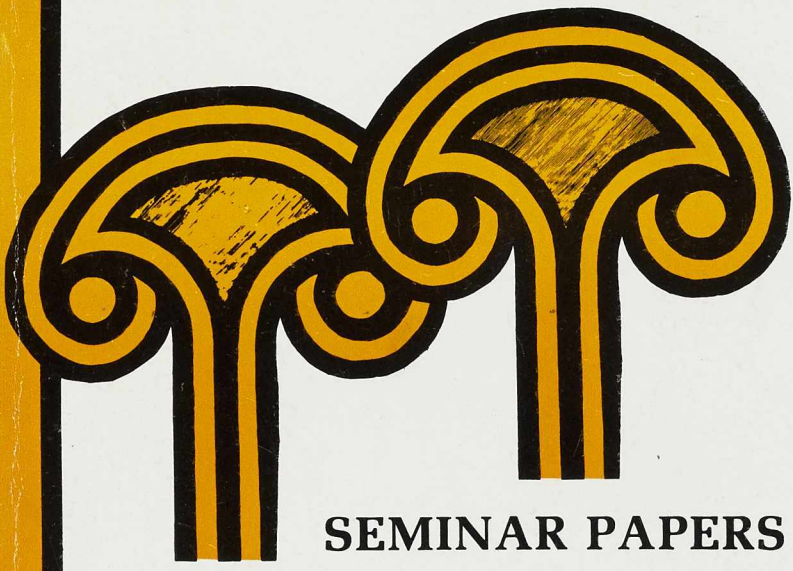
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Paul J. Achtemeier

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The papers included in this volume are to be discussed but not read at the One Hundred Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, California, 28-31 December 1977. The volume has been produced by photographically copying the manuscripts submitted by the authors themselves. In the large majority of cases, both format and content are thus the responsibility of the respective authors. The Editor is responsible for assembling the volume and preparing it for publication; some minor copy editing has also been done.

These papers are intended to stimulate discussion within the various program units of the Annual Meeting for which they have been prepared. They do not represent the final product of scholarly refinement and debate, but are rather intended to be one step within that refining process. Their publication within the format of a book is for purposes of convenience of distribution, and does not represent any claim as to the final form they may finally achieve.

The order in which the papers appear is dictated by their place within the Annual Program. The identifying number preceding each title refers to the program, and to the Book of Abstracts. The letter *S* indicates they are presentations of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Thanks are due to those authors and chairmen of the various Groups and Seminars, and to the convenors of the various consultations whose efforts have resulted in the papers assembled in this volume, and the Editor gladly takes opportunity to express them.

S 22 TRIPS TO THE OTHER WORLD IN ANTIQUITY
AND THE STORY OF SETH IN THE LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE

Anitra Bingham Kolenkow

INTRODUCTION

The story of Seth's trips to or visions of Paradise and judgment in the Life of Adam and Eve (VAE) has two foci. The first is the trips themselves as the basis of revelation. The second is the problem of the importance of the man and yet the failure of his work

Background studies of VAE have given critics the material with which to illumine aspects of VAE. However, such studies have not tied the above foci into a concrete whole. History of Religions studies have long said that Seth was related to a number of divine figures in the ancient Middle East.[1] Yet, L.S.A. Wells objects that there is an element of "non-divinity" in Seth; Seth can be bitten.[2] E. C. Quinn[3] undertook a quest of Seth back into the basic story form, gathering together research on the story patterns of the ancient world -- and noting the similarities of the story of Seth to several story patterns (the story of the dying father who sends a son for supernatural aid -- Keret, Grimm 97; that of the person who seeks or almost attains eternal life but fails -- Gilgamesh, Adapa). Quinn also rightly notes the background of the "oil of life" in Jewish apocalyptic literature. She sees the importance of Seth as a divine hero who walks with God and may go to heaven (as Enoch), as well as the story's Christianization and relation to the picture of Jesus' descent into Hades (cf. the Gospel of Nicodemus). The fact that Quinn concentrates on the later development and adaptation of the myth in the medieval period makes the extent of her scholarly search quite remarkable.[4] The present paper will, however, not only try to speak to the issues which have been noted above, but it will also attempt to tie the various features together -- understanding them as part of a very common shamanistic story which tells of the failure of the shaman yet confirms his power. Thus anthropological study supplements History of Religions and Folklore studies. Further, this paper will stress the alternate possibilities that an author has when putting together such a work as VAE.

I THE ROLE OF SETH -- MAN OF GOD AND BITTEN BY A BEAST

In VAE, the author establishes the role of Seth through telling of Seth's trip to Paradise and vision of the divine world. Although early in the story Seth appears mainly as the good or intelligent son (ignorant of pain as the other sons, VAE 33:1), on the trip to Paradise Seth is labeled "man of God" (a term for prophet, 41:3) and he is told what will happen in the endtime (42:1-5). He (and not Eve who travels with him) is directly addressed by the angel. Seth is told

that Adam will die and of the attendant heavenly marvels (43:1-2). In VAE 46-48, Michael appears to Seth and asks him to "come to him" (i.e. go somewhere else)[5] and see what is the "doom of the Lord" about Adam. There Seth sees the hand of God and hears God's commands to Michael about what should be done to Adam -- keeping charge of Adam until the day of judgment (48:1-2) and telling Michael how to bury Adam (48:4). God also tells of Adam's future power over his supplanter (48:3). Where in the Bible Seth is merely said to be made in the image of Adam, in VAE Seth has what would at least be understood as a prophet's role, which is used both to show him as receiver of revelation about the future and introducer of heavenly customs of burial on earth. In VAE Seth's further power is shown because he does not fall victim to the beast and indeed almost shuts the mouth of the beast (as in the NT, the voice of a demon), telling the beast to be silent until the ordeal of the endtime.[6] Thus Seth also has knowledge of the endtime, even without revelation. Seth is at least as great as Adam for he has not sinned, intercedes for Adam and is given information about Adam's fate after death.

> Although in Jewish apocalyptic, it is common that the great man on his death bed sees visions of the future or has a trip to heaven, here Seth is the one who has been told the future right after Seth has been turned down as intercessor for his father. Thus Seth has the power Adam might have been thought to have.

Seth further becomes an almost Orphic or Pythagorean figure because he (with Eve) becomes the only one of Adam's sons who does not sleep in Paradise (VAE 48:6, AM 38:4).

However, even in the trip to Paradise, one sees the possible ambiguities of the picture of Seth since not only is he bitten, but he also is not able to bring back the oil of mercy to his father. Indeed, L.S.A. Wells used the biting of Seth to argue against a divine Seth -- so understood by History of Religions scholars from Near Eastern parallels, (Shetti=Marduk, Set). Divinity, of course, can fight or be attacked by a serpent (Marduk, Ba'al, Set). However, there are clearly elements of humanity in Seth; he must go to the otherworld and beg. Here one first sees how shamanism (and related syndromes) may be used as an entry point into a further study of VAE. A shaman is a man who is able to go to the other world -- a psychopomp who knows the way there -- in fact whose main role in society is that he can go there.[7] He goes on a journey to get healing for men, take the dying there and tell what happens to them so that earthly men can rest easy with the dead at peace (207-215ff.) The shaman is thus the mediator of the other world, having access there by magic flights or trips below (taking almost the place of divinity). Shamanistic characteristics not only exist in modern "primitive" societies, but also are evident in ancient works which contain features close to our syndrome (Orpheus and Er myths). If Seth is in this category, one may answer the question of Wells about the bitten Seth. To be bitten by a snake may be part of a shaman's initiation and indeed proof of the shaman's status if the shaman does not die[8] (cf. in a Jewish setting the story of Hanina ben Dosa not interrupting his prayer (the snake bites and dies itself, BT Ber 33a). Seth likewise continues as strong after the bite.

II ACCOUNTS OF VISIONS OF OR TRIPS TO THE OTHER WORLD

Because of the importance of Seth's trip to Paradise (VAE 37-43) and his vision of what happens to Adam (46-48) for an estimate of the role of Seth, the critic should study the normative structures of otherworld trips which are found in ancient accounts of visions of or trips to the other world. Similarities or differences from such structures may speak to the intent of the author -- or the need to seek other story structures.

Like all mythic structures, the story of a trip to the other world has many possible components, each of which allows variety in the story according to the desire of the teller.[9] Lucian knows, for example, both a trip across the heavens (Icaromenippus) and a trip to the underworld (Menippus). In either case one has a double possibility of revelation -- an argument for a change of life or an affirmation of the way of life which has been led (change: Testament of Abraham -- over earth, Er -- spectrum from a vantage point; affirmation: Dream of Scipio -- over earth, Axiochus -- underworld) by a vision of reward and punishment. The vision of reward and punishment is the essential point; the way of getting there is open and generally related to where the author considers the place to be. (The prophet may just see a view of the divine court --Micaiah ben Imlah, Enkidu.) The visions or what is heard are revelation and generally are commanded to be handed on. Another possibility is that of a trip to the otherworld to bring back the dead or bring back healing materials as well as revelation.

The trip to the other world for healing is that described as taken by African witchdoctors, Siberian shamen and American Indian medicine men,[10] where the intermediary figure takes a journey to the other world to heal one who is sick or dying. (Cf. also Aristophanes Peace, where there is a trip to the otherworld on the back of a beetle to find peace.) In ancient times, one would relate such stories to the underworld rescue trips of Orpheus, Heracles and many Near Eastern goddesses -- to save a person about whom they care. Such figures are often opposed by Cerberus or some great beast -- a guardian or danger in such separated areas. Since release from death and healing are on a continuum (cf. the Alcestis story), one should note that ancient literature saw the other world as containing healing or life material (as the plant Gilgamesh would bring back, the food Adapa does not eat and the fragrant tree which is food for the elect and whose fragrance shall be in their bones (I En 25:6). Further, Gods of death are also Gods of healing (cf. Apollo). Heaven also furnishes angelic methods of healing (cf. Tobit, I En 25:6, 8:3. 9:6.)

Although studies of prophecy and healing (magic) have often emphasized their differences, the ancient world not have seen such a great divide; the prophet and healer are often the same man, a man able to change the course of history.[11] The prophet-healer may also fail. Recognizing the healing-prophecy continuum as well as the basic story and the options of method and failure, the critic may see the author's work.

VAE 46-48 -- Revelation and Funeral Customs VAE 46-48[12] (and its parallel AM 36-40) is a vision of or movement toward the other world -- of judgment and fate and where Adam is buried. Seth first sees and hears God's decision about Adam (now and for the future) and then sees the burial of Adam in Paradise. The alternate versions of what happens to Adam immediately after death (occurring in VAE and AM) show how two possible alternative presentations of a situation may be used to emphasize an author's own philosophy. Whereas VAE shows God being merciful (cf. Ap. Zeph 1, 7) to Adam, AM warns that if one sins the angels will grab one and dunk one three times in the Acherusian lake -- Adam sinned and God said he was not able to prevent the dunking. However, both VAE and AM continue their story by showing divine commands for burial.

> Seth sees how the angels bury Adam with three linen cloths and this is made a model for future burials, "Just as ye have seen, in like manner bury your dead." The importance of VAE as a manual and justification of burial customs is further emphasized when the critic notes that VAE 43:3 (the end of the first journey to Paradise) says that Eve and Seth brought back the herbs of fragrance (which according to AM 50:7 the angels bring for the burial process). Again the funeral usage is reemphasized when a six day limit is made not only for mourning Eve but for mourning in the future (51:1). The use of what are effectively "tales about the last days of a righteous man" to authenticate burial customs also occurs in the Testament of Abraham where angels are shown using linens, ointments and perfumes (20). Since burial societies and customs play an important role in the ancient world and even Judaism and Christianity may have been understood as burial societies, the author of VAE may be claiming that the customs its community uses were given from heaven at the time of Adam (and thus were older than, or perhaps the original of, other customs in the ancient world (an apologetic motif).

The angelic command to "come" may replace either description of vision or trip (no longer necessary in any case because a previous trip has shown that Seth knows the way). Further, in shamanistic terms, Seth does what shamans do since the sight of the other world shows Adam buried in Paradise after death so that he may not wander. Seth receives revelation of Adam's ultimate justification (thus Seth is justified also) when God tells Seth that Adam will replace his supplanter on the throne. The critic's ability to realize that what is described in literature may find concrete form in the life of a people is an important part of what Eliade has taught us. Here, however, one also sees Jewish or Christian modification of a shaman's role. Seth sees the angel or God acting in the other world; Seth does not act as psychopomp himself. Whereas the shaman takes on elsewhere a semi-divine role, in Judaism neither magician nor prophet is completely allowed to claim such abilities for himself. However, whether the society allows a human to take on divine powers, nevertheless it needs the confidence provided by the shamanistic syndrome. VAE, as literature, draws on and answers Jewish needs for a belief in divine care in spite of a seeming divine absence.

VAE 37-43 -- The Failure of the Intercessor VAE 37-43 is a trip on foot (cf. the legend of Gilgamesh, Menippus -- on foot and in a boat, which might be needed for VAE 28:4). It is a trip seeking healing or life by intercession -- a type of trip which (as noted above) seems common in the literature of shamanism and in remnants of ancient description telling of attempts to gain life from despair, bring the dead back to life.

However, Seth and Eve do not bring back the oil of healing or release from death. In fact, they bring back knowledge that death will come in six days (43:1[13]) as well as of special events which will occur on earth and in heaven (the signs of the departure of a great man). Thus the critic has another problem (and one which is related to the funeral customs cited earlier), the figure who intercedes or seeks heavenly comfort for others is given a message of failure -- no healing. This reminds one that one might seek a type of literature which is an explanation for failure in a shaman's trip. As one reads VAE, one begins to realize the problems of the continuum between the shaman's healing power and knowing the way of death -- and one of these is the failure of the shaman--a subject not usually studied by scholars.

Thus when one sees the models of visions of or trips to the other world, one sees that VAE has two emphases which may differ from such trips as they are usually thought of: an emphasis on funeral customs and an emphasis on the failure of the intercessory figure to bring healing.

> It should be noted, however, that Aristophanes in The Frogs says that Dionysius finds adherents of the mysteries practicing the mysteries in the other world. Therefore, the motif of having the rituals of one's faith celebrated and thus authenticated in the other world would seem important to the Eleusinian mysteries as well (cf. Qumran's liturgy). Of course, trips to the other world seem to be an important part of Eleusinian theology, cf the pseudo-Platonic Axiochus story which is written to encourage a man who has participated in the mysteries and Lucian's Menippus who speaks of the mysteries as something he and his addressees have participated in. The Orphic adaptation of Eleusinian trips may be seen in the gold plates as well as the stories of how Orpheus goes to the other world.

These two motifs may be related as being on the continuum, discussed earlier, across which the shaman works. The shaman is expected to be able to heal and to know the way of death. The mid-point on this continuum is the failure of the shaman to heal. However, the assumption of the continuum is the power of the shaman -- which VAE also emphasizes (cf. section I), and some reason must be given for his failure. If VAE may be explained as a work using, effectively, a shamanic continuum, one would expect that VAE would show both an emphasis on the continued power of Seth even after his failure as an intercessor for healing -- and that VAE would also explain Seth's failure so that the believer would keep faith in Seth's or his followers' powers.

III WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE SHAMAN FAILS -- HOW TO JUSTIFY THE SHAMAN -- VAE, ORPHEUS, AND ENOCH

Does VAE both stress the continuity of Seth's power and explain his failure? Do these features of the continuum exist elsewhere in ancient literature and help the critic to seek an answer to the above question?

When the critic recognizes that he is looking for a motif of failure on a trip to the otherworld, especially in healing, bringing back a person from the dead or intercession, the answer to the "existence in ancient literature" question is yes. This occurs both in the Jewish and Gentile worlds. Orpheus does not bring back Euridice. He makes all the proper arrangements, but the lady disobeys the one command that is given (cf. Lot's wife) and thus cannot return. Killed after his failure, Orpheus' left-over head prophesies. Enoch goes to the other world to seek pardon for bad angels and is told that his request that the angels be pardoned is refused (I En 14:4-7) as the first part of a set of visions.

What one should see here are two points -- one that in both the cases of Orpheus and Enoch, the intercessor is powerful and righteous even if his request is refused or his seeking fails. Orpheus becomes the founder of a religion stressing knowledge of the underworld. Enoch is given a view of the entire heavens and made revealer of such secret knowledge to men. The figures are also made "not responsible" for their failure to bring back success. Instead, the person for whom the help is sought is made responsible. Thus, Euridice looks back and cannot be brought back. The angels have lowered themselves to mate with women, have taught men evil-skills; therefore God will accept no intercession. Thus the stories of two shamen, Orpheus and Enoch, introduce two important, usually unnoticed points on a shamanic spectrum.

The Role of the Shaman in VAE In the preceding section, the problem was, "Does the shaman-psychopomp have power after failure?" The myths of Orpheus and Enoch would suggest that the figure may still have power and that this power is shown by his continuing abilities to receive and give revelation. If one seeks a similar emphasis in VAE, one notes that the revelations to Seth in VAE occur after his seeking has been refused. Thus the "power of Seth" material (which was discussed in part I) serves the function of certifying or authenticating Seth. The vision of "what happens to Adam" indeed makes Seth into the one (like the shaman) who has seen what happens to man after death and who is able to give heavenly direction for burial after death. Thus Seth becomes the model of the revealer, authenticating those who follow him, that they may see the heavenly reality of what they do.[14]

However, as noted above, unlike the central Asian shaman, Seth is not a psychopomp; Seth is given an authenticating revelation so that men on earth are able to do what angels do. The books which Seth is to hand on make him like Moses, Enoch and others. Seth is commanded by Eve and an angel to pass on his knowledge by means of tablets which are then found by Solomon. The authority of Seth validates the tablets.

The Failure of The Guided When one seeks a motif of "explanation for failure", the story of Orpheus likewise offers both a similar motif and a place to seek an answer to this question in VAE. Orpheus would have succeeded if Euridice had not looked back. If the shaman is to be vindicated, then one possibility is to show the failings of those for whom intercession or rescue is sought. Is this paralleled in the Jewish world? Do comparable Jewish legends (Enoch, VAE) lay stress on the failure of the guided or the one for whom intercession is sought? The answer, of course, is "Yes" -- and the case of Enoch puts in high relief features which occur in VAE.

In what might be called a testament of condemnation[15] in I Enoch, the heavens are held up as a foil to the evil deeds of the ones by whom the godless imprecate (5:6c). The book then continues by telling exactly what the angels have done wrong -- they lusted after women, revealed the eternal secrets which were in heaven (7-9, esp. 9:6-8). Their sons have slain each other (10:12) and they are to be destroyed, while Azazel is to be cast into outer darkness until the day of judgment. Enoch is commanded by God to go and speak to the angels -- declaring their fate to them (12-14). However, the angels request Enoch to draw up a petition that they might seek forgiveness (13:4). Enoch reads their petition until he falls asleep, sees visions of chastisement and is told to reprimand the watcher-angels -- because he sees a vision that their petition will not be granted (14:40). Then Enoch is taken to heaven and his vision of heaven and earth begins with a telling of the judgment of the punishment of angels. He later sees places of their punishment (to which may be contrasted the extended book of the luminaries -- each of whom acts in its courses according to the law throughout creation and cf. I En 2 where their orderly courses are described). Thus Enoch's vision of the world originated because of his seeking to help angels -- and is used as the prologue to further revelations.

If one thinks in terms of those who seek the shaman's help and the shaman who seeks to give help, the bad angels are those who ask Enoch to seek forgiveness. The situation in VAE is of Adam who asks Seth to seek something to relieve his pain (thus for forgiveness). As I Enoch tells of the sins of the angels, so it has long been noted that VAE begins with a long account of the post-paradise punishment and falling of Adam and Eve. As the angels ask Enoch, so Adam asks Seth to intercede with God. However, as with the angels so with Adam. As Enoch cannot get mercy for angels, so Seth cannot get relief for Adam; angels and Adam are not rescued by their intercessors, Enoch and Seth. However, this is explained as due punishment (and ultimately worse for the angels than for Adam). Their punishment is not due to the failure of the guide or intercessor but to the sins of the one for whom intercession is sought.

The Problem of Emphasis Because VAE stresses the sin and death of Adam and Eve, one may ask whether Adam and Eve are not really the central figures of the story. This may indeed have been the emphasis of the vorlage of a story which stressed revelation to Adam (cf. VAE 25-29). Further,

VAE and AM certainly enliven the portrayal of Adam rather as mystery plays would. However, both VAE and AM likewise show a lively conversation of Eve and Seth with the beast. The story of Adam's pain might also argue Adam the central figure. However when it is combined with heavenly revelation to Seth, the pain becomes a prologue. Further, one may explain the even greater emphasis on Eve's sin as a "rationalization" motif. For the author, the problem with Eve is that Eve also went on the trip to Paradise to intercede for Adam (rather like Alcestis); if Seth is a shaman, why not Eve. The author reemphasizes the sins of Eve to show that Eve is not a shaman figure. The author adds a story about a second temptation of Eve -- tempted into leaving the water which might have saved her and finally rescued in childbirth by the intercession of Adam. Thus the author shows that Eve is not to be put on the same level with Seth even though she went to Paradise with him. The picture of Eve as sinner, like the picture of Adam as sinner, reinforces the author's stress on the importance of Seth.

Thus the study of the problems raised by VAE's emphasis on the power-of-Seth and yet-the-failure-of-Seth has resulted in the delineation of a "shaman who fails" structure which explains the use of the various materials in VAE. The story shows that the author desired to meet the question of death. He has the story of Adam, the archtypal man who dies -- and wishes to show how the community may have confidence in their own death ritual. The ritual is shown to be the product of divine revelation given to Seth. Seth himself is shown to be powerful (at least as powerful as Adam) because he is the receiver of revelation about the death of Adam and the end-time. Adam's own sin explains why Seth failed in his intercession for Adam. (The myth thus uses the story of how evil entered the world to explain why Seth failed as intercessor.[16]) Eve is shown as an intercessor of no power (even though she went with Seth to intercede for Adam) because of her own sin. The Adam and Eve materials become the explanation of why the shaman fails -- and thus why Adam and Eve die and burial customs are initiated. The materials are not just elaboration put in for the story teller's pleasure.

In the beginning of this paper, the main foci of research were noted as Seth's ties to other divine figures, the problem of Seth's being bitten by a beast and how one could explain the structure of VAE. However, VAE shows Seth as a human taking trips to heaven, and Quinn admits the inadequacy of her fairy tale and myth structures for explaining VAE. Recognizing the similarities of the story of Seth to the shamanistic syndrome discussed by Eliade, the paper analysed the themes of this syndrome in relation to the story of Seth -- how the power of Seth was presented, how the stories of Seth's trips to Paradise were similar to shamanic trips and to other such trips in the ancient world. However, shamanic stories should be stories of success and yet, as in VAE, stories of such trips in the ancient world did not always end successfully. Further study showed that even the basic syndrome of shamanism needed an "explanation of failure" point on its continuum between healing and death. Study of the story of Seth in VAE (especially in comparison with that

of Enoch's relation with angels) led the author to see new points on what was the shamanic continuum, as well as enabling her to explain more fully what had been unexplained features of VAE and Enoch. Thus the shamanic syndrome must now be seen as having an important component of failure which a society must explain. VAE and I Enoch show how authors may use what is a fundamentally shamanistic syndrome as a structure upon which to build and support their own revelations about evil and righteousness. The failure of intercession did not prove the intercessor's lack of authority but rather the fundamental nature of the evil about which intercession was sought. The intercessor is given further revelation about the ultimate fate of men and angels in the endtime.[17] The revelation is further proof that the intercessor-shaman still has power -- and gives the author a chance to authenticate and expound the author's own theology. Thus, in VAE one may argue for a use of a complete shamanic continuum -- sin, request for help, shaman seeking to help, failure, death, revelation of burial customs and endtime fate (on another vision-trip) -- which are the justification of the shaman and express the author's theology.

[1] For the name of Seth as related to Middle Eastern deities, cf. Hommel, Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch. 15 244 (cited in JE 11, 207). This paper will emphasize the study of VAE with allusion to the Apocalypse of Moses (AM) where parallel passages differ considerably. The two works may be dependent on a previous source.

[2] In R. H. Charles APOT II, 143 on VAE 37:1.

[3] E. C. Quinn. The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life. (Chicago:1962) 128-29, 144.

[4] Quinn attributes the strength of her chapter to the help of Moses Hadas. However, because of her interest in general story parallels, she does not always cite parallel materials from the Hellenistic world such as Plutarch's Mor. 563, Lucian, TA, Vergil, although she does cite III Baruch and I and II Enoch. Cf. also related material in A. B. Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu," JSJ 6, (1975) 57-71.

[5] This occurs only in VAE where there seems to be more than a vision -- Seth is asked to move around to see what is in another place.

[6] Cf. the temptation of Jesus where the devil leaves for a time, but to return.

[7] M. Eliade, Shamanism (Princeton: 1972). Eliade rightly warns against the too easy lumping of figures into a shamanistic compartment. However, the motifs of "seeking healing from the other world, being taken out of oneself and seeing what goes on in the other world -- especially in terms of funeral customs and the return to tell others what to do about death in the world -- would indeed seem to put Seth in a category which minimumly shows how closely the Hebrew tra-

dition came to approximate what was the general shamanistic pattern in the ancient world -- although not Seth but angels take the body of Adam to paradise; Jewish tradition jealously limited the attribution of shamanistic power. The other question which Eliade's work both raises and answers is the point that these attributes were not only those of shamans but those which primal man had (and man no longer has). This, of course, would fit the situation of Seth -- the man without pain or sin. However, this point still does not invalidate the fact that the writer himself lives in a world which is no longer that of primal man and that, as Eliade has said, the one who analyzes writings may gain from a recognition of patterns found in such writings (Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions, Chicago:1976. 2-3).

[8] Eliade. Shamanism 55; W. R. Halliday Greek Divination (London:1913) 77. Note the syndrome that the shaman might not be healed as Paul in II Cor 12; cf. Enkidu in the Gilgamesh epic, which is basically the story of a prophet who fails because of the action of a human and then the failure of the human when he seeks immortal life (the subject of a forthcoming paper, "Shaman and Prophet"). Cf. also BT Hag 14b where R. Akiba is the only one not harmed when four persons go to Paradise.

[9] Cf. R. Lattimore, Story Patterns in Greek Tragedy (Ann Arbor:1969). One should also note the various possibilities shown in burial art, cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (London:1971) 38.

[10] Cf. J. S. Mbitu New Testament Eschatology in an African Background (Oxford:1971) 135, "Before a person becomes a medicine man, he begins to receive dream visions from the Aimu while he is still young. Later they appear to him and instruct him concerning the diagnosis and cure of diseases." Eliade, Shamanism. P. Bailey, Woroka: the Indian Messiah (Los Angeles: 1957).

[11] Even shamanic studies have not stressed this point, although seeing shamen as prophets and healers. On ties of magical healing and revelation or prophecy, cf. E. S. Drower "A Mandaean Phylactery" Iraq 5 (1938) 36 -- on changing the course of the heavens; Origen, Con. Cel., 2:17. Cf. B. Wilson, Magic and the Millenium (New York: 1973) 489, 495, who states that both are found together in millenial movements and W. R. Halliday, Greek Divination 44ff.

[12] VAE 46-48 is treated first (ahead of 37-43) for the purpose of the argument. However, 46-48 logically follows 37-43 since 37-43 contains the initiation bite and an attempt to heal, 46-48 the account of burial.

[13] The forecast of another's death is a common power of prophets, cf. A.B. Kolenkow, "The Use of Forecast of One's Own Death in the Hellenistic World and the New Testament," paper given Spring 1977 Western SBL and to appear in Haase, ANRW.

[14] M. Eliade Myth and Reality (New York: 1962) 20.

15 Cf. A. B. Kolenkow, paper, Harvard PAWS seminar 1971.

16 The point of "non-responsibility" is, of course, emphasized because for the Jewish world either Adam or angels are responsible for all the evil which comes into the world. (Cf. E. Brandenberger, Adam und Christus [Neukirchen: 1962] 36 and A. B. Kolenkow, An Introduction to II Baruch 53, 56-74 [Harvard thesis:1971] 124-27.) Thus VAE and I Enoch each explain the "failure of intercession" by attributing the failure to the fundamental guilt of those who introduced evils and death into the world. One may indeed ask if VAE and I Enoch were not each built on a common fundamental structure, for which the motif of "revelation after failure" formed the base for the extensive revelation journey of I Enoch.

17 At a minimum it is maintained that God still communicates with those who seek to intercede for the bringers of evils. Yet somehow intercession is not wrong. Enoch becomes like a combination of Jonah and Abraham -- going to the ungodly to declare their destruction, yet seeking to intercede for the doers and bringers of evil. In fact, it is said that angels should intercede for men, so that intercession for men is encouraged. (I En 15:2). VAE also shows Adam successfully interceding for Eve and Eve seeking to intercede for Adam. Thus VAE would seem to encourage intercession. However, in Enoch, as in VAE, deep penitence makes no difference if the crime is very grave.

Note: Anthropologists talk of the failure of a shaman, for example: a.) when the head of a family is trained to be its shaman but finds himself unable to heal -- he returns to his teacher shaman for help; b.) in stories of shamen who cannot perform their task because of the competition of a shaman with greater power (cf. the overcoming of curses in ancient magic); c.) shamen who are not able to do a deed and wonder if other shamen are really able to do it (cf. the excellent story in C. Levi-Strauss Structural Anthropology [Garden City:1967] 172). However, if one speaks of a shaman who fails in healing or intercession, as in the Seth story, one is working with a situation which suggests that the sin or evil is greater than even the powers of an archtypal shaman. One thus transfers experience into mythologyin terms of an "origin of evil" or a God who is beyond the shaman -- whom the shaman goes to see. Here one is at the crossroads of anthropology and History of Religion -- moving between shamen and myth. Any writer is, of course, influenced by many books read and forgotten. However, special mention should be made of A. Dieterich's Nekyia, read many years ago, and of visits to a seminar of W. Burkert on Orphica this winter.

S 23

MATERIALS RELATING TO SETH IN AN ANONYMOUS CHRONOGRAPHER ("PSEUDO-MALALAS") AND IN THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF GEORGE SYNCELLUS

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A wealth of information relating to the figure of Seth is to be found in the work of an anonymous chronographer and the Byzantine chronographer, George Syncellus (ca. early 9th century A.D.). These chronographies contain traditions not only about Seth, but about his descendants as well. It is of particular interest that both the anonymous chronographer (published by L. Dindorf with the chronography of John Malalas, and designated here as "Pseudo-Malalas") and Syncellus identify the offspring of Seth with the sons of God, whose illicit intercourse with the daughters of men (cf. Gen 6.1-2), identified in these sources as the descendants of Cain, results in the birth of the giants, the demoralization of mankind, and the destruction of the world in the flood.

In making this identification, these chronographers adduce several sorts of "proofs." According to "Pseudo-Malalas," Seth was known by the people of his time as "God" because of his wisdom and piety, among other things; hence, the sons of Seth are to be considered as "sons of God." In equating the Sethites with the sons of God, Syncellus extracts material from the Book of Enoch, Second Peter, Julius Africanus, Ephraem, and Zosimus, the alchemist. Syncellus' citation from Zosimus attests to the existence of traditions linking the fallen angels with the origins of alchemy. The witness of Africanus provides evidence that, as early as the 3rd century C.E., a tradition existed identifying the descendants of Seth with the sons of God.

These chronographies contain, in addition, a considerable body of incidental information. Syncellus, for example, is aware of the claims of Berossus and Manetho regarding the antiquity of the Babylonians and Egyptians. In the course of refuting them, Syncellus tells us much about

ancient historiography and topography, including beliefs about the location of Paradise, the ocean "which encircles the world," and the dwelling places of the Sethites and Cainites before the flood.

To make all of this material readily accessible, the relevant portions of Syncellus and "Pseudo-Malalas" have been excerpted from the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Vol. I (ed. W. Dindorf, 16-28, 34-35) and Vol. VIII (ed. L. Dindorf, 5-9) and reproduced along with an English translation and notes. The original manuscripts have not been examined, but the critical apparatus in W. Dindorf's and L. Dindorf's editions, respectively, are supplied along with the Greek text. The text and translation, as well as a brief introduction, bibliography and critical annotations, are available upon request. Inquiries may be directed to:

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Select Bibliography:

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Smith, W. and Wace, H.W., eds. 1967 — A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol.II. New York: AMS Press, s.v. "Georgius Syncellus."

S 24 SETH IN GNOSTIC TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

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The aim of the following presentation of Gnostic material on Seth is limited: it is to present a selection of the evidence for discussion in the context of Jewish traditions and speculations about Seth.[1] No attempt has been made to list every reference to Seth in the patristic or Nag Hammadi Gnostic sources, but a general and tentative classification of types of Seth material will, it is hoped, provide a basis for comparative study. It is generally agreed that the figures of Šitil in Mandaean literature and Sethel in Manichean sources are related to the biblical Seth and the Gnostic Seth,[2] but no survey of the Mandaean and Manichean materials is attempted here.

A rather perfunctory search of the secondary literature on Gnosticism has revealed surprisingly little scholarly investigation of the origins and development of the role of Seth in Gnostic traditions. The prominence of Seth in many of the Nag Hammadi texts, however, makes a systematic investigation of the subject imperative.[3] Far from constituting that investigation itself, however, the present paper is merely a prolegomenon to it. The headings under which the following data are presented are intended only to provide categories for discussion.

1. Seth as author. One of the most persistent roles attributed to Seth in Gnostic sources is that of author. Epiphanius mentions books attributed to Seth in connection with three groups. Some of the Γνωστικοί (*Pan.* 26.8.1) are said to issue books "in the name of Seth"; they also possess "Revelations of Adam" (cf. the Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Adam*, mentioned below).[4] Of the Sethians Epiphanius writes (*Pan.* 39. 5.1): "They write certain books under the names of great men; they say there are seven books named after Seth, and some other different books they call Allogeneis."[5] The latter books were also in use among the Archontics, according to Epiphanius (*Pan.* 40.2.2); these, in addition, "composed books written in the name of Seth, saying that these were given them by him, and others bearing the name of Seth and of his seven sons. For they say that he begot seven sons called Allogeneis, as we have described in the case of other sects, namely the Gnostics and Sethians" (40.7.4-5).

Two points merit tentative comments here. First, the association of the number seven with Seth, whether seven books or seven sons whose names are linked with books, is not attested elsewhere in the literature associated with Seth. Secondly, the linking of the name Allogenes with Sethian books suggests that the Nag Hammadi work by that name (CG XI, 3) should perhaps be considered in any survey of Sethian literature. Although it does not mention Seth, the *Allogenes* has a number of features in common with other alleged Sethian documents.

Hippolytus, in discussing the Sethians (*Ref.* V.22.1), relates that their whole system, "all their secrets," may be found in a book entitled "The Paraphrase of Seth." This work has often been compared with the Nag Hammadi *Paraphrase of Shem* (CG VII, *1*), with which it has only a limited area of agreement.[6]

Among the Nag Hammadi writings two books are attributed to Seth in their titles. *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (CG VII, *2*) has nothing to do with Seth apart from the title, and it is difficult to see in it any distinctive "Sethian" ideas. *The Three Steles of Seth* (CG VII, *5*), however, purports to be the writing down by a certain Dositheos of the contents of three prayer steles written by Seth: this is possibly the meaning of 127,29: "It is the son (i.e. Seth) who wrote it," although the line occurs in a colophon and could refer either to Dositheos or to a scribe.[7]

The Gospel of the Egyptians (CG III, *2* and IV, *2*), to which we shall refer at greater length below, has two conclusions, each of which mentions Seth's authorship. The first reads in part: "This is the book which the great Seth wrote, and placed in high mountains on which the sun has not risen..." (III, 68, 1-4).[8] The second conclusion is more elaborate but similar in its beginning: "The great Seth wrote this book with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is called Charaxio, in order that, at the end of the times and the eras..., it may come forth and reveal this incorruptible, holy race of the great savior..." (III,68,10-21). The hidden character of the book is introduced obviously to support the fiction of pseudepigraphy.

The Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, *5*) has a number of important parallels to *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, including a somewhat similar ending which does not, however, mention authorship by Seth, although this is implied by the very nature of the book. The ending mentions that the "words" were not written in a book but were preserved by angels "on a high mountain, upon a rock of truth" (V,85,3-11).[9] This document, whose title is not especially apt, is a "revelation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year" (V,64,2-4). In effect it is therefore an apocalypse revealed by Seth. The role of Seth as recipient of secret revelations or knowledge is again emphasized at the conclusion of the work, which is also a double conclusion: "These are the revelations which Adam made known to Seth his son. And his son taught his seed about them. This is the hidden knowledge of Adam which he gave to Seth..." (V,85,19-24).

Whether or not one regards *The Apocalypse of Adam* as an early, probably non-Christian Gnostic work, as a number of scholars have argued,[10] there may be in its portrayal of Seth as the receiver of secret revelations a clue to the origin of the tradition about Seth as author of esoteric books. In Jewish (often also Christian) sources this role of Seth is known not only in such pseudepigraphic books as the *Life of Adam and Eve* and the extensive tradition of Adam apocrypha, but also in the account of Josephus (*Ant.* I.68-71), who portrays Adam as revealing secret knowledge to Seth, who then inscribes it on stone and brick so that it will survive the coming flood and conflagration. Though the origin of this tradition in Judaism may be obscure, it is undoubtedly the same tradition

which the Gnostics exploit in making Seth the author of numerous treatises.[11]

2. The birth of Seth. A certain number of Gnostic sources relate the birth of Seth in the form of midrash or commentary on Gen 4:25 or 5:3. These sources are dealt with here as a separate category merely to distinguish them from accounts of the heavenly figure of Seth, which may be in their own right based on the Genesis texts projected from the level of the creation of the world and humanity to a pre-cosmic, celestial process of divine emanation. A few examples of the accounts of the birth of Seth will illustrate the category and suggest some specific differences within it.

First, the sect described by Irenaeus in *Adv. haer.* I.30 as simply "others," whom Theodoret (*Haer. fab.* I.14) identifies as "Sethians whom some call Ophians or Ophites," have the following version of the birth of Seth: "After them [Cain and Abel] by the providence of Prunicos they say that Seth was conceived, and then Norea;[12] from them they say the rest of the human multitude is descended. They were plunged by the lower hebdomad into every kind of evil and rebellion against the higher, holy hebdomad..." (*Adv. haer.* I.30.9). What is distinctive about this account is that, unlike most other Gnostic accounts, it presents Seth as the parent of the whole human race rather than simply of the Gnostic race as opposed to the rest of humanity. On this ground, among others, it is doubtful that Theodoret's identification of the "others" with Sethians is appropriate, since at least minimally the concept of a distinct "race of Seth" seems to be essential for such a designation.[13] In general the account in *Adv. haer.* I.30 is less free than other Gnostic sources in its interpretation of the Bible, and it thereby gives rise to the suggestion that it is at least typologically prior to other forms of the Gnostic myth.

The Hypostasis of the Archons (CG II,4) refers briefly to the birth of Seth, mentioning the name only in a situation where the modern scholar chooses to fill a lacuna with it. I am following the quite plausible reconstruction of Bentley Layton,[14] in agreement with Martin Krause:[15] Eve "bore [Seth] to Adam. And she said, 'I have borne [another] man through God, in place [of Abel].'"[16] The passage remains quite close to Gen 4:25. In *On the Origin of the World* (CG II,5), which contains many parallels to *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, there is a probable allusion to the birth of Seth in the statement of Eve, "the first virgin," after giving birth, "I have given birth to a lordly man" (II,114,14-15). It is less clear, however, because of the complex system of reality in this work, whether the human Seth is meant.

In the shorter recension of *The Apocryphon of John* (BG 8502,2) there is only a brief mention of the begetting of the human Seth (63,12-14), but in the longer recension (CG II, 1) the passage is more elaborate: "And when Adam knew the image of his prognosis, he begot the image of the son of man. He called him Seth after the manner of the generation among the aeons" (24,34--25,2). This passage explicitly associates the human Seth with the heavenly Seth mentioned in an earlier phase of the myth (9,11-17 = BG 8502,35,20--36,7). The "son of man" is of course the celestial son of the heavenly Adam, but it may also be an interpretation of Gen 5:3, and if this is the

case one may wonder if references to the son of man or the son of the son of man in other Gnostic contexts are not allusions to the heavenly Seth. Naming the biblical Seth after his heavenly counterpart is also attested in *The Apocalypse of Adam* (V,65,5-9), where, in a passage that is textually uncertain, Adam declares to Seth: "That is why I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great race or from whom (it comes)."

In his account of the Sethians Epiphanius relates their claim to descent from Seth and explains that the mother caused the birth of Seth and implanted in him (and consequently in his descendants) the seed or spark of the power on high (*Pan.* 39.2.4). The emphasis of the entire account is on the special character of Seth's descendants as possessors of the divine gnosis. In the following chapter Epiphanius describes the Archontics, whose similarity to the Sethians he acknowledges. Here the emphasis is not on the race of Seth but on the figure himself. He is born of Adam, in contrast to Cain and Abel, who are sired by the devil--in other Gnostic sources, by the archons. The "power from on high" is said to have descended, caught up and preserved Seth, and returned him to this world as an invisible, spiritual being, immune from the power of the demiurge, and the source of knowledge about the true God (*Pan.* 40.7.1-3). The continuing spiritual presence of Seth in the world is the counterpart of the identification of Seth with Christ in *Pan.* 39 and other sources. But before turning to the Seth-Christ figure, we must examine the figure of the heavenly Seth.

3. The great Seth. Just as Adam and Eve in some forms of the Gnostic myth are projected into the pre-cosmic, heavenly realm of God and the aeons, so there is also a heavenly Seth, who is often referred to as "the great Seth." The function of this figure is to establish continuity between the earthly descendants of Seth and the world of the divine. This role is nowhere so explicit as in *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, but the great Seth is often mentioned in other sources as well. He is the son of Adam (e.g., *The Apocryphon of John*, BG 8502,35,20-21) or of Adamas (e.g., *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, CG III, 51,20-22 and elsewhere) or of Pigeradama (*The Three Steles of Seth*, CG VII, 118,26-30)--all reductively the same figure, although there is notable variety in the details of each description of the orders of divine emanations. In extremely fragmentary passages of *Zostrianos* (CG VIII,1), we find the combined name Adamas Seth (e.g., 30,10; 53,14), which probably reflects a tendency to identify celestial figures with one another. Such a process is undoubtedly to be seen in *The Gospel of the Egyptians* where we find the combination of *nomina barbara* "Telmael Telmachael Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth" (IV,59,19-21 and often thereafter). Here Seth, otherwise a clearly distinct figure in the aeonic pantheon, is linked with an even higher power, the "thrice-male child," to whom Seth himself otherwise prays.[17]

In some of the sources where a certain level of the heavenly world is divided into four "aeons" associated with the four great "lights," Seth's place is in the second light Oroiael and that of his seed or race in the third Davithe (e.g. *The Apocryphon of John*, BG 8502,35,20--36,7; *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, CG III,65,16-20; contrast III,56,20-22, where

both Seth and his seed are "in the fourth aeon, in the third great light Davithe").

It is perhaps appropriate to mention in connection with the great Seth the god Setheus who is mentioned passim in the untitled tractate of the Bruce Codex. If the editor, Charlotte A. Baynes, is correct in her interpretation of this extremely obscure work, Setheus is not identical with the supreme God but functions as God in his role as creator.[18] He is the λόγος δημιουργός and the νοῦς δημιουργός (26,18-25) or the source of the λόγος δημιουργός (38,36). He is thus the one whom the creation serves and acknowledges as God and Lord and Savior, but in this work he is not an evil demiurge in opposition to the Father but rather an agent of the Father. If, as is probable, the name Setheus is derived from Seth, this role of the heavenly Seth is a unique one in the literature. The name Setheus also occurs in *Zostrianos* (CG VIII,126,15-16), where it apparently belongs to one of the great lights and shares nothing of the function of demiurge.

4. The incarnate Seth. Epiphanius relates of the Sethians that they believed the true nature of Christ lay in his identity with Seth: "But from Seth, from his seed and descending from his race there came the Christ himself, Jesus, not by (human) birth but miraculously appearing in the world; and he is Seth himself, who both then and now visits the human race, being sent from the Mother on high" (*Pan.* 39.3.5). In the Gnostic writings themselves the notion of Christ as the incarnate Seth is most clearly spelled out in *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (CG III, 62,24--64,9). The great Seth is sent into the cosmos by the heavenly world to save the race of his descendants through the reconciliation of the cosmos and through true baptism. After passing through three parousias, the flood, the conflagration, and the judgment of the powers, Seth appears as Christ. In the docetic imagery of the document he "puts on Jesus."

Those scholars who regard *The Apocalypse of Adam* as a veiled statement of Christian Gnosticism may also see the Christ-Seth identification in the figure of the Illuminator of gnosis who comes into the world "for the third time" (CG V, 76,8-11). Though I would prefer not to see a reference to Christ in the passage, it is quite probable that the figure in question is meant to be a (docetic) incarnation of Seth. It is natural to assume that Christian "Sethian" Gnostics who traced their descendance from Seth, who was merely an earthly counterpart of a heavenly Seth, would interpret Christ the Savior as Seth incarnate. But it is also possible that the link with Christ is a secondary development in the history of the tradition. In that case the idea of a saving intervention of Seth in history would be quite consistent with the legends and speculation about Seth already current.

5. The seed of Seth. The common denominator of almost all Gnostic works in which Seth has a prominent role is the notion that the Gnostics themselves are the race or posterity, "the seed," of Seth. This is undoubtedly the fixed point of what may be called Sethian Gnosticism. It is not useful here to list all occurrences of the expression, but the range and contexts of some of them deserve notice.

According to *The Three Steles of Seth* (CG VII, 118,12-13) the heavenly Seth is "the father of the living and immovable race" (ἡ γενεὰ ζῶσα καὶ ἀσάλευτος). A fragmentary passage in *Zostrianos* (CG VIII, 53,15-16) apparently makes a similar assertion. The designation ἀσάλευτος, Coptic *atkim*, is a frequent self-description of Gnostic groups, and it is not at all clear that it originated with those Gnostics who may properly be called Sethian.

More typical of the Sethian Gnostics, though not essentially different, is the claim to Sethian descent accompanied by some account of the "salvation history" of the race of Seth. Such is the account of Sethian beliefs in Epiphanius (*Pan.* 39), which develops from the origin of the race of Seth, through the flood story, to the coming of Christ and salvation. The story is distinctive in that the events of the history are initiated by the Mother; for example, the flood is the Mother's (thwarted) attempt to eliminate the enemies of the Sethian race. In the Nag Hammadi versions of the story the flood is interpreted in the opposite way: it is the unsuccessful attempt of opposing powers to eliminate the race of Seth. If one assumes that Epiphanius has understood his sources correctly, there must have been considerable freedom in the interpretation of the details of a salvation history narrative which nevertheless had certain fixed points including the origin, the flood, a cosmic conflagration, and the defeat of the hostile powers which is at the same time the victory of the race of Seth. Epiphanius' account of the Archontics (*Pan.* 40), which has significant points in common with that of the Sethians, does not refer to the Sethian race nor to its history.

The revelation which Adam gives to his son Seth in *The Apocalypse of Adam* is essentially the story of the history of the seed of Seth from its origin, through flood and fire, to its final vindication before the confession and bewilderment of the hostile cosmos and its powers. A similar story underlies *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, but here little attention is paid to the events of history, such as flood and fire, and much more to the implanting of the heavenly seed of Seth in the human world. One might interpret this document as being much more concerned with establishing the continuity of the Sethian Gnostics with their celestial origin, which is also their ultimate destiny. *The Apocryphon of John*, in a passage already mentioned (BG 8502, 35,20--36,7), also places its only reference to the Sethian race in the context of its heavenly origin.

It has not been the intention of this section to develop a picture of Sethian Gnosticism as such, nor to provide details on the story of the race of Seth, but merely to complete the survey of evidence about the role of Seth with a sketch of his role as parent of the Gnostic race itself.

NOTES

1. At the time of writing I have not had access to A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

2. Cf. e.g. A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Sonderband, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 1963) 86-87.

3. See the (perhaps premature) suggestions of J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (New York: Viking, 1960) and the critique of F. Wisse, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library," *Society of Biblical Literature 1972 Proceedings* (L. C. McGaughy, ed.; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972) 601-07.

4. Cf. J. Dummer, "Die Angaben über die gnostische Literatur bei Epiphanius, Pan. Haer. 26," *Koptologische Studien in der DDR* (Sonderheft, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 1965) 191-219. For an older survey of Gnostic pseudepigrapha see R. Liechtenhan, "Die pseudepigraphe Litteratur der Gnostiker," *ZNW* 3 (1902) 226-27.

5. Translations of patristic sources are taken from W. Foerster, ed., *Gnosis. A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, vol. I: *Patristic Evidence* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

6. See e.g. Wisse, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library."

7. On *The Three Steles of Seth* see the informative article of M. Tardieu, "Les Trois Stèles de Seth. Un écrit gnostique retrouvé à Nag Hammadi," *RSPT* 57 (1973) 545-75.

8. Translation from A. Böhlig and F. Wisse, *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2. The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1975). The more fragmentary version of this work in Codex IV will not be referenced here unless it is the only surviving witness to a specific passage.

9. Translations my own. For the text of this and other Nag Hammadi documents cited, see *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Leiden: Brill, 1972--) and the various editions of individual works or codices.

10. See e.g. G. MacRae, " The Apocalypse of Adam Reconsidered," *Society of Biblical Literature 1972 Proceedings* (L. C. McGaughy, ed.; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972) 573-79.

11. Tardieu, "Les Trois Stèles de Seth," 554, also relates the "three steles" of CG VII,5 to the Josephus passage.

12. Norea (sometimes Orea) appears in various "Sethian" Gnostic contexts as the sister and wife of Seth or as the wife of Noah. The present survey will not discuss the figure of Norea; the reader is referred to the forthcoming paper of Birger A. Pearson on the role of Norea and the origin of the name and the figure.

13. Cf. Wisse, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library," 606-07.

14. "The Hypostasis of the Archons, or *The Reality of the Rulers*," *HTR* 67 (1974) 351-425. CG II,91,31-33.

15. "Zur Hypostase der Archonten in Codex II von Nag Hammadi," *Enchoria* 2 (1972) 1-20.

16. Others, such as Peter Nagel, *Das Wesen der Archonten* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 1970/6[K 3]; Halle, 1970), reconstruct "she bore [a son]." The lacuna demands a shorter word; hence "Seth" is preferable though the grammatical construction seems slightly awkward.

17. Cf. Böhlig and Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, 43-46.

18. *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise Contained in the Codex Brucianus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1933), 19-21.

S 25 EGYPTIAN SETH AND GNOSTIC SETH

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine the evidence for the suggestion frequently made that the figure of Seth in Gnostic literature and religion is identifiable with, assimilated to, or otherwise related to, the Egyptian God by the same name. Thus, for example, G. Kretschmar asserts that "Seth, der dritte, pneumatische Adamsohn, nach dem die Sethianer sich nennen, scheint im Nilland bisweilen mit dem gleichnamigen ägyptischen Gott verschmolzen zu sein."[1] Kretschmar's assertion, made from the vantage point of the scholarly study of Gnosticism, is matched by a similar statement from a historian of religions, S. G. F. Brandon: "It is likely that (the Egyptian god) Seth was connected in Gnosticism with Seth, son of Adam, after whom a Gnostic sect was named."[2] So far as I am aware, however, this assertion has not been critically examined on the basis of the Gnostic evidence. Such an examination is attempted here, utilizing the most important evidence from patristic literature, Coptic Gnostic sources, and readily-available Mandaean and Manichaean literature. In the course of this investigation I shall also, for comparative purposes, take a look at magical materials. At the outset a brief sketch of the lineaments of the mythology of Egyptian Seth is appropriate.

2. The Egyptian God Seth[3]

Seth (Eg. *stẖ, sṯḫ, swṯḫ, swty, st,* etymology uncertain), usually named "Typhon" in Greek sources, is known primarily as the murderer of his brother, Osiris. But Seth is a much more complicated figure in the history of Egyptian religion. His original home may have been Ombos in Upper Egypt (Eg. Nubti), for he is called "Seth dwelling in Nubet (Nubti), Lord of Upper Egypt" in the Pyramid Texts.[4] Seth was worshipped in the form of a wild animal (the "Seth-animal," Eg. ) which has been variously identified as an ass, oryx, antelope, greyhound, fennac, jerboa, camel, ekapi, long-snout mouse, aardvark, giraffe, boar, or mythological griffin.[5] In later times the ass predominates as the animal most associated with Seth.

The most important myths involving Seth center around two mythic-ritual events, the conflict with Horus (often identified with the solar god Re)[6] and the attack on Osiris.[7] He also comes to be identified with the monstrous snake-god Apophis, enemy of the sun-god Re.[8] Seth is thus presented in mythology as a fomenter of strife and disorder, violence and death. On the other hand, Seth could also be regarded as a helper of the dead,[9] and as "Lord of Upper Egypt" could be

identified (together with his "reconciled" brother Horus, "Lord of Lower Egypt") with the reigning Pharaoh.[10] Thus a number of Egyptian kings had Seth names.[11]

Seth was also identified as the lord of the arid desert, and lord of foreign lands; during the rule of the Hyksos the god of the Hyksos was identified with Seth.[12] Later, Seth came to be identified with a number of foreign deities, such as Ash, god of the Libyans, the Semitic Baal, and Hittite Teshub.[13]

After the Persian conquest in 525 B.C. the Egyptians tended to regard Seth (lord of foreigners) with unmitigated hatred, [14] and he gradually assumes an unqualifiedly evil, even "Satanic," complexion. Plutarch's treatment of Seth-Typhon exemplifies this trend, though he probably includes in his interpretation of the god some non-Egyptan elements: Typhon,[15] whose animal aspect is that of an ass (*De Iside* 30, 31, 50), has a violent and untimely birth (*De Iside* 12). He conspires against, murders, and dismembers his brother Osiris (*De Iside* 13-18); and he contends against Horus, son of Osiris (*De Iside* 19). Through envy and spite he wreaks terrible deeds and produces confusion everywhere (*De Iside* 27; cf. 55 *et passim*). In nature he represents aridity, scorching heat, and drought (*De Iside* 31, 39). The Egyptians call Typhon "Seth" (Σήθ) because of his "oppressive and compulsive" nature (*De Iside* 41, 49, 62). Indeed, his true nature is that of an "evil daemon" (*De Iside* 73).

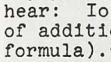
The demonic aspects of Seth-Typhon are particularly prominent in curse tablets and in magical literature. To this material we now turn.

3. Seth-Typhon in Magic

a. The Magical Papyri.[16] The treatment of Seth-Typhon in the famous papyrus of Leiden and London[17] is typical of the way the god is regarded in the magical materials in general. Cols. vi-viii contain a lamp-divination formula, in which Seth-Typhon is obliquely referred to as "the enemy of Horus" (*ḫft Ḥr*).[18] In a spell to counteract a dog's bite, the magician addresses the dog: "Thou art as the face of Set against Osiris, thou art as the face of Apop against the Sun . . . ."[19] Col. xxiii contains a spell that is especially interesting for our purposes, a spell to inflict catalepsy and even death on someone. The magician is instructed to place an ass's head between his feet, anoint his right foot with *set*-stone and his left foot with clay, and anoint his hands with ass's blood. After additional instructions the invocation follows:[20]

"'I invoke thee who art in the void air, terrible, invisible, almighty, god of gods, dealing destruction and making desolate, O thou that hatest a household well established. When thou wast cast out of Egypt and out of the country thou wast entitled, "He that destroyeth all and is unconquered." I invoke thee, Typhon Set (τυφῶν σήθ), I perform thy ceremonies of divination, for I invoke thee by

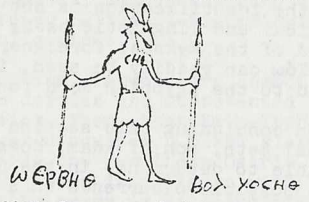
thy powerful name in (words?) which thou canst not refuse to hear: Io erbeth, Iopakerbeth, . . .'" (There follows a string of additional magical words, and the conclusion of the formula).[21]

The character of Seth-Typhon is reflected here in unmistakeable terms: a destroying, evil-working demon, associated particularly with his special animal, the ass. In this connection the magical name that begins the series of magical words, many beginning with the syllable *Io-*, is especially of interest: *Io Erbeth* (ιω ερβηθ). This name contains the very essence of the god Seth, for Io means "ass" in Egyptian (ϵιω, 

),[22] and *erbeth* is most likely to be construed as (cf. Coptic ϸ + ϐοτϵ), "evil-doer."[23]

This complex of ideas is presented graphically in a magical papyrus-scroll now in Leiden, *PGM* XII. In col. xiv the god Seth-Typhon is portrayed by means of a rough drawing of an ass-headed figure, girded, with knee-length kilt, and a scepter or spear in each hand. On his breast is written the name Σηθ; under the scepter in his right hand is the magical name ⟨Ι⟩ω Ερβηθ, and under the scepter in his left hand is the magical name Βολχοσηθ.[24]

figure 1:



In the MS. this figure is immediately preceded by several lines of magical words or names, starting with Θησοχβολ,[25] including Ἰω Ἐρβηθ (twice), Ἰω Παχερβηθ, and concluding with Ἰωβολχοσηθ (*PGM* XII 445-451).

The same papyrus contains a number of spells in which Seth-Typhon is invoked. In a spell intended to produce a dream-oracle he is invoked as "the great god Seth (Σηίθ)" (*PGM* XII 137-138). In a spell intended to create enmity and discord, Seth-Typhon is invoked with magical names including Ἰω Ἐρβηθ and Ἰω Βολχοσηθ (XII 370), and addressed as "powerful Typhon" (374). The intended result is petitioned with the formula, ... ἔχθραν ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ὄσιρις (εἰ δὲ ἀνήρ ἐστιν καὶ γυνή· ὡς εἶχον Τυφῶν καὶ Ἶσις) (373-374), thus likening the enmity to be conjured up to that between Seth-Typhon and his brother Osiris, or Seth-Typhon and his sister Isis.

The enmity between Seth-Typhon and Osiris-Helios is commonplace in the magical papyri. This enmity is reflected in a formula, ὡς ὁ Τυφῶν ἀντίδικός ἐστιν τοῦ Ἡλίου,[26] used even in love-charms.[27] Typhon is invoked as the god "who slaughtered his own brother" (ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν σφάξας).[28] His power to deny sleep to Osiris is invoked (ὡς ὁ Τυφῶν τὸν Ὄσιριν οὐκ εἴασεν ὕπνου τυχεῖν, PGM XXXVIII 7) even to fetch a wife for a man. In all these instances Seth-Typhon is invoked as a powerful ally of the magician; only rarely in the magical

papyri does he represent a power to be feared and warded off.[29]

The Great Magical Papyrus of Paris (*PGM* IV) contains a number of important texts for our purposes. In a lengthy all-purpose magic text presented as an epistle of one Nephotes to King Psammeticus (IV 154-285), Typhon is invoked as "mighty Typhon, scepter-holder and master of the sovereignty above, god of gods, Lord . . ., 179-181).[30] Typhon is thus hailed as the supreme Deity, sovereign of the gods. Typical Typhonic magical names are interspersed throughout the prayer (e.g. Ἰωερβήτ,185), but what is especially noteworthy is that Ἰάω also appears (e.g. 204,208). It is clear that Seth-Typhon is here identified with the God of the Jews, Iahu (Iaho)[31] usually Ἰάω in Greek, a name that is virtually ubiquitous in the magical papyri. This identification is quite explicit in some other magical texts, not only in the Paris Papyrus (e.g. IV 1331-1389, Typhon = Iao, Sabaoth, etc.; IV 3255-3274, Typhon = Sabaoth, Iabaoth, etc.) but in other MSS. as well.[32] Though one cannot conclude from this that "Iao" in the magic papyri *always* = Seth-Typhon,[33] such an identification can probably be inferred in some cases even where the identification is not explicit. There is both historical and linguistic basis for this; Egyptian Seth is the god of the Hyksos, foreigners, Semitic peoples,[34] and the name Ἰάω can readily be seen, in a false etymology, to be related to the Egyptian word for "ass," the Typhonic animal.[35]

In concluding this section it should be observed that the biblical Seth, son of Adam, does not occur (so far as I have been able to determine) in the Greek magical papyri.[36] There is one possible occurrence in a Coptic curse-manuscript now in Berlin,[37] where the only-begotten Son of God is called "Seth, Seth, the living Christ" (col. i, 9), but later, in a series of magic names, "Iao Iao Seth Seth" (ii,i) may reflect the identification, Iao = Seth-Typhon, discussed above.

b. Curse Tablets.[38] In 1898 Richard Wünsch published a collection of 48 lead curse-tablets in Latin and Greek belonging to the Museo preistorico e Kircheriano in Rome, plus one in Greek belonging to the Magazzino archeologico in Rome. These tablets contain curses directed against chariot-driving opponents in the Roman circus, and Wünsch dated them to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A.D.[39] In a lengthy and learned discussion (pp. 70-118) of the religious content of these tablets--unfortunately filled with one *non sequitur* after another--Wünsch concluded that these curse-tablets stem from a lower form of "Sethian" Gnosticism. This conclusion was inspired especially by the occurrence in the tablets of representations of an animal-headed figure he took as Seth-Typhon. In his interpretation he also took recourse to a number of the magical papyri which we have already discussed.

Yet a critical examination of the tablets themselves--apart from Wünsch's discussion of them--hardly suggests a "Gnostic" or "Sethian" provenience. Moreover the god most often invoked in the tablets is Osiris-Apis (=Sarapis) rather than Seth, and it is not at all certain that the rough

drawings of the animal-headed figure on some of the tablets represent Seth-Typhon (nos. 1, 6, 10, 12, 16, 20, 29, 42). More likely, Wünsch's ass's head is really a horse's head![40] Unfortunately only one of Wünsch's 49 tablets even contains the name Seth (no. 25, lines 1 τυφῶν Σήθ , 8, 15?, 19), all occurring without any preserved context due to the damaged condition of the tablet!

Audollent published a wooden curse tablet inscribed in Greek from Cumae,[41] which calls down curses upon a certain Valeria Quadratilla and Vetruvius Felix. Both the names Ἰαω Ἰαβεζεβυθ (line 8, = Ἰαω Σαβαωθ?) and Τυφῶν(l.28) occur. It is possible, though not certain, that these names are regarded as referring to the same deity, as in the case of some of the magical papyri discussed above.

c. Amulets. Among the most interesting relics of the religious syncretism of late antiquity are the gems and amulets that have been preserved in large numbers. These artifacts used to be called "Gnostic," for no good reason other than the frequent occurrence of such magical names as "Iao," "Abrasax," etc.[42] Campbell Bonner has done the most to put these items in their proper religious-historical context with his important publications.[43]

As might be expected, Egyptian elements are common in the amulets, and many Egyptian deities are represented on them.[44] It is somewhat suprising, then, that Seth-Typhon appears so infrequently. Bonner discusses a black glass paste representing on the obverse the mummiform Osiris lying on a bier, at the foot of which is a figure with animal head and hooves. Over the mummy is an inscription, Χαῖρε Ὄσιρι("farewell, Osiris"). Of the animal-headed figure, Bonner says, "It may be the ass-headed Set or, less probably, the cow-headed Hathor; but the head is injured by the collapse of a bubble in the paste, and the interpretation is not certain."[45] But for the hooves, I should rather expect the god Anubis represented in such a scene, the jackal-headed deity who presides over the mummification and funeral of Osiris in countless Egyptian iconographic representations.

A pendant, showing on the obverse an ass-headed god leaning forward towards a lion, is taken by Bonner as representing the god Seth in a surprising act of obeisance to the sun, represented symbolically as a lion. He remarks, "One might think of the Sethian Gnostics as possible authors of such a combination, but it is probably merely a product of crude syncretism in which Christian and pagan elements were blended, with no informing doctrinal principle."[46] But neither on the obverse nor on the reverse of this pendant is there anything that can be characterized either as "Christian" or "Gnostic."

In his supplementary article Bonner has published a very interesting hematite gem, showing on the obverse a snake with a large head having seven solar rays. At the bottom is a crudely-rendered uterine symbol. Ἰαω is inscribed on the left, some indistinct letters on the right. On the reverse is

an ass-headed god in a kilt with a sword or staff in his right hand and an ankh in his left. Bonner remarks, "The ass-headed Set is occasionally represented on uterine amulets," and gives further references.[47] If the figures on both sides represent the same deity, we have here an example of the equation of Iao with Seth-Typhon. Goodenough has published a similar hematite gem showing on the obverse a Seth deity represented as two confronting figures with a staff between them, and a uterine image below. Σαβαω⟨θ⟩ is inscribed at the upper edge, and on the reverse side, in an ansate tablet, is the inscription, Ἰαω Σαβαω⟨θ⟩.[48] Here again is an indication that Seth-Typhon and Iao Sabaoth are one and the same.

Bonner mentions other magical amulets showing a figure with the head of an ass, with legs ending in coiled serpents, and takes note of the common assumption that this figure is Seth, and the gems are of Sethian-Gnostic origin.[49] He himself tentatively suggests a Gnostic ("Ophite" or "Sethian") provenience for such amulets.[50] To be sure, at least one famous amulet can be identified with virtual certainty as "Gnostic," but in this case we probably have to do with an "Ophite" provenience.[51] In any case, the gem does not have a representation or an inscription relating it to Seth. Whether or not it is proper to regard any of the magical gems or amulets as "Sethian-Gnostic" can only be determined by comparing the evidence from Gnostic literature.

3. Seth in Gnostic Sources.[52]

a. Patristic sources. In Irenaeus' description of the doctrines of a group of Gnostics sometimes called "Sethian-Ophites" (*Haer.* I.30),[53] he presents their version of the earliest history of man, obviously based on the opening chapters of Genesis. After the slaying of Abel by Cain, "by the providence of Prunicus (=Sophia) Seth was begotten, and then Norea,"[54] and these two are the progenitors of the rest of mankind (*Haer.* I.30.9). Nothing further is said of Seth in this supposedly "Sethian" account. The Valentinians, however, according to Irenaeus, have a more sophisticated understanding of the character of Seth and his descendants: "There are three classes of men: spiritual, material, psychic, corresponding to Cain, Abel, and Seth, who reflect these natures not as individuals but generically."[55] Seth is, therefore, the symbolic progenitor and representative of spiritual (esp. Gnostic) mankind, a notion that can easily be read out of such biblical passages as Gen 4:25 and 5:3.

In Ps.-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies,* a Latin work possibly based on Hippolytus' lost *Syntagma,* a Gnostic sect called "Sethians" is briefly described (ch. 8): "Two men were created by the angels, Cain and Abel. On this account that power which is above all powers, which they call Mother,[56] when they said Abel was killed, desired this Seth to be conceived and born in Abel's place, so that those angels who had created the two men might become ineffectual. . . ."[57] The chapter concludes with the report that these Sethians identify Christ with Seth.[58]

Hippolytus' description of the Sethians (*Ref.* V.19-22)

differs remarkably from those of Irenaeus and Ps.-Tertullian. Their system is based on three principles, Light, Darkness, and intermediate Spirit. Seth is mentioned only once, where the three principles (λόγοι) are related symbolically to various biblical triads: Adam, Eve, the serpent; Cain, Abel, Seth; Shem, Ham, Japheth; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (*Ref.* V.20). It is also reported that their system is propounded in a book entitled *Paraphrase of Seth* (V.22).[59]

Epiphanius has a very full account of the Sethian Gnostics (*Haer.* 39), based mainly on literary sources (39.1.2). He is happy to report that their heresy has been by his time almost entirely uprooted (39.1.1), though he recalls having visited some of them in Egypt (39.1.2). The Sethians trace their race (γένος) from Seth, son of Adam, and identify him with Christ (39.1.3). Seth, born at the instigation of the Mother (=Sophia) after Abel's death, received the heavenly spark of divine power (39.2.4,7). The Mother destroyed Cain's wicked race in the Flood, and preserved the righteous race of Seth (39.3.1), though the wicked angels installed Ham into the ark in order that wickedness might be preserved (39.3.2-3). Jesus Christ, appearing in the world miraculously, is none other than Seth (39.3.5). The Sethians have seven books in the name of Seth, as well as other books (39.5.1). They honor a certain Horaia as the wife of Seth, a spiritual power in her own right (39.5.2-3).[60]

Epiphanius also reports on a Gnostic sect called "Archontics" flourishing in his day (*Haer.* 40.1.1); they, too, include Seth in their system. Unlike Cain and Abel, who were born of a liaison between Eve and the devil (40.5.3),[61] Seth was the real son of Adam (40.7.1). This Seth, also called "Allogenes,"[62] was endowed from on high with spiritual power (40.7.2). He therefore "no longer worshipped the Maker and Demiurge, but recognized the unnamable Power and the good God above," and "revealed many things against the Maker of the world and the archons and authorities" (40.7.3).[63] The Archontics have written some books in Seth's name and in the name of his seven sons (40.7.4), for they say that Seth begat seven sons called "Allogeneis" (40.7.5).

Seth is also mentioned in Epiphanius' description of the "Borborite" and other libertine Gnostics (*Haer.* 26). These Gnostics have "many books in the name of Seth" (26.8.1). In their system they associate certain great archons with the seven heavens: Iao in the first heaven, Saklas, "the archon of fornication," in the second, Seth in the third, David in the fourth, Eloaeus and Adonaeus in the fifth, Yaldabaoth or Elilaeus in the sixth, and Sabaoth or Yaldabaoth in the seventh (26.10.1-3). Barbelo and Christ are in the eighth heaven (10.4). Epiphanius is here probably presenting a garbled version of the "Sethian" system or a modification

thereof.[64]

Now in all the texts we have discussed there is no doubt as to the identity of the Gnostic Seth: he is the biblical son of Adam. All of his traits in the Gnostic interpretation of Seth are derivable from scripture-interpretation. There is not the slightest indication that the Egyptian god Seth has been of any influence whatever in delineating the Gnostic figure.

That is not to say that Seth-Typhon plays no role at all in the Gnostic material, for in fact we do find in some Gnostic sources the influence of a well-established tradition that we have seen reflected in the magical materials: Egyptian Seth = Iao Sabaoth, God of the Jews. Thus, in Epiphanius' description of the Borborite and related Gnostics, we are told that some of these Gnostics say that Sabaoth has the form of an ass (*Haer.* 26.10.6). The same Gnostics have a book called "The Generation of Mary," in which the story of Zacharias' murder in the temple is related.[65] Zacharias saw a vision, as he was offering incense, of "a man standing (in the temple) having the form of an ass," and when he related this vision to those outside the temple they killed him. "For this reason the priest was commanded by the Lawgiver himself to wear bells[66] so that whenever he goes in to perform his priestly duties the (god) being worshipped might hear the ringing and hide, lest the appearance of his form's face be seen."[67]

b. Coptic sources. Seth occurs in a number of the Nag Hammadi tractates, where he is usually identified as the son of Adam. In *Apoc. Adam* (NHC V,5)[68] it is to his son Seth that Adam gives his testamentary revelation (64,3; cf. 67,15; 85,20). Adam reveals that Seth will be the progenitor of the Gnostic race (64,4-7; cf. 77,1).

It is quite common in the Nag Hammadi texts for the spiritual race (=Gnostics) to be identified as the "children," or "seed," or "race" of Seth, whether or not the texts in question can be labelled as "Sethian" Gnostic.[69] This is the case in the following documents: *Ap. John* (NHC III,1: 13,21; BG,2: 36,3-4); *Zost.* (NHC VIII,1: 130,16-17; cf. 51, 14-15; 30,10-12); *Melch.* (NHC IX,1: 5,20); *Steles Seth* (NHC VII,5: 118,12-13); and *Gos. Eg.* (NHC III,2; IV, 2, *passim*).

Two of the Nag Hammadi tractates bear titles with Seth's name: *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (VII,2) and *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5).[70] Curiously, no mention is made of Seth in the text of the former, though Seth may possibly be regarded as the revealer-"author" of the document.[71] In the latter treatise one Dositheos is interpreting the "steles" of Seth, "the father of the living and immoveable race" (118,10-14), each of which is addressed to a person of the Gnostic divine triad. In the first stele Seth identifies himself as the son of Pigeradamas (=the heavenly Adam, 118,26), who is the son of the divine primal Father.

Ap. John(NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*; BG *2*) has a similar doctrine of Seth. Seth is the (heavenly) son of the perfect Man, Adam, and is placed over the second pleromatic light, Oroiael; the pre-existent souls constituting the seed of Seth dwell in the third light, Daveithe (BG 35, 20-36,6 and parallels). The heavenly Adam and Seth have their earthly antitypes as well. The origin of sexual generation is recounted later in the text, and the begetting of Seth is narrated; fortunately, his race is endowed by the heavenly Mother with Spirit from on high (BG 63,2-64,3).

In two versions of *Ap. John* this Seth is called the "image of the Son of Man"(II 24,36-25,1; IV 38,26-28), a notion which seems to entail a sophisticated exegesis of Gen 5:1-3. This kind of exegetical speculation provides a good basis for seeing a reference to Seth even in a text where the name "Seth" does not occur, as e.g. in *Eugnostos* (NHC V,*1*), where the Savior (Seth) is called "the Son of the Son of the Man" (V 13,13-15).[72]

In *Gos. Eg.* (NHC III,*2*; IV,*2*) there is a highly developed doctrine concerning Seth.[73] The document is presented as a book written by the great Seth and placed on a high mountain to be reserved for the elect of the last times (III 68,1-69,5; IV 80,15-81,2...). This Seth is a heavenly being, the incorruptible son of the incorruptible man, Adamas (III 51, 20-21; IV 63, 15-17), and plays a savior role throughout the document. Seth is sent into the lower world to rescue the Sethian race below, and "puts on" Jesus (III 62,24-64,9; IV 74,9-75,24). Thus we have in this text an equation of Jesus Christ with Seth, as in the case of some other Gnostic materials already discussed.[74]

A. Böhlig and F. Wisse have recently suggested that the reason for the title, "Gospel of the Egyptians," is the prominence of the figure of Seth in this document, and the association in the minds of Egyptian readers with the Egyptian god, Seth.[75] Such an association is suggested in the document itself, they argue, in a passage where it is said that the number of the seed of Seth is "the amount of Sodom" (ⲡⲓⲱⲓ ⲛⲥⲟⲇⲟⲙⲱⲛ , III 60,11-12), and Sodom is the "dwelling place" or "place of pasture (ⲡⲙⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲉ) of the Great Seth, which is Gomorrah" (III 60,13-14).[76] Since the Egyptian Seth had been accused of Sodomy,[77] and Gnostics can be expected to interpret as good what traditionally is considered evil, we have here an indication of an Egyptian Gnostic attempt to "rehabilitate" the Egyptian god by interpreting him in terms of Seth, son of Adam. However, whatever the symbolism of "Sodom" was meant to signify, it is somewhat far-fetched to bring in the Egyptian god Seth-Typhon in order to account for the occurrence of Sodom and Gomorrah in the text. There is nothing in the text of *Gos.Eg.* which suggests that the "Great Seth" has any "Sodomite" tendencies, nor is there any indication in the text that the Great Seth has any of the attributes of Seth-Typhon at all.

Even less convincing is the association of Egyptian Seth with the fish-symbol that occurs at the end of *Gos. Eg.* That the fish was a "typhonian animal"[78] is of no relevance

to the occurrence of the early Christian fish monogram in the text, especially when its correct interpretation is plainly given: ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ· ⲓⲭⲑⲩⲥ ("Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Savior" = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ, III 69, 14-15).

We have observed that the biblical Seth becomes, in Gnosticism, a heavenly personage installed in the divine Pleroma. The ultimate point of this trajectory is to see in Seth an aspect of the Supreme Deity himself. This is what we find in the untitled treatise of the Bruce Codex,[79] where Seth appears under the name "Setheus" (ⲥⲏⲑⲉⲩⲥ, Baynes ed. III,14 *et passim*).[80]

Seth does not occur in the other tractates of the Bruce Codex, or in the Askew Codex (*Pistis Sophia*). But we do find Typhon in *Pistis Sophia*: Typhon is an archon whose demons punish captive souls with fire and darkness (*P.S.*, Schmidt ed., p. 364,8 and 365,5). Typhon here fits the character of Seth-Typhon as delineated in the magical papyri.

c. Mandaean sources. Seth is ubiquitous in Mandaean literature under the name Šitil. It is, of course, impossible to provide here a full account of the Mandaean figure of Šitil,[81] but a bare sketch of his most important characteristics will show, at least, whether or not there is any relationship between Šitil and Seth-Typhon.

Šitil is identified in Mandaean sources as the son of Adam,[82] and as the brother of Hibil (Abel) and Anuš (Enosh).[83] According to a Mandaean creation account Adam begat Hibil, Hibil begat Šitil, and Šitil begat Anuš.[84] Thus the Genesis story is somewhat garbled in the Mandaean traditions. The addition of the *-il* (*ēl*) element to the name Seth may be accounted for on an attempted analogy with Hibil, but it certainly bespeaks Seth's divine character in the Mandaean tradition.[85]

Šitil has a cosmological function in Mandaean traditions, and is regarded as a creator of worlds and aeons,[86] an attribute that is observable also in the case of Setheus in the Bruce Codex.[87] But his most important aspect is his role as prototype of the pure soul who ascends to heaven,[88] and his role as a savior-figure. Together with Hibil and Anuš he acts as a protector of souls in the baptism ritual, baptizing them with the "baptism of Life."[89] It is Šitil, too, whose soul is weighed in the judgment-balances against the soul of a deceased Mandaean by Abatur.[90] Of course, the Mandaean hopes that he will be ransomed from purgatory and from Abatur's scales by Hibil, Šitil, and Anuš.[91]

Though Egyptian influence is observable in the Mandaean literature,[92] there is nothing at all in the morphology of Šitil that would connect him with the Egyptian god Seth.

d. Manichaean sources. Seth occurs in a few Manichaean texts,[93] with the same name that he carries in the Mandaean texts, i.e. Šitil or Sēthēl. Šitil is, of course, the biblical son of Adam. His birth is narrated in a Manichaean anthropogony preserved by the twelfth-century Arabic writer al-Nadim: After Cain and Abel were born of Eve by an archon, Eve enticed Adam and brought forth a son by him, Shātīl (=Šitil). One of the archons, upset by the birth of Shātīl, said to Eve, "This child who has been born is not one of us, but a stranger."[94]

Sethel, son of Adam, is praised for his "endurance" in one of the Coptic Manichaean psalms.[95] In another psalm, devoted to Sethel, the Manichaean congregation is exhorted, "Let us sing together to Sethel our Savior."[96] In one of the Coptic homilies Mani is praised as the "apostle" and "preacher of Life" who is "crowned like Sethel."[97] Sethel therefore seems to have an especially exalted place amongst the biblical patriarchs memorialized by the Manichaeans.

One of the characteristic doctrines of Mani was the conviction that he was the last of the great prophets in a line extending back to the first man. These bearers of revelation since Adam are Seth, Noah, Abraham, Shem, Enosh, Nikotheos, Enoch, Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and finally Mani.[98] Such a list occurs in the Coptic *Kephalaia*.[99] Mani knew of books in the names of some of these prophets, for a recently-discovered biography of Mani informs us of "apocalypses" attributed to Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch, all of which were known to Mani.[100] It is perhaps from an apocalypse of Seth(el) that a "prayer of Sethel" derives, mentioned in one of the *Kephalaia*. The disciples of the apostle (Mani) ask him to explain a passage from this prayer.[101]

In his doctrine of Sethel--as in many other doctrines--Mani was probably dependent upon Gnostic sources, some of which may be among those we have discussed above. However that may be, no trace of the Egyptian god Seth can be found in the Manichaean treatment of Sethel.

4. Conclusion

The foregoing brings us to a very simple conclusion: The Egyptian god Seth and the Gnostic Seth, son of Adam, are two altogether different entities. There is no evidence whatever in Gnostic sources for the oft-repeated assertion that the two figures are brought together in Gnosticism.

Notes

1. Georg Kretschmar, "Sethianer," *RGG*^{3} vol. 5, 1715.

2. S. G. F. Brandon, "(Egyptian) Set (Seth)," in *A Dictionary of Comparative Religion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 570, parentheses mine. For similar assertions see e.g. A. de Halleux, "Sethianer," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*^{2} vol. 9, 697; Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (tr. P. Mairet; New York: Viking, 1960), 104-105; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1952), 715; and most recently Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse, *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians* (The Coptic Gnostic Library; Nag Hammadi Studies IV; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 22-23; 35. On the views of Wünsch and Bonner, see below. On the possible identification of Gnostic Seth with Zoroaster in Sethian Gnosticism, see Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907), 378-382.

3. For a good monograph on Seth see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden: Brill, 1967); cf. also "Seth," in H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 702-715; and H. Kees, "Seth," in Pauly-Wissowa, RE, col. 1896-1922.

4. Cf. R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: University Press, 1969), 204a.

5. Te Velde, 13-26.

6. See J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1960).

7. Systematically presented by Plutarch. See G. Gwyn Griffiths' edition, translation, and commentary, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge: University of Wales Press, 1970).

8. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 712.

9. Cf. e.g. *Pyramid Texts* 971, where Seth is the guardian of the ladder of ascent to heaven.

10. Cf. J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, New York: Hutchinson's University Library, 1952), 21.

11. E.g. Seti I and II, XIXth Dynasty (the latest examples).

12. Te Velde, 121.

13. Ibid., 129. On the Jewish God, see below.

14. Te Velde, 146-148.

15. In Greek mythology Typhon is a serpentine monster, son of Tartarus, who opposes Zeus and is thrown down to Tartarus; see Hesiod *Theogony* 820-868, and cf. Plutarch *De Iside* 57. The identification Seth = Typhon is already presupposed by

Herodotus, 2.144 and 3.5, and probably goes back at least to the sixth century B.C. See Griffith, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 389.

16. On Seth-Typhon in the magical papyri, see Th. Hopfner, "Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Agyptens," *Archiv Orientalní* 3 (1931), 119-155, 327-358, esp. 131-138 (unfortunately inaccessible to me at the time this was written); also Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* I (Leipzig: Haessel, 1911), II (Leipzig: Haessel, 1924), *passim*; and Karl Preisendanz, *Akephalos: Der kopflose Gott* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926), 17-22.

17. F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, ed. and tr., *The Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book* (London: Grevel, 1904; r. p. New York: Dover, 1974). Dating from the third century A.D., it is the latest known Egyptian manuscript in Demotic.

18. vii 2, Griffith-Thompson 58 (Demotic), 59 (ET). The context implies a reference to the mythical contest between Horus and Seth.

19. xix 36-37, Griffith-Thompson 126, 127. Cf. the myths of Osiris and of the attack of the Apophis serpent against Re.

20. The invocation itself is in Greek, though the rest of the spell is Demotic Egyptian. The Greek portion is excerpted by Preisdendanz, *PGM* XIV c. See Karl Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, zweite verbesserte Auflage mit Erganzungen von Karl Preisendanz durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs, I (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), II (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974).

21. xxiii 9-20, Griffith-Thompson 146 (Greek), 147 (ET).

22. See e.g. J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976), 45.

23. See Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* II, § 143.

24. See *PGM*, vol. 2, Tafel II, Abh. 11, from which this tracing is made. The figure measures 3 X 2.5 cm. Cf. *PGM*, vol. 2, p. 85. For discussion see also Richard Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafel aus Rom* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), 87-88. I have not seen an etymology for βολχοσηθ, but perhaps βολ is to be related to the Semitic god Baal, with whom Seth is regularly equated. See e.g. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 712. For βολχοσηθ cf. also *PGM* IV 2025; XII 372, 445; XIX a 7; and preceded by ιω- III 73, 116; IV 2223, 3261; 3267; XII 370, 452, 467; XIV 22; XXXVI 6, 14, 78 (Ιω βαλχοσηθ), 85-94; LVIII 25.

25. βολχοσηθ reversed. For (Ἰω-) Ἐρβήθ (or Ἐρβήτ) see also *PGM* I 253; III 71, 115; IV 185, 2213, 2225, 3261, 3263,

3267; VI 942; XII 370, 445, 451, 467; XIV 22; XXXVI 5, 12, 15-19; 78, 85-91; XLVI 6; LVIII 22.

26. *PGM* XXXII a 1; LXVIII 1. Cf. O. Guéraud, "Deux textes magiques du Musée du Caire," in *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934), 201-206.

27. As in the two texts cited in the previous note.

28. *PGM* XXXVI 5, in a curse-formula. Cf. Preisendanz, vol. 2, Tafel III, Abh. 14, for the Typhonic figure drawn in col. i of the papyrus, with Σηθ, Ἰω, etc. repeatedly inscribed in the figure. Cf. also VII 963-964: ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν μὴ λυπήσας, Σήθ. The active form λυπήσας should here probably be taken with a passive meaning, "grieve over."

29. As in *PGM* LVIII, where Typhon is called ἄνομος (lines 9 and 11), and in *PGM* XXXVI where he is called ἄθεος (lines 319 and 337).

30. Cf. also *PGM* III 87: κραταιὲ Σήθ Τυφῶν, and context; also VII 961-964: Δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἐν τῷ στερεῷ πνεύματι ὢδρατος, παντοκράτωρ, κτίστης τῶν θεῶν. δεῦρό μοι, ὁ ἀκαταμάχητος δαίμων. δεῦρό μοι, ὁ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν μὴ λυπήσας, Σήθ. See also the Hymn to Typhon. Note that *PGM* IV 189-201 = Hymn 6, to Typhon, in Preisendanz, vol. 2, 242-243, re-edited with bibliography.

31. The God of Israel יהוה is known in Egypt as "Yahu" or "Yaho" at least as early as the fifth century B.C., as the Elephantine Jewish papyri attest. See A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London: Moring, 1906), and subsequent publications.

32. See especially III 1-124. In the Demotic papyrus of Leiden the Typhonic magic name Io alternates with Yaho (*yʿhʿo*), e.g. col. vii.

33. In IV 930-1114 Iao = Horus-Harpocrates; in IV 1228-1264 Iao = Jesus Christ; in IV 1596-1715 Iao = Helios-Zeus-Sarapis.

34. See discussion above, section 2.

35. See discussion above, of *Io-erbeth*. See also H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 714. Note the compound magic name ϊαωΐω, IV 3257. Perhaps such a linguistic observation, Ἰάω = ὄνος, is at the basis for the well-known anti-Judaic tradition, developed in Egypt, that the Jews worship an ass-deity, and keep an ass's head in the Jerusalem temple. See Jos. *Ap.* 2.80; Diodorus 34 (fr.). According to Plutarch, *De Iside* 31, Typhon became the father of Hierosolymus and Judaeus after fleeing Egypt on ass-back.

36. For Adam see *PGM* III 146.

37. Angelicus Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1931),

text LXXII, pp. 238-240 (German translation only).

38. See esp. R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafel* (above, n. 24); Augustus Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904; r.p. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1967), esp. nos. 140-187; Preisendanz, *Akephalos* (above, n. 16), 22-41.

39. *Sethianische Verfluchungstafel*, 63. The one in the Magazzino archeologico he dated c. 300 A.D.

40. Preisendanz, *Akephalos*, 27, prefers to see in these representations a horse-headed demon, as befits a social context in which horse-racing is all-important, rather than the ass-headed Seth-Typhon.

41. *Defixionum tabellae*, no. 198, dated to the third century A.D.

42. See e.g. Charles W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Mediaeval* (London: D. Nutt, 1887; r.p. Minneapolis: Wizards Bookshelf, 1973).

43. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950); and Bonner, "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum: A Supplementary Article," *Hesperia* 20 (1951), 301-345 + plates 96-100.

44. See esp. *Studies*, plates I-III (Osiris, Sarapis, Isis, Horus, Anubis, and other Egyptian deities), IX-X (Harpocrates).

45. *Studies*, 177; cf. pl. I, fig. 11, and description, p. 255.

46. *Studies*, p. 216; cf. pl. XVI, fig. 315.

47. "Amulets," p. 328 and pl. 97, fig. 28. This amulet is also published by Erwin Goodenough. See his *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), fig. 1176, and brief discussion, vol. 2, 280. Goodenough identifies the serpent figure as Chnoubis.

48. *Jewish Symbols*, vol. 2, 280, and vol. 3, fig. 1177.

49. *Studies*, 130-132. Cf. also his discussion of a carnelian showing a cock-headed Anguipede on the obverse and the inscription θωβαρρα ιαω ιω ερβη⟨θ⟩ on the reverse. The latter formula, as we have seen, is associated with Seth-Typhon.

50. *Studies*, 132; cf. 24.

51. See *Studies*, 135-138, 284, fig. 188: a lion-headed Yaldabaoth on the obverse, and on the reverse the inscription Ἰα Ἰαω Σαβαωθ Ἀδωναι Ἑλωαι Ὡρεος Ἀσταφεος. Cf. Origen *Cels.* 6.30-32; Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.30.5. On another important Gnostic amulet see Erwin Goodenough, "A Jewish-Gnostic Amulet of the Roman Period," *GBS* 1 (1958), 71-80; and see my remarks in "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from

Nag Hammadi (CG IX,3)," in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), vol. 1, 466, n. 2.

52. For more detailed discussion see the companion essay by George MacRae, "Seth in Gnostic Texts and Traditions," published in this volume.

53. The characterization "Sethian-Ophite" is based on Theodoret of Cyrus' restatement of Irenaeus' description, *Haereticorum Fabularum Compendium* 1.14: οἱ δὲ Σηθιανοὶ οὓς Ὀφιανοὺς ἢ Ὀφίτας τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν . . . . Irenaeus' Latin text has only, "alii . . ." (I.30.1 = Harvey ed. I.28.1).

54. On Norea, see Birger A. Pearson, "The Figure of Norea in Gnostic Literature," in *Acta Gnostica: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Gnosticism Stockholm August 20-25, 1973* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), 143-152.

55. Iren. *Haer.* I.7.5, as translated by Robert M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology* (London: Collins, 1961), 178. Cf. also Clem. Alex. *Exc. Theod.* 54.1, a parallel passage; and Tertullian *Adv. Val.* 29.

56. Cf. the providence of Prunicus mentioned in Iren. *Haer.* I.7.5.

57. Translation by Robert M. Grant, *Second-Century Christianity* (London; S.P.C.K., 1957), 130.

58. Cf. the Coptic magical text mentioned above, and other instances noted below.

59. On the relationship between this document and the *Paraphrase of Shem* from Nag Hammadi (NHC VII,1) see Frederik Wisse, "The Redeemer Figure in the Paraphrase of Shem," *NT* 12 (1970), 130-140. See also Martin Krause, "Die Paraphrase des Seem," in *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. 2 (ed. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973), 2-105.

60. Cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.30.9 and note 54, above.

61. According to a well-known Jewish tradition Cain was the product of a liaison between Eve and the devil, Samael; see *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 4:1, *b. Yebamot* 103b, *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 22b, *b. Šabbat* 146a, *Pirqe R. El.* 21; *2 Enoch* 31.6; *Zohar* III.76b. Cf. B. Pearson, "The Figure of Norea," (above, n. 54), 149.

62. Cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 30.5.1, where books called "Allogeneis" are mentioned among the books of the Sethians. Cf. also NHC XI,3: *Allogenes*. Perhaps the designation ἀλλογενής ("alien") is based on an interpretation of Gen 4:25, זרע אחר, σπέρμα ἕτερον. Cf. H.-C. Pűech, "Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogene," in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Bruxelles: Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 4, 1936), 949.

63. My translation, from Holl's edition.

64. On the Sethian system see esp. Hans-Martin Schenke, "Das Sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften," in Peter Nagel, ed., *Studia Coptica* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974), 165-172.

65. Cf. Matt 23:35.

66. Cf. Ex 28:29-30 LXX (=28:33-34).

67. *Haer.* 26.12.1-4; passages quoted are my own translation.

68. For bibliography citing publications of, and studies on, the Nag Hammadi tractates see David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), annually supplemented in *NT*. Abbreviations used here are those prescribed in "Instructions for Contributors," *JBL* 95 (1976), 338. Citations are according to page and line of the codex.

69. Cf. the Valentinian doctrine noted above. Of course the designation of Gnostics as "children of Seth" does not *ipso facto* indicate that the text in which it occurs is "Sethian." Cf. e.g. Frederik Wisse, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library," *SBL 1972 Proceedings*, vol. 2 (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 601-607; cf. also Schenke, "Das Sethianische System."

70. Perhaps *The Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,*1*) should really be called *The Paraphrase of Seth*, as might be inferred from Hippolytus' account of a Sethian document by that name; see our discussion above. On this problem see F. Wisse, "The Redeemer Figure in the Paraphrase of Shem," 138.

71. See esp. 70,4-10, the concluding word.

72. See Douglas Parrot, "Evidence of Religious Syncretism in Gnostic Texts from Nag Hammadi," in Birger A. Pearson, ed., *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975), 179.

73. See esp. A. Böhlig and F. Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (above, n. 2), 32-38.

74. See discussion, above, of the Sethians described by Ps.-Tertullian and Epiphanius.

75. Böhlig and Wisse, 35. Cf. n. 2, above.

76. It may be relevant to observe that the ancient Egyptian name for Χηνοβοσκεῖα ("goose-pasture"), a place located near the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices (modern El-Kasr), is ⲱⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ (*šny-n-stẖ*), which means "trees of Seth." Cf. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 163. But even if this reference to the "place of pasture of the Great Seth" is a local gloss, alluding to Chenoboskia, with a play on the "trees of Seth," there is certainly no reason to think that this involves any melding of the mythology of the god Seth with the Gnostic figure Seth. Rather, it would signify a claim for Chenoboskia as a place sacred to the *real* Seth, Son of Adamas and Savior.

77. On the homosexual intercourse of Seth with Horus see J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth,* 41ff.

78. Böhlig and Wisse, 35. They cite H. Kees, "Seth," 1901-1902. See Plutarch, *De Iside* 32.

79. See Charlotte A. Baynes, *A Coptic Treatise Contained in the Codex Brucianus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1933). Baynes arranged the leaves of the MS in a different order from that of Carl Schmidt's edition of the Bruce Codex, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus* (TU 8: Leipzig: Hinrichs 1892).

80. This form of the name "Seth" occurs also in *Zost.*, NHC VIII 54,23. Baynes interprets the name "Setheus" as "the Mover," derived from Gr. σείω via σήθω; but her explanation is not convincing.

81. For useful discussions see e.g. Karl Rudolph, *Theogonie, Kosmogonie und Anthropogonie in den mandäischen Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 296-305; Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica," in M. Krause, ed., *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 207-208.

82. E.g. Mark Lidzbarski, tr., *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915), p. 93,7; etc.

83. E.G. M. Lidzbarski, tr., *Ginzā: Der Schatz, oder Das Grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), R(echter Teil), p. 166,31; etc.

84. *Ginza* R, Lidzbarski, p. 243,27-30.

85. Rudolph, "Coptica-Mandaica," 207.

86. *Johannesbuch,* Lidzbarski, p. 213,24-216,3; 93,7.

87. Baynes ed. XXXVIII,35-XXXIX,2.

88. *Ginza* L, Lidzbarski, pp. 424-429.

89. E.S. Drower, tr., *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), p. 9.

90. E.S. Drower, tr., *Diwan Abatur* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950), pp. 7-8 (with figures).

91. *Canonical Prayerbook,* Drower, p. 56.

92. E.g. the Demiurge Ptahil is manifestly related to the Egyptian creator-god Ptah of Memphis. On Ptahil and Ptah see K. Rudolph, *Theogonie*, 126, n.1; 191, n.3.

93. There are no references to him in Alfred Adam's collection, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (2nd ed., Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969).

94. This is a bare outline of the story preserved by al-Nadin.

See Bayard Dodge, tr., *The Fihrist of al-Nadim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), vol. 2, 783-786. This story, including the detail that Seth is a "stranger" (cf. Gr. ἀλλογενής), reminds us of a similar narrative in Epiphanius' description of the Archontics (*Haer.* 40), discussed above.

95. C. R. C. Allberry, ed., *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), p. 142,4.

96. Ibid., 144,1.6; 146,12-13. Sethel is one of a number of entities praised at 179,22.

97. Hans J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934), 61,23.

98. See Henri-Charles Puech, "The Concept of Redemption in Manichaism," in Joseph Campbell, ed., *The Mystic Vision: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, vol. 6 (Princeton: University Press, 1968), 282 and 300.

99. H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, 1. Hälfte (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940), p. 12,9-21. Sethel occurs in line 10.

100. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex," *ZPE* 5 (1970), 107.

101. *Kephalaia*, p. 42,25ff. The passage deals with the fourteen aeons of Light.

S 32 ESTABLISHING A TEXT FOR LUKE-ACTS

Frank Stagg

The indefinite article in the title above is deliberate, for it reflects one part of a very complex problem. In New Testament text-critical endeavor there is no unanimity as to what we are trying to do. What text are we seeking? Klijn speaks for many but not all in saying, "The discovery of the original text is the primary aim of New Testament textual criticism."[1] To the contrary, various texts are proposed for our search: a text corresponding to the autographs, authorial intention behind the autographs, a second century text(s), the Alexandrian text, the Western text, parallel texts with no attempt to set one against the other, texts prevailing when a book became canonical, the "basic" text, the "true" text. The idea that the recovery of the autographs would render textual criticism unnecessary would not satisfy all.[2]

Should agreement be reached as to what text is sought, serious problems would remain. What about methodology, long debated with no consensus? Should we go with external evidence alone, internal evidence alone (transcriptional and/or intrinsic), or some combination of the two? If both, which is to have priority? Should some form of the "eclectic" method be continued? Should there be a "Hort Redivivus"?

What we have in common is a vast body of textual witnesses (Greek manuscripts, versions, patristic quotations, lectionaries), now readily accessible through microfilm and in some respects subject to computerization. For the Gospel of Luke and Acts already strong holdings have been enrichened by some major manuscript recoveries within the past decade or so (see below). We are almost overwhelmed by a wealth of witnesses, some quite early. We desperately need an exhaustive critical apparatus, promised soon for the Gospel of Luke, but painfully slow in coming -- thirty years for Luke! Without intending undue pessimism, we have not yet demonstrated that any of us really know how to do textual criticism. On the other hand, there is no viable alternative to the continuing effort; for all else we do in New Testament necessarily rests upon this shifting base.

More to be feared is a new "Textus Receptus," by design or default. We may have such already now that one identical text is the proud promise of the Nestle-Aland and United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament. Neither has a critical apparatus adequate to keep the reader in touch with more than a fraction of the multiplied thousands of variants in the witnesses.

What Text Are We to Seek?

The quest for "the original text" assumes that there was somewhere back there a text for Luke-Acts which was that

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[1] A.F.J. Klijn, "In Search of the Original Text of Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts. Ed. by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 103.

[2] Eldon Jay Epp, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts (Cambridge U. Press, 1966), pp. 12-21.

original text. Not all would agree. Some theorize more than one version of Lukan writings, two texts at least issuing from the author. Others contend that by the second century there were rival texts or text types, rejecting the idea that one should be chosen over the other. Where this objective prevails, the resultant text is conflationary, a trait ascribed to the Byzantine text. A new conflationary text could well be the direction in which the UBS(3)=Nestle-Aland(26) text is moving (see below).

Matthew Black, a charter member of the UBS Editorial Committee, clings to the goal of approximating the text of "the apostolic autographs."[3] He recognizes that the search for the "original text" is no longer at the heart of many modern textual studies but pleads that these older enquiries can scarcely be abandoned.[4] Whether or not this reflects a major difference within the Committee is open to question. Bruce Metzger, another charter member, advanced the idea in the hearing of one of my colleagues that the text to be sought should be readings which a writing possessed when it became canonical. It boggles the mind to imagine the problem of shooting at such a moving target, for the question of canon is itself a staggering one. Apparently Metzger had in mind the second century for the most part, by which time most significant variants are thought to have appeared. This view is widely held, it being contended that each deliberate variant was ". . . for some Christians at some time and place the 'original' text; . . ."[5]

Carlo Martini, the lone addition to the original UBS Committee, may champion a similar goal. Black represents him to support the idea of establishing the concept of a parallelism of texts instead of setting one second-century or other text over against another, thus preserving the variety of textual tradition which obtained in the early church.[6] This is proper to a critical apparatus but problematic in a published text. Martini's intention apparently is to publish a conflationary text, without the presupposition of the advantage of one manuscript or text type over another. However, in a recent essay, Martini has a positive word for Hort and the Alexandrian text. Without abandoning "eclecticism," Martini concludes: "It may be that after all the basic intuition of Westcott and Hort of the value of the old Alexandrian tradition has much to commend itself even today."[7]

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[3] Matthew Black, "Notes on the Longer and the Shorter Text of Acts," in Matthew Black and William A. Smalley (eds.), On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1974), p. 120.

[4] Ibid., p. 119.

[5] Epp, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Contabrigiensis in Acts, p. 13.

[6] Black, op. cit., p. 119, citing Carlo M. Martini's comparative study of Codex Vaticanus and P[75], Il Problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV (=Analecta Biblica 26) (Roma).

[7] Carlo M. Martini, "Eclecticism and Atticism in the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament," in Black and Smalley (eds.), op. cit., p. 155.

The role of Kurt Aland, editor of the Nestle-Aland text and original member of the UBS Editorial Committee, is most significant; and his perspective (dominance?) is to be sought in what is developing in the two Greek New Testaments with which he is so closely associated. It would be helpful could more be heard on the subject from Allen Wikgren, remaining member of the UBS Committee. Although this committee has thus far given us three editions, the first two almost identical but the third with major shifts, it yet is not clear as to what competing perspectives obtain within the committee and where the weight of influence rests. The promise of full disclosure of serious dissent within the Committee has not been fulfilled, for few initialled notes are to be found in Metzger's Commentary.[8]

It is incontestable that textual criticism must include in its task the tracing of variants historically, as far as possible tracing their rise, sequence, motivation, etc. For the church historian, and especially for historical theology, all deliberate variants are primary sources for understanding Christian thought. Textual criticism is interested in the same historical development, but surely its proper goal must differ from that of other disciplines. Hort was correct in seeing that final assessment of any reading must come only against the background of its history, and in our judgment he saw properly the goal of textual criticism to be the quest for a trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts through the study of their history.[9] Although it runs against many currents today, I believe that the overriding task of textual criticism is the establishment of the text seemingly nearest authorial intention, not simply the gathering of variants.

Colwell may overreact in saying, "The current enthusiasm for manuscript variations as contributions to the history of theology has no solid foundation."[10] He is on target in calling for a new direction: "Instead of talking about 'The Theological Relevance of Textual Variation,' we should discuss 'The Relevance of Theology to the Establishment of the Text of the New Testament.'"[11] As Colwell observes, Hort was aware of theological motive behind variants; but writing before Walter Bauer's Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei studies, he ascribed this work to heretics. Ideally, the text-critical task requires the expertise of all New Testament disciplines, with a view to the establishment of authorial intention.

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[8]Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament, Third Edition (New York: UBS, 1971).

[9]Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort (eds.), The New Testament in the Original Greek, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1882), pp. 31, 40.

[10]Ernest C. Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969), p. 150.

[11]Ibid., p. 151.

A New Textus Receptus?

In my hearing in a class in New Testament textual criticism in Edinburgh (1953-54), Professor Matthew Black expressed uneasiness at the reign of what to him was a new Textus Receptus -- the Westcott-Hort text (1881, 1896). If there is a Textus Receptus today, it is the Nestle-Aland/UBS Greek New Testament. The UBS(3) is in text the Nestle-Aland(26). Future editions will have identical text, differing only in format and critical apparatus. UBS will print fewer variants but with a fuller apparatus, and Nestle-Aland will print more variant readings with a briefer apparatus.

What lies behind this marriage of the Nestle-Aland and UBS? Something of major consequence happened between the UBS Second and Third Editions. The Second differed from the First only in the correction of errata and in some reevaluation of ratings of single readings (A, B, C, D). The Third Edition contains more than five hundred textual changes ("Preface to the Third Edition," p. viii). A number of these new readings had not been discussed by the Committee in the production of the First Edition. From whence came the new input or perspective? The Preface explains: "The greater part of these suggestions for further modification came from Kurt Aland, who had been making a detailed analysis of changes proposed for the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland text" (ibid.). Future plans are explicit: "The Committee, sponsored by the United Bible Societies, has thus been able to establish a single text for the Third Edition Greek New Testament and for the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland text" (ibid.). Now comes the amazing conclusion: "That this step marks a significant advance will be obvious to all who work with the Greek text of the New Testament" (ibid.). One may be pardoned for asking to what extent this not altogether surprising ability "to establish a single text" implies agreement between Aland and Aland (Aland-Nestle and Aland-UBS). In any event, "the texts will be the same, and both will be published under the editorship of the Committee" (p. ix).

Incumbency and economic factors may largely determine what Greek text prevails for the years ahead. Low cost, convenience and beauty in format and printing, and the simple fact of what text is in the bookstores could be overriding factors in securing the reign of a new Textus Receptus.

A part of the problem is the subtle threat in the printing of any text, yet it is inconceivable that anyone would now propose that we desist from printing. The subtilty of any printed text is that it obscures the fluid state of the many variant readings behind the printed text. Except for photostats and microfilms (and a rare printing of a single manuscript), any modern printed text is "eclectic." This fact is obscured in the current, loose employment of the term "eclectic text." Any printed edition is a modern construct. No printed edition corresponds to any extant manuscript. Place any printed edition alongside any manuscript and the enormity of the variants will be obvious. There is no known manuscript of

any New Testament writing which is really like any printed edition.[12]

The published text has the advantage. The alert scholar may challenge the printed text here and there, but for the most part the decisions have been made already even for him and go unchallenged or even unnoticed. This working principle is built into the UBS, which explains in the Preface to the First Edition that the "calculated limitation" of variants listed was "restricted to readings meaningful for translators" (vi). Unless the reader has access to an exhaustive critical apparatus, he remains oblivious to the thousands of variants from which some editor has already made selection. Not every scholar can start de novo, but at least we might remind ourselves of the extent of our normal dependence upon conclusions already reached at the ground level of our whole discipline, the text itself.

How extensive a role does convenience play even in translation of the biblical text? Two testimonies may give at least a hint. Colwell reports, "One of the RSV translators while lecturing to the New Testament Club at the University of Chicago replied to a question concerning the Greek text he used by saying that it depended on where he was working: he used Souter at the office and Nestle at home."[13] Metzger has an equally illuminating story, reporting that J.A.T. Robinson, a draft translator for NEB, told him "that he refused to use the Nestle text because he disliked the Teubner font of type with which it is printed!"[14]

In the usage of some critics, "eclectic" refers to the rejection of a given text type or witness as superior or normative, judging each set of variants on internal evidence. If followed radically, once variants are collected the witnesses by which they are attested may be ignored. Accordingly, each variant is evaluated in terms of intrinsic evidence, or sometimes also transcriptional evidence. Intrinsic evidence is related to the original author: his style, word usage, theology, etc. Transcriptional evidence relates to the copyist, with attention to his discernible traits. Obviously, the circular argument is problematic here; for the very texts in question, if authentic, may tell something about the author not known otherwise. E.g., to say that Luke did not write a particular word or phrase because it is not Lukan in style may be to

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[12]To illustrate only a fraction of the problem were we to select one early manuscript as our received text (as far as it goes), we may cite the scribes' pattern of losing their place (only one of many types of variation). The scribe of P^{45} lost his place 18 times in the extant text, 16 times skipping and twice repeating. The scribe of P^{66} made 54 leaps forward and 22 backward. The scribe of P^{75} made 27 leaps forward and 10 backward. Citations are from Colwell, "Method in Evaluating Scribal Habits," op. cit., p. 112. Scribes caught and corrected some of their errors. How many remain?

[13]"Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," op. cit., p. 152.

[14]Bruce M. Metzger, "Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," Historical and Literary Studies: Pagan, Jewish, and Christian (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1968), p. 160.

exclude a part of the evidence as to how he did in fact write. Even so, intrinsic evidence is more reliable in excluding what seems to be out of character for a writer than it is for establishing what one is likely to have written in a given context. Usually the options as to what one might say in a given context are multiple, as Hort recognized long ago.

One highly influential advocate of the eclectic method has been G. D. Kilpatrick, who credits J. Dupont, translator of Acts for the Jerusalem Bible, with some of the earliest results in a serious employment of the eclectic method.[15] Kilpatrick explains the method as one which for Acts assumes no priority for the Egyptian text over the Western (J. H. Ropes in 1926) or vice versa (A. C. Clark in 1933). Instead, "The readings considered will be accepted or rejected, each and all, on their merits."[16] Hort would have protested any charge that he violated this principle, though he would have acknowledged his confidence generally in the Egyptian over the Western. One requires only to remember Hort's "Western non-interpolations" to be reminded that he could follow the Western text against the "Neutral" even in substantive readings. Only a full collation of modern texts with Hort could demonstrate direction of movement; but in the charts following (see page following), Hort is freer to break with the Egyptian text than some modern eclecticists. It appears that the UBS(3)= Nestle-Aland(26) combine in its rejection of the superiority of one text type over another is in fact moving toward a conflationary text, including Byzantine readings.

So far as the "Western non-interpolations" are concerned, the UBS(3)=Nestle-Aland(26) is less respectful of the Western text than was Hort! This does not necessarily imply a bias toward the Egyptian text type; the editors would deny bias toward any external evidence. It seemingly reflects a movement toward a conflationary text, intending to preserve all major traditions or readings. UBS(3) brackets all five of Hort's "Western interpolations"; but the reading in Matthew 16:2f. is upgraded to a single bracket, and the Pericope of the Adulteress is moved back to its traditional position following John 7:52. Hort placed it after Chapter 21 and clearly set it off to itself. This is a further hint that the eclecticists may also be conflationists. The new "Textus Receptus" may be moving back toward the old Textus Receptus of the Erasmus-Stephanus-Elziver tradition. Their disposition seems to be to preserve the longer text, whatever its origin.

Kilpatrick concludes his essay on "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts" with summary claims: no attempt to favor any one text type but to consider each reading on its own merits; rejection of the idea that any text type, including the Byzantine, is uniformly right or wrong; consideration of style in all decisions; and recognition that no type of witness is above deliberately rewriting a text (76f.).

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[15] G. D. Kilpatrick, "An Eclectic Study of the Text of Acts," Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey, ed. by J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson (New York: Herder, 1963), pp. 64f.

[16] Ibid., p. 65.

Hort's Double-bracketed (DB)
"Western Non-interpolations"
(II, 295 = #383)

	Kil-patrick	Tasker NEB	N-Aland 25	UBS 1	UBS 2	UBS 3 = N-Al 26
Matt. 27:49	- ⓪	-	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪
Luke 22:19f	SB	- ⓪	DB	DB	DB	+
24:3	ƶ SB	-	[ ]	SB	SB	+
21:6	SB	- ⓪	DB	SB	+	+
24:12	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪	SB	+	+
24:36	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪	SB	+	+
24:40	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪	SB	+	+
24:51	+	- ⓪	- ⓪	SB	+	+
24:52	- ⓪	- ⓪	- ⓪	SB	+	+

Code: - omit + text ⓪ ftnote SB single bracket
Matt. 27:49 is Western and Syrian "non-interpolation"

Hort's Double-bracketed
Western Interpolations
(II, 296 = #384)

	Kil-patrick	Tasker NEB	N-Aland 25	UBS(1)	UBS(2)	UBS(3)= N-Al 26
Matt. 16:2f	SB	- ⓪	SB	SB	SB	SB
Luke 22:43f	+	+	DB	- ⓪	- ⓪	DB
23:34	+	+	DB	SB	SB	DB
Mark 16:9-20	After Space	After Space	DB	DB	DB	DB
John 7: 53-8:11	- ⓪	After ch. 21	- ⓪	- ⓪ DB after Ch. 21	- ⓪	DB

In the same year (1963) Kilpatrick published another essay on a closely related subject, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament."[17] His point of departure is attention to the evidences for a strong Attic revival by the second century of the Christian Era, and that under this influence Christian scribes for a limited time made many stylistic changes in New Testament writings, the changes being in the direction of good Attic Greek. Kilpatrick argues further that before the end of the second century freedom for any deliberate changes was frowned upon and that almost all variants were introduced by the middle of the second century. He holds that "heretics" took liberties in changing texts to support their doctrines and that to prevent this the church took a strong stand against any deliberate change, including stylistic, in order to contain heresy, this by the time of Tatian. Kilpatrick concludes that the shorter Alexandrian text reflects this early Atticizing work, and that the unrevised texts somehow survive in the Western and even Byzantine texts. He suggests that "Westcott and Hort may have owed some of their partiality for ℵB to the fact that these manuscripts often display a brevity and an idiom which is akin to the classical Greek on which they were brought up" (p. 136). Atticism thus is brought into the service of the eclectic method.

