns of domination. Instead, these models of domination are rarely formally articulated but come to reflect a "preverbal," taken for-granted, understanding of the world that "flows from practical sense".[7]

Bourdieu is quite sceptical about the politically progressive nature of marginalized social groups,[8] and there is, in his analysis, a consistent tendency to examine

2 See Schwartz 2002.

3 See Stock 1983. Stock emphasizes that the community could also base itself on texts in the plural, if they shared one interpretation of those texts.

4 For the problematics of other and otherness in Rabbinic texts, see Hayes 2007, 243–269.

5 Bourdieu 1989, 18–19.

6 Bourdieu 2002, 170.

7 Bourdieu 1990a, 68.

8 See Bohman 1997; Adams, 2006, 514.

how relations of domination are naturalized. I want to show, however, how the employer of symbolic violence can marginalize himself and how the marginalization could be used as a tool for gaining power.

In the framework of this paper, I want to analyse several stories, trying to answer the question: for which purpose was the political influence of the rabbis used and what do they want to achieve by it? It is crucial for me to use rabbinic narratives for this purpose. Across cultures, we find narrative used as a tool for making sense of experience. When a narrative is simultaneously born of and gives shape to experience, self and narrative become inseparably entwined.[9] Narrative activity allows tellers to impose order on otherwise disconnected events and to create continuity between past, present, and future. Moreover, narrative interfaces self and society, constituting a crucial resource for socializing identities, developing interpersonal relationships, and establishing membership in a community. In this way, narratives bring multiple, partial selves to life.[10]

Obtaining Power

Late Antique Palestinian Rabbis did not take a very active part in municipal affairs. Moreover, they were quite often critical towards their brethren who had ambitions to make a career of dealing with the social needs of the city. Thus, for example, in the following story they are expressing their disdain towards these who preoccupied themselves with political activities. In Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:7 we find a short story about Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, who forgot the halakhic learning he had acquired from Rabbi Judah bar Pedayah, because he had become too involved in providing for community needs.

Ecclesiastes Rabbah 7:7[11]

> Surely oppression turns a wise man into a fool (Eccl 7:7).

R. Joshua b. Levi said: Eighty halakhot did I learn from Judah b. Pedayah concerning a grave that has been ploughed over, but through being occupied with the needs of the community, I forgot them all.

The rabbi's knowledge was lost because he prioritised the public realm of active deeds to the quiet solitude of academia. We don't know what kind of community needs (literally "needs of the majority") this socially active rabbi attended to, but clearly his behaviour was not entirely admirable for a rabbinic student, according to

9 See Ochs/Capps 1996, 25–43.

10 See Levinson 2014, 81–107.

11 For the text and its textual parallels, see Kiperwasser, 2021, 30–40. See as well Kiperwasser 2010, 257–277.

the narrator's perspective. No one mishnaic treatise includes so many laws concerning a grave. Seemingly this knowledge was lost forever. One can see so much irony here. Preserving the laws of graves would have been a great service to the community, for the "needs of the majority" through the ages. That opportunity to serve the greater good is what he lost, through his social activism. The narrator intends to tell a didactic story in which the borders of the appropriate and inappropriate behaviour of sages are represented with their outcomes. The ideal sage is someone not overly involved in the political life of his city and loyal and respectful to members of his class. Memory, which is a lion's share of his wisdom, was taken from him, by the Divine will, as a sort of punishment.[12]

However, preaching to their students not to preoccupy themselves with mundane needs of their communities, they did not abstain from desiring political power of a certain kind; the power to influence or outright control the behaviour of people was what they wanted. Let us try to understand why, with the help of some other stories.

yMoed Qatan 3:1, 71c[13]

> A priest came to Rabbi Ḥanina. He said to him: What is the law as to going to Tyre to perform a religious duty (mitsvah), to perform the rite of halistah or to enter into levirate marriage? He said to him: Your brother went abroad. Blessed is the Omnipresent, who has smitten him. And now you want to do the same thing?
>
> There are those who wish to say that this is what he said to him: Your brother left the bosom of his mother, and embraced the bosom of a foreign woman, and blessed be He who smote him! And now you wish to do the same thing?
>
> Simeon bar Va came to Rabbi Ḥanina. He said to him: Write me a letter of recommendation since I am going abroad to make a living. He said to him: "Tomorrow I will go to your ancestors, and they will say to me: That single precious planting that we had in the Land of Israel you have permitted to go forth from the Land?