Kilpatrick is right in his call for due consideration of stylistic factors in text-critical study, and the alleged role of Atticism is by no means to be neglected. However, it does seem that he has grossly exaggerated the dominance of stylistic motives and woefully neglected theological motive, the latter being far wider than "heretical" camps and continuing far beyond the mid-second century. Many variants have to do with content, theological or otherwise, and not with stylistic improvement. Further, Kilpatrick weakens his case for the "eclectic" principle of avoiding the assignment of antecedent advantage to any text type by his contention for the priority of the longer, rougher non-Alexandrian text type.

Vööbus (an early UBS consultant) moves in another direction in his essay, "The Shorter and Longer Text in Luke."[18] He investigates "the words of institution in the Gospel of Luke" (22:17-20), making the context and Lukan motive primary. He sees in the larger context "a mosaic constructed from many components" and designed to so present the Eucharist as to compel the church to be confronted with the risen and present Lord, with warning from the example of Judas that participating in the Lord's Supper is no exemption from such failure in fidelity as that of Judas. The whole section he sees as a creative piece which is not concerned with the motives of sacrifice and remembrance as in the longer reading (19b-20). Otherwise, he argues, Luke would have included Mark's lutron, the culminating point of the (longer) logion borrowed from Mark 10:41-45. This is not the place to assess this particular

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[17] G. D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament," Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag. Ed. by J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner (Friedrich Pustet Regensburg, 1963), pp. 125-37.

[18] Arthur Vööbus, "The Shorter and Longer Text in Luke," New Testament Studies, Vol. 15 (July 1969) No. 4, pp. 457-63.

essay, but it does serve to exemplify the fact that this major variant in the Lukan text does not remotely relate to some Atticistic revival in the early second century. Vööbus insists that his line of evidence compels an unequivocal negative verdict against the "longer text." This probably claims too much, but it at least reflects the complexity of our text-critical task in Luke and demonstrates that far more is involved than stylistic changes made by Atticists or others.

Colwell challenges Kilpatrick, finding the latter's thesis more shaken than sustained when stylistic investigations are extended beyond Kilpatrick's limited examples.[19] He cautions against assuming scribal intention where a number of motives may have been at work: harmonization, changing the rare to the usual, changing secular usage to gospel idiom, etc.[20] Most telling is his criticism of Kilpatrick's first example of alleged Atticism, the changing of the barbarous apokritheis eipen to the Atticized ephē:

> In the Westcott and Hort text the barbarous apokritheis eipen occurs 139 times in the four gospels (Mt. 48, Mk. 17, Lk. 42, Jn. 32), while good old ephe occurs only 35 times. These figures strongly suggest that in this matter the scribes were not Atticizing very well.[21]

Colwell points out as further evidence damaging to Kilpatrick's thesis the fact that "it is the Beta text-type that reads ephe in Kilpatrick's six passages, and the same text-type reads apokritheis eipen 139 times."[22] His chief caution is against premature judgments based upon partial evidence and oriented to limited lines of evidence, mistakes which Hort took considerable pains to avoid.

Kilpatrick's influence text-critically is probably to be found chiefly in the British and Foreign Bible Society's "Second Edition," produced through the collaboration of Erwin Nestle and G. D. Kilpatrick. This edition was commissioned for the Society's 150th anniversary (1954) and published in 1958. Until 1904 the Society had published the 1624 Elzevir edition with but slight differences. For its centenary in 1904 it switched to the Eberhard Nestle 4th edition (1903), which reproduced the agreements between Tischendorf (1869-72) and Westcott and Hort (1881). When these two disagreed, the Nestle text followed whichever one agreed with Weiss (1894-1900). According to Metzger, the Nestle-Kilpatrick (except for orthographic and typographic changes) edition differs in only about twenty passages from the Nestle 1904 edition.[23]

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[19] Colwell, "Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program," op. cit., pp. 154f. For further criticism of Kilpatrick's essay, Colwell cites the unpublished dissertation (University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1966) by Gordon Fee, "The Significance of Papyrus Bodmer II and Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV for Methodology in New Testament Textual Criticism."

[20] Ibid., p. 155. [21] Ibid. [22] Ibid.

[23] Metzger, "Developments in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," op. cit., p. 159. Metzger credits T. Francis Glasson for this information.

The influence of the eclectic method is seen further in the NT division of The New English Bible (1961), behind which is The Greek New Testament subsequently published under the editorship of R.V.G. Tasker (1964). The "Introduction" to the latter reports the principle which had been laid down by the New Testament Panel of the sponsoring Joint Committee: "The text to be translated will of necessity be eclectic, since no existing text can be taken as sole basis" (vii). "Eclecticism" is defined in the words of Leo Vaganay as meaning "no shutting up of the different branches of the science into watertight compartments," with the further implication that "verbal criticism, external and internal criticism, all have their part to play and must give each other mutual support" (ibid.). Proclaimed as though they were new discoveries are principles long since discussed en extenso by Hort: no single witness or group of witnesses is always right, no "rule of thumb" method is to be employed in dealing with evidence, what reading best accounts for the other readings, traces of seeming scribal changes, and which reading seems most in keeping with the author's style and thought as well as with the context (vii). The key to the methodology is the claim "that much greater emphasis is now placed upon internal evidence than earlier critics were prepared to allow" (ibid.).

In a review of the Tasker-edited Greek New Testament, Klijn found the "eclectic method" to have been applied "carefully and wisely," but with little deviation from Nestle.[24] A number of D-readings appear in Acts, usually with a footnote citing the B-reading. Klijn concludes: "For the textual critic it is important that it has again been shown that even applying the eclectic method the Egyptian text proves to be the best one."

In America the eclectic method was employed in the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament (1946) as declared by the "Introduction" (booklet) which accompanied it. In Chapter V of the Introduction, Frederick C. Grant discusses "The Greek Text of the New Testament," setting forth the "new rules" which governed the committee:

1. No one type of text is infallible, or to be preferred by virtue of its generally superior authority.
2. Each reading must be examined on its merits, and preference must be given to those readings which are demonstrably in the style of the author under consideration.
3. Readings which explain other variants, but are not contrariwise themselves to be explained by the others, merit our preference; but this is a very subtle process, involving intangible elements, and liable to subjective judgment on the part of the critic (p. 41).

What follows is a discourse as to the necessity of the eclectic method, with the protest that "each variant reading must be studied on its merits, and cannot be adopted or rejected by some rule of thumb, or by adherence to such a theory as that of

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[24] A.F.J. Klijn, New Testament Studies, Vol. 11 (January 1965), No. 2, pp. 184f.

the 'Neutral Text.'" Further clarification is that The Greek text followed is not that of Westcott-Hort, Nestle, or Souter -- but as a rule from the text or margin of Nestle (17th)!

Against this background, Grant's concessions are interesting: "And it is really extraordinary how often, with the fuller apparatus of variant readings at our disposal, and with the eclectic principle now more widely accepted, we have concurred in following Westcott and Hort." Again, ". . . our agreement is really a tribute to Westcott-Hort, which is still the great classical edition of modern times" (ibid.). Of course, the Committee followed Hort in methodology more than it liked to admit.

A highly significant essay by Matthew Black, "Notes on the Longer and the Shorter Text of Acts," is a valuable contribution to this subject; and it raises serious questions as to what is going on in the Editorial Committee of the UBS.[25] Black's long-standing dissatisfaction with a Hortian "Textus Receptus" has been noted above, so his advocacy of a serious reconsideration of A.C. Clark's contention for the advantage of the D-text over the B-text is no surprise. As usual, Black is highly competent and cautious, avoiding generalizations and only pleading for openness to the evidence as far as it goes. He concentrates upon six Western readings. The puzzle is the complete silence of the footnotes in the UBS(3) and Metzger's Commentary with respect to Black's dissenting position. We were promised just such notice as to serious dissent within the Committee. It is barely visible, and there is not one initialed note from Black.

Longer readings which Black thinks deserve reconsideration are found in Acts 2:30-32; 8:39; 12:25; 18:18-19:1; 20:7-13; 24:6-10. UBS(3) rejects the longer reading in 2:30, passing the shorter with a (B) rating. UBS(3) has no note on 8:39, but the Commentary does, alluding to "some scholars" who hold to the longer reading but with no names. Black mistakenly cites Codex D as among the witnesses to the longer reading when in fact D is defective here. UBS(3) cites variants to 12:25 but opts for the shorter reading with a D-rating. The Commentary acknowledges the Committee's uncertainty here but cites no dissenting vote. Black has especially strong feelings as to a "botched" text in 18:18-19:1, but the UBS(3) does not reflect this in four (B) ratings and two (C) ratings in 18:18-26 and no variants noted for 19:1. UBS(3) offers a (C) rating in 20:13 and a (D) rating in 24:6-8, with no hint as to Black's dissent.

Black deliberately refrains from drawing "far-reaching conclusions" (120). He does seem to have the better of the argument at a number of points. His plea at 8:39 that it is more difficult to account for growth or expansion of the Egyptian text than for shortening of the "Western" reading is not convincing. In any event, his cogent essay is a reminder that our work is far from done.

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[25] Matthew Black, "Notes on the Longer and the Shorter Text of Acts," On Language, Culture, and Religion, op. cit., pp. 119-31.

Steps in the Journey Ahead

Methodology is best kept under constant criticism. Just over a decade ago, Klijn sounded an alarm: "The eclectic method seems to be the only adequate method to regain the original text, but it also appears to lead us into complete chaos."[26] Meanwhile we could end up with a single text through the marriage of Nestle-Aland and UBS. There are options other than chaos or consolidation.

Probably the best option before us today is along lines proposed by Colwell in his "Hort Redivivus: a Plea and a Program." This need not repeat Hortian mistakes, and it does allow for refinement. Hort was sound at least in the ideal of hearing all evidence, internal and external, before making any final judgment. He fairly well sensed his own vulnerability at points and confessed it. Colwell, who confesses to his own part in dethroning Hort, boldly declares:

> I think now that I was wrong, that Kilpatrick is wrong, and that Aland is wrong. Each of us, obsessed with some one glaring fault in Hort (Colwell, genealogical method; Kilpatrick, overemphasis on manuscripts; Aland, no Greek papyri) threw out the baby with the bath water.[27]

This whole essay by Colwell should be pondered. Hort's own methodology as set forth in the Volume II (1882) which followed the publication of the Westcott-Hort text should be read anew and updated. His major faults were his genealogical construction and his conception of a Neutral text. Especially should attention be given to the two principles he placed in bold type: (1) KNOWLEDGE OF DOCUMENTS SHOULD PRECEDE FINAL JUDGEMENT UPON READINGS (p. 31) and (2) ALL TRUSTWORTHY RESTORATION OF CORRUPTED TEXTS IS FOUNDED ON THE STUDY OF THEIR HISTORY (p. 40).

Since 1961 manuscript holdings impinging directly upon Luke and Acts as well as upon the New Testament generally have been enrichened immensely. For the Gospel of Luke the publication of P^{75} in 1961 was a major break-through.[28] Containing most of the text of Luke and John and dated between A.D. 175 and 225, this single quire Greek codex preserves a text very close to Vaticanus. It establishes the fact that in Egypt there circulated a B-type text about a century and a half earlier than Vaticanus. This destroys the theory that B reflects a third century recension producing the "Egyptian" type text. It does not disprove the theory of a second century revision, "Atticistic" or otherwise, but as far as it goes it is supportive of the basic theory of Hort.[29] The Alexandrian

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[26] A.F.J. Klijn, "In Search of the Original Text of Acts," p. 104.

[27] Colwell, op. cit., p. 158.

[28] Victor Martin and Rodolphe Kasser, Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV. Evangiles de Luc et Jean, 2 vols. (Cologny-Geneva, 1961). With facsimile of entire text.

[29] Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, "Developments in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," op. cit., pp. 157f.

text is not younger than the second century, at least for Luke and John.

Discovered also in 1961 was the yet unpublished Cop^{G67} (Pierpont Morgan Library). It contains exactly the first half of Acts (1:1-15:3) in an archaic Coptic dialect called Middle Egyptian Proper. The text is Western. Accepting a 4th or 5th century dating, T. C. Petersen claimed that it ". . . offers additional unimpeachable testimony to the existence among the Christians of Egypt of NT writings that bear a clear resemblance to the 'Western' text."[30] If so, this does not establish the widely held view that there was a Western text by the second century reflected especially in the agreements of Codex Bezae, the Old Latin, and the Old Syriac; but it supports that view. Haenchen and Weigandt contested Petersen (and Epp), arguing for a 5th or 6th century date and finding in it a mixed rather than an "unadulterated" text.[31]

E. J. Epp has demonstrated striking affinity between the text of Cop^{G67} and Bezae as well as their independence of one another.[32] He shows that in perhaps eight places these two witnesses stand alone in support of certain readings. In at least six readings, Cop^{G67} is joined by two other recently discovered Western witnesses in supporting sy^{h} and l against Bezae and other Western witnesses in the reading, "whom the Jews rejected." The other newly found manuscripts are a seventh century Old Latin manuscript called it^{l} containing Acts 8:27-11:13 and 14:21-17:25, with alternating Old Latin and Vulgate sections, and a sixth century Syriac fragment called sy^{msk} and containing Acts 10:28-29, 32-41. Epp finds that here in these readings Bezae conforms to the Alexandrian text, and that these newly discovered witnesses preserve the Western. Although Epp has concentrated upon Codex Bezae as marked by a strong anti-Judaic bias, he finds it also in Western readings outside Bezae.[33] This would be a case in point.

From his study of theological tendency in the Bezan text of Acts, Epp concludes:

> Codex Bezae in Acts, where it represents (as is so often the case) the distinctive "Western" text, shows a decidedly heightened anti-Judaic attitude and sentiment. The same bias is also evident in and supported by the "Western" variants outside Codex Bezae.

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[30] Theodore C. Petersen, "An Early Coptic Manuscript of Acts: An Unrevised Version of the Ancient So-called Western Text," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Vol. 26 (1964), p. 227.

[31] Ernst Haenchen and Peter Weigandt, "The Original Text of Acts?" NTS, Vol. 14 (July 1968), No. 4, pp. 469-81.

[32] Eldon Jay Epp, "Coptic Manuscript G67 and the Role of Codex Bezae as a Western Witness in Acts," JBL, LXXXV (June 1966) II, 197-212.

[33] Ibid., pp. 203, 211. See especially his book, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts (Cambridge U. Press, 1966).

This conclusion seems to be ably demonstrated, but his further remark as to the "modest goal" of the study can hardly be left to rest so comfortably: ". . . simply to understand the D-text of Acts in its own terms without reference to the questions of origin or originality."[34]

To say that the D-text "heightens" anti-Judaic motive compels the question -- compared to what? Epp has compared Bezae with Vaticanus throughout his book. He thereby has made the judgment that the D-text heightens the B-text. This does not settle the question of origins, but it does say something as to direction. So put, the implication is that the Western text is a deliberate, theologically-motivated recension. Had he avoided the term "heightened," he may have demonstrated only difference between the B-text and the D-text, leaving open the question as to whether Bezae heightened or Vaticanus lowered anti-Judaic bias. Epp is not seeking to do a redactional study, showing Lukan motive in working with his sources. He is seeking to demonstrate something which occurred at the scribal level. My judgment is that Epp has demonstrated more than he modestly claims -- that the Western text is an expanded text, whatever be the relationship of the Alexandrian to Lukan originals.

Further challenge to the "modest goal" which Epp declares at the close of his book is the way he began it, with a bold challenge to Hort. He began by affirming the broad concern of his investigation into theological motivation behind textual variants in the so-called "Western" text to be set over against "the negative view of F.J.A. Hort regarding dogmatic influences upon the text of the New Testament."[35] Hort denied that there had been deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes. Hort was talking about scribal tampering and not authorial tendencies. Whether he intends it or not, Epp is deep in the question of "origin" and "originality," at least to the extent of finding heightened anti-Judaic bias in Western motive. If heightened, it is not original.

To conclude, I propose that we seek Luke's own intention in Luke-Acts, however elusive. I propose that we reconsider Hort's basic methodology, subjecting it to the severest testing and correctives as informed by past decades of experimentation with the "eclectic" method. This need not give priority to internal or external evidence but may let final judgments await all possible evidence. I would caution against the possibility that any current Greek text be accorded the status of a Textus Receptus, whether by design or default. With a long-awaited, updated critical apparatus on the Gospel of Luke now a reality, it may be hoped that such resources as are required may be brought to the task so that the completing of a critical apparatus for the remaining books of the New Testament may be greatly accelerated.

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[34]Epp, The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts, p. 165.

[35]Ibid., p. 1.

S 33 SOME ASPECTS OF PRAYER IN LUKE-ACTS

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> The general subject of "prayer" in the New Testament has, by and large, been neglected by scholars. In 1965 Wilhelm Ott noted that although Luke had rightly been called "the evangelist of prayer" the exact significance of this had not been assessed. All too often commentators had noted that the Third Evangelist made many references to the subject that were not found in either of the other Synoptists but these instances had not been evaluated.[1]

Ott attempted to meet this need by a monograph on Lukan prayer,[2] concentrating on the didactic material of the Third Gospel (notably the Parable of the Unjust Judge, Lk.18:1-8). In contrast to Matthew, who presents prayer as an expectation of God's coming, Ott understood the Lukan emphasis to be: men "ought always to pray and not lose heart" (Lk.18:1). Thus he interpreted Jesus' example at prayer as giving strength to this Lukan demand for unceasing petition which was set against the background of: "(1) temptations which began with the passion of Jesus and would continue; and (2) the church would remain in the world for an indefinitely long period of time, and its members would not be stifled".[3]

Despite its valuable contributions, especially to an understanding of Lukan paraenetic material on prayer, Ott's study exhibited several weaknesses which scholars have been quick to point out:

> (1) his brief (13-page) treatment of Luke's second volume has not done justice to the prayer material contained in that work; (2) the Third Evangelist in both the Gospel and Acts has employed this motif of prayer at critical moments in his history of salvation, and this suggests that he considers prayer to have been an important means by which God has guided His people. Ott has paid little or no attention to this. And therefore (3) although Luke is concerned to promote the practice of prayer among his readers (as Ott has shown), it may not be his primary interest. Rather, prayer is shown to be the means by which God has guided the course of redemptive history, both in the life of Jesus and in the period of the church's expansion.[4]

The purpose of this brief study is to draw attention to the more important data on prayer in Luke-Acts, to note the general significance of this motif in the two-volume work, and thus to point to avenues for further research. For purposes of convenience, it will be useful to turn our attention first to the Gospel of Luke, and then to the Book of Acts. In this way the distinct contribution of each book may be appreciated. Finally, an attempt will be made to draw some general conclusions which may be applied to the understanding of prayer in Luke-Acts as a whole.

I. Prayer in the Gospel of Luke

A. The Statistics of Prayer

The crucial significance Luke attaches to prayer becomes clear when one examines the statistics.[5] The verb proseuchomai, "to pray,

make petition", appears nineteen times in the Third Gospel and sixteen times in Acts, but it is found only ten times in Mark and fifteen in Matthew. The cognate noun proseuchē, which is prominent in Paul (fourteen times), is found three times in Luke and nine times in Acts, but only twice each in Matthew and Mark. Taking the noun and the verb together, Luke-Acts uses the principal prayer terms some forty-seven times, contrasted with only seventeen in Matthew, twelve in Mark and none in John. Other words are also used in Luke-Acts which, broadly speaking, are related to prayer. These include aineō (six times: 3 in Luke and 3 in Acts), eulogeō (fifteen times: 13 and 2), doxazō (fourteen times: 9 and 5), eucharisteō (six times: 4 and 2), deomai (fifteen times: 8 and 7), deēsis (three times in Luke), and agalliaō (four times: 2 and 2). It is true that thanksgiving does not occupy the major place in Luke-Acts that it does in Paul's thought, where eucharisteō is used some twenty-four times. Nevertheless a survey of the prayer terminology of Luke-Acts strongly suggests that prayer - especially petitionary prayer - is a theme of considerable significance in the Lukan writings.

B. The Importance of Prayer

This impression is strengthened by a comparative study of the actual contents of the Four Gospels. This is not the place to undertake a full scale investigation of the topic, so a few cursory remarks must suffice.

Mark's Gospel only occasionally speaks of prayer.[6] In one case Mark attributes the failure of the disciples to their unfaithfulness in prayer (Mk.9:29; some MSS add: "and fasting"). The disciples are taught to meet a great crisis by prayer and watchfulness (Mk.14:38; cf. Mt.26:41), and prayer is enjoined in an eschatological context (Mk.13:18; cf.Mt.24:20). In the cursing of the fig tree instruction in prayer is given in connection with the explanation of a dramatic action (Mk.11: 20-25; cf.Mt.21:20-22). Here an exhortation to exercise faith is followed by a definite incentive to prayer (Mk.11:24; cf.Mt.21:22). To this teaching a warning is added stressing the importance of forgiving others (Mk.11:25; cf.Mt.6:14, where the warning appears in a different context). Mark, followed by Luke, calls attention to the danger of self-deception and hypocrisy in prayer; for this reason lengthy prayers used as a smoke screen to hide social sins are roundly rebuked (Mk.12:38-40; Lk.20:45-47; cf.Mt.23:1-7). Like Matthew and Luke, Mark speaks of the cleansing of the temple in terms of Isaiah 56:7, but underscores the fact that God's house was intended as a house of prayer "for all the nations" (Mk.11:17; cf.Mt.21:13; Lk.19:46). In summary,

> ...the Second Evangelist shows little interest in the subject. The Lord's Prayer is omitted, and in a few instances where prayer terms are found Mark's primary concern is not with prayer as such. ...In the Markan contexts the interest is centred on faith, readiness to forgive, etc., rather than prayer.[7]

Mark wrote to the Romans, who were more impressed by deeds than discourses. Everywhere in his Gospel Jesus is presented as the mighty Son of Man. Hence it is understandable that prayer is not stressed unduly. This is preeminently the "Gospel of Action".

Turning to Matthew's Gospel, we strike a richer vein. Obviously worship plays a prominent part in Matthew's thinking (note the use of proskunein in 2:2,8,11; 14:33; 28:9,17), so it is not surprising that prayer should loom larger on this Evangelist's horizon than is true of Mark. Here it is appropriate to recognize the fact that much of the teaching on prayer in the Gospels is preserved in the subject matter which Matthew and Luke share together. This "Q" material contains "the Great Thanksgiving" (Mt.11:25-27; Lk.10:21-22), the Instruction on Asking

and Receiving (Mt.7:7-11; Lk.11:9-13), the famous Mission Charge (Mt.9:37-38; Lk.10:2), the Teaching on Trust in God (Mt.6:25-33; Lk.12:22-31), the Counsel on Loving and Praying for Enemies (Mt.5:44; Lk.6:27,28) and possibly, the Rejection of Superficial Piety (Lk.6:46; cf.Mt.7:21). Both Matthew and Luke have a version of the Lord's Prayer. Without examining here the Model Prayer in detail,[8] it may be noted that the prayer begins with God and moves on to man. After a right emphasis has been placed upon the hallowing of God's name, the coming of his kingdom and the doing of his will, the Father may be entreated for daily needs, the forgiveness of sins and victory over temptation and evil (Mt.9:9-13; cf.Lk.11:2-4, whose version is slightly more condensed). In other words, the Matthean evidence is considerably more extensive than Mark,

> ...even including references not found in Luke (e.g.Matt.6:5-8, 14f.; 18:19f.; 21:22; 24:20). Nevertheless, Matthew does not have the systematic interest in prayer that marks out the Third Evangelist. Thus references grouped together in Matthew 6:5-15 appear under the general rubric of "True Piety" (prayer is one element here, just as fasting is another), while in chapter 18:19f. where the theme of answered prayer occurs, it is presented as an illustration of blessing that comes from unanimity. At chapter 21:21f., in the context of casting the mountain into the sea, it is faith, rather than prayer, that is in question. The exhortations to prayer in Matthew 24:20 and 26:41 arise from the particular situations described (i.e. flight will be in winter, and the spirit is willing while the flesh is weak), and are not in the first instance presented as general instruction as the Lukan parallels are. We do not wish to imply that the First Evangelist has no interest in the subject of prayer. The data scattered throughout his Gospel militates against such a conclusion. Rather, he does not have the systematic interest of the Third Evangelist, since prayer in Matthew often occurs in contexts where other issues predominate. That there are no distinctive Matthean parables on this theme lends credence to this view.[9]

In the Fourth Gospel prayer is not prominent, though the Gospel itself is the Evangelist's gift to the world of his "thoughts, prayers and meditations about the Life which is Light of men".[10] The intimate and unending fellowship of Jesus with the Father is everywhere assumed (1:18; 3:35; 5:19-23; 6:37-40; 10:29,30), but only once in a while does it surface in the form of actual prayer (e.g.,11:41,42; 12:27,28). For John the source of Jesus' strength and power is found in his abiding fellowship with the Father (5:17; 10:32,38; 12:49). The longest prayer is the magisterial high priestly prayer of John 17, which embodies not only Jesus' personal communion with the Father (17:1-5) but also his intercession for his disciples, both present and future (17:6-26). For the Fourth Evangelist the whole Christian life is one of personal fellowship with God in and through Christ (14:6ff.; 17:3). Though John does not specifically say so, prayer is surely a sine qua non for such a life of fellowship with God (15:1-11). To those who abide in Christ, large promises are given to encourage the development of an active prayer life (14:13,14).

In other words, while we can be grateful for the various contributions of the other Gospels, Luke's Gospel stands out as the primary source both for a knowledge of the prayer life of Jesus and for instruction in the art of prayer.[11]

In the Third Gospel the emphasis clearly falls on the prayers of Jesus, not his people (unlike the Acts, where quite naturally it is the other way round). Of the fourteen probable instances of prayer on the part of Jesus in the canonical Gospels, two appear in all three Synoptic

Gospels, "one in Matthew and Mark, two in Mark alone, two in John alone, and seven in Luke alone."[12] The majority of cases are recorded by Luke, whose Gospel for that reason has sometimes been termed "the Gospel of Prayer". Luke alone calls his readers' attention to the fact that prayer was associated with a great many of the "red letter days" in the life of Christ. The Son of Man was divinely guided step by step throughout his brief earthly career.

Harvie Conn, following Alfred Plummer and other scholars, has reminded us of the uniqueness of Luke's account of the prayer life of Jesus:

> Luke speaks of nine prayers of Jesus, seven of which are mentioned only by him and not by the other gospel writers. Luke alone tells us that Jesus was praying when the heavens opened at his baptism (3:21). Luke alone tells us that Jesus was praying alone in Caesarea Philippi, and asked his disciples, 'Who do the people say that I am?' (9:18). Luke alone tells us that Jesus took Peter and James and John up to the mount to pray when he was transfigured (9:28,29). Luke alone records the request of Jesus' disciples, "Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples" (11:1). Luke alone tells the prayer parables of the friend at midnight asking for bread (11:5-8), the shameless widow begging the judge (18:1-8). Luke alone notes Jesus' prayer for Peter that Satan would not "sift" him (22:31,32), and his exhortation to the disciples to pray on their arrival at Gethsemane (22:40).[13]

In addition, Luke alone tells us that Jesus prayed before his first clash with the scribes and Pharisees (5:16), and Luke alone preserves the "Father" prayers uttered on the Cross (23:34,46). These last two instances are sometimes not counted, for the incidents with which they are associated are mentioned in the other Synoptists (namely, the healing of a leper and the words spoken from the Cross), but the specific reference to prayer in the former and the actual prayers in the latter are peculiar to Luke and should therefore be included, if Lk.23:34 is accepted as genuine.[14] Moreover, the earnestness of Jesus' last prayer is especially mentioned by Luke, who notes that Jesus "cried out with a loud voice" (phōnēsas phōnē megalē, Lk.23:46). This prayer is especially poignant, as it was the traditional "evening prayer" of Judaism (Ps.31:5).

C. The Elements of Prayer

Since Luke wishes to teach Christians how to pray and to show them how God has guided his people through every phase of holy history, it is worthwhile studying the different elements of prayer as he presents them. The Third Gospel, for instance, is truly rich in suggestiveness regarding the elements of prayer. Communion with God is plainly a feature of the prayers of Jesus. It is implied in the descent of the Spirit at the Baptism (3:21), in the withdrawal from the multitudes into the solitude of the wilderness (5:16), and in the all night prayer vigil in the hills (6:12). It was central in the Transfiguration, where Jesus was transfigured "while he was praying" (9:29). After one such experience of fellowship the presence of God was so real that the disciples requested instruction of Jesus in the method of prayer (11:1). Beyond any need or request was the simple, instinctive drawing near to the "Father" (2:49; 22:42; 23:(34),46).[15]

Thanksgiving sprang quite naturally from the lips of one so steeped in fellowship with his Father. On one occasion Luke observes that Jesus "rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said, 'I thank thee, Father, Lord of

heaven and earth, that thou has hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will...'" (Lk.10:21,22; cf.Mt.11:25-27, where no mention is made of rejoicing in the Spirit).[16] Here thanksgiving and praise are the perfect vehicles to express the loving relationship and intimate communion which Jesus enjoys with his Father. Against such a background it would have been strange indeed if Jesus had not given thanks as he celebrated the Passover with his disciples or broke bread with them after his resurrection (Lk.22:17,19;cf24:30;Matthew and Mark speak of "blessing" the eucharistic bread, Mt.26:26; Mk.14:22). Nor is Jesus alone in worshipping and thanking God, for that has always been true of the people of God and will continue to be true until the parousia (Lk.21:36). So in the opening chapters Luke speaks of Anna as one who worshipped "with fasting and prayer" and "gave thanks to God" (Lk.2:37,38), and later in the ministry of Jesus mentions a healed Samaritan who "fell on his face at Jesus' feet, giving him thanks" (17:16), which is interpreted as "giving praise to God" (17:18;cf.13:17). Here thanksgiving and praise are obviously closely related.

Luke's Gospel is full of praise, a dimension not sufficiently recognized by Ott and O'Brien. Only the Lukan nativity story includes the beautiful Gloria in Excelsis, and speaks of a "multitude of the heavenly host praising God" (2:13,14). Only the Lukan narrative mentions the shepherds returning, "glorifying and praising God for all that they had heard and seen" (2:20; cf.5:25,26; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15). Only the Lukan version of the healing of blind Bartimaeus records his response in terms of "glorifying God", and notes the reaction of the people, who "gave praise to God" (Lk.18:43, where ainos is used). Only the Lukan account describes the disciples at the descent of the Mount of Olives as beginning "to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen" (19:37; cf.13:17; but note Mt.21:16, which quotes Ps.8:2 LXX and mentions "praise").[17] Only the Lukan passion story tells of the centurion who witnessed the death of Christ and "glorified God" (23:47), and only Luke's Gospel opens with God's people in prayer and closes with them joyfully blessing God (1:10; 24:52,53). It is no accident that the lovely Songs of Mary (1:46-55), Zechariah (1:67-79) and Simeon (2:29-32) are all found in the Third Gospel. Mary "magnifies" the Lord and "rejoices" in God her Saviour (megalunei, 1:46; egalliasen, 1:47). Zechariah, "filled with the Holy Spirit", "praises" the Lord God of Israel who has accomplished salvation for his people (1:67,64,68). Simeon "blesses" God (2:28), and Anna begins to "praise God aloud" (anthomologeito, to theo, 2:38). This atmosphere of worship, praise and thanksgiving is carried over into Acts (4:24; 11:18; 13:48; 16:25; 21:20), and surely comes very close to the heart of prayer.

But prayer is not all praise and thanksgiving; there must also be a place for petition and intercession. The people of God live in an eschatological tension between "the now" and "the not yet". While God in Christ has "visited and redeemed his people" (1:68; cf.1:78; 7:16; 19:44), they still live "between the times", that is, between the first advent of Christ in lowliness and obscurity and his final advent in power and great glory. In the interval the Church is to pray in order to escape temptation (Lk.22:40,46; cf.Acts 2:42,46), and has Christ himself as the great model set before her (Lk.22:41ff.; cf.Jn.13:15; I Pet.2:21). In other words, the Christian must pray both for himself and for others. Even the Model Prayer which recognizes the priority of God and his kingdom moves on to consider man and his needs (Lk.11:2-4; cf.Mt.6:9-13). The role of petition is recognized early in Luke's Gospel, where an angel appears on the right side of the altar of incense

and says: "Do not be afraid, Zechariah, for your petition has been heard, and your wife Elizabeth will bear a son, and you will call his name John" (1:13). It reappears again in the next chapter in Anna's "prayers" which are more accurately described as "petitions" or "requests" (2:37); for this reason the Revised Version always translates deēsis as "supplication" (e.g. Lk.5:33, "The disciples of John fast often, and make supplications"). Certainly Jesus prayed for himself in his hour of need, humbly kneeling in Gethsemane (22:41f.). Indeed, according to one textual tradition, Luke lays great stress on the intense earnestness and costliness of this petitionary prayer: "And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat became like great drops of blood falling on the ground" (22:44).[18] This tradition at least is in full agreement with the Epistle to the Hebrews, which speaks of Jesus offering up "prayers and supplications, with loud cries and tears" (Heb.5:7).

Prayers are also offered in Luke's Gospel for others. Two examples of such prayers may be mentioned on the part of Christ. One is the confession made by Peter at Caesarea Philippi, which only Luke introduces by the explanation, "Now it happened that as he was praying alone the disciples were with him" (Lk.9:18ff.; cf.Mt.16:13-23; Mk.8:27-33). "By his introductory words the Third Evangelist wishes us to understand that the petition of Jesus had been effective since the Father has revealed to Peter the secret of his Messianic person and dignity."[19] Another instance occurs in the prophecy of Peter's denial (Lk.22:31-34), where one of the few objects of Christ's prayers is singled out: "I have prayed for you that your faith fail not." Here in view of his impending treachery Satan has demanded to have Peter as well as Judas. While "Satan thus acts as the cunning adversary, Jesus acts as the intercessor, the advocate of his disciples and especially of that particular one whom he had previously pointed out as a leader amongst them."[20] Luke also records his version of the intercessory prayer commanded on behalf of the Church's missionary enterprise, which he relates to the sending forth of the seventy or seventy-two (Lk.10:1,2).[21]

The one element conspicuous by its absence in the Lukan prayers of Jesus is confession of sin. While it is true that the disciples are taught to pray, "forgive us our sins" (11:4), there is no suggestion that Jesus himself ever did so; perhaps this is the Evangelist's indirect way of teaching the sinlessness of the Son of Man (cf.23:41,47). Elsewhere in the Gospel the general need to confess sin is affirmed, particularly in the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (18:9-14); there the tax collector beats his breast saying, "God, be merciful to me a sinner!" Another illustration of true confession is furnished by Zacchaeus who declares, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have defrauded any one of anything, I restore it fourfold" (Lk.19:8). Here confession and restitution are closely linked together, as indeed is the case in the Old Testament (Ex.22:1; Lev.6:5; Num.5:7; 2 Sam.12:6).

D. The Parables of Prayer

Luke's teaching on prayer is clearly displayed in his three distinctive prayer parables. Both the Friend at Midnight (11:5-8) and the Unjust Judge (18:1-8) teach the need for importunity and persistence in prayer. "So far as the two parables differ, the former teaches that prayer is never out of season, the latter that it is sure to bring a blessing and not a curse."[22] The argument in each case is an a fortiori one, and is especially clear in the second parable. If an unjust judge would yield to the repeated appeals of an unknown widow for such a selfish reason, how much more will a loving God, the helper of widows and of all in distress, reward the unremitting cries of his own people?

(Lk.18:7).

> Apparently Luke is writing to a situation in which Christians, under severe persecution, are denying their faith. Verse 8b (whether it is an independent saying of Jesus or a Lukan addition) suggests an appalling crisis. God will assuredly vindicate his servants soon. The parousia may be near, but the saints are to remember (and this is the point of verse 8b) that when it comes the parousia will mean judgment for them as well as for their persecutors. Will they themselves be found faithful when the Lord comes?[23]

The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (18:9-14) has as its central concern righteousness, not prayer (note the use of dikaioi in 18:9 and dedikaiōmenos in 18:14). The two characters of the parable present sharply contrasting attitudes, prayers and results. Both go up to the temple ostensibly to commune with God (proseuxasthai is an aorist infinitive expressing purpose in 18:10), but only one really prays and gets results; the other is only practising egotistical self-deception (18:11). As a recent commentator has said:

> If the parable furnishes any guidance concerning the right way to pray it is that prayer should be humble, and that the person praying should have a true dependence on God. In the two preceding episodes Luke is dealing with a pending judgment (17:20-37) in which strict justice will be meted out (18:1-8). Who then will be found just? This parable gives the answer.[24]

E. The Paradigm of Prayer

Already we have observed much of Luke's teaching on prayer. But any study of the subject would be woefully incomplete if it did not consider the "paradigm of prayer" which Jesus gave to his disciples (Lk.11:2-4).

Luke's setting for the Model Prayer makes the exemplary character of Jesus' own prayer life unmistakably plain: "And it came about that while he was praying in a certain place, after he had finished, one of his disciples said to him, 'Lord, teach us to pray, just as John also taught his disciples.'" (Lk.11:1). There was, Luke suggests, a radiant vitality to the prayer life of Jesus which made a profound impression upon his friends and associates. Above and beyond any formal teaching, the disciples were confronted with a glowing example of genuine communion with God which made an indelible impression upon them. Clearly the paraenetic aspect of prayer to which Ott has directed attention is in evidence here.

When we turn to the prayer itself, we are struck at once by its simplicity and profundity. The Lukan version, which interests us particularly here, is shorter and probably more primitive than its counterpart in Matthew (Mt.6:9-13). Certainly the beautiful doxology with which the Matthean version finishes is a secondary addition (Mt. 6:13b), probably representing an adaptation of the prayer to the liturgical needs of the early church (cf.Didache and the liturgy ascribed to John Chrysostom).[25]

The family prayer begins simply by addressing God as "Father"; Matthew's use of the collective "our Father" is plainly a modification of the prayer for use in corporate worship (Mt.6:9). This "Abba" designation, as Jeremias has powerfully reminded us, can be traced back to Jesus himself, who was probably the source of the early church's use of the title (Gal.4:6; Rom. 8:15).[26]

While the vocative pater suggests access and intimacy, the first petition demands reverence. There seems to be a perfect balance in this prayer between imminence and transcendence. God is recognized as both near and yet infinitely holy (cf.Ezek.36:23). The "name" represents the character of the one mentioned. In the Old Testament it was considered a serious sin to take God's "name" falsely in an oath; indeed, one of the Ten Commandments insisted that "the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain" (Ex.20:7; Deut.5:11; cf. Zech.5:3f.; Wis.14:29-31).

> The name of God means both the mystery of the being of God and all that he has shown himself to be in history and experience. For Jesus hallowing this name was the duty of every man.... The disciple will pray that he may follow Jesus in this profound reverence for the Father.[27]

The second petition teaches us to pray for the coming of God's kingdom, that is, the long-awaited realization of God's righteous rule in the affairs of men.[28] John the Baptist had heralded the imminence of such a divine intervention, Simeon had longed for it, and Anna had fervently prayed for it (Lk.1:17,76; 2:25,37,38; 3:4-17). Now in the ministry of Jesus there was the startling announcement that the sovereign reign of God was entering history and actualizing itself (Lk.4:16-21; cf.Mk.1:15; Mt.4:17).[29] The disciples gradually came to understand that the kingdom had been inaugurated in Jesus, and that the kingdom would be consummated in him (Lk.17:20,21; Acts 1:6,11; 3:20,21; cf.Mk.14:61,62). They were taught to pray for the glorious fulfillment of the kingly reign of God, which entailed their faith, dedication and obedience. Prayer then, according to Luke, has a direct bearing on the outworking of God's purposes and the bringing of his sovereignty to its final and ultimate expression. It has an indispensable role to play in Heilsgeschichte.

The third petition turns the focus from God to man, and this movement indicates the true priorities in prayer. Elsewhere Jesus had commanded his disciples to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and had promised them that all needful things would be added (Mt.6:33; cf.Lk.12:31). Now, in harmony with that promise, the disciples are instructed to ask God for the needed material things of life, symbolized by bread, "the staff of life". The qualifying adjective epiousios is difficult to pin down. It may refer to bread (1) necessary for existence, (2) for the current day, (3) for the following day, or (4) for the future.[30] The exact nuance is hard to detect with certainty,[31] but the general thrust of the petition is clear - it is legitimate and fitting for man to look to God to meet his basic earthly needs in an attitude of loving trust and expectancy.

The fourth petition concerns the forgiveness of sins. The basic presupposition behind this request is stated elsewhere in the Gospels: "Who can forgive sin but God alone?" (Mk.2:7; Lk.5:21). Man's acknowledgement and confession of his own sinfulness before God is predicated upon God's ability and willingness to forgive sin. To experience this divine forgiveness in sincerity and integrity, one must exercise the same attitude of compassionate forgiveness towards his fellows (Lk.6:37; cf.Mt.18:34,35; Eph.4:32; Col.3:13). While Matthew refers to "debts", Luke speaks of "sins". The juridical aspect of forgiveness is not forgotten in Luke, however, "for we ourselves also forgive everyone who is indebted to us" (Lk.11:4b).

The final petition asks for help in facing temptation. Anyone who has honestly prayed for the forgiveness of sin must be concerned to avoid moral failure in the future. The word peirasmos can mean "testing"

as well as "temptation". As in the case of Christ himself (Mt.4:1-11; Mk.1:12-13; Lk.4:1-13; cf.Heb.4:15), God allows us to be tempted (cf. Jn.17:15; Rev.3:10) to test and purify us (peirazein has this meaning in Gen.22:1 and Jn.6:6). We only succumb to our temptations when we are "drawn away by our own lust and enticed" (Jas.1:14). While temptation is common to man (anthrōpinos), God has promised not to permit his servants to be tempted beyond the point of endurance, but rather to provide for them the way of escape (kai tēn ekbasin, 1 Cor. 10:13).

> We pray, therefore, that we may not be tried above what we are able, and this is defined by the following words: Our prayer is, Let not the tempting opportunity meet the too susceptible disposition. If the temptation comes, quench the desire; if the desire, spare the temptation.[32]

In brief, the Model Prayer summarizes the central features of Jesus' teaching on prayer and sets them forth for emulation by disciples in one glorious paradigm.

> The transcendent beauty and value of the lessons in the Lord's Prayer arise from (i) the tone of holy confidence:-- it teaches us to approach God as our Father (Rom.8:15), in love as well as holy fear; (ii) its absolute unselfishness:-- it is offered in the plural, not for ourselves only, but for all the brotherhood of man; (iii) its entire spirituality:-- of its...petitions, only one is for any earthly boon, and that only for the simplest; (iv) its brevity and absence of vain repetitions (Eccles.5:2); (v) its simplicity, which requires not learning, but only holiness and sincerity for its universal comprehension. For these reasons the Fathers called it 'the Epitome of the Gospel' and 'the pearl of pearls.'[33]

II. Prayer in the Book of Acts

Having surveyed the Third Gospel, we are now ready to review the teaching on prayer in the Book of Acts. Since we have already outlined the statistics on prayer, we can move directly into the importance of prayer.

A. The Importance of Prayer

The Acts of the Apostles contains approximately twenty-five significant instances of prayer. The birth of the church was the result of prayer. The disciples had been specifically instructed to remain in Jerusalem until they were "clothed with power from on high" (Lk.24:49; Acts 1:4,5). They obeyed this injunction, waiting for the promised coming of the Spirit and devoting themselves to prayer, together with the women, Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brothers (Acts 1:8,13,14). One of their real concerns at this time was the finding of a suitable replacement for Judas; while they used the time-honored method of casting lots as in 1 Sam.14:41, they did so in an earnest desire to discover the will of God (Acts 1:24-26, where God is addressed as kardiognōsta pantōn).

The answer to the ten day period of prayerful preparation came on the day of Pentecost with the gift of the Holy Spirit (2:1-13). Those who received Peter's message were baptized, and three thousand converts were added to the infant church (2:41). The new believers "devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers" (2:42). Prayer was thus an integral part of the Christian movement from the start, and its vitality was closely related in Luke's eyes to the growth of the church (2:47).

The mettle of the early Christian community was soon tested by persecution. When Peter and John were arrested by the leaders of the Sanhedrin, the believers "lifted up their voices together to God" in earnest united prayer (4:24-30). The result of their intercession was a powerful demonstration of the power of God (4:31).

This communal esprit de corps, developed in unselfish prayer, was expressed also in the sharing of goods (2:44f.; 4:34-37), a practice similar to that of the Essenes. While this custom was voluntary and temporary, it could become a source of temptation, and possibly a lack of prayerfulness was responsible for the duplicity of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1-11; cf.Lk.11:4; 21:36; 22:40,46). In any case, this incident served to solemnize the new community, for "great fear came upon the whole church, and upon all who heard of these things" (Acts 5:11).

The story continues with the apostles working great miracles, the number of converts increasing (5:12-16), and the apostles suffering arrest for the second time (5:17,18). But even in prison the prayerful apostles are encouraged by the message: "Go and stand in the temple and speak to the people all the words of this life" (5:20; cf.12:7-9).

The choice of the Seven was made to allow the maximum opportunity for the Twelve to devote themselves "to prayer and to the ministry of the word" (6:4). After suitable candidates for administrative office had been selected, they were set before the apostles, who "prayed and laid their hands upon them" (6:6). Luke adds a footnote to indicate that the growth of the church continued (6:7); the Christian community had evidently been guided in the disposition of its own affairs so that its witness to "those outside" remained vibrant and attractive (cf. 1 Thess.4:12). This is clearly the case when one of these very appointees prays as he is martyred, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit" (Acts 7:59; cf.Lk.23:46), and "Lord, do not hold this sin against them" (Acts 7:60; cf.Lk.23:34). The fact that the dying Stephen acts like his prayerful Lord is apparent in the deliberate parallels which Luke has drawn between the two incidents. As Augustine once remarked, if Stephen had not prayed, the Church would not have had Paul.

According to Acts 1:8, the next stage of the church's expansion was from Jerusalem and Judea into Samaria. For the early church to evangelize the Samaritans was definitely to take a step in the direction of a world-wide mission. For this reason it was essential to know that this move was in keeping with the divine purpose; this was confirmed when Peter and John visited the Samaritans on a goodwill mission and prayed for them. When the apostles laid hands on the Samaritan converts, they received the Holy Spirit (8:14-17), thereby giving tangible evidence of the solidarity of the Samaritan community with the Jerusalem one.

Nowhere does the importance of prayer in the development of the Christian mission loom larger than in the case of Paul. Luke seems to go out of his way to stress the guidance of God at every stage of the apostle's career. The arch persecutor of Christians falls to the ground when he hears the haunting divine voice, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?" (9:4-6). Later Ananias is told that Paul is praying at the house of Judas on Straight Street, Damascus (9:10-15). Paul's prayer is answered when Ananias lays hands on him, prays for his sight and infilling by the Spirit, and Paul receives Christian baptism (9:17,18).

After his conversion Paul prays in the temple in Jerusalem and in

a trance is told of his mission to take the gospel to the Gentiles (22:17-21). Paul and Barnabas pray when they appoint elders for the churches of South Galatia (14:23). At Philippi Paul shares in a prayer meeting and prays with Silas while his feet are fastened in the prison stocks (16:16,25). On the shore at Miletus he prays in a touching scene with the Ephesian elders (20:36), and similarly kneels on the beach with the disciples at Tyre (21:5). Even in the midst of a violent Mediterranean storm Paul prays, encouraging the crew and passengers as he takes bread and gives thanks "in the presence of all" (27:35). Finally, Paul is found in Malta praying and laying hands on a man suffering from recurrent fever and dysentery (28:8). Here too, as in similar cases in Peter's ministry, "the prayer offered in faith restores the one who is sick" (cf.Acts 5:12-16; Jas.5:15).

Prayer, then, is as decisive for the Book of Acts as it is for the Third Gospel. For Luke holy history continues. Prayer marks not only the ministry of Jesus and his first disciples, but also every stage in the outreach of the gospel to the Gentile world. It is one of the principal methods by which God has taught and strengthened his people, empowering them by his Spirit for service and ministry in the world.

B. The Elements of Prayer

The salient features of true prayer are well represented in the Acts. Here prayer is set in the midst of Luke's general interest in the importance of worship, an interest we have already observed in the Third Gospel (e.g., Lk.1 & 2; 4:16). The worship motif is indicated several times in Stephen's speech in Acts 7 (note the use of latreuō in 7:7 (quoting Ex.3:12) and 7:42 and proskuneō in 7:43 (quoting Amos 5:26)). The tragedy of Jewish history in Luke's eyes was its departure from God-appointed worship into idolatry and apostasy. So central a concern was worship that a cabinet minister would leave the affairs of state for a religious pilgrimage to Jerusalem (8:27). Worship could be practised in ignorance, as Paul reminded the Athenians (17:23, where note the use of eusebeō). Worship, defined as "reverent honor and homage paid to God" is certainly important in the Acts of the Apostles (cf., e.g., 26:7; 27:23). This is especially clear when the Apostle Paul journeys to Jerusalem "to worship" (24:11). In Luke's view, "ministering to the Lord" was a matter of the utmost importance, as he observes in the case of the leaders of the church at Antioch (13:1-3).[34] Here we see that "the normal preparation of the Church for receiving the Spirit is regular worship and self-discipline."[35]

Adoration was involved in early Christian prayer. This doxological note is obvious in their confident appeal to God as the great Creator, the "Sovereign Lord" of heaven, earth and sea (4:24; 17:24). Sometimes this adoration bursts forth spontaneously, as in the case of the lame man healed at Solomon's portico (3:8,9); here his praise serves as evidence of his cure and witness to his faith. Sometimes it breaks out at unorthodox times and places, as in the midnight praises of Paul and Silas in prison (proseuchomenoi hymnoun ton theon, 16:25).

Worship and adoration are related to rejoicing, which is certainly a characteristic of the Lukan writings.[36] In the Book of Acts the apostles "rejoice" that they have been considered worthy to suffer shame for Christ's name (5:41). Philip, the human instrument in the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, baptizes him and goes on his way "rejoicing" (8:39). When Barnabas reaches Syrian Antioch and witnesses the grace of God at work, he "rejoices" and encourages believers to remain steadfast in their Christian commitment (11:23). In Pisidian Antioch Paul turns to the Gentiles when the Jews of the synagogue oppose his message, and they commence "rejoicing and glorifying the word of the Lord" (13:48). And the Philippian jailor, who a short time before would have

killed himself, "rejoiced greatly, having believed in God with his whole household" (16:34). Formally and informally, in season and out, the early Christians were apparently learning to "rejoice always, pray constantly, give thanks in all circumstances" (cf.1 Thess.5:16-18). In doing so, they were following the teaching and example of their Lord.

Thanksgiving was also a feature in their prayers. We have already observed Paul giving thanks as he takes food at sea (Acts 27:35). When the Italian Christians come out to meet him, Paul again thanks God and takes courage (28:15). While the element of thanksgiving achieves greater prominence in Paul's epistles, it is not absent in the Acts.

Prayer occasionally takes the form of confessing one's sins (19:18), and in at least one case confession is clearly demanded (8:18-24); in this instance Simon the sorcerer, rebuked for his blatant sinfulness, is both commanded to pray and requests Peter's help in prayer.

Supplication, as we have seen, is one of the major elements in the prayers recorded in Acts. So the pre-Pentecostal prayer of the 120 prepares the way for the promised coming of the Spirit (Acts 1:8,14; 2: 1-4). Prayer is invoked in the appointment of Matthias (1:24-26), and again in meeting a threatening situation with the Jewish authorities (4:24-31). When Peter finds himself in prison, the church engages in "earnest" prayer for him (ektenōs, 12:5; cf.12:12). Peter kneels at the bier of Dorcas, prays for her resuscitation, and raises her up (9:40-42). Later Paul prays for his fellow travellers and for the father of Publius (27:23-25; 28:8).

Most of the above prayers are intercessions offered on behalf of other individuals or the community at large, but there is a place in Acts for personal petitions. Cornelius, for instance, is told that his prayer has been heard (10:31). The context makes it obvious that he is praying for himself and his household (10:33: "we are all here present before God"). Paul prays for personal illumination as he asks: "Lord, what shall I do?" (22:10). Peter prays concerning the meaning of a perplexing vision (10:19,20). Ananias prays for himself as he argues with God concerning the wisdom of approaching Saul of Tarsus, the known opponent of the Christian movement (9:13-16). Even rough and ready sailors pray for daybreak in the midst of a storm at sea (27:29).

Fellowship was evident in prayer. As believers engaged both in corporate worship in the temple and in private worship in their homes, there was a spirit of generosity and gladness, coupled with a genuine note of praise to God (2:45-47). "The first Christians were men controlled and inspired by the Holy Spirit, welded by that indwelling power into a compact and loyal community which was able to confront its crises with confidence and decisiveness."[37]

But such radiant fellowship was possible only when the decks had been cleared of sin and selfishness. Conviction of sin, followed by sincere confession and repentance, was an indispensable condition for the creation and maintenance of such a vibrant common life (Acts 2: 37-42; 3:19; 5:31; 20:21; cf.2 Chron.7:14; Dan.9:4-19; Lk.19:8).[38]

C. The Special Features of Prayer

Before completing our survey, several features of prayer in Acts call for notice. One is the fact that visions are quite prominent, and they are generally related to prayer (9:11,12; 10:2-6, 9-17; 18:9,10; 22:17-21; 23:11; cf.16:9,10; 26:13-19; Lk.1:8-20). For example, Cornelius is told in a vision: "Your prayers and your alms have ascended in a memorial before God" (Acts 10:4; cf.10:30f.). The next day Peter

has a vision as he prays on the housetop of Simon the tanner in Joppa (10:9; cf.11:5-9). As

> ...in the visions of Paul and Ananias in the previous chapter, the main point Luke wishes to emphasize is that the hand of God is in the affair; it is not a chance whim that induces Cornelius to send for Peter as it was no coincidence that sent Ananias to Paul.[39]

Similarly, a message from God is described by Luke as from an "angel of God" in 8:26; 10:3 and 27:23. God is faithful in answering the needs of his people (cf.Lk.11:10; 18:7).

In the second place, a point of similarity with the Synoptics may be noted. This is the fact that sometimes fasting and prayer are linked together in Acts (nesteia is used in 14:23; nesteuō in 13:2,3). This association is observable in the practice of the prophets and teachers of Antioch (13:1-3) and in the selection of elders for the Pauline churches (14:23). Fasting was well known in Jewish tradition (Isa.58: 3-6; Zech.7:5,6; Dan.9:3; cf.Mt.6:16-18; Lk.2:37; 18:12), and Jesus himself had predicted the time would come when his disciples would fast (Mt.9:14,15; Lk.5:33-35). Luke in the Acts records the fulfillment of Jesus' expectation. "The moral significance of fasting is that it is a denial of self-satisfaction as the ideal of life."[40]

In the third place, the earliest Christian community did not abandon the observance of Jewish worship patterns.[41] They maintained a lively interest in the temple and kept up attendance at Jewish hours of prayer (Lk.24:53; Acts 3:1; 22:17; cf.10:3,30). Their Lord had been faithful in worship at the synagogue (Lk.4:16), and had used it as a center for spreading his teaching (Lk.13:10; cf.Mt.12:9). So too Paul and his colleagues were to employ the synagogues as the launching pad for their evangelistic endeavors (Acts 9:20;13:5,14ff.; 14:1; 17:1ff.; 18:4; 19:8).

Fourth, several times the practice of kneeling in prayer is mentioned (7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5; cf.Lk.22:41; Dan.6:10); this is in contrast to the customary Jewish posture of standing (Mt.6:5; Lk.18:11, 13; Mk.11:25). Kneeling, however, was well known (Ps.95:6; 1 Kgs.8:54; 2 Chron.6:13; Ezra 9:5; cf.Eph.3:14; Phil.2:10).

Fifth, prayer is sometimes associated with the laying on of hands, either in an official appointment to office (Acts 6:6; 13:3; 14:23; cf. 1 Tim.4:14; 5:22; 2 Tim.1:6) or in connection with healing (Acts 28:8; cf.19:11f.).

> This laying on of hands was an act reminiscent of Jesus; he had laid his hands upon the sick that they might recover (e.g., Mk. 5:23; 6:5; Lk.4:40; Mt.9:18), communicating by bodily contact the vital power of God. Just as Jesus had received a body that he might be able to touch as well as be seen and handled, so those in whom he lived by the Spirit would by their touch make others sure of God's presence, care and vital power.[42]

Sixth, prayer is occasionally invoked in cases of exorcism, witness the hysterical girl at Philippi (Acts 16:16-18; cf.Mk.16:17); when exorcism is practised purely mechanically without Christian faith and prayer, it fails disastrously (Acts 19:13-16). Exorcisms had been performed in the ministry of Jesus (Mk.9:25-27; Mt.12:22-28; Lk.11:14-20) and his disciples (Mk.6:7; Lk.9:1; 10:17; Mt.10:8), and they continue in the apostolic period.

Seventh, prayer was so characteristic of Christian discipleship

that "calling upon his name" was often used as a synonymn to describe what it meant to be a Christian (2:21; 7:59; 9:14,21; 22:16).

Finally, the Spirit in both Luke and Acts is related to prayer on the one hand and to the kingdom of God on the other. In the Third Gospel the triadic relationship between the Spirit, prayer and the kingdom is evident in Christ's birth (Lk.1:30-35, 46-55), baptism (3:21,22), transfiguration (9:28-36) and ascension (24:44-51), to mention but a few of the decisive points for Heilsgeschichte. In Luke's view the Holy Spirit is given to believers in answer to prayer (Lk.11:13, where Matthew has "good things", Mt.7:11). The same triadic relationship is evident in Acts in the election of Matthias (1:24-26), in the inception of the church at Pentecost (2:1-4), in the early church's intercessions (4:24-31), in the appointment of the Seven (6:3-6), and in the confirmation of the Hellenistic mission to Samaria (8:4-25). All this has been convincingly demonstrated by Stephen Smalley, who sums up the significance of this triadic relationship as follows:

> Luke...regards petitionary prayer as the means by which the dynamic power of God's Spirit is historically realized for purposes of salvation. Luke's theological understanding, moreover, is such that he also views the activity of the Spirit among men and the arrival of the kingdom of God as aligned if not synonymous. Where the Spirit is, there is the kingdom.[43]

III. The Theology of Prayer in Luke-Acts

It is now time to evaluate the various strains in Luke's theology of prayer. A number of points can be made about the general significance of this motif:

1. Prayer is an important element in the Lukan writings as both the terminology and the contexts make clear.
2. "The prayer of praise occurs more frequently in Lukan writings than in the rest of the New Testament together."[44]
3. Luke presents a far fuller picture of Jesus at prayer than either of the other Synoptists or John. He does so not only because of a biographical or christological interest, but also because of a didactic purpose. The distinctively Lukan teaching in the Gospel and the Third Evangelist's handling of the material common to Matthew and himself both underscore this point. Regular and consistent prayer is inculcated upon the disciples, particularly as a means of overcoming temptation. This exemplary character of Jesus' prayer is particularly clear in the scene on the Mount of Olives (Lk.22:39-46), where Luke "emphasizes the meaning of the event more for the faith of the church than for the experience of Jesus."[45] Similarly in the Lukan account of the transfiguration Jesus was changed as he prayed (9:28,29) and Luke wishes to remind his readers that for them too, prayer can change things.
4. The Lukan teaching on prayer emphasizes the need to engage in this activity continuously and that for spiritual ends, e.g., for the coming of the Lord (21:36), the Holy Spirit (11:13), not to enter temptation (22:40,46); and so on.
5. The evidence of Acts, particularly the summary statements, shows that the early church and its members heeded this injunction to unremitting faithfulness in prayer (1:14,24; 2:42,46,47; 4:24-31; 12:5, 12; 20:36; 21:5).
6. Prayer is a prominent characteristic in the spiritual leadership of the early church, as a study of Acts makes clear (1:14; 6:4,6; 7:60; 8:15; 10:9; 13:3; 16:25; 21:5; 28:8).[46]
7. But perhaps Luke's central concern in his presentation of this theme is to show that it had an important supporting role in his account of redemptive history, for by it God had guided his people.[47]

In concluding, it is fair to say that

> Luke's account of the prayer life of Jesus and his people cannot be fully understood apart from Luke's approach to the history of divine salvation. He writes of the prayer of Jesus as a basic reminder that a new page has been turned in God's dealing with man. Jesus, the anointed of the Spirit, enters as Forerunner into the Age of the Spirit, and his life of prayer manifests this entering in. ...Acts provides the link between Jesus and his covenant people, the prayer-sign for the people who live in the between times.....The Messianic kingdom ministry now becomes the Messianic kingdom ministry of Jesus' people. And, with both Jesus and his people, it is a ministry related to prayer.[48]

As Stephen Smalley has finely expressed it:

> If it is true that the critical moments in the progress of the Heilsgeschichte are associated with petitionary prayer, as a response to the petition, it is also true that prayer is the means by which the dynamic power of the Spirit of God is realised and apprehended for purposes of salvation in history.[49]

NOTES

[1] P.T. O'Brien, "Prayer in Luke-Acts," Tyndale Bulletin, 24 (1973), 111. On the general subject one may consult P.R. Baelz, Prayer and Providence: A Background Study (New York: Seabury Press, 1968) and F. Heiler, Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion (London: Oxford University Press, 1932). On prayer in the Bible see C.W.F. Smith, "Prayer," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, 857-67, who notes that "books on biblical prayer are notoriously lacking, especially in English" (p.867).

[2] W. Ott, Gebet und Heil. Die Bedeutung der Gebetsparänese in der lukanische Theologie (München: Kösel Verlag, 1965). Cf. O.G. Harris Prayer in Luke-Acts: A Study in the Theology of Luke (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1966), and, more generally, A. Hamman, La prière. I. Le Nouveau Testament (Tournai: Desclée, 1959). For the purposes of this essay, the author of Luke-Acts is assumed to be Luke.

[3] O'Brien, op.cit., who summarizes Ott's case. In his stress on the theological importance of the delay of the parousia Ott reveals his real indebtedness to Hans Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1953), translated into English as The Theology of St. Luke by Geoffrey Buswell (New York: Harpers, 1960).

[4] O'Brien, op.cit., 112.

[5] The statistics are taken from R. Morgenthaler, Statistik des neutestamentlichen Worschatzes (Zürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1958). Acts also uses krazō (twice) and proskartereō (three times) in prayer contexts, and even the adverb homothumadon is used to express unity in prayer in Acts 1:14 and 4:24. The church gathers for prayer epi to auto in Acts 1:15 and 2:1; cf.1 Cor.11:20; 14:23.

[6] There are, however, at least eight times when Mark draws attention to the prayer life of Christ (Mk.1:35; 6:41,46; 7:34; 8:6f.; 14:22f., 32-39; 15:34).

[7]O'Brien, op.cit., 116. However, Mark "alone of the Evangelists," as F.W. Farrar has pointed out, The Message of the Books (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1897), p.65, "tells us of no less than eleven occasions amid his work on which Christ retired, either to escape from his enemies, or in solitude--that best 'audience-chamber of God'--to refresh with prayer his wearied soul." The passages are: Mk.1:12; 3:7; 6:31; 7:24, 31; 9:2; 10:1,34. The explicit references to Jesus at prayer are 1:35; 6:46; 14:32,35,39.

[8]On the Lord's Prayer see J. Jeremias, The Lord's Prayer, trans. J. Reumann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), E. Lohmeyer, The Lord's Prayer, trans. J. Bowden (London: Collins, 1965) and H. Thielicke, The Prayer that Spans the World, trans. J.W. Doberstein (London: J. Clarke, 1965).

[9]O'Brien, op.cit., 116-17.

[10]J.B. Phillips, The Gospels in Modern English (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1952). While proseuchomai and proseuchē are absent from John, the verb erōtaō is prominent. Though it can be used in asking a question (e.g., 1:19,21,25; 5:12; 9:2; 12:21; 16:19), it is frequently employed in the Fourth Gospel in asking a person to do something, often in the context of prayer (cf.4:40,47; 14:16; 16:26; 17:9,15,20).

[11]Cf.A Plummer, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896), p.xlv.

[12]A. Plummer, "Prayer," A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, ed. J. Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), II,390-93. Perhaps because of its stylized character Plummer omits Jn.17 from the prayers of Jesus. See Ernst Käsemann, The Testament of Jesus According to John 17 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968). Some might wish to add the blessing of the children to the list of Christ's prayers, for Matthew sees prayer as a motive for the disciples' action (hina...proseuxētai, Mt.19:18) and Mark records the actual blessing (kateulogei, Mk.10:16). L.E. Keck, Review and Expositor, 64 (1967), p.473, n.31, "Jesus' Entrance Upon His Mission," recognizes that "Luke regularly reports prayer at pivotal occasions", but dismisses the historical significance of this insight for the prayer life of Jesus in the light of "Luke's stylized interest in prayers". G.A. Buttrick is much less skeptical, and speaks of the "ungainsayable testimony" of Christ's prayers in his well known book,Prayer (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1942), p.36.

[13]H.M. Conn, "Luke's Theology of Prayer," Christianity Today, 17 (1972), pp.6-8. Cf.M. Tolbert, "Leading Ideas of the Gospel of Luke," Review and Expositor, 64 (1967), 441-51, who lists prayer as a "subsidiary emphasis". For a helpful recent study see Lindell O. Harris, "Prayer in the Gospel of Luke," Southwestern Theological Journal, 10 (1967), 59-69.

[14]There is a serious textual problem in Lk.23:34, so any argument on the first "Father" prayer from the cross is highly precarious. The prayer is not found in such early and varied witnesses as: p^{75} BD*WΘ it^{a,d} syr^{s} cop$^{sa,bo^{mss}}$. John Navone, Themes of St. Luke (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1970), pp.118-131, whose treatment of Lukan prayer is otherwise most suggestive, completely ignores the problem.

[15]Cf. Adrian Hastings, Prophet and Witness in Jerusalem (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1958), p.88. On the significance of "Abba" in prayer see J.

Jeremias, The Central Message of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp.9-30. On the prayers of Jesus see J. Jeremias, The Prayers of Jesus (Napierville, Ill.: A.R. Allenson, 1967) and E. Trueblood, The Lord's Prayers (New York: Harper & Row, 1965). Patēr is very prominent in John's Gospel (137 times).

[16]Five references to God as "Father" occur in this prayer. On the filial dimension in prayer see John Navone, op.cit., pp.120-22, who comments: "The prayer not only reveals Jesus' unique filial relationship with God, but also his capacity for extending that relationship to his disciples". On the Lukan version he adds: "This is the only text in the Gospel where we read of Jesus' rejoicing. His joy is analogous to that of Mary and Elizabeth who rejoice because of their insight into and participation in God's effective plan of salvation (1:14,47). In both cases joy is associated with the Holy Spirit."

[17]Luke seems to make a deliberate link between Palm Sunday and the Nativity, for he uses doxa en hupsistois in both Lk.2:14 and 19:38. Cf.I.H. Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971), pp.202-07, who writes helpfully on the relation between praise and prayer,and Navone, op.cit., pp.125-29, who discusses praise and blessing.

[18]On the textual evidence see B.M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1971), p.177.

[19]O'Brien, op.cit., 115.

[20]Norval Geldenhuys, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1950), p.567.

[21]On the textual problem see B.M. Metzger, "Seventy or Seventy-two Disciples," New Testament Studies, 5 (1958-59), 299-306.

[22]Plummer, "Prayer," op.cit., p. 392.

[23]O'Brien, op.cit., 117-18.

[24]Ibid., p.118.

[25]Metzger, A Textual Commentary, p.17.

[26]J. Jeremias, "Abba," The Prayers of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 11-65.

[27]E.J. Tinsley, The Gospel According to Luke (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp.124-5. Cf.S. MacLean Gilmour, Exegesis of Luke ("The Interpreter's Bible", ed. G.A. Buttrick; New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), VIII, 201.

[28]There is no mention in Luke of the Matthean phrase "thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (Mt.6:10b,c). Some later manuscripts substitute the phrase, "thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us". See Metzger, op.cit., pp.154-6, who sees the variant reading as a "liturgical adaptation of the original form of the Lord's Prayer, used perhaps when celebrating the rite of baptism or the laying on of hands."

[29]On the kingdom theme see H. Ridderbos, The Coming of the Kingdom (Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Co., 1962) and John Bright, The Kingdom of God (New York: Abingdon Press, 1963), which is especially useful on the Old Testament background.

[30]W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, eds. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 296-7.

[31]Probably (2) or (3) are the most likely. See Sherman E. Johnson, Exegesis of Matthew ("The Interpreter's Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick; New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), VII, 312f.

[32]F.W. Farrar, The Gospel According to St. Luke (Cambridge: University Press, 1910), pp.210-11.

[33]Ibid., p.209.

[34]On the classical background of leitourgeō (Acts 13:2) see F.J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, eds. The Beginnings of Christianity, translation and commentary by K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury (London: Macmillan & Co., 1933), IV, 110.

[35]C.J. Barker, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Epworth Press, 1969),p.104.

[36]On "joy" in Luke see John Navone, Themes of St. Luke (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1970), pp.71-87.

[37]Barker, op.cit., p.14. Cf. Frank Stagg, The Book of Acts (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1955), p.67.

[38]Cf.Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: University Press, 1933), pp.88-9.

[39]William Neil, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Oliphants, 1973), p.138. Cf.David L. Edwards, Good News in Acts (Glasgow: Collins, 1974), pp.30-56.

[40]Barker, op.cit., p.103.

[41]See J.J. von Allmen, "The Theological Meaning of Common Prayer," Studia Liturgica, 10 (1974), 125-36 and G.J. Cuming, "The New Testament Foundation for Common Prayer," Studia Liturgica, 10 (1974), 88-105. On the frequency of prayer (suggested in Acts 1:14; 2:41f.,47; 6:4) see O'Brien, op.cit., p. 122.

[42]Barker, op.cit., p.103. He adds: "For Saul and Barnabas there was a real service of ordination. They were separated for a particular function and station. This is always the essence of ordination." On the terms for ordination and laying on of hands see M.R. Cherry, Toward a Theology of Ministry (Brantford, Ont.: The Hurley Printing Co., 1965), pp.13-25; cf. Arnold Ehrhardt, The Apostolic Ministry (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1958), pp.15-28.

[43]Stephen Smalley, "Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer in Luke-Acts," Novum Testamentum, 15 (1973), 59-71, esp.66-68. On the teaching about the Spirit in Luke-Acts see Marshall, op.cit., passim; Navone, op.cit., pp. 151-169, and especially G.W.H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," in D.E. Nineham (ed.), Studies in the Gospels (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), pp.159-200.

[44]Navone, op.cit., p.125.

[45]William Baird, "Luke,"The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible, ed. C.M. Laymon (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), p.702.

[46]Cf.Ernest Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, trans. R.McL. Wilson et al. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), p.263.

[47]O'Brien, op.cit., 120-21, 126-7.

[48]Smalley, op.cit., 62.

S 35 PROCESS HERMENEUTIC: AN APPROACH TO BIBLICAL TEXTS

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In a time when creative exegetes are pushing the boundaries of the historical critical method and assessing its adequacy to the tasks demanded of it, many of us take pause to review the broader presuppositions behind the methods we employ. Each of us functions with some at least implicit hermeneutical principle. Although we may not appreciate the deterministic connotation of "hermeneutical principle," such an implicit principle helps guide us to those features of the text which are most interesting for our study. Thus among Bultmannians, the text's understanding of existence is most interesting; among structuralists, the deep structure of the text may be its most interesting feature; among Pannenbergians, the text's unveiling of history may be most interesting. In these and other hermeneutical principles we recognize the ambiguity and insufficiency of the surface level of language and take a stronger sense of direction from some other level of meaning in that language. Then we are confronted with the ancient hermeneutical problem of the relation between the literal and sub-literal dimensions of the text. In that sense we still wrestle with the problems Tychonius raised in his Book of Rules, only now we twentieth century exegetes must ask ourselves about the relationships of the various depth levels brought out by existentialists and structuralists. We notice that many if not all of these hermeneutical principles begin with the phenomenon of language. Schleiermacher's dictum that all that is presupposed is language and language alone still exerts considerable influence, even if it is not consciously recognized.

I. The Phenomenon of the Text

In sorting through the hermeneutical principles and options that are available to us today, we propose to take a phenomenological approach to the interaction of the text and the reader in an historical and social environment. At the very outset, we observe a problem in defining the phenomenon of "text." What is it that constitutes a text as an entity that can be identified over a period of time? Certainly the phenomenon of orthography and arrangement of ink molecules on paper have little to do with the self-identity of "the text." That is, we may observe a number of different markings from "scholar's scratch" to ten point futura type, from Chinese characters to English alphabet, from "right-side-up" to "up-side-down" arrangement on a page, and yet we concede that these markings are the text of Paul's letter to the Romans, for instance. On what basis do we make that claim? Is it really language and language alone that establishes the self-identity of text? Probably not. Today the text can even be presented in multi-media, and the discerning participant would be able to identify it as a statement about Paul's view of law and grace in his letter to the Romans. According to the various hermeneutical principles referred to above, there is some depth level that is sub- or extra-linguistic which enables us to make an identification of a text. If the text itself cannot be exhaustively and phenomenologically defined by language and language alone, can we be sure that these other principles have adequately alerted us to the most interesting features of what we term "the text"?

It is our contention in this paper that the phenomenon of

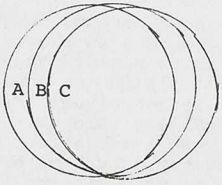
biblical texts and their interpretation has interesting features which are not adequately recognized with the philosophical presuppositions of the dominant hermeneutical principles used today. First and perhaps foremost of these "interesting features" is the fact the various manifestations of "the text" continue to elicit different and even new interpretations over a period of time. We casually say, "The same text means different things to different readers." Now we have two phenomenological problems: what is "the same" about the text (assuming that one is not reading the same sheet of paper with the same markings now that another reader would have read centuries ago), and what is it about the mysterious sameness which gives rise to a plurality of feelings about its significance? These are questions which do not seem to have been dealt with directly in any of the existing hermeneutical programs or principles. Perhaps with some other philosophical starting point these interrelated questions can be illumined.

We will suggest that the process understanding of language proposed by Alfred North Whitehead in fact illumines these phenomenological problems and actually helps us appropriate more of the text's significance than can be appropriated by the other hermeneutical principles alone.

Whitehead believed that what was most interesting about language was not its presentation of certain truths or logical relationships but its capacity to elicit in the reader a number of "lures for feeling." These lures for feeling have a rather special ontological status vis a vis the markings of the text. For those who read and understand the language in which the text is written, those markings are transmuted through a process of symbolic reference into an hypothesis about the way things are or might conceivably be. It is essential to realize that this hypothesis or lure is not usually a conceptual construct that is consciously pondered. It is felt at a much deeper level than conscious experience, even though feeling it may, in human experience, become involved in an intellectual feeling. What is special about the ontological status of these lures for feeling is that they hybridize an actuality (the subject of the lure) with a pure potentiality (the form in which that subject is cast). Philosophically this hybrid character of the lure is very important, for it guarantees that the lure which is felt has an objectivity to it. It refers to some actuality which is extra-linguistic. Here it becomes apparent that we are not dealing with language and language alone. The Whiteheadian view of language begins with language but goes beyond language. It becomes possible to talk about the referential dimension of religious language once again. But talking about that and grounding that reference in the actuality presented by the lure for feeling suddenly makes it possible, also, to define the self-identity of the text. The reason that we say that these markings on this paper are "the same text" as those markings on that tattered papyrus is that they tend to elicit some of the same lures for feeling over a period of time. The text is defined by the lures its language elicits.

We said the text's language tends to elicit some of the same lures for feeling. This observation will guide us toward clarity on our second phenomenological problem, namely that the same text gives rise to many interpretations. Whitehead maintains that language is far too imprecise to refer to one single lure (what he technically terms a proposition). Rather, one sentence may elicit a whole constellation of related lures for feeling. Moreover, a text's author undoubtedly entertained a constellation of lures for feeling, only some of which were ever elicited by the language s/he wrote. So we have at least three

kinds of constellations of lures involved in the history of a given text: A, the constellation the author entertained; B, the constellation that was elicited frequently in the author's intended audience's experience; C, the constellation of lures the text's language may suggest to us as contemporary readers separated by historical, cultural, and world-view distances.



We can say, following Gadamer, that there is an historically-conditioned consciousness about entertaining these texts. Or, with Pannenberg we might say that there is a process of disclosure which cannot be fully understood until the "last" experience of the text has taken place. But for Whitehead, what all this means is that the lures elicited by a text's language have a processive character and change in a temporal succession of repeated exposures to the text. Certain of the lures remain the same so that we continue to recognize the text, but others evolve so that we experience new interpretations of the text.

Whitehead even provides us an analysis of how new feelings about a text arise in temporal succession. First, even if the same proposition (lure) is elicited by reading the text, it is never felt in exactly the same way twice. Here he distinguishes between a proposition and a feeling of a proposition (termed a "propositional feeling"). Every proposition that is admitted to feeling takes on a subjective form; that is, it is felt under a unique set of circumstances:

> But the different propositional feelings, with the same proposition as datum, in different prehending subjects, are widely different according to the differences in their histories in these subjects.[1]

Thus there is always the objectivity of the proposition itself, but there is no such experience of entertaining it without acclamating it through one's own history of experience. This process of giving every proposition (or any other datum for feeling, for that matter) a subjective form is the first way in which new feelings about a text naturally arise.

An even more interesting way in which texts elicit new feelings and therefore new interpretations has to do with the temporal character of the propositions potentially elicitable by the text. As we noticed in our diagram, the ambiguity of language makes it possible for a text to elicit feelings of many propositions. Not all of these propositions are ever felt by one reader, and some of them may never have been felt by any reader! In fact, there are technical reasons why some of the propositions potentially elicited by a text may remain unentertained for long periods of time or until a kairotic, opportune time. One reason may be that these are blockaded, as it were, by other propositions which are irreconcilable or incompatible with them. In this way the potential propositions remain unfelt, even though the occasion for feeling them may be present.

Certainly the history of biblical scholarship is replete with numerous examples of this phenomenon. A case in point may be found in the quest of the historical Jesus, where propositions about Jesus as an apocalypticist were felt only after suspending the influence of other propositions more concerned with dogmatic or moralistic content.

A second reason why some propositions may remain unfelt is that they lack a logical subject in the actual world. Since propositions are hybrid in character, they require both a logical subject which has been actualized and a form of definiteness under which that subject is conceived. From this definition, we may see that there are infinite propositions which may emerge with the advent of new logical subjects. For instance, the various images of messianism may only have been able to elicit a particular constellation of propositions through the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. Other propositions about messianism were felt using other logical subjects, but new propositions were felt when the forms of definiteness of messianism were related as a lure for feeling about Jesus.

This second reason for the temporal emergence of certain propositions alerts us to the fact that with the passage of time (and hence the advent of new logical subjects), every text will tend to elicit new propositions. Likewise, it may also happen that entertaining propositions about the same logical subject may elicit new propositions with slightly different forms of definiteness for that subject. In both cases, novelty is to be anticipated, not rejected a priori (as if only earlier or more original feelings about a text are valid ones).

We may summarize where our phenomenological analysis has taken us thus far if we reflect on the distinctions we have been making between the text, its language, its meaning, and its significance on the one hand, and the lures we feel in reading the text on the other hand. The text itself has self-identity over a period of time because its language (markings with linguistic importance for those who understand that form of written communication) tends to elicit certain lures for feeling. The totality of these lures for feeling can be said to constitute the text's meaning. Specific lures for feeling constitute the text's significance for particular readers. Some of those specific lures change with time, so that the significance (and therefore the interpretation) of the text changes. This brings us to the point of discerning which lures and significances are more important or valid at a particular time.

II. Validity and the Reader's Experience

As soon as we introduce the word "valid" and the question of validity to the discussion of the phenomenon of biblical texts and their capacity to elicit new feelings and interpretations, we have turned the corner in the direction of normative hermeneutics. Indeed, a process hermeneutical perspective begs that question since it gives so much emphasis to the plurality and diversity of feelings about any one text. Which of these feelings should guide our hermeneutical inquiry? With a position such as E.D. Hirch's we may be able to identify the text's "meaning" by reference to the propositions frequently entertained by the original or early readers of the text.[2] With the passage of time and evolution of feelings about the text, Hirch's term "significance" becomes important for normative reasons.[3] We could simply say that the first propositions commonly elicited by the text are the normative ones, but most of us have some reservations about participating in what Toynbee foresaw as the

idolatry of worshiping the past. The significance or relevance of the text today calls us to span that tension between the past and the present, and that process interjects the normative question. The question may be posed this way: which lure for feeling elicited by the text in our experience most faithfully relates us to the traditions from which the text arose?

If we follow an essentialist model, we will surely answer that the lure for feeling which most closely duplicates some predetermined and originative lure for feeling will be the most faithful response to the text. If, however, we follow the trajectories model of the development of religious traditions,[4] we might answer that some divergent lure for feeling may turn out to be the most creatively faithful response to the text. It seems as if the words "may turn out" betray a Pannenbergian time-delay in which validation awaits further experience to confirm or disprove the wisdom of aiding and abetting a divergent lure for feeling. The only other recourse to the normative question in a process hermeneutic lies in the individual experiencing the text.

This shift of perspective from the phenomenon of the text itself to the individual experiencing the text is a common one in existentialist hermeneutics. The whole question of the "verstehende Verständnis" was posed with reference to the individual's relationship to what we have here termed "the most interesting features of the text." As the hermeneutical focus shifts to the individual reader in a process hermeneutical perspective, some important differences emerge. One of the primary differences is that the process perspective, based on a social philosophy of organism, places a much greater emphasis on the influence of other events, especially other persons' previous experience of the text, on the present reader's experience. The interpretive process is much more a social one in the process perspective. But at the same time it is also a much more aesthetic one, and it is through that observation that we will explore the reader's relation to the text and come upon the social significance of that relationship.

We have seen above that the reader him or herself participates in forming subjective feelings about the lures elicited by a text. Even though this usually takes place at a pre-conscious level, it simply is not true that the text's language performs the highly complex processes that lead to understanding, or certainty (Gewisshiet), or authenticity, or whatever. It is the reader who makes a contribution to what the text will mean in his or her experience of it. Whitehead suggests that the manner in which the reader makes contributions to how the text is experienced is largely an aesthetic one. We can observe this in his tendency to refer to the most interesting features of language as aesthetic "lures for feeling" rather than logical truth or falsity. More to the point, the process of the formation of a unit of experience (technically termed "concrescence") is strongly influenced by teleological aims at intensity, complexity, massiveness, and through those, an increase in value. In other words, each becoming occasion of experience aims at enjoyment. That enjoyment, however, is not simply defined as our passive saturation with stimulating phenomena. It is very much an active involvement which constitutes enjoyment through rigorous participation in the process of refining as much depth of feeling as possible. Whitehead refers to this kind of aesthetic refinement as the entertainment of contrasts and the achievement of harmony. Contrasts and harmony may sound incompatible, but in fact they belong together in intensified aesthetic experiences.

It is at this point that we learn something very important about the reader's response to the biblical text. The process hermeneutic's emphasis on the aesthetic character of experience clarifies those hermeneutical approaches whose intention and goal is to remove the obstructions (presumably connotative and conceptual) which blockade the "text's message." The translation mode of interpreting the text functions largely to remove conceptual obstructions by finding new, more acceptable concepts to express the text's intention. For example, in demythologizing many dimensions of the text's message are ruled out a priori because they are not part of the existentialist world view. Phenomena such as miracles, possession, and the pervasive work of the Spirit in the religious community, all undergo translation, at best, or elimination, at worst. The process hermeneutic, with its emphasis on the aesthetic value of achieving a harmony of experience which includes heightened contrasts with it suggests that we do not eliminate those features of the text which do not meet our standards of plausibility. We are to continue entertaining those texts whose world view and conceptuality differs markedly from ours because those experiences will intensify the total aesthetic value of our interpretive experience. It is also possible that by repeated entertainment of such recalcitrant texts, their meaning will become incorporated into some larger harmony and will then be redeemed from extinction through avoidance.

The harmony of aesthetic experience that is achieved by entertaining texts with world views opposed to our own applies to process presuppositions as well. Contrary to some objections that process hermeneuticists will simply look for process categories in whatever text they are interpreting, a process hermeneutic encourages us to take into account precisely those dimensions of texts which do not fit a process view of reality. This is not something that has been characteristic of other hermeneutical approaches. Frequently texts or dimensions of texts are selected on the basis of whether their concepts or genre lend themselves to an existentialist or structuralist interpretation, for instance. To some extent that has also been true of the first attempts at a process-informed hermeneutic; but technically and aesthetically it need not be true at all.

If we return to our concern of how the aesthetic view of the reader's relationship to the text helps us in answering normative questions in hermeneutics, we may summarize very generally by saying that the greater the intensity and complexity of the experience of the lures of the text, the more adequate the reader's response. We have also said something about comprehensibility. The greater the contrasts included in a given interpretation, the more adequate the interpretation. These general normative guidelines, however, leave us with a very subjectivist understanding of the process response to the question of normative hermeneutics.

As we noted above, the process view of reality is a social one. Now we must notice the social implications of the reader's aesthetic experience of the text's lures for feeling. First, Whitehead refers to an historical route by which a subjective form is given to each datum of experience in each becoming occasion. Since every unit of reality, and therefore every person, is related -- directly or indirectly, centrally or negligibly -- to the totality of reality, then the route through which we feel the propositions elicited by a text is a socially-influenced route. What Augustine felt when he entertained a certain text influenced Luther when he entertained that text; what Augustine and Luther felt when they entertained the lures of that text influenced Schleiermacher's reading of that text; what Augustine,

Luther, Schleiermacher et al. felt in entertaining the lures of that text influences or reading of that text today (even when we think we are responding to the language of the text itself). This does not mean that we have no immediate access to the lures elicited by reading the text itself, but it does stipulate that the kind of lures we feel (i.e. which propositions and, to some extent, the subjective forms of the propositional feelings) have been socially conditioned by prior feelings of the text's lures. Three implications are crucial here: 1) analyses which focus on the individual reader's relation to a text (such have typified most hermeneutical theories since Schleiermacher) are reductionistic and therefore inadequate to the phenomena under investigation, 2) the way we respond to a text today (particularly in terms of acceptance or elimination of novel feelings about it) historically conditions what future readers may feel when they read it, and 3) the lures we feel in reading a text need not necessarily have the individual reader as their subject (i.e., contrary to existential hermeneutics, not every text need be felt as a possibility for one's own existence. Overcoming individualism with a social perspective means the subject of the lure may be God, the cosmos as a whole, or some other reader's response to the text.

Given this social context for interpretation, we must agree with another social view of reality -- that of Josiah Royce -- that in fact hermeneutic is always accomplished in a "community of interpretation."[5] Most of us already subscribe to that when we consider our professional guild as the community of interpretation, but if Whitehead and Royce are correct, then we must go farther and embrace the Reformation notion that the entire lay community which reads the biblical texts we read contributes to the way (i.e., the historical route) in which we form feelings of those texts. Here, then, we have encountered another normative dimension of the hermeneutical experience. Our attempts at interpreting biblical texts are influenced in part by our broader community of interpretation, and the interpretations we suggest find their confirmation in part within that broader community. Our interpretations may either enhance the growth of that broader community or contribute to its decay. When we contribute in such a way that our interpretations are taken account of and confirmed to promote growth, then we have one normative validation of our hermeneutic.

III. Summary

As a summary of some of the gains that we would make through a process approach to biblical hermeneutics, I conclude with a diagram of the three-fold relationship involved among the author and the lures for feeling contributing to the writing of the text, the text itself as an arrangement of markings on some medium, and the reader who brings a history of social influences to the encounter with the text:

reader	text	author
(contributes an aim at aesthetic intensity and complexity as well as a web of social influences which historically condition the lures felt from the text's language)	(constellation of lures elicited by its markings, together with potential lures that are contingent upon future events)	(actual events and lures for feeling initially involved in the creative process)

At this point, we simply suggest that such a phenomenological, ontological, and social account of these relationships contributes significantly to the clarification of many of the questions about the nature of the text, the plurality of significances and interpretations it fosters in temporal succession, and the normative concerns for discerning which interpretive responses are the most appropriate ones. We see the potential of the process hermeneutic, then, as a clarification of, and not a substitute for, other major hermeneutical approaches.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Alfred North Whitehead, Process and Reality (New York: MacMillan Company, 1929), p. 399.

[2]E.D. Hirsch, Validity in Interpretation (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 27ff.

[3]Ibid., pp. 63ff.

[4]James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 13, 14.

[5]Josiah Royce, The Problem of Christianity, vol. 2 (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1968).

S 41

REDACTION CRITICISM AND THE FORMATION OF PROPHETIC BOOKS

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Introduction and Definitions

Redaction criticism is a relatively new discipline, frequently associated with New Testament studies and with such scholars as Bornkamm, Conzelmann, and Marxsen.[1] While it is not the aim of this paper to trace the emergence of redaction criticism,[2] it is important to note that the line of questioning which is of utmost importance to this discipline is inherent in the subject matter addressed. "The prime requisite for redaction criticism is the ability to trace the form and content of material used by the author concerned or in some way to determine the nature and extent of his activity in collection and creating, as well as in arranging, editing, and composing,"[3] says Perrin, and this is as true for OT material as for New.

Redaction criticism centers on the written tradition, as opposed to the oral phase of tradition, and attempts to trace the steps from the first written form of the tradition to the final literary form preserved in the canon.[4] Redaction criticism works with the results of literary criticism, for instance, to seek to determine new emphases which have come with revision and reshaping of the tradition.[5] Since a close examination of the final literary form of the tradition usually indicates that there has been a series of redactors who have worked with the material, it is proper to describe the goal of redaction criticism as the description of the redactional history of the material under consideration.[6]

The foregoing is generally agreed upon by those working in the field as in the conviction that much greater appreciation is now to be afforded those anonymous figures known as redactors. As Koch comments, "Fifty years ago the term redactor was used in biblical scholarship in a depreciatory sense. Redactors, it was said, had made additions to the works of the historical writers, prophets and evangelists of the Bible, and had inserted their own--usually irrelevant and very dull--comments, thus distorting the text."[7] One of the fruits of form and redaction criticism has been a deepening understanding of the manner in which tradition develops and is transmitted, a process where redactors/interpreters are of critical importance. In his treatment of the prophetic literature and at an earlier point in the emergence of the discipline, von Rad argued, "Exegesis must be less ready than at present to look on this infusion of new blood into the prophetic tradition as 'spurious' or an unhappy distortion of the original. The process is in reality a sign of the living force with which the old message was handed on and adapted to new situations."[8] Indeed, those who first brought the oral tradition into written form were, for the most part, already functioning as redactors in that they "did not create anything of literary originality, but . . . collected

and assembled into some sort of order traditions which had already existed . . .. They did in fact compose. From the material they appropriated they took out what in their opinion was no longer topical or what was misleading, and worded the piece in language of their own times. They added explanatory details, perhaps chronological, or geographical. They provided the text with a central theme, thus giving it unity."[9] Each phase, each new redaction, is highly significant, and the goal of redaction criticism is to shed light on this process toward the end of gaining greater understanding of the tradition in its final form.

The process whereby the oral tradition is brought into writing is agreed upon only in general. It seems probable that the messages of the prophets were set down in writing, in most cases, soon after oral delivery and that these were in turn grouped into small collections.[10] It has also been recognized that there are at least three basic types of prophetic writing: poetic sayings, first-person reports by the prophet, and third-person reports about the prophet.[11] It is certainly the case that the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah represent a collection of a number of smaller collections,[12] and this is instructive for efforts to understand and articulate the process of the formation of the books of the prophets. But redaction criticism is aimed at understanding why collections of prophetic writing have developed as they have and what these collections (smaller and larger) reveal concerning the intention of the redactor, the theological concern of the one who shaped the material.[13]

As so often is the case, methodology becomes the crux. How is the work of the redactor(s) to be recognized, analyzed, interpreted? In the earliest stages of collection arrangement seems to involve chronological principles or the similarity in theme or terminology.[14] But very early on (and some will argue from the outset) a different, more intentional, process takes over--according to redaction criticism--which can be studied. Introductory pieces and concluding summaries, transition passages between originally independent units, speeches and particularly prayers, all may become indications of the redactor's work and serve to reveal the use the redactor makes of the tradition which has been received.[15] If the redactor is viewed as only making occasional comment or an updating of the tradition, one methodology will be appropriate. But if the process is envisioned as a blending of older sources, a restatement based on liturgical needs, an expansion of tradition, a harmonization/correction in light of historical events, a new proclamation based on the tradition, or some other view or combination of the above, then another methodology may be necessary.

It is to the exploration of such methodological alternatives we now turn. No claim will be advanced that this is an exhaustive review, but only that the positions considered are current efforts at moving forward the definition of an appropriate and adequate method of studying the work of the redactor(s) of the prophetic material. Many with equally important insights and contributions have gone unmentioned, but

hopefully they will be introduced in discussion.

Redaction and Collection

One major approach to describing the redactional process involved in the formation of prophetic books is based upon the assumption that the redactors are primarily collectors. The collections which result from the work of the redactors are usually arranged on the principle of similarity of subject, language, form, or chronology. There also comes into play a two-or three-stage eschatological framework which prompts the grouping of predictions of disaster as over against announcements of salvation, sometimes with oracles to non-Israelite/Judahite peoples sandwiched in between. Certainly this approach is more appropriate with some books than others, but it has been applied to most of the prophetic books at one time or another, long books and short books alike.

To demonstrate this approach more concretely let us examine the results--and the assumptions which lead to these results--of Fohrer's study of Ezekiel.[16] After disclaiming the assumption that the book of Ezekiel is either a unified literary work or the result of oral tradition alone, Fohrer states his own primary premise, namely that the prophet Ezekiel wrote down his own words and reports of his activities either immediately before or after he proclaimed or acted out his message. These reports, however, received no organization from the prophet himself.

The second major phase of the formation of the book is seen as a process of collecting the various descriptions of Ezekiel's words and actions. As Fohrer describes it, "Some of these comprise reports of visionary and ecstatic experiences or symbolic actions. Others were put together on the basis of catch words; most were assembled on the basis of identical or similar subject matter."[17] Nineteen collections are identified-a sample will demonstrate the assumptions at work: 3:16a; 4-5 (Reports of symbolic action); 6 (Sayings with catch word idol); 15-20 (Sayings concerning sin, judgment, responsibility); 22 (Sayings about blood guiltiness, individual sins); 29-32 (Sayings concerning Egypt). While there are a number of verses which derive from hands other than Ezekiel's,[18] in the main the book represents a number of small collections of materials that are Ezekiel's, though he did not organize these collections himself.

Two final stages in the process of the formation of the book of Ezekiel see first a chronological skeleton provided by dated material associated with eight collections: 1:1-3:15; 3:16a + 4:1-5:17; 8:1-11:13; 15:1-16:43 + 20:1-32; 24:1-24; 40:1-48:35; 26:1-28:19; 29:1-32:32.[19] The undated materials were then combined on the basis of similarities of action or content. Second, and finally, the oracles against foreign nations, 25-31, were inserted between the threats against Judah/Jerusalem in 1-24 and the words of salvation for

Ezekiel's people in 33-48.

Fohrer does not speculate to any extent concerning the identity, historical situation, or intention of those who created the book of Ezekiel by their collecting and ordering activity. One is left with the impression that the form taken by the book reflects a rather impersonal, non-polemical, neutral process whereby Ezekiel's material was gradually collected, analyzed, and arranged on the basis of the formal criteria of subject matter and chronology.

Zimmerli has adopted a similar approach to Ezekiel, but with several significant alternations.[20] He also disputes the suggestion that the book of Ezekiel represents a literary unity. But while recognizing an oral stage behind some passages (e.g. chapter 7, 16, 21, 23), he argues that there are some passages which clearly do not reflect an oral setting (e.g., chs 8-11).[21] Further, though there appear to be some glosses and other explanatory additions, much more characteristic of the material are expansions which seem to reflect later appropriations of the text (e.g., 16:1-43 + 44-58 + 59-63; 23:1-27 + 28-30 + 32-34 + 36-49).[22] The kinds of expansion, the apparent influence of material in one section of the book on that in another, the influence of other prophetic sources, the traces of oral and written material--these are the types of data which lead Zimmerli to posit the existence of a "school" gathered around the prophet Ezekiel and responsible for the collection and transmission of these materials.[23]

The suggestion that there is a group of people, self-consciously collecting, rehearsing, and expanding original Ezekiel material in the course of appropriating and adapting the tradition to a later period, is a distinctive and important step toward a different understanding of the redactional process. There is now a more deliberate element introduced into the picture.

But when the overall process of the formation of the book of Ezekiel is described, the idea of a collection procedure is still primary. To begin with there are collections of Ezekiel materials (chs 1-5 composed of material with a similar content; chs 8-12, grouped around words dealing with the prophets; chs 15, 17, 19, all having formal similarities; chs 20-22 reflecting a theology of history and a "catch word" principle) which are maintained and slowly expanded by the prophets' disciples. These independent collections undergo a process of growth when additional material is gathered and incorporated (chs 16 and 23 may possibly have first been placed with 15, 17, 19; 20-22 also connected; then a later "clarification" is accomplished with the insertion of 18).[24] However, the final formation of the book is understood basically as the collection of these independent collections and their organization or the basis of a chronological pattern (i.e., 25 is added to 26-28 which in turn is joined to 29-32, the whole complex then being inserted on the basis of analogy within a section which originally saw 24:25-27

joined with 33:21 ff, 33:1-20 being an even later addition; chs 40-48 are appended at a later date to a collection which by then comprises 1-39).[25] Redactional intention is not a major issue.

It would be incorrect to indicate that Zimmerli and Fohrer have no differences. It does seem the case, however, that they share a basic set of assumptions concerning the formation of the book of Ezekiel which illustrates at least one approach to the whole question of redaction in the prophetic literature. First appear collections organized basically on similarities of content, language, or form. Next, particular pericopes may receive amplification in the course of later application (particularly according to Zimmerli), or these collections may be expanded by the addition of other similar material. Finally, the several collections are joined on some formal principle such as chronology, eschatological schema, or analogy with other books.

Redaction and History

Another approach to the consideration of redaction and the formation of prophetic books stresses the significance of the historical situation of the redactors(s) and pictures the process more as the overlaying of one stage of redaction upon another rather than the gradual enlargement of a collection. The aim of research, then, is to recognize, analyze and characterize the intent of each layer (or phase) of redaction, a goal which assumes a great deal more reflection and a specific purpose on the part of the redactor(s) than the preceding model.

A well-developed example of such an approach is found in Wolff's commentary on Amos.[26] Wolff considers the "Words of Amos of Tekoa" to be the oracles (some of which are explicitly designated "Words" of the prophet) which comprise chapters three through six. Further, the autobiographical style of the visions (7:1-8, 8:1-2, 9:1-4) and the relations the visions have with the oracles against the nations (cf 2:13-16 and 19:1-4) suggests that these two sets of materials also are the work of Amos.[27] These materials seem to have been worked into two basic cycles which were received and preserved by a "school" of disciples.

The first identifiable phase of redaction consists of the work of the disciples of Amos, now located in the southern kingdom (perhaps in or near Beersheba). This "first" redaction takes place around 735 B.C.E. (8:14 shows Dan has not yet fallen--773 B.C.E.--but 5:15, 6:2, 6:6 indicate the Assyrian crisis is well-developed). Primary work consisted in the reinterpretation of 7:1-8, 8:1-3, and 9:1-4 by the addition of 7:9-17, 8:4-7, and 9:7-8a, 9-10 namely the re-application of the visions to fit the later unfolding of events. The work of the redactor(s) can be seen as deeply rooted in the Amos tradition while at the same time using some terminology which is different hzh rather than r'h) and showing great interest in Beersheba (5:5, 8:14). The aim is to make clear that Amos' words against Jeroboam will fall on

Jeroboam's house, that the false santuaries of the north are of that "House of Isaac" which Amos condemned, and that if any at all remain after judgment falls, it will be but a remnant.[28]

A second clear phase of redaction came during the time of Josiah and was aimed at supporting Josiah's purge at Bethel. Beginning with the fact that Amos himself condemned Bethel (5:5b), the redactor(s) make a general threat quite particular (3:14b) and expound Amos' words in 4:4 (cf 4:6-11) and 5:4 (cf 5:6). A "Bethel hymn" (4:13, 5:8-9, 9:5-6) is also taken and used to punctuate the anti-Bethel stance championed by the redactor(s).[29] The clues to recognizing this redactional phase are again differences in terminology, style, and the concern over Bethel.

Redaction at the hands of Deuteronomistic redactors accounts for the next stage of the formation of Amos. Whereas the previous redactions mainly centered on catch words such as "Bethel" or "Altar" or reinterpreted an Amos word, this redaction saw the addition to and alteration of the message of Amos so as to render it appropriate for a much different situation. The concern to show that Judah also is liable to God's judgment prompts the inclusion of an oracle against Judah in the opening cycle (2:4-5), but at the same time the post-destructive attitude toward Tyre and Edom bring the addition of 1:9-12. That Judah is involved in Amos' original threat is again explained by the stress on the "whole family" (3:1 b, 3:2 b). Whereas Amos only mentioned the giving of the land, Dtr incorporates exodus language and concern for the prophets (2:10-12; cf. also 3:7, 8:11-12).[30]

One final step completes the formation of the book, namely the addition of a post-exilic oracle of salvation (9:11-15) and a few other brief notes (9:8b, 6:5). This redaction underlines the realization that had come to post-exilic Israel, that God's judgment was not God's last word.[31]

Wolff has presented an intriguing picture of a thoughtful, intentional refinement and restatement of a tradition in response to the demands of an ever-changing historical situation. Clues to the process are sought by careful attention to the language, style, form, and theological implication of the various units of the book. It remains questionable, however, whether such a reconstruction--based as it is on but a few suggestive hints and historical hypothesis--will finally suffice. At any rate, Wolff seems to assume a written, relatively well-fixed tradition which emerged fairly soon and with which subsequent redactors would accomplish their theological goals with a few sharp, well-placed additives and/or expansions.

In a similar manner Mays, in his work on Micah, writes, "While details of sequences and procedures by which redaction occurred remained inaccessible, it is possible to sort out the major layers of development. Each reflects a major concern or interest appropriate of its historical setting which is expressed in themes, motifs, and language."[32] Further, the present book of Micah appears to have two major sections, 1-5 and 6-7, each of which developed independently. To quote Mays

again, "The unifying linkages, motifs, and patterns of arrangement do not run from one to the other, except for some hints that the final redactions of both parts shared common perspectives and used similar motifs. The two parts seemed to have received their final shaping at the stage at which they were brought together...."[33]

Without trying to report every detail of the process suggested by Mays, it is instructive to sketch the basic outlines. Chapters 1-3, for the most part, represent oracles original to Micah, with several "principles" of organization apparently operating. The collection opens with announcement of a theophany (1:3-5a) with a following lament which describes the outcome of God's act of judgment (1:8-15). These two may have been an original rhetorical unit or have been made one by being placed in sequence on the basis of a catchword. Chapter 2 also has a pair of units (2:1-5 and 2:6-11) which give an example of Micah's message and the attendant controversy. Chapter 3 is composed of three announcements of judgment brought together because of "formal and thematic similarity."[34]

While the first collection may have been developed by Micah himself and have an oral history, a second phase of redaction occurs at the time of the Babylonian crisis, a century after the time of the master. "By revision, expansion, and additions the collection was applied to the new situation. This 're-use' of Micah's prophecy of judgment makes up the second major stage in the formation of the book. The evidence does not point so much to one consistent systematic literary revision, but rather to an ongoing process whose cumulative effect was to re-set the traditions without obscuring its original character."[35] By revision of language at a few places and with some brief expansions the collections were reworked for a new age. Two new sayings were added, 1:5-7 and 5:10-13 (this latter oracle, itself later expanded with vv 14-15, probably originally was placed immediately after 3:12), but the original message is still intact.[36]

During the exilic and post-exilic periods, the material in chapters 4-5 appears to have emerged and been joined to chapters 1-3. This process saw first a complex of three units with an introduction announcing salvation for Zion (4:8-5:4) probably used by the small Jerusalem community remaining around the ruined temple. Later, probably after the erection of the second temple, material which addresses the relation of the nations to the remnant which will be preserved and made strong (4:1-7, 5:5-8) is placed around 4:8-5:4, and the whole is then placed after 3:12. Redactional changes at 5:10 and 5:15 enable 5:10 ff to serve as the conclusion and 1:2 is added to introduce the new complex.[37]

The eight basic units in the second major section of Micah (6:2-5, 6-8, 9b-15, 7:1-6, 8-10, 11-12, 14-17, 18-20) are much more difficult to relate to a particular historical setting, though the general period seems to be late exilic or post exilic. Mays suggests that first a complex (6:9-15, 7:1-12) emerged centered on "the city." Further, "The sequence would have been used liturgically with speakers representing God and city in the cult of the early post-exilic period in

Jerusalem."[38] Around this first complex the rest of the material in chs 6-7 was arranged, maintaining the alteration of divine and human voices and interpreting the whole as a lawsuit (*rib*) by placing 6:2-5 at the beginning and introducing it with 6:1. The prayer of salvation (7:14-17 and hymns of praise (7:18-20) form the conclusion.[39] The redactor appears concerned to understand God's judgment and salvation in a world setting, a concern which also marked the final redaction of chs 1-5. They are literary compilations designed to expand and complete the book of Micah."[40]

While using the same basic approach as that of Wolff, Mays has nonetheless introduced another important consideration. By suggesting that the first part of Micah (chs 1-5) is linked together around the proclamation of a theophany and the second section (chs 6-7) is developed as a rîb,[41] we are moved beyond a consideration of only the historical motives for redaction to cultic and legal traditions which might have supplied the "framework" employed by the redactors. Historical situation as a clue for recognizing and characterizing the intention of the redactor(s) is still critical, but another "explanation" for final "unity" is also suggested.

Redaction and Genre

Some years ago an attempt was made to explain the structure of one section of Isa along a line somewhat like that suggested above by Mays. Isa 24-27 was interpreted by Lindblom as a "cantata."[42] Hylmö had earlier attempted to describe a "prophetic liturgy" composed of a "solo-hymn" (25:1-5), an oracle (25:6-8), a Yahweh hymn (26:1a, 25:9-12), a Zion hymn (26:1b-6), a public lamentation (26:7-18), and a concluding oracle (26:19-21).[43] Lindblom saw both the value and weakness in this work. Clearly Hylmö had failed to make his point for a number of reasons which are unimportant here, but his proposal was based on the important assumption that the disunity so often stressed by contemporary critics might in fact not be the result of faulty transmission but of poor understanding on the part of moderns.

Lindblom was intrigued by Hylmö's suggestion, but he developed it differently. He judged a few passages secondary (24:21-23, 25:10b-12, 26:15-19, 27:1) on the basis of style and content.[44] When these interruptions from a later hand were recognized and removed, it could be seen that the material which remained was a combination of eschatological poems (24:1-6; 24:16a-20; 25:6-10a; 26:20-21; 27:12-13) and songs of thanks or jubilation (24:7-16a; 25:1-5; 26:1-14; 27:2-11) arranged in an alternating sequence, a song following each eschatological poem except the last, which itself sounded a joyful note of hope.[45] Lindblom chose the term "cantata" over "liturgy" because the latter implied for him a request-response pattern which he did not find in the material. A "cantata", however, served well to describe the public, cultic function while at the same time allowing for the types of units identified.[46] Lindblom suggested that this "cantata" was the work of an anonymous cult prophet in Jerusalem and was used to celebrate

the overthrow of Babylon, the mighty oppressor, by Xerxes in 485 B. C. E.[47]

The importance of this suggestion lies in a rather different approach to the problem of redaction. Rather than assuming that Isa 24-27 was composed of randomly-placed, unrelated units of material, a unity was sought which allowed for differences in genre. Indeed, another genre (the cantata) was put forward as that which provided the framework for the formation of the material. To be sure, there were still later redactions, veiwed mainly as additions or corrections, but a whole block of material was approached with quite a different point of view than was typical for the time. Lindblom may be chided for putting forward a genre (a cantata) which cannot be compared with other biblical representatives, but he has nonetheless made a significant proposal for models by which to consider the question of redaction.

Another such suggestion is found in Hessler's study of Second Isa.[48] When Isa 40-55 are carefully examined, Hessler believes a carefully-developed structure becomes obvious. The prologue (40:1-11) and the epilogue (55:1-13) are similar to each other and reflect themes developed in the material in between.[49] What's more, hymns (44:23, 48:20-21, 52:7-10) are used to indicate divisions within the two major sections (40-48, 49-50) and to separate the first major section from the second.[50] But more important for this discussion is the suggestion that the overall unity of the material is to be recognized in the careful arrangement of the genres in imitation of a legal proceeding. A variety of forms have been placed together to simulate a trial. For instance, first come the preliminaries which include a challenge to the opponents to come to trial (41:1-42:9), then the trial proper beginning with a hymn and salvation oracle (42:10-17) and followed by the introduction of the witnesses (42:18-43:21).[51] And so it proceeds until the whole trial is completed!

In discussing this interpretation of Isa 40-55 it is probably not proper to speak about redaction. Presumably the term "author" is more appropriate. But the hypothesis Hessler puts forward is generated against a problem which has provoked a lot of discussion about redaction and redactors, namely the unity/disunity of Isa 40-55. In such a discussion this model poses an interesting challenge: Unity may be present on the basis of a genre well-known in antiquity but not immediately recognized by later interpreters. The warning implicit seems to be: an initial assumption of unity should be advanced rather than the opposite notion of random growth so frequently assumed. The suggestion of Lindblom presses in the same direction.

Redaction and Rhetorical Analysis

In recent years Deutero-Isaiah has been of special interest to those concerned with the formation of prophetic books. From the position of Hessler described above to the long-well-developed, carefully-constructed work of great artistry pro-

posed by Muilenburg[52] emphasis in the last several decades has tended to center on the unity and structure of Isaiah 40-55. Melugin has made a significant contribution to this discussion and at the same time has made some interesting suggestions concerning the process of redaction.