These stories occur in the context of a discussion about the permissibility for Israelites and priests to have their hair cut during a festival and pertains to priests leaving the Land of Israel for a given period.[14] Two cases are discussed, one of which has two different versions of its punch line.[15] In both of them, Rabbi Ḥanina, a former Babylonian who, not without drama, became an exemplary Palestinian sage,[16] warns one priest and one rabbi, questioning their motivation for leaving the Holy Land. In the second variant of the rabbi's warning to the priest the "mother/stepmother" metaphor appears. The priest is represented as a stupid child who does not want to be nursed by his own mother, looking instead for nourishment in the bosom of a "strange-woman." To leave

12 I deal with this theme in great detail in: Kiperwasser 2020, 119–142.

13 Academia ed., 809.

14 The passage is linked to the previous discussion by this sentence: "If so, then if a priest goes abroad, since he has gone forth from the Land [not with] without the approval of the sages, he should be forbidden to get a haircut [when he comes home]."

15 See p. 164.

16 See p. 166.

the mother for a strange woman is evil, according to R. Ḥanina. The Land of Israel symbolizes the real mother and any other land is always "the other" woman. Therefore, a son of the Promised Land must always obey his natural mother, whatever her caretaking may be like, and no matter how welcoming he finds his stepmother.[17]

In the second case, which does not use the mother/stepmother metaphor, Shimon ben Va is a Babylonian immigrant,[18] whose assimilation in the Promised Land has not worked out and now he seeks out his Palestinian master, asking for assistance in making a new life abroad; presumably, he wants to go back to Babylonia, with a letter of recommendation from his master. The master's answer, while showing his appreciation of his student's qualities, is a politely formulated refusal. The narrator had his highly honoured hero express in words the ideal behaviour of the Babylonian Other: he should embrace the bosom of his real mother, even if he suffers in her house.

These stories belong to a known type of stories about students asking their masters' permission to leave the Land of Israel and usually getting a refusal, because almost every reason for leaving the land was not important enough. Not to leave the Land of Israel is a rabbinic norm, with the clear political message. They want the people of their own kind in the Land of their ancestors; thus, they are eager to employ their power to keep their people there. Naturally this power could only be used only by mutual consent of the parties. Students were obedient to their masters due to the structures of power in the academy. From this point of view, the first story is much more important: here the person who is obedient to rabbinic instruction is a priest, meaning someone of the ancient Jewish religious elite group that has its own power, due to its genealogy. The Rabbis where ready to employ the power of religious instruction to ensure the population of promised land by people of the desirable origin and appropriate range.

Delayed Ordination

At the head of rabbinic hierarchy during the first half of the 3nd century, we find Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi (ca. 165–220), who was a high Roman official in Galilee and a prominent figure and leader in the Rabbinic milieu. As is well-known, the descendants of Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, headed the rabbinic hierarchy for almost three hun-

17 Therefore, it is typical for the "folkloristic" approach that the real mother is always better than the stepmother. The opposition of mother/stepmother also appears in bTa'an 20a: "People say: Better are the lashes of a mother than the kisses of the father's wife." The saying appears only in one of the manuscripts, see Malter 1930, 79, n. 20. The concept of the wicked stepmother is a well-known motif, see Ilan 2008, 194–195. For the usage of it in rabbinic rhetoric see Kiperwasser 2015.

18 Albeck 1969, 268.

dred years,[19] and they claimed to be descendants of Hillel the Elder.[20] Concentrating in his hands political and economic power given to him by the Roman rulers in order to control the inhabitants of Galilee, he also exercised control over the learned class of the rabbis. To be a rabbi, one had to be ordained by his old and experienced masters (the term is *minuy*, the appointment as rabbi).[21] Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi usurped this prerogative for himself. In his days, to become a rabbi one had to receive the title from him personally and, as is well known, some prominent sages were deprived of it. The title rabbi, gave honour, recognition and some economic benefits, as for example exemptions in the payment of some taxes.[22]

yTa'anit 4:2, 78a[23]