Melugin begins with a careful scrutiny intended to determine the character of the material in Second Isa. His work leads him to conclude: "Our form critical study of the major genres in Deutero-Isa has led us to conclude that 'units' may be isolated from the context by form. In most instances we are not dealing with genres with a long history in Israel's oral tradition but rather with poems whose form, though influenced by traditional genres, is basically the creation of Deutero-Isa."[53] But he finds the attempts to interpret the apparent unity or structure of this material (e.g., Hessler, Westermann, Muilenburg) unconvincing for a variety of reasons.[54]

As an alternative Melugin sets forward a different hypothesis to account for the numerous rhetorical characteristics which link this material together even while distinct form units are maintained. Rather than depending on a progression of thought (in terms of Western logic) or the imposition of form in pattern of a known genre (rîb, etc.) Melugin suggests that we "... assume that there might be an analogy to the artistic use of language inside the genre units and the way in which units are related to their contexts."[55] In proposing such an approach Melugin professes to have adapted the method of rhetorical criticism, as developed by Muilenburg, to the study of the juxtaposition of genre units rather than only to the interrelationships of strophes within a unit.[56]

The manner in which this proposal is worked out may be seen by considering Melugin's discussion of Is 40:12-31. Four distinctive sections (12-17, 18-24, 25-26, 27-31) sharing a common theme and similar style have been brought together. That these verses constitute a collection, rather than a single poem with several strophes, is demonstrated by the fact that the thought progresses only within, and not through, the several units.[57] But beyond the formal feature that link these verses together, at least as interesting is the way the material in chs 41-44 seems to display a structure similar to that of 40:12-31, namely moving from the contention that Yahweh is able to deliver (vv 12-26) to the declaration of Yahweh's willingness to save (vv 27-31). Thus, while independent units have been brought together in 40:12-31, the work is deliberate, careful and intended to "outline" what is to follow in chs 41-44.[58] By examining the rhetorical features that characterize this section of material the interrelationships between the various genre begin to become clear.

While Melugin recognizes the probability of several stages of growth in Isa 40-55, he remains skeptical about the possibility of reconstructing a history of the redaction process.[59] But the search for an understanding of the redactional process is not to be abandoned. Rather our methods need refinement and above all the search needs to be rooted in the text. Thus Melugin writes, "The method relies instead on dis-

covering patterns which are actually in the text. Moreover, the method assumes the likelihood that the arranger, sharing something of the spirit of the past, understood that he was dealing with the language of poetry and arrayed his material in artistic fashion also."[60]

An even more thoroughgoing effort along this line has been attempted by Holladay who writes concerning his methodology, "The constant questions must be simply: What is going on here?--What is happening, from the point of view of rhetoric? What is the relation of a given oracle or larger unit to what has come before and to what comes after? To what is it organically related? Does it offer fresh themes, fresh wording, fresh material of every sort?.... In short, I shall be using the techniques of rhetorical criticism, not on small units, but on large blocks of material."[61] Holladay is quick to point out that in his search for structure he is not immediately concerned to identify "the agent responsible for the structure (i.e., Jeremiah, Baruch, or an anonymous editor)."[62] But nonetheless his research, if valid, is of great consequence for redaction criticism.

One major contention Holladay seeks to demonstrate is that the internal structure of certain key passages provide the clue for recognizing and understanding the sequence and rhetorical development of the units which follow. As one example we may consider the relationship between what Holladay calls the "seed Oracle" (Jer 2:2-3) and two cycles of material that follow, the "Harlotry Cycle" (Jer 2:5-3:25) and the "Foe Cycle" (Jer 4:1-6:30; 8:4-10a, 13).[63] By carefully examining the points of contact between 2:2 and the Harlotry Cycle Holladay believes he has identified an arrangement which he describes as follows: "The words of 2:2 are matched systematically, in a kind of chiastic fashion, with what turn out to be the two halves of the harlotry cycle ...so as to map out the outlines of each half..."[64] In a similar manner a phrase in 2:3 ("evil came upon them") is closely related with the material in the Foe Cycle.[65] In the course of his discussion Holladay seeks also to account for most of the generally acknowledged "secondary" material as introduced into the text on the basis of either "catchwords" or on what he terms "a preexisting association: either a sequence of thought earlier in the Jeremianic corpus, or a sequence or association of thought in earlier material available to the compiler..."[66]

If Holladay is correct in his analysis, critics will have to reappraise a basic assumption: "We had assumed that the unit of utterance in a given instance was the oracle, confined to a few verses. Are we to maintain this assumption in Jeremiah's case and conclude that the symmetries between given oracles arose in the process of their separate birth, or are we to abandon the assumption in Jeremiah's case and conclude that his public utterances covered far more material at a time than we are accustomed to imagine?"[67]

The consequences of Holladay's work, and that of Melugin as well, are possibly far-reaching when placed in the context of a consideration of redaction criticism. A different question

is being pushed to the front, the question of rhetorical interrelationships which seem to suggest a much different process of redaction than that imagined in earlier studies of the prophetic literature.

Summary

We have highlighted the work of eight scholars who address concerns of importance for the discipline of redaction criticism and a quest for understanding the formation of prophetic books. Four general patterns have been described in relation to identifying the work of redaction and the process of bringing prophetic books to their final form: redaction as collection; redaction and historical situation; redaction and genre; redaction and rhetorical analysis. There is variety in the manner different scholars address the questions, but many seem to "fit" at least somewhere in this scheme. Implicit in each approach is a conception of who the redactors were, how they operated, what they did or did not intend. Attendant to each approach are questions of proper methodology and the appropriateness of any quest at all. It is our task now to begin to test the various assumptions and conceptions against the text to discover whether and how we may better define, describe, and understand the work of redaction and the formation of prophetic books.

Footnotes

[1]N. Perrin, What is Redaction Criticism? (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) 22.

[2]Perrin, 3-23; K.Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, trans by S.M. Cupitt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969) 64-66; J.A. Wharton, "Redaction Criticism, OT," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976) 729-730.

[3]Perrin, 2.

[4]Koch, 58; H. Barth, O. H. Steck, Exegese des Alten Testaments. Leitfaden der Methodik (Neukirchener Verlag, 1971) 48.

[5]Barth, Steck, 48-50.

[6]Koch, 58; Barth, Steck, 48.

[7]Koch, 57.

[8]G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, trans by D. M. G. Stalker (Edinburgh, London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), II, 46.

[9]Koch, 57-58.

[10]von Rad, 39-45; E. Sellin, G. Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, trans. by D. E. Green (Nashville, New York: Abingdon, 1968) 359-360.

[11]Sellin, Fohrer, 361; Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, trans by P. R. Ackroyd (New York, Evanston: Harper and Row, 1965) 147-149.

[12]Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, 146-147.

[13]Barth, Steck, 49-50.

[14]Sellin, Fohrer, 361; von Rad, 40.

[15]Barth, Steck, 50.

[16]G. Fohrer, Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel (Berlin: Alfred Topelmann, 1952), 78-104; also Sellin, Fohrer, 410-414, from which the summary here is drawn unless otherwise noted.

[17]Sellin, Fohrer, 442.

[18]Fohrer, Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezekiel, 99-100.

[19]G. Fohrer, Ezekiel (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), XI.

[20]W. Zimmerli, Ezechiel (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 104-114.

[21]Zimmerli, 105.

[22]Zimmerli, 106.

[23]Zimmerli, 109.

[24]Zimmerli, 113-114.

[25]Zimmerli, 111-113.

[26]H. W. Wolff, Dodeka propheton 2. Joel und Amos (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 129-138.

[27]Wolff, 130-131.

[28]Wolff, 131-134.

[29]Wolff, 135-136.

[30]Wolff, 137-138.

[31]Wolff, 138.

[32]J. Mays, Micah (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 22.

[33]Mays, 23.

[34]Mays, 23.

[35]Mays, 24.

[36]Mays, 25.

[37]Mays, 26-29.

[38]Mays, 32.

[39]Mays, 29-33.

[40]Mays, 33.

[41]Mays, 8-9, 12, 23, 29, 32.

[42]J. Lindblom, Die Jesaja-Apokalypse. Jes. 24-27. (Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei, 1938), 69.

[43]G. Hylmö, "De s.K. profetiska litergiernas rhtm, stil ock komposition. I. Jes. 25:1-26:21, "LUÅ, 25 (1929), no. 5, 1-96. (Cited by G. W. Anderson, "Isaiah XXIV-XXVII reconsidered," VTS, Congress Volume, 9 (1963), 125.

[44]Lindblom, 66.

[45]Lindblom, 66-67.

[46]Lindblom, 69.

[47]Lindblom, 70, 80-81.

[48]As I was unable to examine E. Hessler's Gott der Schopfer: Ein Beitrag zur Komposition und Theologie Deuterojesajas (1961), directly, for references to this work I am indebted to R. Melugin, The Formation of Isaiah 40-55 (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 78-79.

[49]Hessler, 98, 102, 253 ff.

[50]Hessler, 82-83.

[51]Hessler, 98-102.

[52]J. Muilenburg, "The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 40-66" The Interpreter's Bible (New York; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), vol. 5, 381 ff.

[53]Melugin, 77.

[54]Melugin, 78-81.

[55]Melugin, 87-88.

[56]Melugin, 175.

[57]Melugin, 91.

[58]Melugin, 92.

[59]Melugin, 82, 175-177.

[60]Melugin, 89

[61]W. L. Holladay, The Architecture of Jeremiah 1-20 (Lewisburg; London: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1976), 21.

[62]Holladay, 26.

[63]Holladay, 30-31, 55.

[64]Holladay, 32.

[65]Holladay, 57-59.

[66]Holladay, 170.

[67]Holladay, 172.

S 53 CHRISTIAN PROPHECY AND MATTHEW 28:16-20

A Test Exegesis

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A number of biblical scholars have suggested that the words of the great Commission in Mt. 28:16-20 might be derived from the sayings of early Christian prophets.[1] The suggestion becomes more striking when it is realized that words from the Risen Christ are, at least on one occasion (Jn. 20:23), in a form commonly attributed to these prophets[2] and, on another (in the Book of Revelation), spoken in the first person through someone who claims to be a "prophet."[3] In other settings, the words of the Risen Christ have "a phrasing that can scarcely stem from the first days of Christianity,"[4] and are much more at home in the life-setting of the cultus and prophetic activities of the church than in the post-crucifixion appearances of Jesus of Nazareth of the first Easter.

Irregardless of the lack of clarity as to who the prophets were and what the prophets did,[5] this much is clear: they spoke with the authority of Christ's Spirit.[6] The prophet's testimony to Jesus, to use a phrase from Rev. 19:10 that is concerned with the prophet's role, could take the form of searching the Scriptures for testimonia (I Pet. 1:10),[7] of testing the "spirits" (I Cor. 12:10) and judging whether "God is really among you" (I Cor. 14:24-25),[8] or of conveying an apostolic decision and commission.[9] These concerns are found in the words of the Risen Christ, especially in Mt. 28:16-20.

This paper, an exegetical study of Mt. 28:16-20, supports the thesis that the words of the Risen Christ in this pericope were given voice by early Christian prophets in response to questions raised in the church. The focus of the pericope is not on the appearance of Jesus after his crucifixion, but his presence in the church after his exaltation. That presence is in his word: the culmination of the appearance, and of the whole of the First Gospel, is in the three sayings. In the exegesis that follows I shall explore the form or Gattung of the pericope, the indications of the Evangelist's hand at work, the characteristics of the sayings themselves, and the evidence that supports the hypothesis that the sayings are from a prophet or prophets, probably unknown.

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Benjamin Hubbard, after noting that there is no scholarly consensus with regard to the literary form of Mt. 28:16-20, has attempted to demonstrate that Matthew has redacted "a primitive apostolic commissioning" that was probably spoken by an early Christian missionary to give it a closer correspondence to the form and language of the Gattung of commissioning found in the Hebrew Bible.[10] Although I do not agree with his overall reconstruction of the history of the tradition on this paragraph, Hubbard's study confirms my own negative conclusion, which was reached independently at about the same time, that Mt. 28:16-20 should not be placed in the same literary category as the other post-crucifixion appearance narratives.[11] Further, his positive statement of the relationship between the passage and the Gattung of commissioning allows us space to look at both the primitive

tradition behind the pericope and the hand of the Evangelist at work in reshaping the material.

Hubbard's beginning point is built on the work of C. H. Dodd[12] and Wolfgang Trilling.[13] Trilling is valuable, Hubbard says, because his work looks for a model in the Hebrew Bible and points to several passages in which God commissions individuals and promises his support in the undertaking.[14] Hubbard expands on Trillings work, with interesting results. Having analyzed 27 commissionings in the Old Testament, he outlines the following formal elements found in them:

1. Introduction. A brief introductory remark providing circumstantial details (time, place, etc.) that set the stage for what follows.

2. Confrontation. The deity/commissioner comes on the scene to address the individual to be commissioned.

3. Reaction. The individual often reacts by way of an action expressive of fear or unworthiness.

4. Commission. The individual is told to undertake a specific task that often involves a new role in life.

5. Protest. The individual often responds by claiming unworthiness or inability.

6. Reassurance. Words or signs of reassurance are given to individuals.

7. Conclusion. Usually the commissionings conclude with a formal statement, often that the work is begun.[15]

Hubbard schematizes Mt. 28:16-20 in the following manner, suggesting that Matthew was significantly "influenced by the Gattung and its vocabulary when he composed the missionary charge."

Introduction:	Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them.
Confrontation:	And when they saw him...
Reaction:	...they worshipped him; but some doubted.
Confrontation:	And Jesus came and said to them, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me."
Commission:	"Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you;
Reassurance:	"...and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age."[16]

Perhaps it is helpful to place here for comparison Hubbard's reconstruction of the shape of the "original" commissioning narrative:

Confrontation:	Jesus appeared to the eleven.
Reaction:	When they saw him there they were glad, though some disbelieved.

Commission: Then he said:
preach (the gospel)
to all nations
(Baptize) in my name
for the forgiveness of sins.[17]

This suggestion of a proto-commissioning is based on Hubbard's comparing the appearance to the eleven in Matthew-Luke-John and "Psuedo-Mark 16:14-18," a comparison he sees justified on the basis of a generally accepted thesis of a common tradition that lies behind them.[18]

This thesis, at least as reconstructed by Hubbard, is quite dependent on C. H. Dodd's form-critical study of the narratives of the appearances, which basically separates them into two types: the Concise Narratives and the Circumstantial Narratives (plus Mixed Narratives). Dodd's reconstruction of the Concise Narrative bears a strong resemblance to the Gattung of commissioning. Unfortunately, Dodd's methodology creates serious limitations on the value of his hypothesis. (1) His general thesis is that the common usage of a narrative had the same effect on a pericope as does the movement of water on a pebble in a stream: smoothing, making more concise. Hence, Mt.28:16-20 is a pure example of the Concise Narrative, much used and free from later theological influences. The study of the synoptic tradition, however, does not demonstrate that usage is reductase. Rather, oral usage often adds details and sayings.[19] (2) Dodd's methodology does not recognize the significance of Gattungen for form-critical analysis. He provides a suggestive description of the data but makes no attempt to establish a category comparable to the commonly accepted Gattungen of either Old Testament or New Testament research. His conclusions would not withstand the tests that Hubbard has used to establish a Gattung of commissioning. (3) Many persons who have used Dodd's conclusions work from quite different bases in their own form criticism. This usage of Dodd's conclusions has sometimes mislead them in their tracing of the history of the tradition.[20] An interesting observation on the discussion is added by Dodd himself: "If...we compare the Fourth Gospel with the others, we observe, first, that there is nothing in John remotely resembling the scene of Matt. xxviii. 16-20. There is indeed a commission to the apostles (xx.23, cf. xxi. 16-17), but it is much nearer to Matt. xviii. 18, and it says nothing about preaching to the nations."[21]

In my own study I have suggested that a literary form, which I call the "chiasmus of the presence," is definable in the history of the traditions of the post-crucifixion narratives of Luke-Acts and John and is discernable in the visitation to John in Rev. 1. Although I do not claim to be able to point to an Old Testament Gattung, the common usage of the chiasmus in the Hebrew Bible with regard to the themes of God's judgment on the nations and the glorifying of God to all the nations (cf. Ps. 58 and 67), with regard to the impotency of idols (Ps. 135 and 115) and the power of Yahweh (Ps. 29; cf. Amos 5 and Zech. 9), and in relationship to theophanies (Ps. 18:7-15=II Sam. 22:8-16; Ps. 46) makes reasonable my hypothesis that the post-crucifixion appearance narrative had such a form.[22] The chiasmus of the presence is part of the tradition of Lk. 24:36-53 and Jn. 20:19-23; it is not part of the history of the tradition of Mt. 28:16-20.

Hubbard's hypothesis of a Gattung of commissioning moves us beyond my negative conclusion on Matthew's pericope. His attempt to establish a common tradition between Matthew and the other accounts of the appearance to the eleven muddies the waters. A more constructive use of Hubbard's study suggests itself when it is realized that Matthew appears to have shaped the whole of

the pericope, perhaps on the model of the Gattung of commissioning, from the implications of Mark's gospel and from prophetic sayings.

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A study of the pericope itself, suggests the following conclusions. (1) The Matthean hand is very much at work in the section. (2) There is direct dependence on an interpretation of Daniel 7:14. (3) The subject of Jesus' saying and the substance of its content are related to problems of the later church rather than those of the earliest apostles. (4) The pericope probably combines a pesher on Daniel 7:14, built on Mark 16:7 and related to the delay of the parousia.

While one must assume that some tradition has been used by Matthew, the pericope shows a series of "thoughts and linguistic peculiarities"[23] that are probably to be attributed to the evangelist. Typical of Matthew is the linking of action by the use of the aorist participle for the preparatory action before the aorist of the main verse: idontes--prosekunēsan (vs. 17); proselthōn--elalēsan (vs. 18); poreuthentes--mathēteusate (vs. 19).[24] The following examples of distinctive Matthean vocabulary are present: prosekunēsan,[25] edistasan,[26] proselthōn,[27] mathēteusate,[28] tērein,[29] sunteleia tou aiōgos,[30] and possibly, idou.[31] Given the brevity of the passage, this is a remarkable number of linguistic indications of the evangelist's hand at work.[32]

Along with these Matthean linguistic peculiarities, which are clustered in vss. 17-19a,[33] the placing of the appearance "on the mountain" is surely to be traced to Matthew.[34] For the Matthean empty tomb story places the angelic message on the lips of the Risen Jesus and sends the disciples to Galilee, all of which seems to be the school of Matthew's interpretation of Mark. For there is no indication of where to go in Galilee. For Matthew, however, it can only be the mountain: the place of the revelations of Jesus.[35]

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Michel[36] and Barth[37] have pointed out that three originally separate words may have been joined into the one saying of Jesus in vss. 18-20, which would suggest that at least not all of them were joined to the appearance in the tradition as Matthew found it. Further, the scene "remains open,"[38] with no departure of Jesus recorded,[39] in a style very similar to the missionary discourse in Mt. 10:5-16.[40] The only conclusion is that the evangelist has been at work throughout the whole of the pericope.

As it has long been recognized, Daniel 7:14 stands behind this scene, related particularly to Matthew 28:18b; edothē moi pasa exousia en ouronō kai epi tēs gēs (cf. LXX: kai edothē autō exousia kai panta ta ethnē tēs gēs kata genē kai pasa doxa autō latrenousa).[41] This opening line of the Lord's statement is primary to an understanding of the whole pericope.

> The conception of the enthroning of the Son of man in Dan. 7:14 is here transferred to Jesus. Hence it is not so much a matter here of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead as his exultation and establishment as the eschatological ruler and judge of the world. This exaltation happened at Easter, and the Risen One here makes it known to his disciples.[42]

The brevity of the narration of the appearance itself, with only the statement that they "saw and worshipped him," and the emphasis on the Lord's word, which both in length and subject matter dominates the pericope, show clearly the importance of the conception of enthronement for the whole of the narrative. Within the immediate context of Mt. 28, Dan. 7:14 becomes the true interpretation of the empty tomb, over and against the false story circulated by the bribed guards (28:11-15).

At the same time, this word of the Lord is a cluster of interpretations of Daniel 7:14 as related to the authority, not only of Jesus, but of the church itself. Three separate issues of the church seem to be directly interpreted by this saying.

The first relates primarily the question of doubt concerning the resurrection appearances. Once more Barth has summarized the situation quite clearly:

> . . . The mention of doubt in 28:17 shows the question of the later congregation after a new Easter certainty, since the vision of the Risen One belongs to tradition and to the past. To see and talk with Jesus sojourning on earth is no longer possible. The doubt of the disciples is overcome by the saying of Jesus that follows, that makes known to them his exaltation and rule and gives them their commission.[43]

The commission, however, may be secondary to the initial interpretation of Jesus' exaltation and rule. For 28:20 is a reinterpretation of Dan. 7:14b, on the basis of Jesus' authority and in terms of Christian apocalyptic which looked forward not to an "everlasting dominion" of the Son of man but a final closing of the age of the Son of man.[44] Until that close of the age, Jesus will remain present in his church[45] and in the world.[46] The latter emphasis is clearly a Matthean theme; therefore, the saying heōs tas sunteleias ta aiōnos is easily attributable to him or his school.

A further look at the use of Dan. 7:14 is necessary, however. To begin with, Dan. 7:14 is seldom found in New Testament traditions. This is surprising. For Dan. 7:13 has widespread use. Likewise, Ps. 110:1, which on the surface appears akin to the enthronement concept in Dan. 7:14, is probably the earliest scripture tied to an interpretation of the resurrection and is soon associated with Dan. 7:13.[47] The only other allusion to Dan. 7:14 in the synoptic traditions, however, aside from Mt. 28:18f., is the Parousia reference in Mk. 13:26 (=Mt. 24:30). Perrin has shown that this usage of Dan. 7:13-14 in Mk. 13:26 is a secondary development within the traditions concerning the exaltation and Parousia.[48] There developed the "full parousia use" of Dan. 7:13 "as emphasis came to be put more and more upon the expectation of Jesus' 'second coming,' as Son of man, and as this expectation came to exist in its own right, independently of the exegesis which gave it birth."[49] Only with prophetic modification could the church continue to use Dan. 7:14 as a reflection of the authority of Jesus. The problem was, as Tödt has noted,[50] that the formulation in Dan. 7:14 speaks of an everlasting dominion; the full parousia use of Dan. 7:13 emphasized the second coming. Clearly, Mt. 28:18,20 changed Dan. 7:14b in accordance with this apocalyptic tradition. This problem in the usage of Dan. 7:14, plus the growing historization of the resurrection accounts, obscured the primary interpretation of that verse in terms of Christ's enthronement.

The crucial interpretation of Dan. 7:14 was in terms of the expression "I am with you all of the days." The problem of doubt has been overcome through the "proleptic parousia" of Jesus to the church.[51] Similar to the setting of Mark's interpretation of the empty tomb, the community in which Matthew writes looks back upon the resurrection as a "fact"--more specifically, on the enthronement of Jesus as having occurred--and now lives in his parousia (presence) until the Parousia (second coming).[52] The problem of doubt is overcome.

The second issue that relates to the later church is seen in the commissioning in Mt. 28:19. Quite clearly the enthroned Jesus who has "all authority in heaven and on earth" instructs the eleven to carry out the Gentile mission. This surely reinterprets the original authority given to the Twelve in Mt. 10:5f., where the missionary task is restricted to Israel.[53] Matthew had faced this problem of the church earlier, particularly in the story of the Canaanite women (15:21-28) where the authority for admission of Gentiles into the congregation is traced back to Jesus himself.[54] The command of the exalted Jesus in Mt. 28:19 leaves no doubt whatsoever as to whose authority justifies the Gentile mission.[55] The principle activity by which disciples are made is through baptism and the teaching of the observance of the law, the present participles "baptizing" and "teaching" interpreting the imperative.[56]

These instructions of how to make disciples reflect the third specific issue facing the later church that is found within this pericope. Namely, the nature of the disciple's life while awaiting the Second Coming.

> The situation of the Church in the time before the coming of the Son of man in his kingdom (Matt. 16:28) is mirrored in the whole of Matthew's Gospel . . . And it is significant that the whole Gospel in accordance with its last words is, as it were, open to the end of the world (Matt. 28:20...). In the light of this very conclusion one may assume thay the evangelist understands his Gospel as a Gospel for the time of the Church between Easter and the parousia of her Lord. For with the words "teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you" (Matt. 28:20) Jesus points his disciples for their teaching activity between Easter and the end of the world to what his discourse in Matthew's Gospel contain by way of example.[57]

Matthew's answer to the delay of the parousia is to be seen in terms of the promise "I am with you" and the authority of the disciples' teachings, which grows out of the significance of his presence.[58] The teachings of the Second Coming are not set aside; if anything they are heightened and defined. But the heightening and redefinition are in terms not only a day of judgment upon Jesus' enemies but also a day of judgment upon those who call him "Lord"--the church--which will then be judged according to how they have responded to his presence with them in the church.[59] The kingdom has not yet come; the missionary preaching establishes the commandments through which the Exalted Jesus expresses his rule and when the kingdom does come the final judgment is based on response to that preaching.[60]

These three issues which are clustered in the Exalted Jesus' words--the problem of doubt concerning the resurrection, the question of the gentile mission, and the delay of the Second Coming--are all, as said above, problems of the later church. The answers given are related to a developed interpretation of Dan. 7:14. The degree that these answers were once independent

of each other is impossible to determine. That they are not in response to questions of the earliest church seems clear, however, and I would suggest that they are the result of a pesher on Dan. 7:14, particularly as related to the traditions found in Mk. 16:1-8. Their intimate relationship to the whole of the First Gospel has been demonstrated above.

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Does this evidence support the hypothesis that the sayings in Mt. 28:16-20 are from an early Christian prophet or prophets? It should be recognized from the outset that none of the sayings, to the best of my knowledge, can be spoken of as a commonly recognized prophetic Gattung. Further, while Hubbard has demonstrated that Matthew's pericope may be patterned after Old Testament commissionings, the heavy evidence of the Evangelist's hand at work in the passage and the lack of some formal elements of the Gattung (especially the elements of reaction and protest and of conclusion[61]) raise serious doubts as to whether we can simply place the whole of the passage in some category of material as the Hebrew Bible commissionings. Finally, the absence of a chiasmus of the presence reinforces the suggestion that the passage as we find it is primarily the work of the Gospel Writer.

The primary clue to the pre-Matthean history of the tradition is the pesher on Dan. 7:14. The use of the pesher manner of quoting Scripture, to use Stendahl's phrase,[62] which takes its name from the Habakkuk Commentary of the Jewish apocalyptic community at Qumran, is generally recognized as significant for understanding New Testament. Although it is clear, that Christian usage of Scripture often differs from known Jewish pesherim (e.g., an explicit formula of fulfillment of the Matthean type is missing in Qumran) it is significant that the application of DSH purport to show the true significance of Habakkuk's sayings. They are applied to what has occurred or what is imminent.

Likewise, it would appear that Christians did not make use of, or at least did not preserve, the pesher terminology of Qumran. Current scholarship has used the term from Qumran to describe what is an observable part of the Christian tradition. Perrin has described the general procedures within the Christian tradition:

> (1) There is a point of origin in Christian experience or expectation.
> (2) This experience or expectation is then interpreted in terms of Old Testament passages as in the Qumran pesherim. This is the Christian pesher.
> (3) The Christian pesher can then be historisized, i.e. a narrative can be formed from it or it can be read back into the teaching of Jesus.
> (4) The pesher itself, or its historization, can then become the basis for further theologizing.[63]

Perrin, in this article and his book Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, traced three separate pesher traditions related to Dan. 7:13: with Ps. 110:1 on the ascension of Jesus; with Zech. 12:10ff. in a passion apologetic that Perrin termed the first parousia use of Dan. 7:13; and with Zech. 12:10ff. in "the full parousia use" of the Second Coming of the Son of Man.[64]

The use of Dan. 7:14 in the tradition of our pericope seems closely related to the first tradition above: a recognition of the ascension and enthronement of Christ. While resurrection as

bodily appearance became the dominant theme in the New Testament, a strong case can be made for an earlier tradition of resurrection as enthronement. Note especially Acts 2:22-36; 13:33 and Rom. 1:3f. and the usage of the royal Psalms 2 and 110.[65] As I have said earlier, the absence of Dan. 7:14 from other New Testament passages is surprising, yet its use here seems clear. Its usage is related to enthronement,[66] a theme that is no longer dominant in this pericope but assumed elsewhere in the First Gospel.[67]

In terms of the history of tradition for Mt. 28:16-20, I would suggest that the earliest element is a pesher on Dan. 7:14. Its derivation from the tradition rather than Matthew is indicated by the lack of formula citation. Its setting was probably apocalyptic, because of its imagery and its use of allusion rather than quotation. In its content, if not its exact form, the saying is an "I-saying," using passive for the action of God toward the person who is the indirect object:

"He has given to me all authority in heaven and on earth."

Whether the other two words of Jesus in the pericope were part of this earliest tradition is impossible to say. The phrases translated "make disciples of all nations" and "to the close of the age" might be considered plays on words from Dan. 7:14 and therefore appropriate to Christian pesherim.[68] Since 28:19, as I have already said, would seem to be a change of commission for the apostles from the one given them in Mt. 10, and since 28:20 has specific reference to a reinterpretation of the Parousia, I would suggest they are part of a later tradition or traditions. They could possibly be from the Evangelist.

Finally, the process of historisizing had its effect on the pesher. Matthew, faced with doubt about the resurrection on the one hand and the need for apostolic authority on the other, was given the prophecy of Mk. 16:7 in which the young man in white said, "But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you." That Matthew felt a need to bolster the saying is obvious in his parallel, where an "Angel of the Lord" speaks and where the unknown saying of Jesus referred to in Mark is placed on the lips of that angelic messenger. Then, Jesus himself instructs the women (Mt. 28:10). In fulfillment of these commands, Matthew places the disciples on a mountain in Galilee where the sayings of enthronement, of commissioning, and of presence until the end of time can be spoken to the eleven. The Lord commissions his apostles as Moses had been commissioned of old.

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I believe this attempt to trace the history of the tradition of Mt. 28:16-20 makes sense of the data as we have it at this stage of our study. The form of the pericope is that given to it by the Evangelist, modelled on the example of Old Testament commissionings. Even as the pericope is dominated by the sayings of the Lord that it contains, so it has its genesis in a Christian pesher on Dan. 7:14 interpreting the resurrection as enthronement. The first-person character of the sayings suggests it was uttered by a prophet who could speak for the Lord. Both further theologizing on the saying and historizing in terms of Mk. 16:7 led to the present pericope. The authority of the sayings is great, for the Evangelist presents in this passage the culmination of his gospel. The power of the sayings in their setting has been demonstrated by the response of Jesus' disciples through 2,000 years of history in which these words have come to be known as the Great Commission.

NOTES

[1]See David E. Aune, "Christian Prophecy and the Sayings of Jesus: An Index to Synoptic Pericope Ostensibly Influenced by Early Christian Prophets," S.B.L. 1975 Seminar Papers, II, 135.

[2]R.H. Fuller, "The 'Thou Art Peter" Pericope and the Easter Appearances," McCormick Quarterly XX (1967), 313, in which he gives Jn. 20:23 as an example of a Satz heiligen Rechtes.

[3]L.A. Vox, The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse (Amsterdam: J. H. Kok N. V. Kampen, 1965), pp. 223-24 and note: no less than 60 "I-sayings" are found in the Book of Revelation. Vos does not attribute these to prophetic activity but to the historical Jesus. Many are part of traditions that cannot be traced to the historical Jesus and derive their authority from the prophet himself.

[4]Raymond E. Brown, The Virginal Conception & Bodily Resurrection of Jesus (NY: Paulist Press, 1973), p. 107, with special reference to the Trinitarian baptismal formula of Mt. 28:19.

[5]M. Eugene Boring, "'What Are We Looking For?' Toward a Definition of the Term 'Christian Prophet'", S.B.L. 1973 Seminar Papers, II, 142-151, on problem of definition and for a working definition; the problem is aggravated by the fact that in the N.T. the categories break down. E.g., Acts 13:1 have "prophets and teachers" together. Further, in contemporary scholarship, the creative influence that is defined as prophetic in the early church is readily confused with the activity of evangelists, scribes, and apostles, to mention but three offices.

[6]Cf., Acts 4:36 where Barnabas is interpreted to mean huios paraklēseōs. M. Dods, "Barnabas," Biblical World XXV (1905), 334ff.

[7]M.H. Shepherd, "Prophets in the New Testament," Interpreter's Dictionary, III, pp. 919ff.; Norman Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, (NY: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 173-84.

[8]I would suggest that this testing of the spirit is the Sitz im Leben of the Sätze heiligen Rechtes and of the eschatological correlative.

[9]J.H. Bernard, "Prophets and Prophecy in New Testament Times," Biblical World XXV (1905), pp. 121-22, "Barnabas and Saul were selected for special apostolic mission (cf. Acts 14:41); Judas Barsabbas and Silas were sent from Jerusalem to Antioch to convey to the church there the apostolic council's decision (15:22) ...Their function in virtue of their office was evidently to persuade and to preach; Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words and confirmed them."

[10]Benjamin J. Hubbard, The Matthean Redaction of a Primitive Apostolic Commissioning: An Exegesis of Matthew 28:16-20, SBL Dissertation Series 19 (Missoula: Scholars' Press, 1974). The dissertation was completed for a degree awarded in 1973.

[11]P. Boyd Mather, The Appearances of the Risen Lord and Prophetic Utterance in Early Christianity (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972), pp. 199ff.

[12]C. H. Dodd, "The Appearances of the Risen Christ: An Essay in Form-Criticism of the Gospels," in Studies in the Gospels, ed. by D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), pp. 9-35.

[13]W. Trilling, Das Wahre Israel (Munich, 1964[3]).

[14]Hubbard, pp. 15-17.

[15]Hubbard, Ch. 2,"The Literary Form of Commissions in the Hebrew Bible," and esp. summary on pp. 62-67.

[16]Hubbard, p. 69.

[17]Hubbard, p. 122.

[18]See Hubbard, p. 101, n. 2, for summary of references.

[19]Cf., Axel Olrik, "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative," in The Study of Folklore ed. Alan Dundes (NY: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 129-41; Rudolf Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, tr. J. Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), esp. pp. 307ff. on "Summary of the Technique of the Story."

[20]Note statement of Raymond Brown about these passages: "Perhaps, too, some of the drama of the recognition in the Circumstantial Narratives is more the product of long recitation than of the evangelist's individual genius. Although these additional details and conversations have occasionally entered the narrative of the appearance to the Twelve..., they were naturally given greater play in descriptions of appearances that had less constitutive force for the Christian community." The Gospel according to John XIII-XXI (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), p. 975. This precisely the opposite of Dodd's methodology.

[21]C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), p. 441.

[22]Mather, Ch. 2, "A Definition of Methodology and Its Rationale for an Interpretation of the Appearance Narratives," esp. pp. 104ff on "The Chiastic Structure of the Narratives" and pp. 113ff. on "The Reasonableness of the Hypothesis."

[23]G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," p. 131; in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, and H. J. Held, Traditions and Interpretation in Matthew (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1963). Many of the following examples are dependent upon Barth; see p. 131, n.1.

[24]A. Schlatter, Der Evangelist Matthäus (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1929), p. 23.

[25]Cf. thirteen occurrences in Matthew, two in Mark, two in Luke; not uncommon elsewhere in New Testament, especially in Acts, John, and Revelation. In Matthew the action is frequently directed to Jesus: Mt. 2:2,8,11; 8:2; 9:18; 14:33; 20:20; 28:9,17.

[26]Only twice in New Testament, both in Matthew; the other occurrence, Mt. 14:31, is in M-redaction of the Walking on the Water (Mk. 6:45-52), and Jesus' word to Peter.

[27]Matthew fifty-two times, Mark five times, Luke ten times.

[28]Three times in Matthew; elsewhere only in Acts 14:21, of Paul and Barnabas at Derbe. On transitive usage, see Blass-Debrunner § 148 (3).

[29]Six times in Matthew, once in Mark. Outside synoptics it is common in John and 1 John. Note especially Mt. 23:3 and 19:17. New Testament usage influence greatly by LXX; see Arndt and Gingrich, tērew. 5.

[30]Matthew five times; elsewhere only in Heb. 9:26 with the plural tōv aiōnōn. Note especially Mt. 13:39f., =M interpretation of Parable of Weeds; 13:49, =M's Parable of the Net; both follow interpretation of parables in terms of Ps. 78:2 (Mt. 13:35) and lead up to Matthean word on the scribe, 13:52.

[31]Barth: "ἰδού is not only a peculiarity of Matthew after a genitive absolute, but also occurs elsewhere over 18 times more in Matthew than in Mark and Luke together."

[32]G. D. Kilpatrick, Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Oxford Press, 1947) adds to these poreuesthai, which is not common in Matthew but which seems to associate with authority (cf. Mt. 8:9=Q; 10:7=M-redaction; see Kilpatrick, "Poreuesthai and Its Compounds," JThSt, XLVIII [1947], 61-63).

[33]When we exclude the clear allusion to Dan. 7:14 from the material in these verses, the whole of vss. 17-19c can be called distinctively Matthean.

[34]G. Barth, p. 130, notes, however, that the mountain could possibly stem from the tradition and he compares Acts 1:12 to our pericope. The mountain does play a role in the ascension narratives, but that mountain may be the Mount of Olives; cf. Lk. 24:50-51.

[35]E. Lohmeyer, "Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt," in In memoriam E. Lohmeyer, p. 24. He cites Mt. 5:1; 15:29; 17:1; 24:3 and 14:23. We might also add the Matthean form of two sayings related to revelations: 4:8 and 5:14.

[36]O. Michel, "Der Abschluss des Matthäusevangeliums," EvTh (1950-1951), p. 20.

[37]G. Barth, p. 133, n.2. [38]Ibid.

[39]From a theological viewpoint no departure could be recorded! For the very point of the saying is that Jesus is with his disciples (the church) to the very end of the age. This theme, of course, stands in direct contrast to the purposes of the ascension narratives which emphasize Jesus' departing prior to the coming of the Spirit or following the gift of the Spirit.

[40]For summary of Matthean hand at work in shaping the whole of chap. 10, see Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew," also in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, pp. 17-19; also Bultmann, History of the Synoptic Tradition, p. 145, on The Missionary Charge.

[41]Lohmeyer, p. 34; Michel, p. 22; G. Barth, p. 133 and n. 3; Hubbard, pp. 80ff.

[42]Barth, p. 133; again cf. Lohmeyer, p. 28; Michel, p. 22.

[43]Barth, p. 136.

[44]We have already seen that heōs tēs sunteleias tou aiōnos is "Matthean" and I would suggest it is direct reflection and modification of Dan. 7:14b: kai hē exousia autou exousia aiōvios, hētis ou mē arthē. . . . Cf. above n. 39, for relationship of this phrase in 28:20 to Matthean parables that emphasize both coming end of age and role of the church prior to that end.

[45]Ct. Mt. 8:23-27 (Barth, pp. 137-38); 18:20 (cf. context of 18:12-19 and again Barth, p. 84 and n. 4; also Ez. 34:1-16); cf. also S. E. Johnson, Interpreter's Bible, VII, 418, on Mt. 13:36.

[46]Cf. Mt. 25:31-45; Théo Preiss, "The Mystery of the Son of Man," in Life in Christ, trans. H. Knight (Studies in Biblical Theology 13; London: SCM Press, 1954), p. 52 and n. 1; cf. Lk. 19:20, and again Ez. 34:1ff.

[47]In I Enoch 62:5 such analogous usage is made of Dan. 7:14 with regard to the Son of man.

[48]Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, pp. 183-85. His emphasis is on Dan. 7:13, but I would consider, as many others have, the reference to "with great power and glory" (Matthew: "with power and great glory") to be to vs. 14; see F. C. Grant, The Earliest Gospel (NY: Abingdon, 1942) p. 863; H. E. Tödt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition, tr. D.M. Barton (Philadelphia: Westminister, 1965), p. 34.

[49]Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus.

[50]Tödt, pp. 33-35, 46-47.

[51]Term from C. H. Dodd, following R. H. Lightfoot, in "Matthew and Paul," New Testament Studies, p. 56.

[52]Barth, p. 136: "In the Church the Son of man exalted to be the eschatological ruler is present. She lives by his presence. The presence of Jesus in the congregation means for her sustenance and salvation in all the storms that break around her (8.23ff.), gives her persistence in seeking the lost, since he is present among them, who like a shepherd seeks the lost sheep (18.20 in the context of 18.12-19, cf. above, p. 84); it means for her the presence of the forgiveness of God (1.21ff.)."

[53]Bornkamm, p. 18.

[54]H. J. Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories," in Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, p. 267.

[55]A. H. McNeile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1957), p. 435.

[56]Ibid. Cf. George A. Buttrick in exposition on Matthew in The Interpreter's Bible, VII, 623: "Make disciples is the method, baptizing and teaching being the components of the main task."

[57]Held, pp. 435ff.

[58]Barth, p. 136: "In the Church the Son of man exalted to be the eschatological ruler is present. She lives by his presence." His presence is known especially in "the preaching of the commandments of Jesus," a concept we might well relate to Judaism's idea of the Shekinah; cf. Aboth 3.2; also Barth's n. 1 on p. 137.

[59]Bornkamm, pp. 22-24; Preiss, the whole of "The Mystery of the Son of Man," and especially pp. 48ff. See Matthew's eschatological parables in chaps. 24 and 25, and J. Jeremias, Rediscovering the Parables (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), pp. 36-50.

[60]See Barth, pp. 142ff., on Mt. 28:18-20 as related to 12:18-21 (=Is. 42:1-4).

[61]The conclusion is absent and the other two elements are, at best, cursory in Matthew (Hubbard suggests that the phrase "to the close of the age" forms a suitable end, but it is not a formal element; p. 71). Hubbard's "original" commissioning narrative is even weaker when judged in terms of its suggested Gattung.

[62]Krister Stendahl, The Schools of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 183; his full discussion of the pesher in Matthew, pp. 182-202.

[63]Norman Perrin, "Mark XIV.62: The End Product of a Christian Pesher Tradition?" NTS 12 (1965/6), p. 150.

[64]Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, pp. 173-85.

[65]See the section on "resurrection as enthronement in the New Testament" in John H. Hayes, "The Resurrection As Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology," Interpretation XXII (1968) pp. 337ff.

[66]Tödt, p. 288; cf. Hubbard, p. 81.

[67]For example, Mt. 25:31-46.

[68]Perrin, "Mark XIV.62..." p. 151: "The Qumran pesher tradition...features extensively plays on words."

S 54 CHRISTIAN PROPHECY AND MATTHEW 23:34-36: A TEST EXEGESIS

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I. Prolegomena

The sessions of the Seminar on Early Christian Prophecy which meet this week conclude a five-year enterprise. Most of the papers have dealt in one way or another with the theme "Christian Prophecy and the Sayings of Jesus", and this will be the title of the volume which gathers up the work of the seminar. Without attempting here to assess the achievements of this seminar, I would like to begin this paper by pointing to an area in which a hoped-for consensus has not emerged: the meaning of "prophetic" as it is applied to a saying of Jesus in the gospels, and the resultant differences in methodology in studying Christian prophecy in the gospels.

Two general approaches seem to have emerged. The first, exemplified in the work of Richard Edwards on Q[1] and Norman Perrin on Mark,[2] might be termed a generalist approach. It speaks in terms of the prophetic attributes of a whole community and/or stream of tradition. Edwards, for example, has performed a helpful service in documenting the prophetic nature of the Q community, which he has portrayed as a community which as a whole is charged with the prophetic spirit. Sayings of Jesus, of whatever origin, which are transmitted by such a community are considered "prophetic." There is an obvious validity to this approach. Once the prophetic character of the Q community as such is seen, one can then understand how they intended the sayings of Jesus which they transmitted to be heard, namely as the present address of the exalted Lord (rather than, for example, the traditional, hapax paradotheis teaching of the rabbi Jesus). This approach tends to renounce any attempt at further differentiation within the tradition of sayings of prophetic origin and sayings of some other origin.

A second approach, which might be labeled "particularist", has been advocated by, for example, Lloyd Gaston and myself. This approach does not deny the validity and usefulness of the "generalist" approach. It attempts to go beyond it, by attempting to isolate in the tradition particular sayings which can be identified as of prophetic origin, i.e., sayings which came into being as the oracles of Christian prophets. This approach is an effort to test out the hypothesis, long-advocated by NT scholars especially in the wake of Bultmann, that the tradition of Jesus' words was expanded by incorporating post-Easter sayings of the risen Lord spoken by Christian prophets. The methodological assumption of this approach is that if there are such sayings in the tradition, at least some of them should bear enough marks of Christian prophecy as we otherwise know it to enable these sayings to be identified as of prophetic origin.

That an element of "speculation" enters into such judgments is granted. In attempting to trace the trajectory of any saying, in attempting to account for the variety of forms of sayings which appear in early Christian literature in more than one form, in attempting to delineate the contours of Urchristentum in almost any of its aspects, an element of "speculation" is necessarily included. The discussion below of the probable trajectory of the saying Luke 11:49-51/Matt 23:34-36 necessitates a number of decisions. Each decision can be made only with a certain degree of probability. The accumulated series of

probabilities divests the resulting conclusion of certainty, or even of a very high degree of probability. Is such a "probable" conclusion any better than a blind guess? an arbitrary pronouncement? a sweeping generalization? despair? In each case, I would answer "yes". While we should not claim to know too much about the origins and transmission of the synoptic tradition, we should not resign ourselves to absolute ignorance either. So long as we are concerned with history at all, we cannot renounce "speculation", since "historische Arbeit ohne Rekonstruktionen nicht leben kann."[3] In discussing the origin and trajectory of each synoptic saying, we should seek the most probable explanation. The result, whatever it is, may not be dismissed by labeling it "speculation", but only by another, patently more probable explanation. In terms of the subject of this paper, this means that we should ask both "What can the trajectory of this saying tell us about the possible prophetic aspects of the community(ies) which transmitted it?" and "Did the saying itself, or an original form of it, originate as the oracle of a Christian prophet?" Due to the limitations of this year's seminar topic, this paper is limited to the section of this trajectory which concerns the Matthean form of the saying. This immediately involves us in the question of Matthew's sources.

II. Was There a Q-Form of This Saying?

While I do not wish to enter here into the current debate on the synoptic problem as such, none of us can any longer operate as though the Two-Document Hypothesis were unquestioned. I am indeed presently convinced that the hypothesis of the priority of Mark and the existence of Q, most probably in written form, is the most satisfactory working hypothesis. Nevertheless, it is prudent these days to examine whatever synoptic materials one is dealing with from the point of view of the Griesbach hypothesis. When this is done for our text, two possible supports for the Griesbach hypothesis become immediately apparent: (1) One can readily see Luke's striking Matthew's sophous kai grammateis, which does not fit his ecclesiology, and replacing it with apostolous, which does. (2) Luke can readily be understood as dropping the troublesome huiou Barachiou after Zachariou, since it is a mistake if one is thinking in OT terms. However, these two presumed items of evidence in favor of a Griesbachian reading of this pericope are not only each problematic in its own way, but the attempt to see them from this point of view causes them to clash with each other: if Luke is thinking in OT terms, which his alteration of Zachariou huiou Barachiou to Zachariou would call for, then apostolous would also have to refer to OT figures, which is hardly possible for Luke, and in any case would lose the supposed Lukan motive for altering Matthew's sophous kai grammteis. And conversely, if apostolous refers to Christian figures for Luke, there is no longer any need to "correct" Matthew's Zachariou huiou Barachiou. Since apostolous is peculiar to Luke, its meaning in this context will have to be explored elsewhere; here it is sufficient to point out that this word, conceived in this line of argument, cannot be used as evidence for a Lukan change in a Matthean Vorlage. The evidence for the Griesbach hypothesis in this pericope turns out to be ambiguous at best.

The evidence against Luke's having rewritten Matthew in this passage seems to me to be compelling: (1) It would require us to see Luke's having transformed a first-person saying of Jesus into a third-person saying of Wisdom, ego (Iesous) into hē sophia tou theou eipen. While one can understand Wisdom-

sayings becoming Jesus-sayings, the reverse is hardly credible. Indeed, scholars who accept the Q hypothesis uniformly regard Matthew or his tradition as having changed Q's Wisdom-saying into a word of Jesus.[4]

(2) The Grieshbach hypothesis would require us to see a saying which in the Vorlage was expressed in direct address to contemporaries as having been retrojected into a previous (pre-) historical period so that it is expressed in the future tense. What was a direct-address saying of Jesus concerning the present has, in the Griesbachian view, been transformed into a third-person saying of Wisdom concerning the future. While an analogous kind of retrojection was a technique of apocalyptic, there is no indication that Luke used such techniques on the sayings of Jesus.

(3) The appearance of dikaion/dikaiou in Matt. 23:34-35 as a replacement for twn prophetwn of Luke 11:50 is explicible on the basis that Abel is not a prophet, though he seems to be so designated in Matthew's Vorlage, Q, but the omission of dikaion/dikaiou and insertion of twn prophetwn, as would be called for by the Griesbach hypothesis, is hardly understandable.

(4) The details peculiar to Matthew 23:34 (kai staurosete, kai ex autwn mastigwsete en tais sunagwgais humwn ... apo polews eis polin) are more readily understood as Matthew's accomodation of a saying in his Vorlage to the details of the passion story than as Luke's omission of such details, since we know from Acts that Luke used details from the passion story to portray the persecution of Christians (cf. the Stephen story!).

No claim is made to have disposed of all claims of the Griesbach hypothesis to this pericope. But the considerations listed above indicate that the most promising approach to understanding Matthew 23:34-36/Luke 11:49-51 should continue to be in terms of the Two-Source Hypothesis, and that Matthew and Luke are here both using Q.

III. What Was The Q-Form Of This Saying?

The preceding section has indicated that, in every instance examined, the differences between Matthew and Luke are best accounted for in terms of the redactional work of Matthew. In fact, most scholars who operate on the Two-Source Hypothesis are convinced that Luke has preserved the Q form of the saying essentially intact,[5] with some arguing that Luke has here copied Q verbatim.[6] I would agree with this judgment, with one exception: I regard Matthew's amēn as representing the Q reading, and nai as Luke's editorial change. The reasons for this are as follows: (1) Matthew has no demonstrable tendency to add amēn to his sources; he inserts amēn into a Markan context at most twice (24:2/Mark 13:2 and 19:23/Mark 10:23). Of the twelve Markan contexts which have amēn incorporated by Matthew, he omits amēn from three. (2) There is no instance where Matthew changes a nai of his source into an amēn. (3) There are eleven Q sayings in which Matthew has amēn and Luke does not. In fact, Luke never has amēn in a Q passage. On a purely mechanical reckoning of Q, one would therefore have to say that amēn was not found in Q. Few have been willing to do this.[7] The more probable solution is that Luke has systematically suppressed amēn when it did appear in his sources. He retains only three of Mark's thirteen instances, plus three from sources peculiar to him. Luke seems to be concerned to purge the tradition of foreign words not understandable by his Greek readers, and entirely eliminates hwsanna, abba, eloi, rabbi, etc. which we know appeared in his Vorlagen. Additional con-

siderations concerning an original connection of this saying with Christian prophecy[8] also argue that amēn was in the Q form, but even the above data would point in the direction of Matthew's having retained an amēn which Luke has ommited.[9]

IV. Points on the Trajectory of this Saying.

We have located three points in the history of this saying, the Matthean, Lukan, and Q forms. We may now sketch out the entire history of the saying, indicating the key points, even though we cannot with confidence identify the form of the saying at each point in the trajectory, nor describe the precise changes which the saying underwent as it was transmitted from point to point in its history.

1. The original saying--Whatever its origin, the saying was not created ex nihilo, but had antecedents in the history of ideas, e.g. the D-school's theologoumenon of the rejection of the true prophet, and the wisdom schools' ideas of Lady Wisdom as the mediatrix of revelation. But at some time and place, a saying was coined in which these ideas came together in a particular set of words to express the author's meaning. It is this saying, the antecedent of all later forms of the saying, which I intend by "the original saying", whether it was spoken by Jesus of Nazareth, written in a lost wisdom apocalypse, promulgated by a Hasidic Jewish teacher or a Christian teacher in the Q community, or was originally the oracle of a Christian prophet. This question I am exploring elsewhere.

2. The pre-Q stage--The original saying came to be a part of the collection of sayings preserved by the Q community. If the saying was originally a text in a Jewish wisdom apocalypse, which was then quoted by Jesus and thereby became a unit of the dominical sayings tradition, or if some early Christian teacher quoted it as a saying of Jesus, which brought it into the Q collection, then, the history of the saying prior to Q would be: Wisdom document---→Jesus--→ sayings tradition, or Wisdom document---→Christian teacher---→sayings tradition. If the saying originated with a Jewish teacher, Christian teacher, or Christian prophet, at some point it was accepted into the sayings tradition as a dominical saying. Any of these processes could have resulted in some reformulation of the saying. There is no evidence that this is so, however. By "pre-Q stage" I intend simply the stage at which the saying, of whatever origin, was acknowledged by the community as a saying of the Lord.

3. The Q-stage--This is the earliest recoverable form of the saying, and formally and materially may well be identical with stages 1 and 2 above. At this stage in the history of the sayings, it is incorporated in a context which affects the way it is understood, and is interpreted in terms of the theology of a particular community. The works of Richard Edwards and M. Jack Suggs[10] are very valuable at this point, in clarifying how the Q-community probably understood this and other "wisdom" sayings. This need not imply, however, that the Q understanding of the saying is identical with the way(s) the saying was understood at either of stages 1 and 2 above. (Edwards and Suggs do not claim this.) The Q understanding may be an interpretation of the original meaning of the saying, not a repetition of it. Further, if Q is not one written document, but a firm cluster of traditions, or if it represents a series of "editions" of one document, then we may not simply speak of the Q understanding,

but should speak of a cluster of understandings.

4. Q to Matthew (Q^{Mt})--At this point it is customary to consider the Matthean and Lukan forms of the saying as the next points on the trajectory,[11] but it is more helpful to break each of these into two stages, (1) the transmission process by which the Q form came to Matthew/Luke and (2) the redactional work of Matthew/Luke themselves. This need not imply that Matthew and Luke had varying rescensions of Q, though I would consider this quite likely, but should rather underscore the fact that neither of the final authors simply interprets Q-as-it-was-understood-in-the-Q-community, but rather works with Q-as-it-had-been-transmitted-to-him-by-his-own-community. Thus the Q^{Mt} form of this saying means this saying as it came to be understood and/or modified in the stream of tradition which brings it to Matthew, including especially "the Matthean church."

5. Q to Luke (Q^{Lk})--All that has been said above regarding Matthew applies equally, of course, to Luke.

6. Matthew--This final stage of one branch of the tradition of the saying refers to the understanding of the saying by the author of the Gospel, including any redactional alterations he made to Q^{Mt} to express his understanding.

7. Luke--Same as 6 above, applied to Luke.

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We can, of course, identify the forms of the saying at points 6 and 7 above with great confidence and precision. It is only problems of text criticism which prohibit absolute certainty here, and these are minor: UBSGNT^3 considers the varient readings in neither text worthy of mention, Nestle^{25} lists no varient readings for the Luke passage, and no significant ones for the Matthean passage (with the possible exception of a few MSS', including the original text of Siniaticus', omission of huiou Barachiou, an obvious attempt to "correct" Matthew). The Greek New Testament edited by R. V. G. Tasker for the NEB translators, Souter's Novum Testamentum Graece^2, and Nestle-Kilpatrick's Hē Kainē Diathēkē^2 all have exactly the same text as Nestle^{25} and UBSGNT^3. So there is no problem in identifying the wording of stages 6 and 7 of the tradition. There is a large measure of agreement on the wording of stage 3 of the tradition (Q). Stages 3, 5, and 7 are almost identical. The significant observable changes in the wording of the saying come between stages 3 and 4, or between 4 and 6, or both. (These are often considered Matthew's redactional changes, but the possibility that they are changes at stage 4 of the tradition should be explored.) In the next section, we will attempt to determine what light Christian prophecy can shed on these changes, and vice versa.

Before moving on to the next section, however, it would be helpful to look back over the outline of the history of the tradition of this saying and ponder what the issue of "Christian prophecy and the sayings of Jesus" means in the light of such a development. It will readily be seen that Christian prophets and/or the understanding of Christian prophecy held by those who formulated and handed on the tradition could have influenced the form and/or content of this saying at one or more of seven

different points, some of which can be divided into sub-points. I am not about to suggest that, in order to claim to understand the relation of Christian prophets to the history of the synoptic sayings-tradition, we must reconstruct the trajectory of each saying and document at which point(s) Christian prophecy had an effect. But I would propose that the form of the question "Is saying X from a Christian prophet or not?" may often not be the most helpful approach to the issue, and that an understanding of the varying points at which Christian prophets might have created, re-presented, re-interpreted and/or re-formed part or all of a particular saying is more helpful than either/or categories. We will often be in the situation of having to say something like "At some point in the history of this saying, it has been affected by Christian prophets." Sometimes we will be able to be more precise,[12] but even when not, the general statement is still a gain both in terms of the exegesis of the passage concerned, and in the task of describing early Christian prophecy.

V. Christian Prophecy in the Matthean Community as Manifest in This Saying.

Since the history of the tradition is visible at two distinct points, Q and Matthew, we will attempt to learn what we can by the changes which the saying undergoes in the process of becoming a part of Matthew's gospel. I will not discuss the general question of Christian prophecy in Matthew's church, except as it bears on this saying. I will attempt to identify which of the changes between Q and Matthew are attributable to Matthew's tradition (Q^{Mt}) and which to Matthew himself. We shall begin with those elements which seem to be redactional.

At three points in this saying we meet words and expressions which seem to be from the author Matthew himself: idou, apo polews eis polin, and dikaion/dikiou. Although idou is a favorite Matthean term (62x), this is no proof that it is redactional rather than traditional, but the probability is that it is redactional. Of more significance for our purposes is the question whether it here represents a prophetic form or not.[13] In such a context, I would consider it a form of prophetic speech. If the word is redactional, this would not mean that Matthew is a prophet, but that he inserts an appropriate prophetic formula-word because he recognizes the prophetic form he is quoting.

Apo polews eis polin is unique in the gospels, but seems to be a redactional echo of the traditional saying Matthew has used in 10:23.[14] Again, the significant point for our purpose is that 10:23 is probably of prophetic origin, so that, redactional or traditional, the phrase has prophetic overtones.[15]

Dikaion/dikiou, twice inserted in this saying, is almost certainly from Matthew himself. Not only is dikaios a key word for Matthew, he seems to have made a point of pairing prophetes and dikaios. (See 10:41f, 13:17, 23:29, as well as here; the pairing in each case seems to be redactional.) Whether dikaios in this pairing means "teacher" (so David Hill[16] and E. Cothonet[17]) or simply "Christian", "layman", (so Käsemann[18]), it does seem to be "a quasi-technical term" (Hill) for part of the constituency of Matthew's church, a term which may also be applied to OT worthies. In such a pairing, prophetes also takes on an at least quasi-official character. We probably have the reflection of an at least quasi-official church order in such phrases, as well as in the prophētas, sophous, kai grammateis of v. 34.

In summary, there are a few places where Matthew's own hand may be traced in this logion, though none are certain. In each case, the change from the Q form, whether traditional or redactional, may reflect the influence of Christian prophecy in Matthew's church, though there is insufficient evidence to indicate that Matthew is a prophetic figure himself. The more significant changes from the Q-form may not be attributed to either Matthew alone nor his tradition (Q^{Mt}) alone, but must be assigned simply to "the Matthean church", which includes Matthew. It is these alterations which we now examine.

The most fundamental of these is that a saying of Wisdom quoted by Jesus in the Q tradition has become a saying of Jesus himself. The saying is fundamentally re-formed to express this: the future apostelw becomes the present apostellw, and third-person reference becomes second-person direct address: eis autous/pros humas, apoktenousin/apokteneite, diwxousin/diwxete, tou apolomenou/eph' humas. The consequences of these changes are of enormous interest for our subject. Whereas in the Q-form it is Wisdom, Divine Wisdom, or God-in-his-Wisdom who sends forth the prophets, in the Matthean form it is (the risen) Jesus himself. Whereas in the Q-form, the prophets are OT figures beginning with Abel and going through Zechariah, the last prophet mentioned in the canonical scriptures, in Matthew the prophets are Christian prophets. Whereas in the Q-form the saying is a prediction of what God-in-his-Wisdom will do down through the centuries, in the Matthean form it is an assertion of something that is happening in the present. Someone has taken a saying from the Q-tradition which, in its Q-context and as understood by the Q-community was not directly a saying of Jesus (pre- or post-Easter) nor particularly related to Christian prophets, and transformed it into a saying of (the risen) Jesus which is directly concerned with Christian prophecy. This could have been done by either (1) the charismatic act of a Christian prophet who felt free to take material from the tradition and re-present it as the present word of the exalted Jesus or (2) the literary act of a Christian teacher who re-writes the tradition in accordance with his church's own experience. In the former case, we would have direct influence of Christian prophecy on this saying, in both origin and content; in the latter case, we would have indirect influence of the ministry and fate of Christian prophets in Matthew's church, who had served as the model for the re-writing of this saying, whether by Matthew or by someone between Q and Matthew. In any case, the saying has assumed its present form and content in Matthew by virtue of the activity of Christian prophets in Matthew's church.

Whether the Q-form (=the Lukan form, with amēn substituted for nai), and therefore probably the original saying, originated as Christian prophecy, as has been argued by E. Earle Ellis, is another subject which I shall explore elsewhere--but I think Ellis' conclusion can be made the most probable one, and that we should cease to talk about a "lost Wisdom apocalypse" as the origin of the saying.

If the preceding line of argument regarding the form and meaning of the saying in Matthew has any validity, what may we then learn from this saying regarding the Christian prophetism reflected in the saying?

1. Christian prophets were persecuted and sometimes killed. This typical fate of early Christian prophets (Revelation, I Thess 2:16, etc.) is manifest also here.

2. Their fate was understood as commissioned in advance by the exalted Jesus. It comes as no surd accident of history (the prophets did not see themselves as 'victims' in this sense), but comes with the call to be a prophet. This reflects not only the understanding of prophecy in late Judaism (cf. Steck), but as one of the more profound understandings of prophecy in the Old Testament (Jeremiah!), as well as having had an effect on NT theology (e.g. Gal. 1:15-16 and Paul's self-understanding throughout Galatians). The prophets here reflected are not pneumatikoi who have risen above the sufferings of the world, but share them as a part of their calling.

3. Christian prophets saw their own suffering as modeled on that of Jesus' passion. The addition of kai staurwsete kai ex autwn mastigwsete en tais sunagwgais humwn probably reflects partly the historical experience of the prophetic group--being beaten in the synagogues--and partly an accomodation of the description of their suffering to the passion story of Jesus (staurwsete), for there is no other evidence that Christian prophets were crucified, and crucifixion was, of course, a Roman, and not a Jewish punishment.

4. Fleeing a city in which they are persecuted (apo polews eis polin) is not cowardice, but part of the commission from the risen Lord.[19]

5. The eschatological note is sounded by Christian prophets: theirs is the last generation, in which the guilt of former generations comes to a head and is dealt with.

NOTES

1. Richard Edwards, A Theology of Q (Philadelphia, 1976) 44-57, and "Christian Prophecy and the Q Tradition" SBL 1976 Seminar Papers (Missoula, 1976) 119-26.

2. Norman Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (New York, 1967) 15 and passim. Cf. Jack Sanders comments on this point in his review of Perrin's work in Interpretation 22 (Jan., 1968) 90.

3. Ernst Käsemann, in a pioneering essay on this topic, "Die Anfänge Christlicher Theologie", Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen (Göttingen, 1965, 2 Bände) 2:83.

4. See Siegfried Schulz, Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten (Zurich, 1972) 336, who lists 18 scholars from Harnack on who so reconstruct Q. I know of no exception to this.

5. See Günther Klein, "Die Verfolgerung der Apostel, Luk 11, 49", in Neues Testament und Geschichte, ed. Heinrich Baltensweiler and Bo Reiche (Tübingen, 1972) 113f. The chief point of contention is whether apostolous belongs in the Q-form or not: pro (O. H. Steck, Das Gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967, p. 30 and Schulz, p. 336), contra (Klein and most scholars--he speakes of a "Konsensus"-- a selection of which he names pp. 113f).

6. Schulz, Spruchquelle 337-39, and the scholars he names.

7. Even Edwards, who attempts to avoid a speculative reconstruction of Q by including only words appearing in both Matthew and Luke -- and hence omits amēn from his concordance, still includes '(Truly) I say to you' in his discussion of prophetic formulae in Q in Theology of Q, p. 48, albeit with the (truly) in brackets.

8. Omitted from this article which deals with Christian prophecy in Matthew.

9. Contra Steck, Das Gewaltsame Geschick, p. 32, n. 2.

10. M. Jack Suggs, Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel (Cambridge, 1970), especially 24-29.

11. Suggs, Wisdom, p. 20, identifies four stages in the transmission history of the oracle: the lost Jewish wisdom-apocalypse, Q, Luke and Matthew.

12. Cf. one of my own efforts in this regard in "The Unforgivable Sin Logion Mark 3:28-29/Matt 12:31-32/Luke 12:10: Formal Analysis and History of the Tradition" in Novum Testamentum 18 (Oct. 1976) 258-79.

13. Cf. Paul Minear, I Saw A New Earth (Washington, 1968) p. 17, my "The Apocalypse as Christian Prophecy" in SBL 1974 Seminar Papers (Missoula, 1974), 45, 48, 60, and Krister Stendahl in Peake's Commentary on the Bible (Rev. ed.), 793.

14. So e.g. Schulz, Spruchquelle, 337, Bultmann, The History of Synoptic Tradition (New York, 1963) 114.

15. Cf. my "Christian Prophecy and Matthew 10:23: A Test Exegesis" in SBL 1976 Seminar Papers (Missoula, 1976) 127-34.

16. David Hill, "Dikaisi as a Quasi-Technical Term", NTS 11 (April, 1965) 296-302.

17. E. Cothenet, "Prophétisme dans le Nouveau Testament", DBS cols. 1271-1273.

18. Käsemann, "Anfänge", 89-91.

19. Boring, "Matthew 10:23", 129.

S 55 TWO TYCHAI FROM CAESAREA MARITIMA

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During excavations in the summer of 1971 at Caesarea Maritima, the Roman and Byzantine provincial capital of Palestine, a larger than life size white marble statue of a standing female figure was uncovered. As found, the figure lay fallen beside a sandstone podium located on a major north-south street amid Byzantine destruction debris.

The clothed torso of the figure is undamaged but the head, arms, legs and feet have been broken away. Part of the lower neck and a small section of the right arm as it joins the shoulder is preserved. The small fragment of the upper right arm which remains at the right shoulder indicates that the right arm of the figure originally extended out in front of the statue. Though broken away at the biceps, enough of the left arm remains to indicate that the upper part of that arm originally extended latterly to the figure's left at shoulder height. The extended left leg is intact except for the lower ankle. The bare right knee of the statue is raised but all of the lower right leg below the knee is missing. Just above the right knee and on top of the extended and raised thigh of the right leg is the (ca. 0.08m wide by ca. 0.08m long by 0.03m high) remains of what appears to have been a vertical marble shaft. That the shaft was intended as a structural support and was used as such as part of the original figure, is evident from the manner in which the folds of the figure's garment were made to accommodate the presence of the shaft base.

The figure is clothed in a chiton which is gathered at the left shoulder and has been shortened to knee length by a large hanging fold secured by a girdle worn high on the waist just below the breasts. The right shoulder and the right breast are bare. A mantle drapes over the upper part of the laterally extended left arm and hangs in folds down the back from over the left shoulder. At the left side of the figure a short sheathed ceremonial sword, a parazonium, hangs from a shoulder strap which loops over the bare right shoulder, across and down the back of the figure. The ends of hair curls, hanging as though they had been part of a mass of hair gathered at the back of the head, lie on that small fragment of the nape of the neck which survives.

The garment of the figure exhibits considerable attention to detail and in style and technique it compares favorably with similar sculpture found at Caesarea which dates from the second and third century, A.D. The proportions of the slightly larger than life figure are generous. The left breast, upper arm and leg as well as all other unadorned parts of the carefully draped figure while large, are without exception, well formed. The left biceps, for example, measures a massive 0.43m in circumference. The overall impression created by the standing figure is that of a large, solid, powerfully built female.

Further excavation during the summer of 1971 near the podium beside which the figure was found disclosed a white marble base on which two bare feet had been carved but from which both legs had been broken away at the ankles. A 0.30m long left foot is at the center of the base while the damaged right foot rests on the foredeck of a stylized vessel 0.16m above the upper surface of the base. An elongated tabula ansata, devoid of inscription, roughly done and incomplete is incised on the 0.14m high front of the base. Approximately rectilinear in shape, the base is 0.78m long by 0.56m wide with an irregular break across its breadth at one end.

While it was not possible to actually position the figure over the base, it was evident that the figure had originally stood on the base and had stood in such a manner that most of the full body weight of the figure appeared to be born by the extended left leg while the right foot was placed squarely on the raised foredeck of the prow of a ship causing the right knee to be elevated.

In the summer of 1974 during the systematic removal of the baulks in Field B near the podium where the figure and base had been found, a third major piece of the statue complex was discovered. This large fragment consists of a white marble base upon which is sculptured a small male figure of about one third life size from which the head had been broken away. Beside the small male figure is a cylindrical mass which is irregularly covered with projections not unlike those left on the trunk of a palm tree after the old palm fronds have broken away. Both the male figure and the palm trunk rise from a 0.14m thick white marble base across the width which runs an irregular break line. The upper torso of the male figure is bare while the lower part of the body is clothed in what appears to be an apron or skirt of skins. The garment is lightly carved and lacks full definition especially at the back of the figure. The small male figure appears to rise directly from the marble base without any indication of, or space for, legs. It is possible that the figure is kneeling but, whatever the case, the skirt or apron covers all of the body below the waist. The figure is slightly inclined to its own left from the vertical and its back is slightly arched backward in such a manner as to suggest that the head was originally tilted up in order to permit the small figure to appear to gaze up at the towering more than life size female figure beside it. The muscular arms of the small figure are presented in front of the body with the left forearm raised to chest height and the right forearm extended to the left across the front of the body. The damaged hands, the left hand above the right, clasp a partly damaged rope or harness which runs over the left shoulder as well as under the left arm. The shaped end of the rope or harness hangs below the two hands and against the skins of the figure's apron. The back of the small figure is bare and there is no evidence of a more elaborate harness having been there nor does the rope or harness lay on or across the back of the figure. The loop of the rope or harness as it comes over the shoulder is broken off at the top of the shoulder. It is, likewise, broken off at the left side of the figure under the left arm of the figure. The figure appears originally to have been depicted with its shoulder in a loop which was at the end of a rope or line and since the rope does not lie slack across the back of the figure but rather projects straight out behind the figure in a horizontal or near horizontal fashion, it suggests that the loop was at the end of stretched or taut line. The return of the loop under the left arm would have, in similar fashion, extended out back of the figure and at some point, probably never represented on the statue, joined the taut line above it. The position of the loop and the projected extension of a taut line to the rear of the figure suggests that the loop was used to permit the hauling or pulling of a load. The shaped end or tail piece of the rope grasped in the hands of the small figure served to position the rope and at the same time allow the rope to be secured over the shoulder in order that power could be applied through the shoulder harness to the rope.

Rising vertically from the base on which the statue rests is the 0.44m high lower end of a 0.05m diameter representation of a staff against which the back of the small male figure appears to lean. Since the small male figure also leans slightly to its own left, the vertical column of the staff runs to the slightly elevated right shoulder of the figure at which point the column is broken away.

When the third piece of the sculpture complex was placed beside that part of the statue base on which the feet had been sculptured, the break lines which ran across each piece matched and allowed the two parts of the statue to be joined to form a complete base for the standing female figure. At this point it was seen that an ill-defined mass of marble covered with irregularly spaced projections which extended from beneath the hem of the chiton at the back of the standing female figure had originally been attached to, and was part of, the palm tree trunk found on the newly discovered part of the base. It also became clear that the palm tree trunk had served as the major structural support for the standing figure. The three large parts of the statue complex when fitted together formed a unitary sculptured work, generally complete, apart from the head, arms, hands and legs of the large female figure, and the head of the small male figure. Items which may have been held in the hands of the standing figure were, of course, also missing.

The reconstructed statue complex shows a large female figure in frontal stance with right leg raised and right foot on the foredeck of a warship. Close by her left side is a small male figure of less than one third the female figure's height. Between and to the rear of the two human figures is an ill-defined mass judged to represent a palm tree trunk which rises to and supports the standing female figure. The rear of the statue complex had not been finished with the same attention to detail as was exhibited on the front of the sculpture. See figure 1.

A female figure wearing the short chiton, her right breast bare, a parazonium at her left side, standing with her right foot on the prow of a ship appears on the reverse of coins issued at Caesarea over the course of two centuries, that is, throughout the entire history of the mint at Caesarea from Nero A.D. 54-68 to Volusianus A.D. 251-253. The figure so depicted on the reverse of the coinage of Caesarea is identified with Tyche, the city goddess of Caesarea. Kadman who has made the most careful study of the coins of Caesarea notes that the most numerous and most important of all the various reverse types of coins minted at Caesarea are those which depict Tyche and that one third of all the reverse coin types issued at Caesarea mint are Tyche types.[1] Kadman was able to distinguish seven forms, in which Tyche appears on the coins of Caesarea. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Tyche standing to the left, wearing turreted crown and short chiton, right breast bare, mantle hanging over left arm, a parazonium at left side, right foot resting on the prow of a ship; she leans with left hand on a cross headed standard and holds in out-stretched right hand a human bust; behind her left foot the half figure of a river god.

2. Similar to number 1 above but with Tyche standing under the central arch of a tetrastyle temple usually with figures of deities in the outer intercolumniation.

3. The bust of Tyche facing right or left wearing turreted crown and chiton, her bosom partly bare.

4. Bust of Tyche, similar to number 3 above, facing right between the letters SP-QR, enclosed by a wreath, which is supported by an eagle with out-spread wings.

5. Tyche standing, similar to number 1 above, but holding in right hand a spear instead of a human bust.

6. Tyche standing, similar to number 1 above, but holding at her left a cornucopia.

7. Tyche wearing the long chiton and mantle, seated left on throne with back, flanked by two lions.

Of the seven forms in which the Tyche appears on the reverse of coins minted at Caesarea, listed above, the first four forms, numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, are by far the most common. The last three forms, numbers 5, 6, and 7, on the other hand, have each been found represented only on single coins. The statue excavated at Caesarea conforms in stance, style and in its main features to those of the Tyche found depicted on coin reverses bearing form number 1. See figure 2. While some of the features found on form number 1 of the Caesarea coin reverses were not found on, nor with the statue as excavated, details found on the statue allow us to assume that it originally had certain of the features shown on the coins. One of the most evident features of the Tyche found depicted on the coins but not found on the statue is the extended right arm of the Tyche holding a human bust. The Tyche holding a human bust held in her extended right arm is a feature which occurs frequently on coins of the cities of Palestine. It first appeared on the coins of Caesarea during the reign of Nero A.D. 54-68 and continued as a feature of reverse type number 1 mentioned above, throughout the life of the mint at Caesarea until the demise of that institution in the middle of the third century A.D.

The right arm of the statue found at Caesarea is broken off at the shoulder and neither the arm nor the human bust it may have held was found in the excavated areas undertaken by The Joint Expedition to Caesarea, although careful search was made. The remains of the vertical shaft rising amid the folds of the chiton from the top of the right thigh near the knee, however, suggests that a part of the original statue had been supported by this structural devise. Since the right foot of the statue is elevated, it caused the right thigh of the statue to be raised, positioning the vertical shaft on the top of the thigh out in front of the statue at the approximate distance necessary to support an extended right arm held out before the statue. The fragment of the left arm remaining at the shoulder indicates that the right arm had originally been extended out in front of the torso. The remains of the marble shaft on top of the right thigh of the statue, it seems clear, is part of a structure intended to support the extended right arm of the statue in a manner not unlike that found depicted on the coin reverses of the Caesarea mint. The fact that the support is not a thin or delicate one but rather a relatively thick, even crude, devise located in a very prominent place on the statue, at a risk to the general aesthetic quality of the statue, indicates that it was probably placed where it is not only to stabilize a partially extended marble arm, but rather it was placed there because a considerable weight in addition to the arm had to be supported. Thus, the marble shaft is positioned on the thigh relative to the place where an extended hand would be and in a position to support a weight held in that hand. The statue found at Caesarea originally had its right arm extended and has a structural devise which would have supported a weight held in the extended right hand of the statue. These and other similarities between the Caesarea statue and the Tyche found on the coins minted at Caesarea make it probable that the statue conforms to the form of the Tyche found on the number 1 Tyche reverse coin types listed above and enables us to assume that the statue at one time probably held the bust of the emperor in her extended right arm.

In the left hand of the Tyche as depicted on the coins minted at Caesarea is a cross headed staff or spear. The statue, as excavated, had no staff or spear nor were the remains of such found in the locus associated with the statue remains. But when that part of the statue which contained the one third life size figure was fitted to the rest of the base, it was observed that

the lower end of the small marble column found against the back of the male figure, if projected vertically, would be in the proper location for a staff which could be held in the left hand when the upper part of the left arm is extended laterally to the left from the body at shoulder height. This position of the upper arm is the same as that found on the excavated statue. The nature of the top of the staff held by the figure can no longer be determined. The Tychai shown on the Caesarea coins hold a staff in the left hand but in every case, except one, the upper part of the staff is obscured by the reverse legend or is worn away. In that one exception the Tyche holds in her left hand a cross headed staff. A bas relief of a Tyche holding a spear in the left hand has been found at Caesarea.

Because of the close similarity between the female figure excavated at Caesarea and the female figure depicted on the reverse of coin types minted at Caesarea, especially form number 1 of those coin types listed above, the excavated statue was judged to be that of Tyche, the city goddess of Caesarea.

The head of the statue is lost but we may assume that originally the statue bore a turreted crown on her head representing the walls of the city, the same as that worn by the Tyche depicted on the coins of the Caesarea mint and similar to the crown worn by the Tyche of the city of Antioch. [2] The head of the Tyche of Caesarea wearing the turreted crown carved in bas relief has been found on the remains of an unfinished altar found at Caesarea.

If the large female figure in the statue complex can with some confidence be identified as the Tyche of Caesarea and in the form most frequently represented on the coins issued by the Caesarea mint in the 1st, end, and 3rd centuries A.D., can the rest of the statue complex be identified? The answer is a qualified yes. The identification of the small figure at the lower left of the Tyche has, however, proved difficult. F.C. Hill, Keeper of Coins at the British Museum, judged that the small ill-defined figures seen at the feet of the Tychai depicted on the coins of Palestine were to be identifies as "River Gods." [3] These small figures are somewhat less than clear and Hill used, among other examples, the famous Tyche of Antioch carved by Eutychides to help in his identification. That well known statue, now in the Vatican, has a turret crowned Tyche seated upon Mt. Silpion with a small male half figure, called "the river-god of the Orontes" at her feet. The one third life size male figure found at the feet of the Tyche in the statue complex excavated at Caesarea is clearly not a god. The skirt of skins and the tow-rope over the shoulder indicate that the small figure represents a workman of some type probably a hauler, a helciarius. The helciarii were used to tow shallow draft vessels, naves codicariae, up rivers where ships of deep draft could not go. [4] Cargo off-loaded at a port or at the mouth of a river was transported within large harbors but especially to the interior of a country by towed vessels pulled up the rivers. Illustration of such activity can be found on the tombstones of helciarii buried near the River Tiber. [5]

Caesarea was a large port and if Josephus is to be believed it was in the 1st century as large as the port of Piraeus. [6] Haulers and ship handlers would have been needed there. The nearest rivers to Caesarea, the Zerqa (Crocodilon Flumen) to the north, and the Mifjir (Hadera) to the south, lie equidistant, approximately 4km., from the harbor. Both rivers are of moderate depth, relatively fast flowing and the mouths of both are blocked by sand bars formed by the north working current of the eastern Mediterranean Sea. If these rivers were utilized as water ways for shipments being carried inland to Caesarea's city territory, that traffic would have had to have been carried in shallow draft vessels and towed up the rivers.

That such activity occured on the River Crocodilon, is probable, since there has now been discovered a major Roman industrial installation 3km. up that river. The industrial complex, in the main, consists of a dam on which was found evidence of thirteen large water driven mills, tentatively identified as grain mills. Thus some grain shipped to Caesarea probably would have been towed in shallow draft vessels up the Crocodilon to that installation.

If the small male figure at the feet of Tyche, the city goddess of Caesarea is a helciarius, as seems the case, why was a hauler included as part of this statue complex? I would like to suggest that while the small figure can, in this case, be identified as a helicarius at the feet of Tyche, that identification does not necessarily apply to all the indistinct figures found at the feet of the Tychai depicted on the coins, minted in this part of the world. Indeed, there is some evidence to indicate that while the form of the Tyche remained generally the same, the associated figures varied. Different forms have been found not only on the coins but also on other statues.

A coin of the Caesarea mint at the Sdot Yam Museum in Israel depicts Tyche, standing, right foot on the prow of a ship, holding a bust of an emperor in her outstretched right hand, and holding in her left hand a staff. At the lower left side of the Tyche is a one third life size figure, arms crossed in front of its chest but with an anchor over its left shoulder. Seyrig on the other hand, published a bronze statue of the Tyche of Caesarea.[7] At the feet of that small bronze statue is a small one third life size figure which holds in its outstretched hands an object which Seyrig calls a "shuttle" but which, to the present author, looks more like the hull of a ship. This is evidence, then, that while the form of the Tyche remained the same the figure associated with the Tyche varied to suit the needs of individuals.

Tyche, the protectress of the city, the goddess concerned with the fortunes of Caesarea was also looked to by individuals and groups within the city to guide their destiny. The helciarii, probably the guild of haulers, put themselves under the protection of the Caesarea Tyche and had a statue carved to symbolize that relation. They may also have had the statue set up within a temple. A coin of Caesarea shows Tyche, a small figure at her side, within the arch of a tetrastyle temple.[8]

Over the course of the two centuries in which the mint at Caesarea was in operation, the standing Tyche with the head of the emperor in her extended right hand as depicted on the city's coins, was modified in several respects. Not only did the representation of the Tyche herself become more sophisticated, the rod in her left hand changed from a spear to a cross-headed staff. Still later, there was added to the staff, at least in certain coins, the tiller of a ship along with tiller's counter-balance. By locating the form of the excavated statue in the sequence of developing forms shown on the coins, it is possible to offer a second century date for the statue complex.

A second broken white marble Tyche, greater than life size, was found during clearing operations near the harbor of Caesarea. When the figure was reassembled, the Tyche was shown to be holding a double cornucopiae in her left hand. Happily, a single coin from the Caesarea mint has been found which depicts a Tyche in the stance of the second statue holding a double cornucopiae.[9]

FOOTNOTES

1 L. Kadman, The Coins of Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, 1961.

2 J. Fertuson, The Religions of the Roman Empire, Cornell Press, Ithaca, New York, pp. 77-87. Illustration 40.

3 F. Hill, "Some Palestinian Cults in the Greco-Roman Age", Proceedings of the British Academy, London, V. (1912) pp. 3-4.

4 L. Carson, "Harbour and River Boats of Ancient Rome", Journal of Roman Studies, LV (1965), pp. 31-39.

5 Ibid., Plate II and III.

6 Josephus, Antiquities, XV, 9, 6, 332.

7 H. Seyrig, "La Tyché de Césarée de Palestine", Syria, XLIX (1972), pp. 112-115.

8 Kadman, The Coins of Caesarea Maritime, Jerusalem, 1961, p. 104f. #33 and Pl. III, 33.

9 Ibid., p. 140f. #21f and Pl. XVII, 21f.

S 56

PATRONS AND OFFICERS IN CLUB AND CHURCH

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The life of the Christian Church under the early Roman Empire presents a picture of fascinating obscurity. We know a good deal about doctrinal disputes and developments, but very little about the social structure of the communities that produced them. Since the ancients did not share our concept of or interest in sociology, the early Christians were generally content to know what a person believed without asking about the social identity of the believer. How was the early Christian defined in terms of sex, nationality, social rank, wealth, or education? Ancient Christian authors rarely give us much of an answer to such questions.

The modern historian who wants to understand Christianity as a social phenomenon must construct his own picture from scraps of ancient information. To do this, he must find some model to guide him as he seeks to account for the social peculiarities of early Christianity. One possible source for such models is our own era, where we have adequate documentation by trained sociologists, as, for example, in the case of apocalyptic sects.[1] There is a difficulty here, however, for even though modern apocalyptic groups may correspond doctrinally to the early church, their modern form is influenced by preexisting models of church organization. This was a precondition lacking in antiquity, where no social group fully comparable to the church existed. The historian's problem is to locate the ancient church in its own social milieu with only such preconditions as actually existed, taking seriously the "strangeness" of antiquity and of Christianity as a religion of antiquity.

How would the early church have been understood by the ancient public, from which it was drawing its converts? What analogy existed for it in their experience? Among the possible analogues--all of them incomplete--were the Jewish synagogue, the Mithraic group, the philosophical school.[2] Perhaps the best analogue, at least under the Early Empire, was also the most obvious. What was any voluntary association, formed for purposes of worship, fellowship and mutual aid? It was a club, in Latin collegium, in Greek usually hetairia or thiasos. The analogy of church and club was not only possible; it was actually recognized (for example, during Pliny's persecution of the Christians in Bithynia) by both pagans and Christians.[3]

Without pretending that the analogy of club and church can explain the whole social dynamic of early Christianity, I should like to suggest that it is a fruitful avenue of approach to the subject. This is by no means a new thought. Scholars have long called attention to the social analogy between the two groups, though they have not often gone on to use this analogy as a tool to explore the church's inner life.[4] Fortunately, the club life of antiquity is well known to us as a result of the great numbers of inscriptions concerned with it that have survived. These materials have been carefully studied and collated by classical historians, beginning with Theodor Mommsen.[5] (The analogy holds

only for the period of the Early Empire; in the Late Empire, the clubs were transformed into state-controlled guilds, while the church itself began the transition from voluntary association to established religion.)

We can give a general summary of the organization of classical clubs, even though in some ways the organization of Greek clubs was different from that of Latin-speaking ones. All the clubs were organized around the worship of a god or hero. They drew their membership from various strata of society; in Latin clubs, these strata were often intermingled in the same association, while Greek clubs tended to be more exclusive. Occasional banquets were a prominent feature of club life. Many clubs also functioned as mutual aid and/or funerary societies.[6]

Most clubs were either founded by or dependent on the favors of a patron, who endowed the club with funds for specific, defined purposes, such as the celebration of certain festivals (often including the patron's birthday).[7] The club, in return, compensated the patron with honorary titles, decrees, crowns, inscriptions and even statues.[8] While the patron was not usually a member of the club, on a footing with the regular membership, or even an officer of it, he was clearly a figure of great influence. In fact, the club functioned almost as a client--particularly if it were a club composed of poor people.

The officers varied a good deal from one club to another, but they were weak, compared with the patron. They were drawn from leading members, who were sometimes distinguished in a Latin club as the ordo, and they were elected for specified terms, usually one to five years. In Latin clubs, the supreme office was often divided among several men, in accordance with the usual forms of Roman city government. In Greek clubs, it was more often the prerogative of one man.[9]

All clubs under the Early Empire, with the exception of the guilds of actors, were strictly local in character, with no links between a group of worshippers of Antinous in Italy and a group in Egypt. They were also relatively small in size, with the normal club ranging about thirty to thirty-five members. Associations of one hundred or more were rare.[10]

The club life of Greco-Roman antiquity thus differed in important respects from the nature of voluntary associations in 20th century America. In particular, the dominant role of the patron is noteworthy, as are the strictly local nature and the limited size of each group.

It will be clear at once, from this summary of club life, that the Christian church was not a typical Greco-Roman club. We shall examine the ways in which it differed from the club shortly; first, however, we should consider how an outsider would have conceived of the church. He knew that the Christians were a restricted group with a definite, continuing membership, that this membership was determined on a voluntary basis (unlike, for example, membership in the Jewish community which was primarily by birth), that the Christian meetings centered on the worship of

a heroized man and included common meals, that the rich members of the church were supposed to assist the poor. All of this was tantamount to the description of a club. When such an outsider took the step of enquiring further into Christianity or even of becoming a member of the church, he will have carried with him this image of the Christian club as the key of understanding church organization. Even if he subsequently discovered some anomalies, he will not have abandoned the club schema unless it became quite untenable, for he lacked any other familiar concept with which to replace it.

If a rich man attached himself to the church, then, he will have conceived his role in the church as analogous to that of the patron of a pagan club. Before I explore this idea further, however, I should say something about the social make-up of the early church, in order to justify talking about "rich" converts. For a variety of reasons, most of us are inclined to think of the early church as composed exclusively of poor people. This is a picture based on religious and political presuppositions rather than on such evidence as we have. The church does not seem, to be sure, to have made any great headway among the senatorial aristocracy in the first century. With that single exclusion, however, it is difficult to specify any class that was not affected by it.

What the early Christian writings suggest is that the church contained a mixed constituency, so far as social class and economic standing are concerned. While the tradition of Jesus' sayings sometimes implies a message addressed exclusively to the poor (so, for example, the Lukan form of the Beatitudes), there is little trace of such a conception of the church outside the NT Gospels and the Epistle of James. The poor are more often mentioned as the object of Christian charity than as Christians themselves. This suggests that most Christians belonged to a class which lived well above the subsistence line and which had money that could be given away. While such people were not all necessarily rich, in terms of the larger society, some of them will have been--as the early Christian writings themselves repeatedly suggest. Even if we cannot identify their precise status within the Roman social order, we can assume that the church attracted some rich people from an early date.[11]

The rich convert, then, probably saw himself as entering a new club, but he met with major differences, affecting his role and that of the group's officers. Where his counterpart in the club was secure of honor and power in return for his benefactions, the new Christian had attached himself to a tradition which had a determination to treat the rich no better than others. For example, we have not a single Christian inscription from the Early Empire comparable to the hundreds of club inscriptions honoring wealthy patrons for their generosity; indeed, most Christian writers of the Early Empire adopt a more or less negative tone toward the rich.

We can be sure that the church still depended heavily on the rich for the support of its life. The repeated appeals for alms in early Christian literature are sufficient evidence of it.

There is also a good deal in the expansion of Christianity that would be inexplicable without assuming the generosity of rich Christians: the provision of buildings and cemeteries; the maintenance of an extensive welfare apparatus.[12] Nonetheless, the church declined to repay the rich in the way that had become customary in the clubs. They were expected to hand over their gifts to the ministers for administration and then to remain quietly subordinate. This represents a signal departure from the club model, one that is related to other significant peculiarities of the church.

The club, as already remarked, was a strictly local institution; and its officers served terms of limited duration. Both these characteristics served to keep the club firmly enmeshed in the social order of its city; and both served, incidentally, to enhance the power of the patron. There was no outside authority higher than the patron, nor were the officers of the club strong enough in their own right to resist his will, since they were subject to replacement at stated intervals. In the church, however, the officers enjoyed life tenure and derived their authority from outside the congregation, either literally or in theory. These two factors served to change the balance of power within the church from what it was in the conventional club.

Let us begin with the ecumenical character of the church. The earliest officers of the Christian association were men who claimed direct authorization from the founder of the church. The authority of these apostles was in no way dependent on approval or disapproval from the local churches, although their effectiveness could, of course, be reduced by lay resistance.[13] This means that at the very beginning the individual churches were not able to work out stable hierarchies purely in terms of the local social order. The potential local leadership may well have resented the outside interference, which might continue long after the apostle himself had moved on, as witness Paul's letters. In the Pastoral Epistles, we have an attempt to maintain some kind of centralized appointment of ministers at a later date--an attempt that must have brought the author into conflict with local elites.[14]

In the long run, the church adapted itself to the prevalent club pattern of purely local officers, even though it retained a sense of ecumenical identity. The monarchical episcopate, with the bishop elected by the local church, came to be standard; (in most cases, it was not until Roman society itself became increasingly centralized under the Late Empire that larger jurisdictions again came into vogue). This did not solve the problem, however; for the clergy still claimed an authority which derived from "outside"--from God rather than from the will of the Christian community. At first, this claim was based on charismatic qualifications, but the later, office-based ministry inherited the claim. The officers of the church continued to be religious figures first and club officers only second. This feature set them apart more sharply from the ordinary Christian than the club officer from the ordinary club member and confirmed their unique power, which they attributed to no human source.

The early church thus differed from contemporary clubs in that it contained two foci of power. The financial support of the church came from rich members, but their power was counterbalanced by the authority of the church's ministers. The church was a club and yet it was also something other than a club. This ambiguity gave rise to certain social tensions that were important for the way in which early Christianity developed. For while the rich were expected to support the church lavishly, they were denied their traditional right to control and designate in detail the use of the funds which they themselves contributed.[15]

The rich layman might respond to this situation in a variety of ways. For example, if he chose not to accept his own subordination to the ministry, he might lapse into a kind of indifference to the church and eventually, under political pressure, into outright rejection of Christianity. Early Christian authors (most of them ministers) do in fact complain about such weakness on the part of the rich.[16]

Second, the rich might respond to clerical dominance by aiming at the ministerial office themselves. There was some encouragement for this practice at an early date. Paul ascribed to the family of Stephanas, which was apparently rich enough to devote itself to fulltime church work, certain rights of leadership (I Cor. 16:15-16). The author of the Pastorals encouraged the ordination only of respectable householders with a good reputation in the community.[17] By the third century, it seems to have been fairly common for bishops to be people of some distinction in their communities and above average in wealth or education; so, for example, Hippolytus of Rome, Gregory Thaumaturgus and his brother Athenodorus, Cyprian of Carthage, and Dionysius of Alexandria.

This kind of compromise, by which the two rival sources of power, religious and financial, were merged in one person, probably worked well enough under some circumstances, but there were two hindrances to its execution. The first was the problem of ministerial tenure. The ministerial office did not fall vacant often, since ministers held office for life. If new and important converts entered a Christian congregation, they might have to wait a long time before they could attain to the ministry. Under such circumstances, there was a natural tendency to rush matters. I suspect, for reasons too complex to enter into here, that the rebellion against the clergy at Corinth in the late first century was an effort to accommodate such new and prestigious converts.

Even if the ministerial office were open, however, there still remained the problem of the size of Christian congregations. We have already remarked the small size of most Greco-Roman clubs; each of these small groups was the province of a single patron or family of patrons. The church, however, seems to have imposed no limits on its own growth. Luke, indeed, saw nothing outrageous in numbering the Jerusalem church in the thousands from its very inception. If a Christian congregation included people from a variety of social and economic ranks, then a congregation of one thousand members would probably have included

twenty to thirty people who were markedly richer than the others and who would thus be thrown into competition with each other for the positions of leadership.[18] As the churches tended more and more to the monarchical episcopate, the number of these positions was more restricted. Those who did not wish to compete or who failed in the competition may have retreated into apathy--or they may have cast about them for smaller (in Early Christian terms, heretical) Christian groups which they could hope to dominate.

The existence of two foci of power within the church thus encouraged and also limited efforts to combine both foci in one person. The social tension thus generated posed a threat to both the rich and their rivals, the ministers. It is from the latter group that most of our documents come--writings marked by a suspicion not only of riches but of the rich themselves, who are condemned as apathetic, prone to lapse, and insubordinate. Yet, since the extensive welfare apparatus of the church was dependent on the generosity of these rich laymen, the same writers who denounce the rich as inferior Christians are also inclined to make extravagant promises of the merit that accrues to them from almsgiving. The rich, whose salvation is in doubt, are practically asked to buy their way into heaven. "Almsgiving is therefore good as repentance for sin; fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than both. . . . Almsgiving is a lightening of sin." This passage from 2 Clement (16.4) is unusually explicit; but the doctrine is typical of Christian writings from the Early Empire. I know of no ancient Christian protest against this argument for almsgiving, despite the contradiction between it and the normal Early Christian suspicion of wealth.

In summary, the early church was both a club and something other than a club. It was similar enough to the Greco-Roman clubs that a contemporary, on first becoming acquainted with or entering the church, would have assumed that it was a variety of the same thing. As a result, there were pressures on the church from both within and without toward assimilation to a familiar social model. Certain elements within the church, however, resisted this pressure. The ministers, in particular, would have lost much of their power if they had been turned into typical club officers. They sought to maintain the church's distinctiveness by denying to the rich the traditional rewards and powers of the club patron. Since they then needed other ways to encourage the generosity which was essential to the church's survival, they cultivated a high doctrine of almsgiving. The formulation of ethical and charitable teachings about wealth was a direct response to tension between club and non-club patterns within the church.

The analogy of church and club thus helps us to identify some of the social dynamics of ancient Christianity in terms of social expectations which we know were current in the Early Empire and which would not readily occur to us on the basis of modern experience. Not everything of interest in ancient Christianity can be explained by recourse to this model; for example, the continuing existence of non-clublike officers in the church requires some other explanation. Nevertheless, it clarifies one

part of the complex social structure of the early church and one major influence on its development, without the difficulty of having to discount anachronisms implicit in models drawn from modern experience.

Notes

[1]One recent example of this procedure is John Gager's Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975), which invokes the behavior of modern sects to explain the missionary zeal of the earliest Christians.

[2]Some early Christians made a deliberate effort to lay claim to the analogy of the philosophical school. See Robert L. Wilken, "Collegia, Philosophical Schools, and Theology," in The Catacombs and the Colosseum: The Roman Empire as the Setting of Primitive Christianity, ed. Stephen Benko and John J. O'Rourke (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1971), pp. 268-91.

[3]Pliny, Ep. 10.96.7. Tertullian made extensive use of the analogy in Apol. 39.

[4]On the social analogy, see, for example, Franz Poland, Geschichte des grieschischen Vereinswesens (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909; reprint ed., Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1967), p. 534. On the distinct question of legal analogy, see David Daube, review of Personality in Roman Private Law, by P. W. Duff, in Journal of Roman Studies 33 (1943): 86-93 and 34 (1944):125-35. An older discussion is found in Ernest George Hardy, Studies in Roman History (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1906), pp. 140-49.

[5]Theodor Mommsen, De Collegiis et sodaliciis Romanorum (Kiel: Libraria Schwersiana, 1843). The principal work on Greek clubs is that of Poland; see also the convenient English summary in Marcus Niebuhr Tod, Sidelights on Greek History: Three Lectures on the Light Thrown by Greek Inscriptions on the Life and Thought of the Ancient World (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1932). On Roman clubs, see especially Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Collegium" by E. Kornemann.

[6]On breadth of membership, see especially Poland, pp. 328-29. Greek clubs gradually assimilated somewhat to the Roman pattern.

[7]Mommsen, pp. 98-99, 107-12. Poland, pp. 271-73, 468, 478-83. Kornemann, cols. 424-26.

[8]Poland, pp. 250-51, 280-81, 423-31, 437-41.

[9]Mommsen, pp. 106-07; Kornemann, cols. 418-24. Poland, pp. 339-51, 375-87, 413-16, 419-21. There were also lower officers (treasurers, for example) who probably enjoyed longer terms of office.

[10]On guilds of actors, see Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed., s.v. "Clubs, Greek," by Marcus Niebuhr Tod.

On the size of Greco-Roman clubs, see Poland, pp. 282-87, and Richard Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 277-82.

[11]For a detailed treatment of the question, see Werner Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums in den Senatorenstand bis zu Konstantin d. Gr.," Chiron 1 (1971): 381-406, who characterizes the early church as "ein fast getreues Spiegelbild der allgemeinen sozialer Schichtung im römischen Reich" (p. 382).

[12]Reliance on the rich must go back to the earliest days of Christian mission; see Floyd V. Filson, "The Significance of the Early House Churches," JBL 58 (1939):105-12.

[13]Thus Paul indignantly denies the right of the Galatians or Corinthians to pass judgment on his apostleship (Gal. 1:11-2:10; II Cor. 10-13).

[14]The author is concerned about the insubordination of rich women who usurp a role in the service; I Tim. 2:8-12. He warns the rich that their proper role is to give alms; I Tim. 6:17-19.

[15]As early as Didache, control of church funds belonged exclusively to the minister. Only when there was no resident prophet were the Christians to give alms directly to the poor (13:3-4).

[16]The characterization of the rich as lukewarm Christians is already found in the New Testament--e.g. Rev. 3:14-22 and Lk. 12:1-13:9, where wealth is presented as leading to apostasy. See also Hermas, Vis. 3.6.5-7; Mand. 10.1.4-6; Sim. 8.9.1.

[17]I Tim. 3:2-7; Tit. 1:5-9.

[18]Acts 2:41. We know nothing of the size of other Christian congregations until the mid-third century at Rome, where the church probably numbered 30,000 to 50,000. See Robert M. Grant, From Augustus to Constantine: The Thrust of the Christian Movement into the Roman World (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 184. Eusebius claimed that the church had grown rapidly in the reign of Commodus (H. E. 5.21.1); but his unsupported statement is not convincing, since it appears to be a device for introducing the martyrdom of Apollonius, which Eusebius mistakenly set in the Roman Senate. Otherwise, there is no reason to think that the comparatively large number of Christians at Rome was a new feature of the third century.

S 57 DIVERSIFICATION IN ROMAN PERIOD ISIS WORSHIP: THE NILE WATER PITCHER

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Scholars have long known that a certain type of water pitcher, a vessel usually characterized by a very long, downward-sloping spout and by the image of a uraeus serpent at the top of its handle, served as a very important utensil in Isis-Sarapis liturgical practice. For help in interpreting its form and function they have been able to draw upon descriptions found in several ancient writers, the best known of which is a vivid passage forming part of Apuleius' account of a Navigium Isidis procession at Cenchreae.[1] Having to hand such detailed literary evidence and possessing as well a variety of numismatic and monumental remains, most investigators then found it easy to assume that this pitcher was utilized wherever in the Graeco-Roman world Isis-Sarapis worship had taken root.[2] It is true that within the last few years scholars such as L. Vidman and F. Dunand have argued that the Navigium Isidis festival probably originated no earlier than the first century BC.[3] However, such a hypothesis says nothing directly about the origin of the cultic pitcher since its role was not confined to that annual rite. I am convinced that this vessel did not have such a generalized distribution as has been supposed. Rather, it is part of a group of several different cultic objects which spread from northern Egypt to central Italy and to certain other areas during Roman Imperial times. Let me advance four theses in connection with this group of materials.

> Thesis 1: The Nile water pitcher very probably came into vogue no earlier than the first century BC and thenceforth spread only to limited areas within the cult.

Of the forty or so examples of this pitcher which are known from inscriptions, literary sources, reliefs, coins, etc., the three earliest of those which can be dated are all from the reign of Augustus. Vitruvius describes one of the practices of those "qui sacerdotia gerunt moribus Aegyptiorum": they carry a pitcher (hydria) in procession to their precinct.[4] Such a vessel also appears as a decorative motif in the so-called Aula Isiaca at Rome and as the central feature on the obverse side of a coin from Alexandria.[5] Since none of these represent sources from within the cult, the fact that they make reference to this vessel as a more or less familiar object implies that it had a previous history. Yet Hellenistic evidence is entirely lacking, a situation which makes it difficult to suppose that this pitcher originated too long before c. 20 BC.

Virtually all of the evidence is from northern Egypt and central Italy. Only four exceptions are known. Apuleius, of course, may have been describing an actual pitcher used by Isis worshippers at Cenchreae. Secondly, a rock relief found near the sanctuary of Isis and Sarapis at Philippi shows Isis

standing beside what appears to be the cultic pitcher.[6] I would point out, however, that both Philippi and Corinth were refounded by the Romans as coloniae and so enjoyed a special relationship with that city. Thirdly, a fragment which may well have come from such a pitcher was found in the Isis sanctuary at Soli on the island of Cyprus.[7] This precinct, which is late Roman in date, is the most Egyptianized of all the known Graeco-Roman Isis centers. Only here, for example, appears the pylon facade so typical of most temples in Egypt. The final possible exception is a brief reference in Plutarch to this pitcher.[8] Possibly he saw such a vessel utilized in rituals in his native Greece but more likely, as so often in the De Iside et Osiride, he derived his information from Egyptian sources. In short, I am inclined to assign even this tiny remnant to the general Egypt-Italy axis to which most of the remaining evidence certainly belongs.

> Thesis 2: The theory advanced by several scholars that the cultic pitcher is related to the Osiris Hydreios (Canopus) statue and even to the Osiris "Cool Water" funerary inscriptions is given added support by the fact that these two objects reveal the same pattern of distribution as the pitcher.

The iconography of the Osiris Hydreios statue derives from a type of visceral jar found in Egyptian tombs of Pharaonic, Saite, and Ptolemaic date.[9] The body of this image is therefore in the form of a high-shouldered jar.[10] This is decorated in relief either with a number of Egyptian sacred objects arranged according to a regular pattern (the most common variety) or with a U-neck garment, the opening of which has several horizontal crossbands, or simply with spiral fluting. On the top of the jar is set the head of the god. His hair is arranged in Egyptian fashion and on his head is one of several different types of Egyptian crowns.[11] Like that of the cultic pitcher, the base of this statue is normally surrounded by a garland of flowers.[12] Two different aspects of Osiris were involved in the composition of the statue. First and foremost, the vase iconography stresses Osiris' association with water, especially with the sacred Nile water. Secondly, through the use of decorations found often on mummy cases, those who created this image indicated their intention to relate it also to Osiris as lord of the dead.[13] W. Weber observed that this statue and the cultic pitcher not only share a connection with Nile water but also reveal similarities both in their design and in the way in which they were used in the cult and concluded that the two objects were certainly related to one another.[14] In this connection it is striking that three of the five Isis-Sarapis sanctuaries which provide evidence for the use of the pitcher also confirm the presence of the Hydreios image.[15]

The "Cool Water" texts--"May Osiris give you cool water" or a variant--were also fitted into this emerging group but far more hesitantly.[16] Weber felt certain that the Hydreios images were related to these inscriptions since the former as well as the latter were not infrequently found at grave sites.[17] This led him to suppose that the pitchers might also be related to these prayer formulae, a hypothesis which was asserted somewhat more boldly by W. Deonna, although only in a brief note.[18]

The common pattern of distribution enjoyed by these three objects strongly suggests that Weber's intuition was correct. There has been fairly general agreement that the Osiris Hydreios figure originated no earlier than the mid first century AD. I myself would tend to place this date somewhat earlier since, among other things, the presence of this image on Alexandrian coins from the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius implies some sort of previous development.[19] Similarly, of those "Cool Water" texts to which a date has been assigned, the earliest, a text from Rome, is from the late first century AD.[20] If, as most assume, this formula originated among Greek speakers in Egypt, some time must have elapsed before it spread from that country to Rome. In brief, the pitcher and the Hydreios figure certainly originated about the same time with the "Cool Water" formula perhaps following along shortly afterwards.

I have managed to locate in all some two hundred examples of the Osiris Hydreios image. Of these about 60-70% are from Egypt (mostly from strongly Hellenized areas), 11% from Italy, and almost all the rest must be classed as of "unknown origin." Only five or six items are known to have been discovered outside of Egypt and Italy. These come from southern Dacia, Knossos on Crete, Rochester in England, the Iseum at Soli, Cyprus; Tyre in Syria, and perhaps also from the Dalmatian coast. Striking in this connection is the entire absence of this figure from many areas in which numerous images of Osiris under other forms have been recovered.

Only twelve examples of the "Cool Water" formula are known to exist, although several variants might also belong to this group.[21] Six of these were found in Egypt, five in Alexandria or its suburbs and one at Saqqarah near ancient Memphis. All but one of the remaining six items came from Italy, four from Rome and one from Hipponium, a town in the Bruttium region. The twelfth and final inscription was discovered somewhere on the site of Carthage, a city which had been resettled as a Roman <u>colonia</u>. Consequently, the geographical distribution of these inscriptions shows the same pattern as the other two objects: northern Egypt, central (and southern) Italy, and places closely associated either with Egypt or with Rome.

> <u>Thesis 3</u>: The theological conception which views the gods as present in phenomena rather than as above them and ruling over them is proper to Egyptian rather than to Greek religion. In the case of the Nile water pitcher and the objects related to it, the intense emphasis on Osiris connected with all of them represented a choice generally in favor of the Egyptian perspective.

Generally speaking, the gods of ancient Greece were not thought to inhabit natural phenomena but to control them. So, for example, Zeus was the god who hurled the thunderbolt. The thunderbolt therefore became his symbol not because he was present within it but because he had power over it. Similarly, Apollo was not the sun itself but drove the chariot of the sun, Poseidon was not simply identified with the sea but had power to arouse its storms and to calm it, and Athena was not immanent within the olive tree which she gave to Athens but did make that object a symbol of her power and wisdom. Of course,

Greek religion was not untouched by animistic tendencies. River gods, nymphs, dryads, and daimones of all sorts abounded.[22] Certain of the more important divine figures also were more closely bonded to the phenomena with which they were associated. Hermes, for example, never lost his association with the stone heap which gave him his name. Demeter was not only the goddess who presided over the harvest but also in some way the spirit abiding in the crops.[23] Even if, as Nilsson remarks, "anthropomorphism has its starting-point in animism,"[24] this typically Greek conception of the gods ultimately served to loosen their connection with specific natural phenomena. Like human beings, the gods exerted their power over the physical world and they did so more effectively because they were "stronger and better by far."

The relationship both of Sarapis and of Isis to the Nile River and its flood water conforms to this pattern except in those cases when Isis is associated with Osiris. Isis, for example, is called the goddess who "brings back the Nile over the whole land" of Egypt or who "impels the golden streaming Nile and leads it up through the land of Egypt as a source of joy for men."[25] She was also praised in the aretalogies as the "ruler over the rivers and the winds and the sea."[26] Sarapis, too, was spoken of as the god who "brings forth the Nile in summer and recalls it in wintertime."[27] The well-known miracle story according to which this god brought forth fresh water in the midst of the sea represents only an extension of this power over the Nile.[28]

The Egyptian view on this matter was rather different. As Henri Frankfort put it, "In Egypt all divine power was immanent power."[29] Take, for example, the phenomenon of sacred animals. Frankfort comments:

> . . . there was nothing metaphorical in the connection between god and animal in Egypt. It is not as if certain divine qualities were made articulate by the creature, in the way the eagle elucidates the character of Zeus. We observe, on the contrary, a strange link between divinity and actual beast . . . it would seem that animals as such possessed religious significance for the Egyptians.[30]

The same was true of the various cosmic and terrestrial phenomena. Re was the sun god, Nut was identified with the sky, and even Heqt, the toad-goddess who assisted women in childbirth, was looked upon as a power within nature, not over nature. Exceptions to this general pattern are few and far between.[31]

If Isis and Sarapis normally stood above the Nile as divinities ruling over it, Osiris regularly appears as the divine power immanent within the Nile, especially within the waters of the flood. Such an understanding, one which goes back to the earliest stages of Egyptian religion,[32] is attested by a number of writers of the Roman Imperial period.[33] Religious phenomena such as the Isis-Osiris myth and the "Finding of Osiris" festival are attestations of a widespread belief that Osiris himself shared in the fate of the Nile River. The god disappeared and was mourned for when the Nile receded to its lowest level; he returned, restored and with renewed vigor, when the waters began to rise again. Therefore, to have and to possess these flood waters was to possess the god in his full power and strength.[34]

When Vitruvius describes the ritual surrounding the cultic pitcher, he does so in categories familiar to Greek religious thought: the priests raise their hands to heaven and give thanks to the divine mercy for having helped them to obtain the sacred water.[35] Apuleius' comments are somewhat closer to the Egyptian perspective. Yet, just as he very carefully stops short of affirming Isis' direct presence in the cow which walks along in the Navigium Isidis procession, so the pitcher remains for him the "summi numinis veneranda effigies."[36] Such a stance is not unexpected if Apuleius is trying to make the cult of Isis intelligible to outsiders. According to Plutarch, however, the water in this cultic vessel is the "emanation" (aporroē) of Osiris, i.e., that by which the god is made visible.[37] Although this is not quite an assertion that the god is simply immanent in the water, it is very different from saying that he is "lord" (kyrios) of all moisture, Plutarch's way of describing the corresponding role of Dionysus, Osiris' Greek counterpart.[38]

I believe that the monumental evidence associated with the cultic pitcher points more in the direction of Plutarch's explanation. In the case of the Osiris Hydreios statue, the water jar is in effect the body of the god. Such an iconographic conception must have intended to express a very close bond between the god and the contents of the jar. Further, the formula "May Osiris give you cool water" only superficially appears to move toward a more Greek conception of this god as lord and ruler over the water. "Cool water" in Egyptian religious thought has too close an association with Osiris and his son Horus to allow it here to have a separate identity apart from the god.[39] Instead, in giving this water Osiris gives himself. For this reason, it is not surprising that no pitchers or models of pitchers but only Osiris Hydreios images have been recovered from grave sites. The presence of Osiris in his hydria form was itself the gift of "cool water."

Such a theological understanding helps to explain why processions and ceremonies of adoration played such an important role among those who made use of these cultic objects. Since the sacred contents of the pitcher represented the "real presence" of the god, such liturgical rites served to make that presence available to his devotees. Such people apparently were not much interested in a deity who did things for them from afar; they wished instead to behold their god in his visible presence. This state of affairs is not unlike that found in Roman Catholic Eucharistic practice at a later day. In both cases people desired to behold and adore the visible divine presence. Such a presence offered clear and definite assurance of the god's care for his faithful worshippers.

> Thesis 4: Nile water was generally looked upon as a substance useful for improving the condition of human life in this world. Those who made use of the sacred pitcher and the objects related to it believed that its life-giving power extended even to existence beyond the grave.

Some sort of life after death is clearly presupposed by the prayer "May Osiris give you [the dead person] cool water" as well as by the custom of placing Osiris Hydreios statuettes in tombs. In both cases water was of paramount importance for

it was the supreme gift of Osiris, the aspect under which he made himself present to the dead person. Consequently, given the relationship of these objects to the pitcher, the water which it held must have also shared in this significance.

Egyptian antecedents for associating Nile water with revival and restoration of life to the dead person go back at least as far as the Old Kingdom.[40] However, it is not at all easy to verify that this water continued to carry this meaning in the wider Graeco-Roman world except in this present instance. Unambiguous evidence from within other Isis-Sarapis circles is simply not to be had. Another source of data, the testimonies found in Graeco-Roman writers as to the reputed virtues of Nile water, at least offers a clue to the perceptions of the general public. Some fifty-six different authors, most of them active in Roman times, offer a variety of information on the properties and uses of this marvelous liquid. Not only do they regularly extol its qualities as a drink, notably its freshness and sweetness, but they consistently stress its fertilizing and fructifying powers. They were certain that it promoted the rich agricultural economy of Egypt, never a matter of indifference to the rest of the Roman world. In addition, it was thought to be responsible for the richness and variety of Egypt's fauna.[41] As a result, those engaged in animal husbandry, or so Aelian tells us, considered it a marvelous aid for promoting the fertility of their flocks.[42] It had its impact upon human procreation and growth as well. Nile water made women more fertile, promoted multiple births, made pregnancies easier, and reduced the likelihood that an infant might be still-born.[43] (At least one writer[44] thought it also served as a fine laxative!) As a result, the Nile was regularly called gonimos, polygonos, fecundus, and fertilis. There was even a widespread view that the Nile flood produced spontaneous generation.[45]

If these writers were also aware that the life-giving power of the Nile extended even to the dead, they do not say so. The Christian polemicist Firmicus Maternus indeed contrasts the power of baptismal water which renews and gives rebirth with the claims made by devotees of the Egyptian gods for Nile water.[46] According to him, all they say is that their water "will be beneficial at some time" (aliquando prodesse). Those few traditions which speak of an "Apotheosis by Drowning" in the Nile[47] prove nothing; if such an understanding were widespread, it surely would have been invoked in connection with the divinization of Antinoos, the favorite of Hadrian, who drowned in the Nile.[48] I conclude therefore that if such an association of Nile water with life beyond the grave were known in the Graeco-Roman world, it was confined to esoteric circles. Perhaps such views were in fact common within the sphere of Isis worship. However, the only context in which their presence can be verified is that segment of the cult in which the pitcher and its companion cultic objects are found.

L. Vidman has argued that in the early Imperial period a new Egyptianizing wave of influence made itself felt within Graeco-Roman Isis and Sarapis worship.[49] While this is far too general an assertion, new cultic influences do seem to have spread from Alexandria and northern Egypt to selected areas during this era. The adoption of the peculiarly-shaped cultic

pitcher as well as the new iconographic type of Osiris and the new funerary formula are all features of that movement. All of these objects centered upon the "real presence" of Osiris in Nile water, a presence which promised not only an improved quality of life in this world but also a joyous existence beyond the grave.

NOTES:

[1]Apuleius, Met. 11.11; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. 6.4. 37; Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 36.365 B; Vitruvius 8.praef.4.

[2]The following tacitly or even not so tacitly make this assumption: F. Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago, 1911) 97; M. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion (3rd ed.; 2 vols.; Munich, 1974) 2.625-26; D. Bonneau, La crue du Nil (Paris, 1964) 281-84; F. Dunand, Le culte d' Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée (3 vols.; Leiden, 1973) 3.226; and R. E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World (Ithaca, N. Y., 1971) 89-90 and 93-94.

[3]L. Vidman, Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern (Berlin, 1969) 171-72 and Dunand, Culte d'Isis, 3.223.

[4]Vitruvius 8.praef.4.

[5]Aula Isiaca (date: c. 20 BC): see M. Malaise, Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie (Leiden, 1972) 215-19. Coin (date: 27 BC-14AD): G. Dattari, Monete imperiali greche: Numi augg. alexandrini (Cairo, 1901) # 9.

[6]This is Rock Relief # 142A according to the enumeration of C. Picard. See his "Les dieux de la colonie de Philippes vers le 1er siècle de notre ère d'apres les ex-voto rupestres," RHR 86 (1922) 176 and pl. v.

[7]The bronze upper portion of a uraeus serpent, 0.102 m long, was found on the floor of the central cella at Soli (A. Westholm, The Temples of Soli [Stockholm, 1936] 101, # 325 and pl. xxvii.6). Contrary to Westholm, this object is much too large to have been part of an arm bracelet. Instead, it may well have been broken off from a cultic pitcher.

[8]Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 36.365 B.

[9]Examples of these visceral jars, though solid rather than hollow, which date from the Ptolemaic period are in the Field Museum of Chicago, ## 31586-89.

[10]Cultic pitchers found in Egypt are also normally high-shouldered.

[11]Occasionally the head of Isis or even that of Anubis replaces that of Osiris. This is a secondary development found only where the figure of Osiris Hydreios was also known.

[12]On the Osiris Hydreios statue see especially W. Weber, Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion (Heidelberg, 1911) 29-48; F. von Bissing, "Das heilige Bild von

Kanopus," BArchAlex 24 (1929) 39-59 and 25 (1930) 97-98; and E. Panofsky, "'Canopus Deus'. The Iconography of a Non-existent God," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 57 (1961) 193-216.

[13]On these two aspects see Weber, Drei, 38-39 and 48; von Bissing, BArchAlex 24 (1929) 43; and J. G. Griffiths, The Isis-Book of Apuleius (Leiden, 1975) 42.

[14]Weber, Drei, 44.

[15]The Isis sanctuaries at Pompeii, Rome: Campus Martius, and Soli have yielded probable or certain evidence for both objects.

[16]The most important study of these inscriptions is still that of I. Lévy, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Memphis et l'épigraphie funéraire de l'Egypte gréco-romaine," Journal asiatique 211 (1927) 281-310. Three further texts must be added to those he lists: Malaise, Inventaire, 311, Hipponium # 1; and L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae (Berlin, 1969) ## 462 (Rome, end of the 1st cen AD) and 778 (Carthage, date uncertain).

[17]Weber, Drei, 35 and n. 38. Since his time, his view that many of the smaller examples of this statue type must have come from gravesites has been verified by further in situ finds.

[18]Weber, Drei, 30 and 39; W. Deonna, "Croyances funéraires: la soif des morts--le mort musicien," RHR 119 (1939) 59.

[19]Dattari, Monete, ## 318 and 331; and R. S. Poole, Alexandria and the Nomes (Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum 16; London, 1892) # 220 respectively.

[20]Vidman, Sylloge, # 462.

[21]The possible variants are from Mex, a suburb of Alexandria; Luxor; and Rome. All are listed in Levy (JAsiat 211 [1927] 301) except the text from Luxor (P. Jouguet, "Epitaphe d'un grec d'Egypte," REG 9 [1896] 433-36).

[22]On animism in Greek religion see H. J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome (New York, 1959) 21-26.

[23]M. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion (2nd ed.; New York, 1964) 108-9.

[24]Ibid., 142.

[25]POxy. 11.1380.125-26 (early 2nd cen AD); Madinet Madi, Hymn of Isidore to Isis 2.17-18 (A. Vogliano, Primo rapporto degli scavi condotti . . . nella zona di Madinet Madi [Milan, 1936] 36). See also 1.11-13 (Ibid., 35). Date of these hymns: c. 1st cen BC. Lucian (Dial. Deor. 3) also records the tradition that Isis is the divinity who brings forth the Nile flood.

[26]Isis Aretalogy of Cyme, 39 (W. Peek, Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte [Berlin, 1930] 124). Peek assumes that this formula would have occurred in the other aretalogies. In general these hymns of praise stress Isis' role as an active power above natural and human phenomena.

[27]Aelius Aristides, Or. 45.32 (ed. Keil). Socrates (Hist. Eccl. 1.18) indicated in late antiquity that this was the belief of the "Greeks."

[28]POxy. 11.1382 (2nd cen AD). See O. Weinreich, Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis-Religion (Tübingen, 1919) 16.

[29]H. Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion (New York, 1948) 19.

[30]Ibid., 9, 12-13.

[31]In certain circles the god Ptah was looked upon as the power who created everything by his thought and his word. Frankfort (Ibid., 23) believes this to be the only clear exception to the general pattern.

[32]E. A. Wallis Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians (2 vols.; New York, 1969) 2.122.

[33]Tibullus 1.7.27-28; Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 32.363 D, 33.364 A, 36.365 B; Aelian, NA 10.46; Origen, c. Cels. 5.38; Heliodorus 9.9; Porphyry (cited in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. 3.11.116) ; etc.

[34]When Isis appears in Graeco-Roman sources as the wife and sister of Osiris, she is identified with the earth. See Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 32.363 D, 38.366 A, 57.374 C; Origen, c. Cels. 5.38; Heliodorus 9.9; Porphyry, De imag. (cited in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. 3.11.51); Firmicus Maternus, Err.prof. rel. 2.6; Macrobius, Sat. 21.11; etc.

[35]Vitruvius 8.praef.4.

[36]Apuleius, Met. 11.11.

[37]Plutarch, De Is. et Os. 36.365 B.

[38]Ibid., 34.364 D and 35-36.365 A-B. Plutarch himself (Ibid., 64.376 F) rejects any view of Osiris which would identify him with natural phenomena.

[39]See A. M. Blackman, "Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt," RecTrav 39 (1921) 59-62 and J. H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (New York, 1959) 18-19.

[40]For sources on this see Bonneau, Crue du Nil, 278-79.

[41]E.g., Aristobulus (cited by Strabo 15.1.22); Pomponius Mela 1.9.49 and 52.

[42]Aelian, NA 3.33.

[43]E.g., Pomponius Mela 1.9.49; Pliny, HN 7.3.33; Seneca, QNat. 3.25.11; Solinus 1.51; Oribasius, Coll. Med. 22.5 (ed. V. Rose, Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta [Leipzig, 1886] p. 219) and 5.3.15 (ed. J. Raeder, Corpus medicorum graecorum). See also Aristotle, Hist. An. 7.4.584b.

[44]Theophrastus, On Waters (cited in Athenaeus 2.15.41f).

[45]Pomponius Mela 1.9.52; Diodorus 1.10.2-3 and 6-7; Ovid, Met. 1.422-37; Pliny, HN 9.84.179; anonymous lyric fragment (cited in Hippolytus, Haer. 5.7.5); Horapollo 1.25; Macrobius, Sat. 7.16.12; Servius, ad Georg. 3.478.

[46]Firmicus Maternus, Err. prof. rel. 2.5.

[47]Herodotus 2.90; cf. Tertullian, De Bapt. 5.

[48]Ancient reports on Antinoos' death are found in Cassius Dio 69.11.2-3 and in Hist. Aug., Hadrian 14.6.

[49]Vidman, Isis und Sarapis, 104, 168-72.

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ELEMENTS OF AN EXEGESIS OF THE GOSPEL OF MARK ACCORDING TO LÉVI-STRAUSS' METHODOLOGY

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INTRODUCTION

Structuralist criticism is a way of approaching not so much the meaning of individual works of literature as the meaning of meaning, that is, the presuppositions which enable literature to be written and to be read. Structuralism seeks not so much to tell the meaning as to recreate the process of meaning. Structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, in investigating the myths of a number of cultures, has come to understand the mythic process of meaning as the mediation of irreconcilable opposites by their successive replacement by opposites which do permit mediation. In other words, myth is a way of thinking involving the progressive mediation of a fundamental opposition.

Such a process of meaning is of course clearly at work in the traditional mythic texts which Lévi-Strauss analyzes. However, this process of meaning, this mythic structure may also be operative in texts which are not, strictly speaking, myths. The mythic structure as Lévi-Strauss has formulated it has been researched not only in the narratives of Genesis[1] but also in selected parables of Jesus[2] and in portions of the letters of Paul[3] with resultant new insights for biblical exegesis. I am involved in an attempt to elucidate the mythic structure or structures underlying the Gospel of Mark as a literary and theological whole.[4]

METHODOLOGY

However, before turning to the Markan gospel I must first sketch the method of investigation to be employed. Although I have found the analyses of Lévi-Strauss powerfully suggestive, I have found his own description of his method not always as full, clear, and consistent as could be hoped. Nevertheless, this approach to mythic structure, as synthesized from Lévi-Strauss' "The Structural Study of Myth"[5] and "The Story of Asdiwal,"[6] may be outlined as follows.

Initially the text must be reduced to its smallest, essential and complete units, its "gross constituent units" as Lévi-Strauss terms them. Each of these units is not a thing but a relation, a relation comprised of, as it were, a "doing" and a "doer." Relations of the same type are then gathered into "bundles of relations," and "it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning."[7] In alternate terminology Lévi-Strauss refers to narrative "facts" (paralleling relations) which are presented in various "orders" (paralleling bundles).

Secondly, the narrative as analyzed into facts and orders must be considered in terms of both the sequence of the facts and the schemata of the orders. The sequence of the facts is simply the chronological order in which events happen. The sequences of the facts of all the orders taken together form the "apparent content" of the narrative. The schema of each order

is the formal, theoretical organization of its facts. Taken together, the schemata point to the fundamental opposition the myth seeks to mediate. Thus, to "tell" the narrative we would read all the relations in the order of their occurrence in the narrative; to "understand" the narrative we would turn our attention to the internal organization of the bundles of relations.

A simple example may prove helpful. If the narrative reads:

> The hero traveled south; then she traveled west; then she traveled east.

the sequence of the facts of the geographical order would be:

> south, west, east

and the schema of the geographical order would be:

North
West East
South

North need not be manifest in the narrative sequence for this schema to be obvious. Accordingly, each order is read diachronically in terms of its chronological sequence and synchronically in terms of its logical schema.

Thirdly, the various orders through which the narrative evolves must be compared and integrated. This "global integration," as Lévi-Strauss terms it, is possible because each order, "together with the symbolism proper to it,"[8] is understood as a transformation of an underlying logical structure common to all the orders. Thus two schemata may be integrated into a third schema, consisting of several binary oppositions, and this process may be repeated until the narrative is reduced to "two extreme propositions, the initial state of affairs and the final, which together summarize its operational function."[9] That is, the process of global integration of the various schemata gives us, as it were, the schema of the schemata, a statement of the fundamental opposition the mythic narrative seeks to mediate.

Finally, we may apply to this schema of the schemata, and thus to the narrative as a whole, Lévi-Strauss' formula for describing the structure of a myth. According to Lévi-Strauss a myth must be considered as the collection of all its variants, each of which represents a transformation of the fundamental structure, that is, the structure described by the formula. Since each order within a narrative represents a transformation of the fundamental structure of that narrative, orders relate to the narrative as a whole as variants of a myth relate to the myth as a whole. Thus it seems appropriate to apply Lévi-Strauss' formula for describing the structure of a complete myth to the structure of a narrative as a whole. In this case the formula serves as the figuration of the schema of the schemata, that is, as a shorthand way of expressing the global integration of the schemata of the various orders.

APPLICATION

I now turn to the Gospel of Mark and to the application of this briefly sketched method of investigation. Careful reading and rereading of the text is the precondition for the initial

step of isolating the realtions or narrative facts. Several of the hundreds of relations isolated are: Jesus went up to Jerusalem; Jesus performed a certain action on the Sabbath; Jesus was with religious leaders; persons were astonished at Jesus; Jesus healed a blind man; Jesus was called the Son of God. Relations like these six occur and recur frequently in the Markan gospel and may thus be grouped into bundles of relations, the significant units of the narrative. For purposes of further analysis I have labeled these bundles of relations, these orders of the Markan narrative, as geographical, calendrical, sociological, epistemological, cosmological, and theological.

Let us look more carefully at the types of facts which make up each of these six orders. The facts of the geographical order are references to Jesus' movement through Galilee, Judea, the Tetrarchy of Phillip, Syria, and the Decopolis.[10] The facts of the calendrical order to which the narrative refers are the occurrences of certain actions and/or events on the Sabbath or during Passover.[11] References to individuals by social category and to societal groups with whom Jesus interacts in the Markan gospel constitute the sociological order and consist of quite a variety: from spirits and demons, to Galileans, synagogue leaders, and various crowds, to the High Priest and Pilate.

The cosmological order requires, perhaps, a fuller explanation. In analyzing "The Story of Asdiwal," Lévi-Strauss isolates a cosmological order as that order which "has nothing to do with" reality.[12] I find this distinction not only inadequate but inappropriate.[13] In general, I understand a cosmology as a cultural model or picture of the world or universe with certain assumptions concerning the constitution of its reality, extent, and composition, its operation and expression, and humankind's place within it. Thus facts of the cosmological order would include, among others, references to the interactions of persons in terms of the various forces of the universe and references to an individual's role in the universal drama. Therefore, the cosmological facts of the Markan narrative include references to Jesus' manifestations of power and authority -- from walking on the sea, to teaching with authority, to healing the sick -- and references to Jesus' suffering in fulfillment of a larger role.

The epistemological order, the order of "the origin, nature, methods, and limits of knowledge,"[14] is here comprised of various standpoints in relation to knowing, including questioning, answering, denial, trust/faith, silence, proclamation, and astonishment. For my present analysis of the Gospel of Mark, the theological order is constituted by references to two key theological titles, "Son of man" and "Son of God," and two "kingdoms" understood within religious traditions, the "kingdom of David" and the "kingdom of God."

Several, if not all, of these six orders of the Markan narrative may be further analyzed into suborders. For example, the many geographical facts of the type "Jesus was in Judea" may be subdivided into "Jesus was at the river Jordan;" "Jesus was in the wilderness;" "beyond the Jordan;" "on the road to Jerusalem;" "in Gethsemene;" "at Golgotha;" "at the tomb." Or, for example, the many cosmological facts of the type "Jesus acted with power" may be subdivided into direct manifestations of authority, healings, and teaching. Again, each of these three may be subdivided; for example, the Markan narrative refers to casting out unclean spirits, healing movement disorders, healing communicative

disorders, and resuscitation. I have found the careful examination of the suborders according to sequence and schema helpful in understanding the narrative in greater detail and suggestive exegetically. However, because of the complexity of that analysis and because much work remains to be done, I will concentrate here on the major orders.

As outlined above, each of the six orders is to be examined diachronically in terms of its sequence and synchronically in terms of its schema. Following Lévi-Strauss, I have recorded the sequence of each order in the form of a chart. The sequence of the geographical order is given in Figure 1. Each Markan citation, for example, 1:9a, represents a fact, a relation. The story may be retold in terms of each order by reading the rows from left to right and from top to bottom. Such retelling is the articulation of the sequence of the order. For example, the sequence of the geographical order of the Gospel of Mark opens as follows: "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee" (1:9a), "and was baptized . . . in the river Jordan [in Judea]" (1:9b), and was driven "out into the wilderness [in Judea]" (1:12), and then "came into Galilee" (1:14) again.

Each column of the charts represents a bundle of relations. A column heading reflects a kind or type of fact, or relation, within an order. The narrative may be understood in terms of each order by disregarding the horizontal rows and reading the vertical columns, each column being considered as a unit. These units, the narrative realities represented by the column headings, are the elements of the schema of an order. Within the schema these elements are arranged abstractly, logically, theoretically. While the sequence presents the "apparent content" of the narrative, the schema represents its "latent content." The schema suggests the latent, nonmanifest, fundamental opposition which underlies the manifest oppositions as they move toward mediation. In my schematic diagrams the terms in parentheses represent the nonmanifest, fundamental oppositions. The other terms represent the oppositions manifest in the narrative. Thus, in examining the various schemata we begin to observe the movement from awareness of oppositions toward their progressive mediation which Lévi-Strauss considers one of the main processes of mythic thought.

The schema of the geographical order, Figure 2, may serve as our initial example. This schema may be read: The fundamental, perhaps less than fully conscious, opposition chaos vs. order is manifest in the Markan gospel by the opposition sea vs. land which is replaced by foreign land vs. homeland which is in turn replaced by Judea vs. Galilee. The movement toward mediation is seen in the progressive weakening of the oppositions from the antithetical chaos vs. order to the distinctive but not really contrary Judea vs. Galilee.

Observations about the sequence and schema of each order point toward the meaning of that order. The significance of each order must be understood to a certain degree before the various orders may be integrated. Thus we must consider the sequence and schema of each order in turn.

Geographical Order

Figure 1 illustrates the sequence of the geographical order. Jesus' dominant sphere of activity is Galilee, although Judea is

dominant in the final third of the narrative. Voyages on the sea and journeys into foreign regions all occur in the context of Galilean dominance. The narrative ends with a reference to Galilee where it began. (The final fact, 16:7, is a promise: "he is going before you to Galilee.") In fact, action always returns to Galilee (1:14; 16:7). Thus we have the pattern of a spiral: action returns to its beginning point but continues on. At the level of the apparent content, the geographical order tells the story of an individual, Jesus, whose actions have more than a local significance and whose Galilean actions are both dominant and definitive.

To consider the latent content we turn from the sequence to the schema. As we examine the geographical schema given in Figure 2, we observe that to the column headings of Figure 1 have been added the terms "land," the opposite of sea which is implied in foreign land, Judea, and Galilee combined, and "Jewish homeland," the opposite of foreign land and the union of Galilee and Judea. The opposed pair foreign land vs. Jewish homeland is understood as less antithetical than sea and land since both poles do represent land. Jewish homeland, the place of residence of the central characters of the story, is related to land, the familiar environment of human beings, as foreign land, a temporary place of travel for the central characters, is related to sea, a temporary place of travel for human beings. Both within and beyond the Markan narrative, sea and foreign land have the connotation of unfamiliarity, strangeness, and thus of a threat to what is normal, that is, chaos. On the other hand, land and Jewish homeland have in this context the connotation of familiarity, normalcy, order. Since the main character, Jesus, is from Galilee, "Galilee," the homeland within the homeland, must replace "Jewish homeland" as the opposites move toward mediation. Thus Judea, foreign to Jesus in comparison with Galilee, must replace foreign land.

And here our approach to the latent content through the schema begins to bear exegetical fruit. We would have expected Judea, the region of Jerusalem -- religious center of the Jewish people, home of the Temple which ordered their worship and of the Tables of the Law which ordered their very lives -- to be the center of order. Thus Galilee, in contradistinction to the home of the religious establishment, would seemingly have been linked with chaos. However, Judea is linked with the chaos pole of the fundamental opposition, and Galilee with order. The resultant significance of this arrangement, the meaning of the geographical order, may perhaps be phrased as follows: The established religious order is seen as chaos and called into question; authentic order is to be found outside the religious establishment.

Calendrical Order

We turn now to the calendrical order. The important distinctions among the relations of this order are whether an event takes place on the Sabbath or not and whether an event takes place during Passover or not. I invite your own familiarity with the Gospel of Mark to serve as the rather simple chart of the sequence of the calendrical order. The narrative action opens on a non-Sabbath day during a non-Passover week and moves through an appropriate rhythm of Sabbath and non-Sabbath days to a Passover week. This Passover week includes, of course, a Sabbath and non-Sabbath days. The narrative action closes on a

non-Sabbath day, the first day of the week, of a Passover week. Thus, at the level of the apparent content, as illustrated by the sequence, the calendrical order repeats the pattern of a normal Jewish year.

We turn to the schema of the calendrical order (Figure 3) for conclusions concerning the latent content of the narrative. The pairs of opposites of the logical schema are Passover week vs. non-Passover weeks and Sabbath vs. non-Sabbath days. The distance between the Sabbath and a non-Sabbath day, a difference manifested fifty-two times a year, appears to be less great and less intense than the distance between non-Passover weeks and the annual Passover. Although each Sabbath brings about changes in attitude and behavior for a period of twenty-four hours, each Passover brings about changes in attitude and behavior for a period of seven days. Thus the movement toward mediation is from Passover vs. non-Passover to Sabbath vs. non-Sabbath.

Both Passover and the Sabbath have clear religious denotations as well as connotations. Thus Passover and the Sabbath are understood as narrative manifestations of the fundamental idea of "the religious" or "the sacred." On the other hand, non-Passover weeks and non-Sabbath days carry denotations and connotations pointing to the fundamental idea of "the worldly" or "the secular." Thus the fundamental opposition which the calendrical order manifests and seeks to mediate is sacred vs. secular.

The attempt at mediation is illustrated in comparing the opening and the final situation of the narrative. The Markan narrative opens on a non-Sabbath day during a non-Passover week, a situation clearly secular in its connotation. Throughout the development of the narrative the connotation shifts between secular and sacred. However, the narrative closes on a non-Sabbath day (secular in connotation) during a Passover week (sacred in connotation). Non-Sabbath and Passover are not, of course, logical opposites, but they are manifestations of opposite poles of the fundamental, nonmanifest opposition. By combining non-Sabbath and Passover, the closing situation of Mark breaks the bonds of the fundamental opposition sacred vs. secular by fusing the poles into a new thing, a "worldly sacred" or a "religiously secular."

The meaning or significance of the calendrical order of the Markan gospel, as drawn out by its sequence and schema, may thus be phrased as follows: The story of Jesus Christ breaks down and breaks open the traditional categories of sacred and secular, or religious and worldly, so that the two interpenetrate in a new way.

Theological Order

Thirdly, we may consider the theological order. The theological order involves quite a number and variety of relations which may be grouped into several suborders. However, for this present analysis I will concern myself with only the major order and with but four types of relations: Jesus was recognized as the Son of God; Jesus spoke of the Son of man; Jesus spoke of (or someone was looking for) the kingdom of God; the kingdom of David was expected. Figure 4 presents the sequence of these relations.

The affirmation by others of Jesus as the Son of God forms a general framework for the narrative. The phrase "Son of God" occurs three times in Mark: in the introduction (1:1), that is, the recognition by the gospel writer; at 3:11, the recognition by spirits; and at the crucifixion (15:39), the recognition by the centurion. Twice the word "Son" is spoken by a voice assumed to be that of God: at the baptism (1:11) and at the transfirugation (9:7). However, within this framework of "Son of God" statements by others, the teaching about the kingdom of God and the Son of man by Jesus are dominant. The kingdom of David is mentioned but once, embedded in about the center of this context.[15]

Again, the beginning and end of the sequence are significant. The story which opens with an affirmation of Jesus Christ, the Son of God (1:1), closes with a quest for the kingdom of God (15:42). At the level of the apparent content, the level to which the sequence refers, the theological order suggests that the story of Jesus Christ as the Son of God serves as the background for the larger story of the Son of man and the continuing story of the kingdom of God.

The schema of the theological order is presented in Figure 5. Linguistic parallelisms aid in establishing the opposing pairs: Son of God vs. Son of man and kingdom of God vs. kingdom of David. It is not easy to establish logically either the two "kingdoms" or the two "sons" as closer to mediation. However, in the Markan narrative, Jesus Christ fills the role of both the Son of God and the Son of man and thus mediates between them. Thus the movement toward mediation must be understood as the movement from kingdom of David vs. kingdom of God to Son of man vs. Son of God.

What do these pairs of theological terms connote? The title, "Son of man," originated in late Jewish apocalypticism where the Son of man was, to quote Oscar Cullmann, "a heavenly being, now hidden, who will appear only at the end of time on the clouds of heaven to judge and to establish the 'nation of the saints'."[16] "Son of man" thus refers to definite eschatological expectations. On the other hand, the phrase "kingdom of David" appears to refer to definite expectations of a political nature, involving the overthrow of the political enemies of Israel and the establishment of the chosen people in a new and perfect kingdom of David. The common element between Son of man and kingdom of David is a definite expectation. At the level of the latent content both share the connotation of "the expected."

In contradistinction, "Son of God" and "kingdom of God" share the connotation of "the surprising." Son of God was not a title of an expected figure in the sense that Son of man was, but rather a more general designation of some individual or some group with a special commission from God.[17] Both the spirits and the centurion express their surprise as they recognize Jesus as the Son of God. Those who hear the voice of God call Jesus "Son" are also surprised. Jesus' parables seek to elucidate the nature of the kingdom of God, but this nature is so surprising that the kingdom of God is often misunderstood. Thus the fundamental opposition of the theological schema, the nonmanifest opposition underlying the opposing terms manifest in the Markan narrative,is the surprising vs. the expected.

In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus refers to himself as the Son of man, and others refer to him as the Son of God. Jesus' life and death combine an expected power and a surprising obedience to suffering in a way that fuses the roles of Son of man and Son of God. In the Gospel of Mark, the kingdom of David is said to be "coming" (9:10), and the kingdom of God is proclaimed to be "at hand" (1:15). Thus, in terms of the latent content, in Jesus Christ both the expected and the surprising occur; the surprising comes with the expected; expectations are overfilled.

I have analyzed the sociological, epistemological, and cosmological orders in this same fashion: isolating, then grouping, the relations; examining the sequence and the schema; and attempting to clarify the significance of each order. It is not possible in this introductory overview to present my tentative conclusions regarding these orders. I may merely suggest that my findings have been consistent with those I have sketched here and have contributed significantly to my overall understanding of Mark.

Global Integration and the Formula

Examining the narrative one order at a time is an analytical task which leaves us with a fragmented view quite contrary to that of the Christian reader of the Gospel of Mark. Our synthetic task involves, in the terms of Lévi-Strauss, the "global integration" of the schemata. I have employed the terms of the fundamental oppositions of each order in my global integration. This process gives us new schemata with new opposed pairs moving toward mediation and new underlying, fundamental oppositions -- all at a higher level of abstraction.

The geographical, calendrical, and theological orders may be integrated in three ways as illustrated in Figure 6: geographical with calendrical, calendrical with theological, theological with geographical. Because each of these three integrated schemata points back to the same fundamental opposition, I will discuss only the third.

When the fundamental oppositions of the theological and the geographical schemata are integrated the resulting schema consists of three binary oppositions: a fundamental opposition of rigidity vs. dynamism, replaced by an opposition of expected Order vs. surprising Chaos, in turn replaced by an opposition of expected Chaos vs. non-ordering Surprise. In the Gospel of Mark, "expected Order" is represented by the Jewish religious leaders who are opposed to the "surprising Chaos" caused by Jesus' healing and teaching. To an extent the Jewish religious leaders are correct in their suspicions. The "expected Chaos" does come, climactically and symbolically in the rending of the temple curtain at the moment of the crucifixion. However, as the Jewish religious leaders fail to realize, this is not the end but a beginning; the "non-ordering Surprise" of the experience of the empty tomb and the "you will see him, as he told you" statement gives a totally new dimension to the narrative. Thus the "non-ordering Surprise" of the resurrection experience overreaches the "expected Chaos" of the crucifixion, just as the "surprising Chaos" of Jesus' life goes beyond the "expected Order" of the Jewish religious community. The rigidity of the religious establishment is challenged by dynamism, challenged to renew itself through the power of the non-ordering, the flexible, the surprising.

May I simply suggest, without illustrating, that when the epistemological and sociological schemata are integrated the fundamental opposition underlying the new opposing pairs is communication vs. alienation, and when the theological and cosmological schemata are integrated the fundamental opposition suggested is life vs. death. Furthermore, both communication vs. alienation and dynamism vs. rigidity may be understood as transformations on the interpersonal and societal levels of the elementary opposition of life vs. death.

At this high level of abstraction we are considering, as it were, the schema of the schemata of the narrative. This schema suggests the fundamental structure of the narrative as a whole which underlies the transformations manifested by the orders. Thus this schema is describable by Lévi-Strauss' formula for the description of the structure of a myth considered as the collection of all its variants. In sketching briefly the application of this formula to the integrated theological-geographical schema of the Gospel of Mark, I accept the double risk of confusing readers for whom this type of investigation is new and oversimplifying for readers who are themselves structural exegetes.

Lévi-Strauss himself has published very little in explicit explanation of his formula since his brief -- and almost cryptic -- introduction of it in 1955.[18] Consequently I have found the explication and adaptation of it by Maranda and Maranda[19] helpful in my own application. The formula is given in Figure 7 in the two forms in which it continues to be printed.[20]

Lévi-Strauss' formula begins with a binary opposition. Two opposed tendencies, x and y, in the opening of a narrative actualize the deep opposition of two terms, (a) and (b), so that a conflict or problem results. The first two members of the formula, $f_x(a)$ and $f_y(b)$, refer to the setting up of the conflict. The third member of the formula, $f_x(b)$, refers to the mediation of the conflict. (b), first specified by f_y, becomes specified by f_x and thus mediates opposites. A permutation of functions and terms is made manifest in the last member of the formula. (a), first given as a term, is inverted and becomes a sign of a function, $_{a}\text{-}1$. y, first given as a sign of function, becomes (y), a term. While the third member of the formula refers to the turning point of the plot, the fourth, $f_{a\text{-}1}(y)$ or $f_{\bar{a}}(y)$, refers to the final solution or situation. Thus the first three members express a dynamic process whose final outcome is the result or a state, that is, the end of the process of mediation.

The application of this formula to the integrated theological-geographical schema of the Gospel of Mark is given in Figure 7. The terms, or symbols as the Marandas call them, (a) and (b), are Order and Chaos. The functions, or roles, x and y, are expected and surprising. From this information we may determine the first three members of the formula by simple substitution. Determining the fourth member is more complex.[21] Since (a) is Order, $\bar{a}$ (non-a) would be Non-Order. But whereas (a) is expressed as a term, Order, $\bar{a}$ (non-a) is expressed as a function, non-ordering. Thus the fourth member of the formula expresses the fact that in a narrative with a mythic structure, a symbol is transformed into a role, and a role is hypostatized as a symbol.

Considering the theological and geographical orders of the Markan gospel in light of this formula we read: expected Order is to surprising Chaos as expected Chaos is to non-ordering

Surprise. We must remember that it is the relationships which are being compared here. The relationship between parts three and four of the formula is comparable to the relationship between parts one and two. Thus, in the present example, we may conclude that as the impact of Jesus' life goes beyond that of the Jewish religious establishment so the impact of the "you will see him"/"go tell" experience of the Marys at the empty tomb goes beyond that of Jesus' death.

CONCLUSION

Relations and bundles of relations, facts and orders, sequences and schemata, global integration and a formula for mythic structure -- all are ways of approaching anew the significance of the Gospel of Mark for its readers of these two thousand years. Structural exegesis is sometimes criticized for taking us too far afield, for replacing the text itself with neatly organized charts and abstract diagrams! Of course this danger exists, the danger of all analysis and no synthesis. But it is not a danger unique to structural exegesis, and it may and must be combated by frequent returning to the text with openness. I judge the risk worth taking in order to gain a new and renewing understanding of the story which opens: "the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" and closes: "go, tell . . . ."

FIGURE 1
SEQUENCE OF GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Jesus is (or will be) . . .			
in Judea	in Galilee	on the sea	in foreign lands
	1:9a		
1:9b			
1:12	1:14		
	1:16		
	1:21		
	1:35		
	2:1		
	2:13		
	2:15		
	2:23		
	3:7		
	3:13		
	3:19b		
	4:1	4:36-41	5:1
		5:21a	
	5:21b		
	6:1		
	6:6b	6:32a	
	6:32b		
	6:34		
	6:46	6:48-52	
	6:53		
			7:24
			7:31
		8:10a	
	8:10b	8:13-21	
			8:22
			8:27
			9:2
			9:9
	9:30		
	9:33		
10:1			
10:32			
10:46			
11:1			
11:11a			
11:11b			
11:15			
11:19-20			
11:27			
13:13			
14:3			
14:17			
14:26			
14:32			
14:53			
15:22			
15:46	16:7		

FIGURE 2
SCHEMA OF GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

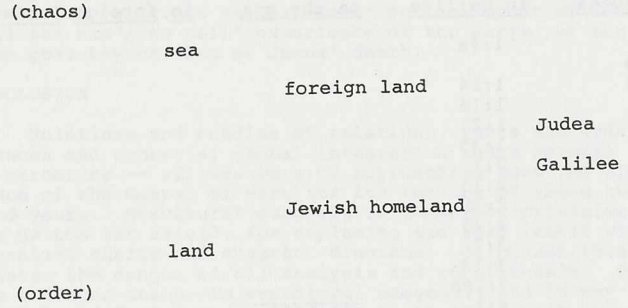


FIGURE 3
SCHEMA OF CALENDRICAL ORDER

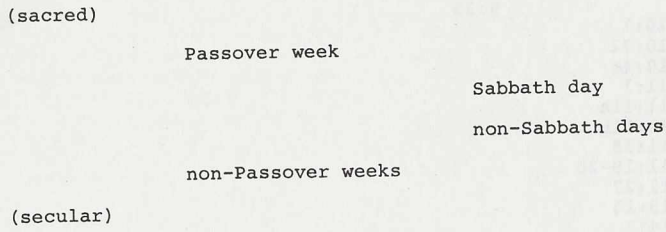


FIGURE 4
SEQUENCE OF THEOLOGICAL ORDER

Someone refers to . . .			
Son of God	kingdom of God	Son of man	kingdom of David
1:1			
1:11	1:14	2:10	
3:11	4:11		
	4:26		
	4:30	8:31	
		8:38	
	9:1		
9:7		9:9	
		9:12	
		9:31	
	9:47		
	10:14		
	10:15		
	10:23		
	10:25	10:33-34	
		10:45	11:9-10
	12:34	13:26	
		14:21a	
		14:21b	
	14:25	14:41	
		14:62b	
15:39	15:42		

FIGURE 5
SCHEMA OF THEOLOGICAL ORDER

(surprising)

kingdom of God

Son of God

Son of man

kingdom of David

(expected)

FIGURE 6
GLOBAL INTEGRATION:
GEOGRAPHICAL, CALENDRICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL ORDERS

geographical/calendrical:

(dynamism)
secular Chaos
non-ordering Secular sacred Chaos
sacred Order
(rigidity)

calendrical/theological:

(dynamism)
secular Surprise
non-expected Secularity sacred Surprise
sacred Expectation
(rigidity)

theological/geographical:

(dynamism)
surprising Chaos
non-ordering Surprise expected Chaos
expected Order
(rigidity)

FIGURE 7
APPLICATION OF LÉVI-STRAUSS' FORMULA FOR MYTH

$f_x(a) : f_y(b) :: f_x(b) : f_{a-1}(y)$

$f_x(a) : f_y(b) :: f_x(b) : f_{\bar{a}}(y)$

for theological/geographical integrated schema of Mark:

(a) = Order
(b) = Chaos
x = expected
y = surprising

expected Order	:	surprising Chaos	::	expected Chaos	:	non-ordering Surprise
religious establish-ment	:	Jesus' life	::	Jesus' death	:	"you will see him"/"go, tell" experi-ence

NOTES

1. For example: Edmund R. Leach, "Lévi-Strauss in the Garden of Eden: An Examination of Some Recent Developments in the Analysis of Myth," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series II, XXIII (1961), 386-396.

2. For example: Daniel Patte, "Structural Network in Narrative: The Good Samaritan," Soundings, LVIII, 2 (Summer 1975), 221-242; and Daniel Patte, "Structural Analysis of the Parable of the Prodigal Son: Toward a Method," Semiology and Parables, ed. Patte (The Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, Number 9; Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1976), 71-149.

3. For example: Daniel Patte, "An Analysis of the Mythical Structure of Galatians 1:1-10," What Is Structural Exegesis? (Guides to Biblical Scholarship, New Testament Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 59-76.

4. This paper stems from a portion of my doctoral research now in progress. I am pleased to express my appreciation to the members of my doctoral committee, Drs. John Carey, Russell Reaver, and Elaine Cancalon, for their interest in and critiques of my research, and especially to the chairman of my committee, Dr. Robert Spivey, for his careful readings, helpful comments, and continuing encouragement.

5. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," Journal of American Folklore, LXVIII (1955), 428-444. Reprinted in Myth: A Symposium, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1955), 50-66.

6. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal," trans. Nicholas Mann, The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, ed. Edmund Leach (A. S. A. Monographs, 5; London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), 1-47.

7. Lévi-Strauss, "Structural," 431.

8. Lévi-Strauss, "Asdiwal," 1.

9. Lévi-Strauss, "Asdiwal," 21.

10. To describe fully a "spatial" rather than a geographical order, attention would also have to be paid to the manifestations of these oppositions: outside/inside, inside a house/inside a synagogue, inside a synagogue/inside the temple, in a high place/in a low or level place.

11. To describe fully a "temporal" rather than a calendrical order, attention would also have to be paid to references to the time of day: morning/evening, the third hour, etc.

12. Lévi-Strauss, "Asdiwal," 13.

13. Another anthropologist interested in understanding myth takes an opposite tack. Clifford Geertz understands cosmology, or world view in its intellectual, emotional, and moral formulations, as part of the religious perspective

which rests upon the "really real." See "Ethos, World-View and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols," The Antioch Review, XVII (1957), 421-437; and "Religion as a Cultural System," Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, ed. M. Banton (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), 1-46.

14. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language; College Edition (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964), 489.

15. Of course, no one order may be totally understood in isolation. The opposition of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of David is further elucidated by the oppositions of the epistemological schema which manifest the fundamental opposition understanding vs. misunderstanding. Continued expectation of the kingdom of David is, in one sense, a misunderstanding of the kingdom of God.

16. Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1959, 1963), 150. Cullmann also points out a second traditional strand concerning the Son of man: "He is the ideal Heavenly Man who is identified with the first man at the beginning of time."

17. Cullmann, 272 and following.

18. Lévi-Strauss, "Structural," 442-443. In Mythologiques II: Du miel aux cendres (Paris: Plon, 1967, 211-212) Lévi-Strauss does re-present the formula and state that "it has not ceased to guide us."

19. Elli Köngäs Maranda and Pierre Maranda, Structural Models in Folklore and Transformational Essays (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1971), 24-37.

20. Maranda and Maranda, 23, point out that a "typographic ambiguity" in the reprinting of the formula (in the inversion of a, a^{-1}, form exists on page 64 of Myth: A Symposium. Daniel Patte prefers to represent the last member of the formula as $F_{\bar{a}}(y)$, coding the inverse of a, a^{-1}, as non-a, $\bar{a}$.

21. Daniel Patte, "Structural Network," 231-236, derives the significance of $\bar{a}$ by employing Aristotle's square of opposition: a and b are contraries; a and $\bar{a}$ are contradictories.

S 85 A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF NUMBERS 11 AND 12

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> . . . it is necessary to take the chapters Num. 11 and 12 together in their entirety when making an analysis (Noth, 1972: 128).
>
> . . . notre but sera de partir du mythe . . considéré comme une unité narrative, en essayant d'expliciter les procédures de description nécessaires pour aboutir, par étapes successives, à la lisibilité maximale de ce mythe (Greimas, 1970: 186).

0. Num 11-12 consists of three sections, 11:1-3, 11:4-35, and ch. 12, clearly delineated by locale and by the closure of the incident in each. The second of these sections, moreover, tells of two events which superficially are only loosely connected: the quail (11:4-9, 10*, 13, 18-24a, 31-34), and the elders (11:10*, 11-12, 14-17, 24b-30)--the status of the difficult vs. 10 will be discussed below. We shall employ the following sigla:

SA	11:1-3
SB	The quail story
SC	The elders story
SD	Ch. 12

Yet the two chapters have not proved amenable to source-analysis, and many interrelationships among the parts invite us to follow Noth (1972: 128) in regarding them as a unit at some stage of the "literary elaboration" of the traditions. As a preliminary, we mention some of the most striking of these relationships.

0.1 SD and SB+SC. Most important are the themes of leadership and prophecy, and the location at the tent of meeting (SC and SD). But SD has other connections with both SB and SC. In vocabulary, we note the numerous uses of the root *ʾsp* (11:4, 16, 22, 24, 30, 32; 12:14, 15--the occurences in ch. 12 are particularly like the one in 11:30). *ʾkl* and *bāśār*, which (as "eat" and "meat") are characteristic of SB, are combined in a very different context in SD (12:12). The verbs *yrd* and *yṣʾ*, mostly in connection with movement to and from the tent of meeting, appear respectively in 11:9, 17, 25; 12:5 and 11:20, 24, 26; 12:4, 5, 12. The expression "at the door of (a) tent" occurs in 11:10 (SB) and 12:5 (SD), and imagery drawn from childbirth in 11:12 (SC) and 12:12 (SD).

0.2 SB and SC. These are complexly intertwined, as well as being logically related to each other by 11:10 and 13. The reference in vs. 23 (SB) to Yahweh's word is strikingly close to the theme of prophecy immediately following in SC. More obscure is the link between the *rūaḥ* (spirit) of prophecy in 11:25, etc. (SC) and the same word in its other meaning of "wind" in 11:31 (SB). As to

vocabulary, in addition to the prevalent root *ʾsp*, we find *šbyb(w)t*, "around", in both 11:24 and 11:31f.

0.3 SA and the remainder. The brief section 11:1-3 shares with SB and SD the verb *ʾkl* (here with subject "fire"), and the kindling or burning of Yahweh's anger. We may note also the theme of Yahweh's hearing (or overhearing) of complaints (11:1, 18; 12, 2; cf. 11:10, the wording of which is extremely close to that of 11:1). The "camp", especially in its relation to the tent of meeting and to the space outside the camp, links all four stories. SA is not set off from what follows by any itinerary (contrast 11:35; 12:16).

1. Narrative analysis

We shall analyze the four stories first separately (1.1), and then in their interrelationships (1.2). On the basis of this analysis, we shall present the recurrent formal narrative structures (1.3), and how they contribute to the narrative unity of the whole section (1.4).

1.1 The four stories and their narrative programs. Our section contains numerous superficial illogicalities and *non sequiturs* (which should be considered a sign of the special "thickness" of the message; Jobling: 16-17 and passim). In the following analysis, we attempt to "retell" the stories, to determine what they are striving to say. In each case, we then lay out the narrative programs of the story, whether carried out, begun, or merely conceived. Certain elements not directly related to the narrative programs are omitted from consideration at this stage, to be taken up later.

1.11 SA--Num 11:1-3

1.111 The "people" complain. They wish to get, or to renounce, some object which is not specified. Although they do so "in the hearing of Yahweh", this is probably his overhearing rather than their attempt to communicate with him. This question of hearing or overhearing recurs in 11:10, 18; 12:2, of which especially the last suggests that the complainers did not intend to be heard. The people *apparently* do not look to anyone but themselves to effectuate their program. On hearing the complaint, Yahweh becomes angry, and his fire burns part of the people's camp. Nothing in Num 11-12 suggests an intention to exterminate the people (though the larger narrative considers this possibility, 14:12, Ex 32:10); rather, Yahweh seeks to stop the complaining. The people appeal to Moses to bring an end to the burning; Moses carries the appeal to Yahweh, who complies with it. The naming of the place shows that someone (Moses?) was able to interpret the burning correctly as divine punishment; and we suppose that the complaining, at least temporarily, ceased.

1.112 This may be summarized into the following narrative programs:

SA1 Program of the people. Unspecified.
SA2 Program of Yahweh. To dissuade the people from implementation of SA1.
SA2.1 Program of Yahweh. Burn the camp (to whatever extent may be necessary), as a means to SA2.
SA3 Program of the people. To stop SA2.1.

SA1 is threatened by the people, but not begun. SA2 is thus successful. SA2.1 is begun, but aborted when SA2 is achieved. SA3 is successful after the people turn over the role of subject of it to Moses, and Moses to Yahweh. The result is the reestablishment of the status quo, except for the remaining effects of SA2.1.

1.12 SB--the quail story

1.121 In vs. 4 there are two groups of complainants. The craving of the "rabble" (we use the RSV word for convenience, and shall return to the significance of ʾspsp) is unspecified, but it is logical to suppose that they, like the "people of Israel", desire meat. As in SA, no direct request is directed to anyone. But the people contrast their present situation with the one they knew in Egypt, where they had a variety of foods (including meat in the form of fish, cf. vs. 22), rather than only manna. Thus their desire for meat suggests two others; directly, for a diversification of diet, and, less directly, for a return to Egypt. In vss. 7-9, an editorial voice supplies the reader with details, whose significance will appear, about the manna.

1.122 Vs. 10 is difficult, since it is part of the juncture with SC. Both Moses and Yahweh hear the complaints, but only after we are told that they made Yahweh angry (cf. vs. 1, so that we expect some punitive action by Yahweh) do we learn that Moses too was displeased. This suggests a negative response not to the complaints as such, but to the whole situation, including Yahweh's anger (this suggestion will be confirmed by SC). His response (vs. 13) accepts the people's need for meat, supposes that it is his responsibility to find it, but expresses his inability to do so. Rather than seeking Yahweh's help, he shows resentment at the position Yahweh has put him in. But other features of his speech are to be noted--he at least suggests that the people have made a direct request to him for meat, and he omits any reference to their contrasting the present situation with that of Egypt.

1.123 Yahweh's response (vss. 18-20) underlines these details. He makes plain the people's real desire, hidden in their wish for meat, to return to Egypt. And he treats the wish as directed to himself, ignoring any role for Moses other than that of announcing the divine intentions. He demands that the people "consecrate" themselves, for they will receive meat, in such overabundance, however, that they will come to hate it. (Here, it seems, is Yahweh's punishment of the people, expected from vs. 10. They will have no choice but to eat meat to the point of

nausea, which perhaps suggests that no other food will be available during the stated month). Finally, Yahweh interprets the people's entire program as rejection of himself. Moses, in reply (vss. 21-22), ignores the punitive aspect of the provision of meat, and simply questions Yahweh's ability to carry it out. He reminds Yahweh how many Israelites there are, hints that "a whole month" is mere divine bravado, but offers ironic suggestions about where Yahweh might find all that meat! Yahweh announces that Moses will see for himself whether Yahweh can fulfill his word (vs. 23), and Moses carries out the injunction of vs. 18 to report Yahweh's words to the people.

1.124 The dénouement, vss. 31-34, presents problems. Moses is conspicuously absent. Yahweh sends the quails, which the people gather in preparation for eating them. They have been warned, of course, that Yahweh will punish them by overabundance of meat, but they go ahead anyway. However, before they begin to eat, Yahweh smites them with a "stroke" (makkāh)--again (cf. vs. 1) this punishment is associated with his anger. The result of this is that the "people" bury the "craving people". The latter must surely be the "rabble" of vs. 4, who had the "strong craving" (so Coats: 111), so that these are the only ones to die from the "stroke". We assume, therefore, that only the "rabble" are punished with death, and that the "people" are left untouched, although they eat no meat; in what follows we shall use "rabble" and "people" to refer precisely to these two different groups. (There is perhaps another hint of a careful separation between these groups in vs. 21, in the reference to 600,000 Israelites. The "rabble" of Num 11:4 is usually identified with the "mixed multitude" of Ex 12:38, which is there differentiated from the 600,000 Israelites). The goals of Yahweh's activity seem to be, to separate the people from the rabble, to kill the rabble, and to keep the people from eating meat. This suggests the strong possibility that the aim of the rabble in vs. 4 was, as well as satisfying their appetite, to instigate the people's complaints.

1.125 We begin with the narrative programs in the outer framework of the story:

SB1 Program of the rabble. To get meat.
- SB1.1 Perhaps, to make the people demand meat, i.e.,
- SB1.2 To make the people join themselves with the rabble.

SB2 Program of the people. To get meat.
- SB2.1 I.e. to diversify diet of manna.
- SB2.2 By implication, to return to Egypt.
- SB2.3 I.e. to dissociate themselves from Yahweh,
- SB2.4 And associate themselves with the rabble.

SB3 Program of Yahweh. To separate Israel from the rabble.
- SB3.1 To kill the rabble.
- SB3.2 To keep Israel from eating meat.

SB4 Program of the people. To bury the rabble.

There remain the programs having to do with the punishment by overabundance of meat, and with the participation of Moses in the story:

SB5 Program of Yahweh. To punish the people by overabundance of meat.
- SB5.1 Send quails in sufficient quantity. (For the implementation of this program of Yahweh, certain responses by the people are necessary)
- SB5.2 People to sanctify themselves.
- SB5.3 People to gather quails (prepare them, etc.)
- SB5.4 People to eat quails.

SB6 Program of Yahweh. To announce his intentions via Moses.

SB7 Program of Yahweh. To prove his power to Moses.

1.126 Discussion of these narrative programs. The first group, SB1-SB4, form a coherent whole at the surface level. The program of the rabble (SB1.2), accepted by the people (SB2.4), at first succeeds; the people are united with the rabble. But it is overcome and cancelled by the counterprogram of Yahweh (SB3), of which SB4 perhaps signals the people's acceptance. The eating of meat (SB2), figurative of joining the rabble, does not occur (SB3.2). The status quo is restored, except that the rabble no longer exist as a threat to it. (SB2.1, 2.2, 2.3, are by implication cancelled, and we shall return below to the "surplus" of meaning contained in them). But the second group, SB5-SB7, are problematic. SB5 is announced to the people via Moses, but not carried out. SB5.1 occurs, as does SB5.3, but SB5.4 is prevented by divine intervention. In view of SB1-SB4, this appears to be an act of Yahweh's favor which the people do nothing to bring about. (The only other logical possibility does not seem promising; that the people by not consecrating themselves (SB5.2)--for we are not told that they did--refused to associate with the act of rebellion the appearance of religious purity).

1.127 Moses (as in SA) has no programs of his own--he takes positions in relation to those of the other actors. He appears as the antagonist of Yahweh, accepting the people's demand for meat, ignoring its implications, usurping Yahweh's responsibility (for details, see 1.122). Even Yahweh's limited program for him (SB6, vs. 18) he resists, by questioning whether Yahweh can do what he says, before complying with it. But it is SB7 which may provide help with our difficulties. The whole matter with the quails occurs to prove Yahweh's power to Moses! It has been suggested that it proves that power to the people (Keil and Delitzsch: 73)--Yahweh can do even what it is most wrong of the people to ask. But both narrative logic and the words of vs. 23 /1/ suggest that the demonstration is for Moses' benefit, so that the people must be protected

from it! This throws the weight of the narrative message very heavily in the direction of the character Moses.

1.13 SC--the elders story

1.131 Moses takes the initiative to complain to Yahweh about the status quo (his initial displeasure is linked by vs. 10 to the quail story). Yahweh has made Moses the sole leader of Israel to the Promised Land, and Moses interprets this as an act of Yahweh's malevolence to him (vss. 11-12), so that it would be benevolence now for Yahweh to kill him (vs. 15)! Moses would prefer death to seeing the inevitable disastrous results of continuing the status quo. He complains specifically that he is not able to carry the burden of leadership alone (vs. 14), but makes no actual request for relief; his only request is for death. But Yahweh, ignoring the death-wish, takes up the "alone". He instructs Moses to choose and bring to the tent of meeting 70 elders, who henceforth will share the burden (vss. 16-17). This Moses does (vs. 24).

1.132 But in vs. 17 a new theme enters, which in fact takes over the story, that of the sharing of Moses' spirit with the elders. It seems at first to be simply the condition for the sharing of leadership. But when the spirit is imposed on the elders, the result is unexpected--they "prophesy", and neither in this passage nor in the larger narrative do we hear anything more of their sharing Moses' leadership. (It is clear that the narrative intends some relationship of complementarity and/or of opposition between leadership and prophecy). Moreover, the elders' prophesying proves to be a once-for-all phenomenon (we reject in vs. 25 the versional reading "and they did not cease", accepted, for instance, by Noth, 1968: 89). Of unclear significance is Yahweh's speaking to Moses alone before the distribution of the spirit (vss. 17, 25), but one must consider the possibility that this expression of his uniqueness is linked with the aborting of the program to share his leadership with the elders. In any case, the program is aborted.

1.133 But the story has another turn, admitting only with difficulty of any logical connection with what went before. Two individuals, not called "elders" and, unlike the 70, given names, Eldad and Medad, and yet included, it seems, among those chosen by Moses, remain in the camp when the 70 go to the tent. They receive the spirit, and prophesy in the camp. Joshua finds something inappropriate in this, and appeals to Moses to stop them. Moses rejects this appeal, expressing the prayer that Yahweh might give to all the people the spirit of prophecy. The narrative surely suggests that Eldad and Medad were to go to the tent with the others; that they did not bespeaks omission on their or on Moses' part. Aside from the locale, their prophesying is different from that of the 70; it is not the spirit that was upon Moses which rests on them, but Yahweh's own spirit (vs. 29), and their prophesying is not said to cease (for these two points in the rabbinic tradition, see Ginzberg: III, 252). Moses' own position is

important; he approves most strongly of the distribution of the spirit, adhering to the end to the program instituted by his own complaining at the beginning of the story, and even expressing to Joshua becoming modesty when there is a question of the dissipation of his uniqueness ("Are you jealous for my sake?")!

1.134 The narrative programs of SC are confusing, and we can only tentatively suggest a logic:

SC1 Program of Moses. Have Yahweh kill him.
SC1.1 Not see coming disaster.
SC2 Program of Moses. Cease to exercise leadership alone.
SC3 Program of Moses. Find favor in the sight of Yahweh.
SC4 Program of Yahweh. Have 70 elders share leadership with Moses. This requires:
SC4.1 Moses choose 70 elders (implied).
SC4.2 Moses gather 70 elders to the tent.
SC4.3 Yahweh distribute Moses' spirit to the 70 elders.
SC5 Program of Moses. Obey instructions (i.e. carry out SC4.1, 4.2).
SC6 Program of Yahweh. Abort SC4 by having the 70 elders prophesy once. This requires (assuming SC5 completed):
SC6.1 Yahweh speak with Moses alone.
SC6.2 = SC4.3
SC7 Program of Moses. Obey instructions only partially, in the case of Eldad and Medad
SC7.1 Moses choose Eldad and Medad.
SC7.2 Moses fail to gather Eldad and Medad to the tent.
SC8 Program of Yahweh. Fulfill SC4 in part by having Eldad and Medad prophesy continuously in the camp. This requires (assuming SC7 completed):
SC8.1 Yahweh put his spirit on Eldad and Medad.
SC9 Program of Moses. All the people prophesy.
SC9.1 I.e. Yahweh put his spirit on them.
SC10 Program of Moses (and elders?) Return to camp.

1.135 This labored-looking scheme calls for commentary. Moses is Yahweh's antagonist. This is shown by his complaining against Yahweh's arrangements, and receives the most compelling confirmation from the intertwining of this with the quail story (see 1.127). He suggests, at the outset, SC1, but implies a wish for SC2--in either of these he would find the fulfillment of SC3, to "find favor in (Yahweh's) sight" (Calvin aptly points out that, in being appointed sole leader, Moses had found the supreme favor with Yahweh: 22-23). Yahweh announces SC4, which will fulfill Moses' implied SC2. But SC4 includes a role for Moses--he is charged with carrying out a large part of the program. But if he completes his part (= SC5), then SC4 will be altered to SC6, in which Moses' sole leader-

ship will be threatened only in show. When, however, in the case of Eldad and Medad, Moses does not do his part of SC4, it is transformed to SC8, which constitutes a much more real threat to Moses' uniqueness.

1.136 The distribution of Moses' spirit represents an indignity, even a punishment, for him. He loses something thereby (so Calvin: 24-26, cf. Noth, 1972: 129, against a long tradition, at least as old as Philo, De gigantibus, 25, that Moses' spirit, like a flame from which others are lit, lost nothing; this is not a participative communication, in the sense of Greimas, 1973b: 32-34, but the sharing of a substance). This is the result of his abandoning his role, and hence rejecting Yahweh's arrangement. But Yahweh's apparent program to diminish Moses in fact implies, if it is carried out, his restoration, for within it he is called upon to act out his unique position; this is confirmed by Yahweh's speaking to him alone! Hence, schematically:

SC4 (succeeds) -> SC5 -> SC6 (70 elders)
(fails) -> SC7 -> SC8 (Eldad and Medad)

Moses' SC9 suggests that his antagonism to Yahweh is not over, and the narrative ends ambiguously. The status quo has to a large extent been restored, but the irregular prophecy of Eldad and Medad continues, a gift not derived from Moses' unique gift, as the elders' was, but independently from Yahweh himself.

1.14 SD--Num 12

1.141 Miriam and Aaron challenge Moses' unique position on the ground that they are prophets (Yahweh speaks through them) as well as he (12:2). The close connection between prophecy and leadership in SC has prepared us for this. Moses conspicuously takes no action in the face of this challenge (vs. 3!), but Yahweh, overhearing it, does act. He summons all three to the tent, separates Miriam and Aaron from Moses, and gives the challengers a detailed account of the difference between Moses and a prophet (vss. 6-8). He rejects their program in an oblique but compelling way: "Why were you not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" (vs. 8).

1.142 Only after this rebuke is Yahweh's "anger kindled", the usual signal for punishment, and indeed, as he departs, Miriam is found to be afflicted with leprosy. The obscurity of what follows can be illumined by examination of Lev 13:9-17, which we summarize. When someone is leprous (sr^{c}t, vs. 9, cf. Num 12:10) he is brought to the priest; if the priest finds raw ("living") flesh (bśr hy), he pronounces the leper unclean, and does not "shut him up" (sgr, vs. 11, cf. Num 12:14-15). If, however, the leprosy covers his whole body, and it has all turned white, the priest pronounces the leper clean (vss. 12-13, 16-17). In our passage, therefore, Miriam's whiteness, and her being "shut up", point not to active but to "burnt out" leprosy. Her leprous flesh is dead flesh, the disease has

consumed it (cf. "dead" and "consumed" in Aaron's simile in vs. 12!) She has been miraculously transformed into a post-leprous condition. Aaron's appeal to Moses, "Do not punish us" (vs. 11) comprises both avoidance of the expected punishment on himself and the miraculous restoration of Miriam to her pre-leprous condition (it is tempting to connect this with Ex 4:6-7, in which Moses himself is afflicted with white leprosy and then restored).

1.143 Miriam is not rendered unclean, but she is marked, and this Yahweh will not reverse despite the appeal of Moses himself (vs. 13). Her exclusion from the camp in vss. 14-15, as the use of sgr shows, is for the period necessary to verify her cleanness. Leviticus does not state that this was the same for alleged burnt-out leprosy as for suspected beginning leprosy, but there is no reason to doubt it, and it consisted (Lev 13:4-6) of three examinations at intervals of a week. What Yahweh apparently does, then, is to reduce Miriam's trial period from two weeks to one. During this time, the people remain in Hazeroth.

1.144 The narrative programs are here relatively clear:

SD1 Program of Miriam and Aaron. To share Moses' leadership.
- SD1.1 To dissociate Moses from his Cushite wife (?)

SD2 Program of Yahweh. To prevent implementation of SD1.
- SD2.1 Meet Moses, Aaron and Miriam at the tent of meeting.
- SD2.2 Separate Miriam and Aaron from Moses (and from the tent?)
- SD2.3 Instruct Miriam and Aaron on the difference between Moses and a prophet (to dissuade them from their program?)

SD3 Program of Yahweh. To punish Miriam and Aaron.
- SD3.1 Withdraw his presence.
- SD3.2 Afflict Miriam with leprosy.
- SD3.3 Punish Aaron in some way.

SD4 Program of Aaron. His own restoration.
- SD4.1 Express his own repentance.
- SD4.2 Avoid punishment.

SD5 Program of Aaron. Miriam's restoration.
- SD5.1 Express Miriam's repentance.
- SD5.2 Obtain a miracle to restore her to the pre-leprous state.

SD6 Program of Yahweh. To maintain the punishment, but reduce its consequences.
- SD6.1 Justify to Moses the punishment of Miriam.
- SD6.2 Reduce the period of her exclusion.
- SD6.3 Have Miriam serve the reduced sentence.

SD7 Whose program? To have the people wait for Miriam's return.

The fact that Miriam is mentioned first in vs. 1, and that

only she is punished, has led many interpreters to assume that she instigated the complaint and persuaded Aaron to join her. In this case we must reckon with

SD1a Program of Miriam. To persuade Aaron to complain.
SD3a Program of Yahweh. To separate Aaron from Miriam.

1.145 Commentary on the narrative programs. Miriam and Aaron suggest (vs. 2) that it is Yahweh himself who has implied SD1, by using them as prophets. The obscure SD1.1 (vs. 1) must be left until later. It would be gratifying if we could interpret the sequence as follows:

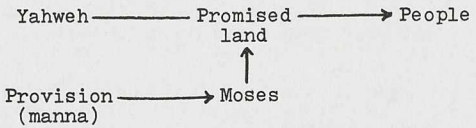
Persuasion (SD2.3)-→repentance-→no punishment (Aaron)
-→no repentance-→punishment (Miriam)

Aaron indeed does repent, and is not punished, and Miriam the opposite. But the scheme does not work, since the punishment takes place before any opportunity for repentance. Rather, we may suppose that the narrative stresses the separation which Yahweh makes between the offenders (SD3a), and Aaron's penitence (SD4.1), intercession for Miriam (SD5), and submission to Moses (to whom his appeals are addressed). SD2.3 (vss. 6-8) then becomes part of Yahweh's justification for his punitive action. Whether the reduction in the period of Miriam's exclusion is on account of Aaron's appeal (SD5.2), Moses' seconding of it, or the needs of the people (cf. SD7), is not immediately to be decided; nor is it clear whether the people waited for her on their own, Moses', or Yahweh's initiative.

1.2 Interrelationships between the four stories. In this section we shall argue for the unity of Num 11-12 at the level of superficial narrative programs (1.21), and suggest how the four stories are welded together to form the unity (1.22).

1.21 The "main program"

1.211 We hypothesize that our two chapters are dominated by a program of Yahweh, to which we shall refer as the main program. Yahweh is giving to Israel the promised land of Canaan, through his appointed leader Moses, and by means of his own chosen provision for the journey there (represented here by the manna). In the scheme of Greimas (1966: 180):



This scheme is adequate and suitable for our purpose, though it may be asked whether Yahweh is not the subject and Moses a helper.

1.212 The main program has left its traces throughout our narrative. The itineraries (11:35; 12:16) are related to it directly. In SB, the people's desire for meat (SB2) conceals a desire to return to Egypt (SB2.2), counter to the main program (and we note the frequent identification of the rabble, with whom they wish to join themselves (SB2.4), with the "mixed multitude" of Ex 12:38--a link with Egypt). In SC, Moses refers (11:12) to his task of carrying the people to the promised land, and it is possible that in vs. 15 he hints at Yahweh's inability or unwillingness to carry out the main program (cf. the tiqqūn sōpherīm). One should perhaps take note here also of the presence of Joshua (vs. 28), the one who will in fact lead the people into Canaan. Most clearly of all, in SD, the effect of Miriam's exclusion from the camp (and therefore of her rebellion) is the delay in the people's march (12:15). Under the main program, movement is positive and delay negative (which guides our interpretation of other causes of delay). Only in SA, therefore, is there no overt reference to the main program; but there are good arguments in favor of following the tradition (e.g. Calvin: 15; Rashi: 52b) that the people are complaining in 11:1 about the march itself. The immediately preceding section (10:33-36) is directly on this theme (and note that in ch. 13 the people will make their first abortive arrival in Canaan--for rebellion and delay cf. 14:34 above all!) And 11:3 strikingly lacks an itinerary.

1.213 The programs expressed or implied in the various complaints are now revealed as counterprograms to the main one. They are:

SA1 Program of the people (against the march?)
SB1 and SB2 Programs of the rabble and the people (against the provision, but also against the object of the march).
SC2 (cf. SC1, SC7, SC9) Program of Moses (against his role as subject in the main program).
SD1 (+1a) Program of Miriam and Aaron (against Moses' role as subject in the main program)

The measures of Yahweh against these are counter-counter-programs:

SA2, SB3, (SB7), SC6, SD2, (SD6.2), (SD3a)

We shall use the abbreviations MP (main program), CP (counterprogram), CCP (counter-counterprogram). The depth of the narrative is provided by Yahweh's stance in relation to the CPs, and the involvement of the human actors in the CCPs. We shall return to these in 1.3.

1.22 Narrative relationships among the four stories

1.221 It will be valuable to divide SD into two parts, since it turns out to have two functions to fulfill /2/. We shall refer to 12:1-9 as SDa, and to 12:10-16 as SDb (though the latter requires the element of sin from SDa to

make sense). This division is only a working technique--SD must be accounted for, of course, as a unified story.

1.222 SC and SDa. The superficial similarities (tent of meeting, leadership and prophecy) have been enumerated (0.1). A full treatment of leadership and prophecy must await the semantic analysis, but we observe their non-equation in both stories; in SC, leadership is "watered down" to prophecy, and in SDa, prophecy is not an adequate condition for leadership. Our present concern is the narrative dovetailing of the two sequences. Their initiating programs, SC2 of Moses and SD1 of Miriam and Aaron, are identical--the sharing of Moses' status as subject of MP (see 1.213). And SDa resolves what SC left unresolved in relation to this program. At the end of SC, Eldad and Medad were left prophesying, by means of a spirit derived not from Moses, but from Yahweh directly (1.136), and this meant <u>some</u> diminution of Moses' unique honor. In SDa, two other "prophets", Miriam and Aaron (is it sheer coincidence that they have the initials of Eldad and Medad!) challenge that uniqueness on the basis of Yahweh's having spoken through them <u>independently of Moses</u>. They are rebuked and Yahweh <u>departs</u> from them (12:9). This departure, which is a punishment, surely signals the departure of even the gift they have enjoyed--in what follows, Aaron is content to act through Moses (vs. 11)!

1.2221 To be sure, the actantial roles of the actors are different in the two stories. In each case, Moses' leadership (object) is to be transferred in part to others (receiver). But where in SCa, Moses is the sender, initiating the program, he pointedly withdraws from any role in SD, and is at most a passive opponent in the rebels' program. In the language of Greimas (1973b: 28-29), the story type in SC is "gift", including "attribution" and "renunciation", whereas in SDa it is "test" (<u>épreuve</u>), made up of "appropriation" and "depossession". Greimas makes the important point, to which we shall return, that the test-type introduces further potential into narrative (the desire to regain what was taken), while the gift-type does not (cf. below, 1.432).

1.223 SB and SC+SDa. If we now take together the two sections connected in 1.222 and lay them alongside the quail story (SB), we find a remarkable structural similarity as follows:

(i) A CP calling for <u>diversification</u>:

(SB)	SB2.1	Diversification of the diet of manna.
	SB2.4	Diversification of Israel, by their associating with the rabble.
(SC+SDa)	SC2) SD1)	Diversification of leadership

(On the rabble as a mixed group of foreigners, see 1.212)

(ii) Apparent readiness of Yahweh to promote this CP:

(SB) SB5.1 Sending of the quails.
(SC+SDa) SC4 (cf. SC8) Elders to share Moses' leadership.

(To these, a further example may be added, SD2.1. As a preliminary to separating Miriam and Aaron from Moses, and degrading them, Yahweh associates them with Moses ("you three", 12:4), and at the tent of meeting, closely linked with Moses' office).

(iii) A CCP of Yahweh restoring unity:

(SB)	SB3	To separate Israel from the rabble.
	SB3.2	To keep Israel from eating meat.
(SC+SDa)	SC6	Elders prophesy only once (only a partial restoration of unity, since Eldad and Medad remain).
	SD2	Prevention of Miriam's and Aaron's program.

1.224 SA and SDb. The beginning and end of our section also exhibit close similarity (for what follows, cf. Culley: 101-102, 104-106, 108-110):

	11:1	12:1-2
(i) Offense (complaint)		
Yahweh's overhearing of this	1	2
(ii) Punishment by Yahweh	1	9-10
Kindling of his anger	1	9
Physical effects	1	10
(iii) Appeal to Moses	2	11-12
(iv) Appeal by Moses to Yahweh	2	13
(v) Limitation of the punishment (but the physical effects remain)	2	14-15

Step (v) is certainly more complicated in ch. 12, but, as we have argued, Culley (105) is not justified in saying that "the miracle took place" to restore Miriam to her former condition. The details of the parallel are impressive. The part played by Moses, very different from that of SB or SC, will be considered below. The topographical opposition in both SA and SDb is inside/outside the camp, (as in SB), whereas in SC and SDa it was camp/tent of meeting (the fire of 11:1 affects the "edges" of the camp, the boundary between inside and outside, and this is the boundary which Miriam crosses in 12:14-15). Finally, the consumption of part of the camp by fire parallels the consumption of part of Miriam's flesh by leprosy, even down to vocabulary (the verb ʾkl, Yahweh's burning anger, and cf. above, 1.142-143--though the Hebrew does not use such language, a leper in whom the disease has run its course is called in English "burnt out").

1.3 Analysis of the narrative programs. We have already discovered (1.213) the hierarchy of MP-CPs-CCPs. We shall here use this as a framework for a formal consideration of the structural elements of the narrative.

1.31 The counterprograms (CP)

1.311 Counterprograms are initiated by human rebels

against Yahweh's main program; the people, the rabble, Moses, Miriam and Aaron, (Miriam) (1.213). They are directly against MP (SA1, SB2.2), or indirectly so, in that they delay the march. They strongly express the feature of desire for diversification of Yahweh's arrangements in the MP (1.223). Sometimes they specifically involve dissociation from Yahweh (SB2.3, cf. SC1). One form of CP we have called instigation, where part of the initial CP is to draw others into the rebellion--we have argued for this in the cases of the rabble (SB1.2) and of Miriam (SD1a).

1.312 A particularly difficult part of the analysis is the role of Yahweh in relation to the CPs (1.223). He goes along with them in two important instances, and possibly a third, that is, he constitutes himself the operating subject. In SB he provides the meat which the people desire. Ostensibly they are to eat it, and indeed for a month (causing a delay!), though it will so nauseate them that they will abandon their CP. But in fact Yahweh does not intend them to eat it at all! In SC he provides the assistants whom Moses desires. Ostensibly they are to share the leadership. But in fact Yahweh does not intend this either (though he does create an ambiguous situation by ordaining Eldad and Medad, a situation which, we have argued, is resolved only by the degrading of Miriam and Aaron). It is possible to detect in these two cases at least some elements of a common pattern:

(i) The rebels leave vague who is to be the operating subject of their CP (presumably themselves).
(ii) Yahweh assumes this role.
(iii) But this action is ultimately to promote his CCP, and is therefore deceptive.
In SB, this is a doubled step. The giving of meat will answer to the people's CP, but will finally make them abandon it (realized CP leading to CCP). This "deception" is announced; but the real one remains, that Yahweh intends only the CCP (keeping the people from meat).
(iv) Yahweh proves that he can carry out even the CP.
Clearly in SB (vs. 23), but by implication in the prophesying of Eldad and Medad. (We should probably think of this not merely in terms of simple power, but of Yahweh's not being limited finally even by the terms of his own MP--but this carries us too far afield).
(v) The rebels gain a "perverse" opportunity for obedience.
This difficult step is probably the key to the whole. Once Yahweh has assumed the role of subject of the CP, it is obedience to follow him in it. But obedience, voluntary association with Yahweh, is the goal of his CCP! Hence Yahweh joins the CP to make it "self-destruct", but this needs the human response. In SB, the people perform their part in "Yahweh's" CP (gathering the meat which they know is not for their good). In SC, Moses performs his part in the case of the 70 elders, but not in the case of Eldad and Medad, so that Yahweh institutes a real CP, to

which no resolution appears within SC itself.

(vi) A "clue" to what is really going on.
In preparation for eating meat, the people are to "consecrate" themselves (11:18), that is, ritually associate themselves with Yahweh. Before the sharing of Moses' spirit, Yahweh talks with him alone (11:25). Neither element is clearly necessary, but each introduces into the ambiguous context of Yahweh's "going along" with a CP a clear element of the real CCP.

The third apparent instance (12:4-5, see 1.223) of Yahweh's "going along" with a CP fits this pattern fairly well, at least in the case of Aaron; but it is much less ambiguous and complicated.

1.32 The counter-counterprograms (CCP)

1.321 CCPs (1.213) are initiated by Yahweh, naturally, against the CPs of the rebels, to enable the march (cf. SD6.2), to restore unity out of attempts at diversification (see 1.223), and to separate the instigating from the seduced rebels (SB3, SD3a).

1.322 Rebels are punished and/or drawn into the CCP (for which cf. 1.35 below). The pattern of punishment is interesting. The instigators, the rabble and Miriam, are punished in SB and SD, but not the seduced, the people and Aaron (the rabble is killed, and Miriam, though reintegrated, is marked). The seduced are laid under the threat of punishment (11:19-20; 12:11), but it does not occur. Moses is laid under a temporary punishment (see 1.136). The punishment of Miriam involves one for the people (who have not been involved in her action at all) in that it delays their march--a point which, coming at the very end of our section, perhaps suggests the solidarity of all CPs with each other. The people themselves were directly punished at the very beginning, 11:1.

1.33 Unity, diversity, separation, purification. A number of elements of the preceding discussion come together in a single isotopy. The main program is characterized by unity--one people, one leader, one food. Attachment to this unity is attachment to Yahweh. The CPs call for diversification, the CCPs for unity. Instigation brings about unholy attachments which are detachments from Yahweh, and in which the CCPs aim at separation. On the side of the CPs we constantly find plurality and fragmentation (the 70, and even the <u>two</u>, Eldad and Medad, Miriam and Aaron). Even the forms of the punishment suggest purification, the separation of pure from impure (cf. 1.224). We shall return to this in the semantic analysis, but it seems to constitute an essential feature of the narrative structure.

1.34 Knowledge and deception. We have noted the deception involved in Yahweh's relation to the CPs. But this seems to be only a part of an isotopy having to do with possession and communication of knowledge--and we

notice in particular how important is the theme of prophecy in our two chapters. Again, this is a matter to which we must return in the semantic analysis, but we here indicate the relation of this isotopy to the structure of narrative programs. The CPs are never put in the form of a request to Moses or to Yahweh--they have to be "overheard" (11:1, 10, 18; 12:2), or they are introduced obliquely (11:11-12). Thus a breakdown in communication is part of the background to the CPs. When they do come to the fore, we find them full of attempts to deceive and lacking in true awareness. The instigation pattern is one of deceit--the seduced party is made to perceive a lack which does not exist. Moses does not know where "favor in Yahweh's eyes" is to be found, fails to assess correctly the people's desire for meat or his own responsibility for it, tries to deceive Yahweh and minimizes his power; and he is the one on whom communication from Yahweh to the people above all depends! Aaron admits to having "acted foolishly" (12:11). In this situation, it is not surprising that Yahweh indulges in an ambiguous response to the CPs, for, we have argued (1.312), the main reason for this is that it maximizes the communication of knowledge, of Yahweh's power, and of his reasons for exercising it as he does.

1.35 Modalities. The CCPs of Yahweh must deal with the human actors (cf. 1.322); the rebels, if not destroyed, must be brought to the side of the CCP. This issue is best approached through a consideration of the modalities discussed by Greimas (especially 1970: 168-171, 178-181) as they relate to acts: will, knowledge, power (vouloir, savoir, pouvoir), to which we must add compulsion (devoir). Several patterns are discernible in our section. Where the CP is simply the result of perverse will (against MP), the response, if it be not destruction (as in the case of the rabble) is simply compulsion:

(i) CP vouloir (-) -----→ CCP devoir (+)
(where + and - mean respectively for and against the main program)

This pattern occurs in SA, and with Miriam in SD. Where, however, as in the cases of instigation, the perverse will comes from being misled, being properly informed brings a change of will:

(ii) CP (savoir (-) -→ vouloir (-)) -----→
CCP (savoir (+) -→ vouloir (+))

This pattern occurs with the people in SB; when they understand, through Yahweh's actions, his intentions, they join his program to separate them from the rabble by burying them. Likewise with Aaron in SD--the knowledge of his error provided in 12:6-8 moves him to act (as it does not in Miriam's case) in accordance with MP. With Moses in SB the case is different. The modalities involved are knowledge and power. Moses, under a misapprehension about his responsibility, expresses his lack of power and also doubts Yahweh's; he must be informed that he does not <u>need</u> power,

and that Yahweh has enough; this may (with some reservation) be expressed:

(iii) CP (savoir (-) -→ pouvoir (-)) -----→
CCP (savoir (+) -→ pouvoir (+))

Moses' will is not here involved. But it is in SC, and here he seems to provide another example of pattern (ii), provided we include SD with SC. In SC, his misunderstanding breaks his will, and this situation is left ambiguous. But in SD, he receives assurance of his unique position, and resumes the exercise of his function.

1.4 Analysis of the unified narrative of Num 11-12. We have already made partial suggestions as to why the four main stories are presented in their present arrangement. We close the narrative analysis by attempting to answer this question more definitively than has been possible before. We expect a priori that the needs of surface- and of deep-structural logic will both be served, and that there will be some conflict between them.

1.41 Our previous discussion has established the following pattern in Num 11-12:

SA -- (SB) -- SDb
(SC + SDa)

SA and SDb, the initial and final sequences, are linked both structurally and isotopically (purification). SB and SC+SDa contrast isotopically with each other and with the beginning and end (their isotopies are provision (of food) and leadership-prophecy respectively). They are intertwined, with three sequences each. (A certain general similarity will be noticed between this analysis and Greimas's analysis (1970: 185-230) of a Bororo myth). Furthermore, if we ignore 11:10, 13, which logically link SB with SC, and lay out the sequences,

SB:	11:4-9	11:18-24a	11:31-34
SC+SDa:	11:11-12, 14-17	11:24b-30	12:1-9

we discover that the three stages, in each case, come close to coinciding with the steps CP, Yahweh's "going along" with CP, CCP, which we analyzed in 1.223 and 1.31-32.

1.42 SB and SC have been "logically" connected at the surface level; loosely, it must be admitted, for it is not obvious how the 70 elders, even if they assumed a full share of Moses' responsibility, could be of assistance in finding meat for the people. The juxtaposition of the two meanings of ru^{a}h, "spirit (of prophecy)" and "wind", in 11:26-29 and vs. 31, means that Yahweh uses (his) ru^{a}h in both instance to go along with a CP; it is not clear whether significance is to be attached to this. But the other aspect in which SB and SC are pointedly juxtaposed has a clear significance. In 11:18-24a, Moses hears and

communicates to the people Yahweh's "words" (vs. 24a), and is himself told to expect verification of Yahweh's "word" (vs. 23). Forming an inclusio around this section from SB are the statements in SC (instruction and fulfillment) that Yahweh "speaks" with Moses alone before distributing his spirit to the elders. (The noun dābār and the verb dbr are used in all cases). We have argued that this feature of SC functions to undermine the counterprogram there (see 1.312 (vi)), and the piece of SB strengthens this function (Yahweh continues to operate "normally", through Moses alone, even in the context of sharing his leadership with others. We have argued earlier (1.127) that even SB, a story about the murmuring of the people, "throws the weight of the narrative message very heavily in the direction of the character Moses". When we add to this that SB provides the occasion for SC, and functions to confirm the movement of SC, the overwhelming conclusion is that leadership-prophecy is the dominant isotopy over that of food (cf. Greimas, 1970: 213).

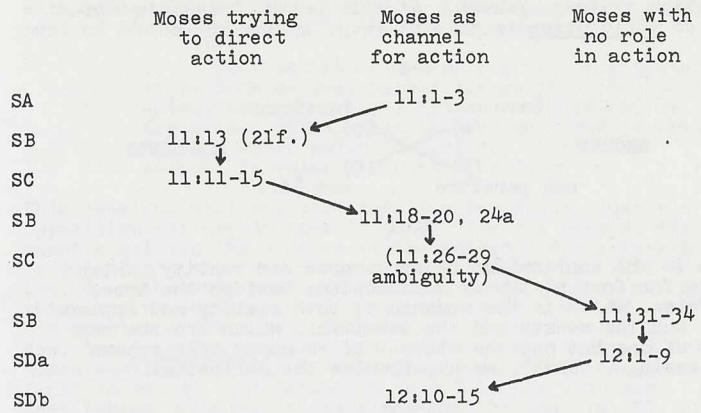
1.43 The character Moses and the unity of the section

1.431 What has just been said confirms the central importance of Moses, who, indeed, alone appears in all parts of our section. We must now pay attention to the roles that he plays. At the beginning and end (SA and SDb) he appears only to pass on to Yahweh appeals that he has received. He institutes no programs, nor is any question raised about his "position". In SC, he takes responsibility for his position, questions it, and institutes a program which is counter to Yahweh's main program. In SDa, however, he takes no position on the program of Miriam and Aaron threatening his position, leaving the matter entirely to Yahweh (12:3) (cf. above, 1.222). A pattern emerges in which Moses as passive channel is the norm, from which he departs, and which departure must be "overcompensated" before normalcy can be restored:



But what part does SB have to play in this? Several things may be said. In discussing modalities, we found that the pattern adhered to by Moses in SC+SD was the pattern characteristic of instigation, and it appears that SB stands in this relation to SC--the people's rebellion instigates that of Moses. Within SB, we discover him attempting to take responsibility for the action (11:13, 21-22), though at length he is willing to be simply the channel for Yahweh's word (vs. 24a). Finally, and most importantly of all, we have suggested that the provision of immense quantities of quail is a demonstration primarily for him (vs. 23, see 1.127), but we notice that he is entirely absent at its fulfillment (vss. 31-34)! This last part of SB marks the hinge between Moses' still ambiguous position at the end of SC and his unquestioned uniqueness in SDa. It seems possible, refining the scheme just laid out for SA-SC-SD, to say that each change in Moses' status is "led" by his role

in SB:



1.432 Though we do not wish to press the point hard, it is perhaps possible to find in Num 11-12 Greimas's scheme of three "tests" (épreuves; 1966: 196-198), though in a reverse or even parody form. Ch. 12, first, is convincing as the épreuve glorifiante--Moses' position is unrecognized and under threat of usurpation, before it is revealed and the usurpers unmasked. The brief 11:1-3 will serve as épreuve qualifiante--here Moses is established in the position which in ch. 12 is glorified. But what lies between is not a combat sequence in which Moses overcomes, but one in which he is overcome! He must be a loser in his heroic pretensions to be the kind of hero which this narrative makes him! The Yahweh who is sender (in the MP), and helper in the épreuves qualifiante and glorifiante, must be opponent in the épreuve principale.

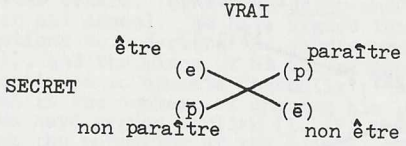
2. Semantic analysis

An adequate semantic analysis would require extensive use of information from outside our section, both biblical and extra-biblical, and the application of tools of a power which we probably do not yet have at our disposal. The following analysis will not have, therefore, even the relative completeness of the foregoing one. But we shall attempt at least a preliminary analysis of the most important codes employed in Num 11-12.

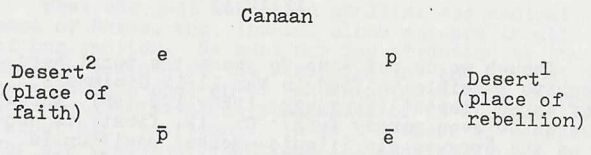
2.1 Geographical code

2.11 This arises directly out of what we have called the main program (MP, 1.21). Its terms are Egypt, the promised land (Canaan), and the desert (with the locations along the route). The desert is a place of instability; the people will not remain there, but will either proceed to Canaan or return to Egypt. The whole desert tradition

of the Old Testament (Coats: passim) shows this ambiguity; it is a time of exemplary faith in, or of unexampled rebellion against, Yahweh. At this point, Greimas's concept of véridiction is helpful (e.g. 1973a: 165-66):



Truth is the combination of appearance and reality, which allows for four states of veridiction; besides the true, the false, which is the absence of both reality and appearance, and the secret and the deceitful, which are the presence of one but not the other. If we apply this scheme to blessing (-curse), we hypothesize the following:



Faith moves towards the blessing of Canaan by accepting the privation which is in fact the real provision. Rebellion moves towards the curse of Egypt by grasping at what seems desirable, or even necessary, in the moment. We shall be testing the value of this scheme throughout what follows.

2.12 Certain oppositions are immediately implied in the code itself; Israelites-foreigners, dry-wet, hot-cold. Others are connected to this code by our narrative itself, for instance manna-meat. We note again in particular that a temporal code is implied, in the opposition movement-delay, which is clearly congruent with desert^2-desert^1.

2.2 Alimentary code (provision). The stories of provision in the desert have to do with both food and water (cf. Ex 15:22-17:7). Food provides more possibilities since, while water can scarcely be other than a legitimate need, food can be a want (cf. "craving" in our passage). The code can be carried not merely by the kinds of food themselves, but by the circumstances and people involved with it (cf. Greimas, 1970: 196, on the distance stylistique).

2.21 What is eaten. The major opposition is meat-manna, congruent with desert^1-desert^2. But the people

who desire the meat in fact reminisce (11:5) about the food of Egypt, which includes meat in the form of fish, along with various vegetables, including the melon type. A comment of Lévi-Strauss (1973: 468) is interesting:

> . . . fish and water-melons are not only symmetrical because they belong respectively to the animal and vegetable kingdoms: considered as dry-season foods, fish is food enclosed in water, and the water-melon (especially in the dry season) is water enclosed in a food.

This confirms what the text itself makes clear, that the opposition wet-dry is here in play. For the people, the manna signifies the dryness of the desert--"our strength is dried up" (or, "our throat is dry", Noth, 1968:86) (vs. 6; appositely Keil and Delitzsch: 66, "the manna, sc. which has no juice . . ."). But the "editorial" of vss. 7-9 questions this view, associating the manna with the dew, the transitory water of the desert (cf. below, 2.22). Moses mentions both land- and water-meat in his "suggestions" in vs. 22, but Yahweh in fact responds with air-meat (which, however, originates from the sea, vs. 31; cf. 2.4)! The other important opposition which we find in vss. 4-6 is one-many, or unified-mixed. The people, having one food, desire a variety (appositely again, Keil and Delitzsch: 67, contrasting "the quiet enjoyment of what is clean and unmixed" with the desire for "a stimulating admixture of what is sharp and sour" (our emphasis)).

2.22 Circumstances. The meat is desired by the rabble, who are foreigners, and particularly are cognate with Egypt (1.212). A topographic code is suggested, not only vertically (the dew, and the quails from the air), but also by the contrasting places where the manna and the quails fall; respectively on the camp (inside, vs. 9) and around the camp (outside, vs. 31). But more important is the geographic-temporal significance of the manna. It is on the side of march vs. delay, i.e. of desert^2 vs. desert^1. This is abundantly clear in Ex 16:19-21, where any delay in using it spoils it, but cf. in our passage its association with the dew (cf. also its coming by night, so the journey can proceed after its gathering, as opposed to the quails, which come by day, and in fact delay the people two days, vs. 32). The congruence of the manna with desert^2 is again graphically underscored by the manna's cessation at the moment of entry into Canaan (Jos 5:12). Manna is, finally, Yahweh's secret food (Ex 16:15, especially the etymology, "What is it?"!--and cf. again its coming by night). It is a need rather than a want; Num 11 does not suggest that it was given in response to any request by the people (the same was probably true of one stage of the tradition in Ex 16, though the present form is different; Coats: 83-96).

2.23 Consequences. The end of those who desire (or instigate a desire for) meat is death and burial (vertical code). On the probable relation of the "stroke" which comes upon them (vs. 33) with the plagues of Egypt, see

below, 2.7). The "kindling" of Yahweh's anger suggests a heat-cold isotopy into which we might draw both the burning (dry) desert and the cooking of meat, all of which would fall together under desert[1].

2.3 The code of communication. The success of the march depends on a well-functioning system of communication between Yahweh and the people, and our section is particularly rich in material related to this system.

2.31 The best starting-point is the section most overtly devoted to the issue, 12:6-8, where the office of Moses is contrasted with prophecy. There are two main points. First, while prophecy is concerned only with communication from Yahweh to Israel, Moses exercises a two-way mediation between Yahweh and Israel. This is clear from the definition of a prophet (vs. 6), and also in the "mouth to mouth" of vs. 8--Moses talks back! It is further suggested in "entrusted with all my house" (vs. 7), for, if this at one level refers to Moses' special connection with the tent of meeting (cf. below, 2.34), at a more important level it refers to his responsibility for "the house of Israel" (e.g. Gray: 125). The second point has to do with "seeing" and "hearing", and is complicated. Both Moses and the prophets both see and hear Yahweh, but

(i) Moses' hearing is better than the prophets'.
("Mouth to mouth" and "clearly" vs. "in a dream" and "in dark speech")
(ii) Moses' seeing is better than the prophets'
("Sees the form of Yahweh" vs. "in a vision")
(iii) Seeing is better than hearing, but even Moses' hearing is equivalent to seeing.
(This is only speculative--the complication is the double use of mr'h in vss. 6 and 8)

2.32 The other occurences of "seeing" and "hearing" in our section include a group having to do with Yahweh's "overhearing" of complaints (11:1, 18; 12:2). There is something "out of order" in this direct communication, in contrast to the proper line of communication via Moses (demonstrated at each end of our section, 11:2; 12:11-13). Moses is the appropriate channel. Likewise, Moses has a privileged position vis-à-vis the word that comes from Yahweh (cf. above, especially 1.42, and note also 12:14). The difference between the prophecy of the 70 elders and that of Eldad and Medad is that the first is derivative, through the sharing of Moses' spirit, while the second is not--Eldad's and Medad's gift is direct from Yahweh. There exist, therefore, a form of communication from Yahweh to Israel which is a derivative of the "normal" form, and a form which is not. This perhaps illuminates an obscurity in the rebellion of Miriam and Aaron. Both claim that Yahweh has prophesied through them (12:2). The tradition supports Miriam's claim (Ex 15:20), but not Aaron's. Aaron's only connection with prophecy (which is, of course, not a common theme in the Pentateuch) outside this passage is one which is extraordinarily interesting for our present discussion. In Ex 7:1, he is called Moses'

prophet (spokesman before Pharaoh)! If we are permitted to draw this connection, then the Miriam-Aaron account is a reprise of the separation in the elders story between prophecy derivative and non-derivative from Moses. By office, Aaron in fact represents communication from Israel to Yahweh, for he is a priest. Something similar may be true of the elders, who in 11:16 are called šṭrym, the word used in Ex 5 of the enslaved Israelites' representatives to Pharaoh.

2.33 In sum, our section affirms the uniqueness of Moses' position as pivot of a two-way system of communication, and the appropriateness of communication's taking place in this way; though it acknowledges communication which takes place outside this system, and does not even condemn it--it is simply inadequate and abnormal.

2.34 The two-way system of communication has its locus at the tent of meeting (topographical code), where Yahweh displays his presence in the cloud; and, of course, Moses has a privileged place at the tent (see especially Ex 33:7-11, also Num 12:7). The opposition one vs. many is obvious in the issue of Moses' unique leadership and the sharing of it. Though Aaron and Miriam are not said to be related to each other or to Moses, the issue of how kinship is related to leadership is clearly being raised in a tradition in which they are brothers and sister; nor can we ignore the issue male vs. female (these are matters to be taken up under 2.6 and 2.7). The opposition temporary vs. permanent (temporal code) is raised in the prophesying of the 70 and of Eldad and Medad. A final question is whether we can link the leadership-communication code to the main geographical one. Joshua, whom our section finds at the tent of meeting (11:28) (which, according to Ex 33:11, he never leaves), is obviously cognate with Canaan, into which he will eventually lead the people. (Note the very negative attitude he takes to Moses' CP, to share the leadership! In view of his being a "young man" (Ex 33:11), as is also his collaborator in our section (11:27), but especially in view of the following story, in which the older generation will be condemned to death in the desert while the younger inherits the promise (14:28-35), we must think in terms of an opposition old vs. young, cognate with desert^1 vs. desert^2). Moses, like the manna, is cognate with desert^2--like it, he will "cease" precisely at the moment of entry into Canaan! He is linked with the desert also by his having met Yahweh there (Ex 3, etc.) The other potential leaders have their links with Egypt.

2.4 Topographic code. This very important code is not, like the last two, related entirely or mainly to a particular story or stories, but, like the geographical code from which we began, has to be built up out of all the stories. This suggests great structural significance. (For what follows, we are indebted to Edwardsen: 22-26).

2.41 Tent-camp-outside the camp

2.411 The relationships between these three locations

may be approached initially through topographical vocabulary:

(i) The verb yrd is used of Yahweh's descending to the tent (11:17, 25; 12:5, cf. vertical code 2.42).
(ii) Sbyb(w)t, "around" appears in two places:
11:31-32, outside the camp.
11:24, near the tent, but at a remove from it.
(iii) The verb yṣ', "go/come out" is used as follows:
11:24, from the tent (presumably this it the location of Moses' talk with Yahweh) to the camp.
11:26; 12:4, from camp to tent.
12:5 (apparently) away from the tent.
(iv) The verb 'sp ("to gather", nifal "to return") is used in the following cases:
11:16, 24, from camp to tent.
11:32, towards the camp from outside (?)
12:14-15, nifal, from outside to inside the camp.
11:30, nifal, from tent to camp.

The last two verbs tend to suggest respectively centrifugal and centripetal movement, and this fits those cases where the movement is between the outside and the inside of the camp. But in the movement between tent and camp there is ambiguity, which is probably to be explained from a conflict between tradition and redaction. As is well known, our section has strong traditional links with Ex 33:7-11, where the tent of meeting is clearly stated to be "outside the camp" (vs. 7, the same words as in Num 12:14-15), so that one "goes out" to it from the camp. But the present narrative of Num 11-12 cannot regard the tent as being outside the camp, since it follows the long P section which locates the tent in the middle of the camp (e.g. Num 2:2). This creates no particular difficulty, since the tent inside the camp did not begin to be built until Ex 36. The insistence of pre-critical commentators (Keil and Delitzsch: 71) that the tent of Num 11-12 was in the middle of the camp must, regardless of the history of tradition, coincide with the assumption of the pentateuchal narrative:

(Yahweh)
↓
Outside camp (Camp (Tent) Camp) Outside camp

2.412 Outside and inside the camp. In SA, the burning of Yahweh's fire is a centripetal movement from the boundary. This "purifying" of the edges is paralleled in SB, for the rabble are the "gathered ones" ('spsp, cognate with the verb 'sp just discussed), the alien edge of Israelite society. We note again that, in this story, the people must cross the boundary from inside to outside to get the quails, whereas the manna falls on the camp. And in SD, Miriam, for her period of probation, crosses from inside to outside, to return at the end.

2.413 Tent and camp. In SC, the tent is the locus of "regular", the camp of "irregular" leadership. Eldad and

Medad remain in the camp. The 70, for their regular ordination, go to the tent and are there associated with Moses. It is interesting that when they return (11:30), Moses comes with them, a signal of the ambiguity in which his leadership stands, and that he is still in the camp when SD opens (as we saw earlier, Joshua does not move from the tent). In SD, Miriam and Aaron accompany Moses to the tent, but they are immediately moved away from it, and Moses left alone there. Miriam is unique in our two chapters in occupying at different times all three locations, tent, camp, outside the camp, and undergoing a pattern of up- and downswings the reverse of that which we discovered for Moses (1.431).

2.414 The camp has the ambiguity of the desert. Movement from it can be outward, which is away from Yahweh and cognate to return to Egypt, or inward, towards Yahweh and cognate with the journey to the promised land.

2.42 The vertical and related topographical terms. The alimentary code strongly suggested a vertical one (2.22), especially in a cosmology which associates the sea with the subterranean. The people's proper food, the manna, shares with the dew and with Yahweh himself the characteristic that it descends, has its origin above the earth. The foods the people crave come from below the earth, plants by growing up out of it, fish by being lifted from the sea. Moses recommends both the latter and cattle, which move on the surface of the earth (11:22). The food Yahweh finally sends descends, but this rather parodies than imitates the manna, since the quails originate from the sea. The final term in the vertical code is the (subterranean) burial of those who instigated the desire for meat. The coding here is rather clear; up and down are cognate with Canaan and Egypt, food which descends represents the promise, that is, the journey forward ($desert^2$), while food which ascends represents the curse, the retrograde journey ($desert^1$). The quail represents the deceit of what seems blessing, but in fact is curse.

2.43 The recurrent use of "in the midst of" (11:4, 20, 21)--the rabble, Yahweh, and Moses are all said to be in the midst of the people--will best be dealt with under the theme of association-separation (2.7).

2.5 Temporal code. This can be dealt with briefly. It has two aspects. The first is the delay of the march, related to the geographical code. Counterprograms involve delay, and in this way strike directly at the main program. This is clearest in the case of Miriam's exclusion, but dealing with the quails also takes a stated length of time (11:32), and perhaps it is no small part of Yahweh's grace in keeping the people from meat that a month's delay is thus avoided! The manna, on the contrary, falling by night and gathered in the morning, does not delay the march. In 11:1-3, the delay caused by the complaint is perhaps signalled by the lack of an itinerary there. The second aspect of the temporal code is the opposition temporary vs. permanent, which exhibits some complexity. It

surfaces in the contrast between the prophecy of the 70 and of Eldad and Medad, but seems important also in the alimentary code (cf. 2.21-22). The manna does not last from day to day, but it lasts as long as the years in the desert, being renewed from day to day. But the desert time is itself temporary! Meat is subject to decay, (which must be part of the thought behind the people's becoming nauseated by 30 days of it, for it comes all at once.) (Decay would be a necessary theme to pursue in a fuller analysis. It has a special relationship to the desert tradition, e.g. in Deut 8:4. Greimas, 1973b: 21-22, on the tendency of supernatural gifts to turn to dust, etc., is relevant to the manna. And Lévi-Strauss, 1969, could hardly be ignored!) Congruent with desert^1 and desert^2, perhaps, are a once-for-all plenty which is deceitful, and a renewable sparseness which is reliable.

2.6 The code of kinship. This code is unmistakably present, but has proved the most baffling, and it may be necessary considerably to widen the basis of investigation before results can be achieved.

2.61 Israelites and foreigners. Here, all is clear. The people are not kin to the rabble, and become separated from them. The lack of kinship is clear in Ex 12:37-39, and, in view of the extremely close connections of SB with this passage (cf. below), it does not seem far-fetched to suppose that Moses' reference to 600,000 Israelites in 11: 21 pointedly excludes the rabble from Yahweh's provision (the 600,000 of Ex 12:37 do not include the "mixed multitude").

2.62 Moses and his kin. Kinship with Moses does not imply sharing his leadership; no doubt this is part of the message of Num 12 (Calvin: 41 latches onto nepotism, with its potential for causing disaffection, as the chief issue which Yahweh confronts there!) But perhaps a great deal more is involved. Moses' metaphor in 11:12 suggests a denial of his kinship with Israel, and the rebellion of Miriam and Aaron is linked by 12:1 to Moses' having taken a foreign ("Cushite") wife. Ancient tradition equated this wife more often than not with Zipporah (Ex 2:21; 18:2, Ginzberg: VI, 90), and this is most likely the assumption we are to make. Zipporah represents in a particularly clear way Moses' link with the desert (2.34). The desert is Moses' place (and he will die there). Is Moses privileged in respect of foreigners because he is half-foreign, and is this a cause of resentment (we recall that the people have just been forcibly detached from foreigners!)? Even more, is this situation integral to his unique status?

2.63 Most difficult are the questions of male and female, and of procreation. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the female Miriam instigates the male Aaron to sin, putting herself thereby on the side of the foreign rabble; for women (e.g. Gen 3) and foreigners (e.g. Deut 7:4) are great seducers, and the "foreign woman" the greatest of all (Prov 2:16, etc.)! (On the female and the

foreign, cf. also below, 2.8). But here clarity ceases. 11:12 and 12:12 both employ the imagery of motherhood, both with a curious fluctuation of gender (Moses compares himself first with a mother, then with a male nurse, while Miriam is likened to a male abortion). 12:14, on the other hand, uses a figure from fatherhood. (In relation to the metaphor of 12:12, it is tempting to link the change from 14 to seven days' exclusion for Miriam (1.143) with the law of Lev 12:5, in which a female birth means 14 days' uncleanness for the mother, whereas a male one requires only seven). The parent-child metaphors may have significance in relation to the death of the older generation in the desert and inheritance of the promise by their children (2.34). But we can do no more than lay out the data.

2.7 Code of purity. That which more than anything brings together the material of our section is a code which we have already mentioned in some detail (1.33), and which has been implied in various ways by most of the other codes, so that here we merely summarize and add some footnotes. It is the drive towards the one ideal situation, whose elements are nonetheless properly set off from one another. There is a gathering towards a center, but with a preservation of hierarchy; an unmixing of what is mixed, a discarding of what is impure.

2.71 Sacred space. Egypt is impure, and the people have "gone out" from it (11:20, yṣ'), though they have brought a little of it with them! Canaan is sacred, and they must move towards it. The desert is transitional, but for the present the sacred space is there; the camp is sacred, and must be set off from what surrounds it, but most sacred is the tent, which must be set off from the camp, and from all but a few people (notice the "inner circle" which the elders form around it). Yahweh is further set off by his vertical removal; on the other hand, what is below the earth is impure. Proximity only points to the need for distinction, or even separation, as when the rabble, Moses, and Yahweh all appear "in the midst of" the people (11:4, 20, 21).

2.72 Sacred people. Israelites are separated from foreigners, who are consigned to impure space (11:34). Yet at the other end of the scale Yahweh is not an Israelite, nor, completely, is Moses--they also represent the alien in the people's midst. Moses is set off from the people, from all other leaders of the people, from his own kin. Male is separated from female, priest from leper.

2.73 Pure and impure states. Death is the ultimate impure state, connoting uncleanness. But sickness is on the way to death, and must be separated from health. Sickness is cognate with Egypt; the "stroke" of 11:33 is parallel in Deut 28:59, 61 to "sicknesses", which are in turn (vs. 60) characteristic of Egypt, and 1 Sam 4:8 uses our word "stroke"(makkah) specifically in reference to the plagues of Egypt. The people must "consecrate" themselves, and their diet must be sacred, rather than profane, food.

2.74 Yahweh's activity as purifying. Yahweh burns the "dangerous" boundary in 11:1, and his anger "burns" away the seducing foreigner and (more literally, cf. 12:12) the flesh of the seducing woman. Despite his apparent aims (cf. going along with counterprograms), his activity throughout our section is to bring about separations, and to ensure absolutely the conditions for any reintegration.

2.75 The one and the many. Unlike the MT, which uses different words for the foreign groups in Ex 12:38 and in Num 11:4, the LXX uses one word, and that word is epimiktos. In numerous ways, as we have seen, the mixed and the plural appear on the side of the impure, while the pure is the unmixed and the one--one people, one food, one leader, one channel of communication with Yahweh.

2.8 Onomastic code. We have only one observation to add under this heading, which, though it may appear to be a structuralist's fancy or even joke, is striking. The first two locations of the action of our section, Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah, are both supplied with etiological notes--they were named for the events that happened there (11:3, 34). The third location, Hazeroth, has no such note, and attempts to interpret the name along such lines have not been welcomed (Noth, 1972:224, with reference to such an attempt by Gressmann). But ḥṣrwt are "enclosures", or "courts", particularly the courts of the temple. They are there to create separations. The temple of Herod was to have courts for foreigners and for women, two of the objects of "separation" in our section (they are, as we have seen, the seducers). We confine ourselves to remarking that there is great structural similarity between Num 11-12, and therefore Hazeroth, and the system of courts in Herod's temple!

2.9 Semantic configurations of Num 11-12. We here summarize the congruities we have discovered between the various codes. Brackets indicate uncertainties, placing an item between columns indicates ambiguity or fluctuation, and arrows indicate tendencies to move into another column. We have drawn upon Greimas's concept of configurations (1973a: 169-171). These findings should be specially important for further work on other parts of the Old Testament, by which work, of course, they will also need to be refined.

Egypt (false)	Desert[1] (deceitful)	Desert[2] (secret)	Canaan (true)
wet (sea)	dry	dew	
(fish	meat	manna	
vegetables)			
foreigners	←--Israelites--→		
	burning, heat, wrath		
	←--delay	march--→	
	←--female--→	male	
outside camp	←--camp--→		tent
	←--rebels	Moses	Joshua

Egypt	Desert[1]	Desert[2]	Canaan
	decay	renewal	
	once-for-all)	(renewable	
	plenty)	(sparseness	
death	sickness	health	(life)
(burial)			
	many/mixed	one/unified	

3. The myth and its versions

". . . we define the myth as consisting of all its versions; or to put it otherwise, a myth remains the same as long as it is felt as such" (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 217). It will have been noticed that we have drawn quite frequently upon pre-critical interpretation, and especially that of the rabbis, in our discussion, and, in fact, the assistance we have gained from them has been considerably greater even than has appeared on the surface. It seems worthwhile, in a brief section, to present directly some rabbinic elaboration of our two chapters, with the specific purpose of showing how it operates within the codes we have found to be important, even when it seems to have very little connection with the actual words of the text. For this limited purpose, we make absolutely no attempt to use the rabbinic literature critically.

3.1 The demand for meat cannot have been sincere, for the people had plenty of cattle (Ex 12:38). The rabble simply sought occasion for rebellion (Ginzberg: III, 245). What the people were really upset about (reading in 11:10 "weeping <u>over</u> their families") was the consanguineous marriages which they had contracted before the giving of the law, and which they now would have to give up (ibid., 246-47). The themes of kinship, and of attachment-separation, are here pursued.

3.2 A persistent rabbinic tradition claims that the manna, though one substance, could assume any desired taste (<u>except</u>, in some versions, the tastes of the foods enumerated in 11:5 as characteristic of Egypt; Ginzberg: III, 245-46). The unifying of the many in the one (with exclusion, however, of the absolutely impure) is a fascinating development of our code of purity.

3.3 Rabbinic sources agree with our decision that the prophecy of Eldad and Medad was direct from Yahweh, and that it continued when that of the 70 elders ceased. But they inform us what it was that the two prophesied, namely the death of Moses and Joshua's leading the people into Canaan. And Eldad and Medad were kin to Moses (and so to Miriam and Aaron), sharing with them one parent (the sources differ as to which) (Ginzberg: III, 252-53). The kinship theme pursues the relationship between kinship and leadership, and makes plausible the use of the Miriam-Aaron story to resolve the Eldad-Medad one. The prophecy about Moses and Aaron relates to the geographic code, and particularly draws attention to 11:12 and 15, where Moses would rather die than lead the people into the promised land.

It would be hard to find a better example of legendary elaboration finding its own way of following up the logic of the story.

3.4 Elaborations of the trouble regarding Moses and his Cushite wife (12:1) work in various ways within the code of purity, the separation of Moses. The major rabbinic legend is that Moses had withdrawn from cohabitation with Zipporah so as to be always in readiness for Yahweh's commands; this commendation of sexual asceticism itself stresses Moses' uniqueness, for it puts him above normal obligations (Gen 1:28) (Ginzberg: III, 256-58). Philo interprets the Ethiopian woman as "the nature that has been tried by fire and cannot be changed" (Legum allegoriae, II 67), while Origen latches onto Moses' association with a gentile (131).

4. The extension of the analysis to other sections

Num 11-12 stands in a close relationship to other parts of the Pentateuch. We here enumerate some of the most important, indicating possibilities for structural analyses building on the foregoing one.