> Rabbi used to confer two ordinations.[24] If they proved worthy, they remained, if not – they were removed. When he was about to die, he instructed his son, saying: Do not act so, but appoint them all one after another and Rabbi Ḥama bar Ḥanina first.
>
> But why did he not do so himself? Said Rabbi Derosa:[25] It was because the people of Sepphoris cried out against him. And because of the crying out they did so?
>
> Said Rabbi Lazar bar Rabbi Jose: It was because he publicly corrected what Rabbi had said. Rabbi was sitting and expounding the homily:[26] "Then those of you who escape will remember me" (Ezek 6:9) "But those who escape from them at all, shall be on the mountains like doves of the valley, all of them moaning (homiyot)" (Ezek 7:16).
>
> Rabbi Ḥanina said to him: The proper reading of the last word is "homot."
>
> He said to him: Where did you study Scripture? He said to him: With Rav Hamnuna of Babylonia. He said: When you go back there, tell him that I appoint you a sage. So, Rabbi Ḥanina knew that he would never be appointed in Rabbi's time.

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19 According to the relatively new approach of scholars, the title Nasi and the patriarchate as a form of socio-religious leadership, only began with Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, see Goodman 2000, 111–118, and Jacobs 1995, 99–123. About the portrait of this prominent figure in rabbinic literature see Meir 1999), For an attempt to reconstruct the historical figure from the literary traditions see Oppenheimer 2017).

20 This genealogical claim was questioned by modern scholars. The claim is based on the assumption that Simeon ben Gamliel, the father of Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, was a descendant of a noble Jerusalemite family, which stemmed from Hillel the Elder. Stern 2003, 193–215 argues that Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi was not a son of Simeon b. Gamliel, as it was customary to think, but came from a different family of Galilean aristocracy.

21 מינוי is a term used in Palestinian rabbinic literature to denote ordination as a "licensed" sage, someone entitled to an exemption from fees and taxes specified by Roman law. See Lieberman 1945/6), 329–370, and Lieberman 1946/7, 31–54. See also Lieberman 1955–1988, 729, n. 40. See also Hezser 1997, 425–427.

22 See in the Lieberman and Hezser quoted in previous footnote.

23 See Academia ed., 728.

24 "Rabbi" without a name refers to Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi.

25 Derosa is not a common name. It could be a corruption of "Dosa," the name of a well-known Palestinian Amora; see Albeck 1969, 232. However, considering the parallel version, we can hypothesize that the Yerushalmi here also had "Rabbi Jose," which because of copyists' errors became "Derosa" (דר' יוסא=דרוסא or ר' יוסא=דוסא).

26 See the explanation below.

This is a story about the competition between the learned foreigner and the local head of the academic hierarchy. The Babylonian newcomer is well-educated and renowned for his knowledge, and he naturally expects to be ordained as a rabbi. The story about the long road which led Rabbi Ḥanina bar Ḥama[27] to his *minuy*,[28] begins with a description of the situation before the appointment took place. According to the *Yerushalmi*, Rabbi would ordain two candidates; on the basis of the parallel version in *Kohelet Rabbah*, we know that this took place annually.[29] If the new appointees' performances were in order, he would permit them to remain in their positions, but if not, the unsuccessful sages would have to depart (מסתלקין) and the vacancies would then be opened to other candidates. Before his death, Rabbi asked one of his sons to change the appointment procedure: rather than confer both appointments at once, he should ordain the new sages one after the other, probably because of the declining number of candidates.[30]

In this story we find two explanations why Rabbi Ḥanina was ordained very late. According to the first, attributed in *Yerushalmi* to Rabbi Dosa, the people of Sepphoris opposed Rabbi Ḥanina's appointment.[31] This tradition is preserved in *Kohelet Rabbah* in a longer version and attributed to Rabbi Jose bar Zebid.[32] In this version, Rabbi Ḥanina wonders why the demand of the Sepphorians was taken into consideration, and Rabbi answers that if you consider someone's opinion in a situation which is favourable to yourself, then you must equally consider it in negative situations. This is a benign explanation for Rabbi's behaviour; on his deathbed, though, he felt sorry for the Babylonian. This narrative tradition clearly wants to hint that the society of local Sepphorians was against the Babylonian emigre, but not the head of rabbinic hierarchy.

Yet the story continues with another explanation for Rabbi Ḥanina's misfortune. The latter had once insulted the Nasi. Rabbi had delivered a sermon based on two verses from Ezekiel, and Rabbi Ḥanina corrected his reading in public. Rabbi's mis-

27 The Yerushalmi at the beginning mentions Rabbi Ḥama bar Ḥanina, and then Rabbi Ḥanina; clearly the first version is a scribal error. The proper reading is Rabbi Ḥanina bar Ḥama.