4.1 The traditions of rebellion in the desert. In the long run, we shall need to pay attention to narrative sequence in its largest dimensions. The scheme

exodus - desert - Sinai - desert - conquest

should be fruitful. It relates to our geographical code; it shows an alternation of complexes dominated by divine initiative (exodus, Sinai, conquest) with ones dominated by the initiative of human actors; and it encourages comparison between the two desert-complexes, before and after Sinai. There are many parallel stories in these two desert sections; the most obvious difference is that the element of divine punishment is absent from the first. The quail story in Num 11 has its parallel in Ex 16, though the two show big differences (Ex 16 devotes most attention to the manna, and regards it and the quail as simultaneous in origin). But Ex 16 and Num 11:4-35 share a curious characteristic. Each is the central and largest part of a set of three sections (in the first case, the other two sections are Ex 15:22-27 and 17:1-7) related to provision and/or murmuring, and in each case the two outer sections belong to the same story-type in Culley's classification (cf. above, 1.224, and, for the Exodus material, Culley: 78-81, 83-87, 92-96). Analysis of Ex 15:22-17:7, therefore, should provide excellent insight into the relations between pre- and post-Sinai desert sections. (Among the thematic links are purification (of the water in Ex 15:22-25), the "diseases of Egypt" (vs. 26), the number 70 (vs. 27), and the elders (17:5-6)).

4.2 We have made reference several times to the "basic" text for the tent of meeting, Ex 33:7-11 (part of the Sinai tradition). We find there, in addition to Yahweh's cloud theophany and Joshua's attendance on Moses, the themes of Yahweh's speaking to Moses "face to face"

(cf. "mouth to mouth", Num 12:8), and the expression "at the door of (a) tent", of which we have given no account in our analysis, but which appears in Num 11:10 and 12:5. But the material surrounding Ex 33:7-11 is also rich in thematic links with our section: Moses' seeing Yahweh (33:20-23), Aaron's rebellion (ch. 32), Moses' readiness for death (32:32), and the reverse possibility--Israel's death and Moses' fathering of a new nation (32:10)!

4.3 Ex 18 draws together two of the important themes of Num 11-12. First, the sharing of Moses' leadership. As it appears in Ex 18:13-27, this theme shows considerable differences from Num 11--it is on outside (Jethro's) advice, it is of unquestioned good effects, it is done, and the assistants are not called elders (though elders appear in the chapter, vs. 12, in connection with eating "before God", cf. 4.4 below). But there are great similarities in phraseology: "you are not able to perform it alone" (vs. 18, cf. Num 11:13), "they will bear the burden with you" (vs. 22, cf. Num 11:17). The second theme is Moses' marriage (Num 12:1--on the tradition that this wife was Zipporah cf. above, 2.62). It is on his father-in-law's initiative that Moses seeks assistance in the administration, and Jethro has some intimate connection, despite his foreignness, with Yahweh (Ex 18:9-11). The separation, at the end of this chapter, of Moses from his in-law, is of significance for our section in the light of Num 10:29-32. Here, Moses is still in company with a brother-in-law, whom he invites to accompany Israel to Canaan (main program!). Hobab is reluctant, Moses presses Israel's need of him, and the issue is left unclear. In the light of these passages, Moses' ambiguous relationship to Israel must be analyzed much more deeply (2.62).

4.4 70 elders accompany Moses, Aaron (and, significantly (?), two other named individuals), up Mt. Sinai in Ex 24, and the following themes are to be noted: Moses' association with/dissociation from the 70 (vss. 1, 2, 14), seeing God (vs. 11), eating and drinking (ibid.) Joshua accompanies Moses, whose leadership, in his absence, is taken over by Aaron and Hur (vs. 14) in terms very like those of Ex 18. Yahweh is "like a devouring fire" (vs. 17, cf. Num 11:1). And there is a final, very striking, verbal connection--the elders are called (hapax legomenon) ʾṣylym (vs. 11), the same root as in Num 11:17: "I will take (ʾṣl) some of the spirit which is on you and put it on them" (on which basis Gray: 116 says, "they may . . . represent variations from a common story"). Particularly fruitful is a study of the rabbinic connections between the two groups of 70 elders in Ex 24 and Num 11 (e.g. the completely contrasting views in Num R 15:21, 666-67 and ibid. 15:24, 668-71).

4.5 Our final connection is at once the most striking and the hardest to assess. All the elements of the brief passage Ex 12:37-39, the departure from Egypt, reappear in Num 11, in our SB, but in such a disconnected way as to remind one only of Lévi-Strauss's analyses of American myths, and of his concept of "transformations"!

Ex 12:37-39	Num 11 (SB)
Departure from Egypt	Nostalgia for Egypt (11:5)
600,000 Israelites	(vs. 21)
Mixed multitude	Rabble (vs. 4)
Flocks and herds	(vs. 22)
Poor food supply	The theme of SB
Grain food	Manna
Cakes (ʿuggōt)	Cakes (ʿuggōt) (vs. 8)

NOTES

/1/ Notice the emphatic "you" (ʾth, for ʿth, "now") in the Samaritan version.

/2/ It is perhaps of interest that, in the view of most scholars, there were two separate stories in the tradition, and that the leprosy account belonged with the story of Moses' Cushite wife (vs. 1). For example, Coats (262) offers the following analysis: "tradition of the Cushite wife, 1, 10, 12-16; tradition of Moses' peculiar relationship with Yahweh, 2 (3), 4-9, 11".

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S 148 PAGAN HELLENISTIC LITERATURE: THE BABRIAN FABLES

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What are the closest parallels to parables in pagan hellenistic literature? According to Aristotle's influential analysis in the *Rhetoric* (II. 20), parables are logically related to fables since both are invented proofs in inductive rhetorical argumentation.[1] Granted their logical similarity, are they formally related?[2] This question is not addressed by Aristotle who, instead, cites examples of parables and fables to indicate their relationship. What follows is an analysis of the Babrian fables as a proposed starting point for a full study of the background of the parables of Jesus in pagan hellenistic literature.

A. THE ANCIENT AESOPIC TRADITION

The name Aesop has long since been fused with the literary genre of fables, although it is unlikely that any of the extant fables actually derive from the historical Aesop.[3] Aesop is a shadowy historical figure whose life has been further clouded by a romantic *Life of Aesop* which dates from the first century A.D. The few reliable facts about Aesop are: (1) he was a native of Thrace; (2) he was once a slave[4] on Samos of a certain Iadmon, but was later freed; (3) as a contemporary of the poetess Sappho, he lived in the early sixth century B.C.; and (4) he achieved widespread fame as a fable teller.[5] Because of this reputation, his name became synonymous with fables themselves. Subsequent writers invented their own fables, or adapted traditional themes, and assigned them to Aesop as the archetypal fable teller.

Aesopic fables were evidently first employed as illustrations in larger writings or speeches. It is in this context that Aristotle discusses their status as logical devices in rhetoric.[6] The first known prose collection of Aesopic fables is credited to Demetrius of Phalerum in the late fourth century B.C.[7] Although not extant, this collection probably served as the basis for the later collections of Babrius and Phaedrus.[8] The earliest extant fragments of an Aesopic collection, possibly Demetrius', are contained in the Rylands Papyrus No. 493 and date from the early first century A.D. These fragments are important because they reveal the origins of the moral or epimythium. The Rylands fragments contain summaries of the fable which evidently served to index the collection by content for the convenience of speakers and were placed at the head of the fable (promythia). Many of the fables of Phaedrus are prefaced with such headings, e.g.:

"Liars usually get punished for their evil work." (I,17)

"When a man without resources tries to imitate the powerful he comes to grief." (I,24)

These summaries were subsequently moved to the end of the fables (epimythia), probably because their indexing function was transformed into an explanatory one (the fable's moral application) and thus seemed more appropriate at the end.[9] Phaedrus' collection (early first century A.D.) contains a mixture of promythia and epimythia, whereas Babrius' (late first century A.D.) and the so-called Augustana collection (late first or early second century A.D.) contain only epimythia.[10] These interpretations are extraneous to the fables as literary units and are frequently strained in their relationship to the fables' internal thrust.

The first collection of Aesopic fables in Latin verse was produced by Phaedrus (ca. 18 B.C. - A.D. 50), a Thracian slave who was presented to the Emperor Augustus by the consul Piso and served as a tutor to one of the Emperor's grandchildren. He was later freed and composed five books of about 150 fables, 94 of which have survived in manuscript P.

The first two volumes of Aesopic fables in Greek verse[12] were published shortly thereafter by Babrius (ca. A.D. 50-100), a hellenized Italian living in the Near East.[13] Of the 200 fables in these two volumes, only 143 are extant in metrical form. The following analysis of Babrian fables is based on the recent critical edition of B. E. Perry.

B. FORMAL FEATURES OF BABRIUS' FABLES

1. Anonymous Participants. Animals are not the only participants in Babrian fables; humans, gods, natural forces, plants, and inanimate characters also appear. Animals are the chief participants in 62 of the 143 fables (43%), humans in 24 (17%), and a mixture of both in 49 (34%). Natural forces, plants and inanimate characters are the major participants in 6 (4%) and appear in 3 others. While supernatural figures are the sole characters in only 3 of the fables (2%), they occur along with other participants in 17 more.

Only the supernatural figures are referred to by name: Zeus and Hermes 7 times each and Apollo, Aphrodite, Athena, Poseidon, Cypris, Iris, Prometheus and Heracles once each. All the human and animal participants are anonymous. They are usually referred to by generic terms; e.g., of humans, Ἄνθρωπος (#1, ℓ.1), Ἀνὴρ γεωργός (#2, ℓ.1), δούλης (#10, ℓ.1), Βοηλάτης (#20, ℓ.1), ἐργάτης (#49, ℓ.1), Εὐνοῦχος (#54, ℓ.1), κυνηγός (#61, ℓ.1), δεσπότης (#80, ℓ.1); of animals, μῦς (#60, ℓ.1), λέων (#67, ℓ.1), Κόραξ (#77, ℓ.1), ἁλώπηξ (#77, ℓ.2). Being anonymous, the participants are indefinite: they are either referred to without the definite article as above[14] or with the indefinite pronominal adjective τὶς, e.g., Ἁλιεύς τις (#9, ℓ.1), Ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖός τις (#15, ℓ.1), Δρυτόμοι τινές (#38, ℓ.1), αἰπόλος δέ τις (#45, ℓ.1), Κορυδαλλὸς...τις (#88, ℓ.1), αἰετῶν τις (#99, ℓ.1), Λύκος τις (#101, ℓ.1), παῖς τις (#116, ℓ.1). In a number of instances

τὶς is used by itself to identify participants; e.g., see fables ## 10, 22, 27, 42, 55, 110, 117, and 129.

It is also of interest to note that a participant occurs as the first word in more than two-thirds of the fables (the noun in 88; preceded by a modifier in 11 more). The following sentences are thus typical fable openings:

Ἄνθρωπος ἦλθεν εἰς ὄρος κυνηγήσων	(#1, ℓ.1)
Ἄνθρωπος ἵππον εἶχε ...	(#7, ℓ.1)
Λέων τις ἐβασίλευεν ...	(#102, ℓ.1)
Μῦς ταῦρον ἔδακεν ...	(#112, ℓ.1)

2. Past Tense. The second formal characteristic of Babrian fables is the use of the past tense to narrate the purported events. Fables are thus not cast as general truths, but as specific episodes which occurred at some unspecified time in the past.[15] The only fable in the entire collection narrated in the present tense is #35, a simile about the natural tendency of all female apes to smother one of their babies with too much attention and ignor the other, which survives. Two other fables, ##67 and 116, employ a mixture of present and past tenses; isolated verbs in the present tense occur in ##32.2, 59.3, 117.5, 118.4, 122.12, and 127.7.[16] With these few exceptions, the rest of the verbs in the 143 fables occur in one of the past tenses.

3. Direct Speech. Another prominent feature of the Babrian fables is the use of direct discourse, which occurs in 118 of of the 143 fables (83%). This feature adds to the realism of the narratives and is attributed to the range of characters discussed above: animals, deities, plants, and, in one instance, a natural phenomenon.[17] Moreover, direct speech occurs as the final element in 111 of the fables (78%). It therefore regularly functions as the conclusion to the fables. In this capacity the direct speech consists of pronouncements or clever sayings which often spell out the point of the fables. While the majority of the 118 fables with direct discourse contain only single usages, in 43 the direct discourse is used in dialogues between two participants.

4. Basis in Daily Life. The setting for the fables is the common life of nature or human society. The major categories from which the Babrian fables are drawn include hunting and fishing (28), farming and herding (20), domestic life (16), and contests and warfare (15). Religion is the setting for only six fables.

C. CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS

A wide variety of forms is included within the Babrian collection. Following is a list with paraphrased examples from each of the sub-types:

1. Fairy Tales.
   - #10: Aphrodite (= a magical fairy) enables an ugly slave girl to win her master's love.
   - #32: Cypris changes a weasel into a beautiful woman (the ending is a reversal of the Cinderella tale).

2. Aetiological Myths.
#66: Why men can see the faults of others, but not their own.
#127: Why the punishment of some evil doers is delayed.
See also ##57, 58, 70, 74.

3. Divine Myths.
#68: An archery contest between Zeus and Apollo.
Cf. ##49, 59, 63.

4. Debates between Two Rivals *(Streitgedicht)*.
#15: A debate between an Athenian and a Theban over whether Theseus or Heracles was greater.
#64: A debate between a fir tree and a bramble over which was the greater.
#65: A debate between a crane and a peacock over who was the greater.
Cf. #18.

5. Apophthegms (with narrative contexts).
#20: An ox-driver's wagon slipped into a ravine. He prayed to Heracles for help. Heracles replied that prayers without self-help are ineffective.
#54: A eunuch asked a haruspex whether he would have children. The haruspex answered that the liver said yes, but the eunuch's face no.
#126: A traveler encountered the goddess Truth in the wilderness. He asked why she had left the city. She replied that falsehood had taken over among mankind.
Cf. #34.

6. Anecdotes.
#22: A middle-aged man had two lovers. The younger one plucked out his white hairs. The older one his black ones. Result: he became bald.
#75: A quack physician told all his patients their illnesses were terminal. On meeting one who had recovered, the physician inquired about the inhabitants of the underworld. His former patient replied that all were contented, but that he had saved the physician from divine punishment: Persephone and Pluto indicted all physicians, but the patient swore that he wasn't one.
See also ##48, 116, 141.

7. Similitudes.
#29: An old race-horse reflected on his demotion to grinding corn.
#39: A lowly crab offered to mediate between the warring dolphins and whales.
#52: A driver chastised his wagon for creaking when the bulls pulling it didn't complain.
See also ##4, 14, 35, 36, 38, 41, 47, 90, 114.

8. Allegories.
#134: 'Once a snake's tail decided that the head ought no longer to go first and refused to follow its lead in creeping along. "Let it be my turn now,"

it said, "to lead the way." "Keep still," said the other members, "how can you lead us, poor wretch, without any eyes or nose, the means by which all living creatures move on their way and guide each limb?" But they could not dissuade the tail from its purpose, and the rational part of the body succumbed to the irrational. Thereafter the hinder parts ruled the foremost. The tail became the leader, dragging the whole body along in blind motion. It fell into a hollow pit and bruised the spine on the sharp rocks. Then the tail, which had been so self-willed before, became submissive and turned to supplication saying: "Mistress head, save us, if you will. 'Twas an evil strife that I ventured on, and evil has been the consequence. If you'll put me where I was at first I'll be more obedient and you'll not worry about getting into trouble again under my leadership."'[18]

(Quoted in full from Perry's translation.)

See also ##40, 102.

9. Controversy Stories.
   #71: A farmer accused the sea of being hostile to man. The sea declared its gentleness and placed the blame for maritime disasters on the winds.

   See also #142.

10. Dialogue.
   #12: A swallow and a nightingale discussed the consequences of the latter's son's untimely death.

11. Parables.
   #131: A young man lost everything gambling. He saved only one garment for the winter. A swallow arrived early from the south. The young man thought spring was at hand so he gambled away his coat. Then a snowstorm struck. The swallow died and the young man was naked and cold. He mourned that the swallow had fooled them both.
   #136: A protective father dreamed that his son would be killed by a lion. He therefore confined him in a beautiful house. The boy's bitterness over his confinement fixed on a picture of a lion. He attacked the picture and was pierced with a splinter which caused an infection and killed him.

   See also ##2, 23, 30, 45, 61, 92, 117, 119, 123, 143.

12. Fables per se. A majority of items (87) in the Babrian collection are fables in the narrow, popular sense of the word: brief stories about the cleverness or stupidity of particular animals. These fables may be divided into narrative and non-narrative sub-groups:

(a) The non-narrative fables are very brief and fall into two types, illustrated proverbs and sayings or verbal exchanges preceded by a minimal setting. An example of the former is #109 which illustrates the admonition to "divide and conquer:"

"Three bulls grazed always in each other's company. A

> lion waiting to prey upon them reckoned that he could not overcome the three together. With crafty words and slanders he brought them into conflict one against another and made them enemies. Thus, by separating each one from his fellows, he made of each an easy meal."
>
> (Perry's translation.)

Most of the non-narrative fables (39) are sayings or verbal exchanges preceded by a minimal setting. For example, #8 is typical of a saying or witty comment:

(1) setting: After loading his camel, an Arab asked whether he preferred the high or low road.
(2) the camel's response: "So the straight road is barred, is it?"

The same form is exhibited in #60:

(1) setting: A mouse fell in a pot of soup.
(2) his dying words: "I've done my eating, and my drinking, I've had my fill of all delights; the time has come for me to die."

Cf. ##17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 51, 56, 67, 80, 82, 83, 87, 96, 99, 101, 113, 133.

A variant of this type is the substitution of a verbal exchange for the saying as in #84:

(1) setting: 'A gnat settled on the curved horn of a bull.
(2) verbal exchange: After lingering there for a moment he said with a buzz: "If I'm weighing down your neck and bending it, I'll go away and sit on that poplar tree yonder by the river." Said the bull: "It doesn't matter to me whether you stay or go; I wasn't aware even of your coming."'

(Perry's translation.)

(b) Animal fables which exhibit some narrative development are also divided into two sub-groups: those with minimal narrative action which culminate in a pronouncement and those which are fully developed narratives. An example of the former is #125:

> 'An ass went up on a housetop and, while capering about, broke the tiles. A man hurried to the scene and brought him down, beating him with a club. The ass, his back still smarting from the blows, protested. "Look," he said, "'twas only yesterday, or the day before, when an ape delighted you by doing this same stunt.'
>
> (Perry's translation.)

Cf. ##85, 91, 93, 104, 118, 139.

Fully developed narrative fables are usually of the "anti-actantial"[19] variety; i.e., the hero's attempt to restore the disrupted social order or rhythm of nature is unsuccessful. In fable #11 an anonymous farmer decided to punish a fox (= the opponent) which was bothering his crops. The farmer's performance of this "contract" was abortive, however, in that he

ended up destroying the crops rather than saving them.

The failure of the hero to dominate the opponent is frequently caused by a surprise happening or unexpected reversal which the hero has not taken into account and which is beyond his power to control. The winner of the cockfight in fable #5 leaped onto the house to proclaim his newly-won position as lord of the barnyard. While he was boasting, an eagle swooped down and carried him off (= the surprise element or twist in the narrative). The "loser" of the fight thus became the "winner" of the hens.

In #5 the surprise element was a twist of fate; in many of the narrative fables it is a trick. In #98, for example, a lion's love for a young girl is aborted by the treachery of her father. The lion agreed to the father's stipulation that his teeth and claws be removed in return for the girl's hand in marriage. After undergoing the surgery, however, the lion was beaten to death by the girl's family. Similarly, in #33 a farmer tricked the birds who were stealing his seed by saying one thing and doing another. (Cf. ##1, 77, 93, 95, 103, 111, 116, 122, 130.)

The function of these reversals is to convey the moral or lesson of the fables: one is expected to learn from the failures or stupidity of the anti-heroes. The danger of notoriety, or the advantage of obscurity (the "first will be last, and the last first"), is conveyed in #31 by the unexpected fact that the chips of mud which distinguished the generals of the mice turned out to be the means of their destruction by the weasels. For fables with a surprise element or reversal of expectation, see also ##2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 23, 26, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 63, 72, 79, 86, 94, 105, 112, 114, 115, 118, 119, 125, 129, 131, 134, 136, 137, 139, 142, 143.

In summary, the narrative fables of Babrius are frequently of the anti-actantial variety in which the failure of the hero is caused by a twist of fate or trick. The failure, in contrast to the expected "happy ending," serves as the basis for the fable's lesson.

NOTES

[1]According to Aristotle's classification, there are two types of rhetorical proofs: (1) enthymemes which are general statements used in deduction and include maxims (γνῶμαι) and proverbs (παροιμίαι) and (2) examples (παραδείγματες) which are specific cases used in induction. Examples are of two kinds, historical and invented; the latter kind is further subdivided into parables (παραβολαί) and fables (λόγοι). The illustrations of parables and fables cited by Aristotle indicate that he distinguished them according to whether the events narrated could actually occur: parables, although invented, could easily have happened while fables are inconceivable in real life. For a more elaborate discussion of Aristotle's rhetorical theory, see George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 96-99.

[2]The claim that parables are related to fables is made in terms of their structures, not contents. When theologians and other intellectual historians have noted parallels between the literatures of different religions, these have usually been parallels of content. The relating of religions in terms of such content parallels is risky for at least two reasons: (1) there is frequently no evidence for the alleged borrowing and (2) even where a particular idea has been borrowed, it is invested with new meaning by the recipient religion. A structural attempt to uncover "parallels" to the parables of Jesus is thus an effort to identify the structures of brief narratives which were ready-to-hand for Jesus, even though he may have been unaware of them. On the distinction between "traditional historical exegesis" and "structural exegesis," see the helpful discussion in Daniel Patte, *What Is Structural Exegesis?* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), Chapter I.

[3]Although later fable collectors, such as Phaedrus, occasionally attributed fables directly to Aesop, there is no historical basis for such claims. [Cf. Ben E. Perry, trans. and ed., "Introduction," *Babrius and Phaedrus* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), xciii-xcvi.] Even the earliest extant citations of fables of Aesop are several centuries removed from his probable dates and likely based on oral tradition. At the most, the theme and not the actual words is preserved. These early citations are: Aristophanes, *Birds*, 471ff.; *Wasps*, 1401ff., 1446ff.; Plato, *Alcibiades*, 123a; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II,20.6; *Meteorologica*, II,3. On the other hand, the majority of the earliest extant fables either are attributed to someone other than Aesop (Aeschylus, *Myrmidons*, Frag. 139; Herodotus, *History*, I,141; Plato, *Phaedo*, 60b-c; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, II,20.5; *Politics*, III,8.2) or are not attributed to anyone (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 202-212; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 716-736; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1142-1149, 1150-1158; Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1427ff., 1435ff.; Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II,7.13f.). The fact that Aesop's name had become identified with the fabulist tradition, even though he was not the first nor the only fable teller, was pointed out in antiquity by Quintilian [*Illae quoque fabellae, quae, etiamsi originem non ab Aesopo acceperunt (nam videtur earum primus auctor Hesiodus), nomine tamen Aesopi maxime celebrantur... (The Institutio Oratoria,* V,xi.19)].

[4]Phaedrus makes an interesting remark on why Aesop spoke in fables in the Prologue to Book III. He claims that, as a slave, Aesop could not speak directly for fear of punishment and thus resorted to fables as a coded form of expression: *Nunc, fabularum cur sit inventum genus, brevi docebo. servitus obnoxia, quia quae volebat non audebat dicere, affectus proprios in fabellas transtulit, calumniamque fictis elusit iocis.* (III, *Prologus*, 33-37.) Therefore, as in parable and apocalyptic literature, the "application" of the fable is left up to the reader or hearer.

[5]For a discussion of the evidence, see Perry, *op. cit.*, xxxv-xlvi.

[6]*Rhetoric*, II.20.

[7]According to Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, V,80, the works of Demetrius included λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί. The possibility of earlier poetic collections of Aesopic fables is suggested by the conversation between Cebes and Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*, 61b, in which Cebes asks Socrates about the rumor that he has been composing poetry, including metrical versions of Aesop's fables and the hymn to Apollo, while in prison (ἐντεῖνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον). Socrates confirms the rumor and explains that, since he is not a poet himself, he has turned the Aesopic fables which he knew into verse (ἡπιστάμην μύθους τοὺς Αἰσώπου). This is the earliest reference to a collection of Aesopic fables composed for their own sake and not as isolated illustrations in larger prose works.

[8]See Ben E. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables," *TAPA* 93 (1962), 287-346, for a discussion of the use of Demetrius' collection by Graeco-Roman authors.

[9]Cf. Ben E. Perry, "The Origin of the Epimythium," *TAPA* 71 (1940), 408-412.

[10]Perry, "Introduction," *Babrius and Phaedrus*, xv-xvi.

[11]For the known details of Phaedrus' life and work, see *ibid.*, lxxiii-xcvi.

[12]Babrius makes this claim in the preface to Book II: τὸν μυθίαμβον ... ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ πρώτου τῆς θύρης ἀνοιχθείσης (ll. 8-9).

[13]Babrius identifies himself as a tutor to the son of a "King Alexander" (cf. Josephus, *The Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, 140) in the preface to Book II.

[14]Apart from the named deities, the definite article occurs in the initial identification of participants in only two fables:

Ὁ τελμάτων ἔνοικος ὁ σικῆ χαίρων,
ὁ ζῶν ὀρυκτοῖς βάτραχος παρ' εὐρίποις, (#120, ll. 1-2)

Αἱ δρῦς [to indicate plurality] (#142, l. 1)

[15]In his introduction to *Babrius and Phaedrus*, xix-xxii, B. E. Perry distinguishes between two traditions in the ancient world for picturing universal truths: that of Greece and western Asia, including the Hebrew *mashal*, which uses short narratives in the past tense with specific characters, and that of western Europe and Egypt which employs general precepts in the present tense or imperative mood for the same purpose. He quotes Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.*, II, 906f., on this distinction: "Orientalisch ist ... die Form: 'Einem schenkte man einem Esel und er schaute ihm auf die Zähne', occidentalisch die Form: 'Einem geschenkten Gaul schaut man nicht ins Maul.' Durch diese Eigentümlichkeit scheidet sich das byzantinisch-neugriechisch-südslavisch-orientalische Sprichwort prinzipiell von den abendländischen." (xxi, n. 1.) On the basis of this distinction, it is clear that the Solomonic Proverbs belong to

the Egyptian, rather than Semitic, type, whereas the Aesopic fables and Gospel parables issue from the other tradition. For Near Eastern parallels to the Aesopic fables, see E. I. Gordon, "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1960) XVII, 122-152. Babrius himself credits the ancient "Syrians" with the invention of the fable:

> Μῦθος μέν, ὦ παῖ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου,
> Σύρων παλαιῶν ἐστιν εὕρεμ' ἀνθρώπων,
> οἳ πρίν ποτ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ Νίνου τε καὶ βήλου.
> (Introduction to Book II, ll. 1-3.)

[16]The present verb φησί(ν) also frequently occurs, but is used in a past sense.

[17]The only "fantastic" element in the fables is the attribution of speech to non-humans. In other respects the fables are realistic and usually quite credible as happenings from everyday life. After mentioning the three ages of man (Golden, Silver, and Iron), Babrius explains that all animate beings enjoyed the capacity of speech in the first one:

> ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ χρυσῆς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ζῴων
> φωνὴν ἔναρθρον εἶχε καὶ λόγους ἤδει
> οἵους περ ἡμεῖς μυθέομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
> (Prologue to Book I, ll. 5-7.)

[18]The more common version of this fable is the limbs' quarrel with the body which occurs in Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, II,3.18; Cicero, *De Officiis*, III,v,22; Livy, II,32,8-12; and 1 Cor 12:12. It is also referred to by Quintilian in the *Institutio Oratoria*, V,xi.19.

[19]The structural terminology is taken from Daniel Patte, *op. cit.*, Chapter III.

S 149 GREEK PATRISTIC PARABLES

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0. This paper offers a survey of the parables used in the writings of the Greek Fathers in the period roughly corresponding to the Tannaitic period of rabbinic literature, i.e., before about 200. It is not concerned with patristic citations or allusions to the Gospel parables, which can be conveniently located and studied by reference to Allenbach (1975), but with the Fathers' utilization or original creation of nonbiblical specimens. The patristic writings searched through include those of the Apostolic Fathers (1 and 2 Clement, the received texts of Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, Barnabas, Hermas, Diognetus, and fragments of Papias), the second century Apologists (Aristides, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Melito), and Irenaeus (Haereses and Demonstration). No attempt was made to encompass all versions and fragments which exist only in Syriac, Coptic, or other translations; most anonymous works; apocryphal and pseudepigraphical scriptures; or heretical writings. But some items of interest which may antedate the sources in which they are found have been included.

1. A crucial question in any such study is what sort of items to collect as parables. It would be a formidable, but not very useful task to gather every kind of didactic illustration or proof by analogy, example, or narrative, such as Clement's use of natural phenomena to teach harmonious regularity and submission (1 Clement 20) or to prove the resurrection of the dead (ibid., 24). Indeed, there is something qualitatively different from parable, as usually understood, in Clement's use of the Phoenix bird phenomenon to prove the reasonableness of the Resurrection doctrine (ibid., 25-26); it seems clear that the author regards the Phoenix as neither myth nor edifying tale, but as sober scientific truth, much as a modern preacher might use some striking item from a current news magazine. We must also regard as outside our territory anecdotes and example stories which appeal for the emulation of known personages (e.g., 1 Clement 55).

1.2 The search here is twofold. First, it seeks to collect items which most closely resemble those items in the Gospels and in the rabbinic literature which are called parables (parabolai, mešalim), since the latter are relatively easy to identify objectively on morphological and terminological grounds (Johnston, 1976:341-43; 1977:159-66). Second, it takes note of what the Fathers themselves call parables (or equivalent expressions). This latter criterion for inclusion works less satisfactorily for the patristic literature than for the rabbinic, for the former is more diverse in cultural and literary affiliations than the latter, which is comparatively more homogenous. A presumably Jewish-Christian author, for example, will have greater affinity for distinctly Palestinian genres than will one imbued with a thoroughly Hellenic style. It must also be borne in mind that the terms parabolē, symbolon, and their cognate forms have even a broader range of meanings than the Hebrew mašal (see Lampe ad loc.). It will be the policy

to concentrate on those items especially which lie within the area where these two potentially divergent criteria appear to converge or at least begin to approach each other.

1.3 Negatively, one thing more needs to be said. The Greek Fathers no more than other Graeco-Roman authors appeared to feel themselves bound by Aristotle's canons and categories (cf. Aristotle Rhetoric 2.20), as was shown long ago by Lagrange (1909:202-12).

2. An inspection of our chosen corpus for the presence of parables, as defined above, does not yield an abundant collection, though even a negative result has interesting implications.

2.1 Both the epistle ascribed to Clement of Rome and the homily which is less plausibly attributed to him share our first item of interest: the similitude of The Grape Harvest (1 Clement 23:3-4 and 2 Clement 11:2-5). Following Grant and Graham (1965:48-49), we here place literal translations of the two versions in parallel columns. The portions quoted by Clement/Pseudo-Clement as "scripture" are inclosed in quotation marks, and the parable proper is set off by slashes from the illustrand which precedes it and the application which follows it.

1 Clement

Far be from us this scripture
where it says:
"Wretched are the double-minded
who doubt in their soul
and say: These things we heard
even in the time
of our fathers, and behold,
we have grown old, and none of
them has happened to us.
O foolish men, / Compare
yourselves with a tree;
take a vine;
first it sheds its leaves,
then there comes a bud,
then a leaf, then a flower,
and after these an unripe grape
then the full bunch."
You see how in a little time
the fruit of the tree
comes to ripeness. /
Truly his will shall be quickly
and suddenly accomplished.

For also the prophetic word
says:
"Wretched are the double-minded
who doubt in their heart
and say: "These things we heard
long ago and in the time
of our fathers, but waiting from
day to day we have seen none of
them.
Foolish men, / Compare
yourselves with a tree;
take a vine;
first it sheds its leaves,
then there comes a bud,

after these an unripe grape,
then the full bunch.
So also my people has had
tumults and afflictions;
then it will receive good things." /
So, my brethren, let us not be
double-minded, but let us be patient
in hope, that we may also receive
the reward.

The source of the quotation, introduced as hē graphē hautē and ho prophētikos logos, remains unknown, but it is clearly Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalyptic. The formula which introduces the parable proper is distinctly reminiscent of the earlier and less stereotyped formulae which introduce rabbinic mešalim, for συμβάλετε ἑαυτοις ξύλῳ almost certainly represents המשילו לעץ or perhaps נמשלתם לעץ. This item is therefore a mašal of the general situation type (Gleichnis). (Cf. Johnston, 1977:515-18.)

For the rest, the Clementine epistles are devoid of any other items which could clearly be called parables, although

there are some metaphors which approach such a status, such as The Cheater in a Contest (2 Clement 7:4-5) and The Unbaked Clay (ibid., 8:1-3), in the latter of which the familiar trope of Potter and Clay (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Paul, Testament of Naphtali, etc.) is given a clever new application:

> Let us repent then while we are on the earth. / For we are clay in the hand of the workman; for just as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be bent or broken in his hand, models it afresh, but if he has come so far as to put it into the fiery oven, he can do nothing to mend it any more; / so also are we, as long as we are in this world let us repent with all our heart of the wicked deeds which we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have a time for repentance. For after we have departed from the world, we can no longer make confession, or repent any more in that place.

2.2 Whatever may be said by Danielou and others of the Jewish characteristics of the epistles of Ignatius, the Antiochian bishop's literary affinity is clearly with the Pauline corpus, and not with the Gospels or the rabbinic literature. It is therefore no surprise that while Ignatius is rich in effective metaphors (such as the musical metaphor in Ephesians 4:1-2 and Philadelphians 1:2), he presents us with not a single parable, properly so-called. Perhaps the item which most closely approaches our genre is that of the two coinages (Magnesians 5:2), assuming it to involve an allusion to Mt 22:19-21:

> Just as there are two coinages, the one of God, the other of the world, and each has its own stamp impressed on it, so the unbelievers bear the stamp of this world, and the believers the stamp of God the Father in love through Jesus Christ . . .

To be an acceptable parable this simile would have to be considerably recast, perhaps along such lines as these:

> All people confronted with the two choices of eternal consequence are like two coinages, one which is God's and one which is the world's, bearing the stamp of God or of Caesar. / Even so, unbelievers bear the stamp of the world and believers the stamp of God.

Even thus, the tropic character is not as strong as in a typical parable. The same is true of the passage in which church officers are called typoi of God and the heavenly council (Trallians 3:1).

2.3 Polycarp's letter to the Philippians reads almost like a florilegium of brief quotations and allusions to Christian scriptures, but there is no parable at all. Polycarp's only object lesson is Jesus Christ, and his supreme didactic concern is the imitatio Christi (8:1-2); even metaphors are few, and pedestrian.

2.4 The Syro-Palestinian flavor of the Didachē would lead us to expect of it more in the line of Palestinian type parables, but in this we are disappointed. While the Eucharistic prayers are richly metaphorical (chs. 9, 10), nowhere is there a proper parable.

2.5 Pseudo-Barnabas, which is generally recognized as the work of a converted Jew who holds a hostile view of Judaism, might be expected to utilize some of the teaching techniques of his rabbinic enemies or of Jesus, but he has neglected the art

of parabling in the classic sense of the gospels and the rabbis. He has much to say about types (cf. 6:11) and delights in allegorical interpretations and gematria; it is in this sense that he uses the term parabolai (6:10; 17:2), of these Old Testament features which he believes he can decode, or perhaps of other mysteries. This usage corresponds to the use of mašal/mathla in the sense of chidah, riddle or dark saying--an older meaning seen, e.g., in Prov 1:6 and in 1 Enoch 37-71 (the latter passage apparently being an addition to Enoch made in the Christian era, according to new information reported by Black:5-8).

2.6 Hermas presents us with a special case. In the group of writings customarily designated as the Apostolic Fathers, all of the occurrences of the word parabolē, aside from the above two references in Barnabas, are to be seen in Hermas, some twenty-nine references. About a third of these instances are merely as part of titles in the third division of the Shepherd.

The meaning of parabolē is akin to that in 1 Enoch and cousin to that in Barnabas. The "parables" of Hermas are apocalyptic visions in need of interpretation; each is a raz requiring a pešer. They are like the visions of the canonical Apocalypse, where they are not, however, called parabolai. Thus, where Barnabas, corresponding to the usage in Heb 9:9, sees his scriptural razim related to his pešarim as type to antitype (cf. Qumran pešarim), or possibly as ectype to archetype, the razim of Hermas are deliberately symbolic or allegorical visions to start with, and like the visions of the Apocalypse they point to spiritual or historical realities in heaven or in the future (it is not always clear which), or even a present spiritual situation on earth. Barnabas and Hermas have this in common, that for both a parabolē is something that must be decoded to be understood.

This is seen early in the work, in the first series of visions, concerning The Building of a Tower (Vis. 3: 2:4 ff.). Hermas sees but understands none of it, and when he beseeches the Lady who revealed the vision to him for an explanation of it, she introduces her explanation thus: "Hear then the parables of the tower . . ." (3:3:2). The tower being built, she says, is herself, the Church. She invites Hermas to ask about details of the vision, which she explains one by one.

The same is true of the visions concerning The Ancient Lady. The interpretations is introduced, "Hear also this parable" (Vis. 3:12:1). Strictly speaking, it seems to be the pešer which is called parabolē, the raz being referred to as apokalypsis, but this manner of expression simply parallels that of Mt 13:18--"Hear the parable" means "Hear the interpretation." If Hermas is influenced by the gospels in some of his formulary, it is striking that his understanding of the parabolic genre has moved in the direction it has, into a high degree of artificiality. Perhaps he understood the parables of Jesus in a similar way, as mysterious razim whose meaning must be supernaturally revealed. Vis. 5:5, 6 seems to indicate that parabolē is used broadly to refer to the symbolic vision together with its interpretation.

In Mand. 11:18 one finds an item which seems midway between a rabbinic parable of the Gleichnis type and a Zen koan:

> Hear then the parable which I am about to tell you: Take a stone and throw it up to Heaven and see if you can touch it; or take a syringe and squirt it towards the sky, and see if you can make a hole in the Heaven.

To which Hermas protests: "How, sir can these things be? For both these things which you have spoken of are impossible" (11:19; cf. Jn 3:9, 4). Hermas' angelic shepherd then supplies an application in form typical of the Palestinian mešalim: "Even as these are impossible, so also are the earthly spirits without power and feeble." He then continues with a pair of what are really complementary parables about "the power which comes from above." Likewise Mand. 10:1:1 begins a series of riddles called parabolai which deal in fact with the spiritual prerequisites for understanding parables.

The ten parabolai of the third division, as Hermas enumerated them, are generally of the same nature as those of the first division, except that the so-called tenth contains no distinct vision or parable, merely forming the conclusion of the work. The specific visions, or "parables," such as that of The Vine and The Elm (Sim. 2:1 ff.) are generally allegories needing decoding. Some may be only half visionary: in the instance just referred to, the narrative seems to imply that Hermas saw an actual vine and elm, but the interpretation was supplied by the angel shepherd who appeared to him (cf. Jer. 1: 11).

Though some aspects of the Hermas parabolai are variable and fluid, so that some may almost approach the parables of the gospels and rabbis, while others approach the "parables" of 1 Enoch, the general characteristics seem clear enough: they are visionary, symbolic, requiring decoding, and having multiple tertia comparationis. Some are relatively short similes, but most are rather long and detailed. All are didactic in purpose, in a broad sense, inculcating a duty or imparting supernatural information.

2.7 The anonymous Epistle to Diognetus is a composite work, with the last two chapters quite possibly having been composed after our period, but it matters little, for there are no parables in it. The closest approximation is the analogy stated in 6:1, "What the soul is in the body, that the Christians are in the world," which analogy is worked out and applied in detail in the remainder of the chapter.

3. This epistle, though counted among the so-called Apostolic Fathers, properly belongs to the genre and the period of the Apologists, to which we now turn.

3.1 Apart from those known only by fragmentary citations in Origen, Eusebius, or other later writers, perhaps the earliest Christian apology now extant is that of Aristides of Athens, to be dated in the first half of the second century. It survives in Syriac, but the original Greek text--with perhaps an undeterminable amount of modification--is imbedded within Barlaam and Joasaph, a novel traditionally ascribed to John of Damascus (Goodspeed and Grant:97-98; Quasten:192), as chapter 27. Aristides cites much pagan mythology, in order to ridicule it, but there are no proper parables.

3.2 Perhaps the greatest of the second century Apologists was Justin, who addresses paganism in his two Apologies and Judaism in his Dialogue with Trypho. His Apologies expand

upon the pattern seen in Aristides, as do all the Greek apologists, but perhaps their inspiration ultimately derives from Paul's speech in Acts 17:22-31.

3.21 In the First Apology there are no true parables, but there are some arguments from analogy comparable to those in 1 Clement. Thus Justin argues for the resurrection of the body from the amazing fact that the body comes into being from a minute sperm (1 Apol. 19).

Perhaps the closest thing to a parable in the Apologies is Justin's use of the myth of The Choice of Heracles (2 Apol. 11), which he attributes to Xenophon, although Xenophon says he took it from an essay of Prodicus, "On Heracles" (Xenophon Memorabilia 2.1.21-33). Justin has greatly abridged the story:

> Heracles, said Xenophon, came to a place where three roads met, and there he found Virtue and Vice, who appeared to him in the guise of women. And Vice, in a costly and seductive dress, with an expression made alluring by such adornments, and being instantly fascinating to look at, said to Heracles that if he would follow her, she would see to it that his whole life would be one of pleasure and that he would be arrayed in the most brilliant finery, such as she herself was then wearing. And Virtue, who was loathsome in appearance and dress, said: But if you obey me, you will be adorned, not with passing and perishable ornaments or beauty, but with everlasting and precious ornaments. / Indeed, we believe that the one who avoids what only appears to be good and strives for what is considered difficult and unreasonable, will attain happiness. For Vice, to disguise her own actions, appropriated the qualities of Virtue which really are excellent, by imitating what is incorruptible (for Vice neither possesses nor is able to effect incorruptibility) and enslaves low-minded men, attributing her own evil habits to Virtue. But, those who have understood the things that really are good are also unspoiled in virtue. Such persons, every intelligent man should conclude, were the Christians, the athletes, and those who performed the deeds which the poets narrate of the so-called gods [such as Heracles]; and this conclusion should be drawn from the fact that we Christians scorn escaping from death.

It is instructive to observe the ways in which Justin has modified and used this story. (1) He has radically abbreviated it. (2) He has added an explicit application, which the original lacked, though its moral was clear enough from the speeches of Virtue, and he has specifically applied it to his own Sitz im Leben. (3) He has ascribed it to the last known author, Xenophon, rather than to the original author, Prodicus. How much modification is involved in the abbreviation can be seen by comparing the beginning of the story as it appears in Xenophon:

> When Heracles was passing from boyhood to youth's estate, wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or the path of vice, he went out into a quiet place, and sat pondering which road to take. And there appeared two women of great stature making towards him. The one was fair to see (euprepē idein) and of high bearing; and her limbs were adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty; sober was her figure, and her robe was white. The other was plump and soft, with high feeding. Her face was made up to heighten its natural white and pink, her figure to exaggerate her height. Open-eyed was she; and dressed so as to disclose all her charms. Now she eyed herself; anon looked whether any noticed her; and often stole a glance at her own shadow.

The feminine hypostatizations of Virtue and Vice are here contrasted, to be sure, but Justin greatly heightened the contrast by describing the appearance of Virtue as loathsome (en auchmerō . . . ousan) rather than fair to see. This modification is in harmony with Justin's heightened application: for Xenophon the way of Virtue was toil, but for Justin it was death.

When Justin attributed this story to Xenophon (who had ascribed it to Prodicus), the process of later attribution parallels that of the Rabbis, who often merely indicated the teacher from whom they heard a saying or parable, without attempting to determine the earliest source.

3.22 When we turn to the Dialogue--the intended audience of which is not clear, whether Jews, Christians who were attracted by Judaism or who were considered Judaizers, or Christians who needed to be equipped to carry on disputation with Jews or evangelism among them (cf. Stylianopoulos:33-44)--we might expect to find ourselves closer to the semitic world which produced the classic parables/1/, but our expectations meet with only small reward. Justin uses the term "parable" twelve times in the Dialogue--it is the only work in which he uses it--but without exception it is always with the meaning of Pseudo-Barnabas, referring to Old Testament passages which are to be understood typologically, which cannot be done without much labor or special spiritual insight. They are riddles or dark sayings of the prophets which pointed forward to the Antitype, a distinctly Christian usage.

3.221 A typical passage demonstrating Justin's idea of parable is in Dialogue 90:2--

> 'You know,' I said, 'as you admitted to us, that what the Prophets said or did they often expressed in parables and types, thus hiding the truth they held, so that it is not easy for all to understand most of what they taught, but only those who labor to find out and learn.

"Parable" is often coordinated with other terms which Justin appears to use as interchangeable synonyms, such as "types" in the above passage, "mysteries" (68:6), "symbols" (ibid.), "figurative speech" (tropologia, 114:2), and "similitudes" (homoiōseis, 77:4). "In parables" is three times coupled with "obscurely" (apokekalymmenōs, 68:6; parakekalymmenōs, 52:1; apokekrymmenōs, 115:1). A typical statement is, "David in the twenty-first Psalm thus refers to the suffering and to the cross in a parable of mystery" (en parabolē mystēriōdeis, 97:3). A comparison of Dial. 114:2 and 123:8 makes clear that for Justin parabolē and tropologia are completely interchangeable. Another typical statement is, "I have shown that Christ was proclaimed by the prophets in parables a Stone and a Rock" (113:6; cf. 36:2 and 63:2). The idea of pešer is in 68:6.

The gospel type of parable is not to be found in the Dialogue, except when Justin quotes a gospel parable (as in Dial. 125, where Mt 13:3 is cited).

3.23 Three substantial fragments of a treatise On the Resurrection have been preserved by John of Damascus and ascribed to Justin, but their authenticity is questioned (Quasten: 205). It is a pity, for they bring us closer to the classic parabolic genre. Illustrating Stoic doctrine, ch. 6 has:

> Like as if a man shall make a composition of gold and silver, and brass and tin, and then shall wish to dissolve it again, so that each

> element exist separately, having again mixed them, he may, if he pleases, make the very same composition as he had formerly made.

It is an illustrative analogy, much like many rabbinic parables.

Of special interest in this treatise is ch. 7, which deals with the question whether the body causes the soul to sin, which has several parallels in rabbinic literature and other patristic literature; for virtually the standard way to deal with the ethical conundrum of dualistic anthropology, viz., why the soul should be punished for what the body does, or vice versa, was to parable a parable. Here again illustrand, parable proper, and application are separated by slashes:

> Quite true, say they; yet the flesh is a sinner, so much so, that it forces the soul to sin along with it. And thus they vainly accuse it, and lay to its charge alone the sins of both. But in what instance can the flesh possibly sin by itself, if it have not the soul going before it and inciting it? / For as in the case of a yoke of oxen, if one or the other is loosed from the yoke, neither of them can plow alone. / So neither can soul or body alone effect anything, if they be unyoked from their communion.

With this one may compare the well-known rabbinic parable of The Lame and Blind Caretakers (Mekilta Shirata 2; B. T. Sanhedrin 91a-b; Leviticus Rabbah 4:5):

> Antoninus said to Rabbi: The body and the soul can both free themselves from judgment. Thus the body can plead: The sould has sinned, (the proof being that) from the day it left me I lie like a dumb stone in the grave. And the soul can say: The body has sinned, (the proof being that) from the day I departed from it I fly about in the air like a bird. / He said: I will parable to thee a parable. Unto what is the matter like? It is like unto a king of flesh and blood who had a beautiful orchard (pardes) which contained splendid figs. And he placed in it two keepers, one lame and the other blind.. The lame man said to the blind: I see beautiful figs in the orchard. Come and take me upon they shoulder, that we may procure and eat them. So the lame man bestrode the blind, procured and ate them. Some time after, the owner of the orchard came and said to them: Where are those beautiful figs? The lame man replied: Have I then feet to walk with? The blind man replied: Have I then eyes to see with? What did he do? He placed the lame upon the blind and judged them both together as one. / Also will the Holy One, blessed be He, bring the soul, replace it in the body, and judge them together, as it is written: HE SHALL CALL TO THE HEAVENS FROM ABOVE, AND TO THE EARTH, THAT HE MAY JUDGE HIS PEOPLE (Ps 50:4). HE SHALL CALL TO THE HEAVENS FROM ABOVE--this refers to the soul; AND TO THE EARTH, THAT HE MAY JUDGE HIS PEOPLE--to the body.

Athenagoras (Supplication 36; Resurrection 20) addresses the same problem without using a parable, but Epiphanius Haereses 64 has a parallel to the rabbinic parable (cf. James:236 ff.). Cf. Tertullian De resurr. carn. 14-16.

3.3 Justin's Syrian disciple Tatian, from whom we have an Apology, his Discourse to the Greeks, uses a number of lively similes, but only one of them seems substantial enough even to approach being a similitude:

> For, as the inhuman robber is wont to overpower those like himself by daring; / so the demons, going to great lengths in wickedness, have utterly deceived the souls among you which are left to themselves by ignorance and false appearances. (Tatian Discourse 14.)

3.4 Athenagoras of Athens has left us an Apology, his

Supplication for the Christians, and a treatise On the Resurrection of the Dead. He uses some effective analogies, as when of the Bible writers he says "the Spirit used them just as a flute player blows on a flute" (Supplication 9), but he has no proper parables. He uses the term paroimia once, but in the sense of proverb (Supplication 34), referring to the one which said, "The harlot reproves the chaste." He makes much of the pagan mythology and knows of the allegorizations of it (Supplication 22); and he offers at least one rather extended metaphor (Resurrection 1):

> For the farmer could not properly cast the seed into the ground, unless he first extirpated the wild wood, and whatever would be hurtful to the good seed; nor the physician introduce any wholesome medicines into the body that needed his care, if he did not previously remove the disease within, or stay that which was approaching. / Neither surely can he who wishes to teach the truth persuade any one by speaking about it, so long as there is a false opinion lurking in the mind of his hearers, and barring the entrance of his arguments.

But that is all.

3.5 Theophilus Ad Autolycum argues from analogies (e.g., the eyes of the body and the eyes of the soul, 1.2; the pilot of a ship and the Governor of the universe, 1.5; etc.), but few of them take on the dimensions of a parabolic similitude. Perhaps one which begins to approach such a nature is 2.26:

> For just as a vessel, when on being fashioned it has some flaw, is remolded or remade, that it may become new and entire; so also it happens to man by death. For somehow or other he is broken up, that he may rise in the resurrection whole; I mean spotless, and righteous, and immortal.

But there is nothing which Theophilus calls parable, and nothing quite like the parables of gospels or rabbis, whether Parabel or Gleichnis.

3.6 Melito of Sardis is an admirable stylist, but he uses no parables of the gospel or rabbinic kind. For him "parable" has precisely the same meaning as for Justin (and Barnabas): parabolē is synonymous with typos (On the Pasch 40), the latter being his usual term (ibid. 3, 7, 41, 42, 46), along with mystērion (2, 61, 65). He regards the Old Testament as a thesaurus of types which meet their antitypes in the New Testament.

4. We close the second century with Irenaeus. This bishop of Lyons is a witness to the curious phenomenon that the Gnostics interpreted the parables of Jesus in a manner analogous to the way the orthodox interpreted the Old Testament; in Haereses 1.1.3 (cf. 1.8.4) he informs us, "They maintain also, that these thirty Aeons are most plainly indicated in the parable of The Laborers in the Vineyard," and after reporting on the Gnostic exegesis he adds:

> . . . While they maintain that these are great, and wonderful, and hitherto unspeakably mysteries which it is their special function to develop; and so they proceed when they find anything in the multitude of things contained in the Scriptures which they can adopt and accomodate to their baseless speculations.

"They strive," he says, "to weave ropes of sand, while they endeavor to adapt with an air of probability to their own peculiar

assertions the parables of the Lord, the sayings of the prophets, and the words of the apostles . . ." (Haer. 1.8.1). To illustrate this point, Irenaeus produces a parable of his own:

> Their manner of acting is just as if one, when a beautiful image of a king has been constructed by some skillful artist out of precious jewels, should then take this likeness of the man all to pieces, should rearrange the gems, and so fit them together as to make them into the form of a dog or of a fox, and even that but poorly executed; and should then maintain and declare that this was the beautiful image of the king which the skillful artist constructed, pointing to the jewels which had been admirably fitted together by the first artist to form the image of the king, but have been with bad effect transferred by the latter one to the shape of a dog, and by thus exhibiting the jewels, should deceive the ignorant who had no conception of what a king's form was like, and persuade them that that miserable likeness of the fox was, in fact, the beautiful image of the king. / In like manner do these persons patch together old wives' fables, and then endeavor, by violently drawing away from their proper connection, words, expressions, and parables whenever found, to adapt the oracles of God to their baseless fictions. (Ibid.)

It is not a disreputable parable, and formally it follows the typical pattern of Palestinian specimens, with illustrand, narrative, and application. The narrative here appears to be general situation similitude (present tense), but could as well have been expressed as typical event (past tense); in the rabbinic items this distinction is thoroughly blurred.

A somewhat similar item is what we may call the parable of The Two Iron Tools (Haer. 2.30.5), an equally satirical piece. Irenaeus does not actually label such items "parables," and they are not numerous.

Irenaeus probably shared with his Gnostic opponents, as well as with earlier Church Fathers, the use of the term "parable" to refer to a raz or enigma, whether scriptural, visionary, or mythic; it is common usage when he refers to the visions of Daniel as parables: "They maintain that Daniel also set forth the same thing when he begged of the angels explanations of the parables, as being himself ignorant of them" (Haer. 1.19.2). But Irenaeus is wary of the kind of pešarim produced by the Gnostics; "parables" and obscure scriptures are to be interpreted in the light of what is plain, not the reverse (Haer. 2.27.1-3).

Apart from his fulsome reporting of Gnostic mythology, if "parables" such may be called, Irenaeus has no non-biblical parables, and he creates but few of his own; but in the fact of having produced even a few, perhaps by accident, he is virtually unique among the Fathers of the period studied.

5. As an addendum to the foregoing survey it may be permitted to adduce some parabolic specimens from a source composed or compiled several centuries after our period, on the grounds that the work is notoriously plagiaristic and incorporates materials from much earlier sources: the pious novel traditionally ascribed to John of Damascus, Barlaam and Joasaph. The story of the Indian prince who is one of the two central heroes is lifted directly from Buddhist tradition, and it has already been noted that the Apology of Aristides is incorporated into the narrative. There are an even ten parables in this romance, many of which formally reflect rabbinic parabolic patterns, while as to content many have an Aesopic flavor.

These items are: The King's Brother and The Trumpet of Death (6.41-42), The Four Caskets (6.43-44), The Fowler and the Nightingale (10.79-82), The Man and the Unicorn (12.112-113), The Man and his Three Friends (13.114-117), The King for One Year (14.118-121), The King and His Counsellor That Went Abroad (16.135-139), The Rich Youth and the Beggar Maid (16.140--17.143), The Tame Gazelle Herding with the Wild (18.157), Smoking Out Bees (19.171), Devils That Deceive Men (30:268-269). Most of these items are rather long, but as an example we may cite The Fowler and the Nightingale (10.79-82):

> But idolaters--to whom shall I compare them, and to what likeness shall I liken their silliness? Well, I will set before thee an example which I heard from the lips of the most wise.
>
> Idol worshippers, said he, are like a fowler who caught a tiny bird, called nightingale. He took a knife, for to kill and eat her; but the nightingale, being given the power of articulate speech, said to the fowler; Man, what advantageth it thee to slay me? For thou shalt not be able by my means to fill thy belly. Now free me of my fetters, and I will give thee three precepts, by the keeping of which thou shalt be greatly benefitted all thy life long. He, astonished at her speech, promised that, if he heard anything new from her, he would quickly free her from her captivity. The nightingale turned towards our friend and said: Never try to attain to the unattainable; never regret the thing past and gone; and never believe the world that passes belief. Keep these three precepts, and may it be well with thee. The man, admiring the lucidity and sense of her words, freed the bird from her captivity, and sent her forth aloft. She, therefore, desirous to know whether the man had understood the force of her words, and whether he had gleaned any profit therefrom, said, as she flew aloft: Shame, sir, on thy fecklessness! What a treasure thou hast lost today! For I have inside me a pearl larger than an ostrich-egg. When the fowler heard thereof, he was distraught with grief, regretting that the bird had escaped out of his hands. And he would fain have taken her again. Come hither, he said, into my house; I would make thee right welcome, and send thee forth with honor. But the nightingale said unto him: Now know thee to be a mighty fool. Though thou didst receive my words readily and gladly, thou hast gained no profit thereby. I bade thee never regret the thing past and gone; and behold, thou art distraught with grief because I have escaped out of thy hands--there thou regrettest a thing past and gone. I charged thee not to try to attain to the unattainable, and thou triest to catch me, though thou canst not attain to my path. Besides which, I bade thee never believe a word past belief, and behold, thou hast believed that I had inside me a pearl exceeding the measure of my size, and hadst not the sense to see that my whole body doth not attain to the bulk of ostrich eggs. How then could I contain such a pearl?
>
> Thus senseless, then, are also they that trust in idols; for these be their handiwork, and they worship that which their fingers made, saying: These be our creators. How then deem they their creators those which have been formed and fashioned by themselves? Nay more, they safeguard their gods, lest they be stolen by thieves, and yet they call them guardians of their safety. And yet what folly not to know that they, which be unable to guard and aid themselves, can in no wise guard and save others!

Several points are to be noted in this item. It is not actually labeled parabolē, but the introductory formula uses the verbs homoioō and paristēmi, and the nouns eikōn and hypodeigma. Yet some or all of these terms may reflect maśal/mathla, or its verbal form. The parable begins with the form Homoioi eisin . . . , which corresponds to the rabbinic nimšlū l . . . or simply l . . . All this is like such gospel parabolic formulae as those which introduce The Children in the Market Place

(Mt 11:16 ff. and Lk 7:31 ff.). In spite of the Jewish flavor of the formulary, the story itself must come from a collection of fables, perhaps of Aesop or Kybisses, which is ultimately of Greek or Indian provenience. Its original setting and application must have been quite different from the purpose to which it is put here. When the narrator says that he heard this parable "from the lips of one most wise," this acknowledgment is the author's way of indicating that he is borrowing from another source; a similar device is employed to acknowledge indebtedness for the Apology which has turned out to be from Aristides (27.254). What we may very well have here, then, is the incorporation into a Christian tale of a rabbinic adaptation of a Hellenistic fable ultimately of Indian origin. Rabbinic application of such fables, dressed up in the formulary of the authochthonous masal, are fairly common, as for example Akiba's story of The Fox and the Fishes (B. T. Berakoth 61b).

6. Our net has brought up a number of eels and mollusks, but very few fish. Several of the analogies used by the Fathers are figures essentially like the example which Aristotle called a parable (Rhet. 2.20), but the Fathers never call them such. What the Fathers do call parables are Old Testament types (after the manner of Heb 9:9) or, in the case of Hermas, symbolic visions (after the manner of apocalyptic literature such as 1 Enoch). But as for parables of the gospel and rabbinic type, whether the past-tense typical event narrative kind (Parabel) or the present-tense general situation similitude kind (Gleichnis), there are no original specimens except for a small number of possible items in Irenaeus, and the only nonbiblical specimens which are cited probably come from Palestinian sources: a similitude from an unknown apocalyptic work, some rabbinic adaptations of fables, and the like. Justin's borrowing from Xenophon/Prodicus of the allegory about Virtue and Vice stands on the fringes.

How are we to account for this astonishing lack? Our writers were all familiar with the gospel parables, and some of them, perhaps by disputation, knew rabbinic modes of teaching and argumentation/2/. Yet they did not develop the art of parabling, or acquire a taste for it. Could it be that they instinctively felt that their efforts would suffer by comparison with the well-known parables of Jesus? Could it be that the art of parabling could not be successfully transplanted outside of Palestine (the Babylonian rabbis offer us hardly a single example of a parable)? Could it be that these Fathers wrote in Greek/3/? A satisfactory answer to these questions must await a fuller investigation.

NOTES

/1/ Jerome remarked: "It is common among the Syrians, and especially the Palestinians, to connect parables to all their discourses, so that that which is not grasped by the listeners might through simple precept be grasped, through similitudes and examples" (In Mat. 18.23).

/2/ Justin's prototypical Jewish antagonist, whether literal or composite fiction, bears the name of Rabbi Tarphon, a third generation Tanna who is credited in the rabbinic literature with a few parables.

/3/ An investigation of Syriac Christian literature might be more fruitful. Parables of the rabbinic type can be seen, for example, in The Disputation of Sergius the Stylite Against a Jew 20.1.

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S 150 THE METAPHORICAL PROCESS IN MATTHEW 20:1-15*

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I. The metaphorical dimension of Jesus' parables

1. Prefatory remarks

The most recent phase of research on the parables is characterized by an ever greater use of the criteria of modern literary studies in the analysis of texts. In this way we have succeeded in delineating more clearly the scene-like character and the dramatic quality of Jesus' parables than was the case up to now. We are especially indebted to D.O. Via for the insight that the parables of the synoptic tradition are genuine works of art which are centripetally organized and structurally determined by an interweaving of successive scenes and dramatic progressions. If our eyes have thus been opened to the fact that the parables are formed as stories that are arranged in scenes, we may now proceed to ask what it is that makes narratives of this kind into parables. What is it that constitutes the parabolic character of a story? How far is a story able to call attention to itself and stimulate the imagination of its hearer so that he grasps what is said as pointing to something else, as expressing something that lies behind that which is said? Such questions point to the problem of analogy as a form of language. We have to clarify what it is that makes up the analogical power of parabolic speech. It seems as if we may come closer to resolving this basic problem of parable research if we follow the hermeneutical suggestion of P. Ricoeur in which he speaks about a parable as "functioning in a metaphorical manner"[1]. Ricoeur focuses on an original linguistic relationship between parable and metaphor in a way which gives us reason to expect that the semantics of the metaphor may give us fresh access to the analogical nature of parabolic speech[2]. I shall attempt to follow out this mode of thought, the ground for which has been prepared in the work of E. Fuchs[3] and R.W. Funk[4], and shall begin by treating the distinctive linguistic quality of the metaphor.

2. A new definition of the metaphor

In the Grimms' fairy tale "Rapunzel" the following scene occurs: the witch has discovered that a maiden who is being held prisoner in a tower is being secretly visited by the son of a king. She banishes the girl and lies in wait for the girl's rescuer whom she greets scornfully with the words:

> "Ah! You have come to fetch your ladylove, but the pretty bird no longer sits in her nest. And she can sing no more, for the cat has seized her and it will scratch your own eyes out too. Rapunzel is lost to you. You will never see her again."

At one and the same time the statement is both absurd and correct. That Rapunzel is no bird, her prison no nest and the witch not a cat is as little in doubt to the one addressed by the words as it is to the reader of the tale. We even seem to enjoy the demands placed upon us by language and are able to follow the very element of the statement which is in error. Here men are not just compared with

animals, they are actually addressed as animals. The implication is that incompatible things can be reconciled with each other. But what is this implication based upon? What possible reason is there why a listener should accept it? If we define the figure of the metaphor as a "translation of a word from a certain natural (customary and highly frequent) context into an artificial (less accustomed, less frequent) context"[5], then the words cited in the sentence, 'bird', cat' and 'nest', may be viewed as metaphors. But other words are also "infected" by the metaphorical power of these expressions. The bird is presented as 'pretty", it 'sits' and 'sings.' The cat 'seizes' someone and 'scratches his eyes out'. We are inclined to share the view of H.Lausberg: "Since the individual word occurs in the context of a sentence, the metaphor gives the entire context of a sentence a more or less metaphorical tinge."[6] Is it therefore correct to think that metaphors refer to instances where there is a new application of an individual word, or do they belong to the "semantics of the sentence" so that we must speak about "metaphorical statements"[7]?

I shall attempt to clarify this question by first focusing on the rhetorical definition of the metaphor. In a preliminary way we can cite A.Jülicher's interpretation of a logion from the synoptic tradition, which can be taken as paradigmatic for the rhetorical conception of metaphors. Jülicher gives the following reasons for his view that metaphors are "inauthentic speech": "something is said, but something else is meant. Just what this something else is, is only revealed through μεταφέρειν i.e., the process of locating the word whose idea has been transferred to what is written down". As an example he cites Mk. 8:15: βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων and comments on the sentence as follows:

> "As the equivalent of the greek ζύμη the lexicon offers 'leaven". Since every reader is aware that the action does not occur here in its usual sense, one is forced to conclude that the word is used 'inauthentically', i.e.,that it is intended to characterize a thing which plays the same role in some other sphere which leaven does in the preparation of bread and our minds have to ponder the thing which in reality is hidden behind ζύμη in order to get at what ζύμη means. In order that our minds should not err, Luke, in the corresponding passage 12:1 carefully adds ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις to the words copied from his source. . . ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων . . . The addition of Luke is of course not original; if this explanation had been needed, Jesus would have preferred simply to have said: προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων. But in order clearly to express his own and his followers' view of ὑπόκρισις as a phenomenon that stands for inner decay without resorting to a dispensable word, he reaches into a different realm and takes up a notion that is similar to hypocrisy with its quality of decay, that of ζύμη , and puts it in the place of ὑπόκρισις so that the reader gets the sentence: be careful about that which in the nature of the Pharisees is like leaven - in any case no advice for inexperienced persons but an exhortation to those who are informed and already know about Pharisaism. The reader takes the simile as it is given to him, while he has to make something for himself out of the metaphor. The simile enables him to understand what lies before him, while the metaphor - I almost want to say makes it more difficult, yet that would not be generally correct - presupposes an understanding that the reader already has, and gives a brief hint instead of really showing [a thing].

> Thus the reader must work further with the metaphor and put the true notion in his mind in the place of what is represented; while his eyes read ζύμη , he thinks ὑπόκρισις , and thus he correctly brings about a transposition into a field in which ζύμη actually has no place."[8]

In this interpretation of Jülicher's all the viewpoints are reflected which play a part in the rhetorical definition of the metaphor:

a) Rhetoric focuses on the individual word which is applied metaphorically. It defines the metaphor as tropus, as a substitute or replacement for another word (verborum immutatio). In place of the word actually expected (in the previous case ὑπόκρισις) a semantically unrelated word is used (ζύμη). The hearer receives the new meaning of the inauthentically used word while he silently cancels out the substituted word. While "his eyes read ζύμη , he thinks ὑπόκρισις ".

b) The assimilation of the metaphor thus happens in a kind of reverse-translation of the inauthentic term that is used into the term which actually would have been able to be used. The metaphor is deciphered in a process that can be explained in the following way. In the rhetorical view the metaphor is understood as an"abbreviated comparison"[9]. In the process of assimilating a metaphor this abbreviated quality is overcome. The listener has recourse to the complete setting of the comparison. Just as leaven plays a distinctive role "in the realm of the preparation of bread", hypocrisy plays a role in the sphere of pharisaic conduct.

c) A further defining characteristic is implied in what has just been said. A relationship of similarity exists between the expression that is literally suitable and the expression that takes its place which is literally in error. Thus Jülicher derives the correspondence between hypocrisy and leaven from the fact that they are comparable in that they share the quality of decay. In the rhetorical view the substitution of a word is based on a similarity that is presupposed. On the basis of this assumption a word with another original meaning can represent the expression that is actually anticipated. Thus H.Lausberg can say: "The tropus is not a chaotic improprietas; the semantic translation rather occurs within definite semantic relationships"[10].

d) The result of these deliberations is that in the rhetorical understanding the metaphor is not viewed as a "semantic innovation"; "one can replace the figurative expression with the actual word"[11]. The assimilation of the metaphor rests on the fact that the reader puts "the true notion in his mind in the place of what is represented". As Jülicher formulates it: through" a process of thought that in most cases is of the greatest simplicity, the listener must first exchange the notion that is intended for the one that is named"[12]. The application of a metaphor thus results in linguistic redundancy. It is a matter of a superfluous adornment of language in which no innovative tendency is inherent. Rather than say something new about reality the metaphor says what is already known in another way. It serves as "a mere embellishment of speech and thus has an emotional function"[13]. A thought which could have been said differently is heightened illustratively by the introduction of an anticipated expression. The power of speech to be convincing is thus enhanced since this depends on our being able to offer "that which is probable in an attractive form "[14]. The informed listener automatically makes the association with the substituted word, feels confirmed in his prejudice and happily agrees that one really should be careful in the face of "that which in the nature of Pharisees is

like leaven".

e) After everything said thus far it is not surprising that in the rhetorical tradition the metaphor is seen in close relationship with allegory. Allegory is defined as a "metaphor that is extended to the whole of a sentence"[15]. Thus the basic definition of metaphor of H. Lausberg runs: "Allegory is for thought, what metaphor . . . is for the individual word. Allegory thus stands in a comparative relationship with the thought that is actually intended. The relation of allegory to metaphor is quantitative: allegory is a metaphor that is carried through in an entire sentence (and beyond)"[16].

But all of these definitions of rhetoric appear questionable as soon as we focus on the semantics of the metaphor and consider its poetic function more directly[17].

a) The assumption of rhetoric according to which the metaphor refers to a process of substitution of individual words leads into error. The saying of the witch in "Rapunzel" already caused us to ask whether figurative expressions do not govern a sentence in such a way that its entire context appears to be defined metaphorically. The same holds for the example of Mk. 8:15. It is decisive that the word ζύμη occurs here in a semantically alien setting. It is evident that it has its effect only in the context of the present sentence. The very attractiveness of the statement rests on a tension that exists between the untypically arranged individual word and its semantical ambiance. Metaphor thus belongs to the "semantics of the sentence, even before it is concerned with the semantics of the word", for it "establishes meaning only within a statement". It "is itself a phenomenon of predication"[18]. Ricoeur is correct when he claims that one ought not to speak about words "which are used figuratively", but that we have to talk about "metaphorical statements". "The metaphor arises from the tension between all the terms of a metaphorical statement"[19].

If we wish to define the distinctive quality of the metaphor we should thus proceed from the observation that in the context of a sentence semantically incompatible elements are brought into relation with each other. If one takes the implied reference literally, one only succeeds in getting an absurd meaning. How is one to go about protecting oneself from the leaven of Pharisees? Pharisees are not bakers and there is surely nothing the least bit threatening about leaven. Nonetheless a claim is made on the listener. He is to take the failure of a literal interpretation as an occasion for the mediation of things that are incompatible on a level that is other than literal. He is called upon "to transform an incomprehensible contradiction into a meaningful contradiction"[20].

b) If we focus on this theory of tension, the rhetorical view of the metaphor as an abbreviated comparison also becomes questionable. H. Lausberg considered this explanation a "subsequent rational interpretation" of an originally magical relationship[21]. Without wishing to concern ourselves at this point with the phenomenon of magic, certain objections may be raised against the starting-point of the rhetorical definition. Thus W.Kayser calls attention to the fact that poetry exemplifies a kind of metaphorical imagery "in which it is difficult to assume any preceding comparative activities"[22]. The poet can talk about "crystalline pastures" and about "moist shadows"; he can evoke green forests which assemble "at more peaceful shelters" or "flowers of the summer which sound beautiful in the wind" (G. Trakl, Gesang des Abgeschiedenen). Here terms of

completely different origin are joined in a unity that is full of tension. Yet their connection does not appear to result from a thought in which the comparability of what is assimilated has been assessed. The poet takes no time to "create a sense of distance and place things in relationship"[23]. The joining together of things that do not go together corresponds to a creative act of linguistic inventiveness. It is hardly the case that what is said metaphorically needs to be deciphered by means of a comparative judgment. The effect of a metaphorically stamped phrase rather depends on whether the participant in a discussion enters into the demand that language places upon him, whether he goes along with the movement to which he is summoned when provoked by things that are incongruous. Thus metaphor always opens up an arena which leaves room for someone to be stimulated by the attractiveness of something said in a new way and to be sent along a path that has not yet been travelled.

To be sure, this does not hold for metaphors which are used conventionally or as a matter of habit. From the outset they commit the one being addressed to a strictly designated meaning and thus break away from the pattern of similarity. Perhaps an exception of this kind already lies behind the warning about the "leaven of the Pharisees" of Mk. 8:15. It is, to be sure, metaphorically stamped but semantically unassuming since it appears to make use of a code-word whose meaning is already appropriately determined. According to the commentaries the word is unterstood as "a standard picture for the evil in man, which corrupts the whole man, even though it appears to be something slight"[24]. If this is the case, then the Lucan treatment of the passage where the image is made to refer directly to pharisaic hypocrisy constitutes an idiosyncratic deviation from established linguistic convention. Yet the example does indicate that several possible meanings may be attributed to a metaphor, even when it is used as a matter of habit. But I shall leave out of consideration the case of metaphors which are accepted as normal discourse. The metaphorical statement which counts here is "a creation that only lives in a moment". It is a matter of "a semantic innovation which has no status in fixed expressions of language". Its characteristic feature is the unstable addition "of an unusual predicate"[25].

c) Thus a further aspect of traditional rhetorical teaching has already been rendered problematic. In the rhetorical view the use of a metaphor denotes that a relationship of similarity exists between what is actually meant and the word that is said in its place. The formation of a metaphor is only possible on the condition that this similarity can be presupposed. Against this view we can observe that the attractiveness of a metaphorical statement rests on the fact that one or more terms appear in a semantically alien setting without this having been anticipated. Metaphor thus alienates conventionally expressed language in a surprising manner. It brings the one being addressed in a situation where he perceives resemblances which were previously closed to him. It allows "a relationship to make its appearance ..., where the usual sort of observing was unable to perceive mutual agreement"[26]. The metaphor thus creates new points of reference and brings similarities into being for the first time. When the threat in the fairy tale refers to the bird and the cat instead of to the actors, it allows us to see Rapunzel as a bird and the witch as a cat. In this "letting-us-sees-as" a similitary is produced which is not merely imitative. Thus P. Ricoeur can write: "Good metaphors are those which create a similarity more than they imitate it."[27]

d) If what is said thus far is correct, metaphors do not exhibit a kind of linguistic redundancy. Rather the metaphorical statement claims to say something new which cannot be said another way. It expresses something yielded by language in which an unprecedented communication about reality is given. Through an inconspicuous heightening of the familiar, through an imperceptible alienation of the usual[28], the language of a metaphor becomes a means of letting us encounter reality in a new way. Thus construed, the metaphor does not serve as an adornment of speech with which one could readily dispense. It does not have the function of putting what is already known into circulation in a pleasing and fascinating manner. As a figure of speech the metaphor aims at breaking through the paths of the ordinary and familiar and it achieves this by using language to create a state of alienation. The unprecedented dissonance of the points of reference that are linguistically articulated in the metaphor serves to announce something new that displaces our relationship to reality.

In all of this it has to be kept in mind that metaphorical speech always requires the participation of its addressee. Its goal is attained only when semantic dissonance makes a claim on the listener, when he enters an unaccustomed path and allows himself to absorb the alien quality of what is said. Ricoeur rightly claims that authentic metaphors are untranslatable. When the poet speaks about "moist shadows" and "crystalline pastures" his words are not a code which we then decipher. His words appeal directly to our imagination[29] and call for us to validate the vantage point of a predication which presents reality to us in a new way. The participation of the listener thus bears a more passive character. It is directed by the linguistic power of a statement which arouses certain definite impressions and calls forth specific associations.

e) What then can be said about the relation between metaphor and allegory? Here again we are unable to accept the teaching of the rhetorical tradition. When we deal with metaphors we are in no way dealing with an inaccurate or encoded form of discourse but with authentic speech which attains its effect with the help of the alienating power of language. For this reason it is simply wrong to imply that only an informed addressee is able to guess its meaning. The various points of view which claim that there is a substantive relationship between allegory and metaphor simply do not hold up. It is not the allegory that is related to the metaphor, as even Jülicher thought, but rather the parable. The basis of this claim is examined further in what follows.

3. Metaphor and parable

Let us attempt to clarify further the question of what actually makes up the parabolic character of the fictional stories encountered in the synoptic tradition, which we can define, in agreement with R. Dithmar, as the "most concise dramatic form, embodied in a story"[30]. We may proceed on the assumption that the semantics of the metaphor can at the same time enhance our understanding of analogy as a linguistic form. What exactly does our having recourse to the figure of the metaphor contribute to a resolution of the questions before us? As we have shown, the following features are decisive for a description of the metaphor which is no longer obliged to conform to the model of the rhetorical tradition: the moment of dissonance which expresses itself at the level of a sentence in a tension between terms which literally are incompatible; the aim of an unprecedented announcement by means of the alienating power of language; the quality of being an address which requires participation and

agreement of the listener without manipulating the arena in which understanding occurs; the characteristic of untranslatability. Are we able to lay hold of these points of view and see them as leading towards a phenomenology of parabolic speech? Does the insight obtained in the metaphor also enhance our grasp of the analogical nature of the parable? R.W. Funk already held the view that the metaphor can be taken as a heuristic principle for the understanding of parabolic stories[31]. This view has been deepened by P. Ricoeur. We must inquire further into what Ricoeur means when he explicitly defines the parable "as a story that functions in a metaphorical manner "[32].

When we examine Jesus' parables we see that they represent reality as encountered in everyday life. As fictive stories, they place scenes before our eyes which correspond to the hearer's everyday world. Bultmann had already called attention to the "earth-bound character" of parable traditions in the New Testament[33], and R.W. Funk, in agreement with A. Wilder, speaks of the"immediate realistic authenticity"[34]of the parables. Yet it is unmistakable that in a number of these stories the face of reality shifts remarkably as soon as the expository aspect of the story is left behind. An individual instance which initially has a completely ordinary effect obtains the character of something special, extraordinary, and even improbable. Thus it is unforeseeable that the son who is alienated from his father's house will be greeted with a feast upon making a return which itself is hardly to be believed (Lk. 15:11ff.). More faithful to the conditions of real life is the judgment of the father in F. Kafka's story, whose decree about the son also seals the state of alienation: "You were truly an innocent child, but even more truly a devilish man!"[35] The happy ending of Lk. 15:11ff. is as unprecedented as the remission of a debt that exceeds all our powers of imagination as described in Mt. 18:23ff. That a judge, whose contempt for his fellow men is well known in the city, gives in to the request of a widow in his custody, because he is afraid of being slapped in the face, sounds almost sensational (Lk.18,1ff.). There can be no doubt about the fact that the ordinary story which takes place in the foreground really refers to an underlying dimension where reality is called into question and even seems to be cancelled. The familiar has what is unfamiliar superimposed on it. The everyday character of the scenes stands in tension with the features that are improbable and extraordinary. While proceeding from an everyday setting of reality the parables in many cases take such a surprising course that not the customary but the distance from the accustomed claims our full attention. The interest of the story lies not so much in the world of real life as in an alienation from everyday conditions. Thus certain defining characteristics come into view which were already suggested in our analysis of the metaphor. In the sphere of the semantics of the metaphor the elements of "tension" and "alienation" were of significance. If in agreement with Ricoeur we are willing to speak about a parable as functioning in a metaphorical manner, we can then draw a contrast between the features of tension and alienation which played an essential role in the phenomenology of the metaphor.

At this point, however, we may note that the linguistic form of the metaphor cannot simply be identified with the parable. In applying the above-mentioned basic characteristics of the metaphor to the parabolic story we must also take account of the differences between the two forms of language[36]. What, then, are the differences that need to be observed? Ricoeur seems correct in his view that the metaphor is defined as a phenomenon within a statement. We encountered a dissonance in the structure of language as it is present on the level of the

sentence. Yet a parable assumes the form of a story."Parabolic speech has its effect on the level of the 'composition'. . . , which is characteristic for a work, i.e., for 'wholes'. . . , which have their significance in their entirety."[37] Not the individual sentence, but the whole of the story obtains a metaphorical dimension. Consequently, the theory of tension which we encounter in the semantics of the metaphor must be modified if it is to apply to narrative compositions. In a metaphorical statement the tension is expressed by the fact that expressions are combined which are literally incompatible. The metaphor represents a statement with an inner tension in which heterogeneous terms collide with one other. But this is not the case for the parable. The metaphorical character of parabolic speech does not rest on the fact that the succession of words is distorted by the inclusion of semantically deviant terms. Rather the scene-like structure of the story comes to function as the bearer of the metaphorical process. The informative points of reference which are inherent in the parable are rooted in the succession of scenes, not in individual words or in sentences which struggle against their context. The tension between two elements is now seen to exist between the fictitious quality of the narrative and the context of reality as experienced in everyday life. To be sure, the parable is set among ordinary events of life, yet it twists and alienates them in such a way that we obtain a sense of distance from the necessity of such conditions and gain insight into a context which has an unreal effect when measured by real conditions. As Ricoeur puts it, the tension exists "wholly on the level of reality between the insight granted by the fictive quality and our usual way of viewing things "[38].

One can describe the state of affairs under discussion in the following manner. Parables are rooted in things as they really are. The realistic setting of the story takes care of its plausibility as a work of fiction[39]. Yet the envisaged event comes to a head within its setting so that it leaps over the boundary of what is anticipated. Everyday conditions are represented in an exaggerated, even in an improperly drawn manner. Ricoeur designates this eccentricity of a story appropriately as the moment of "extravagance" or "impertinence" of parabolic speech[40]. It involves a quite conspicuous enhancement of its fictive qualities. In this way the metaphorical process is set in motion. It is the implementation of this fictitious dimension which causes the story to exceed the bounds of a narrative. The extravagance of what is talked about, which expresses an extreme tension in relation to the reality we experience, opens up the perspective of another reality lying beyond. Ricoeur describes the process as follows:

> "In the tension between the story as form and the metaphor as process the narrative's inconsistency tends to leap over the pattern of a story and to undertake a process of passing over from an 'inner' meaning to an external relationship."

For "the presence of what is extraordinary within what is familiar" makes the closed structure of a story "itself unstable and even inconsistent"[41]. Thus we have come closer to answering the question of the extent to which a parable leads beyond itself, while guiding the listener along its own path. The listener follows the progress of an imaginary story, which is played out amid the usual conditions of life. Yet within the context of the story he is confronted with a distorted and twisted world which does not fit into everyday life. Owing to its markedly fictitious quality a story which begins with the

familiar strikes "a breach in the course of ordinary life"[42]. This can in turn cause the story to be perceived as a sign, as the representation of a possibility which strives to realize itself beyond the manipulable world of human deeds.

Thus we can clearly see what the semantics of the metaphor can offer for the hermeneutics of parables, once the pattern of rhetorical interpretation has been overcome. Two additional points of agreement may be mentioned. The notion of untranslatability, which is constitutive for the metaphor, also applies to the form of a parable. Whatever the parable claims to say cannot be removed from the context of the story and expressed in the form of a wise saying or maxim. D.O. Via has shown that the interdependence of form and matter does not permit this sort of abstraction[43]. Thus we also touch on a second aspect of the relationship between metaphor and parable. The parable is also completed by the one who hears it. Like the metaphor, it requires the assistance of the one being addressed: "The answer to the untranslatability into ordinary language is only found in the applicatio (application) through the practice of life."[44]

II. The metaphorical process in Mt. 20:1-15

In this section an attempt is made to demonstrate the distinctive metaphorical dimension of Jesus' parabolic speech by using Mt. 20:1ff. as an example. I shall begin with some reflections on the analysis of the text.

1. The subtlety of the narrative

The structure of the piece is clearly discernible. It consists of successive scenes, developed in three acts: vv.1-7 recruiting and hiring the workers[45], vv. 8-12 payment and controversy, und vv. 13-15 the defense of the landowner.

The narrative first obtains the listener's interest by being set amid the familiar things of everyday life. It introduces the owner of a vineyard who hands out work assignments early on a given morning. It is agreed that the salary for the day shall be one denarius. This process is conspicuously repeated a total of four times. Especially to be noted is the fact that the various acts of hiring are distributed through the day so that only one hour of working time remains for the last ones hired. This observation already hints at the fact that the story is not simply patterned on real conditions. A landowner who organizes the distribution of work in such a wasteful and circumstantial manner scarcely exists in reality. As the parable presents the real world our attention is thus unnoticeably directed away from everyday things and concentrates on the story itself. From the start the hearer participates and is absorbed in the intention of the story. At the outset our attention is directed to the question of what possible purpose this unusual hiring practice could have.

The subtlety of the narrative can be glimpsed in the following detailed observations:

a) First, the manner in which the salary agreements with the individual groups is described is of some consequence. An exact amount is only given in the case of those employed first: one denarius for the day (v.2; cf. the return to this fixed agreement in v.13c). The corresponding statement for the second group merely accents the fact that it is reasonable (v.4;cf. v.5). In the final arrangement (v.6f.) the salary agreement is

not even mentioned. The imprecision in the way the story represents this is obviously calculated. The exact amount of the wage that is agreed on can only be given to the first group; otherwise the dramatic heightening of the story is broken. The intensified interest is thereby fixed on the outcome of the event and the question raised of how the landowner is going to reward the work that is done.

b) The time scheme according to which the process of recruitment is carried out deserves further attention. It is evident that the narrator has the repeated hiring of the workers occur in precisely measured three-hour intervals. This explicit chronological division makes the stereotypical quality of the event stand out and increases the tension. Moreover, it should be noticed that the three-fold rhythm (3rd, 6th, and 9th hours), is broken at the conclusion. The last ones who wanted work were hired at the eleventh hour. This deviation from the scheme very likely has the function of directing our interest to the last employed. Thus the remaining working time of only one hour is markedly emphasized.

c) A special problem is found in the dialogue in v.6f. which raises the question of whether the expression οὐδείς ἡμᾶς ἐμισθώσατο should be interpreted as a "well-founded excuse" or as a "weak evasion." In this context the question arises as to "whether a special willingness to work on the part of the last group is honored in the conclusion of the parable"[46]. That this kind of consideration is wholly out of order is shown by the final saying of the landowner. Moreover, we may assume that those most eager to work would have "already reported to work early in the morning"[47]. The dialogue in fact serves the interest of the story in making plausible the noticeably late recruitment of the last group. The question of the landowner τί ὧδε ἑστήκατε ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀργοί; corresponds to the objection of the listener that further distribution of work shortly before the "gate closes" is difficult to imagine. This objection is overcome by means of the information of those who are asked (v.7a). This appears to be the motivation of the concluding imperative ὑπάγετε καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα (v.7b).

d) A further obervation is significant in this regard. If we take a look at the payment scene, we see that only the first and the last hired are present. The other groups of workers are silently overlooked. But why were they introduced in the opening scene in the first place? As R. Bultmann has appropriately emphasized, the narrator is only interested in the confrontation between the first and last members of the bargain. Yet this would be too hard if it were expressed without any mediation. The "contrast of extremes must be mediated by transitions; the improbability of the story would be too crass"[48]. Even the noteworthy development of the hiring activity is a valuable detail of the story.

e) A similiar judment holds in view of the instruction of the landowner in v.8bβ. The administrator receives the explicit command to begin the payment of salaries with those who have worked the least. This reverses the order which we actually expect. If one evaluates this individual feature in the setting of succesive scenes, one is inclined, along with E. Fuchs[49], to view it as a "technical dramatic trick". The preference for paying off the last group first is needed "in order to elicit the dissatisfaction of those hired first and to set up, thereby, the dramatic conflict between these dissatisfied workers and the householder"[50].

2. The structure of the conclusion

In conformity with the stilistic law of end stress special significance devolves on the defense of the landowner (vv.13-15). It is again "dramatically very clever"[51] that only one from the circle of angry workers is addressed: "My dear fellow, I do you no wrong. Didn't you agree with me [about working] for one denarius? Take yours and go!" (v. 13, 14a) A single figure has to assume responsibility and represent the others in making the claim. Thus any flight into collective anonymity is halted. The landowner justifies himself, while holding up before the complainer the agreement that he too had accepted. The agreement was maintained. The complainer is made to play the role of a grumbler. He has to leave the scene, for he is no longer worthy of the master's presence. The scene becomes a tribunal in which the accuser becomes the accused. In any case this impression arises when we refer to the first sentences of the defense. The imperative which ends this passage (v.14a) seems in fact to imply the kind of "dismissal" that is suggested by D.O. Via[52].

If this demand were to receive its due weight, the self-justification of the vineyard owner would have an undeniably threatening tone. It would be aggressively determined and exclusively aimed at the condemnation of the questioner[53]. Yet the final word of the master is really not the least concerned to deny the claim of the other figure, while acting on his own sense of what is right. The partner in the contract continues to be addressed, though he actually should already have been cut loose: "But I am resolved to give just as much to the last (person) [even on the part of the one who receives a gift we encounter the viewpoint of an individual!] as to you. Have I not the right to do as I will with what is mine?" Thus the complaint is finally rejected. Yet the master still poses the question which has the effect of sharpening as well as overpowering his admonishment: "Or do you look angry because I am generous?"

In the answer of the landlord two arguments can be distinguished. On the one hand, in order to defend against the reproach of being unjust, the owner points to what was agreed to by the grumblers (v.13c). On the other hand, he points to the power to dispose over his own fortune (v.15a). In this way his conduct is shown to be doubly scrupulous: since the contract was fulfilled no legal claims may be raised against him and since those who were overpaid were rewarded from the abundance of his fortune and not at the cost of the others, his generosity is indisputable. Both arguments have the function of acquitting the owner of the charge of brutal arbitrariness (cf. the rebuke of v.12b).

But the conclusion is not exhausted by the course of this argumentative self-justification, which at the same time exposes those who are unsatisfied. If we wish to define the aim and direction of vv. 13-15 precisely, we must be willing to consider the formal structure of successive statements more closely. Assuming that there is a caesura between vv. 14a and 14b, which seems likely in view of the content (cf. the twofold argument cited above), the following formal arrangement of sentences may be seen in the first part:

- statement of the owner in I-form with a negated verb (v.13b);
- rhetorical question with an introductory interrogative particle (v.13c);
- demand with a double imperative (v. 14a).

In the second part the beginning of the successive sentences is analogously structured:

- statement of the landlord in I-form, here without a negation (v.14b);
- rhetorical question with an introductory interrogative particle (v.15a).

In line with the obvious parallelism of the first part a demand would also be expected as the third sequence of the second part. This would have magnified the emphatic rebuke of v.14a and thereby attested to the exclusion of the first figure. On this assumption the story would clearly be inclined in a downward movement of the sort that Via has demonstrated for the "tragic" parables[54]. Yet in place of the expected imperative, a second question occurs in v.15b, this time introduced with ἢ [55]. From a rhetorical point of view the deviation from the scheme is of the utmost importance. The final sentence claims our special attention on account of the way its form breaks the schematic structure. It stands in competition with the demand for dismissal of v.14a and seems to overshadow it. Clothed in the form of a question, it strives for the consent of the addressee who, having been sent off, is already on his way and grants the possibility of a new nearness which corresponds to that of those who received a gift.

3. Configuration of figures and plot

Before I enter into the metaphorical quality of the configuration, the arrangement and status of the figures in the story should be discussed and an attempt made to define the special character of the plot. As far as the figures are concerned, we have to do with the landowner and his administrator as well as with five groups of workers. Yet in view of its intent the story is only interested in the owner of the vineyard and the first and last groups of workers who were hired at different hours of the day, each of which is represented in the conclusion by a single figure. The configuration of figures can thus be defined as a "dramatic triangle"[56]. Leading roles are played by the landowner, the last figure, who receives a gift, and the first, who is correctly paid. All the other actors have merely a walk-on role.

Are we able to distinguish between main and supporting figures from among the three above-mentioned groups of persons? In agreement with D.O. Via[57] we can claim that the tension of successive scenes comes alive on the basis of the encounter between the owner and the first disgruntled worker. I am not, however, able to convince myself that the person of the landowner can be equally claimed to be a symbol for God or Jesus and consider problematic Via's view that the story implicitly contains allegorical features. Yet apart from this, Via has rightly recognized that the opposition between the owner and the first figure ensures the dramatic character of the configuration. In the setting of the dramatic triangle, the workers who receive a gift play only a passive role. They are significant to the outcome of the story only as their good fortune ignites the dramatic conflict between the master and the others. In the foreground our interest is clearly focused on those who worked the whole day. They must be viewed as the actual protagonists of the story. Over against them the landowner represents the "master-king-father" figure, which is also encountered elsewhere in the parables. To be sure, he acts in all the scenes and exemplifies an unvarying sovereignty. Never-

theless he is not to be characterized as a protagonist who defines the story's form, the dramatic progression being defined less through his sovereign initiative than it is by the reaction of defiance.

The three-part succession of scenes eludes the formal structure worked out by D.O. Via[58]. As Via himself concedes[59], it is not the case that a decision of a protagonist calls a crisis into being or responds to a crisis. If one does not wish to formalize the three-part construction in such a way as to speak simply about a beginning, middle, and end, then the pattern of "situation-crisis-solution" can be offered for Mt. 20:1ff. The more narrowly defined succession of scenes is interwoven with a dramatic progression which initially appears to be directed downward. Thus Via too asks whether the parable should not be defined as tragedy in view of its plot[60]. If, nonetheless, it is subsumed under the "comic" parables, this is done for the reason that, judged in view of its theme, it presents itself as a comedy in which the generosity of the owner defines the outcome of the story. Via attests to a noteworthy mixture of the comic and the tragic which is partially explained by the thesis that "the tragic characters . . . are the 'blocking characters'. . . of a potentially ironic comedy, but their role has been enlarged to the point that what might have been an ironic comedy has been tipped over into an ironic tragedy"[61]. But this argument is only convincing if one takes the imperative of v.14a as the point of the conclusion and sees the whole of the story as aimed at rebuking the grumblers. If one considers the fact that the dismissal of the angry first worker is overshadowed by the last sentence, which consciously holds open and suggests the possibility of an agreement, then the underlying thrust of the story is defined in an upward movement. Thus not only the standpoint of its theme but also that of its plot cause us to classify the parable as a comedy.

4. The 'pronominal' character of the configuration

In recent exegesis there is general agreement about the fact that the parable Mt. 20:1ff. belongs to the category of conflict-stories. R.Bultmann already took account of the polemical tendency of the piece, even if he himself gave us no further information on the parties to the conflict[62]. Moreover, the thesis of J.Jeremias has been generally accepted that the parable is to be unterstood as a "justification of the joyous message in the face of its critics"[63]. The opponent who is addressed by the parable and whose attack is to be overcome with its help is concretely defined as pharisaic piety. In view of the parallel in Lk. 15:11ff. and the scenic setting presupposed there (cf. Lk.15:1f.) exegetes place the story in the setting of Jesus' table-fellowship with tax collectors and sinners[64]. In the story Jesus wishes to reject the pharisaic protest against the way his conduct broke through the fence of the torah and to show that the pharisaic criticism was wrong. Thus recent interpretation focuses on a specific understanding of the historical Jesus and attributes an argumentative tendency to the parable. The figures which appear in the story are not directly identified allegorically with definite historical persons, but the conditions are still presupposed which hint at a correspondence between the level of image and that of fact.

But all of these reflections assume a standpoint outside the context of the story. Even D.O. Via exemplifies this tendency of exegesis when he takes the figure of the landowner to refer allegorically to God or Jesus instead of following his

own hermeneutical rule according to which the parables are centripetally structured and all attention is primarily to be directed to the points of reference that lie within the aesthetic unity of a story. When this is recognized, one must take care not to try to interpret the configuration by means of externally adduced standards in which the figures in view are subjected to a process of identification. It is more a matter of highlighting the metaphorical quality of the story on the basis of its own scenically-arranged dramatic sequence. Thus we should inquire into how far the story leads beyond itself, while guiding the hearer along its own path.

A noteworthy beginning toward ascertaining the self-surmounting as well as the self-referential aspects of the story occurs in the dissertation of U. Schoenborn. Anticipating Ricoeur's interpretation of parable, Schoenborn bases his interpretation of Mt. 20:1ff. on the fact that "parable and reality stand in tension with each other"[65]. He writes further:

> "If one thinks of everyday conditions, the parable has the effect of a fairy tale, i.e., it is questionable whether the conditions of the parable are reflective of normal life. Do things really happen in the everyday world as they do in the parable? Doesn't the conduct of the employer constitute an exception, an individual case to which the universal rule of justice does not apply? What is expressed in the parable in no way corresponds to our everyday experience. It is still the rule of the world that, even at best, one only receives one's wages, and often not even that (cf. Jer. 22:13b; Sir. 34:27)."[66]

The metaphorical function of the story thus arises from the tension that exists between the events being staged and the reality of the everyday world. The listener is confronted with a new dimension which cuts through the everyday world in a remarkable manner. If the repeated procession to the market place is an indication of the story's fictitiousness this is all the more the case with the payment of the last and the first workers. What is reported in v.10 can be seen to magnify the fictive quality. According to our usual standards of reality only a graduated pay scale would be considered. Everyone would have had to be treated either properly or generously. What is said in v.10 fails to satisfy this expectation. The dissonance between what is expected and an event that occurs releases a shock that is felt by the affected workers as well as by the hearer of the parable, both of whom are defined so much by the norms prescribed by reality that they are unable to cope with this sort of radical alienation of the context of life.

Why, then, does the parable not end with v.10? This is undoubtedly not the case, because the parable is intended to emphasize the dissonance that is already attained in v.10 and tries to bring home this surmounting of normal reality as a possibility for existence. For this reason, then, there is space made for the objection of v.11f., which is made in the name of reality. This objection reflects the provocation which lies in the impertinent deviation from the norm. The attitude of the first worker is informative when he says that the landowner has made them "equal to these last ones [over there]" (v.12). In the background this statement must be contrasted with the expectation, now shaken, that they would "receive more" (v.10). The two phrases stand in an antithetical correspondence. The point of departure for the protest is not a snide egotism, such as can be encountered every day, but an insistence on the principle

of correspondence between achievement and salary. The grumblers are not able to recover from the fact that the others are presented with a gift, since that would destroy the reliable context of the workaday world. The conduct of the master calls into question their own self-understanding, their own attitude toward existence that is intent on personal security and self-affirmation. Thus all the standards that are oriented around a security system threaten to break up[67]. The generosity that is played up in the story thus elicits a reaction which shows what makes up the ground and security of life for man as he exists in everyday life. It unmasks an attitude which tries to derive life from the achievement of work and thus brings about a "self-reification" (J.Habermas) in the form of alienated existence. The unprecedented dislocation of reality results in man himself becoming transparent. Of course this holds not only for the upward-striving workers of the landowner but also for the hearer of the parable. U.Schoenborn judges appropriately:

> "When something scandalous is narrated the story-teller brings his present listeners into an emotional solidarity with the first listeners, a cunning enterprise. He leads his listeners into a position from which they are able to have a look at themselves. He makes them 'play along,' and enables them to participate in the discovery of truth."[68]

Yet the interest of the story not only adheres to the self-expression of reality as it is found in v.11f. If the aim of the parable were to unmask and to establish irrevocably the alienation of the man who is achievement and work-oriented, it would have to conclude with the imperative of v.14a. In point of fact the self-attestation of reality is surpassed by the self-discloser of the landowner (vv.14b.15). Schoenborn rightly poses the question:

> "Is it really so obvious that the employer drives the grumblers from his vineyard because he has seen through their legalistic fanaticism? Is it not the case that the master is concerned that everyone should participate in the plenteousness of the vineyard?"

And Schoenborn continues:

> "In the final dialogue the landowner draws the grumblers over to his side. 'Once he is literally brought ›beyond himself‹ by the provocative final saying of the landowner', he can, as it were, see what has happened in the eyes of the master. He perceives what is given to him and what he himself would have been able to say. And thus he comes to awareness."[69]

What then is brought into relief by vv.14b.15? The declaration and rhetorical question both reflect the employer's motivation[70]. His point is to express his will and the irresistible rightness of this will. The landowner openly admits to the equalization process that has been found objectionable but he now interprets it as a gift which allows as much to accrue to the one as to the other (cf. the clear shift of emphasis from ἴσους ποιεῖν, v.12b, to δοῦναι, v.14b). Everything depends on the question of whether the addressees are moved or will allow themselves to be moved by the final question: "Or do you look angry because I am generous?" (v. 15b) For its part the question minces no words as to why offense is taken at the landowner's conduct. The grumblers are in fact disturbed by the generosity

of the master but naturally only because they view this in relation to the work they themselves achieved. The question deliberately suppresses the viewpoint that relates to the work actually achieved by those addressed and only treats their attitude toward goodness. The question seems to suggest that the attitude lying behind the disgruntled look of the one addressed rests on an impossible presupposition. On the one hand, the question brings to light what actually moves the grumblers, while, on the other, the introductory particle ἢ plus the intensification and displacement of language, suggest an answer which is in accord with the attitude that in fact has been assumed[71]. The ambiguity of what is suggested in the statement can only be shown when we place two possible translations of the passage side by side. The negative connotation remains preserved if we render it literally: "Or is your look angry because I am generous?" But the suggestive character of the question is conveyed if we paraphrase the words as follows: "Or can you really look angry because I am generous?" It is clear that we are dealing with the literary phenomenon of irony, whose essence can be defined as the "transparent dissimulation" of language[72]. The final question has the character of exposing and inviting its addressee at one and the same time. It proceeds from the underlying assumption that we are not able to disapprove of goodness[73], and by bringing home this assumption to the addressees, it seeks their agreement with what is good. This underlying tendency of the question is further attested at the level of the greek text through the use of the stylistic figure of the oxymoron, expressed in the tension between πονηρός and ἀγαθός[74]. As a result of the paradoxically sharpened heightening of the contradiction between πονηρός and ἀγαθός the implied view (one can be angry where someone is good) appears absurd.

Thus we have looked at the new dimension which the parable is trying to express by means of its impertinent displacement of the conditions of everyday life: the phenomenon of a goodness, which for its part corresponds to the source of love and manifests love. The parable alienates reality as encountered in the everyday world and by means of this shock introduces love as a new possibility of life. Thus the hearer is encouraged to enter into something incalculable over which he has no control. While we are usually inclined to refer man to that which is attainable, at his disposal, and able to be accomplished, Jesus' parable makes us attentive to something which eludes man and affirms this as that which alone is beneficial to his existence.

If one focuses on the final word of the landlord (vv.14b. 15) the parable does not have a defensive but an affirmative meaning. It is to be unterstood as a "pronominal word" (U.Schoenborn), which advocates and takes the side of love. It ascribes to it a possibility in which alienation is overcome. In its scenically arranged distance from the everyday world the story calls attention to the abundance and richness of love and in doing this comes to express God himself. It overrides the objection that the "wage policy of the head of house" would mean "quick bankruptcy in the here and now"[75]. In presenting the landowner's willingness to give as irresistible, it refers us to love as the temporal ground of life, a source which flows all the more richly the more one makes a claim upon it[76]. Thus the parable seeks to gain the agreement of those who are dependent on love if they really want to be free. That which is brought home by a fictional story is intended to be accomplished in life, in a faith which relates itself to God by entering into the irresistible power of love.

Notes

* Translated from the German by Richard E.Crouter (Carleton College).

1. "Stellung und Funktion der Metapher in der biblischen Sprache", EvTh Sonderheft (1974), 55. It is thereby presupposed that the introductory formulas which refer to βασιλεία are not in every case able to be considered authentic.

2. Cf. ibid. 54ff. On the analysis of the metaphor also cf. his, La métaphore vive (Paris 1975); W.Köller, Semiotik und Metapher. Untersuchungen zur grammatischen Struktur und kommunikativen Funktion von Metaphern (Stuttgart 1975). On the theological relevance of the metaphor cf. E.Jüngel, "Metaphorische Wahrheit. Erwägungen zur theologischen Relevanz der Metapher als Beitrag zur Hermeneutik einer narrativen Theologie", EvTh Sonderheft (1974), 71ff.

3. Hermeneutik, 4th ed. (Tübingen 1970), p. 211ff.

4. Language, Hermeneutik, and Word of God (New York/Evanston/London 1966), p.133ff.; cf. my comments in "Die Sprachkraft der Analogie. Zur These vom "argumentativen Charakter" der Gleichnisse Jesu", StTh 28 (1974), 1ff., esp. 16ff.

5. M.Bense, Einführung in die informationstheoretische Ästhetik (Hamburg 1969), p. 117; cf. J.Kopperschmidt, Allgemeine Rhetorik. Einführung in die Theorie der Persuasiven Kommunikation (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1973), p. 170ff.

6. Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft (München 1960); § 563

7. P.Ricoeur, EvTh Sonderheft (1974), 47

8. Die Gleichnisreden Jesu (Darmstadt 1963, reproduction of edition Tübingen 1910), I, p. 55f.

9. Cf. H.Lausberg, Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik, 4th ed. (München 1971), § 228

10. Handbuch, § 555

11. Ricoeur, op. cit., 46

12. Op. cit., 52

13. Ricoeur, ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. A.Jülicher, op. cit., p. 58

16. Handbuch, § 895

17. Cf. the significance of this point in the analysis of Ricoeur, op. cit., pp. 45f., 53f.

18. Ricoeur, op. cit., 47

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Handbuch, p.286 (§ 558)

22. Das sprachliche Kunstwerk. Eine Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft, 14th ed. (Bern/München 1969), p. 124

23. Ibid.

24. J.Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Markus, NTD 1, 10th ed. (Göttingen 1963), p. 113

25. Ricoeur, op. cit., 48

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Cf. Jüngel, op. cit., 89, 92

29. Cf. Ricoeur, op. cit., 70 in connection with 49

30. Die Fabel. Geschichte, Struktur, Didaktik, UTB 73 (Paderborn 1971), p. 103

31. Cf. op. cit., p. 133ff., esp. p. 136ff.; cf. E.Fuchs, op. cit., p. 218f.,

32. Op. cit., 55

33. Cf. Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition, 3rd ed. (Göttingen 1957), p. 217f.

34. Op.cit.p.153; cf. A.N.Wilder, The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric, New York 1964, p. 81

35. "Das Urteil", in Die Erzählungen (Frankfurt a.M. 1961), p. 38

36. This circumstance is insufficiently considered by R.W.Funk. The parable cannot simply be defined as a metaphor.

37. Ricoeur, op. cit., 63

38. Op. cit., 65. On the relation between fictitiousness and truth in art cf. K.E. Løgstrup, "Ethik und Ontologie", ZTHK 57 (1960), 365.

39. Cf. D.O. Via's characterization of the parable in The Parables. Their Literary and Existential Dimension (Philadelphia 1967), p. 11f., and his reflections on "combining the realistic with the extraordinary and the improbable", ibid., p. 105f.: the extraordinary features "burst the limits of the probable but are kept locked into the narrative frame and hence are rendered possible and convincing". On this cf. also B.Brecht, "Kleines Organon für das Theater", in Versuche 27/32 (Berlin 1957), p. 112f.

40. Op. cit., 67, 69

41. Op. cit., 69

42. Ricoeur, op. cit., 70

43. Cf. esp. op. cit., pp. 89f., 93

44. Ricoeur, op. cit., 70

45. I am not concerned to consider the introductory formula ὁμοία (γάρ) ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν since it is dubious whether it belongs to the original version of the

parable.

46. G.Eichholz, Gleichnisse der Evangelien. Form, Überlieferung, Auslegung (Neukirchen 1971), p. 93

47. Ibid.

48. Op. cit., p. 205

49. "Die der Theologie durch die historisch-kritische Methode auferlegte Besinnung", GA II (Tübingen 1960), p. 220

50. D.O. Via, op. cit., 148f.

51. E.Fuchs, GA II, p. 221

52. Op. cit., p. 153f.

53. That the reception of the story in the gospel traditions seems to imply this conception of the final saying is shown by the redactional addition of Mt. 20:16. The evangelist found the logion in the Marcan version (Mk. 10:31), took it over in Mt. 19:30 as the final saying in the pericope about the rewards of renunciation and, while reversing the parts of the sentence, placed it at the end of the parable. The version of the saying given in Mt. 20:16 (cf. οὕτως) shows that it is intended as a guide for interpretation. From a literary point of view the evangelist, by repeating the saying, adroitly brings the two stories into a parallel pattern so that, in line with his intent, both are understood in the framework of a single address to the disciples. Thus the first piece stands as a sign of comfort, the second as an unmistakable threat. This change in tone is indicated by the reversal of the members of the sentence in 19:30 and 20:16. In line with the law of end stress in 19:30 weight is given to the fact that the last are first, while in 20:16 the opposite possibility is emphasized, that the first are last. Matthew thus understands the parable critically in the sense of a judgment-pronouncement on the community that is prefigured in the band of Jesus' followers: in the end a revaluation of all values takes place.

54. Cf. op. cit., p. 96f. and from the Exkursis in the German edition, Via, Die Gleichnisse Jesu. Ihre literarische und existentiale Dimension, BEvTh 57 (München 1970), p. 167f.

55. According to Bauer, WB s.v. 1.d.ß, ἤ is used "zur Einführung einer Frage, die einer vorausgegangenen parall. läuft od. sie erg.". Cf. Bl-Debr § 440.1. In the present case ἤ might not be used in order to introduce the second part of a double question but simply in a disjunctive sense. The final question of v.15b would then be without any linguistic designation.

56. On this idea cf. G.Sellin, "Lukas als Gleichniserzähler: Die Erzählung vom barmherzigen Samariter (Lk 10,25-37)", ZNW 65 (1974), 180ff. Yet Sellin is mistaken in his judgment (ibid., 187) that Mt. 20:1ff. is "not structured in a dramatic triangle".

57. Via, The Parables, p. 149f.

58. Via, Die Gleichnisse Jesu, p. 167f., see above, n. 54.

59. The Parables. p. 153

60. Cf. ibid., p. 151

61. Ibid., p. 152

62. Cf. op. cit., p. 216

63. Die Gleichnisse Jesu, 6th ed. (Göttingen 1962), p. 136

64. Cf. E.Linnemann, Gleichnisse Jesu,3rd ed. (Göttingen 1964), p. 92ff.; G.Eichholz, op. cit., p. 96ff.

65. Jesu sakramentale Verkündigung, Diss.theol. (Marburg/L.1972, photo reproduced), p. 171

66. Ibid., p. 171f.

67. This state of affairs is brilliantly set forth in the interpretation of D.O. Via, The Parables, p. 151ff.

68. Op. cit., p. 167f.; on this matter also cf. G.Eichholz, "Das Gleichnis als Spiel", in Tradition und Interpretation. Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Hermeneutik (München 1969), p. 57ff.

69. Op. cit., p. 174; the quote in the quotation is from E.Biser, Die Gleichnisse Jesu. Versuch einer Deutung (München 1965), p. 85f.

70. Cf. U.Schoenborn, op. cit., p. 167

71. On the criteria of intensification and displacement cf. S. Freud, "Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten", in Psychologische Schriften (Studienausgabe Frankfurt am Main 1970), IV, p. 13f. The process of displacement can be illustrated by the following hypothetical example: A young couple has a date. She leaves him waiting. When she finally arrives and greets him with a kiss, he still retains his disgruntled look. Whereupon she asks him, "Are you angry because I kissed you?"

72. Cf. B.Allemann, "Ironie als literarisches Prinzip", in Ironie und Dichtung, Beck'sche Schwarze Reihe Bd. 66 (München 1970), p. 29.

73. This is considered by E.Linnemann, cf. op. cit., p.90.

74. H.Lausberg defines the oxymoron as "gerafft-enge syntaktische Verbindung widersprechender Begriffe zu einer Einheit, die dadurch eine starke Widerspruchsspannung erhält" (Handbuch, § 807; cf. his Elemente, § 389,3).