28 See above n. 21.

29 It is not very clear to what position and with what responsibilities they were appointed, but it must have given them some power and possibly some financial freedom.

30 See Lieberman 1974, 144. Unlike the Yerushalmi, Kohelet Rabbah tells us that Rabbi would ordain two sages every year; if their work was not acceptable, they would die (דמכין). Strikingly, the later formulator made a mistake in interpreting the word מסתלקין which could be understood literally as "leaving" and, more metaphorically, as "leaving this world, dying." Both usages occur in Yerushalmi. I would suggest, following Lieberman's note on this, that our narrator implied the first meaning (see Lieberman 1974, 144, n. 230). Thus, the version in Kohelet Rabbah is less reliable than the one in Yerushalmi.

31 According to Buchler 1909, 53–57, and Lieberman 1974, 144, n. 230 the expression "people of Sepphoris" refers to the Sepphorian mob, but Miller 1992, 175–200 claims that this is a group of Sepphorian sages who, for political reasons, wished to prevent Rabbi Hanina's appointment. See Miller 2006, 63–100 as well.

32 A Palestinian Amora of the 4th generation (320–350 C.E); see Albeck 1969, 334.

take did not alter the meaning of the verse. The word הומות is the plural form of הומה; the word הומיות is plural of הומיה; both actually mean the same.[33] To correct mistakes made by the head of the rabbinic hierarchy, however slight, was considered inappropriate, and not very wise. Our Babylonian, however, thought that the words of a prophet were more important than polite considerations; moreover, perhaps in his culture it was appropriate for advanced students to correct their masters' mistakes.[34] At least this was the narrator's assumption.[35] Both to be alien and to have this annoying alien custom of correcting everyone, even your master, is reason enough not to be appointed to any eminent position. Rabbi's decision not to ordain him was immediately expressed in his ironic question: Who is the teacher of the problematic scholar? The teacher was in fact Rav Hamnuna, famous for his biblical erudition and his pedantic attitude to quoted passages.[36] To mention him is meaningful. The name of a pedantic erudite is a marker of Babylonian identity in the eyes of the Palestinian narrator. These Babylonians were extremely well versed in the Bible; they knew all the verses by heart. Therefore, they were dangerous in the house of study. The hegemony of the host was threatened by their presence.

The answer of the Babylonian at first appears naïve, as the Babylonian did not detect the menacing undertone in Rabbi's voice. However, it is quite possible that here the Babylonian was just proclaiming his right to do as he pleased, for he declared that he had been educated by a person with superb biblical knowledge. As his student, he therefore had every right to correct the errors of Palestinian scholars.[37] The unlucky sage received from Rabbi the ironical advice to go from Palestine to Babylonia, to meet his teacher there in order to be ordained as a Palestinian sage, something impossible, of course. Rabbi Ḥanina took this as implying that he would never be or-

33 These are two different forms of the same root – the relatively rare הומיה is an active participle. This form is sometimes found in poetry; for example, Prov 1:21; 7:11; 9:13; Isa 22:2 and see Koehler/Baumgartner/Stamm/Richardson 1994, 250. The form הומיות was known to Rabbi from other biblical verses, such as Prov 1:21, but the misreading was probably due to the phonetic influence of the preceding word גאיות.

34 See Averbach 1983, 76–79. There he proposes that Rabbi was angry with the Babylonian student, because he corrected his mistake, which is less important than making a mistake in Halakhic instruction.

35 Even though in the Babylonian Talmud itself we can find some restrictions about public questionings of rabbis, in order to eliminate shaming, see Rubenstein 2003, 73–77 and 86.

36 On the term ספרא, see Fraenkel 1922/1923, 118a; for the category of sages famous for their pedantic approach to the Bible, see Rosenthal 1983, 395–398.

37 Rabbi Hanina bar Hama as a representative of the Babylonian sages to Palestine is discussed in Schwartz 1980, 89; Schwartz 1998, 118–131.

dained as long as Rabbi remained in office.[38] This account of Rabbi Ḥanina's rejection clearly implies his non-acceptance as the Other. The story then continues:

> After he died, his son wished to appoint him, but he declined, saying: I shall not accept the appointment until you have first appointed Rabbi Aphas of Daroma.
>
> There was an old man present who said: If R. Ḥanina is appointed first, I am second, and if Rabbi Aphas of Daroma is first, I am second. Rabbi Ḥanina agreed to be appointed third and merited a long life.
>
> He said: I do not know why I have been worthy of living many years, whether it is because of this incident, or whether it is because of what [happened] when coming up from Tiberias to Sepphoris, I took a roundabout route in order to greet Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta at Ayn Te'enah. I do not know.