75. R.Kreis, "Geschichten zum Nachdenken II: Parabeln", in projekt deutschunterricht 6 (Stuttgart 1974), 4f.

76. Cf. E.Fuchs, Marburger Hermeneutik (Tübingen 1968), p. 48

S 182

MIDRASH AND THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS
AN INTRODUCTORY ABSTRACT

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A. Midrash

Judaism of the First Century C.E. was rooted in the Torah. The Scriptures were regarded as the authentic and authoritative representation of God's words spoken to man. Thus, Jewish nationalism and self conception as "covenant-people," its understanding of relationships to God, person and universe, its faith expression in prayer and in practice, its institutions and legislation, its views of salvation in history and visions of the future with reference to persons and events were derived from a Torah-consciousness. The ongoing religious dynamic process is co-extensive with life, facing cultural and historical changes and being in contact with external streams of consciousness. As related to the Torah it emerges as a Midrashic process: a proper hearing, understanding, applying and experiencing God's word in history. This dynamic Midrashic development can be traced back to the end of the Old Testament times. It appears in the scribal redaction of the Pentateuch and the Prophets, in the scribal rewriting of Biblical history (Chronicles), in the ligurgical and Wisdom compositions and in Apocalypse with points of reference to prophetic vision. Following the Scribal period, the Midrashic process gave rise to different forms and sects within Judaism. Each offered its particular orientation towards pure exegesis and applied exegesis. This is reflected in the strict interpretation of the Sadducees and in the loose interpretation of the Pharisees and the Essenes. The Essenes also offered a pesheric and prophetic understanding of Scriptures. The Pharisees incorporated the Oral Tradition with the Written Tradition. The Hellenistic forms and methods influenced Palestinian Judaism and the harmonization of Greek thought with the Biblical text, prevailed in Alexandria.

The Midrashic expression finds its setting in the synagogue and in the Temple, in the expositional schools and the judicial bodies, in the religious associations and prophetic-messianic circles of Palestine. In diaspora, it is manifested in the preaching and writing activities of Hellenistic communities. All these shared a common Biblical ground while producing a variety of literary forms. In the synagogue, where the Pentateuchal lection with a correlative Prophetic conclusion were read weekly, a literal Targum and an elaborate Targum appeared alongside the proemic and didactic forms of homily. The preaching employed linking devices, liturgical pieces, parables and paraenetic perorations. The Temple gave rise to liturgical services and to ceremonial and sacrificial manuals. It also served as a forum for exegetical activities of the established judicial bodies of itinerate teachers. The former issued epistulary instruction and juridical pronouncements. The latter offered an oral exposition of interrelated Scriptures in liturgical or didactic forms. The schools developed a

debate form alongside succinct definitions and decisions, maxims and illustrations. This led to a development from explicit-atomistic Midrash to implicit-synthetic Midrash, from scriptural exegesis to Mishnaic pronouncements. The latter changed the Biblical apodictic style to "participle" legislative form, reflecting the meaning of Halakhah as "proper walking" in the way of God. The eschatological circles gave rise to "Pesher" form, testimonia, manuals of discipline, rewritten Bible, theologico-catechistic expositions and prophetic liturgy. The Hellenistic circles developed the allegorical-philosophical interpretation, polemical and apologetic histories and thematic commentary on the commandments. In visionary circles, the apocalyptic theosophic and historiosophic forms appeared with their symbolism alongside the mystical accounts of creation, angels, God's chariot and palaces. The latter phenomena are associated with the mystic-allegorical interpretation of Scriptures, which prevailed also among the early Tannaim.

All these forms disclose given principles, motifs and models governing Midrashic thought, which can only be studied structurally and organically. A psycho-linguistic approach is needed in order to determine the evolution of concepts and the appearance of new word combinations or substitutions. For linguistic expressions, idioms, and symbols assume various meanings in different times due to the employment of hybrid (multi-faceted) and polarity (coincidence of opposites) words. Furthermore, one must acquire an ear for double-entendre, paronomasia, acronyms, eyphemisms, numerical value of words indelicate or polite expressions, forms of address and abuse in a debate as well as a knowledge of "Mischsprache" and dialectical phenomena of Palestine.

The various midrashic traditions are preserved not only in the contemporary Jewish literature but also in the Rabbinic and Targumic works. In order to classify and to date traditions of the latter as means to establish the evolution of forms and the emergence of motifs one must first employ the principles of textual, historical, literary and philological criticism. Complementary to this approach, one can also proceed along the lines of external and internal comparative investigation, as proposed by Renee Bloch and applied by Gesa Vermes *(Scripture and Tradition in Judaism)*. The external criteria can be sought in the contemporary Hellenistic works including Philo, in the Pseudepigraphs, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, the ancient Biblical versions, the Dead Sea scrolls, the New Testament and the Apostolic works including certain Christian apocryphal and apocalyptic writings as well as in the archaeological data of that time. The dating can be fixed in given cases by comparison with the early Partistic literature (from Justin to Jerome and Aphrahat), which preserve rabbinic exegesis. The Targumic traditions can be compared with ancient liturgy and the Greek translations, such as Aquila (reflecting early Jamnian interpretation) and Theodotian and Symmachus (reflecting early Jewish-Christian interpretation). Significant points of reference can be gathered from the later preserved Samaritan traditions, which shared common exegesis with post-Biblical Judaism. The internal

investigation follows the development of the tradition within the bounds of Rabbinic material, although edited in later times. One can trace historically a particular tradition in the various literary sources and forms, which disclose tendentious developments and differences in application to the successive periods. The early form of the tradition can be determined not only by the ascription to early teachers but also by the commentary offered by the later generations of teachers. Furthermore, the tradition is so linked with the Biblical text, affecting developments both in liturgy and in preaching, the synogogal midrashic expression. Comparative Targumic studies can illustrate the existent differences underlining the later transmission of Aggadic and Halakhic material.

However, one can not argue à la Neusner that basic Halakhic and legendary forms evolved only after the destruction of the Temple through successive periods of Tannaitic schools, disclosing mainly the post-destruction development of the tradition. For the Jabneh period emerged as a creative tunnel period between the formative Jerusalem schools and the later Galilean academies. On one hand, Jabneh transmitted earlier forms and traditions which have their setting only in the former period. On the other hand, its creative literary work led to redactional activities of the later Tannaitic circles. The final Mishnaic composition underwent revision in two recensions by Palestinian and Babylonian early Amoraim. As point of reference, the Gospel studies also distinguish between three successive historical settings: the formative period of Jesus, the tunnel period of Apostolic activities and the final composition associated with the evangelists.

Jabneh period saw the need in light of catastrophe to preserve the past traditions of the Temple and Pharisaic differences - the sense of continuity. At the same time it brought about the consolidation of Oral Tradition - the sense of unity. Only through a careful stratificational study of the preserved Tannaitic Halakhah in Mishnah, Tosefta and Baraitha, and in comparison with the legal formulations in expositional and homiletic Midrash and the Palestinian Targumum, can one separate between the redactional layers. Once this is achieved, the forms can be examined in connection with the formative period. They can not be determined simply from a reductional examination of Bultmannian forms and from hypothetical description of mnemonic devices.

As for Midrash, the Jabneh period indeed gave rise to more elaborated and disciplined exegetical approaches. These left their mark in two separate later editions of Halakhic Midrash to the same Pentateuchal codes (reflecting the exegetical traditions of R. Akiba's and R. Ismael's schools). However, interpretative principles and Midrashic patterns can be traced back to an earlier period. Similarly, the later editions of homiletic and expositional Midrash disclose the application of methods and forms of the pre-destruction period, though in a modified fashion. Only a proper external and internal comparative study can yield positive results in the history of Midrashic principles, patterns, forms and motifs.

B. Synoptic Gospels

Modern scholarship has increasingly demonstrated that early Christianity, which produced the Synoptic Gospels with their differences from the varied Jewish religious expressions, owed, nevertheless, much to the results and methods of contemporary Jewish scriptural interpretation. However, a comparative study with Midrashic data of a given religious group or setting and with particular midrashic tradition or motifs, can only color the results of the investigation. 1) It stands to reason that only a thorough knowledge of all various Midrashic expressions of the pre-destruction period can serve the scholar in passing judgment on the Gospel material. 2) The Gospels betray points of contact with different Midrashic activities. Jesus himself can not be classified with a particular religious or charismatic group. Nor do the Apostolic activities reveal a monolithic Midrashic expression. 3) Most important, the Midrashic study of the Gospels must relate to the Christian experience of Jesus' presence before and after Easter. The exploration of motifs in Gospelic redaction should converge with the liturgical side of mission and Christian life, which dictate a phenomenological investigation.

The best approach prior to a comparative study with Midrash should be to differentiate and to delineate the four distinct Gospel areas in which Midrash is manifested. Each area would yield given forms, methods, patterns and motifs, which can then be compared with the contemporary Jewish tradition. This preliminary approach to "Interpretation Criticism" takes into account the known criteria of critical investigation. The four areas relate to the three successive settings of the Gospelic development.

The first area comprises the teachings of Jesus, which correspond to a "Sitz im Leben Jesu." The Jesuanic tradition can be bracketed out after the Gospels' tendencies are discarded. The formative tradition can be determined by the way it was already interpreted in the early Church. This commentary is preserved in the Gospels, which defines for us the second area. It consists mainly of early Christian Midrash, which corresponds historically to the Apostolic period. For comparative purposes, one can study the exegetical development of the preserved Jesuanic tradition in Pauline Epistles and other early Christian writings. Furthermore, one can also examine the nature and redactional methods of the pre-Gospelic written and oral sources (Q, Mt and L).

The criterion of multiple attestation of sources and forms can be employed for the recovery of the Jesuanic tradition. Yet, attention must be paid not only to the history of transmission but mainly to the linguistic nature of the material. The poetic structure and particular phraseology of Jesus' sayings, prayers and parables deserve special consideration. It is possible that some teachings were recorded during his lifetime. However, it is most probable that the disciples, who committed themselves to their master during his lifetime, have retained given speech forms and mannerisms of Jesus. This should not be construed as an academic discipline associated

with memorization. It is simply a reflection of the way disciples relate to their teacher in the Jewish world. His teachings converge on similar religious concerns depicted in his works. They relate to given themes peculiar to his message and they reflect particular religious issues and practices prior to the destruction of the Temple. However, the criterion of dissimilarity is deceiving. One cannot simply eliminate all ties with Palestinian Judaism and the early Church. For Jesus taught in relation to the different midrashic expressions of his days. His teachings and example affected and shaped the early Christian life. One must be cautious in judging what are the unique speech forms of Jesus. One must take into consideration the entire midrashic tradition preserved not only in the critical standard Rabbinic and Targumic works but also in the different midrashic anthologies and Minor Midrashim.

The third area relates to the investigation of the final composition by the Evangelists. Composition analysis covers the Gospelic introduction, summaries and insertions, redactional seams, particular arrangement including symmetrical, chiastic, sandwiching and juztaposing techniques, parallel material, duality, predilection for series of two's and three's, particular groupings associated with principle and cases, Aramaisms, quotation and commentary, the use of Old Testament texts, preserved liturgical forms, and special vocabulary. The results of this complex investigation will converge on given motifs rooted in Apostolic ligurgical life. They will reflect the Midrashic activities of the Evangelists as related to liturgical expression marked by preaching, table-fellowship, rites and worship. Hypotheses, which comes to explain the results of specific redactional investigation without taking into account all above criteria in relation to ligurgical motifs, do not merit serious consideration. Similarly an examination, which demonstrates that the entire Gospel is the result of the Evangelist's Midrash, falls short of the truth. For it does not take into account the evolution from Jesus through the Apostolic times in view of the liturgical experience, which affected the final composition.

The fourth area consists of the Midrash of scribes and Pharisees, which is preserved in the Gospels. It corresponds to all three settings in the formation of the Gospels. Jesus' bracketed sayings reflect given accepted Midrash or practice of his times. The Gospels preserve both positive and negative views of early Rabbinic Midrash. In a given case, the scribal Midrash preserved in one Gospel (Mark 12:33) becomes the Christian Midrash in the other (Matthew 9:13; 12:7). It is imperative to see how the Gospels preserved the forms and methods of scribal Midrash in relation to the Rabbinic and Targumic material. This should be preliminary to any discussion on the appearance of the Gospel as the reaction to Jabneh Judaism. The splitting of the ways can not be judged retrojectively from later Patristic and liturgical texts. A fresh approach must be taken in the proper evaluation of all sources on this question. One can not rely on accepted notions of Jabneh activities as regards Jewish-Christianity.

A critical examination of the four areas will yield basic

understanding of Midrashic relationship and differences concerning Jesus, the early Christians, and Evangelists and the scribes. The results of the investigation and the proper delineation of Midrash associated with the three settings will serve as basis for further comparative studies. The research, critical examination and evaluation of the conclusions deserve a separate elaborate study, which will be made available in the future.

PRONOUNCEMENT STORIES IN PHILOSTRATUS

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A preliminary survey of Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana (Two volumes; Trans. by F. C. Conybeare; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1912) and The Lives of the Sophists (Trans. by Wilmer Cave Wright; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921) yields about two hundred and fifty pronouncement stories and related genres. The task now is to develop a typology for these pronouncement stories which does justice to the material. Robert Tannehill has suggested a typology in his paper "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories" delivered at the annual SBL meeting in St. Louis last year. How useful is his typology for categorizing the material in Philostratus?

Tannehill identifies five types of pronouncement stories in the synoptic material; in all five types "the saying of Jesus is presented as a response to what was said or done on a particular occasion of the past"(p. 1). According to Tannehill, pronouncement stories can be categorized by noting the type of stimulus or response. The stimulus can take one of three forms: (1) it can merely suggest a topic for comment (Type 0); (2) it can raise an objection (Type 1); or (3) it can test the respondent (Type 2). In these three types, the nature of the stimulus determines the type.[1] The nature of the response can also be the basis for assigning a specific pronouncement story to a particular type. The response can take one of two forms: (1) it can correct an assumption about what is good or desirable (Type 4); (2) it can disclose the value, importance, or special meaning of the stimulus (Type 5). Presumably, then, the type of pronouncement story depends on whether the stimulus or response dominates the story.

I. Stimulus-Response Pronouncement Stories in the Life

There are good examples in the Life of objection stories, tests, corrections, and of Type 0 pronouncement stories. There are no examples of quests nor of disclosures.

There are five examples in the Life of objections. In the first example, Euxenus objects that Apollonius has not yet published:

> On one occasion, Euxenus asked Apollonius why so noble a thinker as he and one who was master of a diction so fine and nervous did not write a book. He replied: "I have not yet kept silence."(Bk I.XIV, p. 37)

Apollonius in his defense offers a reason for his objectionable behaviour, and the reason given is in effect an appeal to the reader to see the situation from Apollonius' perspective. The story provokes interest because Apollonius appears momentarily to be shown in a bad light by his Pythagorean teacher Euxenus; this heightens the tension which is resolved by Apollonius' retort, a retort which shows the student to be superior to his teacher. In the next example, the tension is not as great because the questioner is described as a quibbler. We are simply waiting to see how Apollonius will put down the quibbler, and we are fully assured that he will.

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[1] Quests should also be mentioned, although none occur in Philostratus. In this type, according to Tannehill, the stimulus is an open question by someone seeking salvation. It should be mentioned that in the following analyses constant reference to Tannehill's criteria for determining the different types will be made. The applicability of his typology to the material in Philostratus will be demonstrated by paraphrasing his manner of describing the various types.

> And when a certain quibbler asked him, why he asked himself no questions, he replied: "Because I asked questions when I was a stripling; and it is not my business to ask questions now, but to teach people what I have discovered." (Bk I.XVII, p. 49)

Apollonius' reply appears to be a self-defense but is actually a counter-attack on the objector.

The first two examples show objections to Apollonius himself. In the next case, the objection is to the behaviour of Apollonius' disciple, Damis, who kept a journal of the master's discourses and conversations.

> It was a lazy fellow and malignant who tried to pick holes in him, and remarked that he had recorded well enough a lot of things, for example, the opinions and ideas of his hero, but that in collecting such trifles as these he reminded him of dogs who pick up and eat the fragments which fall from a feast. Damis replied thus: "If banquets there be of gods, and gods take food, surely they must have attendants whose business it is that not even the parcels of ambrosia that fall to the ground should be lost." (Bk I, XIX, pp. 53-55)

There is little tension here because Philostratus characterizes the objector in a derogatory way. Damis' answer defends his own behaviour by exalting his master.

The next example shows an unusual technique for heightening the tension and thus creating narrative interest.

> And when the counsel for the prosecution began to abuse him as a wizard and an adept at magic, Aelian remarked, "Keep youself and your charges against him for the Royal Court." But Apollonius remarked: "If I am brought to trial, how can I be a wizard? Unless indeed the power of slander is so great than even wizards cannot get the better of it." (Bk VII, XVII, p. 197)

In this example Aelian's attempted defense is weak. The tension is heightened by the postponing of Apollonius' response, which comes with all the greater relief when it is offered because it reduces the objection to absurdity. This is a special kind of counterattacking response, one directed against the logic of the question.

The final example to be considered from the Life shows the master's behaviour ridiculed.

> But certain persons accused him of avoiding attendance on governors at their visits, and of influencing his hearers rather to live in retirement instead; and one of them uttered the jest that he drove away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic orator approaching. "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "lest these wolves should fall upon my flock." (Bk VIII, XXII, p. 385)

There is a certain tension in the story because there appears to be no way around the objection. Apollonius defends his behaviour by counterattacking, not against the objector, but against forensic orators.

There are three examples of tests in the Life. The first example occurs in a series, after an objection story. After Apollonius has replied to the quibbler, the quibbler tests Apollonius.

> "How then," the other asked him afresh, "O Apollonius, should the sage converse?" "Like a law-giver," he replied, "for it is the duty of the law-giver to deliver to the many the instructions of whose truth he has persuaded himself." (Bk I, XVII, p. 49)

Should the quibbler's question be regarded as a questing question, or perhaps simply as a Type O question which merely provides an occasion for Apollonius' response? The position of the story after an objection story seems to determine that the question is a test. The quibbler has not yet conceded his defeat. Apollonius' response to the second question shows that he has the ability to meet the test by giving an impressive answer--so impressive that, as Philostratus goes on to say, many unrefined people were converted to Apollonius.

The other two examples of tests occur together when Apollonius is visiting the castle of the sages. In these examples, it is Apollonius who

poses the testing question.

> And when he had taken his seat, he said: "Ask whatever you like, for you find yourself among people who know everything." Apollonius then asked him whether they knew themselves also, thinking that he, like the Greeks, would regard self-knowledge as a difficult matter. But the other, contrary to Apollonius' expectations, corrected him and said: "We know everything, just because we begin by knowing ourselves; for no one of us would be admitted to this philosophy unless he first knew himself." (Bk III, XVIII, p. 267)

This story offers a good example of the difficulty in developing a typology. If one regards Apollonius' testing question as central, then the story should be classified as a test. However, if one views the sage's correcting response as primary, then the story should be classified as a correction. Here, though, the sage does not correct an assumption by Apollonius about what is good or desirable. Rather, the story presents the sage in a difficult situation in which he gives an impressive answer. It is therefore to be classified as a test. The next example displays a similar interest; Apollonius proposes a difficult question, one which tests the sage's ability.

> He accordingly asked a fresh question,namely who they considered themselves to be; and the other answered "We consider ourselves to be Gods." Apollonius asked afresh: "Why?" "Because," said the other, "we are good men." (Bk III, VIII, pp. 267-69)

The sage's impressive answer shows he has the ability to meet the test put by Apollonius.

There are eighteen examples of corrections in the Life, not all of which require examination. The first example is found embedded in a larger narrative dealing with Apollonius' response to the death of his father. This narrative provides some background necessary for understanding the pronouncement story.

> Some one said to him that it was his duty to correct his brother and convert him from his evil ways; whereon he answered: "This would seem a desperate enterprise; for how can I who am the younger one correct and render wise an older man? but so far as I can do anything, I will heal him of these bad passions." (Bk I, XIII, p. 33)

The stimulus in this case reflects an assumption about what is good, an assumption which Apollonius corrects in his reply. It must be noted, however, that the stimulus is an objection to Apollonius' behaviour. The classification depends to a large extent on whether one views the stimulus or the response as determinative in this instance. In a correction, the stimulus itself usually does not generate tension.

The neutral character of the stimulus in a correction is evident in the next example, of interest to those who cross Canadian-U.S. customs.

> And as they fared on into Mesopotamia, the tax-gatherer who presided over the Bridge (Zeugma) led them into the registry and asked them what they were taking out of the country with them. And Apollonius replied: "I am taking with me temperance, justice, virtue, continence, valour, discipline." And in this way he strung together a number of feminine nouns or names. The other, already scenting his own perquisites, said: "You must then write down in the register these female slaves." Apollonius answered: "Impossible, for they are not female slaves that I am taking out with me, but ladies of quality."[1]

It is the tax-gatherer's misunderstanding which creates the tension. Apollonius' response surprises and delights, and in fact releases insight into the nature of the virtues. The story is nevertheless told as a correction rather than as a disclosure, even though many of the jokes which we will examine are to be classified as disclosures. In this example, the statements of the tax-gatherer function like those of a straight man in a comedy team. This is a special variation on the neutral character of the stimulus in a correction story.

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[1] The story occurs in Bk I, XX, p. 55.

There is a series of four correction stories which, as a series, displays an interesting sensitivity to the tension generated by such stories.

> One day the king was showing to him the grotto under the Euphrates, and asked him what he thought of so wonderful a thing. Apollonius in answer belittled the wonder of the work, and said: "It would be a real miracle, O king, if you went dryshod through a river as deep as this and unfordable."
>
> And when he was shown the walls of Ecbatana, and was told that they were the dwelling-place of gods, he remarked: "They are not the dwelling-place of gods at all, and I am not sure that they are of real men either; for,O king, the inhabitants of the city of Lacedaemon do not dwell within walls, and have never fortified their city."
>
> Moreover, on one occasion the king had decided a suit for some villages and was boasting to Apollonius of how he had listened to the one suit for two whole days. "Well," said the other, "you took a mighty long time, anyhow, to find out what was just."
>
> And when the revenues from the subject country came in on one occasion in great quantities at once, the king opened his treasury and showed his wealth to the sage, to induce him to fall in love with wealth; but he admired nothing that he saw and said: "This, for you, O king, represents wealth, but to me it is mere chaff." "How, then," said the other, "and in what manner can I best make use of it?" "By spending it," he said, "for you are a king." (Bk I, XXXVIII, p. 111)

This passage is not a dialogue, but a series of unconnected correction stories, stories which portray Apollonius correcting various assumptions made by the king. In the last story there is a surprise ending. Apollonius concedes that after all the king is a king and as such is at liberty to spend his wealth as he desires. By this time we were perhaps expecting Apollonius to once again correct the king; instead, his response corrects the reader's expectation, thereby resolving the tension generated by the successive corrections--particularly the tension between the king and Apollonius. Another series of five correction stories appears in Book II, XXI, pp. 171-73. In these stories Philostratus illustrates the character, not of Apollonius, but of Porus. Philostratus also includes a correction story told by Demetrius the philosopher about his encounter with Musonius.

> Demetrius said that he had fallen in with Musonius at the Isthmus, when he was fettered and under orders to dig; and that he addressed to him such consolations as he could, but Musonius took his spade and stoutly dug it into the earth, and then looking up, said: "You are distressed, Demetrius, to see me digging through the Isthmus for Greece; but if you saw me playing the harp like Nero, what would you feel then?" (BK V, XIX, p. 505)

Musonius corrects Demetrius' assumption that being fettered and impressed into service was the worst thing that could happen to a philosopher. In Book VII of the Life, Philostratus tells a number of stories illustrating the character of various philosophers in the face of tyrants. One of these illustrates the character of Crates of Thebes.

> Crates, when Alexander had declared that he would rebuild Thebes for his sake, replied that he would never stand in need of a country or of a city, which anyone could raze to the ground by mere force of arms. (BK VII, II, p. 151)

There are eleven examples of Type O pronouncement stories in the Life. In a Type O pronouncement story, the stimulus merely suggests a topic for comment.

> Now Euxenus realised that he was attached to a lofty ideal, and asked him at what point he would begin it. Apollonius answered: "At the point at which physicians begin, for they, by purging the bowels

of their patients prevent some from being ill at all, and heal others." (Bk I, VIII, p. 19)

Apollonius' teacher merely provides the occasion for Apollonius to utter the saying which describes his reasons for renouncing a flesh diet. Even in a Type O pronouncement story, however, there are variations in the way that stimulus and response are related.

> Another man came and said that he was being prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum, where he held office, he had omitted to mention in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Athene. Said Apollonius: "You imagined that Athene could not possibly have a son, because she is a virgin for ever and ever; but you forgot, methinks, that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to the Athenians." (Bk VII, XXIV, p. 217)

The man's statement provides an occasion for Apollonius' witty jab at Domitian. From one point of view, his response is a correction. But, since he does not correct the man's assumption about what is good or desirable, the story should probably remain classified as a Type O pronouncement story.

The final example shows similar ambiguities. In this case it is not certain whether the story is really Type O or whether it is a disclosure.

> And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him to say that he was already in possession of the Empire of the Romans, thanks to the good-will of the gods and to his good counsels; and he added that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius would come to advise him. Whereupon at the moment the latter wrote to him the following enigmatical sentence: "We will, my prince, enjoy one another's company for a very long time during which neither shall we govern others, nor others us." (Bk VIII, XXVII, p. 395)

Philostratus quite consciously narrates this as a pronouncement story. His remark that Apollonius "at that moment" wrote his response to the Emperor shows that he is composing the story in a stimulus-response structure. The saying illustrates Apollonius' prescience. Is it to be taken merely as an enigmatical sentence, as Philostratus calls it, or as a disclosure of the future? If it should be regarded as a disclosure, then the story should be classified as such. We have included it as an example of a Type O story because that is how Philostratus seems to view it.

All the preceeding examples of pronouncement stories were taken from the Life. They tend therefore to be rather closely integrated into Philostratus' narrative, and they usually function to serve Philostratus' expressed purpose of offering a defense of Apollonius. There are also examples of stories told to illustrate the character of other persons who are more or less central in the narrative.

We have seen that good examples of Tannehill's types can be found in the Life. There is one possible disclosure but no quests. These types account for about thirty-seven of the one hundred and sixty-nine pronouncement stories initially identified in the Life. What has happened to the other one hundred and thiry-two stories during subsequent analysis? Almost one hundred examples can be eliminated from consideration as pronouncement stories although all are related to the pronouncement story in structure and function. They have been provisionally catalogued as memoirs (which may end in a saying but which are too integrated with the narrative to be isolated) or as dialogues (which resemble series of pronouncement stories but which do not display the paratactic structure of the series). There remains a group of about thirty-two stories which at first appeared to fit Tannehill's categories but which closer analysis has shown to require a separate typology.

II. Declaratory Pronouncement Stories in the Life

The largest group of stories which do not fit well into Tannehill's typology does bear a close resemblance to his correction stories. Three of them occur in the following series:

> Apollonius, when he beheld a Temple so graceful and yet the home of no serious studies, but only of men half-barbarous and uncultivated, remarked: "O Apollo, change these dumb dogs into trees, so that at least as cypresses they may become vocal."
>
> And when he had inspected the springs, and noted how calm and quiet they were, and how not one of them made the least babble, he remarked: "The prevailing dumbness of this place does not permit even the springs to speak."
>
> And when he saw the Ladon he said: "It is not your daughter alone that underwent a change, but you too, so far as one can see, have become a barbarian after being a Hellene and an Arcadian." (Bk I, XVI, p. 45)

If one categorized these stories on the basis of the type of response, one would classify them as corrections. However, in none of these three examples is the stimulus a statement or action by another party, which is what Tannehill's definition and also his understanding of the stimulus-response structure would require. Rather, in each case Apollonius makes a declaration which is dependent on a set of circumstances indicated in the setting of the story. There do not appear to be any pronouncement stories of this type in the synoptic material. The closest one to this type is Jesus' cursing of the fig tree (Mark 11: 12-14; Matt 21: 18-19). Another story which could have been told in this way is Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the Temple (Mark 13:1-4 par.). But in all three synoptics a somewhat artificial statement about the Temple is made to which Jesus responds. One could say that the composers of the synoptic pronouncement stories exploited the dramatic potentials of the genre. That would be true, but it would not go far enough. All the synoptic pronouncement stories appear to have at their centre a dramatic interest generated by the tension between stimulus and response. In his paper "'Apophthegm' and Related Terms of the Works of Hellenistic Grammarians and Rhetoricians," Dr. Richard Spencer points out (p. 3) that the grammarian Theon of Alexandria distinguished between "Declaratory" and "Responsive" chreiai. In the responsive chreiai the sage always responds to a statement or question by another party. Prof. Tannehill's six types are all of the responsive type--and rightly so, because he developed his typology on the basis of synoptic materials. Our task is to test this typology to see whether it does justice to a wider range of materials. What if the synoptic pronouncement stories represent only one sub-category of ancient pronouncement stories? This fact could provide a basis for some potentially interesting observations on the distinguishing features of synoptic pronouncement stories, which all appear to be of the stimulus-response type. This form-critical observation would be important for reflecting on the way in which the earliest Christian composers of pronouncement stories viewed Jesus' attitude not only toward opponents but also toward sincere questers and toward disciples as well. In all these the element of tension and/or challenge is present between Jesus and the other person. In contrast, the declaratory pronouncement stories, as we shall see, do not exhibit this tension nor do they explore or exploit it. This is perhaps because they function primarily in order to illustrate the character of the hero (Spencer, pp. 2, 8, and 12). Philostratus of course displays a marked interest in the character of those he discusses. Do the synoptic materials reflect any interest in the character of Jesus? Does not the absence of declaratory pronouncement stories along with the correspondingly increased exploitation of interpersonal tensions suggest that the interests of the composers of the synoptic pronouncement stories lay elsewhere, and/or that these pronouncement stories were composed in a rather different context and for rather different purposes than the pronouncement stories in Philostratus? It would seem that the dominant feature of the synoptic pronouncement stories

is that they always portray Jesus as in some way representing a challenge to those who approach him.

Having made these preliminary observations and suggestions, it remains to discuss various types of declaratory pronouncement stories.[1] They fall into two main types, voluntary and dependent on circumstances. They can be classified this far according to the type of setting provided for the saying. They can be further classified by noting the type of response--or, rather and more accurately, the type of declaration. Here Tannehill's typology is also useful for distinguishing among various types of declarations. It would seem that the declaratory pronouncement stories, both voluntary and those dependent on circumstances, show basically two different types of declaration—corrections and disclosures. This is not surprising, because both corrections and disclosures were classified by paying attention to the type of response to the stimulus. Now we must also pay attention to the type of stimulus, because the setting provided for the saying might not be a stimulus as such at all; it might merely be a setting for a voluntary declaration, whether corrective or a disclosure, or it might merely be a description of a set of circumstances about which the sage makes a declaration. The difference between the declaratory pronouncement stories and the Type 0 stories is that the declaratory stories show no verbal stimulus at all. These additional types are suggested in order to facilitate more accurate classification of our materials, and also to provide a means of distinguishing the main features of Hellenistic pronouncement stories from those in the synoptics. Another advantage of this expanded typology is that it allows us to notice stages in the exploitation of the possibilities of the genre. At the lowest end of the scale are the voluntary disclosures. In these there is not even a person who suggests a topic for comment; the sage simply voluntarily makes a declaration. This is the simplest form of reproducing a saying. At the next level are the declaratory disclosures which are dependent on circumstances. Next are the Type 0 (responsive) pronouncement stories; in these someone suggests a topic for comment. The responsive disclosures display still more sense of the dramatic possibilities, as do the declaratory corrections which are voluntary and the declaratory corrections which are dependent on circumstances. The types which do the most to exploit the dramatic possibilities--the inter-personal tensions—of the genre are the responsive corrections, the responsive objections, and the responsive tests.

In the Life there are two examples of declaratory corrections which are voluntary.

> By expressing such sentiments he quite disarmed Apollonius, who was so captivated by him, that once, when he was rebuking Euphrates for his want of philosophic self-respect, he remarked: "Nay, let us at least reverence Phraotes the Indian," for this was the name of the Indian. (Bk II, XXVI, p. 185)

Apollonius' declaration is uttered voluntarily. Euphrates says nothing to stimulate the response--or, better, "declaration"--which is a correction of Euphrates' attitude. The second example is similar:

> Dion's philosophy struck Apollonius as being too rhetorical and over-much adapted to please and flatter, and that is why he addressed to him by way of correction the words: "You should use a pipe and a lyre, if you want to tickle men's senses, and not speech."(Bk V,XL, p. 565)

This is a good example of a corrective declaration uttered voluntarily by Apollonius. The narrative lacks any suggestion that Apollonius' declaration is a response to something said by Dion.

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[1] Dr. Spencer's paper was handed out to the Workgroup on Pronouncement Stories at the annual SBL meeting in St. Louis, 1976.

There are three examples in the Life of declaratory disclosures which are voluntary.

> So when all was well between him and his brother, he at once turned his attention to his other relatives, and conciliated such of them as were in want by bestowing on them the rest of his property, leaving only a trifle to himself; for he said that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae kept his philosophy for cattle rather than for men when he abandoned his fields to flocks and goats, and that Crates of Thebes, when he threw his money into the sea benefited neither man nor beast. (Bk I, XIII, p. 35)

If the setting included a statement objecting to Apollonius' behaviour in bestowing his property on his relatives, this would qualify as an objection story because Apollonius apparently offers, in these two sayings, a defense of his behaviour. But since there is no objection, his sayings are best viewed as disclosures because they disclose a significance in his actions which is hidden from the ordinary observer. The next example is rather different:

> Indeed, when he reached the age of a hundred, he still surpassed Simonides in point of memory, and he used to chant a hymn addressed to memory, in which it is said that everything is worn and withered away by time, whereas time itself never ages, but remains immortal because of memory. (Bk I, XIV, p. 37)

Again, there is no verbal stimulus. Philostratus merely provides a brief setting for Apollonius' hymn. The structure is that of a pronouncement story and the declaration functions as a disclosure of the significance of memory. The last example of a voluntary disclosure occurs in the midst of Apollonius' reply to a question by Titus about how to rule. In the course of his rather discursive reply, Apollonius himself tells a story about another sage:

> Archytas was a man of Tarentum who was learned in the lore of Pythagoras, and he wrote a treatise on the education of children, in which he says: "Let the father be an example of virtue to his children, for fathers also will the more resolutely walk in the path of virtue because their children are coming to resemble them." (Bk VI, XXXI, 117)

Apollonius reports Archytas' declaration by telling a pronouncement story, and the declaration makes a significant disclosure about the education of children.

All the declaratory-voluntary pronouncement stories closely resemble Tannehill's Type O stories except that there is no second party who suggests a topic for comment. Instead, the sage is represented as voluntarily making the comment. This group differs from the next group (declarations which are dependent on circumstances) which bears even closer resemblance to Tannehill's Type O stories. But there are significant differences.

There are in the Life twenty-six examples of declaratory pronouncement stories which are dependent on circumstances--eighteen corrections and eight disclosures. Three of the corrections have been cited above (p. 6). The difference between declaratory and responsive corrections is quite apparent in this example:

> When then he reached his fourteenth year, his father brought him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus the teacher from Phoenicia. Now Euthydemus was a good rhetor, and began his education; but, though he was attached to his teacher, he found the atmosphere of the city harsh and strange and little conducive to the philosophic life, for nowhere are men more addicted than here to luxury: jesters and full of insolence are they all; and they attend more to their fine linen than the Athenians did to wisdom; and a stream called the Cydnus runs through their city, along the banks of which they sit like so many water-fowl. Hence the words which Apollonius addresses to them in his letter: "Be done with getting drunk upon your water." (Bk I, VII, p. 17)

The setting is extended, but the boundaries and basic form of a pronouncement story are clear. The description of the circumstances in Tarsus provides a setting for Apollonius' saying, here quoted from a letter.

The chief characteristic of the declaratory correction story in distinction from the responsive correction story is that there is no verbal stimulus in the former.

> At any rate when the people of Antioch were shut out of them [the baths] because of the enormities committed there, he said: "The Emperor, for your sins, has granted you a new lease of life." And when the Ephesians wanted to stone their governor because he did not warm their baths enough he said to them: "You are blaming your governor because you get such a sorry bath; but I blame you because you take a bath at all." (Bk I, XVI, p. 47)

Here two pronouncement stories about the baths are told together. In both of these stories the setting merely describes the circumstances which give rise to Apollonius' corrective declaration. The next example is a pronouncement story in which Apollo, responding to the circumstances described in the setting, corrects the giver of oracles:

> And they tell that it was here [Lesbos] that Orpheus once on a time loved to prophesy, before Apollo had turned his attention to him. For when the latter found that men no longer flocked to Gryneium for the sake of oracles nor to Clarus nor (to Delphi) where is the tripod of Apollo, and that Orpheus was the only oracle, his head having lately come from Thrace, he presented himself before the giver of oracles and said: "Cease to meddle with my affairs, for I have already put up long enough with your vaticinations." (Bk IV, XIV, p.375)

This story functions in an unusual way because rather than illustrating character, as do most of those in Philostratus, it functions as a carrier of cultic tradition. The following example portrays Apollonius correcting the people's attitude during an earthquake:

> The ruler of Syria had plunged Antioch into a feud, by disseminating among the citizens suspicions such that when they met in assembly they all quarrelled with one another. But a violent earthquake happening to occur, they were all cowering, and as is usual in the case of heavenly portents, praying for one another. Apollonius accordingly stepped foward and remarked: "It is God who is clearly anxious to reconcile you to one another, and you will not revive these feuds since you cherish the same fears." (Bk VI, XXXVIII, p. 131)

For a similar story, see Book IV, XXXIV, p. 429. The example in Book VI actually falls on the borderline between corrections and disclosures, since Apollonius corrects the people of Antioch by disclosing to them the hidden significance of the earthquake. In Book VII, Chapters V, VI, and VII, pp. 157-59, Philostratus tells three declaratory corrections to illustrate that Apollonius has displayed greater courage in the face of tyrants than the other sages about whom such stories are told. In each case Apollonius makes a public, corrective, declaration, in dependence on a set of circumstances which is described in the setting. One example will suffice:

> On another occasion when after the murder of Sabinus, one of his own relations, Domitian was about to marry Julia, who was herself the wife of the murdered man, and Domitian's own niece, being one of the daughters of Titus, Ephesus was about to celebrate the marriage with sacrifice, only Apollonius interrupted the rites, by exclaiming: "O thou night of the Danaids of yore, how unique thou wast!" (Bk VII, VII, p. 159)

The next example is a story which has been composed to give the essence of an oration which Apollonius delivered against Nerva. In it the statue of Domitian provides the occasion for Apollonius' declaration on Fate.

> And being aware that Nerva would before long become sovereign, he went on to explain in his oration that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of destiny, and directing the attention of his audience to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been erected close by that of Meles, he said: "Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Destiny and Fate. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again." (Bk VII, IX, p. 163)

This declaratory correction verges on the form of the responsive correction because Apollonius addresses Domitian's statue. However, Apollonius does not correct anything Domitian said; rather, he corrects an attitude which is implicit in a set of circumstances. In the last example, Apollonius also makes a declaratory correction in dependence on a set of circumstances:

> There he saw a very old man who was trying to get an appointment, and in order to do so was grovelling before the Emperor and fawning upon him. "Here is one," he said, "O Damis, whom not even Sophocles so far has been able to persuade to run away from a master who is raging mad." (Bk VII, XXXI, p. 237)

The declaratory correction is sometimes uttered to the person involved in the circumstances, but often is simply addressed to bystanders or to a disciple. These declaratory correction stories appear to be true pronouncement stories but differ significantly from ones in which the tension is inter-personal. Therefore it seems appropriate to include these as examples of pronouncement stories in Philostratus, but to create for them a separate category to distinguish them from correction stories of the stimulus-response type.

The last group of pronouncement stories in the Life to be considered display declarations which are disclosures; in them the pronouncer's declaration discloses a significance in the circumstances which is not otherwise apparent (cf. Tannehill, p. 5). It is true, however, that some of these examples are not easily distinguished from the declaratory corrections quoted above. The borderline between the two different types of declaration is often blurred.

There are eight declaratory disclosures in the Life.

> And he was at the Isthmus, when the sea was roaring around Lechaeum, and hearing it he said: "This neck of land shall be cut through, or rather it shall not be cut." (Bk IV, XXIV, p. 401)

Apollonius' declaration intends to disclose something about the future. The next two occur one after the other:

> And when he learned that they had set their house in order, he sent them an epistle from Olympia, briefer than any cipher despatch of ancient Sparta; and it ran as follows:--
>
> > "Apollonius to the Ephors sends salutation.
> > It is the duty of men not to fall into sin, but of noble men, to recognize that they are doing so." (Bk IV, XXVII, p. 411)
>
> And looking at the statue set up at Olympia, he said: "Hail, O thou good Zeus, for thou art so good that thou dost impart thine own nature unto mankind." (Bk IV, XXVIII, p. 411)

In both stories Apollonius makes a declaration in order to disclose the meaning of the circumstances described in the setting. The difficulty of distinguishing corrections from disclosures is evident in the next story:

> The Emperor Domitian about the same time passed a law against making men eunuchs, and against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked: "These rescripts do not concern me, for I, alone perhaps of mankind, require neither to beget my kind nor to drink wine; but our egregious sovereign seems not aware that he is sparing mankind, while he eunuchises the earth." (Bk VI, XLII, p. 141)

Is Apollonius' declaration a correction of Domitian or a disclosure of the significance of his behaviour? Probably the latter comes closest to the nature of the declaration because the witticism functions in order to release insight into the meaning of Domitian's behaviour, both as it reflects on Apollonius' own ascetic practices and as it lays bare the contradictory assumptions inherent in Domitian's policies.

The final example of a declaratory disclosure is told about a different sage, Phyton of Rhegium:

> And Phyton, when he was banished from Rhegium, fled to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; but being treated with more honour than an exile

might expect, he realized that the tyrant had designs also upon Rhegium; and he informed the people there of this by letter. But he was caught doing so by the tyrant, who forthwith fastened him to one of his siege engines alive, and then pushed it forward against the walls, imagining that the inhabitants of Rhegium would not shoot at the machine in order to spare Phyton. He, however, cried out to them to shoot, for, said he: "I am the target of your liberty." (Bk VII, II, p. 149)

III. Declaratory and Stimulus-Response Pronouncement Stories in The Lives of the Sophists

Pronouncement stories in The Lives of the Sophists display roughly the same distribution according to types as do those in the Life. An initial survey of the material identified about one hundred pronouncement stories and related genres. Subsequent, more careful, analysis has shown that of these ninety can with a great deal of confidence be classified as true pronouncement stories. The percentage is higher here than in the Life because Philostratus has not integrated his stories into his narrative to the same extent. Of these ninety pronouncement stories, almost exactly half are responsive and half are declaratory. There are, once again, no examples of quests.

There are several examples of Type O stories (eleven in all). The following story illustrates Philostratus' point that Marcus, usually intent on secret thoughts, was constantly brooding over some theme in preparation for extempore speaking.

For when one of his friends asked him how he declaimed the day before, he replied: "To myself, well enough, but to my pupils not so well." (p. 105)

The next is told to illustrate that Polemo the sophist spoke with the gods as his equals:

Again, when he came to Pergamon suffering from a disease of the joints, he slept in the temple, and when Asclepius appeared to him and told him to abstain from drinking anything cold, "My good sir," said Polemo, "but what if you were doctoring a cow?" (p. 117)

The following story is told about Philagrus who had a morose temper:

Hence when one of his friends asked him why he did not enjoy bringing up a family, he replied, "Because I do not even enjoy myself." (p. 213)

The question might be viewed as an objection, but really functions as a straight man's statement to provide the occasion for Philagrus' quip. This is clear because the questioner is a friend. Type O pronouncement stories strongly resemble jokes, as the next example also shows. It deals with the response of a man who has been summoned by the Emperor to marry a woman who was very unattractive in appearance.

Then, when one of his friends asked him when he was going to celebrate the unveiling of the bride, Hermocrates replied with ready wit: "Say rather the veiling, when I am taking a wife like that." (p. 275)

These Type O stories, which are of the stimulus-response form, exploit more fully the dramatic possibilities of the genre than do the declaratory types. Type O stories do often only offer a topic for comment but frequently display a use of the stimulus as a straight line to be followed by a gag line. In the next example, the student's statement is given a witty completion by Heracleides. Here we have a dexterous use of the genre:

It is said that for cutting down sacred cedars he was punished by the confiscation of a great part of his estate. On that occasion, as he was leaving the law-court, his pupils were in attendance to comfort and sustain him, and one of them said: "But your ability to declaim no one will ever take from you, Heracleides, nor the fame you have won thereby." And he went on to recite over him the verse: "One methinks is still detained in a wide"--"privy purse," interrupted Heracleides, thus wittily jesting at his own misfortunes. (p. 283)

In the next example, we see still another way of manipulating the structure of the Type O story. In this example, the reader is left to complete the joke for himself:

> This sophist, more than any of the others, seems to have acquired his proficiency by means of hard work, since it was denied him by nature. And there is extant a rather pleasing composition of his, a book of moderate size, called In Praise of Work. Once, when he was carrying this book in his hands, he met Ptolemy the sophist in Naucratis, and the latter asked him what he was studying. When he replied that it was an encomium on work, Ptolemy asked for the book, crossed out the letter "p," and said: "Now you must read the title of your encomium." [ponos=work; onos=ass] (pp. 283-85)

It is the jokes which show the most sophisticated use of the genre; indeed, the effect of such stories is produced largely by the surprise generated by an unexpected departure from the standard form.

There are fourteen objection stories in The Lives of the Sophists. This type is almost identical with what Bultmann calls controversy stories. There is little difficulty identifying this type, which has been well-documented. A few examples will suffice. The following story shows a slightly different use of the type since it is the Emperor who meets the objection raised against Polemo.

> And once when a tragic actor who had performed at the Olympic games in Asia, over which Polemo presided, declared that he would prosecute him, because Polemo had expelled him at the beginning of the play, the Emperor asked the actor what time it was when he was expelled from the theatre, and when he replied that it happened to be at noon, the Emperor made this witty comment: "But it was midnight when he expelled me from his house, and I did not prosecute him." (p. 115)

Antiochus shows himself able to handle the objection in this example:

> When he was accused of cowardice in not appearing to speak before the assembly and taking no part in public business, he said: "It is not you but myself that I fear." (p. 187)

The stimulus in this story is an objection; the response is a correction. Such a mixed form raises the question whether a typology for pronouncement stories ought to be based on the content of the components of the story.

There are two examples of tests in the Lives:

> There was at Athens a certain Chaerephon, not the one who used to be nicknamed "Boxwood" in Comedy, because he suffered from anaemia due to hard study, but the one I now speak of had insolent manners and made scurrilous jokes; he rallied Gorgias for his ambitious efforts, and said: "Gorgias, why is it that beans blow out my stomach, but do not blow up the fire?" But he was not at all disconcerted by the question and replied: "This I leave for you to investigate; but here is a fact which I have long known, that the earth grows canes for such as you." (p. 11)

In the tests in the Lives what is tested is solely the sophist's ability to acquit himself in verbal combat. One might ask whether the function of tests in the synoptic material is sufficiently differentiated from examples of this type if we were to agree with Tannehill's statement that "These stories focus special attention on the ability of Jesus to meet the test by giving an impressive answer."(p. 3) Is the focus not rather on the content of Jesus' answer? When Jesus' tests are compared with the tests in Philostratus, it becomes clear that the synoptic tests function in a particular way.

There are three declaratory corrections which are voluntary in the Lives. One is told about Gorgias of Leontini:

> And though he presented his ideas with honeyed sweetness, he was not intemperate in the use of pleasing effects, like some of the sophists, but was economical with them, and would always say to his pupils that honey should be tasted with the finger-tip and not by the handful.(91)

It is perhaps an open question whether this example shows a corrective response; it is delivered to his pupils to correct the other sophists' assumption about rhetoric but is not directed to the sophists themselves. Another declaratory correction which is voluntary is told about the ways Polemo benefited Smyrna:

> The suits which they brought against one another he did not allow to be carried anywhere abroad, but he would settle them at home. I mean the suits about money, for those against adulterers, sacrilegious persons and murderers, the neglect of which breeds pollution, he not only urged them to carry them out of Smyrna but even to drive them out. For he said that they needed a judge with a sword in his hand. (p. 109)

In this story the correction is mild--perhaps because the declaration is voluntary.

Declaratory corrections which are voluntary can be distinguished from declaratory corrections which are dependent on circumstances. There are ten examples of the latter in the Lives. The following story is told about Lollianus of Ephesus who was nearly stoned because he held an office which had charge of the food supplies in Athens:

> Once when a riot arose in the bread-sellers' quarter, and the Athenians were on the point of stoning Lollianus, Pancrates the Cynic, who later professed philosophy at the Isthmus, came forward before the Athenians, and by simply remarking: "Lollianus does not sell bread but words," he so diverted the Athenians that they let fall the stones that were in their hands. (p. 99)

Pancrates corrects the Athenians' assumption, thus saving Lollianus' life.

This example shows that declaratory corrections which are voluntary and those which are dependent on circumstances can be distinguished. The type which exploits most fully the dramatic possibilities of the form is, however, the responsive correction. There are about eighteen examples of this type in the Lives. The following example is unusual because it is told at the sophist's expense. Alexander the "Clay-Plato" was maliciously slandered, so Philostratus says, of using artifical means to make himself look younger.

> After he reached manhood he went on an embassy to Antoninus on behalf of Seleucia, and malicious gossip became current about him, that to make himself look younger he used artificial means. Now the Emperor seemed to be paying too little attention to him, whereupon Alexander raised his voice and said: "Pay attention to me, Caesar." The Emperor, who was much irritated with him for using so unceremonious a form of address, retorted: "I am paying attention, and I know you well. You are the fellow who is always arranging his hair, cleaning his teeth, and polishing his nails, and always smells of perfume." (pp. 191-93)

The Emperor's response corrects Alexander's assumption that he deserved the Emperor's attention by virtue of being an ambassador.

There are twenty-nine declaratory disclosures in the Lives, fourteen or which are voluntary and fifteen of which are dependent on circumstances. In dealing with declaratory corrections we have seen how one can distinguish between those which are voluntary and those which are dependent on circumstances. We have observed above that a large part of classifying pronouncement stories involves making a judgement about the content of one of the components. Whether the stimulus (or setting) is neutral, a test, or an objection determines the type of some stories. Whether a response (or declaration) is a correction or disclosure determines the type for other stories. But a correction is usually more easily recognized than a disclosure; so the disclosure type tends to serve as a catch-all for a variety of kinds of response or declaration. In this story, Plato discloses voluntarily his contempt for Polus:

> Some say that Polus was the first to use clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings; but they are mistaken in so saying; for rhetorical ornament of this kind was already invented, and Polus merely employed it to excess. Hence Plato, to express his contempt for Polus because of this affectation, says: "O polite Polus! to address you in your own style." (p. 39)

Philostratus tells two declaratory stories about Polemo:

> When the doctors were regularly attending him for hardening of the joints, he exhorted them to "dig and carve in the stone-quarries of Polemo." (p. 133)
>
> And in writing to Herodes about this disease he sent this bulletin: "I must eat, but I have no hands; I must walk, but I have no feet; I must endure pain, and then I find I have both feet and hands." (135)

In the first example, Polemo's declaration is dependent on the circumstances described in the brief setting. In the second his declaration is voluntary. The voluntary declaration is little more than a carrier of a saying. Declaratory disclosures which are dependent on circumstances show a further development of the genre, as in the following:

> When he came before the assembly he excited universal laughter, since he was fat and had a prominent paunch, but he was not at all embarrassed by the laughter. "Why," said he, "do ye laugh, Athenians? Is it because I am so stout and so big? I have a wife at home who is much stouter than I, and when we agree the bed is large enough for us both, but when we quarrel not even the house is large enough." (p. 15)

Philostratus tells the next story to illustrate Polemo's wit:

> Again, on seeing a gladiator dripping with sweat out of sheer terror of the life-and-death struggle before him, he remarked: "You are in as great an agony as though you were going to declaim." (pp. 129-31)

This is a disclosure only in the sense that jokes often function by releasing insight by juxtaposing two items in a surprising way--here, agony and declaiming. The pleasure and the humour come from the unexpected connection Polemo makes.

> There is only one example of a responsive disclosure in the Lives: On another occasion, when the proconsul was putting to the torture a bandit who had been convicted on several charges, and declared that he could not think of any penalty for him that would match his crimes, Polemo who was present said: "Order him to learn by heart some antiquated stuff." (p. 129)

This story occurs in a series of pronouncement stories of various types which Philostratus tells to illustrate Polemo's wit. In this story, Polemo does not respond directly to the proconsul's statement, but the statement does serve as a stimulus for the response which functions as a disclosure by releasing comic insight. In this single example of the type we see the form developing beyond the stage of the declaratory disclosure.

The final pronouncement story offers a complex example of a declaratory disclosure which is dependent on circumstances. It discloses, supposedly, Hadrian's shameless manners, because this is why his enemies have circulated the story. But the real force of the story lies in the joke which Hadrian plays on his student, disclosing that the teacher is after all superior to the slow-witted but ostentatious student (cf. the first example above, which exalted Apollonius at the expense of his teacher).

> ...when one of his pupils sent him a present of fish lying on a silver plate embossed with gold, he was enchanted with the plate and so did not return it, and in acknowledging the present to the sender, he said: "It was indeed kind of you to send the fish as well." (233-35)

IV. Results

The preceeding analyses show that Tannehill's typology is very useful for illuminating the structural differences of about half the material in Philostratus. For the other half, his typology has provided the basis for

suggesting another set of types which are parallel to his. We have seen that it is necessary to make distinctions between pronouncement stories of the stimulus-response type and those of the declaratory type. Making such distinctions yields a number of results.

(1) We were able to include a whole set of stories which lack the stimulus-response structure but which are definitely pronouncement stories (although these declaratory stories do not exhibit the same inter-personal tensions between stimulus and response as do the synoptic materials, they should be recognized as belonging to the genre of pronouncement stories).

(2) We were able to set the whole range of pronouncement stories on a line from those which are merely carriers of sayings to those which exploit more fully the dramatic potentials of the genre, and we were able to observe some interesting variations on the basic types.

(3) We were able to suggest that the stimulus-response pronouncement stories found in the synoptics hold a special position in the genre as a whole.

(4) We saw that whereas pronouncement stories in Philostratus function primarily to illustrate character, the composers of the synoptic pronouncement stories appear to have used the genre rather differently. At this level, form-critical and theological observations can enrich one another.

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A TYPOLOGY OF PRONOUNCEMENT STORIES IN DIOGENES LAERTIUS' LIVES AND OPINIONS OF EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS

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Diogenes Laertius (fl. 3rd century C.E.), in his compendium of ten books on the lives and doctrines of ancient philosophers,[1] presented the works and sayings of figures from Thales to Epicurus in a series of anecdotal biographies which are both informative and entertaining. The eighty-two lives, which are characteristically marked by perceptive and clever observations on the part of each philosopher, abound in apophthegms or pronouncement stories (two terms which will be used interchangeably throughout this paper).

In accordance with the definition developed by the Pronouncement Story group of the "Genres of Religious Literature in Western Antiquity" project, I have categorized as pronouncement stories only those stories which exhibit a saying and/or act as a response to something said or done in an accompanying narrative setting. The response is typically formulated in a striking way and generally indicates significant interaction with its setting. Numerous lists of sayings, poems, songs, and letters found in the Lives, therefore, have not been cited.

Because of the anecdotal nature of Diogenes' Lives, pronouncement stories abound, approximately 440 in number; they are fairly evenly distributed throughout the lives except for three extensively quoted philosophers--Aristippus (2.65-104), Diogenes the Cynic (6.20-81) and Zeno (7.1-160). In all but about 16 instances, a particular life features the pronouncements of its own sage. Since I did not discover a difference in content or mode of expression in stories in which another person was featured, I did not include them in this study.

The construction of a typology of the pronouncement stories found in Diogenes Laertius' Lives was a long process because of the large number of apophthegms. Establishing the classes was accomplished with minimum difficulty, however, because the stories, for the most part, could be arranged in several general categories. I am particularly indebted to Professor Robert C. Tannehill for the preliminary work that he has done toward establishing a clear, concise typology for apophthegms in the synoptic tradition.[2] His classifications served the Greek

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[1] Diogenes Laertius, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, tr. R. D. Hicks (Loeb Classical Library) 2 vols., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

[2] Professor Tannehill's paper entitled "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories" was read at the 1976 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in St. Louis.

philosophical text of Diogenes equally well.

As the basis for my discussion, then, I will use the typology which Tannehill has developed and suggest modifications where they are necessary. As with the synoptic stories, a close examination has been made of the relationship between the two major parts of the pronouncement stories (the narrative setting and the response) since the nature of the response tends to reflect that of the setting. Because of the interaction of these two parts, the story, therefore, becomes most meaningful when regarded as a single unit; then the theme or purpose of the story can best be seen.

1. Type O, Topic and Comment. This is the class of stories in which the setting simply suggests a topic for comment, either verbal or demonstrative. Since the narrative sets only the slightest stage for the response, the saying and/or act must supply the forcefulness of the expression and, thereby, of the story almost solely on its own merits.

Almost one-half of the pronouncement stories in the Lives (ca. 218) fall into this category and tend to cluster in groups of 2-6. Most of the responses are in the form of sayings after short narratives or in answer to specific questions. Only three acts serve as responses. Diogenes the Cynic is the philosopher most often represented here by far. Examples:

> Of a public bath which was dirty, Diogenes said, 'When people have bathed here, where are they to go to get clean?' (6.47)
>
> When Aristippus was asked by someone in what way his son would be the better for being educated, he said, 'If nothing more than this that, when in the theatre, he will not sit down like a stone upon stone.' (2.72)
>
> Arcesilaus once called upon Ctesibius when he was ill and, seeing in what straits he was, quietly put a purse under his pillow. (4.37)

Although the contribution of the setting to the response is minimal in these stories, nevertheless, the responses are generally powerful and effective. The sayings often convey a message of special meaning or importance, and for this reason I was tempted to place some of these stories under "disclosures". However, since the response alone is subordinate to the function of the two parts, I included them here. This type does seem, as Tannehill says, "to stand on the borderline between the apophthegms and the sayings without individual narrative setting."

Type O is, by necessity, rather unwieldly when serving as a classification for the Lives, but this cannot be avoided as long as the basis for categorization is the relationship between the setting and the saying/act. A philosophical response to the slightest of introductions is one of the major characteristics of Diogenes Laertius' anecdotal style. Perhaps, a finer differentiation within Type O based solely on the nature of the response would be needed to remove the awkwardness of handling and analyzing the large number of passages here.

2. Objection Stories. In these stories one or more people find fault with the speech or behavior of a philosopher and raise

an objection against him. The objection is sometimes made in the form of a question as to the reason for such behavior. Since the philosopher's propriety has been challenged, there is usually exhibited a high degree of intensity, and even irritation, in the defense given against the objection. The tension is resolved, however, when the sage vindicates himself by attributing the objection to a misconception or lack of understanding.

Approximately 42 such stories appear in Diogenes' Lives, the majority of which consists of sayings after a short narrative. The others are characterized by a final saying in a dialogue, by sayings in answer to questions, and by an act (or act and saying) following a narrative. These stories presented no problems in terms of classification. Examples:

> When some Athenian reproached Anacharsis with being a Scythian, he replied, 'Well, granted that my country is a disgrace to me, you are a disgrace to your country.' (1.104)
>
> When someone brought his son as a pupil, Aristippus asked a fee of 500 drachmae. The father objected, 'For that sum I can buy a slave.' 'Then do so,' was the reply, 'and you will have two.' (2.72)
>
> Aristippus made a request to Dionysius on behalf of a friend and, failing to obtain it, fell down at his feet. And when someone jeered at him, he made reply, 'It is not I who am to blame, but Dionysius who has ears in his feet.' (2.79)
>
> At a feast certain people kept throwing all the bones to Diogenes as they would have done to a dog. Thereupon, he played a dog's trick and drenched them. (6.46)

Objection stories are effective in conveying responses that illustrate the importance of things in life. With varying degrees of subtlety, the sage, in his defense, consistently reminds the objectors of their own narrowness of vision or petty behavior.

3. Tests. This is the one classification in Tannehill's typology for which I found no examples in Diogenes' Lives. Pronouncement stories that would fit this group are marked by a narrative setting in which an individual or individuals ask the central figure an open question designed to test him. Often times the questioner is hostile. An impressive answer is desirable in such a situation.

I was surprised in analyzing the text that stories with a testing question were not present. I had anticipated that the practice of putting a question to a sage to determine his cleverness and quickness would be represented in the Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers. Although one-fourth of the pronouncement stories in the Lives begin with a question, they are not tests. The question rather functions as an introduction to Type O stories, objections, quests, corrections, and disclosures.

4. Quest Stories. Apophthegms of this type also begin with an open question to the philosopher. Rather than testing and challenging, the questioner seeks an answer to something he is searching for, displaying varying degrees of earnestness in his quest. A helpful answer to the question is generally of great

importance to the seeker.

In Diogenes Laertius' account of the Lives, I have identified approximately 30 quest stories in which sayings either follow a short narrative or provide answers to questions. Examples:

> Being asked what is difficult, Thales replied, 'To know oneself.' 'What is easy?' 'To give advice to another.' 'What is most pleasant?' 'Success.' 'How shall we lead the best and most righteous life?' 'By refraining from doing what we blame in others.' 'What man is happy?' 'He who has a healthy body, a resourceful mind, and a docile nature.' (1.36-37)

> When someone inquired of him what lesson he ought to give his son, Cleanthes, in reply, quoted words from the Electra, 'Silence, silence, light be thy step.' (7.172)

> To one who inquired if the good man ever married, Menedemus replied, 'Do you think me good or not?' The reply being affirmative, he said, 'Well, I am married.' (2.128)

These quest stories are rather simple in nature compared with those we find in other literature, e.g. the Gospels where the search is for salvation or some religious truth. The story is rarely developed beyond the asking of the question and the answer. For this reason, it was difficult to determine whether such a story should be more appropriately categorized as a quest or as Type O. I selected as the discriminating factor the importance of the question. If the answer evoked provided a guide to living life to the fullest or in the best possible way and if the answer evoked expressed a universal truth or some ideal, I included these stories as quests. Even though the quests may not be as elaborate as those in the Gospels, nevertheless, the questions do reflect searching for what is good or right, a quest shared by most peoples.

5. Correction Stories. In these stories the sage corrects an assumption made by a person who has taken a stand which he believes to be proper and good. As in the objection apophthegms, there is a certain tension exhibited between the philosopher and the party because the correction is made.

About 45 correction stories have been noted in the Lives. There was little difficulty in establishing this category. In these stories, 30 responses take the form of sayings which occur after a short narrative, eight are sayings which bring an end to a dialogue, and the rest are acts and/or sayings after a narrative. Aristippus and Diogenes the Cynic are the philosophers most often represented in this classification. Examples:

> On hearing someone say that the greatest good was to get all you want, Menedemus rejoined, 'To want the right things is a far greater good.' (2.136)

> Heraclides in his epitome of Sotion's Successions of Philosophers says that Ptolemy himself wished to transmit the kingdom to Philadelphus, but that Demetrius tried to dissuade him saying, 'If you

give it to another, you will not have it yourself.' (5.79)

Anaxarchus succeeded in diverting Alexander when he had begun to think himself a god; for seeing blood running from a wound he had sustained, he pointed to him with his finger and said, 'See, there is blood and not ichor which courses in the veins of the blessed gods.' (9.60)

To one who by argument had proved conclusively that he had horns, Diogenes said, touching his forehead, 'Well, I for my part don't see any.' (6.38)

As is evidenced by these pronouncement stories, corrections run the gamut from forthright correction to gentle dissuasion, from seriousness to playful humor. The sages, through correction stories, realign values which have been let go, break illusions wrongly created, reassert the importance of failing institutions, and play upon the absurdity of commonplace situations.

6. Disclosures. This class of stories consists of those in which the response of the philosopher discloses the importance of that which he is responding to. He emphasizes its value and special significance. Thus, when a person has taken a stand, the sage not only reacts to the position in a positive or negative way but also proceeds to comment further on it in terms of its deeper meaning. Generally, such a disclosure assigns a value to the matter which may otherwise go unobserved.

I have identified approximately 55 disclosure apophthegms in the text, the largest number of which appears in the life of Diogenes. The responses in this class most often combine sayings with a short narrative or dialogue and both a saying and act with a short narrative. Examples:

Socrates had invited some rich men, and when Xanthippe said she felt ashamed of the dinner, 'Never mind,' he said, 'for if they are reasonable they will put up with it, and if they are good for nothing, we shall not trouble ourselves about them.' (2.34)

Seeing a young man behaving effeminately, 'Are you not ashamed,' Diogenes said, 'that your own intention about yourself should be worse than nature's? For nature made you a man, but you are forcing yourself to play the woman.' (6.65)

When he was reproached by Plato for his extravagance, Aristippus inquired, 'Do you think Dionysius a good man?' The reply being affirmative he said, 'And yet he lives more extravagantly than I do. So there is nothing to hinder a man from living extravagantly and well.' (2.69)

When his fellow passengers on board a ship were all unnerved by a storm, Pyrrho kept calm and confident, pointing to a little pig in the ship that went on eating, and telling them that such was the unperturbed state in which the wise man should keep

himself. (9.68)

The values disclosed here are readily apparent, whether emphasized verbally or demonstratively. In instances where both a saying and an act formulate the response, the saying tends to reinforce the act and thus provide the situation with deeper meaning.

7. Hybrids. Pronouncement stories in this classification combine features of any two types already discussed. The most popular combination in Diogenes' Lives is that of corrections and disclosures (23 instances), followed by objections and disclosures (7 instances). Responses appear in the form of acts as well as sayings. Examples:

> And when Dionysius gave him his choice of three courtesans, Aristippus carried off all three, saying, 'Paris paid dearly for giving the preference to one out of three.' And when he had brought them as far as the porch, he released them, going to such lengths both in choosing and disdaining. (2.67)

> Aeschines said to him, 'I am a poor man and have nothing else to give, but I offer you myself,' and Socrates answered, 'Nay, do you not see that you are offering me the greatest gift of all?' (2.34)

> Aristippus is said to have ordered a partridge to be bought at a cost of fifty drachmae, and when someone censured him, he inquired, 'Would you not have given an obol for it?' When he was answered in the affirmative, he said, 'Fifty drachmae are no more to me.' (2.66)

Because of the complexity of some of the stories, there is a temptation to type more of them as hybrids than perhaps should be done. Unless the responses (e.g. corrections and disclosures) are of equal importance, the story should probably be assigned to the class of the dominant response.

This, then, is my proposed typology of the apophthegms featured in Diogenes Laertius' Lives. It is significant for the work of the Pronouncement Story group of the "Genres of Religious Literature in Western Antiquity" project that the same typology which Professor Tannehill constructed of the New Testament stories can also be applied, with only minor modifications, to a Greek philosophical text of the third century C. E. The close structural agreement in the pronouncement stories, which is becoming evident now in several literatures of the early Christian world, should provide the group with a common base from which to begin its next phase of study, i.e. a careful scrutiny of the values and messages which the various stories convey.

S 213 A Typological Analysis of Intertestamental Pronouncement Stories

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The surviving Jewish literature of the "intertestamental" period contains few passages which can be called pronouncement stories. The relatively meagre results catalogued below(confined almost exclusively to two books) were garnered from a survey of the following works: 3-6 Esdras(or 1-2, 5-6), Tobit, Judith, the Additions to Esther, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, 1-3 Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men, the Prayer of Manasseh, 1-4 Maccabees, Jubilees, the Epistle of Aristeas, the Martyrdom of Isaiah, 1-2 Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Sibylline Oracles III-V, the Assumption of Moses, the Psalms of Solomon, the Books of Adam and Eve, the Story of Ahiqar, the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Job, the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah, the Lives of the Prophets, Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities, and the Qumran literature. It is a curious fact that though there are several works in this corpus devoted to the glory of great men and women--the likeliest source for pronouncement stories--even these have few pericopes which belong to the genre. It should be noted that the Story of Ahiqar, one of the few books having pronouncement stories, is probably of non-Jewish origin.[1]

When the examples from the "intertestamental" literature are arranged according to the six types proposed in Robt. Tannehill's paper "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories," they appear as follows(some problems with the typology will be discussed below; the asterisked passages are the ones which raise these difficulties):

0 Ahiqar 2:105
1 T. Job 36:1-38:8
2 Ahiqar 6:10, 11, 12, 13; 6:20-7:4; 7:5-8, 9-15a, 17-19, 20-21
3
4 T. Job 11:1-11*; 12:1-6*; 38:9-13; Lives of the Prophets: Daniel 17-18; Bel 23-27
5 T. Job 19:1-4*

Type 0: Topic and Comment

> Ahiqar 2:105(Arm only)[2] "They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly."

Since both Syr and Arab omit this passage, it is textually suspect. As it stands it is a simple story in which the two sons of the king, Houday and Baliayn(2:101), merely pose a question to the wise man. There is no quest for religious knowledge, nor are the two putting a testing question. Rather, their query serves only to furnish a topic on which Ahiqar can comment in the manner of a sage.

Type 1: Objection Stories

T. Job 36:1-38:8: Job and Baldas[3] During the dialogues between the suffering Job and his miserable comforters, Baldas (=biblical Bildad) asks a series of questions to determine whether Job is still in command of his mental powers. He was particularly concerned with Job's insistence that the God in whom he still trusted had afflicted him with his many maladies without a just cause. There is an adversarial relationship between the two men: Baldas strongly objects to the view that Job maintains so stubbornly. After asking a difficult question about bodily excretions--which Baldas could not answer--Job concludes the debate by saying: "If you do not understand the function of the body, how will you understand the heavenly matters?"(38:8b) Job thus combats his friend's objection to his position by asserting the mysterious character of God's ways with men.

Type 2: Stories with a Testing Question(Tests)

The Story of Ahiqar furnishes nine examples for the category of Testing Questions. These fall into two divisions: a) Ahiqar simply comments on a scene shown to him in a sufficiently clever and flattering way(6:10, 11, 12, 13); and b) the sage solves problems and performs seemingly impossible deeds (6:20-7:4; 7:5-8, 9-15a, 17-19, 20-21[these are the references in Syr; for their locations in the other versions see below]). In this second category, Ahiqar's responses involve both actions and words. There is a trace of hostility in these stories, but generally the tests are applied and handled in a good-natured manner.[4] Their purpose is to determine the magnitude of Ahiqar's wisdom.[4] I will now examine one story from each of these two categories.

a) Ahiqar 6:10(Syr; Arm; Arab 6:14b-16; lacking in Greek) Since this story is identical in all structural details with the following three, it will suffice to quote it alone. The others differ only in the colors of the garments(which the traditions have confused) and in the specific vocabulary of Ahiqar's reply.

> Then the king commanded his nobles, "On the morrow clothe yourselves in red," and the king dressed himself in fine linen and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me: "To what am I like, Abiḳam, and to what are my nobles like?" And I answered and said to him, "My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests." And again he said to me, "Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow."[5]

In this story the single issue is whether the wise man can respond convincingly and wittily to the situation placed before his eyes. In other words, the pharaoh is testing the wisdom of the Assyrian king's representative. Ahiqar, the hero of the tale, naturally passes the test with ease.

b) Ahiqar 6:20-7:4(Syr; Arm 6:25-7:5; Arab 6:30-7:4; Greek 32) The pharaoh orders Ahiqar to tell him "... a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom."(6:20b Syr) In response the

sage wrote a letter which purported to come from the pharaoh and to be addressed to Sennacherib. In it the Egyptian ruler requests a loan of 900 silver talents and promises to repay(7:1-2 Syr).[6] When Ahiqar reads the letter before the court, they claim, as they had been ordered, that they had heard this before --just as he expected. The wise man then pronounces: "Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria." The king marvelled(7:4 Syr). There is a slight note of hostility here, but the purpose of the story is to display the wisdom of Ahiqar who handled his exacting assignment with a superb flair. In distinction from type a), he responds by deed(writing and reading the letter) and by words--the climax of the story. In this instance the saying is the more important element,[7] but in others of type b) the deed assumes greater prominence vis-à-vis the statement. For example, when the pharaoh challenges him to construct a castle in the air[8] or to fashion a rope from sand,[9] his execution of these extraordinary tasks is at least as prominent as the witty sayings which conclude the tales.[10] But the important point is that in all cases of type b) words and a striking deed(not miracles) appear side by side.

Type 3: Quest Stories(Quests)

I have found no clear examples of this type, but some passages in 2(4) Esdras show some of its traits(e. g. 4:12-21, 22-32, 33-43, 44-50; 5:20-40, 41-49; 6:7-10; 7:1-25, 102-15, 116-31; 7:32-8:3).

Type 4: Stories with a Corrective Response(Corrections)

T. Job 11:1(Job and His Debtors) and 12:1-6(Job and the Cheerful Worker) are examples which he himself adduces to show his second set of children how wealthy and magnanimous he had been. Both describe highly commendable instances of his willingness to give money to poor people who wished to help other paupers but lacked the means. In both stories the poor assumed that the rich man would deal with them according to standard financial procedure, but Job corrects their assumptions by cancelling debts(11:1-11) or by paying wages to the kindhearted poor(12:1-6). These certainly are key aspects of each story, but one wonders whether designating them corrections captures their deeper purpose. They are told to illustrate Job's character in the first place, not to correct understandable but incorrect assumptions. That is, these two stories appear to serve more of a biographical than a corrective purpose, though they involve corrections on a more superficial level.

T. Job 38:9-13(Job's Rejection of Medical Help) is more appropriately designated a correction. Here, unlike the first two examples, there is hostility between Job and Sophar, the spokesman of the three kings. They have offered the devastated man the services of their royal physicians. But Job rejects their assumption, viz. that men could heal in his case: "My healing and treatment are from the Lord, who created even the physicians."(38:13b) A similar example occurs in Daniel 17-18 in the Lives of the Prophets. Daniel rejects the king's assumption that he desired to be included among the royal heirs by reasserting his ties to his heritage: "Far be it from me to forsake the heritage of my fathers and join in the inheritances of the uncircumcized."[11]

Type 5: Disclosures

One story in the Testament of Job may be a disclosure--19:1-4(The Destruction of Job's Children). In the account, which is based on the biblical Job 1:18-21, Job tells his second family about the deaths of his first children and his reaction to that stunning news: "The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away. As the Lord has decided, so has it happened. Blessed be the name of the Lord."(19:2b-4) If this section is a pronouncement story, one could call it a disclosure on the grounds that Job's statement unveils the deeper meaning of what has just happened as well as its cause--neither of which is obvious. Yet, that hardly seems an adequate classification because the purpose of the story is not, in the first instance, to disclose the significance of the event itself but rather to underscore the remarkable tenacity of the man's belief and trust in God. The catastrophe elicited a confession of faith when a denial of it would have been understandable. For this reason, it may be more appropriate to call this story, like 11:1-11 and 12:1-6, a biographical apophthegm.

In summary, the pronouncement stories in "intertestamental" literature can usually be classified according to the types proposed in Tannehill's paper, but some stories suggested that a seventh category--biographical pronouncement stories--should be considered. In these the crucial element was not so much the hero's commenting on words or deeds but his character which was illustrated by his reaction. Naturally, the material also showed that subdivisions within some categories were possible, as in type 2 where responses by word alone were distinguished from reactions by word and deed.

Footnotes

1 A word or two should be said about including the Story of Ahiqar in a study which takes ca. 250 B. C. as its terminus a quo. The oldest extant copy of the book, a fragmentary Aramaic text dating from the fifth century B. C., was found at Elephantine(see A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1923] 204-48 for the text, with an introduction, translation, and notes). Cowley dates the original of the book to ca. 550(208). It has become common, nevertheless, to classify it among the pseudepigrapha, as in R. H. Charles' collection. One can defend this practice, not by claiming that it is Jewish in origin(see Cowley, 205), but by recognizing that it is a non-biblical book which appears to have been popular among Jewish people in the post-exilic period. In fact, in the Book of Tobit, Ahiqar becomes a Jew, the nephew of Tobit(1:21-22; 2:10; 11:16-19; 14:10).

2 Quotations from the Story of Ahiqar are taken from F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and A. S. Lewis, "The Story of Aḥiḳar," in R. H. Charles, ed., APOT 2.715-84. Because of the textual condition of the book(it is preserved mainly only in relatively late translations: Arm[enian], Syr[iac], and Arab[ic] but it has also been incorporated into the Greek Aesop's Fables,

and parts are preserved in Ethiopic), I indicate in each case the textual support for the passage under consideration. Arm appears in general to be particularly valuable (see APOT 2.721-22), but in the sections used here Syr usually preserved a better text. Consequently I cite from it where possible.

3 Quotations of the Testament of Job are from Robt. Kraft, ed., The Testament of Job (SBLTT 5, Pseudepigrapha Series 4; Missoula, Montana: SBL and the Scholars' Press, 1974).

4 The context for these stories is the challenge issued by the pharaoh to Sennacherib, after the former had heard of Ahiqar's execution (5:1-3). The challenge stipulated that if the Assyrian king proved unable to have certain feats performed he was to pay the tribute from Assyria for three years into Egyptian coffers, but if one of his subjects carried out the assignments Egypt's revenue for three years would be paid to Assyria. Ahiqar, who had deceptively escaped death, was sent by Sennacherib in order to handle the problems posed by the pharaoh. The nine stories appear in the account of Ahiqar's adventures in Egypt.

5 In the versions, the examples of division a) appear in 6:11 (Syr; Arm 6:11-12; Arab 6:17-18; Greek 28); 6:12 (Syr; Arab 6:19-20; lacking in Arm and Greek); and 6:13 (Syr; Arm 6:13-14; Arab 6:21-22; cf. Greek 28).

6 Arm and Arab confuse the issue by making Sennacherib the sender and the pharaoh the addressee. Greek supports Syr which must be correct.

7 A similar example in which the saying is more prominent than the deed is 7:9-15a (Syr; Arab; Arm 6:22-24; Greek 30). The reaction of the king is noted in Syr ("sore vexed" 7:15a), Arab (acknowledges Ahiqar's answer 7:15a), and Greek (commends his understanding, chap. 30), while Arm omits this element. In 7:20-21 (Syr; Arab 7:17-19; lacking in Arm and Greek), the episode about sewing a millstone, the reaction of the pharaoh (Syr and Arab) and his court (Arab) is also noted: a summarizing chuckle at Ahiqar's handling of all the tests (7:21 Syr; 7:19 Arab).

8 7:5-8 (Syr; Arab; Arm 6:7-8 [without the pronouncement]; Greek 28-29).

9 7:17-19 (Syr; Arab 7:15b-16; Arm 6:25a, 7:4-5a; lacking in Greek).

10 Reactions of others are noted for both stories. In the first, only Arm (6:8) and Greek (29) mention it, and in the second, Syr (7:19) and Arm (7:5) do so.

11 Translation of C. C. Torrey, The Lives of the Prophets

(JBL Monograph Series 1; Philadelphia: SBL, 1946) 39(the text is on p. 25). See also Bel 23-27 where Daniel, by deed(feeding the dragon a disagreeable mixture of pitch, fat, and hair and thus causing the beast to burst) and words("See what you have been worshiping!"[27 RSV]) corrects the king's assumption that the dragon was a god. This story, which I include only with some hesitation, may have elements of type 1 as well, since the king objects to Daniel's refusal to worship the dragon(but Daniel's earlier refusal is not mentioned in the account).

S 214a

THE UGARITIC REPHAIM TEXTS: CTA 20-22 TRANSLATIONS AND PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

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The Ugaritic texts commonly referred to as the Rephaim Texts are CTA 20 (UT 121), CTA 21 (UT 122) and CTA 22 (UT 123 and 124). The first of these was published in 1936 as IV D then republished as I Rp along with the rest of the corpus in 1941.[1] The texts are fragmentary and difficult, hence any attempted interpretation will contain a considerable element of uncertainty. The following translation and commentary is presented to provide a basis for further discussion.

CTA 20.A

1. [*rp]um.tdbḫn*
[*](ṣ/b)ᶜd.ilnym*
[*]k[ ] amtm*
[*]n wtᶜrb ṣd*
5. [*]n.bym.qṣ*
[*iln]ym.tlḫmn*
[*rpum tštyn rp]um.tštyn*
[*yn trṯ ilnym tṣq] il dᶜrgṣm*
[*]dt.ᶜl.lty*
10. [*]tdbḫ.amr*

Line 1. The verb is probably second person plural with *rpum* in the vocative, "You will prepare food, O Hale Ones." For this translation of *rp'm* see "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," HTR 67 (1974) 265-274. There is nothing incongruous in the fact that the guests are said to prepare food. The same situation prevails in Ug5 1.

Line 2. *ilnym* is the stock parallel for *rpum*. If, however, the lines in this column are of about the same length as in column B, as determined below, then lines 1 and 2 of column A contain more than one colon each.

](ṣ/b)ᶜd may represent either *šb]ᶜd*, "sevenfold;" a form of the verb *ṣᶜd*, "to march;" or *bᶜd*, "in the assembly."[2]

Line 3. The sequence *amtm* has been taken to mean "I shall die," or the like,[3] though Herdner indicates that the *a* is uncertain.[4] The first visible letter is *k*, though Herdner thinks it may be *w*. After the *k*, an *m* is read by Virolleaud, Herdner, Gordon and Driver though it seems to be absolutely out of the question from the photograph. In any case, the line hardly provides a solid basis for associating the Rephaim Texts with death and ghosts.

Line 4. Apparently, this is "And you (they?) will enter the assembly." Virolleaud compared *bĕsōdām 'al tābō'* of Gen 49:6.[5] The memory that the Rephaim formed an assembly seems to be preserved in Prov 21:16 where we have *biqhal rĕpā'îm*. The interchangeability of *sôd* and *qāhāl* is indicated by Ps 89 where

we find *qĕhal qĕdōšîm* in verse 6 and *sôd qĕdōšîm* in verse 8.

Line 5. This is either "On the day of awakening," or "on a summer's day."[6]

Lines 6-7. It has been suggested that the]*ym* which begins the extant part of line 6 be completed to read *iln*]*ym*.[7] If this is correct, we are surprised to find *rp*]*um* in the following line since throughout these texts, *rp'm* is the A-word and *ilnym* the B-word.[8] A clue to the stichometry is available if the above datum is combined with the fact that *tlḫmn* in line 6 is the correct A-word for *tštyn* of line 7.[9] *iln*]*ym*, therefore, is not the subject of *tlḫmn*. If we start from here and keep the two fixed word pairs in their proper order, further presuming that there are 17-21 signs per line as in column B, the following outline emerges for the stichometry:

---------- *iln*]*ym*
tlḫmn [-------
rp]*um tštyn* [--
---*ilnym* (?)]
il d^{c}*rgzm*

Working backwards, now, to line 5, it seems likely that *bym qṣ* is in a colon which has either *rp'm* or *ilm* (which is also an A-word to *ilnym*). Filling in of the blanks involves some guessing, but the following is suggested:

[ ] *bym qṣ* (6) [*rpum*]
[*iln*]*ym*
tlḫmn (7) [*rpum tštyn*]
[*rp*]*um tštyn* (8) [*yn*]
[*trṯ ilnym* (*tṣq*)]
il d^{c}*rgzm*

For the tri-colon of lines 6c-8a, compare Ug5 1: *tlḫmn ilm wtštn / tštnyn* ^{c}*d šb*^{c} */ trṯ* ^{c}*d škr*. For the sequence in a tri-colon of *rp'm/rp'm/ilnym* see CTA 21.A.1b-3a and parallels discussed below. It is not certain whether there is room for a verb in the third colon.

^{c}*rgz* appears to be a plant with medicinal properties.[10]

Line 9. ^{c}*l.lty* may be an error for ^{c}*llmy* which occurs in CTA 22.B.10.[11]

Line 10. *tdbḫ* harks back to line 1 and probably had *rpum* or *ilnym* as subject again. There are a number of different possibilities for *amr*.[12]

Summary. This fragmentary column clearly belongs in the context of the banquet of the Rephaim. The only special contribution it makes is in line 4 where we learn that the Rephaim, as the gods in general, are thought of as forming as assembly (*sd*).

CTA 20.B

(1) ṯmn bqrb hkly	(?) within my palace.
['ṯrh rpum] (2) tdd	[In its place, O Hale Ones] may you take your stand.)
aṯrh tdd iln[ym]	In its place may you take your stand, O deit[ies.]
[ ](3) asr sswm	[ ] they harnessed the horses,
tṣmd dg[ ]	They yoked the [ ]
(4) t^{c}ln lmrkbthm	They mounted their chariots,
ti[ty l^{c}rhm]	They we[nt upon their donkeys.]
(5) tlkn ym wṯn	They went for a day and a second,
aḫr ǯ[pǯm bṯlṯ]	After sun[rise on the third]
(6) mǵy rpum lgrnt	The Hale Ones arrived at the threshing floors,
i[lnym l](7)m$ṭ^{c}$t	The de[ities at] the plantations.
wy^{c}n dnil[mt rpi]	And up spoke Dan'il, [the man of Rapi'u]
(8) yṯb ǵzr mt hrnmy	(8) Replied the hero, man of *hrnmy*
[ ](9) bgrnt ilm	[ ] on the threshing floors, O gods,
bqrb m[ṭ^{c}t ilnym]	Within the plan[tations, O deities.]
(10) d tit yspi spu	Whoever enters will surely eat,
q[ ] (11) tpḥ	[ ] apple (?)
ṯṣr shr	(A) round (?)[

Line 1a. It is on the basis of the initial word *ṯmn* that Virolleaud and Gray argued that the Ugaritic *rpum* were limited in number.[13] However, in view of CTA 22.B.21-26 where the *rpum* feast for seven days, one might conjecture a bi-colon reading: *šb^{c} ym(m) bbty / ṯmn bqrb hkly* with the numbers referring to the duration of the celebration, not the number of *rp'm*.[14]

Lines 1b-3a. For the reconstruction, see comments on CTA 21.A.1-4.

The verb form *tdd* was derived from *ydd*, "to love," by Virolleaud. Most of the recent discussions, however, have taken it as a form of *ndd*, which they translate, "proceed, hasten," or the like. However, since the root *ndd* means "to flee, flutter, stray," in the cognate languages, one had to strain somewhat to get the desired meaning.[15] It has now been convincingly demonstrated that Ugaritic exhibits the use of the N-stem of *dwd* (**ḏwḏ*) corresponding to Akkadian *izuzzu*, "to stand, take one's stand," especially as said of servants.[16] Such a meaning is appropriate here and is to be preferred in view of the semantic difficulty involved in a derivation from *ndd*. It is to be noted that this verb occurs only in the formulaic expression with *aṯrh*, whereas in places where the movement of the *rp'm* is clearly being described, the verbs *'tw*, *hlk*, and *mǵy* are used.

Since *tdd* is not a verb of motion, the *h* of *aṯrh* can not be taken as the directional or terminative *h*. Nor is *aṯr* likely to be a preposition meaning towards, in the following of, or the

like.[17] We are left with the noun *aṯr*, "place or shrine," with a possessive suffix. Since the speaker (or the sender of the message) speaks of "my house," and "my palace," but says *aṯrh*, the antecedent is likely to be "it" referring to the house/palace. Unless of course, the place/shrine belongs to another individual, perhaps Dan'il. In any case, the antecedent of *h* in *aṯrh* is other than the owner of the house/palace who is El. We have cautiously translated, "in its place," though it is probable that it is a sacred place, hence a shrine.

Lines 3-4. Here we apparently switch from a speech addressed to the Rephaim, with jussive verbs, to a narrative in past tense with the *rpum* spoken of in the third person. This means that *tʿln* in line 4 and *tlkn* in line 5 are to be taken as energic forms.[18]

The reconstruction of *ti[ty* is not supported by a direct parallel but the use of the verb in line 10 of this column as well as in CTA 21.A.8 where it is reconstructed with a good parallel makes it plausible. The verb *'tw* means "come" in the cognate languages but can apparently mean "go" in Ugaritic, e.g. CTA 15.3.17-18.

The reconstruction of [*ʿṁm*] is based on CTA 22.A.24, though the preposition is not certain. Caquot objects to having donkeys here because of the horses and chariots.[19] This argument is not conclusive, however, since the "impressionistic" parallelism of Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry often associates images which appear contradictory to us.[20]

Lines 5-7a. The reconstruction of this passage is particularly important because it is the only certain reconstruction which allows us to determine the length of the lines in the broken columns 20.B and 22.A. If one combines the extant signs here with those in 22.A.24-26, the only words which are incomplete are *š* [*pšm*] and *i*[*ln*]*y*[*m*] and the preposition on [*l*]*mṯʿt*. Any doubt about *špšm* is dispelled by the identical passage in CTA 14.4.194-197: *tlkn ym wṯn aṯr špšm bṯlṯ ymdy*. *ilnym* is expected from the fixed parallelism of *rpʾm/ilnym*. The *i* is certain at the end of CTA 20.B.6 (as recognized in CTA) and probable at the beginning of CTA 22.A.26. In the latter line, Herdner indicates the *y* as certain, though that is not clear from the photograph.[22] The only uncertainty, therefore, is whether *l* is the correct preposition before *mṯʿt*. On the basis of this reconstruction, we learn that in CTA 20.B, line 5 is 20 signs long and line 6 has 18 signs. In CTA 22.A, line 24 has 20 signs and line 25 has 16.[23] On this basis we shall see below that some of the reconstructions of other passages which have been proposed in the literature on the Rephaim Texts are too short.

The fact that the *rpʾm* are said to reach the threshing floors and plantations is used by Virolleaud to indicate that they have an agricultural function and by Gray to prove that they are promoters of fertility.[24] Since, however, there are a limited number of places where a contingent of horsedrawn chariots may be assembled, the *grnt* and *mṯʿt* may simply be flat open spaces and the use of these terms should not be used to prove anything about the *rpʾm*.[25] In view of the fact that the host of the *rpʾm* is El, one might also think of R. Clifford's view that El did not have a permanent temple but was worshipped in an elaborate though portable tent shrine.[26] If this is correct,

the *grnt* and *mṯ^{c}t* might be the places where this tent enclosure was erected. It must be admitted, however, that the Rephaim Texts consistently speak of a house/palace *(bt/hkl)* and nowhere mention a tent.

Lines 7b-8. the verb *^{c}ny* does not necessarily mean "to answer" someone who has already spoken, but may simply introduce the beginning of a discourse.

The reconstruction of *mt rpi* must be regarded as certain since *ǵzr mt hrnmy* never occurs except as the parallel to the former. CTA 20.B.7, therefore, has 17 signs, which agrees with our findings above.

Since Dan'il greets the *rp'm* at their arrival, he may be taken as a kind of gatekeeper or steward in El's palace. This does not necessarily make the Rephaim Texts part of the Aqht Epic. Compare the Myth of Adapa where Dumuzi is found as one of Anu's gatekeepers though this myth has no obvious connection with the Dumuzi cycle.

The identification of *hrnm* is uncertain and of no great moment.[27]

Line 9. The lacuna at the end of line 8 probably contained an imperative or jussive verb directing the *rp'm* to enter the threshing floors and plantations. We have reconstructed *ilnym* at the end of line 9 as in CTA 3.4.78-79, though others have suggested that *grnt ilm* in line 9 should be taken as the superlative construction.[28]

Lines 10-11. *tit* is taken as a form of the verb *'tw*.[29] *y spi spu* is the imperfect with infinitive absolute.

In line 11, *tpḫ* may be "apple."[30] Virolleaud suggested a vessel of some kind for both *tpḫ* and *shr*.[31]

CTA 21.A

(1)[*m]rz^{c}y*	[ ]my [sym]posium
lk bty [*rpum*]	Go to my house, [O Hale Ones.]
(2)[*rpum b*]*ty aqḫ km*	[O Hale Ones,] I am summoning you to my [ho]use,
iqra(3)[*km ilnym b*]*hkly*	I am inviting [you, O deities, to] my palace.
aṯrḫ rpum (4)[*ltdd*]	In its place, O Hale Ones, [may you take your stand.]
[*aṯrḫ*]*ltdd ilnym*	[In its place] may you take your stand, O deities.
(5)[*m]rz^{c}y*	[ ] my [sym]-posium
apnnk yrp(6)[ ]	Then will be refreshed [ ]
[ ]*km r^{c}y*	[ ] like my shepherd.
ht alk (7)[*ym wṯn*]	Lo I am going [a day and a second]
[*ym*] *ṯlṯt 'mǵy l bt(8)*[*y*]	In three [days] I will reach [my] house.

[itty bqrb] hkly	[I will go within] my palace.
w y^{c}n il (9) [mrz^{c}]y	Then replied El [ ] my [symposium]
lk bty rpu m[32]	Go to my house, O Hale Ones.
(10)[rpum bty aġḫ]km	[O Hale Ones, to my house I am summo]ning you,
iqrakm (11) [ilnym bhkl]y	I am inviting you, [O deities, to] my [palace.]
aṯrh rpum (12) [ltdd]	In its place, O Hale Ones, [may you take your stand.]
[aṯr]h ltdd i[lnym]	[In its pla]ce may you take your stand, O deities.

Line 1a. See below, after discussion of lines 5b-8b.

Lines 1b-4 and 9b-12. These two sections are obviously identical and represent a passage which occurs again at 22.A.3-6 and 8-11. It has been reconstructed in CTA so as to constitute five lines of poetry, a tri-colon followed by a bi-colon:

lk bty rpum
rpum bty aġḫkm
iqrakm ilnym hkly
aṯrh rpum ltdd
aṯrh ltdd ilnym

There is also a somewhat different version of the passage in CTA 22.A.18-21[33] where the concluding bi-colon, at least, seems to be identical with the form cited above. Finally, in CTA 20.B.1-2, only the bi-colon occurs and the *l* is not found before *tdd*. Because of these variants, the last two loci must be used more cautiously in the reconstruction.

The reconstruction of Herdner in CTA is virtually certain and needs to be defended in detail. The clearest part is the bi-colon. From the signs extant in the four relevant passages (21.A.3-4; 21.A.11-12; 22.A.5-6, 10-11) it is possible to reconstruct *aṯrh rp'm [?] aṯrh ltdd ilnym*. A number of scholars failed to recognize that there is a lacuna between *rp'm* and *aṯrh*.[34] That results in lines 22.A.5 and 10 having only 12 signs each, which is too short according to the calculations made above. There must be an additional word which may be supplied from the passages 20.B.1-2 and 22.A.20-21 which both support an additional *(l)tdd* before the second *aṯrh*. This makes lines 22.A.5 and 10 each 16 signs long and lines 21.A.4 and 11 each 17 signs long, which fits in with the range determined above.

The tri-colon is not quite as certain. From 21.A.1-3, 9-12; 22.A.3-4 and 8-10 we can reconstruct the sequence *lk bty rp'm [ ]ty aġḫkm iqrakm[ ]hkly*.[35] Each of the two lacunae must have several letters in order for the lines to come out with the number of signs determined above. Besides, we would expect an *ilnym* in parallel with *rp'm*. Two possibilities commend themselves:

A.
lk bty rp'm
ilnym bty aġḫkm
iqrakm bqrb hkly

B.
lk bty rp'm
rp'm bty aġḫkm
iqrakm ilnym hkly

The variant formulation in 22.A.18b-20a seems to have *bqrb* for metrical reasons, making up for the absence of the *-km* suffix on the verbs. This passage also indicates that *rp'm* belongs in the colon with *aṣḥ (km)*. Option B, therefore, is preferable. It yields lines with 16 to 20 signs, which is in the correct range. The reconstructions offered elsewhere appear to be too short.[36]

In our translation we have taken the particle *l* before *tdd* as asseverative rather than negative.[37]

Lines 5b-8b. As in the two passages discussed above, we have a section of five lines (a tri-colon and a bi-colon) coming after a line ending in *mrzᶜy*. Here the tri-colon comes in second place. Its general structure and meaning are clear though the verb *iity* is a guess. This space must, in any case, contain a verb of motion. The bi-colon, 5b-6b, is more problematical. The sequence *yrp* has been taken as the beginning of a verb from the root *rp'* with the *alep* to be reconstructed on the following line.[37] This would explicitly tie in the notion of healing or being healed to the corpus of Rephaim Texts. Against this one can argue that the division of a word between two lines is exceedingly rare, except for the case of suffixes. In this corpus, the only example seems to be CTA 22.A where we have at the end of line 13 [*iln*] which is completed by *ym* at the start of line 14. We therefore read a form of the verb **rpy*, "to relax, be idle." It may be either a G or N-form (see especially Exod 5:8, 17).

kamā rāᶜiya, "like my shepherd," is apparently a reference to Baal.[38] Compare Ug5 2.1.3. O. Eissfeldt has suggested reading *apnk y rp(6)['m 'qr']km*, "Now, O Rephaim, I invite you," with the *y* taken as the vocative particle.[39] Though this is attractive, it too divides a word between two lines. Moreover, Eissfeldt's restoration does not appear to be quite long enough to fit the lacuna of line 6. Finally, he leaves out]*rᶜy* which does not seem to belong to the next colon where the stichometry is fairly well assured.

Lines 1a and 8c-9a. Virolleaud suggested that we read *wyᶜn il mrzᶜy* in both of these lines. *il mrzᶜy* would be a hitherto undocumented divine name.[40] A surprising number of commentators have followed him in spite of the fact that there is room for about five additional letters between *il* and *mrzᶜy*.[41] In view of this, Eissfeldt has recently attempted a new solution. The proximity of *bty* and *hkly* suggests to him that *mrzᶜy* is also a noun with the first singular suffix. In view of the verbs of motion or of invitation which follow, he would restore in the lacuna a volitive form of a verb of motion *(hlk, mġy*, or *šṯql)* or a first person singular form of *ṣwḥ, qr'* or the like.[42]

Eissfeldt is certainly correct in reading *mrzᶜy*, "my symposium," (i.e. of El).[43] This is in accord with the fact that in Ug5 1.1, El invites *(ṣwḥ)* the gods to his house *(bbth)* or palace *(bqrbhklh)* where he presides at the symposium *(il ytb bmrzḥh)*. The latter phrase is perhaps to be reconstructed in CTA 1.4.4--again in the context of a banquet of the gods. There is a problem posed by the alternation of *mrzḥ* and *mrzᶜ*. The Hebrew, Aramaic and Palmyrene cognates support *ḥ*. Eissfeldt simply assumes that Ugaritic had two variant forms pointing to the analogous orthographic variants in the Akkadian documenta-

tion from Ras Shamra.[44]

As to the reconstruction of a verb before *mrzᶜy*, however, one cannot be as confident. Eissfeldt depends upon the presumed parallelism with the following cola. As we have already seen, however, the tri-colon which follows is a complete unit which occurs elsewhere and the colon ending with *mrzᶜy* would not appear to belong to the same poetic unit as the colon *lk bty rpʾm*. In fact, in the Ugaritic texts we often find an interruption of the poetic structure when a speaker is introduced by the formula *wyᶜn* or equivalent. Whether or not one follows Eissfeldt here, the explanation of the line *wyᶜn ...mrzᶜy* in terms of prosodic structure will run into difficulty. In any event, besides Eissfeldt's suggestions, there are a number of other possibilities: *wyᶜn il aṯb ḥmrzᶜy*, "and El replied, 'I am about to be seated in my symposium;'" or, *wyᶜn il ht ᶜdn mrzᶜy*, "and El replied, 'Lo, it is the time of my symposium;'" etc.

Line 5a. Since this line ends with]*rzᶜy* and since it too stands before a five line unit, the possibility arises that it is to be restored as identical to lines 1a and 8c-9a. Since the lacuna is long enough for only about eight signs, however, and [*wyᶜn il*] and [*m*]*rzᶜy* use up seven of the spaces, the formula here is shorter. Eissfeldt's suggestion is: *wyᶜn (il) ṯb mrzᶜy/ apnnkyrpʾm ʾqrʾkm*. The first part of the reconstruction is as good as any we could suggest. We have already commented on the second half of this proposal.

It will be noted that if lines 5b-8b are spoken by El, we have the surprising datum that he has personally delivered the invitation to the Rephaim and is now himself three days removed from his house/palace. We would expect, however, that the invitation would be delivered by a messenger, not by El himself. In any event, even if the present text has El personally visiting the Rephaim to deliver his invitation, it is not necessarily the case that the same situation must prevail in the other texts of the Rephaim corpus. We may well have variant accounts which are mutually irreconcilable.

Summary. This column contains three five-line units (the first and third being identical, spoken by El to the Rephaim as he invites them to his symposium). Each of the sections is introduced by a line with the structure *wyᶜn il...mrzᶜy*, which refers to El speaking about "his symposium," though the exact content of the line and its poetic relationship to the following five-line unit are not clear. Once again we note the absence of any indication that the Rephaim are the shades of the dead. The mention of the symposium of El tends rather to link this corpus of texts to the banquet of the gods found in Ug5 1 and, perhaps, in CTA 1.4.

CTA 21.B

All that remains is one partial line which has usually been reconstructed [*yṯ*]*b ars*, apparently meaning, "he sits upon the earth."[45]

CTA 22.A

(3) lk bty r[*pum*]	"Go to my house, O Ha[le Ones]
[*rpum bty aṯ*]*(4)km*	[O Hale Ones, I am summoning] you [to my house.]

iqr[akm ilnym hkly]	I am inviting [you, O deities, to my palace.]
(5) atṙḫ r[pum ltdd]	In its place, O Ha[le Ones, may you take your stand.]
[atṙḫ](6) ltdd ilnym	[In its place] may you take your stand, O deities.
[tm tmq rpu bᶜl]	[There stand tall the Hale Ones of Baal]
(7) mḫr bᶜl[mḫr ᶜnt]	The warriors of Baal, [the warriors of Anat.]
[ ](8) ᶜnt	[ ] Anat
lk b[ty rpum]	Go to [my] ho[use, O Hale Ones.]
[rpum bty](9) aṣḥ km	[O Hale Ones, to my house] I am summoning you,
[iqrakm ilnym](10) hkly	[I am inviting you, O deities, to] my palace.
atṙ[h rpum ltdd]	In its pla[ce, O Hale Ones, may you take your stand.]
(11) atṙḫ lt[dd ilnym]	In its place may you [take your stand, O deities.]
tm (12) yḥpn ḫy [ly]	There are stationed retai[ners of mine,]
[zbl mlk ᶜlmy]	[Royal princes, my]
(13) šmᶜ atm [rpum]	You have heard, [O Hale Ones,]
[tdᶜ iln](14)ym lm qd[mtm]	[You know, O dei]ties, why you have co[me.]
[yṣq](15) šmn prst	The oil of (?) [has been poured out]
[ ]	[ ]
(16) ydr ḫm y[ ]	He swore, "If[
[ ](17) ᶜṣ amr	[ ] ᶜṣ amr
yd[r i ksa mlky]	He swo[re, "By my royal throne]
(18) nḫt kḥṭ d[rkty]	By the dais of the seat of my do[minion,]
[bbty](19) aṣḫ rpi[m]	I will summon the Hale On[es to my house,]
[iqra ilnym](20) bqr b ḥ[kly]	[I will invite the deities] within my pa[lace.]
[atṙḫ rpum l](21)tdd	[In its place, the Hale Ones] will take their stand.
atṙ[h ltdd ilnym]	In its pla[ce the deities will take their stand.]
[ ](22) asr mr[k bthm]	[ ] they harnessed [their] cha[riots.]
[ ]	[ ]
(23) tᶜln lmr[k bthm]	They mounted [their] cha[riots]
[tity l](24)ᶜrḫm	[They went upon] their donkeys.

tl[kn y m wṯn]	They wen[t for a day and a second,]
[aḫr ǎ pǎm](25) bṯlṯ	[After sunrise] on the third
mǵy [rpum lgrnt]	[The Hale Ones] arrived [at the threshing floors,]
(26) i[ln]y [m lmṯᶜt]	The de[itie]s [at the plantations.]

Lines 1-2. Virolleaud reconstructed: (1) *w.yl[k bty rpum yṯb](2) bhkly [ilnym]*.[46] However, it is pointed out by Herdner in CTA that the sign before *l* in line one is perhaps a *ṯ*. Moreover, line 1 would be a little on the short side and there would be room for six to ten more signs after *[ilnym]*. It seems wiser to forego the attempt to reconstruct these lines.

Lines 3-6a. See the comments on CTA 21.A.1b-4. Since, in this passage, we are to reconstruct the possessive suffix of the first person singular after *bt* and *hkl* , as is documented in line 10, we must presume that in these lines we continue to have the words of El addressed to the Rephaim. For reasons given below, however, we understand them as El's words relayed by a messenger.

Lines 6b-8a. Virolleaud had reconstructed *[ṯm ṯmq rp' bᶜl](7) mḫr bᶜl [mḫr](8) ᶜnt* on the basis of CTA 22.B.8-9a. However, this left line 7 much too short. We have therefore allowed for an additional colon, ending with *ᶜnt*.

These lines are the first of a series of bi-cola and tri-cola occuring on both columns of this tablet, each of which is introduced by *ṯm* and describes the participants in the banquet of the Rephaim. The introductory word may be related to Hebrew *šām*, Arabic *ṯamma*, meaning "there," or the Arabic *ṯumma*, "then, thereupon, furthermore, and again." Each of these descriptions has a pronounced military character. This is most likely due to the fact that the human *rp'm* were members of a military class which is reflected in the description of the heavenly *rp'm*. It is also possible that in the present text both the divine and human *rp'm* are present.[47]

The interpretation of *rpu bᶜl* has been much discussed. In view of the parallelism with *mḫr bᶜl* and *mḫr ᶜnt*, it appears most probable that *rpu* is a construct and that *bᶜl* is the proper name of the god Baal. As to the grammatical number of *rpu*, it is most likely plural as is consistently the case in the corpus of Rephaim Texts. The singular *rpu* does indeed occur in Ug5 2 where it is an epithet of one of the major deities, but it would be most unusual to have a divine name or epithet in construct with the proper name of another god. We therefore take *rpu* to be a plural construct in the nominative case.[48] It is subject of the verb *ṯmq*, the etymology of which we hesitantly associate with Arabic *samaqa*, "to be high, tall, lofty, tower up."[49] Though El is the *rp'* par excellence, as demonstrated by the text of Ug5 2, and patron of the earthly *rp'm*, the expression *rapi'u baᶜli* is not inappropriate. Association with a military escort fits what we know about Baal and Anat and although El is properly the patron of the *rp'm*, he exercises his authority over the cosmos with the help of the younger deities. Our proposal, moreover, yields a suitable parallel for the following colon, "The warriors of Baal, the warriors of Anat."[50]

Lines 8b-11a. See comments on lines 3-6a, above.

Lines 11b-12. Here we have another of the *tm* passages. The restoration is from CTA 22.B.9b-10b. *yḫpn* is read as third person plural in the prefix-conjugation from the root *ḫpp*, "to surround."[51] The final *n* is the pronominal suffix of the first person singular. The subject of the verb is *ḫyly*, vocalized as a *qattāl*-noun in the plural with first person singular suffix. The meaning is, literally, "my strong-men (soldiers) surround me."[52] The whole of the next colon is taken as a parallel to *ḫyly*, that is, *zbl* is plural construct with the nomen rectum either *mlk ᶜllmy* as a unit or *mlk* alone. In the latter case, *ᶜllmy* would be in apposition to *zbl mlk*.[53] As in lines 3-4, 8b-10a, the first person suffix has El as antecedent, though El's words here are probably being quoted by a messenger.

Lines 13-18a. We quote Virolleaud's reconstruction and translation of these lines since his view that they mention an enthronement of Baal has been widely followed:[54]

šmᶜ.atm[.rpum]	Ecoutez, vous, [(ô) *rpum*]
[-----ṯln](14)ym	[Et comprenez, vous, (ô) Eln(14)ym
lm.qdq[d.aliyn.bᶜl(?)]	Sur le crân[e d'Aleyn-Baᶜal(?)]
(15) šmn prst(?)[-----]	(15)[versez] l'huile de . . .
[-----bᶜl(?)] (16) ydr	[Alors, Baᶜal (?)] (16) sera voué
hm.ym[lk.bᶜl(?)](17) ᶜl amr	Voici qu'il régn[era, Baᶜal (?)] (17) sur l'Amurru
yu[ḫd.ksa.mlkh]	Il pre[ndra le trône de sa royauté]
(18) nḫṯ kḫṯ d[rkth]	(18) [à savoir] le *nḫṯ* (qui est) le siège de [sa] sou[veraineté]

Our translation disagrees with Virolleaud right from the first line where he read *šmᶜ* as an imperative. We suggest that the presence of the pronoun *atm* argues for the construction *qtl* + pronoun discussed by Gordon in UT 6.3 and which is equivalent to a perfect. In our interpretation, the speaker, who is not the host of the banquet (El) but his messenger, has repeated the invitation to the Rephaim and continues, "(Now) you have heard..."

Our departure from Virolleaud increases in line 14. He presumes that the Rephaim pour oil upon the head of someone, probably Baal, taking *lm* as the proposition *l* with enclitic *mem*. Instead of this, we suggest the interrogative *lama* (Hebrew *lāmmāh*. As for the reading *qdq[d* we note first of all that in CTA, Herdner indicates that only the first two letters are visible. Furthermore, a peculiarity in the usage of *qdqd* is to be noted. It sometimes occurs as a B-word in parallelism with *riš* (CTA 5.6.16; 17.6.37). In other instances, it is not a general word for "head" but is only used in the context of someone attacking another and smashing his skull (CTA 2.21 and 24; 3.E.32; 16.6.57; 18.22 and 33; 19.79 and possibly 4.7.4). On the other hand, Ug5 3.1.5 indicates that when the head of a god is intended, it is the word *riš* which is used. If the present text were referring to the anointing of the head, therefore, we would not expect the use of *qdqd*.

Nor ought one to think of an anointing because of the word *šmn* in line 15. While there is indeed some scattered evidence

of royal anointing among the Canaanites,[55] the Ugaritic texts themselves give absolutely no evidence that anointing of the head with oil was part of the enthronement rite for the divine king. On the contrary, when oil does occur in the mythological texts, it is to serve hygienic and cosmetic purposes. Note CTA 3.2.31ff and 39ff., where after her great slaughter scene, Anat washes with water and oil (cp. Ug5 3.2.4-6). Especially enlightening is CTA 3.4.83-88 where Anat arrives at Saphon and Baal prepares food for her. Before eating, she washes with water and oil. This scene describes the way a host receives a guest--by offering not only food, but water and oil as well. It seems most likely, therefore, that in the present text oil belongs to the same setting. It is probably a reference to the oil poured out by El as a sign of his hospitality towards the Rephaim, although it is also possible that the oil is provided by the Rephaim in welcoming El's messenger.

Another feature of mythological scenes describing the arrival of visitors or intruders is a question introduced by *ik* or *lm* asking why the newly arrived have come: CTA 4.2.16ff.; 3.3.30ff.; 3.5.36-37; 4.4.31-32; 4.7.38-39 and 15.4.2. Since the last example is particularly instructive, we give the text and a translation of lines 22-28:

lm mṯb ----	"Why [have you come] to [his] dwelling?
wlḫm mr tqdm	Have you approached *ḫm mr?*"
yd bʿ tḥ ḫ	She puts out her hand to the bowl,
ḥrb bḥr tḥtn	She sets the knife to the meat,
wtʿn mṯt ḥry	And Lady *ḥry* answers,
lḫm lḥty qḥtkm	"To eat and drink have I summoned you,
[?]*dbḥ lkrt bʿlkm*	A feast for Keret your lord."

In this passage we have a question introduced by *lm* followed, in the second colon, with a form of the verb *qdm*. The question is answered by the person who asked it. This offers a possibility for reconstructing CTA 22.A.14. An exact parallel with the Keret passage would result if we understood the question as asked of the Rephaim after their arrival: *lm qd*[*mtm*], "Why have you come?" However, since the passage in lines 22-26 describing the journey of the *rp'm* appears to be past narrative, they can not have reached the house/palace of El in line 14, unless lines 22-26 are a "flashback" of some sort. It is therefore simpler to reconstruct *lm qd*[*mt*], "Why have I come?" asked by El's messenger who then proceeds to answer his own question (cp. the Keret passage). In any case, the traces of the second *q* on Virolleaud's autograph are high enough to constitute the horizontal stroke of an *m*.

The next word needing attention is *ydr* in line 16 which Virolleaud apparently takes to be a G-passive. In keeping with his interpretation of the passage as a description of an enthronement he translates, "Thus Baal (?) will be dedicated," understanding this dedication as the act which puts Baal in a state of reigning. It must be objected, however, that *ndr* is nowhere used in this way. The word means, "to vow, to make a vow," and though a votive offering which is promised in return for a favor may be said to "be vowed," there is no evidence that a person can be "vowed." Actually, the key to the meaning is

found in the following word *hm* which is precisely the particle which introduces the protasis of a vow. A particularly illuminating example of its use is found in CTA 14.200-206:

ydr krt tᵃ	Keret of *tᵃ* vowed,
i iṯt aṯrt ṣrm	"As Asherah of Tyre exists,
w ilt ṣdnym	And Elat of the Sidonians,
hm ḫry bty iqḥ	If I take *Ḫry* into my house
aš ᶜrb ǵlmt ḫṣry	If I bring the lass into my court
ṯrḥ kṯṣ pm atn	I will give double (her weight?) in silver
wṯlṯḥ ḫrṣm	And triple in gold."

In CTA 22.A, the content of the vow, lines 16-17a, cannot be reconstructed. There is nothing to support *ym*[*lk bᶜl*] proposed by Virolleaud. Even the *m* is given the symbol of uncertainty by Herdner in CTA and is not at all visible on the photograph. Furthermore, his translation of *ᶜl amr*, "(they make Baal king) over Amurru," is highly dubious as the preposition is wrong. Moreover, Herdner indicates in CTA that the reading *ᶜṣ* is more likely than *ᶜl*. Finally, Virolleaud's reconstruction is far too short to fill the lacuna at the end of line 16. There is room for 4 to 8 more characters than he allows for.

In the bi-colon of lines 17b-18a, we finally have something solid to go on. We can be virtually certain, on the basis of CTA 3.4.46-47; 16.6.23-24; 10.3.12-15, that the structure is:

y [ ] *ks' mlk*(*y*/*h*)
nḫṯ kḫṯ drkt(*y*/*h*)

Uncertain are the verb beginning the bi-colon and the suffix on *mlk* and *drkt*. Virolleaud suggests *yu*[*ḫd*] which is not impossible, though there is no Ugaritic example of such a use of the verb *ḫd*. Another proposal recommends itself if the broken sign read *u* by Virolleaud is taken as *d* which is possible even on the basis of the autograph. Taking our cue from CTA 14.200-206, quoted above, we suggest restoring *yd*[*r i ks' mlky*] *nḫṯ kḫṯ d*[*rkty*], "He swore, 'By my royal throne, by the dais of the seat of my dominion.'" The subject of the verb *ydr* here, as in line 16, would be El.

Lines 18b-21. In line 16, we had the protasis of El's vow introduced by *hm*. We cannot tell if the bi-colon of lines 16-17a contained only the protasis or whether the apodosis was also included. In any event, line 17b repeated the verb *ydr* and stated the object by which El swore. Lines 18b-21 provide (or repeat) the apodosis of that vow. It is important to note here that in contrast to the parallels to this passage discussed above, the verb *aṣḫ* is not followed by the object suffix *km*. This is because, unlike the other loci, this is not addressed to the Rephaim but is El's statement of intent. Accordingly, *rpim* is not vocative here but the direct object, "To my house I will invite the Rephaim, etc."

Lines 22-26. Here there is an abrupt change. In the previous lines, a messenger has been relating El's invitation and recounting his vow. Now we switch into narrative describing the reaction of the Rephaim, i.e. they immediately prepare for the

journey and set out. There is room at the end of line 21 for a particle such as *idk* or *hn* marking the transition. For discussion of details, see the comments on CTA 20.B.3-7a, above.

CTA 22.B

hn bnk hn	Behold your son, behold [ ]
[ ] *(3) bn bn a̲trk*	[ ] the son who establishes your posterity.
hn [ ] (4) ydk	Behold [ ] your hand
ṣǵr tnǎq ǎptk	The little one whom your lips used to kiss.
t̲m (5) t̲km bm t̲km	There, shoulder to shoulder
aḫm qym il (6) blsmt	(Are) brothers, unblemished stalwarts of El.
t̲m yt̲bǎ ǎm il mtm	There men praise the name of El,
(7) yt̲ḫ bǎ brkn ǎm il ǵzrm	Heroes praise the blessed name of El.
(8) t̲m t̲mq rpu bʿl	There stand tall the Hale Ones of Baal,
mhr bʿl (9) ugrt ʿnt	The warriors of Baal and the warriors of Anat.
t̲m yḥpn ḫylˀ(10)y	There are stationed my retainers,
zbl mlk ʿllmy	Royal princes of (?)
km tdd (11) ʿnt ṣd	As when Anat chases game,
tǎtr ʿpt ǎmm	She stirs up the birds of heaven,
(12) ṭbḫ alpm ap ṣin	There is slaughter of large and small cattle,
ǎqˀl trm (13) umri ilm	Felling of bulls and fatling rams,
ʿglm dt ǎnt	Yearling bullocks,
(14) imr qmṣ llim	Lambs, quantities of little ones from the flock.
kksp (15) lʿ ḫrm zt	Like silver is olive oil to the traveller,
ḫrṣ lʿ ḫrm kǎ	Like gold to the traveller is rest.
(16) dpr t̲ḫn bqʿl	The table smells of blossoms,
bqʿl (17) mlkm	Blossoms fit for kings.
hn ym yṣq yn t̲m	Behold, wine is poured out there all day,
k(18)mrt̲ yn srnm	Like must the wine of lords;
yn bld (19) ǵll	Wine for the delight of the thirsty
yn iǎryt ʿnq	Wine of *isryt* (?)
smd (20) lbnn ṭl	The heights of Lebanon rained down dew,
mrt̲ yḫrt̲ il	Must cultivated by El.
(21) hn ym wt̲n	Behold, a day and a second,
tḫm<n>rpum tǎ tyn	Are the Hale Ones eating, are they drinking.

ṯlṯ rbᶜ ym	A third and a fourth day,
<tlḫmn rpum tšty n>	<Are the Hale Ones eating, are they drinking.>
ḫmš (23) ṯdṯ ym	A fifth and a sixth day,
tlḫmn rpum (24) tšty n	Are the Hale Ones eating, are the Hale Ones drinking.
bt ikl prᶜ (25) yṣq	In the banquet house it is poured out abundantly
birt lbnm	In the heart of Lebanon.
mk bšbᶜ (26) ym	Lo on the seventh day
[ ]k aliyn bᶜl	[ ] Aliyan Baal
(27)[ ]rᶜḥ	[ ] his shepherd.
aby	"My father [

Lines 2-4b. The speaker is presumably El (or his messenger) since the words of lines 8-9a and 9b-10b are spoken in 22.A by the person to whom the *y* suffix on *bty* and *ḥkly* refers, i.e. El as in 21.A. The possessive suffix *k* on *bnk*, *aṯrk*, *ydk* and *šptk* is most easily taken as a single individual, possibly Dan'il. If so, the son in question may be Aqht resurrectus or a new son who will take his place.[56] If *aṯr* is place/shrine as elsewhere in the corpus, then we must conclude that Dan'il had a shrine within the temple-enclosure of El. It is also conceivable that the *k* suffix refers to the *rpʾm*, treated as individuals, each of whom would have a son present. In that case, *aṯr* would most easily be taken as "posterity," as the Old South Arabic cognate. These lines might then represent a kind of initiation or induction ceremony.

Lines 3b-4b are comparable to the Gilgamesh Epic X.3.12: *ṣubbi ṣeḫram ṣābitu qātīka*, "Look upon the little one who holds your hand." The reconstruction of ᶜ[*nt.tuḫ*]*d* in line 3, proposed by Virolleaud and others, does not seem likely.[57]

Lines 4c-6a. The particle *ṯm* once again introduces a description of the banquet scene. For an analogy to *ṯkm ḫm ṯkm*, see Zeph 3:9 where *šḫkem ʾeḥād* means "of one accord." Virolleaud's suggestion for *qym*, that it is a participle of *qwy*, "to hope, wait for," like *qōwê YHWH* in Ps 37:9 has not been widely followed, many scholars preferring to find a reference to resurrection.[58] We understand the passage as a description of assembled fighting men. A suitable etymology for *qym* is proposed by Ryan who points to Arabic *qwy* meaning "to be strong, valiant."[59] We would have here a *qattāl* nominal formation in plural construct, with enclitic *mem*. *blšmt* is understood as the negative *bl* with a noun from the root *wšm*, "mark stigma."[60]

Lines 6b-7. We presume that in line 7 *yṯbš* must be read and that the vertical wedge which distinguishes a *ṯ* (𐎚) from *ḏ* (𐎛) has accidentally been omitted. Driver suggested a meaning, "extolled, lauded," though without offering an etymology.[61] We hesitantly point to Hebrew *šāḇîš* a hapax in the list of women's ornaments in Is 3:18. (The final consonant in the Hebrew would be for **š*.) Either the name of the ornament might be derived from a verb meaning "adorn," or the like, or the verb could be denominative, probably in the D-stem. One may

also refer to Syriac *šabbeš*, "to flatter," though the initial consonant is not the normal reflex of Ugaritic *ṯ*.[62]

Another plausible suggestion is that of Ryan who compares *ṯbš* to Akkadian *šabāšum*, "to grip, clutch," and *ʿbš* to the Arabic cognate meaning, "to arrange." He then translates, " "There *šmṯl* musters the men, the blessed, marshals the youths."[63]

brkn is taken as an adjective. For the *n* ending compare *lṯpn* and, with the same construction as we have here, *ṯbn ql bʿl* in CTA 19.46.

Lines 8-9a. See discussion of 22.A.6b-8a.

Lines 9b-10b. See discussion of 22.A.11b-12b.

Lines 10c-11. *km* is the comparative, "like," and *tdd* is understood, with de Moor, as a form of *ndd*, "to chase (game)." If the passage to which this comparison refers is that in lines 12ff., which describe the slaughtering of meat, then de Moor may also be right in seeing a close parallelism in the two bicola, reading the second one, "causes to fly up the birds of heaven," (with *tštr* as a *š*-stem of *ntr*). However, if the purpose is to compare the assembled warriors of the first 10 lines of the tablet with the military escort of Anat (i.e. eagles, as in CTA 18.4.19-22, 30-33) then we would suggest a *š*-stem of *tur*, "to cause to turn," i.e., "soar in circles."[64]

Lines 12-15a. The verbs *ṯḫṯ* and *šql* (*š*-stem of *qll*, "to fall") are either inperatives, suffix conjugation or infinitives absolute functioning as imperative or finite verbs. Since, however, the whole tablet seems to be a description of the banquet scene, we have taken them as verbal nouns in existential sentences.

In the phrase *mri ilm*, *ilm* may be the superlative construction or "rams," cognate to Hebrew *ʾêlîm*.

imr is taken as a collective here. *qmṣ* is plural construct similar to *qĕmāṣ ʾîm*, "abundance," in Gen 41:47.[65] *llum* apparently means young of either sheep or goats, hence our slightly round-about translation.[66]

Lines 14b-15. *ʿbrm* is understood to mean "travellers,"[67] hence the bi-colon describes how inviting the scene appears to the Rephaim who have travelled three days to reach their destination. The oil is attractive, not as food, but as means of "freshening up" after the journey. Its presence is a sign of hospitality.[68]

We connect *kš* with Akkadian *kâšu*, "delay, stop," and Syriac *kāš*, "to rest, cease," and the noun *kaʷšā*, "peaceful, ascetic life." It was noted above that 21.A.5 perhaps promised the Rephaim that they would be able to relax:

Lines 16-17A. For *dpr*, no one has been able to improve on Virolleaud's suggested comparison to Arabic *dfr/ḏfr*, "parfumer," in spite of the fact that it appears to refer only to objectionable odors.[69] Accordingly, most translations appeal to the Arabic *quʿāl*, "vine blossom," to explain *qʿl*.

Lines 17b-20. *ym* apparently expresses duration of time, as

also in line 21. *yṣq* is a G-passive.

srnm is taken as the cognate of Hebrew *seren* which refers to the Philistine princes. The objection that this is a foreign word which the Philistines brought with them at a later period than that of the Ugaritic texts is not conclusive in view of the far ranging Mediterranean contacts at Ugarit.[70] The comparison in line 17c-18a, therefore, stresses that the wine of royalty is dispensed as liberally as ordinary must.

For *bld*, attempted derivation from a cognate of Arabic *bld* "city, country," does not seem to lead any place.[71] We follow Herdner who refers to Arabic *laḍḍa*, "be delicious," and posits an abstract noun meaning, "pour le delice." This is supported by her reading of PRU V, 9: *hn mrṯ dšṯt ašld bldtk*, "Voici le vin que j'ai bu, je te le fais déguster pour ton régal."[72] *ǵll*, then may be related to the Arabic cognate meaning, "thirsty, parched."[73]

išryt appears to be a place name.

The suggestions made for *ʿnq* or *smd* are not particularly convincing,[74] though the fact that both may be related to the concepts of height, pride, loftiness, is suggestive. Perhaps we have not captured the stichometry here. Or, poetic structure may have given way to a mere list.

ṯl appears to be a denominative verb (as in Arabic)[75] with *smd lbnm* as subject. *yḥrṯ il* is equivalent to a relative clause, "which El cultivated."[76] This is admittedly stretching things since *ḥrṯ* means, "to plow."

Lines 21-24a. We follow Gordon in reconstructing *tlḫmn rpum tštyn* in line 22.[77]

Lines 24b-25a. *prʿ* is taken as an abstract noun, "the best, choicest (i.e., wine)."[78] For *irt* meaning, "breast, heart," see UT 19.326.[79]

Lines 25c-26a. The phrase *mk bġbʿ ym* is not the introduction of a new section but the conclusion of the long passage which began with *hn ym yṣq* in line 17b. The *yṣq* of line 25 marks an inclusion. This interpretation is confirmed by the climactic buildup from *hn* in lines 19b and 21a to *mk* in line 25c. A similar device is found in CTA 4.4.24-33, a passage which begins with *hn ym wṯn* and ends with *mk bšb* [ʿ]*y*[*mm*]. It is not necessary to conclude that Aliyan Baal only arrived on the seventh day.

Line 27. For *rʿh* see Ug5 2.1.3 where Baal is the shepherd of El. *aly* may have been within an address of Baal to El where the former asked the latter for a blessing as in Ug5 2.2.and CTA 15.2

Summary. The major portion of this column is devoted to depicting the banquet of the gods. A lavish table is set, precious wines are poured out in abundance, the *rp'm* eat and drink for seven days. What seems to be a description of figures stationed at the scene employs predominantly military imagery (lines 4c-10b) reflecting the military profession of the earthly *rp'm*. It may even be the case that the earthly participants in El's symposium are pictured as present at the banquet with the gods. The significance of the first lines of the column is

not clear, though a reference to the son of Aqht is possible. In any case, there is nothing to suggest that the Rephaim are the shades of the dead as the whole lusty tenor of the text argues against such a possibility. Nor is there any indication that their role is to promote fertility.

NOTES

1 Ch. Virolleaud, La légende phénicienne de Danel. MRS 1. (Paris: Geuthner, 1936): idem, "Les Rephaim. Fragments de poèmes de Ras Shamra," Syria 22 (1941) 1-30. All references below are to the latter work. See also C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949), abbreviated UL below; D. J. Ryan, Rpum and Rephaim: A Study of the Relationship between the rpum of Ugarit and the Rephaim of the Old Testament. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, National University of Ireland, 1954); G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956); A. Caquot, "Les Rephaïm ougaritiques," Syria 37 (1960) 75-93; J. Aistleitner, Die Mythologischen und Kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra. 2d ed. (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1964); A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner, Textes Ougaritiques Tome I. Mythes et Legendes. "Littératures anciennes du Proche Orient." (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1974), abbreviated TO below. Short passages from the Rephaim texts are translated in J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan. 2d ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1965), abbreviated LC^2 below. See also J. C. de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma--Rephaim," ZAW 88 (1976) 323-345. For my understanding of the *rp'm* phenomenon, see "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," HTR 67 (1974) 265-274 and The Status of El and the Problem of the Rephaim which will appear in the "Harvard Semitic Monographs" in 1978.

2 Aistleitner, 84, tentatively translates "in der Versammlung der Gottheiten," apparently reading *bʿd*. This is attractive, especially in view of *s d* in line 4 (though the latter is not recognized by Aistleitner!). Unfortunately, the phrase designating the divine assembly is *ʿdt ilm*.

3 "I shall die," UL 101; "I shall kill or die," Ryan 20; "when I die," Driver, 67.

4 In CTA Herdner suggests the reading *umt mtm*. She is also responsible for the translation of the Rephaim Texts in TO where, p. 477, she reads *kmt mtm* and translates "quand sont morts les hommes."

5 Virolleaud, 3. UT 16.121 has *gʔd* and Driver, 67, reads *gd* which he says should be emended to *s d*. Aistleitner, 84, apparently read *gd* since he did not translate "assembly" which would have agreed with his interpretation of line 2. CTA and TO read *s d* which seems to be correct on the basis of the photograph.

6 "On a summer's day," is found in Aistleitner, 84; Driver, 67; UL, 101; TO 477; and Ryan, 23.

7 Virolleaud, 2; Aistleitner, 84; Driver, 66; TO, 477.

8 See RSP I, 73-85 for the phenomenon of word pairs and the terminology used to describe them.

9 RSP I, 251.

10 Thus UL, 101; UT 19.1916; TO, 396 and 477. See also W. Herrmann, Yarih und Nikkal und der Preis der Kutarāt-Göttinnen. BZAW 106. (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968), 22. On the other hand, Aistleitner tentatively translates "Dattelrispen." Driver, 141, suggests "palm branch," referring to Arabic

ʿurjudu. One might also compare Akkadian *ergiẓu, ergilu*, a kind of grasshopper.

11 Alternatively, it is suggested in TO, 477, that *lty* comparable to Akkadian *littu*, "offspring," from the root *wld* Note also that the sign read *t* might be *a*, allowing a derivation from the root *l'y*, "to be strong, prevail." See also RS 34.126, lines 7 and 24.

12 If *amr* is the object of *tdbḥ* it may be "sheep" though the usual orthography is *imr*. See Aistleitner, 84 and TO, 478. Driver, 69 and 136, compares Arabic *'amru*, "order," and Hebrew *'āmûr*, "what is commanded," and translates "what is commanded." Note, finally, that Virolleaud, 3, says that the *a* looks more like an *n*, as is confirmed by checking the photograph. If *n* is read, one may consider a relationship to *nmrt* in Ug5 2.2.8. Whether *amr* or *nmr* is correct, one may also suggest a derivation from the root *mrr*, "to bless."

13 Virolleaud, 4 and J. Gray, "The Rephaim," PEQ 84 (1949) 127-139.

14 Compare CTA 19.1.42-44: *šbʿ ddnt yṣrk bʿl ṯmn rkb ʿrpt*. Ryan, 25, also suggests that we are dealing with eight days. Another approach is that of Caquot and TO who read the adverb *ṯm* + *n*.

15 See Caquot, 84; UL, 101-102; UT 19.1615; Driver, 67 and 157; Aistleitner, 84; TO, 471-473. This approach is defended by M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," in J. L. McKenzie (ed.), The Bible in Current Catholic Thought (New York: Herder and Herder, 1962) 55-74, esp. 69.

16 J. C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu According to the Version of Ilimilku. AOAT 16. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971) 71 with references to earlier literature. Henceforth, this work is abbreviated SPUM.

17 See also the discussion of CTA 22.B.3.

18 It is assumed that *yaqtulu* is indicative with present, future or durative meaning. *yaqtul* is jussive or preterite. When a form with the *-n* affix occurs within a context which appears to be past or volitive, the *-n* is assumed to be energic.

19 Caquot, 85.

20 For example, *ʿr/pḥl/atnt* in CTA 4.4.9-15. In the early Israelite poem of Judges 5, we find, in verse 25, water/milk/curds and in verse 26, tent peg/workman's mallet (misunderstood by the prosifier of Judges 4:21). See also Zech 9:9 *ḥămôr, ʿāyir, ben ʾătōnôt* (misunderstood by Matt 31:7).

21 The word *atr'* occurs as a technical term referring to the place where the *marzēḥ* was celebrated according to J. T. Milik, Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine. "Recherches d'épigraphie proche orientale," I. (Paris: Geuthner, 1972), passim.

22 Neither the *i* nor the *y* were indicated in Virolleaud, 15, though the traces are clear enough on his autograph. Note the erroneously placed bracket after *lmṯ't* in CTA, ad loc., an error perpetuated in TO, 473.

23 There are 21 complete lines in CTA 22.B ranging in length from 14 to 18 signs, confirming the range which we have determined for 20.B, 21.A, and 22.A on the basis of reconstructions.

24 J. Gray,"The Rephaim," PEQ 84 (1949) 127-139.

25 It is possible that the usual translation, "threshing floors/plantations" has prevented us from discerning the precise meaning of these words. Some have argued that *grn* refers not only to a threshing floor, but to any open area. On the other hand, it has been suggested that it has a cultic reference. See the discussion of G. Münderlein under *gōren* in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. II/1. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1974) 66-70 with bibliography. As to *mṯ't*, one might think first of the sacred groves which constituted part of sacred enclosures elsewhere in Syria. Or perhaps the word has nothing to do with vegetation but is analogous to Hebrew *maṣṣēbōt* and refers to pillars of some sort. In this connection, one thinks of the open areas with standing pillars discovered at Gezer and Byblos. Finally, it is possible that a study of the archaeological data relating to places where horses and chariots were housed might reveal installations which fit the designations *grnt* and *mṯ't*.

26 R. J. Clifford, "The Tent of El and the Israelite Tent of Meeting," CBQ 33 (1971) 221-227.

27 See W. F. Albright, "The Traditional Home of the Syrian Daniel," BASOR 130 (1953) 26-27 and RSP II, 283-284. In his article, "The Ugaritic Deity Rapi'u," UF 4 (1972) 97-104, Simon Parker argues that the designation *mt ḥrnmy* does not mean that Dan'il is the man from *ḥrnm* but that he is the man whose divine patron is the "*ḥrnm*-ite." Thus *ḥrnmy* would be an epithet of the god *rp'*.

28 Caquot, 85; Herdner in TO, 478. On the other hand, Driver, 69, has "threshing floors of El." For these scholars, therefore, there is not the likelihood of reconstructing *ilnym* in the parallel colon. Gordon, UL, 102, translates, "O gods." Aistleitner, 84, translates, "die Götter," with the parallel "die Gottheiten," in the next line apparently representing *ilnym*.

29 Similarly Caquot, 85; Aistleitner, 84; Gordon, UL, 102: TO, 478. Driver, 142, derives from an Aramaic word for "fig, fig-tree," and translates, "plantations of fig-trees," even though his transcription of the text shows *ilnym* between *mṯ't* and *d tit*!

30 Thus Gordon in UL, 101 and UT 19.2588; Aistleitner, 84; and Driver, 69.

31 Virolleaud, 7, suggests Akkadian *taḫû* "quelque recipient (en cuivre ou en argent," and compared *shr* to Hebrew *sāḥar*. Driver follows Virolleaud regarding *shr*. Aistleitner, 84, tentatively suggests "runde."

32 Since a vocative is the only possibility after the imperative, we must presume that the *i*, si vere legitur, is an error for *u*. It has been argued by A. D. Singer, "The Vocative in Ugaritic," JCS 2 (1948) 1-10, that the *i* ending is proper for the vocative. We cannot concur since forms ending in *u* are found in other places where the vocative seems clearly indicated: CTA 21.A.3b and 11b.

33 There are specific reasons for the variants here. See discussion of 22.A.18b-21.

34 The presence of a lacuna is missed by Virolleaud, 8 and 12; Driver, 66 and 68. Caquot, 84, commenting on 20.B.1-2, but referring to the parallels in 21.A.3-4, 22.A.5-6, 10-11 and 20-21 strangely reconstructs *hkly [rpum l](2) tdd atrh tdd il[ny m* (a typographical error has the last bracket pointing the wrong way). In UL, Gordon leaves room for the lacuna at CTA 21.A.2 and 10, but reads *hkly* as a C-form of the verb *kly*, "to destroy." At CTA 22.A.10-11, however, he seems to read *atrh rpum atrh*, not allowing for a lacuna. Aistleitner, 84-85 reconstructs as we do and so, of course, does Herdner in TO.

35 The]*ty* before *aṯḫkm* is extant only at CTA 21.A.2 where Virolleaud, 8, read]*ly* on the basis of which UL, 101, Aistleitner, 84, and Caquot, 86 reconstruct *hkly*. However, in CTA, Herdner indicates a *t* with the symbol of uncertainty. The autograph seems to be reconcilable with *t* but not *l* as is also supported by the photograph.

36 E.g., Aistleitner, 84-85; UL, 101-102. Caquot recognizes that there is room for more signs but does not reconstruct. Driver, 66-68 reconstructs differently but does fill the lacuna. TO, of course, follows CTA as we do.

37 Virolleaud, 10. The *y* is read as the vocative particle by Aistleitner, 84; Driver, 67; Caquot, 86; and TO, 479.

38 Translated, "my friend," by Aistleitner, 84; "like a shepherd (i.e. ruler)," by Driver, 67; "my shepherds," UL, 101; "my companions," TO, 479.

39 O. Eissfeldt, "Kultvereine in Ugarit," in Cl. F. A. Schaeffer, et. al. Ugaritica VI. MRS 17. (Paris: Geuthner, 1961) 187-195.

40 Virolleaud, 9.

41 Aistleitner, 84; Driver, 66; Caquot, 86; and Ryan, 37. The impossibility of this reading is pointed out by Herdner and Eissfeldt.

42 Eissfeldt, 195.

43 For my understanding of the *marzēaḥ*, see "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," HTR 67 (1974) 265-274, esp. 270-272. A fuller treatment is found in Chapter 6 of The Status of El and the Problem of the Rephaim, forthcoming in the "Harvard Semitic Monographs."

44 Eissfeldt, 195. It should no noted that *ʿ* is the voiced equivalent of unvoiced *ḥ*. We may therefore posit a partial assimilation to the voiced *z*.

45 Thus Virolleaud, 11 and Driver, 69. As an alternative, Driver suggests, "he returns to earth," So also TO, 480.

46 Virolleaud, 12.

47 Compare CTA 15.2 where Keret, who belongs to the earthly *rp'm*, is present at a banquet along with the assembled gods.

48 So also A. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1952) 108 and Gordon in UL, 103. They, however, translate "shades of Baal." Most scholars have understood *rpu* as a singular, e.g., Virolleaud, 21. It is taken as a divine name by A. Jirku, "Rapa'u der Furst der Rapa'uma--Rephaim," ZAW 77 (1965) 82-83 and by M. Astour, Hellenosemitica 2d ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 88-89, 98, 197-198 and 236. S. Parker, "The Ugaritic Deity Rāpi'u," UF 4 (1972) 97-104 tentatively translates, "Rāpi'u, the Lord." It is also taken as a divine name by Driver, 69. On the other hand, Caquot, 88 and 90 takes it as "le guéri de Ba^{c}al," referring to the revived Aqht. TO, 474, translates "la guérison de Baal." Gray, LC^{2}, 128 proposes "a healer of Baal." Finally, de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma--Rephaim," 329 argues in favor of "Baal the healer."

49 Though it is not regular, there are some cases where Ugaritic *ṯ* corresponds to Arabic *s* as noted in M. Dahood, "Hebrew Ugaritic Lexicography, III," Bibl 46 (1965) 311-332, esp. 332. There have been a number of other interpretations of *ṯmq*. It is viewed as a proper name in TO, 474 and Aistleitner, 85. de Moor, SPUM, 117, understands it as the name of a god, probably Sumuqān. It is taken as a verb by Driver, 152, who suggests, "was honorably treated," on the basis of a presumed parallel with *yḫpn* (see below, n. 51). Ryan, 61, suggests "gathers" on the basis of his interpretation of *ṯbs* and *^{c}bš* in 22.B.6-7.

50 Similarly de Moor, SPUM, 117. Aistleitner, 85 translates "Dienstmannen Baals." TO, 471, suggests that if it is a construct, it should be translated "guerrier digne de Baal." On the equivalence of *mḥr* and *maryannu*, see Ryan, 50-52.

51 Virolleaud, 22, suggested Hebrew *ḥ$\check{s}$ōpen*, "handful," or **ḫpy/*ḫpp*, "to cover, protect." TO, 472, goes along with Virolleaud's first suggestion and reads a denominative verb from *ḫpn* translated "empoigner." Driver, 139, sees a passive of *ḫpw*, "was honored, revered," with a dubious Arabic etymology. Gray, LC^{2}, 128, points to Arabic *ḫ up*, "to surround." de Moor, SPUM, 117, refers to Arabic *ḫaffa*, "to rustle." Gordon, UL, 103, strangely translates, "go barefoot." Finally, the word is taken as a proper name by Aistleitner, 85, and Ryan, 53 and 62.

52 So also TO, 472. Virolleaud, 22, points to Akkadian *ḫiyalāni*. Slightly different is Gray, LC^{2}, 128 and Gordon, UL, 103. A proper name or gentilic is suggested by Aistleitner, 85; Driver, 139; and Ryan, 62. de Moor, SPUM, 117, reads *ḫḫ* (𐎖𐎖) instead of *y* (𐎖) and translates, "filth," as a designation of the underworld.

53 *^{c}llmy* is taken as a proper name or gentilic by Virolleaud, 21; Aistleitner, 85; Ryan, 62; and Gordon, UL, 103. de Moor, SPUM, 117, finds a derisive term, "child of whom," meaning, "a nobody." TO, 475, suggests treating the second *l* as a

dittography and emending to read *mlk ʿlmy*, "my eternal kingship," (cp. Gray, LC^2, 128) but then rejects the idea because it does not fit in with the way *yḥpn* has been understood. See *ʿllmn* in RS 34.126, lines 7 and 24.

54 The position is accepted by Aistleitner, 83 and 85 as well as Driver, 69. J. Gray says in "The Rephaim," PEQ 84 (1949) 131, that the reconstruction of Virolleaud is "quite possible, though it is regrettably uncertain." Caquot, 91, and TO, 462 and 472 agree that there is an anointing, but of Dan'il's son rather than of Baal. Ryan, 48-50, completely rejects Virolleaud's reconstruction.

55 The primary sources are Judges 9:15 (Jotham Fable) and EA 51. For discussion see O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship," in S. Hooke (ed.), Myth, Ritual and Kingship (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) 74-107; R. de Vaux, "The King of Israel, Vassal of Yahweh," in The Bible and the Ancient Near East (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971) 152-166; and E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt. BZAW 87. (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1963).

56 A conclusion reached by Caquot, 89; and TO, 474. See also S. Parker, UF 2 (1970) 100 and UF 4 (1972) 249. It is going too far, however, to conclude from this that the Rephaim texts provide the conclusion of the Aqht Epic.

57 Virolleaud, 16. In the critical edition of the text, however, Herdner notes that the wedge after *ḥn* is too low to be an *ʿ*. On the other hand, an examination of the photograph indicates that the remains of the sign at the end of the line look too high to be the bottom part of a *d*. It is best to keep Anat out of the picture. Astour, Hellenosemitica 197-198 finds here the son of Baal and Anat.

58 See Virolleaud, 19. The resurrection concept, linked to *qym* is suggested by UL, 103; de Moor, SPUM, 117; TO, 474; Caquot, 87; Gray, LC^2, 128. *qym* is taken as "to stand by, wait upon," by Aistleitner, 85 and Driver, 69.

59 Ryan, 59-60.

60 Following Caquot, 87. Others see a noun from *ʾlṯm*, "to run," therefore "speedily," or the like: de Moor, SPUM, 117; TO, 474; Aistleitner, 85; Driver, 69 and 158. In view of the connection between Akkadian *laṣāmu* and horses, one might also think in terms of an abstract noun having to do with horsemanship, as would be appropriate in the context of the chariot riding *rpʾm*.

61 Driver, 142 and 152.

62 See above, n. 49.

63 Ryan, 61. Gray, LC^2, 128, also refers to Arabic *ʿbš*, but translates, "the lads will use the name of god aright." Aistleitner, 85, takes both words as divine names. For other suggestions, see Virolleaud, 19 and TO, 474.

64 de Moor, SPUM, 117. Yet another possibility is that *tštr ʿpt šmm* is related to descriptions of Anat's flying: *tdʿṣ pʿnm wtr arṣ* in CTA 3.5.12-13; 4.5.82-83 and 17.6.46 as well as *wtr bʿp*[*t*] in CTA 10.2.11-12.

S 217 ACTS 3:19-26 AS A TEST OF THE ROLE OF ESCHATOLOGY IN LUKAN CHRISTOLOGY

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The speech in Acts 3 bristles with exegetical difficulties. Elements in it seem to contradict dominant motifs of Luke's christology, so that some have seen in Ac 3,19-21 evidence for an unassimilated "earliest christology." The debates regarding Ac 3,19-26 concern both Luke's literary methods and his theological emphases. By focussing on this passage, we wish to contribute to both levels of Luke-Acts discussion. First we shall argue that a Lukan time-scheme which implies an inaugurated eschatology clarifies the christology of Luke-Acts, as well as the obscurities of this passage. Then we shall consider Luke's use of sources and the "earliest christology" question in Ac 3,19-21, and try to show that Luke thoroughly assimilated whatever sources or traditions he had to his own theological framework.

THE TIMETABLE BEHIND ACTS 3,19-26

Our first task is to reconstruct the time-scheme implied by Ac 3,19-26. Ac 3,19 is a call to repentance in the present, for a future purpose that the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως may come from the Lord and he send the foreordained Christ (3,20). This Christ must (δεῖ) in the present be received in heaven, the place from which he will be sent. He will remain in heaven ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν God predicted through his prophets from of old (3,21). What is the relationship between these καιροί (3,20), the sending of the Christ (3,20), and the χρόνοι in 3,21?

Some commentators equate the time-intervals behind καιροί and χρόνοι[1] and relate them to each other as subjective and objective aspects of the same events.[2] Others distinguish between the καιροί and χρόνοι, saying that καιροί began with the sending of the Spirit,[3] whereas the χρόνοι refer to the ultimate end when the Christ will be sent.[4]

One approach to resolving this question is to look at the significance of the singular and plural forms in Luke's predictive and eschatological uses of the words for time καιροί, χρόνοι and ἡμέραι. For example, is there a significant difference between the singular χρόνῳ in Ac 1,6 and the plural χρόνοι here in 3,21 and in Ac 1,7 (with καιροί)?[5] The general usages of the singular and plural of Greek words for time and their relationship to their semitic OT counterparts[6] suggest the hypothesis that the plural refers to an extended period of time and/or a succession of events, whereas the singular refers to each actual saving event and/or its moment of occurrence, whether it be an event along the history of salvation (cf. those of the Moses deliverance in the Acts 7 speech and Jesus' earthly visitation in Lk 19,44), or the final event, the Day of the Lord (OT and Joel cited in Ac 2,20) and the sending of the Christ (Ac 3,20).[7]

This hypothesis is borne out in Luke's usage of these three words. Especially characteristic are his juxtapositions

of the plural for the times and events leading up to the end and the singular for this end. Thus in the programmatic Joel quotation with its Lukan modifications, both the OT source (Ac 2,18) and the Lukan additions (in Ac 2,17) distinguish the plural for the series of events and prolonged time-span leading up to the end (the outpouring of the Spirit, prophesying, wonders and signs and cosmic occurrences, Ac 2,17-20a) from the singular for the ultimate Day of the Lord (Ac 2,20b) which will occur in a definitive way at their end. The same juxtaposition between plural and singular is repeated often enough in the Lk 17 eschatological address to be judged a deliberate Lukan pattern.[8]

This Lukan differentiation between singular and plural in time expressions throws light on his meaning in Ac 3,20-21. If as in Lk 21,24, Ac 14,17 and 17,26 the plural καιροί implies a time span rather than an instantaneous moment, the implication in Ac 3,20 seems to be that the sending of the Christ, a singular occurrence (cf. the aorist subjunctive instead of the present), takes place at a moment within the time span of καιροί. Which is more probable, the beginning, middle or ending of the καιροί? First, verse 21 implies that the sending coincides with the ultimate end, as distinguished from the present when the challenge to repent is being given and when the Christ is in heaven. Yet the καιροί as well as the sending of the Christ follow upon conversion. It is therefore possible (though not necessary) to see these times as beginning with conversion and leading up to the final sending at their end point.[9]

My contention is that Ac 3,22-26 is meant to indicate that this sending does not take place at the beginning of these times of predicted fulfillment/restoration, since at least one of these predictions, that of Moses for a prophet to be raised up, has already been fulfilled in Jesus.[10] The emphasis in the phrase "until the times of fulfillment/restoration of all" (that was predicted) must therefore fall on the all.

Some predictions have come true: Jesus was raised, fulfilling the prediction cited in Ac 3,22. The warning to heed this prophet in Ac 3,23 applies (though not exclusively) to the present occasion of the speech. The other prophets from Samuel on referred to "these days" (3,24), which have obviously begun (so the force of πρῶτον in 3,26) and to which no definite end is mentioned. Other predictions have not yet been fulfilled by the time of the speech, such as the response of the hearers and the blessing of others after the listeners (3,26 "first"). Jesus will be in heaven until all that was predicted is fulfilled. The context of 3,22-26 implies that the sending will occur at the end of the times of fulfillment/restoration, as their definitive climax.[11]

If these χρόνοι in 3,21 have already begun, it seems most reasonable to interpret 3,20 to mean that the times of refreshment also have begun for those who have converted (at least all those in Acts 2), and that they are another aspect of these same χρόνοι. Both the καιροί of 3,20 and the χρόνοι of 3,21 will only reach their definitive completion with the sending of the Christ from heaven, but they have begun with the conversions and healing and outpouring of the Spirit in Acts 2

and 3. This is an "inaugurated eschatology," as distinguished from either a completely futuristic or a completely realized eschatology.

This conclusion is given further support by a study of Luke's use of ἄχρι. Corresponding to Luke's distinction between singular and plural in his words for time is a similar pattern in his use of ἄχρι with the singular or plural genitive. Here in Ac 3,21 ἄχρι is followed by the plural genitive. His only other use of ἄχρι with the plural genitive is in Ac 20,6, where ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε expresses the extent of time it took to sail from Philippi to Troas, and refers to the travelers' arrival, which obviously happened at the end of the five days.[12]

The Lukan uses of ἄχρι (and it occurs more often in Acts than in any other book of the NT) corroborate the analysis of Luke's distinction in meaning between singular and plural expressions for time and my contention that Ac 3,21 refers to the completion rather than the beginning of the times of apokatastasis.[13]

Applying the "inaugurated eschatology" explanation to Ac 3,19-26 gives the following interpretation to the passage. God's raising of the prophet in Ac 3,22 is the beginning of the times of fulfillment/restoration. All who do not listen to this prophet will be cut off from the people (3,23). All the prophecies from Samuel on predicted these days (3,24). The present is the object of their predictions, and the listeners ("you") are the recipients of their promises and blessings from the covenant with Abraham (3,25). These blessings will take place through Abraham's seed (singular for Jesus rather than collective for Israel) and will benefit all the tribes of the earth (3,25). The listening Jews are the first recipients of these blessings which are mediated by God's raising up his servant and sending him to bless "you" on the condition and occasion of each listener's conversion (3,26).

In other words, the now of the speech, the contemporaneous time span indicated by the plural "these days" of 3,24, is the critical occasion of decision for either the Abrahamic blessings or excommunication from this people.

The raising of the prophet (3,22) and God's servant (3,26) are the same event, as almost all the commentators agree. But from this it does not necessarily follow, as most of them suggest, that the raising must refer to the earthly ministry of Jesus rather than his resurrection. For in Luke-Acts, rejection of Jesus in his ministry does not in itself cut off those who reject him from the people of the promises. If that were true, according to Luke's account of the rejection and passion of Jesus, the Jews of Jerusalem would have already been cut off from the people of the promises, and there would be no point to this speech. This speech is precisely offering the Jews of Jerusalem another chance to reverse their previous rejection of Jesus.

The condition sine qua non for this offer of a second chance is the resurrection of Jesus. This resurrection is the past event (and therefore the participle ἀναστήσας is aorist) which was the prerequisite for God to send (also in the past)

Jesus. The only irreversible rejection of Jesus, the only rejection that cuts a person off from the people of the promise, is the rejection of the risen Jesus, just as the Abrahamic blessings which include the whole earth are only able to be fulfilled first in the Jews because of Jesus as raised and vindicated.[14] The verb ἀνίστημι as it is used in Ac 3,22 and 3,26 must therefore include in its meaning the literal resurrection of Jesus.

Then how can the sending of Jesus in the past tense in 3,26 be reconciled with the sending of Jesus still to come in 3,20? There is fairly general consensus that the sending in 3,20 refers to the final coming of Jesus after the present period.[15] It is also generally agreed that 3,20 has at least the appearance of a Jewish expectation of a definitive coming of the Christ, whether this is an archaic tradition or an instance of Lukan archaizing. In either case, the past tense in 3,26 indicates a partial re-interpretation of this expectation, by showing that the Moses prediction has already been fulfilled in Jesus' resurrection, and in some sense (though not yet the definitive sense) Jesus has already been sent.

Ac 3,13-16 indicates how the risen Jesus can be said to have been sent and to be blessing those who convert, and nonetheless still be awaited from heaven (3,20). Both Ac 3,13-16 and 3,26 portray God vis-à-vis the people of the Abrahamic promises. Both refer to Jesus as παῖς (3,13 and 26). Ac 3,12-16 make clear that the healing that occasions the speech is not due to the apostles, not even to their interceding with an absent God (cf. εὐσεβείᾳ and rabbinic theories of intercession). But in this healing which has taken place here and now God was glorifying his servant Jesus whom he had already "raised from the dead" (3,15).

The same pattern of God glorifying/sending his servant Jesus after he raised him occurs in 3,13 and 15, and 3,26. The content of sending in 3,26 can be inferred from 3,16 -- Jesus was present to this lame man in his name, even though in another sense he is absent in heaven (3,21) for this period. In other words, 3,13-16 show that the risen Jesus is sent to the listeners in the apostles,[16] their invoking his name and their witness to him and preaching of his word.[17]

This interpretation of ἀπέστειλεν in Ac 3,26 accords perfectly with its context. It takes place after Jesus' resurrection; it is contemporaneous with "blessing" as typified by the healing of the lame man (the force of the present participle blessing is time-contemporaneous with the main verb sent); and it brings with it an offer of blessing which is contingent upon the listeners' repentance, the main object of the speech.

To this extent, Haenchen's difficulty with ἀπέστειλεν is solved through re-interpretation, which exemplifies at least Lane's basic insight about reinterpretation of eschatological expectations through periodization. The futuristic eschatology of 3,20 is modified to a more inaugurated eschatology by 3,22-26, which does not eliminate the futuristic element of the final coming of Jesus, but calls attention to the beginning of the fulfillment in the period of the last days (plural, Ac 2,17) which has already occurred and which will

culminate in the ultimate (and singular) day of the Lord (Ac 2,20). Moses prophesied the beginning of the times of fulfillment/restoration in the resurrection of Jesus which has occurred (3,22). The following prophets identified these times of fulfillment/restoration with "these days" (3,24), which will culminate in the final sending of Jesus when all has been fulfilled and restored (3,21).

UNASSIMILATED SOURCES AND LUKAN REDACTION

The question whether the material in Ac 3,19-21 is evidence for pre-Pauline christologies or Lukan archaizing is important because this passage is the main basis for the widespread assumption that "Messiah" was first used for Jesus within a futuristic eschatology.[18] If the pericope proves not to sustain this assumption, that explanation for the origin of the title Christ for Jesus loses its most important corroborating evidence.

G. Lohfink has succinctly surveyed the history and state of this question.[19] O. Bauernfeind was the catalyst for most of the subsequent discussion. His thesis about an Elijah-expectation transposed to a Christian note was taken up by U. Wilckens, E. Schweizer and Helmut Flender. J. A. T. Robinson's "Most Primitive Christology" revived an old thesis of A. Harnack's that Ac 3,20 portrays Jesus as only Messias designatus until the parousia.[20] Ferdinand Hahn took up Robinson's thesis in Christologische Hoheitstitel (pp. 184-186). Dieter Georgi argued from this passage and Mk 2,20 and Phil 2,9 that the earliest christology was Jesus' withdrawal to heaven, and resurrection was a later conclusion.[21] But E. Haenchen and H. Conzelmann in their commentaries reacted against the Bauernfeind and Robinson theses, arguing for Lukan composition. G. Voss argued against Hahn that Ac 3,20 portrays a Messias Constitutus. Lohfink himself follows in the line of Haenchen, Voss and Conzelmann but with attention to the history of traditions behind this text.[22]

My procedure will be first to examine Bauernfeind's hypothesis, then the source of his insight, Sirach 48, and propose a different relationship between this Elijah tradition and Luke-Acts. As corroborating evidence for my alternate hypothesis I will allude briefly to Luke's similar uses of the Solomon (son of David) typology of Wisdom 7 in the infancy narratives and the Moses parallels that are commonly acknowledged in Acts 7.

O. Bauernfeind was led to his theory of an Elijah-source by the similarities in wording between the Acts 3 speech and the ending of the Book of the Twelve Prophets, Mal 3,23f (LXX Mal 4,5-6). There God promises to send (ἀποστελῶ) Elijah, who will prepare for the final day of the Lord by restoring (ἀποκαταστήσει) the heart of the father to his son and a man to his neighbor, lest God punish the land. Bauernfeind argued that in place of the current "foreordained Christ" stood "Elijah" in an earlier stage of the text. The notion of heaven taking someone away fits the Elijah-model in Sir 48, 10.[23]

The link between Moses and Elijah in the transfiguration and the reference to Moses in the following verse, Ac 3,22, is

another possible indication of an original piece of Elijah-tradition in Ac 3,20-21. Bauernfeind is not sure whether it was Luke or his source who christianized the Elijah-motif of Ac 3,19-25, e.g., by changing an original Ἠλίαν (ἕτοιμον ὄντα ὑμῖν) to the present προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Indications that such Elijah expectations existed and were applied to Jesus are the popular identifications of Jesus with Elijah mentioned in Mk 8,28 par Lk 9,19 and Mk 6,15 par Lk 9, 8.[24] The identification of John the Baptist with Elijah after the transfiguration (Mk 9,12 par Mt 17,11) is omitted by Luke. Bauernfeind argues that in fact the images of Elijah and of the Messiah coalesced under the aspect of "restoration,"[25] which is the kernel of all eschatology.[26]

When I followed Bauernfeind's hint and looked at the Elijah-Elisha sequence in Sir 48,1-18, it immediately became evident that not only the verses on which Bauernfeind focussed (vv. 9-10) but this whole section has many impressive resonances with themes pervading Luke-Acts and with some of what hitherto seemed Luke's stranger peculiarities.

Let us indicate some of these Elijah coincidences, following the order of Sir 48,1-18, and then highlight what seems to be some of its more important contributions to the programmatic of Luke-Acts. Most of these Lukan allusions are to Elijah-Elisha material in Kings and Malachi as well as in Sirach, but a few point specifically to Sirach. Sir 48,1 begins, καὶ ἀνέστη Ἠλίας προφήτης; cf. the people's reaction to the Naim raising in Lk 7,16. Sir 48,3b mentions Elijah's calling down fire; cf. Lk 9,54 in reaction to the rejection by the Samaritans. Sir 48,4 "How ἐδοξάσθης, Elijah, in your θαυμασίοις" has echoes in Ac 3,13. The raising of the dead man in Sir 48, 5, along with the Kings accounts, provide typology for the Naim raising in Lk 7,11-16. Elijah's humbling of the kings and mighty in Sir 48,6 has resonances in the Magnificat (Lk 1,51f). Elijah's hearing judgment on Sinai/Horeb (Sir 48,7) corresponds both to Moses and the transfiguration. In most of these cases, the Nestle margins rightly show that Luke is not just using Sirach but is more obviously citing other passages and common OT patterns.

Elijah's anointing of kings and of prophets as successors after him (Sir 48,8) has echoes in the Pentecost anointing of the apostles as successors after Jesus. As Elijah was assumed into heaven (ἀναλημφθείς) in a fiery whirlwind (Sir 48,9) so Jesus was taken up in a cloud in Ac 1,9. What is striking about Sir 48,10 is that it is as taken up into heaven that Elijah is said to be prepared for judicial convictions εἰς καιρούς, as Jesus in heaven is to remain there until the completion of the times in Ac 3,20-21, and it is in or from heaven that Elijah will turn the heart of the father toward the son (cf. Lk 1,17 for John) and restore the tribes of Jacob (cf. Ac 3,21 and 25). In Acts it is likewise as taken into heaven that Jesus is ready for the final judgment in its time and is bringing Jews and gentiles to conversions (through his apostles), thus restoring the Jewish people (cf. Jervell).

The emphasis in Ac 1,9-11 on the disciples watching Jesus be taken up in the cloud corresponds to the condition Elijah gave Elisha for receiving double his Spirit: this would occur only if Elisha saw Elijah being taken up (2 Kgs 2,9-10).

More important for Luke-Acts, after Elijah's departure Elisha was filled with his Spirit (Sir 48,12 Rahlfs), to which corresponds the ascension-pentecost sequence and especially the reception of the Spirit by the Christian missionaries, the apostles, Stephen and Paul. For the rest of this Sirach verse, "and in his days he did not tremble before a ruler and no one overpowered him," is fulfilled in the repeated confrontations with authorities by Christian preachers, capped by the last words of Acts about Paul preaching μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως (Ac 28,31). That nothing was too hard for Elisha (Sir 48,13) is echoed especially in the apostles' beatings and imprisonments and Paul's sufferings (especially from Acts 21 on) and shipwreck and snakebite (Ac 27-28). Elisha's τέρατα in his lifetime have many correspondences in Acts, but not the marvels of his death, unless one considers Paul's failure to fall over dead from the snake as the onlookers expected in Ac 28,6.

Perhaps no one of these prefigurations taken singly is conclusive, though accumulated they do indicate that Luke consciously gave an Elijah-Elisha tone to his presentation. And in the light of all these indications of Elijah-Elisha typology, the correspondence between the conclusion of Sirach's Elijah-Elisha section and the theme of Luke-Acts is too striking to be purely coincidental. For this section in Sirach is climaxed by the conclusion about the reaction of the laos to Elijah and Elisha, which corresponds to the people's reaction to Jesus and the Christian missionaries in Luke-Acts, even to details that are perplexing in the Lukan narrative.

"For all this, οὐ μετενόησεν ὁ λαός and they did not forsake their sins" (Sir 48,15): as in the Acts 7 speech the people's second rejection of Moses, despite his confirmation by God after their first rejection, parallels in Acts the second rejection of Jesus confirmed by the resurrection and addressing them in his missionaries,[27] so here there is a double rejection of Elijah and Elisha, to which corresponds the rejection of Jesus and his missionaries.

Corresponding to the punishment for this double rejection of Elijah and Elisha by being carried away captive from their land and scattered all over the earth (Sir 48,15) is the destruction of Jerusalem in Luke, especially Lk 21,24 "they will be taken away captive to all the nations" (where the wording differs but the idea corresponds). Luke portrays in Jesus' prophecy the destruction of Jerusalem as punishment for the rejection of Jesus (Lk 19,44; cf. Lk 13,34f and 21,22), which in Acts is shown to be a double rejection both of Jesus and of his successors.

Even the notion of a remnant of the laos in Sir 48,16 is frequent in Luke-Acts, from the people John prepared to the missionary call in Acts to be saved from this evil generation (Ac 2,40-41), though Jervell would not agree this is a small number, as described in Sir 48,16.[28] But the ending of this verse, which states that some did what was pleasing, others multiplied sins, throws light on the confusing and artificial progression in Ac 28,24-27, where the mixed reaction of some believing and some disbelieving Paul is followed by Paul's seemingly exaggerated response of the complete rejection of Is 6,9-10. Here in the portrayal of the people's response to

Elijah and Elisha in Sir 48,15-16 is a literary model for the same theme which is characteristic of Luke-Acts.

What all this indicates is that Luke used the Elijah-Elisha story as told in Kings and elaborated in Malachi and Sir 48 and the like as one of his typological models for Luke-Acts. So Wilson remarks that "For Luke, Elijah was a model of the godly man, and he wants to use him typologically of both John and Jesus, more especially of Jesus. For this reason Luke avoids directly identifying Elijah with either John or Jesus."[29] But this remark should be extended to include Elisha and the missionaries in Acts.

Nor is this typology to be overstressed. It is just one among several Luke uses. The Moses and Joseph typologies in the Acts 7 speech are common knowledge, and Bihler elaborates on the relationships between the speeches in Acts 7 and Acts 3.[30]

Most scholars agree that archaic elements are present in Ac 3,19-21, and our argument in no way denies this.[31] The main issue is how Luke used his sources. Though few would baldly argue that Luke took a scissors-and-paste approach to his sources, some of the scholarly attempts to find sources in Acts or argue to earliest christologies would logically seem to imply such a procedure on Luke's part. Our argument is meant to call attention to this problem lurking behind some of those arguments for sources. It confirms much of the recent discussion in the literature and in the SBL Luke-Acts Group on this issue. In this passage, so often considered a prime example of unassimilated source material, it is clear that Luke has thoroughly assimilated any traditions or sources he had to his own inaugurated eschatology, which is his consistent framework for the material in Acts.

For the questions raised by this paper, the most important material which Luke thus structures by his inaugurated eschatology is his christology. There are at least two phases to Lukan christology, which correspond to the saving plan of God that Jesus is fulfilling. To these two phases, the infancy narratives can be considered an introduction, predicting in Jesus a fulfillment of the OT longings for a savior, Christ, Lord, son of God from the House of David. The rest of Luke-Acts fills in the content of these (and other) christological expressions.

The first phase of Luke's christology is inaugurated by Jesus' anointing as Christ, Lord and son of God at the Jordan, and carried through in his prophetic mission of preaching, healing and exorcising, and in his death in which he was rejected as were all the other prophets (Lk 3,21-22; 4,17-21; Ac 10,38; 4,25-28).

The second phase begins with Jesus' resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand, which the Acts speeches interpret as Jesus' enthronement as Christ and Lord (Ac 2,36) and son of God (Ac 13,33). This follows the pattern of David himself, who was anointed king some time before he was enthroned as king.[32] From God's right hand, Jesus pours out the Spirit (Ac 2,33) which signals the inauguration of the eschatological period ("last days," Ac 2,17) when the Spirit is poured out

on all flesh. This extended period (Ac 2,17-20, cf. Ac 1,6-8) will be ended by the great and final day of the Lord (Jesus -- Ac 2,20-21). This extended eschatological period before the final parousia corresponds exactly to our interpretation of the "times of restoration" when Jesus is in heaven (Ac 3,21) before his return (Ac 3,20).

It is also possible to show, but not here for lack of space, that a major function of the title "the Christ" in Luke-Acts is to situate Jesus within God's OT plan for saving his people Israel. The "times and seasons" of God's plan account for Luke's inaugurated eschatology and the phases in his christology (Ac 1,7; 17,26.30-31; cf. 13,29-33.41).

Both uses of "the Christ" in the Acts 3 speech do so situate Jesus in the context of God's saving plan. Ac 3,18 explicitly relates the Christ to God as "his Christ": "What God foretold through all his prophets, that his Christ would suffer, he has fulfilled in this way." The death of Jesus fulfills the OT plan of God for his Christ.

Ac 3,20 likewise links the Christ to the Jewish people according to God's plan. Jesus is called "the Christ chosen for you." Though it is abstractly possible to interpret this as a "Christ-elect" by analogy to a "president-elect," Luke's context has subsumed this phrase into his own framework. The only other two uses of the word in the NT are applied by Luke to Paul as "chosen" for witness (Ac 22,14; 26,16), an immediate, not future, mission. In Ac 3,20, the phrase "the Christ chosen for you" is primarily meant to underline that the God who is in charge of all that happens has chosen Jesus, not someone else, as their Christ whom he will send, just as he chose Paul to be a witness to Jesus. Compare also the use of ὁρίζω[33] for Jesus as chosen by God to be judge in Ac 10,42 and 17,31, where 10,42 implies and 17,31 explicitly states that the resurrection is the persuasive sign from God that he had so chosen Jesus. A similar pattern with another synonymous root appears in the peculiarly Lukan use of "This is my son, the chosen one" in Lk 9,35 and the taunt of the Jewish leaders of the crucified Jesus, "if this is the Christ of God, the chosen one" (Lk 23,35). The phrase in Ac 3,20 clearly corresponds to Luke's own theological emphases on God as primary agent of all that happened to and through Jesus.

One conclusion is clear, and important for attempts to reconstruct the history of early Christian christology. Because it is so difficult to determine whether the archaic elements in this passage belong to an internally consistent primitive christology or were assembled from various traditions by Luke, Ac 3,20-21 cannot bear the weight put on it for the reconstruction of the earliest christology. Those who argue for the removal of the Christ in a futuristic eschatology as an older christology than those based on faith in the exaltation or resurrection can claim in this passage only very ambiguous evidence.[34]

Because of Lukan reworking and the evidence of his own themes here, Ac 3,19-21 cannot invalidate the more traditional opinions that eschatological hopes for Jesus' return as Christ are a consequence, not a cause, of the early Christian experience of the Spirit, apostolic witness to the resurrection, and

the physical absence of Jesus.[35] The liturgical Maranatha, for example, only makes sense as addressed to someone experienced as alive (after his death) and in communication (through his Spirit) but physically absent -- no one prays to a corpse or to someone who cannot hear the prayer; and if he were already fully present there would be no need to ask him to come.[36] The early passion traditions are built on the understanding of the resurrection as God's vindication of Jesus. The experience of the Spirit and witness to the resurrection seen as God's vindication of the Jesus who died as "king of the Jews" seems a much more likely source of the community's awareness of Jesus as the Christ than Jewish eschatological traditions.[37]

CONCLUSION

We have argued that a Lukan timetable which implies an inaugurated eschatology makes sense of the exegetical obscurities in Ac 3,19-26, as well as of the christology in these verses. The fact that the eschatological and christological patterns of 3,19-26 correspond so perfectly to those in the rest of Acts demonstrates that whatever early traditions or sources Luke had he quite thoroughly assimilated to his own theological framework. This passage does not contain pieces of traditional material that do not fit into Luke's plan. Rather, Luke used typologies and patterns from the (Gk) OT to structure his own material. Just as the OT historians tried to show how all that happened in the history of the Israelite people was according to the plan of God and corresponded to how the people obeyed God, so Luke extended this same goal and pattern to his account of what happened among Christians (Lk 1,1-4; Ac 1,1-8).

As a result of his concern to relate all that happened to the saving plan of God, Luke clearly shows that Jesus was the Christ sent by God and fulfilling God's will according to his timetable. In his earthly mission he was anointed Christ and Lord and son of God, but it was not till his resurrection and exaltation to God's right hand that he was enthroned as such in glory. Before that could happen, the Christ had to suffer and rise. As risen, he inaugurates the eschatological age leading to the end by pouring out the Spirit on all flesh. He will remain in heaven till the times of the restoration and fulfillment of all that God had foretold through the prophets (Ac 3, 21). Then God will send him again in the parousia on the final day (Ac 3,20). Clearly, Ac 3,19-26 confirms that Luke's christology is heavily influenced by his eschatology.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Richard C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament, new edition with notes by A. L. Mayhew (London, 1901), p. 197; Wendt, Apostelgeschichte, 9th ed., p. 107; H. J. Holtzmann, Hand-Commentar zum NT I, 337.

[2]So, e.g., Oepke in TDNT, I, p. 391; Hans Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte, 2nd ed., HNT, 7 (Tübingen, 1972), p. 40; Ernst Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 208 and n. 8.

[3]William L. Lane's parallelism between repentance and

receiving the Spirit (Ac 2,38) and repentance and coming of times of refreshment (Ac 3,19-20), in his Times of Refreshment. A Study of Eschatological Periodization in Judaism and Christianity (Dissertation, Harvard Divinity School, 1962), pp. 171-172, 179-180, 205.

[4]F. Overbeck reverses this--the καιροί refer to the parousia and the χρόνοι to "these days" of Ac 3,24, W. M. L. deWette, Kurze Eklärung der Apostelgeschichte, 4th ed. by F. Overbeck. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum NT, Band 1, Teil 4 (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 54-55.

[5]Cf. Henry Alford, The Greek Testament, 7th ed., 4 Vols, Vol. 2 (Boston, 1878); "for either way, the χρόνοι ἀποκατ. will imply the time or period of the ἀποκατ., not the moment only, when it begins or is completed, as καιρός (not καιροί) ἀποκατ. might."

[6]Cf. "Time" in McKenzie's Dictionary of the Bible, pp. 891-892, and in IDB, Vol. 4, pp. 643-646 (author E. Jenni).

[7]For the purposes of our question, the distinction between singular and plural is more relevant than the various differentiating nuances among the three words.

[8]Thus in Lk 17,22 the plural refers to an extended period -- "the days will come when you long to see one of the days of the son of man," and is juxtaposed to the singular for the actual coming in Lk 17,24: "so will be the son of man in his day." This pattern with plural and singular is repeated twice more in rapid succession. In Lk 17,26 the (plural) days of the son of man will be like the (plural) days of Noah, which men fill with earthly pursuits heedless of the impending doom, "until the (singular) day Noah entered the ark" (Lk 17,27) and the cataclysm destroyed all. Lk 17,28-29 repeats the pattern for the days of Lot and 17,30-31 draws the moral for the (singular) day when the Son of man will be revealed. The eschatological discourse in Lk 21 also distinguishes the plural for preliminary events from the singular for the ultimate end. So the plural is used in Lk 21,6 and 22 for the events of the destruction of Jerusalem and in 21,24 for the times of the gentiles, whereas the singular refers to the ultimate end in Lk 21,8 (in false predictions) and 21,34, where "that day" will fall upon them suddenly "like a snare." This differentiated application of singular and plural is frequent throughout Luke-Acts. One of the closest parallels to the plural of Ac 3,19-26 is Ac 13,41.

[9]The same relationship may plausibly be inferred between the sending of the Christ and the χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν God foretold through the prophets in Ac 3,21. If χρόνοι here implies a span of time, as distinguished from the definitive now in time implied by the singular in Ac 1,6 (the restoration of the kingdom to Israel seen as a single definitive event), the same question presents itself, whether the sending takes place at the beginning or end of these χρόνοι. For another interpretation see M. Dennis Hamm, S.J. This Sign of Healing, Acts 3:1-10: A Study in Lukan Theology (Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1975), pp. 161-162.

[10]For this particular question it does not matter whether "raise up" refers to Jesus' resurrection or earthly appearance.

For an understanding of the timetable and christology of Luke-Acts, however, the meaning of "raise up" in Ac 3,22 and 26 is an important key. Though the vast majority of commentaries of all languages and theological persuasions refer this to the earthly sending of Jesus, several recent works support the contention of this article that it has to include as its primary content Jesus' resurrection. Among these are J. Dupont, "L'utilisation apologétique de l'Ancien Testament dans les discours des Actes," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 29 (1953) 289-327, p. 321 (= his Etudes sur les Actes des Apôtres, Lectio Divina, 45 (Paris, 1967), p. 268; A. Wilkenhauser, Die Apostelgeschichte, 4th ed., Regensburger Neues Testament, 5 (Regensburg, 1961), pp. 61-62; Ronald Knox, A New Testament Commentary for English Readers (New York, 1954), Vol. 2, p. 11; C.F.D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, p. 169; M.D. Hamm, This Sign of Healing, pp. 175 and 178-182; Luke Timothy Johnson, The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts (Dissertation, Yale University, 1976), pp. 77-78; Marcel Dumais, Le langage de l'évangélisation, Recherches, 16 (Montréal, 1976), p. 127. Cf. also Otto Betz, "The Kerygma of Luke," Interpretation 22 (1968) 131-146, pp. 138-144.

[11]Cf., e.g., A. Harnack, The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels, tr. by J. R. Wilkinson. Crown Theological Library, 33 (New York, 1911), p. 67 n. 2, who relates "times of restoration" to repentance of the Jews à la Ro,11. (Cf. also Jervell.) F. Overbeck's interpretation of the relationship between 3,21 and 3,22-26 is similar to ours, but he reserves the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως (3,20) for the parousia lest it be tautologous with 3,21. "These days" of 3,24 refer the times of apokatastasis in 3,21 to the time of the speaker, and the content of these times is given by the citations in 3,22-24. The people of God will be restored through a separation of those who heed the Messiah preached by the apostles from those who reject this preaching and are thus cut off from the salvation in the kingdom of God. Thus the "times of apokatastasis" are the same as the "last days" of Ac 2,17 -- the time between the first and second coming to which the Joel prediction is applied (deWette's Kurze Erklärung d. Apg.[4], p. 55).

[12]The D variant πεμπταῖοι, "on the fifth day," (cf. π. ἐχόμεσθα Od. 14.257 cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones, 9th ed., 1968, p. 1359) supports this interpretation. Luke's uses of this word with the singular genitive may well be what has led several commentators to insist on its meaning "bis zum Beginn." So B. Weiss, Die Apostelgeschichte (Leipzig, 1893), p. 92 (and 72) refers to the singular usages in Ac 1,2, Lk 2,20 and 17,27 as illustrating the meaning of ἄχρι in Ac 3,21. But see Lk 1,20 and 64; Lk 4,13 and Ac 13,11; esp. Ac 2,29; 23,1 and 26,22.

[13]Bengel's Gnomon I[4] p. 768 and F. Overbeck (de Wette's Kurze Erklärung d. Apg.[4], p. 55) agree with this interpretation of ἄχρι. Bengel and Overbeck cite Ac 20,6 "in five days" as a parallel, and Bengel adds Ac 13,11 "for a season." Cf. also the note in Frisk: as an adverb, preposition or conjunction, ἄχρι has the meaning "bis zum Ende, völlig; bis (zu); so lange als," from the time of the Iliad (p. 203 ad voc.). He also refers to the possible later blurring of its meaning through contamination with μέχρι. (H. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Vol. I, p. 203, ad voc.) This contradicts Bauernfeind: "Ἄχρι kann natürlich nur heissen: bis zum Beginn, nicht: bis zur Vollendung" (Apg., p. 69).

[14]Cf. Carl Nösgen, Commentar über die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas (Leipzig, 1882), p. 122 on resurrection, sending and blessing. This is one of Jervell's main theses in "The Divided People of God," Luke and the People of God, pp. 41-74. I do not, however, agree with Jervell's interpretation of "seed of Abraham" and Ac 3,25f. As with the word for "raise up," here Luke is playing on a second meaning of the phrase "seed of Abraham," which the parallelism of "blessing" in vv. 25 and 26 refers to Jesus risen.

[15] But cf. the argument against this by Hamm, Sign of Healing, pp. 183-186.

[16]Thus Luke may well have been alluding to the etymological force of apostle, as he did with Christ.

[17]C. F. D. Moule calls the christology of Acts, especially in contrast to most Pauline theology, an "absentee Christology" ("Christology of Acts," in Studies Luke-Acts, pp. 179-180). The ascension (Ac 1,9-11) is presupposed throughout Acts (p. 179). George MacRae devotes most of his article, "Whom Heaven Must Receive Until the Time," Interpretation 27 (1973), esp. 160-165, to how Luke portrays the absent Christ as present to his Church. He lists four ways: by the Holy Spirit, by the name, as part of history (in the preaching of the Gospel), and as a model for the lives of his followers (pp. 160-165). Conzelmann (Theology of St. Luke, pp. 177, esp. 178, and p. 226 n. 3) emphasizes that the name was the specifically Lukan way of expressing Christ's presence.

[18]N. Dahl, unpublished christology notes, p. 12. Cf. G. Lohfink, "Christologie und Geschichtsbild in Apg 3,19-21," Biblische Zeitschrift n.s. 13 (1969) 223-241, esp. pp. 223-227 and p. 241; John H. Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology," Interpretation 22 (1968) 333-345; Fred O. Francis, "Eschatology and History in Luke-Acts," JAAR 37 (1969) 49-63.

[19]G. Lohfink, "Christologie..." BZ n.s. 13 (1969), pp. 223-27. Cf. also Wilhelm Thüsing, "Erhöhungsvorstellung und Parusieerwartung in der ältesten nachösterlichen Christologie," BZ n.s. 11 (1967) 95-108, 205-222, BZ n.s. 12 (1968) 54-80, 223-240.

[20]In Twelve NT Studies, pp. 139-153; A. Harnack, Date of Acts, pp. 107-109.

[21]D. Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil 2,6-11," in Zeit und Geschichte. Dankesgabe an R. Bultmann, edited by E. Dinkler (Tübingen, 1964), p. 292.

[22]Gerhard Voss, O.S.B., Die Christologie der Lukanischen Schriften in Grundzügen, Studia Neotestamentica, 2 (Paris, 1965), pp. 28-31, esp. 151-152; G. Lohfink, op. cit., pp. 223-227.

[23]Bauernfeind, Apg, p. 66.

[24]Apg, p. 67.

[25]Ibid., p. 68.

[26]Ibid., p. 69.

[27]Luke Timothy Johnson, The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts (Dissertation, Yale University, 1976), pp. 83-88. This is accepted for the SBL dissertation series.

[28]Jervell, "Divided People..." Luke and the People of God, pp. 44-47 and passim.

[29]Stephen G. Wilson, Gentiles and Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts, SNTSMS, 23 (Cambridge, 1973), p. 63.

[30]Johannes Bihler, Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte, Münchener Theologische Studien, I. Historische Abteilung, 30 [16] (München, 1963), pp. 104-111.

There are also suggestive typological analogies between Wisdom 7's picture of Solomon (son of David) and that of Jesus in Luke, which lend further plausibility to our interpretation of Luke's typological use of Sirach 48 and the Elijah-Elisha motifs. Note especially Wis 7,4 and Lk 2,7; Wis 7,5-6 and Ac 13,24, Lk 2,7 and 9,30; Wis 7,7 and Lk 3,21-22; Wis 7,8 and Lk 4,5-8. The Wisdom 7 picture of Solomon's birth, reception of the Spirit of wisdom, and preference for this Spirit of wisdom over power and wealth is paralleled in order by Luke's account of Jesus' birth, baptism and temptation.

[31]E.g., G. Lohfink, "Christologie..." BZ n.s. 13 (1969), pp. 231, 237-239; P-G. Müller, Christos Archegos: Der religionsgeschichtliche und theologische Hintergrund einer neutestamentlichen Christusprädikation, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series 23 Theology, 28 (Bern, 1973), pp. 261-270 with literature; B.M.F. van Iersel, "Der Sohn" in den synoptischen Jesusworten, Suppl. Nov. Test. 3 (Leiden, 1961), pp. 31-51; P. Schubert, "The Final Cycle of Speeches in the Book of Acts," JBL 87 (1968) 1-16; J. Bihler, Stephanusgeschichte, pp. 106 and 109 with literature.

[32]D. Hamm, This Sign of Healing, pp. 159-160, citing O. Betz, Was Wissen wir von Jesus (Berlin, Kreuz-Verlag, 1965), p. 67. Cf. also John Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement..." Interpretation 22 (1968), pp. 337-345, and O. Betz, "The Kerygma of Luke," Interpretation 22 (1968), pp. 138-141.

[33]And see G. Voss, Christologie, pp. 151-152.

[34]G. Lohfink, op. cit., p. 241.

[35]Cf. W. Grundmann, "χρίω" in TDNT 9, p. 539 and n. 309 in refutation of Hahn's assigning parousia and exaltation to different communities.

[36]Cf. W.Thüsing, "Erhöhungsvorstellung und Parusieerwartung..." BZ n.s. 11 (1967), pp. 221-222, and BZ n.s. 12 (1968), p. 237.

[37]Cf. N.A. Dahl, "The Crucified Messiah," The Crucified Messiah and Other Essays (Minneapolis, Minn., 1974), pp. 10-36, and epilogue, pp. 161-166, and the links to the idea of the Christ as anointed with the Spirit in W. C. van Unnik, "Jesus the Christ," NTS 8 (1961-62) 101-116, and Klaus Berger, "Zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheit-

stitel," NTS 17 (1970-71) 391-425, and "Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments," NTS 20 (1973-74) 1-44. Cf. also J. Hayes, "The Resurrection as Enthronement and the Earliest Church Christology," Interpretation 22 (1968) 333-345.

S 218 THE DEFENSE SPEECHES OF PAUL IN ACTS

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There is general agreement among the interpreters of Luke-Acts that the speeches as well as the narrative material of Acts were composed by Luke. With fully one-third of the composition presented in the form of speeches, it is not surprising that much of the literature on Acts has focused on the interpretation of these addresses.

Not all the speeches, however, have received equal treatment. As late as 1960 it could be said that Stephen's speech before the Sanhedrin and Paul's speech on the Areopagus had received more coverage than all the other speeches combined.[1]

Although Norden,[2] Dibelius,[3] and Cadbury[4] paved the way for giving serious attention to Luke as a literary figure and to his speech compositions as the key for unlocking his style, as late as a decade ago W. C. van Unnik[5] could lament that a thorough comparative study of Luke with ancient historians was yet to be found. Happily it appears that this problem is being corrected.[6]

The present investigation attempts to make a careful analysis of the defense speeches of Paul in Acts and those to be found in ancient literature in the interest of discovering if these Pauline speeches were constructed according to a set genre or Gattung of defense speech. If a speech pattern can be isolated we will have taken the first steps toward some understanding as to how these speeches function in the composition as a whole.

The following guidelines have been used to control the comparative study.[7]

1. The comparative materials are not limited to one type of literature, such as history or biography or romance. If the Pauline defense speeches show affinity with any ancient defense speech genre, it will be crucial to note if such a genre was a common speech form or peculiar to a given type of literature.

2. The contemporary literature, i.e. those materials dating roughly within a century of the date of the composition of Acts (c. 80 A.D.), will carry more weight than earlier or later compositions.

3. The defense speeches to be analyzed will be limited to those which appear in the context of some type of historical or romance writing in which one (or more) of the chief characters being treated in the narrative composition is being defended in the immediate context of a trial scene.[8]

4. Since the defense speech does not exist in isolation but is an integral part of a literary sub-unit involving a trial episode, both the speech and its narrative framework will be submitted to analysis.

5. In the interest of discerning literary patterns rather than stylistic features, the study will emphasize the formal elements in the construction and content arrangement of the speech and its narrative framework.[9]

The paper is divided into two major divisions. The first section will treat the ancient defense speeches as they are to be found in various types of ancient narrative sources. This first part will conclude with an attempt to isolate a defense speech form characteristic of this literature or any one of its literary traditions. The second section will cover the analysis of the Pauline defense speeches and how their form compares to that of the typical (?) defense speech in ancient times.

The Defense Speech in Ancient Literature

Greek Historiography

The most significant of the Greek historical writers date from the classical period and thus are hardly contemporary with Luke. Even so, they have little to offer our study. Herodotus (c. 450 B.C.) makes only one reference to a trial with a defense (4.82).[10] The charge and reply are both given in indirect discourse and there is no mention of an apology (ἀπολογία). Among the many speeches of Thucydides (c. 440 B.C.) only two concern a defense. These speeches are given at the trial of the Plataeans (3.52.1→58.2). The two speeches are given by more than one person, are not identified as apologies by the speakers, and neither one opens with a captatio benevolentiae (introductory remarks aimed at gaining the favor of the judge or jury). The speeches do not follow any charges or accusations. The introduction deals with the occasion and reason for the speech. In both speeches this introduction is followed by a defense of sorts and counter charges. The final part of the speeches contains an appeal for justice. The trial ends with a guilty verdict based not on the speeches and the charges but on the answer of each Platean to one basic question which was put to the defendants at the opening of the trial. On another occasion Thucydides mentions the defense of Alcibiades (4.29.1) but the speech is not reported. Xenophon (c. 400 B.C.) handles defense speeches in various ways. He may merely mention a defense speech (Hellenica, 1.4.20), give the speech in indirect discourse (Hellenica, 5.2.35-36; 5.4.22-23), omit the speech (Anabasis, 1.6.5-11), or make speeches which have the nature of defense speeches but are not so called and are not given in the context of a trial (Anabasis, 5.8.2-26; 7.6. 11-38). In one trial account he does include a defense speech (ὑπεραπολογησόμενος) in oratio recta (direct discourse). The apology opens with an address to the assembly, continues with a list of the accusations, and advises the court on the proper way to conduct a fair trial. The speech then turns to defend the accused and concludes with another address to the court on procedure. The speech is followed by the vote of the assembly. In what survives of the Histories, Polybius (c. 150 B.C.) includes 37 speeches and at least eleven references to trials,[11] but there is not one apology.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 25 B.C.) has left us one defense speech in his Roman Antiquities. In this trial of Servillius (9.29-32), the accusation (κατηγόρησε) appears in indirect speech and is followed by the corroboration of the charges by witnesses. The historian clearly labels the speech

as an apology. The apology has three parts to it--an introduction, the main defense, and a short conclusion. The introduction consists of the designation of the speech as an apology, a term of address (ὦ πολῖται), the identification of the speech as an apology by the speaker in first person, and an attempt to gain favor with the judge(s), "Well then, citizens, if you are to be my judges and not my enemies, I believe I shall easily convince you that I am guilty of no crime." The body of the speech progresses along clearly defined lines, moving from a general defense to the question of personal guilt and on to the defense of the senate at large. At each juncture the speaker clearly indicates the point in the accusation to which he is addressing his remarks. The speech ends with references to his sincerity. The address is sprinkled throughout with rhetorical questions which call for answers in favor of the defendant. The closing framework nicely balances the opening of the trial episode with its description of the speaker's deportment while addressing the assembly and of the witnesses who spoke on behalf of the accused. The report closes with an account of the result of the trial.

The one remaining Greek historian[12] is Appian (c. A.D. 150) who records one defense speech.[13] The speech of Lucius Piso[14] in defense of Antony follows the address of Cicero which lists the charges. The historian identifies the speech of Piso as one "from the other side" (ἀντειπεῖν). The apology has three well-defined sections--an introduction, body, and conclusion. The introduction includes a term of address and clearly indicates that the nature of the speech is that of an apology. There is no captatio benevolentiae. The body of the speech moves from charge to charge, refuting each one in turn, and reinforcing the rebuttal with rhetorical questions. The conclusion of the speech makes a general appeal to the senate on behalf of Antony and, as in the introduction, identifies the speech as one of defense. Though the introduction includes the use of the first person, the majority of the speech is presented in third person since it is given on behalf of the accused who is not present.

Roman Historiography

There are three Roman historians who have left us defense speeches in direct speech.[15] In his comprehensive history of Rome Livy (57 B.C.-A.D. 17) records seven defense speeches.[16] Even though the speeches when considered individually exhibit a great degree of variation, when viewed together they appear to have an over-all structure quite similar in arrangement and certain elements of form and content occur often enough (in at least two-thirds of the total number of defense speeches) to suggest a literary form for the defense speech must have been in Livy's mind (regardless of the source) at the time of composition. An analysis of these seven apologies furnishes us with the following details on the divisions of the speeches and their formal elements. Livy's defense speeches are divided into three parts--the introduction, the main defense or body of the speech, and the conclusion. The introduction includes a term of address directed to the judge personally or to the court, such as patres conscripti. In addition, this part of the speech stresses the innocence of the accused or the falsity of the charges, usually in first person, and provides the defense speech designation formula, usually formed with some tense of the verb "to speak (dicere)" and the noun "cause (causa)." The body of the speech opens with a general refer-

ence to the charges or calls attention to the first charge to be answered in the defense. The rebuttal includes the frequent use of rhetorical questions from which the innocence of the defendant or the falseness of the charges is to be inferred. In this section of the speech the first-person form of the verbs predominate. The conclusion forms a chiastic or ring construction for the speech by repeating the more general claims of blamelessness as also found in the introduction. The term of address will also be repeated in the conclusion and once more the first-person form will be used. In the framework of the speech it is most often the practice of Livy to omit any formal designation of a trial or court scene. Neither is it his custom to call the speech a defense or have the presiding officer authorize the accused to begin his defense. What is always present, however, is the verdict of the court following the conclusion of the apology.

Q. Curtius Rufus (A.D. 41-54)[17] includes two defense speeches among the many addresses to be found in his history of Alexander the Great.[18] In the apology of Philotas[19] the introduction is not clearly defined, there is no term of address used and no captatio benevolentiae appears. The opening passage does, however, identify the speech as a defense (defensio). The main section of the address consists of four parts, each one treating a specific charge. First-person forms are used and twice the speaker identifies his speech as one of defense (num hodie dicerem causam--non recuso defendere). Since the speaker brings his speech to an end rather abruptly after being interrupted in the midst of his rhetorical questions, it cannot be argued with certainty that the speech has a formal conclusion. The opening framework includes the speeches of accusation, the order of the king to the accused to begin his speech, and a description of the emotional state of the defendant. A further delay of the speech takes place due to the discussion over the question of the language to be used and the exit of the king from the assembly. The closing framework is also rather extended by reason of the inclusion of another speech of accusation in indirect discourse. Only at this point is the assembly dismissed and the accused is put to torture. There is no other type of verdict offered at the conclusion to this trial episode. In the trial of Amyntas[20] the framework opens with the accusations presented in descriptive language and the permission for the accused to speak (facta dicendi potestate). The body of the speech follows a short introduction involving a term of address and a captatio benevolentiae. The main defense opens with a specific reference to the last of the four charges made against him. The speech is clearly divided into sections, each one dealing with a specific charge. As happened in the apology of Philotas, Amyntas is interrupted at the point where his rebuttal to the fourth charge reaches the length of two of the other sections of his main defense (27 lines). There is no conclusion to the speech. The closing framework of this trial scene mentions a few words of the king to the people absolving the defendant (and his brother) of any guilt, some words of counsel to the brothers, and the dismissal of the assembly.

C. Cornelius Tacitus (A.D. 55-120) reports only three brief speeches of defense in the 15 trials he covers in his Annals.[21] In the trial of Marcus Terentius[22] the content has more to do with praise to Caesar, who is present at the trial, than with a defense against the charges. The introduction and the conclusion are not easily recognized from their form and

no term of address appears at the opening of the speech, though the speaker alternates between two terms of address as the speech proceeds. Even though the accused admits to defending himself (meo unius discrimine defendam), the historian prefers to describe the speech as an "exordium" (ad hunc modum apud senatum ordiendo). One rhetorical question appears in the address. In the speech of Agrippina there is no claim to making a defense, there is no specific reference to the charge, and no term of address. As to arrangement of content there is no clearly defined introduction or conclusion and the content which includes only one rhetorical question is concerned with attacking the accusers rather than with defending oneself. The closing framework of the trial episode does, however, include the verdict of the judge.[23] The trial of a girl, Servilia,[24] is included by Tacitus in the trial of her father. When the accusation is levelled at the girl, she is described as being in a fit of weeping and holding to the altar as she begins her speech. There is no command for her to speak. As a defendant she is asked to answer one question. Her opening lines contain two terms of address and her plea of innocence. After a short speech (9 lines) she is interrupted by her father whose remarks are presented in indirect discourse.

The Roman historians have provided us with twelve defense speeches, three of which are too short to permit a comparative analysis. If it is reasonable to construct a defense speech pattern on the basis of a two-thirds majority among the remaining nine speeches, the following structural outline with its formal elements emerges.

As to the defense speech proper, there are three parts--the introduction, the body, and the conclusion. Characteristic of the introduction are the following: a term of address, first-person speech forms, a defense speech designation formula, a captatio benevolentiae, and remarks stressing the innocence of the accused or the falseness of the charges. The body of the speech follows the pattern as described above in the analysis of the defense speeches of Livy. The closing part of the speech appears to have a broken pattern among the Roman historians due to the added feature of interruptions which have the effect of curtailing the conclusion or breaking the speech before (evidently) the conclusion is reached. Except for this element of interruption the conclusions also follow the pattern outlined in the discussion of the Livy speeches.

The greatest degree of inconsistency among the Roman writers is to be found in the framework. One cannot at all count on the historian to designate the scene as a trial or court situation, to label the speech as an apology, or to include either command or permission for the defendant to begin speaking. At times there is included the description of the emotional state of the accused. When it comes to the closing framework, however, we can count on the writer to give us the verdict of the court.

Jewish Historiography

A survey of the extant writings of Jewish historiographers provides us with only one defense speech.[25] Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-c.100) does not label the speech of Alexander as a apology.[26] But it is clear from the content, form, and the claim of the speaker that the remarks are to be taken as a de-

fense. At the beginning of the conclusion the defendant admits that he could have said more in defense of himself and his brother (πλείω μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι δυνάμεθα). The opening framework describes the scene, the emotional state of Herod's sons, and the attitude of Caesar before whom the charges are made. The introduction opens with a long captatio benevolentiae aimed directly at the father who is accusing them and indirectly at Caesar. In this part of the speech there is a term of address and a reference to their innocence. The body of the speech opens with specific reference to the charges and moves on to declare the innocence of the defendants and to challenge the opposition to prove the truth of the allegations. Twelve rhetorical questions are presented in the main section of the address. The conclusion is clearly marked out by the speaker's admission that he will not say more. There follows a final appeal to the father to accept them as blameless, a term of address and a repetition of the closing thoughts of the introduction. The closing framework describes the emotional state of the defendants and the bystanders and the verdict of Caesar. The speech uses first and second person verb forms.

A defense speech form cannot be based upon one speech. If we can judge by the speech of Alexander there is no need to construct a model. This speech from the writings of Josephus is in striking agreement with what we have found in the Greek and Roman traditions in respect to form and arrangement.

Historical Sources

The limitations of this paper and the fragmentary condition of our sources will permit only a brief notice of other types of materials which would have been available to the ancient historian, whether directly or indirectly, and which might have influenced the development of a defense speech form. For lack of a better term these written items are classified as "historical sources." Of course we must also admit to the influence of the writer's personal knowledge as to how defense speeches were presented in court.[27]

According to Revel A. Coles[28] official and unofficial records of court proceedings included speeches of the presiding officials and the participants. In the fragments which remain in the papyri from Greco-Egypt the protocols are shown to have been prepared in a four-part composition: the introduction with its trial date, location, and participants; the trial and its speeches; the decision of the judge; and the conclusion containing the certification of the record and signatures of the court scribes. These items mentioned as being part of the conclusion do not appear in papyri earlier than the second century.[29] The historian's account according to our survey typically reflects similarities with the second and third parts of the protocol form.

The martyrdom literature, whether pagan or Christian, include defense speeches of those on trial. In the opinion of Herbert Musurillo[30] and E. G. Turner[31] the acta exhibit the protocol form. One difference to be noted is that where the protocols have the speech of the official in oratio recta and that of the participants in indirect speech, the acta have the speeches of the defendants in direct speech. This difference is no doubt to be expected since the acta were produced and preserved for the glory of the martyr and the protocols were preserved officially for the fame of the magis-

trates. The fragmentary state of the pagan acta does not permit comparative study. But since they appear to share a common heritage with the later Christian acta,[32] the content of which we know more about, it will be assumed in this paper that they are supportive of the general defense speech form we have located elsewhere. This assumption appears justified since where we have adequate sources for comparative study of the speeches in the Christian acta, we have found that the introduction uses a term of address, identifies the speech as an apology, and invites those present to listen. The closing framework, where the account in the text is complete, likewise, carries the verdict of the court.[33] The Christian had no desire to plead innocence of the charges and no wish to please Rome, hence we would expect in these speeches such variations from the usual form as the omission of the captatio benevolentiae and the claim of innocence.

Romance Literature

The romance literature has been included in this survey in an attempt to extend the comparative analysis beyond the one genre of historiography. If the defense speech pattern occurs in various types of ancient literature without significant variation it will mean that great caution should be exercised in establishing a composition's genre from the study of the literary form of its various literary units.

The romance of Chariton, Chaereas and Callirhoe,[34] is dated around A.D. 150.[35] The opening framework of the defense speech found in this novel describes the officials present, the reading of the letters which provide a background of the case for the judges, and the adjournment of the trial speeches until the next day. When the trial commences later, the narrator provides only very brief scene detail. The first speech is that of the plantiff. The introduction contains the term of address, a short captatio benevolentiae, and a claim of innocence. As the main section of the speech is entered the speaker admits he is now to make his defense (νῦν ἀπολογήσομαι) and uses a second term of address coupled with a plea for the attention of the king. This section of the speech is brief and specific. There are no rhetorical questions. The final part of the speech is not clearly designated. It follows a final appeal to the plaintiff to drop the charges and then consists of a dramatic appeal to the powers of heaven and hell to produce the one witness necessary to clear the defendant. At this dramatic moment the planned interruption occurs and the narrator centers the reader's attention in the excitement caused by the confrontation. The trial scene closes with the king dismissing the spectators, counseling with his advisors, convening the assembly once more and acquitting the defendant.

The only complete romance in the Latin tradition which contains a defense speech is the Metamorphoses, penned by Apuleius of Madaura about A.D. 160.[36] In this trial episode the narrator describes the court scene, the accuser, and introduces the speech of accusation. At this point the defendant is commanded to speak. When he finally manages to control his emotions enough to speak, his address is introduced with the words, "sic ad illa." At the end of his speech the writer takes up the story with the words, "haec profatus." From these expressions the narrator informs the reader that the speech, while in direct-speech form, is actually only the gist of the (supposed) real speech. The address is not clearly

defined in terms of its structure. The speech is not identified as being an apology and no obvious captatio benevolentiae appears. The opening and closing lines of the speech form a chiasma by their repetition of the ideas that the accused had admirable motives and therefore while not innocent is deserving of mercy. A term of address does appear once in the body of the speech. The framework also exhibits chiastic structure in its reference to the emotional state of the defendant both at the opening and closing of the narrative account. The closing framework also includes the verdict of the assembly, which in this instance was the revelation that the whole trial was meant to be a joke on the accused.

The Defense Speech Pattern

The survey of defense speeches in ancient literature which have been presented in the context of a trial episode has revealed a fair degree of variation between the speeches of the different writers as well as between the speeches of any single author who records more than one speech. At the same time it does seem reasonable to conclude on the basis of the similarities which are apparent when reviewing all the speeches, that some general consensus did exist among the writers as to how defense speeches were composed. We may schematically outline the pattern of the framework and the speech with their elements as follows (Elements appearing in half or more of the speeches have been underlined.): [37]

1. Opening Framework

   Trial scene described
   Charges mentioned
   Defendant described
   Speech identified as an apology
   Defendant ordered or permitted to speak
   Defendant speaks on own initiative

2. Introduction of the Apology

   Uses term of address
   Speech identified as an apology
   Captatio benevolentiae
   Claims innocence
   Short (comparative length)
   Clearly defined

3. Body of the Apology

   Opens with mention/refutation of charges
   Clearly treats the charges
   Rhetorical questions
   Uses term of address
   Claims innocence
   Speech identified as an apology
   Clearly defined

2/ Conclusion of the Apology

   Uses term of address
   Claims innocence
   Speech identified as an apology
   Short (comparative length)
   Speech interrupted
   Repeats introduction content
   Indicates speech is ending
   Clearly defined

1/ Closing Framework

Trial scene described
Speech identified as an apology
Verdict revealed

The defense speech pattern appears to have had a loose enough structure to permit individualization by the various writers as they brought their creative talents into play in the accounting of any given defense speech. Evidently they did not feel obliged to report a speech for every such speech which claimed to have been given in court. The survey has not shown that any appreciable difference existed between the defense speeches of the various cultural traditions or between the differing genres of ancient literature. The question now to be raised concerns the defense speeches of Paul. Do they reflect this same general pattern?

The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts

The book of Acts records seven episodes which have been taken as trial scenes by various interpreters: Paul's speech on the Areopagus (Acts 17:19-32); the defense before the Hebrews in the temple court (Acts 21:27-22:29); the hearings before the Sanhedrin (Acts 22:30-23:10), before Felix (Acts 24:1-23), before Felix and Drusilla (Acts 24:24,25), before Festus (Acts 25:6-12), and before Festus and Herod Agrippa II (Acts 26:1-32). Only four of these accounts include a speech,[38] the temple scene - the appearances before Felix, Festus and Agrippa - the Aeropagus meeting. The Aeropagus speech has been omitted in this survey because of the absence of a clear reference to a trial. Norden concluded from his form critical study of this address that it was a typical utterance "zum Zwecke religioser Propaganda."[39]

Before the Jews in Jerusalem

The confrontation of Paul and the Jewish people in the temple courtyard (21:27-22:29) is obviously intended by Luke to be understood by the reader as a defense by Paul before the people as his judge.[40] The entire scene takes on the coloration of a typical court hearing. The narrative opens with Paul being seized and accused of crimes against the people, the law, and the temple. The accusation follows the notation that the people had "laid hands on him" (ἐπέβαλαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας), a common expression used by New Testament writers to indicate arrest.[41] The framework concludes with a brief description of the defendant standing before the people and motioning for silence.

The introduction appears to consist of one sentence separated from the body of the speech by a further comment of the narrator. In this short introduction are to be found the terms of address and the admission that the speech is a defense. There is no captatio benevolentiae.[42]

The main part of the speech is biographical in content and does not specifically refer to the charges.[43] He, nevertheless, claims his innocence in respect to them. He calls to his support Ananias of Damascus who was "a devout man according to the law." He meets the charge that he was against the people in his argument that Ananias was "well spoken of by all the Jews

who lived there (22:12)," and that he was formerly involved in persecuting those who were regarded as enemies of the people (22:4,5,19,20). The final charge that Paul was against the temple is rebutted in his claim that in the past he had come to the temple for prayer (22:17).

The defense is interrupted before it is allowed to reach its conclusion.[44] The closing framework includes the verdict, "Away with such a fellow from the earth! For he ought not to live (22:22)," the description of the reaction of the people, and the involvement of Paul with the tribune. The dialogue between Paul and the tribune over Paul's citizenship units the closing framework to the opening framework in a ring or chiastic structure.

Before Felix in Caesarea

The defense of Paul before Felix has all the earmarks of a typical apology. In the narration of this episode (24:1-23) the writer clearly identifies the participants of the trial and records the speech of accusation. The accuser charges that Paul is "an agitator among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." At the last the charge is made that Paul "tried to profane the temple" (24:4,5). The opening framework ends with the governor giving the signal that Paul is permitted to speak (24:10).

The address of Paul opens with a short introduction containing a brief captatio benevolentiae and the identification of the speech as a defense. No term of address appears. The body of the speech takes seriously the charges of Tertullus and offers a refutation to two of them. He denies that he is an agitator or that he had defiled the temple. He does, however, admit that he is a member of the sect of the Nazarenes. Paul uses the reference to being of the Nazarenes to bolster his previous defense against the charges of being against the law and the Jewish people. He reaffirms his claim to being innocent of the charges.

The conclusion to the speech is not well defined. The difficulties have to do with both form and content. The Alexandrian text breaks off at verse 19 to produce an anacoluthon. The Byzantine textual variants appear to be later attempts to smooth over the textual problem created by the abrupt ending. We have no record of the Western textual tradition at this point. In terms of content, we notice a shift in the trend of the argument at this juncture. Where in the verses preceding Paul had been considering the charges of Tertullus, at this point he begins to challenge his accusers to provide the proper witnesses to the charges or to charge him on grounds for which they could provide firsthand evidence. The speech is concluded without the introduction of one rhetorical question in the entire address.

The encounter before Felix is brought to a close by the writer in typical fashion. The governor is described as adjourning the trial and giving orders in respect to the custody of Paul. Since the case is presented by Luke as being undecided at this point in time the usual verdict is naturally missing.

It will be noticed that the first-person verb forms have been predominant in the Pauline defense speeches studied.

Before Festus and Agrippa

The defense speech of Paul before Festus and Agrippa is the longest of the apologies credited by Luke to Paul (25:23-26:32).

Luke sets the stage for the speech by giving a detailed description of the court scene and its participants. There is no specific mention that a trial is taking place, but he does record the words of Festus that a "preliminary hearing" (ἀνάκρισις) was taking place. And Paul explicitly refers to himself as standing on trial (ἕστηκα κρινόμενος) in the body of the speech (26:6). Though the opening framework does not specifically deal with the charges, it is obvious from the narrative (25:18-20) and the closing lines of the opening remarks of the writer (25:27) that it is in reference to the charges (αἰτία) that the hearing is being held. The author presents Agrippa as giving permission for Paul to speak and identifies Paul's remarks as a defense (ἀπολογεῖτο).

The short introduction to the speech includes the use of a term of address which will with some variation occur three more times in the speech, the admission that the speech is an (ἀπολογεῖσθαι), and a brief captatio benevolentiae.

The body of the speech is first concerned to speak of Paul's innocence. The accusation of the Jews (21:28), the charges of Tertullus (24:5,6), and the understanding of the problem by Festus (25:17-19) are all in substantial agreement. The issue is a religious one and Luke is consistent in keeping that point at the forefront of the argumentation. The basic question was the orthodoxy of Paul's religion. For this reason the defense of Paul emphasizes his relationship to the Jewish religion, its teachers and its hopes. The Damascus road experience becomes important because it is only since he has seen Jesus that he can speak of the truth of the resurrection, the heart of the hope of which he speaks (24:15,21; 5:19; 26:7,8,23). Paul clearly states that it was a religious issue and not the temple problem that was at the heart of the charges (26:21), even though he also included in his various defense statements the denial of the profanation of the temple (24:18; 25:8).

Once again the conclusion of the Pauline defense speech is difficult to establish. It could be argued that the conclusion begins at verse 22 and the reference to Paul standing before them giving his testimony. In some ways these words remind one of the introduction. On the other hand, the genitive absolute construction of verse 24 suggests that Paul is once more being interrupted. If the writer intends for the reader to see the speech as interrupted, it is more likely that the interruption would take place in the body of the speech than within the conclusion. Since the speech before the Jews was not interrupted at the references implying the the resurrection of Jesus, and the defense before Felix was not interrupted at the mentioning of the resurrection (24:15,21), it cannot be argued with certainty that Luke breaks the speech here for purposes of highlighting the resurrection theme.

The closing framework identifies the speech of Paul as one of defense and includes some dialogue between the participants of the trial. The episode ends with the verdict.

Conclusion

A comparison of the Lukan speeches of Paul with the defense speech pattern which emerged from our study of the ancient literature reveals the following similarities and differences. Obviously we cannot speak of degrees of affinity when we have only three Pauline speeches to consider and our survey has shown that each writer varied his form and style while still generally reflecting agreement with the pattern as a whole.

The speeches of Paul are set in a framework very similar to the pattern presented above. All elements found in the opening and closing frameworks of the typical form are found in the Lukan compositions.

The introductions to the Pauline speeches likewise show great affinity with the defense speech model. The opening remarks were clearly defined, identified the speech as an apology, were comparatively short, and generally used a term of address. Some difference in the construction was noted in terms of content. The Pauline speeches did not make a claim of innocence in the introductions if our arrangement of the construction of the speeches is correct.

The body of the Lukan speeches also appear to be in general harmony with the pattern. They open with a refutation of the charges and treat the accusations levelled at the defendant. They consist largely of first-person verb forms and use a term of address. They also stress the innocence of the accused. The Pauline speeches differed in that they never used rhetorical questions and never specifically identified the speech as an apology in the body of the address. It must be noted, however, that such variations were also found in the speeches surveyed in this study.

Since in our analysis of the Pauline speeches we were able to locate only one conclusion, and that one only tentatively, no attempt will be made here to compare the Lukan speeches in respect to their conclusions apart from the notation that like a number of the ancient defense speeches, the Pauline speeches were usually interrupted before they were completed.

From the foregoing analysis it would therefore appear reasonable to conclude that the defense speeches of Paul in Acts exhibit the same form, the same arrangement, and the same general elements which are characteristic of defense speeches in other narrative literature from ancient times.

It should also be noted that the defense speech form or Gattung does not undergo any noticeable change when used in the differing literary genre, at least in so far as historiography, romance, and the Lukan materials of the New Testament are concerned.

NOTES

1. John T. Townsend, "The Speeches in Acts," ATR XLII (April, 1969), p. 153.

2. Eduard Norden, Agnostos Theos (Leipzig: Teubner, 1913), pp. 143-308; 1-30.

3. Martin Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, ed. Heinrich Greeven, trans. Mary Ling (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), pp. 123-137; 138-185.

4. Henry J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (London: SPCK, 1961), p. 190.

5. W. C. van Unnik, "Luke-Acts, a Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship," in Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. by Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 27.

6. Cf. Charles H. Talbert, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts, SBLMS XX (Missoula: SBL and Scholars, 1974) and Vernon K. Robbins, "The We-Passages in Acts and Ancient Sea Voyages," BR XX (1975), pp. 5-18.

7. For further details on these guidelines and their rationale see Frederick Veltman, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts" (Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1975), pp. 64-69.

8. The defense speech as part of a narrative composition is to be distinguished from the defense speech as a literary form existing on its own merit as a literary art form. For information on this development see Werner Jaeger, Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture, III, trans. Gilbert Highet (New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1944), pp. 132, 133.

9. Cf. Morton Smith, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, JBLMS VI (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1951), pp. 78-114, and Peder Johan Borgen, Bread from Heaven, Supplement to Novum Testamentum X (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), pp. 28-98.

10. All quotations from or references to the classical authors are taken from the Loeb Classical Library editions unless otherwise indicated.

11. Polybius, Histories, 1.52.1-3; 5.16.5-8; 18.54.1-7; 22.4.6-7; 23.1.1ff; 23.14.1-4; 24.7.7-8; 30.7; 31.1.2-5; 33. 11.2-6; 38.18.1-4.

12. For full references on the reporting of speeches in reference to trial episodes in the ancient historical and romance writings of the Greek, Roman, and Jewish literary traditions see Frederick Veltman, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts" (Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1975).

13. The speeches of Appian at the trials of Scipio and Epaminondas are too short to permit analysis (Roman History, 11.40,41).

14. Appian, Roman History, The Civil Wars, 3.52-61.

15. Cornelius Nepos (Lives of Eminent Commanders) and Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (Suetonius) speak of trials but record no defense speeches. Neither are there defense speeches in the surviving works of C. Sallustius Crispus (Sallust) and C. Velleius Paterculus.

16. Livy, Ab urbe condita, 3.45.6-11; 26.30.11-31.11; 40.9.1-15.16; 42.41-42; 45.22-24; 38.47-49; 39.36.7-37.17. In reference to more than twenty other trials Livy does not record the defense speeches. He does not even give us the "magnificent" speech of Scipio whose speeches on other occasions Livy appears only too anxious to include.

17. For the arguments favoring this particular Q. Curtius Rufus over the other writers by the same name who wrote at other times, see Wikelm Sigimund Teuffel, History of Roman Literature, II rev. Ludwig Schwabe, trans. George C. W. Warr (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), pp. 54,55.

18. Rufus does include a speech of Alexander defending his leadership. This speech has been excluded because in the context the king is not on trial and there is no mention that the speech is a defense (History of Alexander, 8.7.16ff.).

19. Q. Curtius Rufus, History of Alexander the Great of Macedon, 6.10.1-37.

20. Ibid., 7.1.18-2.11.

21. It might be expected that Tacitus, having been for years a rhetor in the law courts, would have included a good number of defense speeches in describing the many trials which are mentioned in his writings. This is not the case.

22. Tacitus, Annals 6.8.

23. Ibid., 13.21

24. Ibid., 16.21-35.

25. We have only two very short defense speeches in the historical writings of the Old Testament (1 Samuel 22 and 1 Kings 3). No defense speeches appear in the historical books of the Old Testament Apocrypha nor in the writings of Philo. Josephus will at times present the defense speech in indirect discourse or in both direct and indirect discourse. One speech by a defendant has been omitted because it is not so identified and when it comes time in the trial for the accused to make his defense he declines (War 1.617-640).

26. Josephus, Antiquities 16.91-126.

27. For further reference to the affinity of historiography and oratory in ancient times see Cicero, (De oratore 1. 5.16-18; Orator 34.120; 20.66; 9.31; Brutus 11.42); Quintillian, (Institutes 12.1.25; 2.4.1,2).

28. Revel A. Coles, Reports of Proceedings in Papyri, Papyrologica Bruxellensia (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élizabeth, 1966), pp. 9, 19, 29-54.

29. Ibid., p. 52, n. 4.

30. Herbert A. Musurillo, "The Pagan Acts of the Martyrs," ThSt X (December, 1949), p. 556.

31. E. G. Turner, Greek Papyri, An Introduction (Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 128.

32. Hippolyte Delehaye, Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (Brussels: Bureaux de la Société des Bollandistes, 1921), pp. 150-173.

33. For the texts of the Martyrdom of Apollonius and the Martyrdom of Pionius to which reference is made see E. C. E. Owel, Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

34. For the text of Chariton's romance see Chariton, Chaereas and Callirhoe, trans. Warren E. Blake (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1939). For the Greek text see Charitonis Aphrodisiensis, de Chaerea et Callirhoe amatoriarum narrationus libri octo, ed. Warren E. Blake (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).

35. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Essays on the Greek Romances (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1965 [reprint]), p. 12.

36. The Satyricon, an earlier Latin novel credited to Petronius Arbiter, a contemporary of Nero, exists only in fragmentary condition.

37. For more detailed information on comparison of these speeches see the unpublished dissertation already mentioned under notes 7 and 12 above.

38. There is nothing in the account of the appearance before Felix and Drusilla to indicate a trial, especially in the light of verse 26.

39. Norden, op. cit., p. 113.

40. Cf. C. F. Evans, "'Speeches' in Acts." Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux, ed. by Albert Descamps and R. P. André de Halleux (Duculot: Gembloux, 1970), pp. 292, 293 and Ernst Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), p. 624.

41. Cf. Acts 4:3; 5:18; Lk 20:19; 21:12; Mk 14:46.

42. For contrary viewpoint see Haenchen, op. cit., p. 109.

43 The typical Greek term for "charges," αἰτίαν, occurs only in the closing framework to this speech (22:24).

44. The claim by Dibelius (op. cit., pp. 160, 161) and Haenchen (op. cit., p. 628) that the interruption is a "literary divice" of Luke's invention has not been verified by this study.

S 234

PROPHECY AND SOCIETY IN ANCIENT ISRAEL: THE PRESENT STATE OF THE INQUIRY

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"Biblical studies seems to be perpetually in a state of chaos." This was the conclusion of a colleague of mine, a historian, after reading yet another study purporting to overturn one of the "firm conclusions" of biblical criticism. Although the historian's evaluation may be a bit extreme, it is certainly clear that in recent years students of the Hebrew Bible have become increasingly dissatisfied with traditional approaches to their material and have experimented with a number of new interpretive techniques. As a result of these new approaches, there has been a dissolution of the scholarly consensus on a number of important points concerning Israelite history, religion, and literature, although in most cases no new consensus has emerged to replace the old one.

One of the characteristics of this search for new methodologies has been an increasing interest in the role which Israelite society played in the shaping of biblical religion and literature. To be sure, a few scholars have always been interested in the sociological aspects of Israelite religion, but their work has not had a major impact on the field as a whole.[1] Now, however, sociological data is being used in a variety of ways to augment more traditional approaches. Form critics studying Hebrew narrative are drawing on recent anthropological studies of the formation of oral literature.[2] Studies of ancient and modern social organizations are being used to elucidate the political and religious history of Israel.[3] Contemporary anthropological data and sociological schemata of various sorts are being applied to Israelite religious phenomena.[4] Yet in spite of all of this activity, little attention has been paid to the way in which anthropological and sociological data might be used to deepen our understanding of Israelite prophecy. To be sure, both form critics and historians of religion are concerned with the problem of Israelite prophecy and society, but neither group has yet systematically applied modern comparative material to this problem in a methodologically responsible way. This is particularly surprising in the case of the form critics, for form-critical research has always had difficulties in dealing with the social setting of prophetic speech forms.

As a contribution to the development of a methodologically responsible approach to the study of the sociological dimensions of Israelite religion and literature, and especially as a prolegomenon to any future attempts to use comparative material in the study of Israelite prophecy, the essay which follows will consider the current state of attempts to deal with the relationship between prophecy and society in ancient Israel. In our consideration of these attempts, we will pay particular attention to how adequately scholars have dealt with three major aspects of the problem. These three aspects are interrelated, but for the purposes of our discussion it will be useful to consider them separately. First, we will be concerned with how scholars have described the nature of prophetic

activity, that is, how they have described the characteristic physiological and behavioral manifestations of prophecy. This aspect of prophecy includes both the analysis of prophetic speech and the description of prophetic actions. Second, we will be concerned with how scholars have pictured the social location of prophecy. We will try to see where in Israelite society scholars have located prophetic activity. Finally, we will be concerned with how scholars have described the social functions of prophecy. We will want to know how scholars have dealt with prophets as part of the complex web of social relationships that constituted Israelite society.[5]

In order to put contemporary work on the topic of prophecy and society in its proper perspective, we will first give a brief history of the way in which biblical scholars have traditionally treated the sociological dimensions of prophecy. Then we will be in a better position to deal with the methodological problems raised by current research. Finally, we will suggest some areas in which further investigations need to be made and will pay particular attention to how comparative material might be used to aid those investigations.

Prophecy, Society, and the Critical Study of the Bible

In spite of the fact that scholars have produced numerous monographs and articles on various aspects of Israelite prophecy, there is still no major study devoted exclusively to the complex problem of the role of prophecy within Israelite society. However, since the beginning of critical biblical scholarship, studies of prophecy have frequently touched on various aspects of the problem. By collecting these scattered and sometimes oblique treatments, it is possible to reconstruct a schematic history of scholarship on prophecy and society. This reconstruction suggests that the issue of prophecy and society has primarily been the concern of two groups of scholars: (1) those interested in describing Israelite religious phenomena and (2) those interested in the form-critical study of biblical literature. Although some scholars are in fact members of both groups, each group tends to take a different approach to the problem. Therefore, for the purposes of analysis, we will treat the two groups separately. The historical surveys which follow by no means claim to be comprehensive. Rather they are intended simply to indicate the general lines that research has followed.

Prophecy and Society in the Study of Israelite Religion

From Ewald to Hölscher: the social functions of prophecy

Early critical scholars tended to see the prophets as inspired individuals who were responsible for creating the purest form of Israelite monotheism. This view of prophecy gave rise to works that concentrated on the intellectual and theological aspects of prophecy, with the result that little attention was given to the prophet as a human figure intimately related to a social setting. These early works on prophecy seldom comment on the precise nature of prophetic speech and behavior or on the social location of the prophet. Yet, at the same time, even the most theologically oriented studies do imply something about the social functions of prophetic activity. Heinrich Ewald, for example, saw the prophets as crucial figures in the history of Israelite religion. They were the first

people in whom the divine spark of true knowledge was brought to consciousness by the spirit of God. For this reason they served as models of the spiritual heights which all people might someday reach. In this way the prophets functioned as agents who had been divinely chosen to reform all aspects of human society.[6] Ewald thus saw the prophets as agents of social change, although he nowhere describes them explicitly in these terms.