The story continues: the leader of the Palestinian rabbis dies, and it falls to his son to reward the Babylonian scholar. Yet, when Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi's son wishes to appoint our Babylonian, he declines, because, according to his perceptions of honor and justice, his older college Rabbi Aphas (or Pas) deserves to be appointed first.[39] However, in the world of rabbinic academies of the time there were other scholars who had been disgraced by Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi. We do not know much about Rabbi Aphas, except some his teachings and the fact that he came from Daroma, in Judea, far from the Galilee where most of our narrative traditions took place.[40] The narrative tradition we are looking at is Galilean, but apparently critical of Sepphoris society and quite critical of Rabbi and his son. Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi could not suppress his anger towards non-compliant outsiders and thwarted their careers. He regretted some of his misdeeds, but even when he ordered his son to rectify the situation, he could do nothing in the face of local politics and human ambitions. A certain, nameless, candidate for ordination, simply called "one old man," did not want to have his appointment postponed for anyone else, so our hero agreed to be appointed third, and was forced to wait years for a vacancy. Now that we are nearing the punchline, the readers' expectations are probably focusing on Rabbi Ḥanina's self-restraint. However, the actual message of the story is more profound. It turns out that our hero was still alive long after the events described above. Longevity is undoubtedly a sign of a God-given blessing in rabbinic thought, a reward for righteousness, virtuous deeds.[41] Thus, in the epilogue to the story, the hero, in his old age, meditates on his virtuous deeds that merited him a long life. He posits

38 The part of the verse cited to clinch the plot is not found in the Kohelet Rabbah version. There is a lacuna in the first half of the story, which is nonetheless still attributed to R. Abun, unlike the attribution in the Yerushalmi.

39 For the analyses of the Babylonian parallel see Tropper 2013, 179–183.

40 About the ties between Judea and Galilea and their respective relationships to the Babylonian Diaspora I will write in another place. However, here I refer to previous discussions, first of all to Lieberman 1935, 458; Goldberg 1975–1976, 82; Schwartz 1982, 188–197; Sussman 1989–1990, 55–133; 96, n. 170.

41 See Schofer 2010, 151–165.

two explanations for it: his first good deed may have been his refusal of the rabbinical appointment. His second good deed may have been his custom, whenever he returned from Tiberias to his newly-acquired hometown Sepphoris, to take a roundabout route and visit Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta, who lived out of his way in the village of Ayn Te'enah in the Sepphoris area.[42] He does not know which of these actions gave him longevity. Professing ignorance in this situation means admitting that they were both, more or less, equal in value. Rabbi Simeon ben Ḥalafta, an outsider living apart from the rabbinic establishment of his period,[43] must have been very old by then. To visit an old sage living in solitude in a small village is certainly a good deed, albeit insignificant. However, it expresses a certain ideal. To visit a sage with no political influence is no less important than to be recognized by an academic institution or to receive a title from the Nasi with real political clout. The final musing is subversive, for it expresses the longing for alternative-style leadership, not based on political power or money, but on moral dignity and spiritual force.

Thus, the story has showed us the force and the limits of symbolic power. The power of symbolic capital is that it is deeply rooted in a kind of collective convention of a social group in which it is used. The right to symbolic violence, given in the hands of the leader of the intellectual community, is something that goes without saying and is not questioned. Doubt in the values usually associated with the image of the owners of symbolic capital, however, inevitably appears and then the symbolic capital becomes less valuable. Perhaps after some time, symbolic capital of a different kind will become the property of those who were earlier on the periphery of the distribution of symbolic forces. Thus, on this battlefield radical change will not take place. But still there is probably room for some hope for a better social order.

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42 About this extraordinary sage and his place in rabbinic narratives, see Kiperwasser 2009, 3–24. Regarding the village see Reeg 1989, 483–484. According to this identification, the village was approximately 7 km east to Sepphoris. However, see the recent proposition of Leibner 2016, 1–6, 120 n. 350, identifying the place with a former Arab village north-east to Sepphoris which is much closer.
43 See Kiperwasser 2009.

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