A similar view of the social function of prophecy is implied in the early work of Bernhard Duhm. Like Ewald, Duhm saw the major significance of the prophets in their theology, which raised the level of Israelite religion to new moral and ethical heights. The prophets broke sharply with the ancient Israelite religious traditions, particularly those of the patriarchal period, and were powerful forces in shaping a religion free of superstitious cultic and magical practices.[7] Duhm thus saw the prophets functioning as agents of social change, although their main contributions were moral, ethical, and theological. On the question of the nature of prophetic activity, Duhm had little to say. He was aware of the existence of ecstatic prophecy in the ancient Mediterranean world, but he drew such a sharp distinction between "pagan" ecstatics and the Israelite prophets that he felt it unnecessary to use any type of comparative material in his study. He also recognized that the early writing prophets, particularly Amos and Isaiah, sometimes exhibited the symptoms of ecstatic behavior. However, he believed that such behavior was present only early in the prophets' careers and that it was quickly replaced by normal, rational speech and behavior.[8] Although Duhm treated the prophets in particular historical contexts, he believed that those contexts played little role in shaping prophetic theology, which transcended particular historical settings. He therefore did not deal with the question of the social location of prophecy in any specific way.

Duhm's general approach to the question of prophecy and society was subsequently followed by a number of historians of Israelite religion. Wellhausen, who was otherwise the most influential of Duhm's contemporaries, made few contributions to the study of prophecy. He held that early prophecy in Israel had little impact on Israelite religion or society. Only with the work of the writing prophets were the older religious patterns destroyed and replaced by prophetic "ethical monotheism." In contrast to their predecessors, the writing prophets worked both inside and outside of the religious establishment in order to change it.[9]

Similar views were held by W. Robertson Smith, who recognized the existence of ecstatic prophecy within the Israelite religious establishment but who argued that this phenomenon contrasted sharply with the rational behavior and ethical insights of the writing prophets.[10] However, Smith's approach moved beyond previous research at two important points. First, he made at least limited use of extra-biblical material to describe prophecy outside of Israel and to elucidate Israelite religious phenomena, although he ultimately denied that this material was relevant to the work of the writing prophets.[11] Second, he recognized the complex relationship which exists between religious phenomena and their social setting. He therefore paid a great deal of attention to the historical setting of the prophetic writings, and he noted the different social

locations and functions of the various types of Israelite prophecy.[12]

The legacy of Hölscher:
the nature of the prophetic experience

Although Smith's work on the question of prophecy and society treated some areas not previously considered, he still basically accepted the views of Duhm and Wellhausen. A major alternative view did not appear until the influential work of Gustav Hölscher, who shifted the focus of the inquiry from the social function of prophecy to the nature of prophetic activity.[13] Hölscher argued that all prophets, including those in Israel, shared the same ecstatic and visionary experiences. To prove his case, he systematically considered various psychological and behavioral characteristics of ecstatics and then demonstrated the existence of these characteristics among the Israelite prophets. Although Hölscher followed earlier scholars in maintaining that Israel's prophets received divine moral insights from their experiences, he stressed the cultural and historical links between Israelite ecstatic prophecy and ecstatic prophecy among Israel's neighbors. In spite of the thoroughness with which Hölscher treated the nature of Israelite prophecy, he made few comments on the social location of prophetic activity. He recognized that some early Israelite prophets were connected with the cult, but he denied that the writing prophets had cultic connections.[14]

Hölscher's work marks a turning point in the study of prophecy and society not only because of his conclusions but especially because of the method which he employed. He made extensive use of comparative material and thus established a pattern followed by a number of subsequent religio-historical treatments. Throughout Die Propheten his normal approach is to draw extensively on contemporary psychological studies of the characteristics of ecstasy and then to document the existence of those characteristics in antiquity.[15] In order to do this he uses a great quantity of ancient Near Eastern and classical material and relies particularly heavily on Arabic sources.

Hölscher's concern with the nature of prophetic activity has been shared by a number of subsequent religio-historical studies, all of which have tried to come to grips with the basic problem posed by his work: the relationship between the "irrational," ecstatic nature of prophecy and the coherent, theologically sophisticated, sometimes highly structured oracles of the Israelite writing prophets.[16] Solutions to this problem have followed three major lines of development. First, some scholars have simply denied Hölscher's claim that the Israelite writing prophets were ecstatics. There are two principal variants of this position. Some critics have admitted the existence of ecstasy early in the history of Israelite prophecy but have denied the presence of ecstasy among the writing prophets.[17] Taking a different tack, some scholars have argued that the "true prophets" in Israel were not ecstatics, while the "false prophets" described in the prophetic literature were ecstatics.[18] A second major line of development has argued that the prophets composed their oracles only after their ecstatic experiences.[19] Finally, some scholars admit that even the writing prophets may have had ecstatic experiences of some type but that the content of the prophets' words must be distinguished from the ecstatic means by which those words were received.[20] However, each of these proposed solutions to the problem posed

by Hölscher's work is unsatisfactory in some respect, and future studies of prophecy and society must continue to explore the question of the relationship of the nature of prophetic activity to the literary products arising from that activity.

The legacy of Mowinckel: the social location of prophetic activity

Just as Hölscher's work brought the question of the nature of prophecy to the attention of biblical scholars, so also Sigmund Mowinckel forced them to struggle with the problem of the social location of prophetic activity. Although Mowinckel's interests were primarily form critical, he recognized the importance of dealing with the social setting in which stereotypical speech forms were used.[21] Therefore, in the course of his investigation of the Psalms, he suggested that the so-called prophetic psalms were originally prophetic oracles delivered in the context of the cult. His suggestion was made on the basis of the form of the language of the Psalms rather than on any actual description of prophetic activity in the cult, but he went on to argue that prophetic guilds functioned in the Jerusalem cult alongside the priests. To be sure, scholars had previously noted the existence of cult prophecy in Israel, but such activity was usually thought to have been confined to an early period in Israelite religious development.[22] In contrast, Mowinckel's work raised the possibility that cultic prophecy was to be found throughout the history of Israel and that even the writing prophets had cultic functions. On this last point Mowinckel was a bit vague, but he did argue that Joel and Habakkuk were cultic prophets, and he later extended this idea to include Isaiah and Micah as well.[23]

Mowinckel's work touched off a debate on the social location of Israelite prophecy which has persisted to the present day and shows no signs of abating.[24] So much has been written on the question of prophecy and the cult that it is impossible even to begin to sketch here a history of research after Mowinckel. However, it will be helpful to mention briefly three works which illustrate the types of approaches that have been taken.

The thesis that prophets in Israel were located in the cult was developed in a thorough way by Aubrey R. Johnson.[25] His work is significant not only because he concluded that Israelite prophets played an important role in the cult but also because he supported that conclusion with an analysis which recognized the complexities of prophetic phenomena. He collected evidence on the various types of prophetic figures and tried to distinguish their characteristic behavior and social functions. Although he took no stand on the relationship of the writing prophets to the cult, he did argue that they must be seen against the background of other types of prophecy.[26] Almost all of Johnson's arguments are supported by appeal to the biblical text alone, and he rarely uses extra-biblical data. In contrast to Mowinckel, who started from an analysis of speech patterns, Johnson makes little use of form criticism.

Alfred Haldar approached the question from a very different angle.[27] Haldar's work opens with a detailed analysis of various types of cultic functionaries in Mesopotamia and pays particular attention to the bārû (the diviner, whom Haldar considers a "seer" or "oracle giver") and the mahhû (the ecstatic).

Haldar then tries to make a direct connection between these Mesopotamian figures and Israelite priests and prophets. The function of the bārû was performed in Israel by the seers (rō'eh; ḥōzeh) while the maḥḥû had a counterpart in the prophet (nābî'). Both the seers and the prophets were members of organized groups related to the cult, but the prophet's office was not hereditary.

A very different approach to the problem of prophecy and cult has been taken by the sociologist Peter L. Berger.[28] Berger's work is interesting not because of its conclusions, which will be familiar to biblical scholars, but because it is one of the few attempts to date to use a cross-disciplinary approach. Berger's basic concern is to test Weber's views of charisma against the contemporary scholarly consensus on the nature of Israelite prophecy. Berger focuses on the question of the social location of prophecy in Israel and specifically considers the relation of the prophets to the cult. After surveying recent research on the question, he concludes that biblical scholars today see little distinction between the writing prophets and the earlier nābî''s. In addition, he believes that most scholars would admit that the prophets were located in the cult. Berger then draws the important conclusion that charismatic figures such as prophets need not be only on the periphery of society but may function within established institutions as well. In practical terms this would mean that cultic prophets in Israel need not have been totally bound by institutional pressures but would have been free to promote innovative changes in their institutions. Whatever one may think of Berger's conclusions, it is unfortunate that he commits a common error in his use of evidence outside his own discipline: he assumes a consensus in another scholarly field where in fact no consensus exists.[29]

Trends in the religio-historical study of prophecy and society

The above survey of research on the problem of prophecy and society indicates that for the most part the question of the social function of prophecy has not been treated in recent years. Instead, scholars have concentrated on the nature of prophetic activity and on the social location of prophecy. Although there is no scholarly consensus on either of these issues, most scholars seem to admit the existence of ecstasy and cultic prophecy in Israel. In addition, there seems to be a growing recognition of the complexity of Israelite prophetic phenomena.

Prophecy and Society in Form-critical Study

Because there are several recent treatments of the history of form-critical research on the prophets, we need to make only a few observations about the form-critical perspectives on the relationship between prophecy and society.[30]

Interest in the social dimensions of prophetic activity first arose in form-critical circles in the work of Gunkel. As early as 1906 Gunkel had developed the concept that all literary genres had a setting in the life of the people who used them.[31] He specifically stated this idea in the following way:

> Every ancient literary type originally belonged to a quite definite side of the national life [Sitz im Volksleben] of Israel. Just as among ourselves the "sermon" belongs to the pulpit, while the "fairy-tale" has its home in the nursery, so in ancient Israel the Song of Victory was sung by maidens to greet the returning war-host; the Lament was chanted by hired female mourners by the bier of the dead; the Thora was announced by the priest in the sanctuary; the Judgment (mishpat) was given by the judge in his seat; the prophet uttered his Oracle in the outer court of the temple; the elders at the gate gave forth the Oracle of Wisdom.[32]

There are two important things to notice about this early statement of the sociological dimensions of literary genres. First, when one reads the statement in its context, Gunkel's meaning is somewhat vague. Because he has been talking in rather abstract terms about literary genres, one might at first assume that Gunkel is here speaking of the original social setting of the genres themselves, that is, the social matrix from which the stereotypical language and literary structure of the genres emerged. However, as one reads the whole statement and what follows it, it becomes clear that here Gunkel is also talking about the social occasion on which the language was subsequently used. Even in his later writing Gunkel never completely removed this ambiguity, and as a result his famous phrase Sitz im Leben can be taken to refer either to the social setting in which a literary genre is used or to the original social matrix of the language and structure of the genre itself.[33] The setting of the activity of using a literary genre and the original setting of the actual language and structure of the genre are sometimes the same. The language and structure of the lament originated on occasions of mourning, and the lament was subsequently used on similar occasions. However, the original setting of the language of a genre may not be the same as the setting in which the genre is actually used. In the case of prophecy, the social matrix of prophetic language and the social location of prophetic activity may not be identical. The prophetic genres used in the temple court may not have originated in the temple.[34]

In form-critical work after Gunkel there is a noticeable tendency to concentrate on the social matrix of language rather than on the social occasion on which the language was used. In the case of prophecy, this means that much has been written on the social matrix of prophetic language but that little attention has been paid to the social setting of prophetic activity. A clear example of this tendency can be found in the work of Claus Westermann, who argues that the basic form of prophetic speech was the announcement of judgment against the individual. By the title which he gives to this genre Westermann clearly implies that the language and structure of the genre originated in a secular legal setting.[35] However, even if this assessment is correct, it says nothing about the actual social setting in which the prophets delivered the announcement of judgment. One might argue for the existence of secular or cultic trials in which the prophets participated, but such an argument cannot be supported by any of the extant narrative descriptions of prophetic activity.

A second point to notice about Gunkel's early statement of Sitz im Leben is that he nowhere gives the reasons for assigning genres to particular settings. In some cases reasons could be supplied. Jer. 7 does show the prophet delivering oracles in the temple. But in other cases Gunkel seems to be deducing the setting of the genre on the basis of his general knowledge of ancient and modern societies. (Was torah really given only by the priest?)

This methodological uncertainty about how one establishes the setting of a genre continues to plague form-critical work. One standard approach to the problem is to deduce the social setting of the genre from a literary analysis of the genre itself. We have already seen one example of this process in our discussion of Mowinckel's claim that prophecy functioned in a cultic setting. If we greatly (and unfairly) oversimplify Mowinckel's argument, the process lying behind his claim can be outlined in the following way: In certain psalms Mowinckel found speech patterns similar to those found in prophetic oracles. He therefore assumed that in fact these psalms must have originally been prophetic oracles. Because psalms by definition are cultic literature, it follows that the oracles must have been delivered in a cultic context and that the prophets who delivered the oracles were cultic prophets. Another example of this process of deduction can be supplied from recent work on the rîb, the prophetic lawsuit. The genre of the prophetic lawsuit was first analyzed by Gunkel, who suggested that it must have originally had a judicial setting.[36] This was an adequate explanation for the origin of the language and literary structure of the genre, but Gunkel's suggestion did not shed much light on the social setting in which the genre functioned. There is no biblical evidence that prophets normally delivered oracles in the course of judicial proceedings. This realization may have been in the mind of E. Würthwein when he suggested that in fact the prophetic lawsuit was actually part of a cultic trial in which the people were indicted for breaking their covenant with Yahweh.[37] This notion has been further developed by attempts to tie the rîb to ancient Near Eastern treaties.[38] Still it must be remembered that we have no biblical accounts of cultic trials for covenant breaking, and we therefore have no solid evidence that prophets ever actually participated in such trials. Their existence is based solely on a deduction from a literary genre.[39]

Since the time of Gunkel form critics have had a great deal to say about the genres of prophetic speech and about the social sources of those genres, but they have offered little new insight on the way in which the genres were actually used in Israelite society. That is, they have said little about the social location or the social functions of prophetic activity. The above quotation from Gunkel indicates that he accepted a cultic location for some prophetic activity, and a number of form critics have subsequently argued for prophetic involvement in the cult.[40] In addition, some scholars have argued that the prophets played a role in Israelite warfare.[41] However, outside of these two suggestions, form critics have contributed little to our understanding of the sociological dimensions of prophecy.[42]

Prophecy and Society: The Present State

On the basis of the above history of the study of prophecy and society, it is possible to make some generalizations concerning the present state of the inquiry. First, it is clear that scholars have generally avoided dealing with all of the sociological dimensions of Israelite prophecy. The problem of the sociological role which the prophets played in Israel has rarely been treated at all in recent years. There are a number of recent discussions of the social location of prophecy, but they have been primarily concerned with the extent of prophetic involvement in the cult. Similarly, current treatments of the nature of prophecy have focused either on the behavior of the prophets (religio-historical studies of ecstasy) or on the structure of prophetic speech (form-critical studies of prophetic literature), but seldom are these two features of prophecy considered together. In addition, form critics concerned with the stereotypical structure of prophetic language have often simply ignored the questions of social location and function. If this fragmented approach to the problem continues, then it is going to be increasingly difficult to make any overall progress on the question of prophecy and society. Therefore, future studies of the problem must consider all of its dimensions, or else scholars studying various aspects of the problem must co-ordinate their efforts.

Second, there is a growing tendency among scholars to recognize the complexity of the interaction between Israelite prophets and their societies. This tendency is best seen in the work of Johnson on the different types of Israelite prophets and in the work of Berger on the relationship between charisma and social institutions. It is likely that in the future the picture will become even more complex, and scholarly work that fails to recognize and deal with this complexity is unlikely to advance the inquiry. In practical terms this means that it is unlikely that there can ever be a simple schema that can embrace all aspects of Israelite prophecy.

Finally, scholars are increasingly turning to comparative material in order to understand more clearly the ways in which prophecy and society are related. Haldar's use of ancient Near Eastern material is the clearest example of this tendency, although since the publication of the Mari "prophetic" texts form critics have also been taking comparative data into account.[43] To date there are only a few published attempts to apply sociological or anthropological data to prophecy, but it is already clear that this type of data will be used increasingly by biblical scholars.[44]

Prophecy and Society: Methodological Problems

The above summary of trends in the study of prophecy and society suggests that before further research can be undertaken two major methodological issues must be considered. First, some consideration must be given to the way in which comparative material can safely be used in the study of Israelite prophecy. The value of such material is obvious, for it can supplement the meager biblical data on the nature and functions of prophecy. Yet the methodological errors which we have already seen in the work of Haldar and Berger must be avoided. On the one hand, the interpreter must be fair to the biblical

material by not imposing on it irrelevant external data. On the other hand the interpreter must be fair to the comparative material by treating it properly in its own context. In order to advance the methodological discussion, the following guidelines are proposed.[45]

1) Comparative material, particularly anthropological and sociological material, must be collected systematically by a trained scholar. Obviously the biblical scholar must rely on secondary literature for most comparative data, but an attempt should be made to be sure that the scholars whose work is used are reliable and that they have not themselves been overly selective or biased in their presentation of the data. In the case of anthropological material, this means that biblical scholars must rely on work done in the twentieth century.

2) Comparative material must be properly interpreted in its own context before any attempt is made to apply it to the biblical text. Ancient Near Eastern cultural phenomena must therefore be seen in the whole context of the societies that produced them and must not simply be extracted from their own cultural matrix. Sociological and anthropological data on a particular phenomenon must be seen in the context of the whole society which produced the phenomenon. Only by doing this is it possible to understand the social function of the phenomenon. This means that the most useful comparative material will come from studies dealing with the totality of a single society or with the social function of a phenomenon within several societies. Theoretical or abstract studies that provide little hard data are likely to be less useful.

3) When using sociological and anthropological material, the biblical scholar must survey a wide range of societies that contain the phenomenon being studied. By doing this it is possible to avoid using atypical material for comparative purposes.

4) The biblical interpreter must concentrate on the comparative data that has been collected and if possible must avoid the interpretive schemata into which sociologists, anthropologists, and Near Eastern scholars have placed the data. By doing this the biblical scholar can avoid biased presentations.

5) When applying comparative material to the biblical text, the biblical scholar must be sure that the comparative material is truly comparable to the biblical material being studied. By limiting the comparative material in this way, the interpreter can eliminate data that might distort the interpretation.

6) When applying comparative material to the biblical text, the interpreter must allow the biblical text itself to be the controlling factor in the exegetical process. The comparative material can thus be used only to form a hypothesis which must still be tested against the biblical text. The exegesis of the text itself will then support, disprove, or modify the hypothesis. If the exegesis of the text fails to provide enough evidence either to support or to deny the hypothesis, then the question must be allowed to remain open with respect to that particular text. The lack of exegetical evidence

cannot cause either the acceptance or rejection of the hypothesis. Comparative data thus has a dual function. On the one hand it can broaden the horizons of the biblical interpreter and suggest a wider range of hypotheses than the interpreter might be able to produce on the basis of the biblical text alone. On the other hand, comparative material may lend support to or cast doubt on hypotheses previously advanced.

A second methodological problem that must be considered involves the way in which form critics determine the setting of a literary genre. Form critics frequently use their formal analysis of a genre to deduce the social setting in which the genre was used. However, we have already seen that this approach sometimes leads to the description of settings whose existence cannot otherwise be demonstrated. This means that the form critic runs the risk of positing nonexistent settings. At this point the form critic can perhaps get some help from a judicious use of comparative material and from a more rigorous use of narrative material within the Bible itself. If the form critic dealing with prophetic utterances studies the social settings and functions of such utterances in other societies, then it will perhaps be possible to get a clearer idea about what settings and functions the Israelite utterances might have had. Then the critic can test his ideas against his analysis of the biblical utterances and against the descriptions of prophetic activity in the biblical narratives. By applying this method the form critic can perhaps establish the degree of probability possessed by the form-critical suggestions that have been made about the text.

Areas for Future Research

If future studies of prophecy and society take seriously the necessity of dealing with all three of the sociological dimensions of prophetic activity and if the present trend toward the use of comparative material continues, then a number of new lines of research can be projected. These new lines of research can extend and refine the work already done by form critics and historians of Israelite religion. For the sake of convenience we will outline these potential areas of research in connection with each of the three sociological dimensions of prophetic activity. In each case we will indicate what new light comparative material might throw on the field of inquiry. It must be remembered, however, that all three sociological dimensions of prophetic activity are interrelated, so they must finally be correlated with each other.

The Nature of Prophetic Activity

Stereotypical prophetic language

Form critics have already made thorough studies of the basic forms of prophetic speech. However, the relation of prophetic language to the settings in which the language was used has still not been investigated adequately. Anthropological studies of prophetic figures suggest that prophetic language tends to be stereotypical within a given society. This stereotypical language sometimes results from prophetic traditions being passed on from prophet to prophet, but more often it is due to prophets consciously or subconsciously conforming to social expectations about how prophets should speak.[46] If this could be shown to be the case in Israel as well, then it would

indicate that Israelite society (or certain groups within it) had an important role in shaping prophetic speech.

Stereotypical prophetic behavior

Although there have been a few studies of prophetic actions in Israel, most research up to this point has focused on the problem of prophetic ecstasy. Again comparative material can provide some interesting insights into this problem. What biblical scholars have traditionally called ecstasy is in fact a complex of physiological and behavioral manifestations of spirit possession. Just as prophetic speech forms tend to follow stereotypical patterns, so too prophetic behavior tends to be stereotypical within a given society. This behavior may either be learned or may be a response to the expectations of the society.[47] Further research is needed to determine whether or not prophetic behavior in Israel conformed to the patterns found elsewhere, and the results of this research must then be correlated with our ideas about the relationship between prophetic language and ecstasy.

The Social Location of Prophetic Activity

To date biblical scholars have posited only a few possible settings for prophetic activity. However, comparative material suggests that such activity can have numerous settings.[48] It might therefore be profitable to explore the comparative material in detail and then to try to determine how much of this material is applicable to Israelite prophecy. Biblical scholars have not yet begun to move along this line of inquiry, although the multiplicity of settings has already been noted by students of Hebrew narrative, and they are in the process of determining the importance of the comparative material for understanding the biblical text.[49]

The Social Functions of Prophecy

As we have already seen, biblical scholars have done virtually nothing on this aspect of the problem of prophecy and society.[50] Yet numerous anthropological studies of prophecy have indicated that possessed individuals have a number of complex functions within their societies. Prophets may function in any or all of the three main areas of social activity: the domestic sphere, the politico-jural sphere, and the religious sphere. Prophets may function as peripheral figures seeking to bring about social and cultural change by means of their prophetic activities, or they may have the function of retarding social change within the society's established institutions. Different types of prophets can exist within the same society at a given time and can have different and sometimes contradictory or conflicting functions.[51] In order to better understand the language and activities of the biblical prophets, scholars must now seriously consider the question of the functions of Israelite prophecy. In the course of this investigation the material collected by anthropologists will have to be utilized if the biblical phenomena are to be understood adequately.

NOTES

1. See, for example, M. Weber, Ancient Judaism (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952); L. Wallis, Sociological Study of the Bible (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1912); God and the Social Process (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1935); The Bible is Human (New York: Columbia University, 1942); The Bible and Modern Belief (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1949); A. Causse, Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1937); A. Lods, Israel: From its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932); The Prophets and the Rise of Judaism (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1937); S. Nyström, Beduinentum und Jahwismus (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946); and W. R. Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1927). Note also the following surveys of anthropological and sociological approaches to the Hebrew Bible: F. Hahn, The Old Testament and Modern Research (2d ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966) 44-82, 157-184; W. Schottroff, "Soziologie und Altes Testament," VF 19 (1974) 46-66; N. K. Gottwald and F. S. Frick, "The Social World of Ancient Israel," SBLASP 1975, 1.165-178; H.-J. Kraus, "Die Anfänge der religionssoziologischen Forschungen in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," in his Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972) 296-310; S. T. Kimbrough, "A Non-Weberian Sociological Approach to Israelite Religion," JNES 31 (1972) 195-202; and J. A. Holstein, "Max Weber and Biblical Scholarship," HUCA 46 (1975) 159-179.

2. A convenient survey of recent work is provided by R. C. Culley, "Oral Tradition and the OT: Some Recent Discussion," Semeia 5 (1976) 1-33. See also the remaining articles in the volume.

3. See, for example, G. E. Mendenhall, The Tenth Generation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1973); "Social Organization in Early Israel," Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God (ed. F. M. Cross et al.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 132-151; N. K. Gottwald, "Were the Early Israelites Pastoral Nomads?," Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg (ed. J. J. Jackson and M. Kessler; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1974) 223-255; and "Domain Assumptions and Societal Models in the Study of Pre-monarchic Israel," VTSup 28 (1975) 89-100. Note also the following papers in SBLASP 1976: G. E. Mendenhall, "Migration Theories vs. Culture Change as an Explanation for Early Israel (135-143); N. K. Gottwald, "Early Israel and 'the Asiatic Mode of Production' in Canaan" (145-154); J. M. Halligan, "The Role of the Peasant in the Amarna Period" (155-169); and S. B. Parker, "Revolutions in Northern Israel" (311-321).

4. For examples of the application of anthropological data see H. B. Huffmon, "The Origins of Prophecy," Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God (ed. F. M. Cross et al.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 171-186; T. W. Overholt, "The Ghost Dance of 1890 and the Nature of the Prophetic Process," Ethnohistory 21 (1974) 37-63; and R. R. Wilson, "This World--and the World to Come," Encounter 38 (1977) 117-124. A more theoretical approach is taken by A. Rupp, "Zum Geleit--Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte im interdisziplinären Miteinander," Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte 1 (1973) 1-13.

5. A classic statement of the concept of social function may be found in the work of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who used the analogy of the interacting components of a biological organism to explain the interaction of individuals and groups tied together by a network of social relations. See his essay "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," in his Structure and Function in Primitive Society (New York: Free Press, 1965) 178-187.

6. H. Ewald, Die Propheten des Alten Bundes (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1867), 1.1-40.

7. B. Duhm, Die Theologie der Propheten (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1875) 1-34.

8. Duhm, Theologie, 4, 19-24, 29-34, 86-91. Duhm later revised his views considerably in the light of subsequent research. See his Israels Propheten (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1916 [2d ed., 1922]) 1-12, 61-88.

9. J. Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885) 414-419, 467-477, 484-491; Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte (7th ed.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1914) 72-77, 91-92, 104-113, 122-132; Grundrisse zum Alten Testament (ed. R. Smend; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1965) 87-97.

10. W. R. Smith, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895) 278-308; cf. his The Prophets of Israel (2d ed.; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1895).

11. See, for example, the Arabic and Greek material cited in The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, 285-287, 292, 294, 297-298. For a discussion of Smith's general use of comparative material, see R. R. Wilson, Genealogy and History in the Biblical World (New Haven: Yale University, 1977) 13-14; and T. O. Beidelman, W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974) 27-28, 49-52.

12. Note, for example, his treatment of Elijah in Prophets of Israel, 78-89; and cf. his reflections on the way in which a prophet's message is related to his psychological state and social setting in "Prophecy and Personality: a Fragment," Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith (ed. J. S. Black and G. Chrystal; London: A. & C. Black, 1912) 97-108.

13. G. Hölscher, Die Propheten (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1914), esp. pp. 1-358.

14. Hölscher, Die Propheten, 143-147.

15. The exact sources of Hölscher's psychological data are not always clear, but he seems to have been influenced greatly by the work of Wilhelm Wundt. See R. E. Clements, One Hundred Years of Old Testament Interpretation (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) 56-66.

16. For an overview of solutions to this problem see H. H. Rowley, "The Nature of Old Testament Prophecy in the Light of

Recent Study," HTR 38 (1945) 1-38 (=his The Servant of the Lord [2d ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965] 95-134); and O. Eissfeldt's essay "The Prophetic Literature" in The Old Testament and Modern Study (ed. H. H. Rowley; London: Oxford University, 1951) 134-145.

17. I. P. Seierstad, Die Offenbarungserlebnisse der Propheten Amos, Jesaja und Jeremia (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1946); A. J. Heschel, The Prophets (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

18. S. Mowinckel, "The Spirit and the Word in the Pre-exilic Reforming Prophets," JBL 53 (1934) 199-227; A. Jepsen, Nabi (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1934) 142.

19. T. H. Robinson, "The Ecstatic Element in Old Testament Prophecy," The Expositor, 8th series, no. 123, vol. 21 (1921) 217-238; Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel (London: Duckworth, 1923) 39-49; S. Mowinckel, "Ecstatic Experience and Rational Elaboration in Old Testament Prophecy," AcOr 13 (1935) 264-318; G. Widengren, Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1948) 94-120; J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1962) 47-65, 105-137, 178.

20. Rowley, "The Nature of Old Testament Prophecy," Servant of the Lord, 123-134.

21. As our next section will show, this has not always been the case among form critics. For a thorough discussion of Mowinckel's form-critical work, see J. H. Hayes, "The History of the Form-critical Study of Prophecy," SBLASP 1973, 1.76-79.

22. See, for example, Hölscher, Die Propheten, 143-147.

23. Mowinckel's original suggestion was made in Psalmenstudien III. Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1923) 1-29. Cf. his later statement in The Psalms in Israel's Worship (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 2.53-73; and note his article "Psalms and Wisdom," where he claims that "...the majority of prophets formed an official class of cult functionaries..." (in Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East [H. H. Rowley Festschrift][VTSup 3; ed. M. Noth and D. W. Thomas; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960] 206). Mowinckel argued that Isaiah and Micah were cult prophets in his Jesaja-Disiplene (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1926).

24. For a thorough discussion of the main lines of the debate see H. H. Rowley, "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets," JSS 1 (1956) 338-360 (=his From Moses to Qumran [New York: Association Press, 1963] 111-138); and L. Ramlot, "Prophétisme," DBSup, vol. 8, cols. 1121-1166, where exhaustive, up-to-date bibliographies may be found.

25. The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1944; 2d ed., 1962).

26. Johnson, Cultic Prophet, 29-30; cf. his remark in the preface of the 2d ed., p. v.

27. Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945).

28. "Charisma and Religious Innovation: The Social Location of Israelite Prophecy," American Sociological Review 28 (1963) 940-950.

29. Berger's work was rightly criticized on this point by J. G. Williams, "The Social Location of Israelite Prophecy," JAAR 37 (1969) 153-165. However, the force of Berger's conclusion is underestimated when Williams argues that prophets could not have been located in the cult and still have criticized the cult. A much more responsible use of the cross-disciplinary approach is made by Overholt ("Ghost Dance," 37-63), although he is not concerned with the problem of prophecy and cult.

30. For recent accounts of the history of form-critical research on the prophets, see Hayes, "History," 60-99; R. R. Wilson, "Form-critical Investigation of the Prophetic Literature: The Present Situation," SBLASP 1973, 1.100-121; and W. E. March, "Prophecy," Old Testament Form Criticism (ed. J. H. Hayes; San Antonio: Trinity University, 1974) 141-177.

31. It is quite possible that this concern for the social settings of literary genres did not originate with Gunkel, for it is also found in the work of other literary critics of the period. See the discussion of M. J. Buss, "The Study of Forms," Old Testament Form Criticism, 51-52.

32. H. Gunkel, "Fundamental Problems of Hebrew Literary History," What Remains of the Old Testament (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928) 61-62. The German original of this article was published under the title "Die Grundprobleme der israelitischen Literaturgeschichte" in Deutsche Literaturzeitung 27 (1906), cols. 1797-1800, 1861-1866 and was reprinted in Gunkel's Reden und Aufsätze (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913) 29-38.

33. For a discussion of the ambiguity of the phrase Sitz im Leben, see D. A. Knight, "The Understanding of 'Sitz im Leben' in Form Criticism," SBLASP 1974, 1.105-125.

34. The distinction which we are making here between the social matrix of prophetic language and the social location of prophetic activity is not the same as the distinction form critics sometimes make between uniquely prophetic speech forms and speech forms which the prophets borrowed from other areas of social activity. The latter distinction assumes the existence of uniquely prophetic speech forms, and this assumption has yet to be satisfactorily proven.

35. C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) 129-168.

36. H. Gunkel, Einleitung in die Psalmen (2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 364-365.

37. "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," ZTK 49(1952) 7-8, 12-16.

38. For a survey of recent work on the prophetic lawsuit, see R. North, "Angel-Prophet or Satan-Prophet?," ZAW 82(1970) 31-67.

39. On this point note the critique of B. O. Long, "Recent Field Studies in Oral Literature and their Bearing on OT Criticism," VT 26 (1976) 198.

40. See, for example, Würthwein, "Ursprung," 7-8, 12-16; H. G. Reventlow, Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962); Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1963); Wächter über Israel: Ezechiel und seine Tradition (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1962); F. Hesse, "Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult?," ZAW 65 (1953) 45-53; H.-J. Kraus, Worship in Israel (Richmond: John Knox, 1966) 93-112; and J. Jeremias, Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970).

41. See in particular R. Bach, Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962); and D. L. Christensen, Transformations of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975).

42. At this point it should be noted that Westermann's picture of the prophet as Yahweh's messenger (Basic Forms, 98-128) says nothing about the social location of prophetic activity. The messenger model does suggest that prophets had the general function of serving as a bridge between the human and divine worlds. However, the same might also be said about other types of religious figures, such as the priest.

43. A convenient survey of the relevant Near Eastern material is provided by H. B. Huffmon, "Prophetic Oracles in the Ancient Near East," SBLASP 1974, 1.101-104. See Wilson, "Form-critical Investigation of the Prophetic Literature," 115-116 for a discussion of how this material has been used by form critics. Note also the comprehensive treatment of M. Dietrich, "Prophetie in den Keilschrifttexten," Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte 1 (1973) 15-44.

44. For attempts to apply sociological and anthropological data to prophecy, see the works cited above, n. 4. In contrast to the situation in the study of prophecy, there are already a fair number of attempts to use anthropological material to interpret biblical narratives and to understand certain features of Israelite history. See above, nn. 2 and 3.

45. For a more thorough discussion of these guidelines, see Wilson, Genealogy and History, 11-18.

46. See, for example, J. Beattie, "Group Aspects of the Nyoro Spirit Mediumship Cult," Rhodes-Livingstone Journal 30 (1961) 11-38; E. Bourguignon, "The Self, the Behavioral Environment, and the Theory of Spirit Possession," Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology (ed. M. E. Spiro; New York: Free Press, 1965) 39-60; and S. M. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental Complex of the Tungus (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1935) 344-358.

47. See, for example, L. Marshall, "The Medicine Dance of the !Kung Bushmen," Africa 39 (1969) 347-381; J. Belo, Trance in Bali (New York: Columbia University, 1960); and S. S.

Walker, Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).

48. This point can be illustrated by almost any thorough study of the social setting of possession phenomena. See, for example, the articles collected in J. Beattie and J. Middleton, eds., Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa (New York: Africana, 1969).

49. See in particular B. O. Long, "Recent Field Studies," 187-198; and "Recent Field Studies in Oral Literature and the Question of Sitz im Leben," Semeia 5 (1976) 35-45.

50. For an exception, see D. L. Petersen, "The Oracles Against the Nations: A Form-Critical Analysis," SBLASP 1975, 1.39-61.

51. An overview of the various functions of prophecy is provided by I. M. Lewis, Ecstatic Religion (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971). Although Lewis' book somewhat oversimplifies the data, it is based on sound research and provides a detailed bibliography for students wishing to explore the question of function in greater detail. Lewis' bibliography may be supplemented by I. I. Zaretsky, Bibliography on Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediumship (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1966).

S 244 APOCALYPSE: TOWARDS THE MORPHOLOGY OF A GENRE

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[This paper is based directly on the papers of H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, A. Yarbro Collins, F. T. Fallon and A. J. Saldarini for the work-group on Apocalypse for the SBL Genres Project and is intended to serve as an introduction to these papers in a separate volume. The individual papers are summarized in the Book of Abstracts.]

The purpose of this study is to identify and define a literary genre "apocalypse." Since neither "genre" nor "apocalypse" has a precise, universally accepted connotation, it is necessary to begin by stating what we mean by these terms.

Literary Genre

By "literary genre" we mean a group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing. The texts which make up the genre must be intelligible as independent units. This does not necessarily mean that they have ever existed as independent works. In many cases recognizable units are embedded in larger works and we cannot be sure whether they ever circulated independently. If they constitute coherent wholes which are intelligible without reference to their present context, they can qualify as members of a genre.

While the study of a genre inevitably involves a diachronic, historical dimension (Fowler, 1971) its identification and definition are independent of historical considerations. A genre is identified by the recognizable similarity among a number of texts. Similarity does not necessarily imply historical relationships. It is important to emphasize that when we list a number of texts from diverse sources as "apocalypses" we are not implying that they are all historically related or derived from a common prototype. Our concern in this study is with phenomenological similarity, not historical derivation, although some implications for the history of the genre will emerge from the discussion.

Further, while a complete study of a genre must consider function and social setting, neither of these factors can determine the definition. At least in the case of ancient literature, our knowledge of function and setting is often extremely hypothetical and cannot provide a firm basis for generic classification. The only firm basis which can be found is the identification of recurring elements which are explicitly present in the texts. (For a compact review of diverse recent discussions of "genre" see Doty [1972]).

Apocalypse

The term "apocalypse" is simply the Greek word for revelation. However, it is commonly used in a more restricted sense, derived from the opening verse of the book of Revelation (The Apocalypse of John) in the New Testament, to refer to "literary compositions which resemble the book of Revelation, i.e., secret disclosures about the end of the world and the heavenly state" (Koch, 1972:18). The word is used loosely and is frequently interchanged with the related terms "apocalyptic" and "apocalypticism." In the words of Koch (1972:13): "Generally speaking, apocalyptic is understood to mean a complex of writings and ideas which were widespread about the turn of the era in Palestine, in the Israelite diaspora and in early Christian circles; but which can also appear in similar form in other religious situations and mental climates." While the best-known apocalypses are Jewish and Christian, we cannot ignore the possibility that writings of the same type were produced independently in other traditions in ancient or in modern times.

It is important to note that the classification "apocalyptic" or

"apocalypse" is a modern one. Some ancient Jewish, Christian and Gnostic works are entitled "Apokalypsis" in the manuscripts (e.g. 3 Baruch, the Apokalypse of the Holy Mother of God, the Apocalypse of Adam). However, the title is not a reliable guide to the genre. The so-called "Apocalypse of Moses" (a variant of the Life of Adam and Eve) is quite different from the main bulk of apocalypses. On the other hand, several works which are not called "apocalypses" in the MSS must be included in any discussion of the genre.

It is obvious then that the identification of a genre "apocalypse" is not a simple matter of collecting texts which bear this label or have already been otherwise clearly identified. An "apocalypse" is simply that which scholars can agree to call an "apocalypse." The purpose of this volume is to attain consistency and clarity in the use of the term, on the assumption that the single name "apocalypse" should refer to a single coherent and recognizable type of writing. The choice of the name "apocalypse" is influenced by the use of that word in some ancient works, and more immediately by current scholarly usage. We therefore begin from the current, loose and inconsistent scholarly use of "apocalypse" and "apocalyptic" and inquire which works can meaningfully be classified together as one coherent genre.

The need for a literary definition

There is a general consensus among modern scholars that there is a phenomenon which may be called "apocalyptic" and that it is expressed in an ill-defined list of writings which includes (on any reckoning) the Jewish works Daniel (chs. 7-12), 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch and the Christian book of Revelation. The list is generally agreed to be more extensive than this, but its precise extent is a matter of dispute. Despite the consensus that "apocalyptic" can be found in specific books, there is a widespread opposition to any attempt to define it as a literary genre. So Gerhard von Rad insists: "die Apokalyptik in literarischer Hinsicht keine besondere "Gattung" repraesentiert. Sie ist im Gegenteil in formgeschichtlicher Hinsicht ein mixtum compositum" (von Rad, 1965:330). Von Rad's assertion is misleading in two respects. First, it is true that every apocalypse contains a number of smaller recognizable forms - such as visions, prayers or exhortations. This fact, however, cannot preclude the possibility that the larger frameworks, within which these elements are held together, are also marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute an equally recognizable type of writing. Second, von Rad's discussion suffers from semantic confusion since the abstraction "apocalyptic" hovers vaguely between literature, sociology and theology. The confusion latent in the term "apocalyptic" has been highlighted in the discussion after von Rad, especially by M. Stone (1976:439) and P. D. Hanson (1976a:29-30). These scholars distinguish between "apocalypse" as a literary genre, "apocalyptic eschatology" as a particular religious perspective and structure of thought, and "apocalypticism" as a sociological phenomenon. While these three concepts are closely related to each other, their referents do not necessarily coincide exactly. Not every writing which expresses apocalyptic eschatology can be classified as an apocalypse. Much of the confusion which currently reigns results from a failure to observe these distinctions.

In his review of the status of "apocalyptic" Klaus Koch reflected an awareness of the difference between "apocalypse" as a literary type and the broader dimensions of apocalyptic eschatology and apocalypticism, but was also concerned with the relationship between these phenomena. This led him to formulate a principle of fundamental importance: "if we are to succeed at all in the future in arriving at a binding definition of apocalyptic, a starting-point in form-criticism and literary and linguistic history is in the nature of things, the only one possible." (Koch, 1972:23). In the interest of terminological consistency and clarity the label "apocalyptic eschatology" should be reserved for the eschatology found in apocalypses or recognized by analogy with them. Furthermore, the sociological study of apocalypticism depends almost entirely on evidence of a literary nature. If apocalypticism is assumed to be at all related to apocalypses, then the analysis of the

literary genre must cast some light on the social phenomenon. It should be noted however that our analysis of the genre does not presuppose that all the works identified as "apocalypses" have a common social milieu. The use to which a genre is put may vary widely. Even an individual work may be re-interpreted in various settings or employed for different purposes. Conversely a given sociological movement may find expression in several different genres. The study of the social settings and functions of this literature is a highly complex undertaking which lies beyond the scope of the present study.

The scope of this study

The study of apocalypses, even from a literary point of view, must eventually address the history and social functions of the genre. However, these questions are consequent to the purely literary description and identification. The present study is restricted in its purpose to the initial stage of literary analysis. Some light is thrown immediately and inevitably on the historical development of the genre, but we do not attempt to discuss historical and sociological questions in detail. We do, however, claim to establish the literary basis on which all historical and sociological studies of this genre must necessarily be built.

The literary genre "apocalypse" was not clearly recognized and defined in antiquity and has not been precisely delineated in modern scholarship. Consequently, the strategy employed in this study has been to begin by examining all the writings which are either called apocalypses or are referred to as apocalyptic by modern authors, and any others which appear to be similar to these. By listing the prominent recurring features in these works it is possible to assess the extent of the similarity between them and decide which writings can meaningfully be classified in the same genre. The material surveyed has been limited to "late Antiquity" (approximately 250 BCE to 300 CE, although some earlier material has been studied for background and some material of uncertain date may be later) and to the area of the eastern Mediterranean. Within this material there is a wide range of revelatory literature which can be classified in various ways, according to different degrees of similarity. Some use the term apocalyptic very broadly to refer to any type of revelatory literature irrespective of content. Others restrict it to a narrow group of writings (usually Jewish) which contain ex eventu prophecies of history and envisage cosmic transformation. Now a study of the inclusive genre of revelatory literature is certainly legitimate and perhaps desirable. Again, the narrow group of historical apocalypses can arguably be treated as a coherent genre. However, in view of the customary usage of the terms "apocalypse" and "apocalyptic" neither of these extremes is satisfactory. The broader view loses all the distinctiveness of apocalypses over against other types of revelation. The narrower view fails to account for too many texts usually regarded as "apocalyptic" and also ignores much material found in all the apocalypses, which does not deal with either history or cosmic transformation (see Stone, 1976). In fact our study shows that the genre may be defined more broadly, while remaining distinctive over against other types of revelatory literature. The defining characteristics embrace both the manner or form of revelation and the content of the things revealed. The significant recurring elements constitute a paradigm which shows not only the persistent similarities which run throughout the corpus but also the variations which distinguish the different sub-groups and individual works.

The master-paradigm

The master-paradigm may be divided into two main sections: the framework of the revelation and its content. The framework in turn involves both the manner in which the revelation is conveyed and the concluding elements. The content embraces historical and eschatological events on a temporal axis and otherworldly beings and places on a spatial axis. Direct exhortation to the recipient in the course of the revelation is rare and plays a significant role only in a few Christian and Gnostic works. The paradigm is as follows:

Manner of Revelation

1. Medium by which the revelation is communicated.
1.1. Visual revelation may be either in the form of
1.1.1. Visions, where the content of the revelation is seen, or
1.1.2. Epiphanies, where the apparition of the mediator is described.
1.2. Auditory revelation usually clarifies the visual. Epiphanies are always followed by auditory revelation. This may be either in the form of
1.2.1. Discourse, uninterrupted speech by the mediator, or
1.2.2. Dialogue, where there is conversation between the mediator and recipient, often in the form of question and answer.
1.3. Otherworldly Journey, when the visionary travels through heaven, hell or remote regions beyond the normally accessible world. Revelation in the course of a journey is usually predominantly visual.
1.4. Writing, when the revelation is contained in a written document, usually a heavenly book. This is never the sole medium of revelation.
2. An Otherworldly Mediator communicates the revelation. Often the mediation consists of interpreting a vision but it can also take the form of direct speech or simply of guiding the recipient and directing his attention to the revelation. The mediator is most often an angel, or, in some Christian texts, Christ.
3. The Human Recipient:
3.1. Pseudonymity: the recipient is usually identified as a venerable figure from the past. A few Christian apocalypses are not pseudonymous.
3.2. The Disposition of the Recipient notes the circumstances and emotional state in which the revelation is received.
3.3. The Reaction of the Recipient usually describes the awe and/or perplexity of the recipient confronted with the revelation.

Content: Temporal Axis

4. Protology: Matters which deal with the beginning of history or prehistory.
4.1. Theogony (in Gnostic texts describing the origin of the Pleroma) and/or Cosmogony (the origin of the world).
4.2. Primordial events, which have paradigmatic significance for the remainder of history (e.g. the sin of Adam).
5. History may be reviewed in either of two ways:
5.1. Explicit recollection of the past, or
5.2. Ex eventu prophecy where past history is disguised as future and so associated with the eschatological prophecies.
6. Present salvation through knowledge is a major way of salvation in Gnostic texts and distinguishes them significantly from other apocalypses.
7. Eschatological crisis. This may take the form of
7.1. Persecution and/or
7.2. Other eschatological upheavals which disturb the order of nature or history.
8. Eschatological judgment and/or destruction. This is brought about by supernatural intervention. It comes upon
8.1. Sinners, usually oppressors, but in Gnostic texts, the ignorant.
8.2. The world, i.e. the natural elements.
8.3. Otherworldly beings, e.g. the forces of Satan or Belial, or other powers.
9. Eschatological salvation is the positive counterpart of eschatological judgment. Like the judgment, it is always brought by supernatural means. It may involve:
9.1. Cosmic transformation, where the whole world is renewed;
9.2. Personal salvation, which may be part of the cosmic transformation or may be independent of it. This in turn may take the form of
9.2.1. Resurrection, in bodily form or
9.2.2. Other forms of afterlife, e.g. exaltation to heaven with the angels.

Content: Spatial Axis

10. Otherworldly elements may be either personal or impersonal and either

good or bad.

10.1. Otherworldly regions are described especially in the otherworldly journeys, but also in lists of revealed things in other contexts. Again they may be evaluated in either a positive or negative way. The Gnostic texts evaluate the lower heavens negatively.

10.2. Otherworldly beings: angelic or demonic.

Paraenesis

11. Paraenesis by the mediator to the recipient in the course of the revelation is relatively rare and is prominent only in a few Christian and Gnostic apocalypses.

Concluding elements

12. Instructions to the recipient. These are distinct from Paraenesis (11) and come after the revelation as part of the concluding framework, e.g. they tell the recipient to conceal or publish the revelation.

13. Narrative conclusion. This may describe the awakening or return to earth of the recipient, the departure of the revealer or the consequent actions of the recipients. In some Gnostic texts we find reference to the persecution of the recipients because of the revelation.

The particular combination of elements involved here does not necessarily always constitute an entire independent work. It may be a subordinate part of a larger work: e.g. we will distinguish an apocalypse in Test Levi 2-5, although Test Levi as a whole is not an apocalypse. Conversely, an apocalypse may include subsidiary literary forms which are independent of the genre - e.g. the prayer in Daniel 9. Further, the apocalyptic paradigm, either entirely or in part, may be repeated more than once in a single apocalypse. So Daniel 7-12 and Revelation, to take the most familiar examples, juxtapose visions or series of visions which go over the same material in slightly different ways. This repetition does not indicate separate compositions but results from the common apocalyptic technique of "recapitulation" (see Yarbro Collins, 1976: 36-44). The repetition of variant formulations draws attention to the underlying structure which is common to all. (Compare the well-known folkloric device of "tripling").

Now it is apparent that no one apocalypse contains all the elements noted in the paradigm above. (The exact distribution is shown on the charts in the individual essays).Again, not all these elements are equally important. The disposition and reaction of the recipient (3.2 and 3.3) and the concluding elements are by no means constant and obviously are less important than the presence of an otherworldly mediator and human recipient. These less significant elements are noted here because they recur with notable frequency and may be of significance for more detailed study of particular works. However, they are not defining characteristics of either the genre apocalypse or any of its sub-types. Paraenesis by the mediator to the recipient is very rare. It is noted in the paradigm, however, because it is a significant element. There is little doubt that all apocalypses seek toinfluence the lives of their readers and many imply exhortation to a specific course of action. The hortatory purpose is usually implicit in the work as a whole, but is expressed explicitly in the few works which contain paraenesis.

Definition of the Genre

A few elements are constant in every work we have designated as an apocalypse. These elements pertain to both the framework and the content. There is always a narrative framework in which the manner of revelation is described. This always involves an otherworldly mediator and a human recipient -- it is never simply a direct oracular utterance by either heavenly or human being. The content always involves both an eschatological salvation which is temporally future and present otherworldly realities. The eschatological salvation is always definitive in character and is marked by some form of personal after-life (see Collins, 1974a). Explicit reference to after-life is lacking in only two Jewish apocalypses, the Apocalypse of Weeks and Test

Levi 2-5, and is quite probably implied in both. (Both are embodied in texts where after-life is explicit). In all the other Jewish, and in all the Christian, Gnostic and Greco-Roman apocalypses there is clear explicit reference to personal after-life. This is seldom the only aspect of eschatological salvation: cosmic transformation is very frequently involved. However, personal after-life is the most consistent aspect of the eschatology of the apocalypses, and it ensures the definitive and transcendent character of that eschatology. The spatial, otherworldly realities always involve the activity of otherworldly, angelic or demonic beings. Heavenly geography is described in detail in many apocalypses. The existence of another world beyond what is accessible to humanity by natural means is a constant element in all the apocalypses.

This common core of constant elements permits us, then, to formulate a comprehensive definition of the genre:
"Apocalypse" is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, in so far as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, in so far as it involves another, supernatural world.

This definition marks the boundaries of the genre and enables us to identify it. It is not intended as a complete or adequate description of the constituent works. No individual apocalypse can be adequately understood without reference to some other elements of the paradigm. The fuller paradigm permits us to see the variety within the genre and distinguish different types of apocalypses.

In the light of this definition it is immediately possible to distinguish apocalypses from other closely related categories. While oracles, testaments and revelatory dialogues all frequently contain eschatological material analogous to that found in apocalypses, they all lack some aspect of the apocalyptic manner of revelation. Oracles are not mediated at all, but are uttered directly, testaments are mediated by a human figure and revelatory dialogues lack the narrative framework which describes the process of revelation. On the other hand, dreams and visions which lack the eschatological or otherworldly dimensions of the apocalypses, are also excluded from the genre. In this way the term "apocalypse" can be applied to a specific and limited number of texts from the period under consideration.

The inner coherence of the genre

The different elements which make up our comprehensive definition of the genre are not associated at random, but are integrally related by their common implications. The key word in the definition is transcendence. The manner of revelation requires the mediation of an otherworldly being, i.e. it is not given directly to the human recipient and does not fall within the compass of human knowledge. The manner of revelation then already asserts the reality of another world, superior to our own in knowledge, even in the knowledge of human affairs and destiny. The reality of this other world is further affirmed by reference to angelic and demonic beings, and by the descriptions of heavenly geography. Human life is set in a context which is shaped by this otherworldly, supernatural dimension. Finally, the transcendent nature of apocalyptic eschatology looks beyond this world to another. The forms of salvation are diverse, exaltation to the heavens or renewal of the earth, but in all cases they involve a radically different type of human existence, in which all the constraints of the human condition, including death, are transcended. Both the manner of revelation and the eschatological content point beyond this world to another, which is at once the source of revealed knowledge and of future salvation.

There is, then, an intrinsic relation between the revelation which is expressed in an apocalypse as a whole and the eschatological salvation promised in that revelation. This is especially obvious in the Gnostic texts, where revealed knowledge already confers salvation in the present. The other

apocalypses do not envisage salvation in the present, at least in any full, definitive sense. However, the revelation conveyed by all the apocalypses is presumed to be conducive to salvation for those who accept it. There is a great difference in degree between the Gnostic salvation through knowledge and the knowledge and hope to which revelation gives rise in other apocalypses. Nevertheless, in all the apocalypses, the expectation of salvation is based on otherworldly revelation.

The emphasis on the transcendent in the apocalypses suggests a loss of meaning and a sense of alienation in the present which tallies well with current views of the social milieu of apocalypticism (Smith, 1976, Gager, 1975, Collins 1975a). However, a word of caution is in order here. A given work may be understood quite differently by groups with varying degrees of sophistication and different social circumstances. An account of an otherworldly journey in Plato or Cicero does not necessarily carry the same implications as a similar or even identical account in a Jewish or Gnostic context. As we have noted already, the social functions and implied attitudes of this literature present highly complex problems which lie beyond the range of the present study. Here we only wish to demonstrate that the elements of the definition are integrally related and coherent.

We should also note that the other elements of the paradigm can be seen to be closely related to the elements singled out in the definition. The various media of revelation - visions, auditions, otherworldly journeys, writings - are all qualified by the otherworldly mediator and are in fact diverse kinds of otherworldly revelations. The disposition and reaction of the recipient, and also his awakening or return to earth, all emphasize the unusual and supernatural character of the revelation. Pseudonymity, a feature which is universal in Jewish and Gnostic apocalypses and very common in the Christian ones, is a complex phenomenon which has many implications, but it is at least clear that the attribution of a work to an ancient author such as Enoch or Shem effectively removes it from the time and place of the present. In this way the impression of the inadequacy of the present world and the need to derive revelation from elsewhere is confirmed.

The temporal axis of the revelation provides a context in which the transcendent eschatological salvation is seen to contrast sharply with previous history and the afflictions of the eschatological crisis. There is of course some variety in the functions of historical material in the apocalypses. Primordial history serves to explain the way reality is structured. History can be regarded as a source of examples or structured to reflect a recurring pattern. Ex eventu prophecies which attempt to outline the entire course of history serve to show that the end is near. (For more detailed discussion of the functions of pseudonymity and historical reviews see Collins 1977a). Finally, even paraenesis, when it occurs, only makes explicit what is implied elsewhere: the apocalyptic revelation provides a framework in which humans can decide their commitments in the full knowledge of the nature of reality present and future.

These remarks on the relation of the various elements of the paradigm to each other are of the most preliminary nature. An adequate discussion of these matters can only be achieved through the detailed analysis of individual apocalypses and the examination of the precise ways in which the various elements of the paradigm function (see Collins, 1977b, Yarbro Collins 1976). However, even these preliminary remarks indicate that the paradigm is internally coherent. The common elements singled out in the comprehensive definition of apocalypse are not random but constitute a kernel to which the other elements are integrally related. The formal derivation of revelation from an otherworldly source complements the contentual emphasis on transcendent eschatology and the supernatural world.

The extension and typology of the genre

The corpus of apocalypses which fits the definition given above is

drawn heavily from Jewish and Christian literature. Not all the Gnostic apocalypses are necessarily of Jewish or Christian origin, but the majority clearly are. However, we have also identified several Greco-Roman apocalypses and found some examples of the genre in Persian literature. There is neither reason nor evidence to argue that all these apocalypses are related historically. While historical connections are certainly important within the various traditions, the genre as a whole is bound together by phenomenological similarity, irrespective of derivation.

Within the framework of the genre there is still considerable variation. In part this is due to the different historical traditions from which the works derive. Reviews of history, and concern for political eschatology, are much more prominent in the Jewish apocalypses than elsewhere. Paraenesis occurs somewhat more frequently in Christian apocalypses, although it is rare even there. Historical references to Christ are, of course, distinctively Christian, but they do not modify the apocalyptic paradigm in any significant way. Gnostic apocalypses have several distinguishing features. The visual element in the revelation is very slight and often consists only of the apparition of the mediator. Even more strikingly, the content of the Gnostic apocalypses places its greatest emphasis on salvation through knowledge, which is extended into personal after-life. There is very little interest in history or eschatological crises. While the Gnostic apocalypses fall within the overall framework of the genre, they show a distinctive shift of emphasis from the temporal axis to the spatial, or rather to interior knowledge which cannot be easily correlated with either space or time. The Greco-Roman apocalypses are distinguished by the fact that they are preserved in the context of philosophical treatises or poetic compositions. In these cases we must reckon with a secondary use of the genre, where the apocalypses are deliberately employed in the service of philosophical discussion or literary effect.

However, the variations of the genre apocalypse are not adequately reflected by the distinctions between the different cultural traditions. We have consistently found distinct types of apocalypses which cut across the traditional cultural groups. These types are distinguished by both manner of revelation and eschatological content. The most obvious and fundamental distinction is between apocalypses which do not have an otherworldly journey (Type I) and those that do (Type II). Within each of these types further distinctions can be made in view of eschatological content: a) the "historical" type which includes a review of history, eschatological crisis and cosmic and/or political eschatology; b) apocalypses which have no historical review but envisage cosmic and/or political eschatology [this type lacks the review of history which distinguishes type a) but retains some public character in its eschatology as opposed to the purely individual interest in type c)]; c) apocalypses which have neither historical review nor cosmic transformation but only personal eschatology. So we have, in effect, six types within the genre: I a,b,c, and II a,b, and c. The distribution of these types is as follows:

Ia: "historical" apocalypses with no otherworldly journey

This is perhaps the most widely recognized type of apocalypse and is often the basis for generalizations about "apocalyptic." In fact, however, it is virtually confined to a small group which makes up about one-third of the Jewish apocalypses: Daniel 7-12, the Animal Apocalypse, the Apocalypse of Weeks, Jubilees 23, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. Significantly, however the Persian Zand-ī Vohūman Yasn conforms to this type. Only one Christian apocalypse, Jacob's Ladder, should be classified in Type Ia and it is very probable that this is an adaptation of a Jewish work. In the later Jewish writings, the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah also conforms to this type.

Ib: apocalypses of cosmic and/or political eschatology (which have neither historical review nor otherworldly journey)

The most obvious example of this type is the Christian book of Revelation.

Other examples are the Christian Apoc Peter, Shepherd of Hermas, Apoc John the Theologian, Testament of the Lord 1:1-14 and (tentatively) the Book of Elchasai, and the Gnostic 2 Apoc James, Nature of the Archons, Pistis Sophia I-III and Gospel of Mary. (The latter has only a slight allusion to cosmic eschatology). It should be noted that the Gnostic texts do not involve cosmic transformation but only judgment and destruction.

Ic: apocalypses with only personal eschatology (and no otherworldly journey)

Again this type is found mainly in Christian and Gnostic works: 5 Ezra 2:42-48, Test Isaac 2-3a, Test Jacob 1-3a, Questions of Bartholomew, the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle 8b-14a,(all Christian) and Apoc Adam, Sophia Jesu Christi, Apocryphon of John, 1 Apoc James, Gn Apoc Peter, Pistis Sophia IV (all Gnostic). This is the most common type of Gnostic apocalypse. The Christian Apocryphon of James from Nag Hammadi, which is not clearly Gnostic, also conforms to this type. The Poimandres, from the Corpus Hermeticum is a further example.

IIa: "historical" apocalypses with an otherworldly journey

This type is very rare. The historical interest never predominates in an otherworldly journey. An example is found in the Jewish Apocalypse of Abraham which has a very brief review of history and in the later Jewish Sefer Hekalot (3 Enoch) where the historical interest is outweighed by the prominence of the heavenly world.

IIb: otherworldly journeys with cosmic and/or political eschatology

This type is very widely attested and includes 1 Enoch 1-36, Similitudes of Enoch, Heavenly Luminaries, 2 Enoch and Test Levi 2-5 (all Jewish), Apoc Paul, Ascension of Isaiah 6-11, Apoc Esdras and the Apocalypse or Vision of the Virgin Mary (all Christian), Paraphrase of Shem (Gnostic). The apocalypse in Seneca's Ad Marciam de Consolatione fits this type and also the late Jewish works, Hekalot Rabbati, Merkabah Rabbah, the Revelation of Joshua ben Levi and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (in part). There is considerable variation in the degree of prominence of the cosmic/political eschatology in these works.

IIc: otherworldly journeys with only personal eschatology

This type is also very widely attested. It includes 3 Baruch, Test Abraham 10-15 (8-12 in Rec. B) and Apoc Zephaniah (Jewish), Test Isaac 5-6, Test Jacob 5, Zosimus, the Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God concerning the Punishments, the Apocalypse of James the Brother of the Lord, the Mysteries of St. John the Apostle and Holy Virgin, the Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle 17b-19b and Apoc Sedrach (Christian) and the Gnostic Apoc Paul. The majority of the Greco-Roman apocalypses fall in this category: the "myth of Er" in Plato, Somnium Scipionis in Cicero, the apocalypses in Plutarch and the journey to the underworld in Aeneid VI. The parodies of Lucian are based on this type of apocalypse.

The very late Jewish Ascension of Moses and the Persian book of Arda Viraf, which is very late in its present form (ninth century) also conform to this type.

The Christian apocalypses are distributed most widely and are found in every type except IIa. Jewish apocalypses (both early and late) are found in every type except Ib and Ic and Gnostic apocalypses in all but Ia and IIa. (We should note however that the Gnostic works are predominantly concerned with personal eschatology and even those that envisage cosmic destruction do not envisage cosmic restoration. The Greco-Roman apocalypses are predominantly from Type IIc, with one representative in Ic and one in IIb. This distribution has obvious implications for the history of the genre.

Implications for the history of the genre

Within Judaism, both Type Ia (the "historical" apocalypses) and Type IIb (otherworldly journey envisaging cosmic eschatology) are clearly attested in the second century BCE. Type IIc (otherworldly journey with only personal eschatology) is found only in works which are probably from the first century

CE or later. Outside Judaism, Type Ia is also found in the Persian Zand-Ī Vohūman Yasn, which is widely thought to date substantially from the Hellenistic age. Type IIc is found in Greek literature as early as Plato, and Type IIb (otherworldly journey with cosmic eschatology) is found in Seneca. In the light of this evidence from the first century CE and earlier it seems very unlikely that all apocalypses can be traced to a common origin. Even the types involving an otherworldly journey are not clearly derived from a single historical source. In the Greco-Roman world, otherworldly journeys can be traced back to Parmenides and even to Homer. It is far from evident that the Jewish journeys of Enoch depend on the Greek tradition, and the relation, if any, of the Persian book of Arda Viraf to either Greek or Jewish traditions has not yet been shown. (On the diverse traditions of otherworldly journeys see Colpe, 1967).

The question might arise whether we should speak of two originally distinct genres, the "historical" apocalypses and the otherworldly journeys, which came to overlap to some extent in their later development. In fact, no pre-Christian apocalypse combines a review of history with an otherworldly journey and all the pre-Christian apocalypses which do not have an otherworldly journey have an ex eventu prophecy of history. This observation is certainly significant for the historical development of apocalypses. However, the question whether we should speak of two genres, or of two strains in a single genre, is a matter of terminological clarity, and of finding the classification which deals most adequately with both the similarity and the diversity of the works involved. A sharp distinction between "historical" apocalypses and otherworldly journeys is very difficult to maintain. All are bound together by the common core that we have isolated in the definition of "apocalypse" above. Further, all the pre-Christian Jewish heavenly journeys have some interest in cosmic eschatology. The Similitudes of Enoch, a heavenly journey, is extremely close to Daniel in both manner of revelation and content. The NT book of Revelation, from which the name of the genre "apocalypse" is derived, fits neither the category "historical" apocalypse nor otherworldly journey but is extremely similar to both Daniel and the Similitudes. In view of these close bonds between the types it seems preferable to speak of one genre "apocalypse." Within this genre we recognize variations and transformations which in some cases are due to historical development. The clear distinction between "historical" apocalypse and otherworldly journey in the earliest Jewish apocalypses, Daniel and 1 Enoch 1-36 may be taken as one stage in the development of the genre. In a later stage, represented by the Similitudes of Enoch and the book of Revelation, this distinction becomes far less clear. In view of the comprehensive definition of "apocalypse" given above, there is sufficient similarity between the different works to warrant their classification in the same genre.

In the apocalypses of the Christian era it is no longer possible to identify a particular kind of eschatology with one manner of revelation. All the same variants of eschatology are found in apocalypses with or without otherworldly journeys. The reviews of history prominent in one group of Jewish apocalypses are almost completely lacking in non-Jewish works, but are reflected in the late Jewish Sefer Hekaloth (3 Enoch) and the Hebrew Apoc of Elijah. It is important to keep in mind that these "historical" apocalypses were never the only, or even the most frequent, type of Jewish apocalypse and are attested at least in some non-Jewish works. Since reviews of history are also found in related literary categories such as oracles, including some Greco-Roman works, there is no reason to conclude that an interest in history was unique to Judaism.

Personal eschatology is an important feature of all types of apocalypses at all stages of the genre. However, the emphasis placed on individual afterlife is modified by the degree to which it is put in the context of cosmic destruction and/or transformation. Both the purely personal eschatology and the expectation of cosmic destruction and/or transformation are found throughout in Jewish, Christian, Gnostic and Greco-Roman works. The emphasis in

the Greco-Roman tradition is predominantly personal at all stages. In the Jewish tradition the purely personal eschatology is characteristic of later works, although cosmic and political eschatology is also found in late texts such as Sefer Hekaloth (3 Enoch). In the Gnostic material, cosmic eschatology is relatively minor and involves only destruction, not transformation. It is far less prominent than personal salvation. The Christian evidence is more ambiguous. It has been the policy in this volume to exclude works which are clearly later than 300 CE but include works of uncertain date. Now apocalypses which deal with political and historical events are much more easily dated than those which emphasize otherworldly elements and personal salvation. Accordingly, the proportional emphasis on personal eschatology may be somewhat exaggerated in this review.

In the light of this study there appears to be some shift in emphasis towards personal eschatology and away from historical affairs in the apocalypses of the Christian era. This is most obviously the case in the Gnostic texts. However, we should note that the otherworldly journeys always emphasized the spatial rather than the temporal axis, and that some concern for cosmic eschatology can be found even in the latest stages covered by our study.

One final comment on the history of the genre. The material presented in this study covers the emergence of the genre, at least in the area bounding the eastern Mediterranean. We have made no attempt to trace it to its historical decline. The genre continues on into the Middle Ages and perhaps beyond.

Related categories

A discussion of related literary categories, such as oracles, testaments and revelatory dialogues, has been appended to each group of apocalypses. These writings overlap with various aspects of the apocalypses either in manner of revelation or in content, but fail to satisfy the definition at some point. However, this material is extremely important for the broader phenomena of apocalypticism and revelatory literature and for the light it sheds on the function of elements which it shares with the apocalyptic paradigm.

Conclusion

This study represents only the first stage in the analysis of the apocalypses and points to the need for much further study. However, it already permits some conclusions which modify widely held opinions about apocalypses.

1. It is in fact possible to identify a coherent and recognizable literary genre, which may appropriately be labelled "apocalypse" in the light of common scholarly terminology. Our use of this designation is consistent with much scholarly usage although we claim to be more precise and comprehensive.
2. This genre is represented in Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Greco-Roman and Persian literature. While the great majority of apocalypses come from the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is not possible to regard the genre as a purely Jewish and Christian phenomenon. The Greco-Roman apocalypses show a well-defined group of otherworldly journeys which appear to have developed independently in the Hellenic tradition.
3. The genre did not entirely die out in Judaism after the first century CE since it is attested in late texts such as Sefer Hekalot (3 Enoch).
4. The "historical" apocalypses which give prominence to reviews of history followed by cosmic transformation and on which many generalizations about "apocalyptic" are based, constitute only about one-third of the Jewish apocalypses and are extremely rare elsewhere. It is significant that the Persian Zand-ī Vohūman Yasn is of this type.
5. The correspondence between the Christian apocalypses and the non-"historical"Jewish apocalypses is very close.
6. A substantial number of Gnostic texts fit the definition of "apocalypse" despite their significant distinctive traits.

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S 259 THE PAUCITY OF SAYINGS IN MARK: A HYPOTHESIS

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The following paper was prepared for oral presentation, was read at the Spring, 1977 meeting of the Southwest Region of the Society of Biblical Literature. It is presented here, without changes, at the request of the Seminar chairman, David Aune. An expanded and documented version is in preparation.

While it is obvious to the casual reader of the synoptic gospels that Jesus in Mark is not as talkative as he is in either Matthew or Luke, we might begin by bringing this impression to sharp focus. (The following information is presented in tabular form at the end of this essay.) Mark contains 77 sayings-units which could have circulated independently of a narrative context. This number includes not only material usually classified as sayings material, but also the key pronouncements in apothegms and even the sayings in narrative material, if the saying could conceivably have circulated as an independent logion. Using this same broad definition, Matthew has 177 sayings-units. By a coincidence, Luke has exactly the same number, 177. Thus though Matthew and Luke are each about 1½ times as long as Mark, each has 2.3 times as many sayings. The same pattern holds true when words are counted. Mark's 77 sayings contain 3089 words, Matthew's 177 contain 9385, and Luke's 177 contain 8092. Mark's sayings-material is 27.5% of his gospel; Matthew's is 55.2% of the material which corresponds to Mark, and Luke's is 48.5%. Robert Morgenthaler's count, based on a more strict definition of what constitutes a sayings of Jesus, gives the following information: Mark, 2206 words of Jesus (21.2%); Matthew, 6462 words of Jesus (38%); and Luke, 5083 words of Jesus (30.5%).

Thus, both absolutely and relatively, and in terms of both number of sayings and number of words, and irrespective of whether 'saying' be defined broadly or narrowly, Mark has significantly less sayings material than either Matthew or Luke. Why this is the case has been perceived as a problem in the literature on Mark for almost 200 years.

The problem is magnified when one considers that Mark seems to be interested in Jesus as a teacher. Didaskalos is by far the most common "title" given to Jesus by others in the gospel, and it is used by Jesus of himself (14:14). Didaskō and didachē are used with reference to Jesus more than they are in either Matthew or Luke, despite Mark's smaller size. Likewise, Mark has an interest in the words of Jesus, as is seen not only in his including over 3000 of them, but also by repeatedly including such statements as 8:32 kai parresia ton logon elalei (cf. also 2:2, 4:14ff, 4:33). These considerations would lead one to expect more teaching of Jesus in Mark, and only makes more pressing the question, "Why so few?"

Within the framework of the Two-Source Hypothesis, this problem has usually been expressed by the question "Did Mark know Q?" Numbers of scholars may be cited on each side of this debate, with the same name occasionally appearing on both sides, as William Farmer seems to have enjoyed pointing out to the rest

of us. The dilemma is clear: If Mark did not know Q, then how account for the numerous places where he seems not only to overlap Q or Q-like materials, but to be excerpting from them? If he did know Q, given his interest in the words of Jesus, how account for his using so little of it, and for his selection? Why so few, and why these few? If the first hypothesis is correct, that Q existed in Mark's day but he was ignorant of it, then source criticism itself would offer a satisfactory answer to our problem: Mark recorded all or most of the sayings available to him, and there is no question of explaining major Markan 'omissions'. The same would be true for the view of Julius Wellhausen and Eduard Meyer, who argued that Q did not yet exist in Mark's day, and for B. H. Stanton, who argued that it existed, but had been only partially translated into Greek in Mark's time. All these have a satisfactory explanation for the paucity of sayings in Mark, if their presuppositions are granted. Few have been willing to do this. The more compelling case has been that Mark did know Q or a Q-like collection of sayings of Jesus. The chief argument against this has been, in fact, the lack of a satisfactory explanation as to why, if Mark knew Q, he used it so sparingly. (Moffatt, Streeter, Throckmorton, Montefiore, Redlich, Harnack.) Source criticism per se has not been able to present such an explanation.

When after WW I the energies of NT scholars shifted from source analysis to form criticism, the problem of the paucity of sayings in Mark was thus still on the agenda. Martin Dibelius attempted to explain the phenomenon in form critical categories by arguing that the narrative tradition and the sayings tradition were two separate traditions, each transmitted in its own Sitz im Leben. Since Mark was attempting to transcribe only the narrative tradition, "the fact that Mark does not give the material which we find in the Q sections of Matthew and Luke is not at all strange. Rather the question could be asked why Mark gives any sayings of Jesus in a form...arranged in little speeches." (From Tradition to Gospel, p. 260.) Dibelius' own solution was that in his own eyes Mark did not in fact present speeches of Jesus, but regarded all the sayings material he records as narrative. The weakness of this attempted solution becomes the more apparent when it forces him to regard even chapters 4 and 13 as in Mark's eyes "transformed to some extent into narrative." (p. 260) The sayings material which Mark incidentally included then opened the door for Matthew and Luke to include the rest of the Q material. So Dibelius. Bultmann's solution is essentially the same, except that he saw Mark's inclusion of the apothegms as already forming a bridge to the rest of the sayings material; a bridge constructed by Mark but crossed first by Matthew and Luke. The problem remains, however, why it was that the author who bridged the great gulf which form criticism saw fixed between narrative and sayings failed to cross it himself.

Both source analysis and form criticism tended to appeal to external reasons--the sources or lack of them, the traditionsgeschichtlich situation--to explain the paucity of Markan sayings of Jesus. This is analogous to Alan Menzies' explanation that the size of papyrus rolls available to Mark prohibited his including more of the sayings-tradition.

We now turn to redaction critical attempts to explain our problem from within Mark's own purpose. Without attempting an exhaustive list of all such explanations--the literature on Mark offers at least a dozen--, I will briefly present four main

types of explanations which have some bearing on the hypothesis I am going to propose:

1. In the first type of explanation, Mark includes so little of the sayings tradition because he presupposes it as well-known in his community, affirms it, and writes to supplement it or to be supplemented by it. Already in 1866 Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer in the first edition of a series of commentaries destined to have many incarnations so argued, and many have followed in his train, including Johannes Weiss, the early Streeter and the early Rawlinson, B. W. Bacon, F. C. Grant, James Price. The value of this view is that it acknowledges Q or a similar sayings-collection to have played a significant role in the Markan church, which Mark had to come to terms with some way or other. But this explanation limps in portraying Mark as simply coexisting alongside the sayings tradition in that it does justice neither to the issue of why Mark used any of a tradition which he presupposed and affirmed, nor to the polemical orientation which many students find in Mark.

2. A second type of explanation pictures Mark as historicizing the sayings tradition, that is, including sayings of Jesus only incidentally in a document intended primarily to ground the kerygma in history by presenting narratives of the pre-Easter Jesus. This cluster of explanations frequently ascribes an anti-Gnostic Tendenz to Mark, as already in the work of F. C. Burkitt. Burkitt thought that in Mark's situation the kerygma was in danger of being swamped by the multiplication of material dealing with the post-Easter Jesus. Mark is pictured as witnessing to the risen one by presenting the words, but especially the deeds, of the pre-Easter Jesus. It is an incidental by-product of this process that relatively few sayings of Jesus were included. Although I believe an important insight is here, the specific issue of why, having included 77 sayings of Jesus in the pre-Easter frame, he declined to include other significant sayings available to him, remains unanswered.

3. This lack is somewhat remedied by the third group of hypotheses, which points to Mark's emphasis on the passion-resurrection kerygma as the key to his sparing use of sayings material. Morton Scott Enslin, for example, argued that Mark selected only those sayings which develop the conflict which leads to the cross. R. H. Lightfoot attempts to explain the two large blocks of sayings-material, chapters 4 and 13, by their appropriateness to the secrecy and suffering motifs which are bound up with Mark's passion kerygma. But sayings are included which would be difficult to relate to the passion theme (The Sower, the Seed Growing Secretly, the Things That Defile in 7:20-23, Permit the Children to Come, 10:14-16, and so on); and sayings in Q are excluded which would have strengthened the conflict theme which leads to the passion: The Preaching of John in Luke 3:7-9, and the woes in Luke 11:42ff for example.

4. A fourth type of explanation is represented by Eduard Schweizer and Éteinne Trocmé. While differing on many other points, Schweizer and Trocmé agree that Mark has so little of Q and Q-like material because he is basically opposed to this kind of material, that is, to the kind of Christianity it represents. Trocmé regards Mark's opponents as "A Christianity contaminated by rabbinic tradition in the matter of moral teaching and by a somewhat naively apocalyptic eschatology." This is Jerusalem

Christianity, he says, with its legalistic scruples, presenting the sayings tradition as the historical legacy of Jesus now binding on the church. Thus Trocmé's view on this point is a contemporary version of B. W. Bacon's view that Mark was a radical Paulinist who opposed anything that sounded like a new law.

Schweizer's version of this approach agrees that Mark is hesitant about using Q material because he opposes the theology implicit in it, but sees the objectionable element as being Q's tendency to 'historicize' Jesus, in the sense that Q binds Jesus' word to the past by repeating his words as authoritative teaching of a past figure. Mark, says Schweizer, wants the Jesus he writes about to address the reader/hearer in the present.

To review these four types of solutions to the paucity of sayings in Mark: 1. Mark presupposes the existence of Q or a similar collection. 2. Mark historicizes his material, relating them to the story of the pre-Easter Jesus. 3. Mark selects his material to correspond to his emphasis on the cross-resurrection kerygma. 4. Mark opposes some kind or kinds of Christianity represented to some extent by the speech materials. The hypothesis I would now like to propose draws together and extends these elements in previous hypotheses, and sees them all in terms of the phenomenon of Christian prophecy.

My hypothesis may be briefly stated: Mark has so few sayings of Jesus because he is suspicious of Christian prophecy as it is present in his community and expressed in the sayings tradition. He creates a new prophetic form intended as an alternative.

This hypothesis calls for understanding Q as Mark encountered it in his time and place as an expression of Christian prophecy. In such sayings-collections we have a rootless, rather ahistorical body of material in which the line between sayings of the pre-Easter Jesus and those of the Risen Lord would tend to disappear entirely. Such a collection would be quite open to the reception of fresh revelations of Jesus' word, and the contact with the teaching of the historical Jesus, and especially with his life which ended on a cross, would tend more and more to recede. Several recent studies of Q characterize it as a document both containing a considerable amount of early Christian prophecy, and representing a theology in which post-Easter revelations from the Risen Lord played a significant role. I refer to the work of Perrin, Edwards, Hoffmann, and Schultz in particular. Although I think the prophetic aspect of Q needs to be stated more precisely and more carefully documented, in general I agree with this characterization of Q as it appeared in Mark's time and place. Although I agree with Trocmé and Schweizer that in Mark there is a certain reaction against Q, I suggest that it was not a rabbinic Q against which Mark was reacting, but a prophetic one.

This prophetic aspect of Mark's opponents is an interpretive key to Mark which should be followed up. A number of recent authors regard the opposition party in Mark's church to be theoi andres types who advocate a theios aner christology. While this thesis has proven to be a helpful approach to Mark's theology, the term theios aner, as well as the figure denoted by it, have turned out to be somewhat difficult to pin down. Some students of Mark who understand him to be struggling against a theios aner christology have noted points of contact between the

figure of the theios aner and the prophet. I would suggest that these prophetic aspects of Mark's opponents should be investigated more carefully. Since theios aner and prophets shared several characteristics, one need not feel compelled to choose between the theios aner and the prophet as the representative Markan opponent. Still, it is of the utmost importance to note that the church's only opponents specifically named in the Gospel itself are called pseudochristoi kai pseudoprophetai (13:22). The kai may best be understood as epexegetical. One category of opponents is described, who speak as christos, who call themselves prophetai and are so called by others, and whose trademark is that they come epi tō onomati Iēsou (13:6) as the prophets of Matthew 7:22. This latter I would regard as a revelatory, but not necessarily messianic, self-designation. The epi tō onomati mou then means to come in the authority of Jesus'name, as the prophets did; it does not mean a claim to be the messiah or the already-returned Jesus. Mark's opponents are therefore inner-church prophetic figures, not extra-church messianic claimants.

Had we time, we might pursue the anti-prophet motif in Mark. It comes to expression, for instance, in the fact that, except for the proverb in 6:4, Jesus is only twice called prophet in Mark, 6:15 and 8:18, in each case clearly to be taken as a misunderstanding. It is worthy of note that Matthew and Luke in these passages, each in his own way, denies only that Jesus is one of the OT prophets who has risen. Mark denies categorically that Jesus is heis tōn prophetōn, period. An anti-prophet motif is here at work.

Now comes a peculiar point. Mark is also pro-prophet, is in fact a prophet himself, if prophet be defined as one through whom the Risen Lord speaks. In the Gospel of Mark, it is indeed the Risen Lord who addresses the readers' own present, not merely a historical figure whose words are simply reported and repeated. This aspect of Mark's presentation of Jesus has been often noted, and sometimes made central to Mark's intent, as in Willi Marxsen's pioneering redaction-critical work. The particular scholar to whom I would like to respond, however, is one who has expressed this theme in numerous works, and whose work on Mark has been a stimulus and challenge to us all: the late Norman Perrin. Some representative quotations, all of which I would regard as supporting my hypothesis, as follows:

Concerning 8:31-9:1 Perrin wrote: "In this teaching the Risen Lord is addressing Mark's readers and the teaching itself reveals the reality of their situation: they are looking back upon the cross and forward to the parousia." (From "Toward An Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," in Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage, p. 33.)

From the same essay, p. 53: "In the Gospel Jesus directly addresses Mark's readers, and not only in the apocalyptic discourse...the teaching which Jesus gives is directed towards the actual situation and problems of the Markan church." The concluding words of this seminal essay suggest that Mark is closer to John of Patmos than to the other synoptic gospels, and indicates that the Gospel of Mark as a whole is appropriately designated an "apocalypse."(p. 61)

The final section of What is Redaction Criticism entitled "The Nature of a Gospel," in which Perrin is generalizing from Mark, indicates that, although Mark is a combination of tradition

and redaction, the evangelist's own work is to be ranked with "the free creativity of prophets." Again, this book concludes by comparing the motivation of Mark (Perrin says 'the Gospels,' but he elsewhere distinguishes Mark from Matthew and Luke on this point) to that of the seven letters to the churches in Revelation. The form is different, but both are the prophetic address of the Risen Lord to his church. (What is Redaction Criticism, 77-78.)

Perrin's NT Introduction states that Mark is an apocalypse in purpose, though narrative in form. Mark is thus a narrative apocalypse (p. 162). I would prefer the term "narrative prophecy," but this is of minor importance since John of Patmos, the figure with whom Perrin is comparing Mark, uses apokalypsis and propheteis interchangeable.

The anti-prophetic note we have discussed above thus appears to be sounded by one who himself functions as a prophet. Though Kelber is speaking of the content of the Markan message when he writes "Mark's so-called anti-apocalypticism is an integral part of his fundamental apocalypticism," this could be legitimately be re-phrased in terms of Mark's role and function as well: Mark's anti-prophetism is a part of his own prophetism. Mark does not oppose the view that the Risen Lord still speaks--he is an exponent of this view. What he opposes is the view that the Risen Lord comes to speech in the collections of sayings such as Q which were so open to being considered the post-Easter address of the exalted Lord, an address no longer grounded in history. Such collections were not only composed of material much of which did in fact come into being after Easter, they were open to this interpretation en toto and to continued growth and expansion by the Risen Lord. Thus it is not because Q tended to 'historicize' Jesus that Mark is hesitant to use it, as Trocmé and Schweizer think, but for precisely the opposite reason: Q is already too much the present address of a lord who, as presented in the Q-form threatens to float loose from history entirely.

To counteract this tendency, Mark took a step at once paradoxical and radical: he presented the message of the living Lord in a narrative form in which the post-Easter Jesus, in the narrative story-line, says nothing. His message is confined entirely to the pre-Easter framework of the Gospel form which Mark devised for this purpose. There is an intentional dialectic here. It is no accident that Mark ends at 16:8 with the announcement that Jesus is risen, but without his having appeared. To tell an appearance story is to have the risen Lord speak in an undialectical way, and to open the door to a flood of post-Easter revelations of which Mark is very critical.

This dialectic may also be helpful in understanding Mark's view of the presence and absence of Jesus with his church. Of late numerous scholars have pointed to the absence of Jesus from the resurrection to the parousia as an important Markan theme. This argument is well supported by arguments from the empty tomb and lord's supper pericopes. But there seems to be another, equally important emphasis in Mark, which emphasizes that the Jesus of the gospel is present, dealing with the disciples in Mark's day. The story of 6:45-52, for instance, pictures the disciples alone in the boat in the midst of the sea, in great trouble, basanizomenos. It is impossible that Jesus can come to them; and yet he comes, even though they disbelieve and misunderstand, and makes himself known with his revelatory, prophetic ego eimi. (Ego eimi is used only 3x in Mark; here, 13:6,

and 14:62. It is properly Jesus' word, falsely used by the prophets Mark opposes.) Thus Kelber is right both when he says in The Passion in Mark, p. 164: "the absence of Jesus is thus a presiding feature in the Markan Gospel," and when he says in The Kingdom in Mark, p. 5 "The gospel functions in such a manner as to extend Jesus into the Markan present." Jesus is not present physically, nor in terms of resurrection appearances, nor mystically, nor sacramentally. And he is not only absent, he is silent. He speaks neither directly as Christian prophets deliver new post-Easter revelations in his name, nor is the word of the post-Easter Jesus mediated by prophetic sayings-collections such as Q. Mark avoids Q and has few Q-type sayings for this very reason. But neither is Jesus absolutely absent or mute. He is present and speaks prophetically, as he addresses the Markan community through the Markan Gospel.

Mark
There are 77 sayings which could have circulated independently.
These 77 sayings contain 3089 words. (Morgenthaler:* 2206 words in "logia")
Mark 1:1-16:8 contains 11,242 words.
Sayings of Jesus represent 27.5% of Mark. (21.2% using Morgenthaler's count)

Matthew
There are 177 sayings of Jesus which could have circulated independently.
These 177 sayings contain 9385 words, 3.03 times as many as Mark.
(Morgenthaler: 6462 words in "logia")
Matthew 3:1-28:10 contains 16,996 words.**
Sayings of Jesus represent 55.2% of Matthew's account of Jesus' ministry. (Morgenthaler: 38%)

Luke
There are 177 sayings of Jesus which could have circulated independently.
These 177 sayings contain 8092 words, 2.6 times as many as Mark.
(Morgenthaler: 5083 words in "logia")
Luke 3:1-24:11 contains 16,693 words.**
Sayings of Jesus represent 48.5% of Luke's account of Jesus' ministry. (Morgenthaler: 30.5%)

*Robert Morgenthaler, Statistische Synopse (Aürich: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1971)

**Matthew 3:1-28:10 and Luke 3:1-24:11 correspond to Mark 1:1-16:8, the account of Jesus' ministry. If Matthew 1:1-28:18 is calculated, Matthew has 51.3% words of Jesus. If Luke 1:1-24:53 is calculated, Luke has 41.7% words of Jesus.

S 261 CHRISTIAN PROPHECY AND MATTHEW 12:38-42
A TEST EXEGESIS

Arno M. Hutchinson, Jr.

In approaching Matthew 12:38-42 to determine whether any or all of it is from an early Christian prophet, a word of the post-Resurrection Christ, we are quickly confronted by two widespread assumptions which, on a closer look, prove doubtful. Both of these assumptions appear to be involved in some conclusions drawn by Rudolf Bultmann and others.

Though we owe much to Bultmann for his work in form criticism, we fault his assumption that a keynote of the scientific method is a discovery procedure. Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at MIT, has criticized a similar tendency found among many linguistic scholars of the last fifty years.[1] He notes, for one thing, that it is not important what the source of a theory was. What is important is that it be possible to test whether it is true or false. Furthermore, it is important to note that even that can often not be done in any absolute way. Rather, we must often determine which of two or more competing theories is the more probable.

Much of what Bultmann has to say also seems to carry the hidden assumption that Jesus gave his sayings in only one form, or else that only one form was preserved in each case (if that).[2] As to the first part of that assumption, we refer once more to Chomsky. He is the founder of a 'school' of linguistics which in the last twenty years has revolutionized the field. One of their findings has been the enormous creativity of human language. It is shown to be qualitatively different from the communication systems of other known creatures. While the latter are quite limited in the number of messages they can carry, human language has almost limitless possibilities in this respect.

George Miller, psychologist and linguistics researcher at Rockefeller University, has pointed out that for a speaker of English to say every twenty-word sentence of the language which was grammatical and only those sentences would require a hundred billion centuries.[3] He further notes that for this and other reasons it is highly unlikely that anyone will speak exactly the same sentence twice (except for cliches and quotes and even those are often unconsciously changed). Studies of human language production in everyday life tend to confirm this conclusion.

Add to the foregoing the fact that Jesus traveled about teaching in various communities to different audiences and the likelihood of several versions of sayings by Jesus becomes great. Even the sign saying was probably repeated considering the prevalent human desire for a sign that even today is evident. Furthermore, since it is likely that people in several different communities treasured Jesus' words even when they regarded him as no more than a great wise man, and since far greater reliance was placed on memory in biblical days, it seems probable that several forms of a number of his sayings were passed on for a considerable time.

In dealing with Matthew 12:38-42 and with its three parallels, then, we must beware the tendency exhibited by Bultmann and others to assume that any variations in form are due to later hands or that any saying that could be of post-Resurrection origin must be so regarded. Instead, a truly scientific approach requires that we deal with probabilities and weigh

every view purely on its merits as compared to the other possibilities.

Possible Sources for Change

We must ask, then, what are the possible sources for change in sayings attributed to Jesus. These sources must also include the creation of new sayings so attributed but from a post-Resurrection source. As we see it, the possible sources are the following:

(1) A change was made by the pre-Resurrection Jesus.

(2) A conscious creation of someone in order to promote some aim or purpose.

(3) An unconscious change made by someone in the process of retelling or passing on the words.

(4) A translation error.

(5) An utterance of an inspired Christian prophet (understood as a word of the Risen Lord equals the pre-Resurrection Jesus).

Probably by reason of the unconscious influence of the assumptions we noted earlier, the first possibility seems to have seldom been considered by scholars in recent decades. As we noted, however, it should be considered and its probability weighed openly and consciously in each case. Unconscious judgements are all too apt to be faulty.

The second of the possible sources for change, conscious creation to promote some aim, has quite often been used to explain changes, though not expressed so bluntly.[4] Yet a close examination of what is involved psychologically raises doubts as to its validity. For someone dedicated to Jesus as Savior and Lord to consciously alter his words to something different than he intended to say calls for that person to violate Jesus' call for an end to pretence and hypocracy. For Matthew in particular this seems to demand a schizophrenic attitude since he includes many of Jesus' condemnations of hypocracy, of claims to be serving one set of ethical standards while actually serving a different set (6:1-7:5, 15-27).

We do need to modify the foregoing to some extent, though. It is possible that some words were added to one or another of Jesus' sayings, or a new saying coined, by a teacher or preacher as a way of carrying out their Christian task. Even though the person creating the new words did not intend them to be taken as words spoken by either the pre- or post-Resurrection Christ they might be so understood by someone in the immediate audience or someone hearing or reading them later. There do seem, for example, to be cases in the Old Testament where marginal notes came in time to be part of the main body of a work, even of someone's statement.

It might be noted as well that the words above apply only to the saying portion and not to the framework. The latter does not involve the same sort of psychological inhibitions as the sayings. (This is supported by a study made by Theodore Rosché of Matthew and Luke's use of Mark.)[5]

Unconscious changes, as suggested in the third source, tend to be limited to small changes at any one time. When a person is trying to accurately repeat words he has heard he often makes changes without realizing it. A good example of this type of change might be the adjectives "evil and adul-

terous" in Matthew 12:39 and 16:4 where Mark has "this" before "generation". The words "of the prophet" in Matthew 12:40 before "Jonah" where no modifier appears in Matthew 16:4 or in Luke would be another possible result of an unconscious change. Larger changes could develop in this way by small increments but this would considerably limit the type of change. (Of course where there is no psychologically inhibiting factor such as noted in regard to source 2 the individual changes could be larger.)

The fourth source, or translation errors, also tends to be limited to small changes. These changes usually involve a single word in the source language.

The longer changes would appear most likely to have come from source five, if not from one. The type five change does not violate any psychological principles since the source is considered to be the living Christ continuing the work he began as the pre-Resurrection Jesus. These inspired utterances would not be limited to spoken words but could also include writing under divine influence (e.g., as a writer of a gospel).

Analysis of the Sign Sayings

Just as Transformational Grammar[6] has revealed the enormous creativity of human language, it has also shown that such language is far more systematic than had earlier been supposed, especially by those who had appreciated its creativity. For this reason we find in TG the means for analyzing complex sentences into their various structural components. In particular, we are able, in the present instance, to break down the sign sayings into the 'kernel sentences'[7] from which they are formed. In this way we are enabled to better compare the various versions of the saying.

If we begin with Mark 8:11-12 as the basis for comparison, since it is the shortest form, we discover that it and Matthew 16:1-4 share four kernels almost wholly and two partially. Luke 11:29-32 shares three almost wholly and one in part. Matthew 12:38-42, however, shares only one to a high degree and two partly. Thus Mt. 12:38-42 has least in common with Mark and Mt. 16:1-4 has most in common with it. We note also that every kernel found in both Mark and Mt. 12:38-42 is also found in the other two versions. Furthermore, those three basic sentences would appear to be at the very heart of all forms of the saying.

The first of the three kernel sentences in question is:[8]

Mk. 8:12 - "Jesus says S"
Mt. 12:39 - "Jesus said to the Scribes S"

The second kernel reads:

Mk. 8:12 - " [Q] the X generation seeks a sign"
Mt. 12:39 - "An X generation seeks-after a sign"

Finally, the last kernel is:

Mk. 8:12 - "Y [Cond][Pass] God will give a sign to X generation"
Mt. 12:39 - " [Neg][Pass] And God will give a sign to X generation"

If we use Mt. 12:38-42 as the basis for comparison, we note some new facts, although nothing to change our above comments. There are still only three kernels shared in part or in main with Mark, and seven with Mt. 16:1-4, but there are 34 shared with Luke and only four of those are just partly shared. How-

ever, 27 come in the last two verses of each of those versions.

We might note again that the central point of the sayings seems to be the request for a sign followed by Jesus' refusal of a sign, and, again, this also happens to be the one area in which all four versions have quite a bit in common. It is the only area in which Mt. 12:38-42 and Mk. 8:11-12 have substantial agreement.

This would seem to make somewhat probable the view that the original form of the waying was somewhat like what is found in that portion. Was the original as found in Mk. 8:12, which George Wesley Buchanan sees as a minced oath (for which he presents a good case),[9] or was it more like the form found in Mt. chapters 12 and 16 and Lk. 11:29, which is a negative statement.

The words in Mk. 8:12: "Amen, I tell you, if will be given to this generation a sign" minus "I tell you" are only a part of the complete oath. (Buchanan believes λεγω ὑμιν, "I tell you", was added by someone to smooth out the Greek. He cites the fact that it is missing from P45W.) Part of the oath was understood. According to Buchanan there were three parts to it:

(1) A statement of the curses to fall on the individual if the stated conditions occur.

(2) "Amen" ("Truly") which means acceptance of (1).

(3) The conditions under which the curses will take effect on the speaker.

In Mk. 8:12 parts (2) and (3) appear, but (1) is understood. The existence of such an oath is established by five examples from the Talmud.

The other basic form, somewhat as found in Mt. chapters 12 and 16 and Lk. 11:29 appears to be simply a negative statement. Buchanan thinks this is also an oath and cites some evidence for the view. However, this case is not nearly as clear as the other.

Considering the foregoing, what are the probabilities, pro and con, for different possible origins for the differences?

If we assume that Jesus made at least some of the changes in the pre-Resurrection period, which of the two basic forms we have noted would have greatest claim to be the first? In answer, we see it as more likely that Jesus went from an oath to a simple negative statement than vice versa. In this respect we note the words credited to Jesus in Mt. 5:33-37, particularly vs. 37: "Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No'; anything more than this comes from evil."

Those words found in Matthew 5:37 sound very unlike anything that might have originated elsewhere than from the pre-Resurrection Jesus. If, then, Jesus used an oath in reply to a request for a sign, it seems likely any change on Jesus' part would be from an oath to a non-oath. The oath might easily have occurred on the first occasion as an impulsive reaction. On any later occasion mature reflection would likely have interceded and Jesus would have decided a non-oath was preferable. His view seems to have been that oaths ought not to be necessary: a person's character should be such that a simple "Yes" or "No" statement would be accepted as having the same value as an oath.

On the other hand, if we assume one form (or both) was of later post-Resurrection origin, what are the probabilities?

Since the oath form was a Semitic one not indigenous to Greek, it appears unlikely it would have been the secondary form. The other form is much more at home in a Greek milieu. But it could equally well have come from Hebrew or Aramaic. If one of the forms was from a later post-Resurrection source, however, that one seems the more likely candidate.

One reason the non-Markan form is often considered to be of post-Resurrection origin is the common tendency to link it with Mt. 12:40: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so will the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." This linkage occurs because all three of the non-Markan versions contain at the end of the Markan words: "except the sign of (the prophet) Jonah."

The fact that there is no necessary connection between those words and Mt. 12:40 is seen in Luke where instead of Matthew's words we have (11:30): "For as Jonah became a sign to the men of Nineveh, so will the Son of man be to this generation." Since the 'whale' episode was not known to the Ninevites, the 'sign' had to be Jonah himself or his message. It is easy to imagine Jesus, with the humor we note elsewhere,[10] offering to his hearers a 'sign' they would not regard as a sign. This would not at all violate his feelings about signs.

Thus, even Luke 11:30 could easily have come from the pre-Resurrection Jesus. Any words that came from that source, certainly could not have come through early Christian prophets (although, of course, we have not proved 11:30 came from the pre-Resurrection Jesus).

Another Viewpoint

It might be well at this point to consider another viewpoint, that of Paul Meyer.[11] He reconstructs what he believes was the probable Q form of the saying. He divides it into four parts. Part I is essentially the first part of Mt. 16:4 up to but not including "except the sign of Jonah" which is part II. Part III is basically as found in Luke 11:30, and IV is in a similar relation to Luke 11:31-32. Meyer makes only some minor changes in those forms.

Paul Meyer argues that it was an early Christian prophet who added the words "except the sign of Jonah". He believes that for that individual the faith of Gentiles in Christ was a condemnation of those Jews who rejected him. Furthermore, he also created part III and used parts II and III to bind together all four parts into one message. (He sees parts I and IV as of independent origin.) This message was that just as the words of Jonah were accepted by the Gentiles of his day, the words of Jesus were not being accepted by Gentiles. Also, as stated in Luke 11:31-32, because the Jews do not accept Jesus and his message, in the general resurrection they will be condemned by the Gentiles. Meyer sees the sign of Jonah as a sign to the Jews in the case of Jonah as well as in the case of Jesus.

The case presented by Paul Meyer is good but it does have some weaknesses. One is his assumption that "except the sign of Jonah" could not be from Jesus. His argument against these words being from Jesus is not clear. In fact, it is not even certain that this is what he is arguing against. He does speak against the idea that section II ever circulated apart from section IV, at least in conjunction with I. Since he gives no reason why these words should not be regarded as from the pre-

Resurrection Jesus, his case is considerably weakened.

In regard to section III, Meyer has a stronger case. Nevertheless, his failure once more to really consider the probabilities for and against the pre-Easter Jesus being the creator of part III have weakened his presentation. In his favor is the fact that it is probable that someone other than the pre-Resurrection Jesus put all four parts together. This conclusion is based partly on the improbability that the words "a greater than Solomon is here" and "a greater than Jonah is here" are from the same Jesus revealed in much of the Synoptics. There we find a picture of humility into which such words do not fit.

Meyer's reconstruction of the Q form of the saying has a strong ring of authenticity but does not really require the assumption that "except the sign of Jonah" as well as section III must have been the creations of an "anonymous prophet" used to tie together sections I and IV. If one form of the sign saying as it came from the pre-Easter Jesus included both sections I and II, the prophet could have added section III to tie the first two sections to section IV.

When we turn to Matthew's form of section III, it seems clearer that the probabilities are against those words being from the pre-Resurrection Jesus (12:40): "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so will the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Those words seem to presuppose a knowledge of the events of Good Friday to Easter.

It would appear, then, that the form of the sign saying that would have greatest claim for being from an early Christian prophet, considering what we said earlier in regard to the various possible sources, would be Mt. 12:38-42. Next in line would be Luke 11:29-32.

There seems to be nothing in the saying as it is found in Mt. 16:1-4 that really raises great difficulties to its being from the pre-Resurrection Jesus. Vs. 4 contains what we have noted to be the central base of the various sayings. Vss. 2 and 3 contain a saying that has a semi-parallel in Lk. 12:54-56. The parallel is not really close enough to indicate clearly an independent origin for Mt. 16:2-3. Therefore, 16:2-4 may be essentially one way in which Jesus gave the saying.

Of all the forms, Mk. 8:12 seems to have greatest claim for originality. Not only is it the shortest, but it involves no exceptions, and seems clearly to be a Semitic oath form.

We are left, then, with Mt. 12:38-42 and Lk. 11:29-32 as the forms with the clearest claim to have come from early Christian prophets and represent words of the Risen Lord.

NOTES

1. See, e.g. Syntactic Structures ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957) 50-53. Also see Reflections on Language (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1975) 139-66, 183-90, and Robert B. Lees, "Review of Syntactic Structures," Language 33 (1957) 375-81.

2. See, e.g. The History of the Synoptic Tradition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968) 6-7, 381-2 plus numerous other pages. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), Willi Marxsen, Mark the Evangelist (Nashville: Abingdon, 1969), Klaus Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's, 1969) and others.

3. Psychology of Communication (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1967) 80.

4. See, e.g. S. Vernon McCasland, "Matthew Twists the Scripture," JBL 80 (1961) 143-48; Howard C. Kee, "Mark as Redactor and Theologian," JBL 90 (1971) 333-36; Howard M. Teeple, "The Oral Tradition That Never Existed," JBL 89 (1970) 56-68. (The first and last are extreme examples.) Also note the comments of Daniel Patte, What Is Structural Exegesis? (Phila.: Fortress Press, 1976) 11-12.

5. "The Words of Jesus and the Future of the Q Hypothesis," JBL 79 (1960) 210-20.

6. The popular name for the Chomskian 'school' of linguistics.

7. 'Kernel sentence' is used essentially to refer to the basic form from which several more complex forms may be (at least in part) derived by application of various rules.

8. The meaning of the symbols used is: S = sentence, Q = question, X = modifier to be supplied from a separate kernel, Y = protasis of a conditional statement, Cond = conditional, Pass = passive, Neg = negative.

9. "Some Vowel and Oath Formulas in the New Testament," HTR 58 (1965) 319-26.

10. See, e.g. Mt. 8:22; 11:16-21; 16:18; 22:15-21; Lk. 6:41-42.

11. "The Gentile Mission in Q," JBL 89 (1970) 405-17.

S 262 BODY AND SOUL: ORPHIC ANTHROPOLOGY

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Among the more controversial topics in the study of ancient Greek religion is Orphism./1/ In this paper I will examine certain passages--identified as Orphic by direct attestation or by inferential argumentation--whose bearing on anthropological and soteriological themes is unmistakable. The passages are found mainly in Aristotle and Plato.

1. Aristotle, de Anima 1.5 410b 27-30./2/ The context of the passage indicates that Aristotle explicitly rejects the view that the body and the soul are distinct. He does, however, mention by name a group of stories which put forth such a notion, the Pythagorean writings. His own view, of course, is that the soul is the form of the body, and consequently he considers absurd the contention that a given soul can make its way into a variety of bodies. Aristotle's objection to the Orphic view is quite different from his objection to the Pythagorean notion. The Orphic view, in his opinion, is not so much wrong as limited: the Orphic assertion that the soul enters the body from the air in the act of breathing cannot account for the manner in which the soul enters plants and those animals which do not breathe. It also assumes that the soul is separable from the body.

Several conditions necessary for a theory of reincarnation are present in the poems to which Aristotle has reference, viz., a soul which is pre-existent to its entry to a body and which is detachable from a body. But since Aristotle does not censure the Orphics for holding the same view he condemns in the Pythagoreans, there seems to be good reason for doubting whether the Orphic literature ever contained such a theory./4/ The conclusion which may be drawn from our passage is that the Orphics considered the soul to be separable from the body, and that the soul is borne into the body by the winds through breathing.

2. Aristotle, de Generatione Animalium 2.1 734a 16-21. In the preceding lines, Aristotle had suggested that the soul is not fashioned by an external agent but is somehow "existing in the semen from the outset." The remaining problem, then, is the development of the body: is it formed simultaneously or successively? The writings ascribed to Orpheus opted for a successive development; as a net is woven, so the body grows and develops. An important contrast emerges: the soul is distinct from the body which it enters "ready made," whereas the body is subject to progression, change, and development. Aristotle's passage refers only to the Orphic statement about the formation of the body, and contains no mention of its dissolution; the implication, however, is that as the body grows, it grows older and finally dies. If the implication is drawn legitimately, the further conclusion is that both birth and death are natural and inescapable features of the body. Very different, however, is the soul, for it existed prior to the body and was considered to be separable from it.

The information Aristotle provides about the Orphics

suggests that they though the body and soul to be distinct and separable, and, further, that the soul pre-existed the body "in the sky" whence it entered the body. Concerning the reasons for which the soul enters the body, we must turn to Plato's statements about Orphism.

3. Plato, Cratylus 400c./5/ It is clear that Plato attributes something to the Orphic poets or the Orphic literature, as the phrase οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφέα unmistakably indicates./6/ The derivation of σῶμα from σῴζειν is clearly Orphic in Plato's passage. The second derivation of σῶμα has the word refer to σῆμα from σημαίνειν; the Orphics may or may not have held this, but in either case there is no evidence in Plato for either option. The third derivation also refers to σῆμα but clearly in the sense of "buried in a tomb." Certainly, three derivations are given, and the question is: how similar are "tomb" and "prison?" Does incarceration in a prison "until the penalty is paid? bear the same meaning as "buried in a tomb?" Fortunately, help is found in Gorgias 493a. Here the equation of body-tomb is clearly not Orphic, as Linforth has shown, on the grounds that the Gorgias argues a case which excludes the body as a prison which keeps the soul safe, but requires the body as a tomb./7/ Guthrie's assertion, then, that the body-tomb and body-prison formulations in the Cratylus are also found in the Gorgias rests on the prior assertion that the tomb and prison images are identical. In any case, both images are found in the Cratylus but only the body-tomb formulation is found at this point in the Gorgias; to assert that they are identical is to assume what must be proved. What is clearly Orphic in the Cratylus is more limited and also more certain; unfortunately, neither Dodds nor Linforth pursues the argument beyond the negative conclusions that the Orphic literature did not contain references to the body as tomb but only to the body as prison.

The Cratylus permits us to say that the Orphics claimed that the soul is distinct from the body in the same way that an object is within an enclosure; they are different sorts of entities. Thus far Plato and Aristotle attribute similar statements to the Orphics: body and soul are separable. Secondly, there can be little doubt that Plato regarded the soul's imprisonment in the body as a predominant theme in the Orphic materials available to him. The imprisonment of the soul is contrasted, as we have seen, to the body-as-tomb; were there a connection between the two assertions, the contrast would have been mitigated./8/ Thirdly, this passage indicates something--though frustratingly little--of the reason for which the soul was incarcerated in the body. While in the body the soul is being punished, and upon payment of the penalty it will presumably be set free./9/ In fact, the soul's stay in the body is both a punishment and a time of acquiring freedom or liberation (ἵνα σῴζηται). Life in the body, i.e., the soul in the body, is, therefore, both a contamination or punishment and the opportunity to achieve freedom or liberation. But of the crime that caused the incarceration and the means of paying the penalty this passages tells us nothing.

We can conclude, in general, that the Cratylus provides no evidence for saying that the Orphics viewed the body as the source of evil. Rather the body and soul are distinct; the soul exists within its prison (the body) for safe-keeping until it achieves its freedom and its penalty is paid. Questions

regarding the crime, the penalty, and the soul's keeper (warden) and deliverer, however, are not answered in this material.

4. Plato, Phaedo 62b. Although the name Orpheus or the designation "Orphic" is not given as the source for the image, its identification as Orphic rests on the similarity to the same metaphor in the Cratylus which is expressly Orphic. As Guthrie points out, "it is scarcely rash to attribute it to the same source when it occurs in the Phaedo...."/10/

The problem with this passage, however, lies not so much in its identification as its interpretation. In the Cratylus δεσμωτήριον designates the bond which ties together soul and body until a certain penalty is paid. Here, in the Phaedo, however, Plato uses the word φρουρά. The problem is that φρουρά can mean either a "watch, guard, or look-out as a duty" or a "guard or garrison" or an "out-post." The context enables one to specify more clearly the meaning of the word and thus to eliminate the ambiguity. We read "that there are gods who look after us, and that we men are the possession of the gods."/11/ Assuming a correspondence between this phrase and the place where men are looked after, it follows that in this context it means the prison where those incarcerated are guarded. Also resolved are a number of questions left unanswered by the prison statement in the Cratylus. There we noted an absence of information concerning the guards who keep watch. In the Phaedo the answer is clearly given: the gods are the watchers or keepers of men. Plato also provides information about the relationship between gods and humans: men are one of the possessions of the gods. This statement suggests an Orphic view which differs from other Greek views of the relationship between men and gods. Here, in the case of the Orphic materials and the Phaedo in particular, we find an instance in Greek culture where humans are described as neither autochthonous nor as born from parents, but as creatures of the gods./12/

One can ask, again, whether in the Phaedo the soul guards the body or the body guards the soul. If the body guards the soul, then we must admit a discrepancy between the "body as prison" statement and the assertion that the gods watch humans, and Plato is caught in a simple contradiction./13/ It would, on this view, be the case when Plato says, "this much of the doctrine is true--that the gods watch over men," that the gods do not, in fact, keep watch over men. Yet Plato does not even hint that such a contradiction is found. We can only accept his word that the second statement is contained in the first statement. Nor is it the case that the soul guards the body, for that, too, would destroy the parallel between Plato's two assertions. Rather we are left with a different option: the body is a prison, i.e., the place where the soul is guarded./14/ And it is the gods who do the watching.

Thus neither the soul nor the body guards the other; the body is a place whose guard is the gods. In other words, men do not spring from the earth, nor yet from the union of gods and men, but instead are the special ward of the gods. This argument is buttressed by Plato's further assertion that the Orphics also held that men are the possession of the gods. That is, the gods do not dispense good and evil alike (in the famous

image of the jars of Zeus in the Odyssey), nor are men simply manipulated by the Zeus against whose rule no one--gods or mortals--can prevail. Humans are creatures of the gods, or, in the imagery of the Derveni commentary, of the creator and ruler who has many names, of which perhaps Zeus is the most apt./15/

There are important implications which are also contained in this Orphic view. We notice, in the first place, its obvious difference from other Greek views, and thus obtain a glimpse of the particularity of Orphism in its broader context in Greek religion./16/ It is insufficient, however, to point to the differences which marked Orphism as distinct from its background and to say what Orphism was not; it is necessary to give flesh to the bones we have discovered. If men are a special object of divine concerns, that concern is expressed through the image of man as a prisoner who is under the watch of the gods or even a god. That special concern is the liberation of man from his prison rather than the sole concern of maintenance of rule for which the Homeric and Hesiodic writings give evidence. What is new in Greek religion is a concept Orphism provided: the question of deity is incompletely treated when it is restricted to the issue of power and rule. More must be discussed, viz., man and the possibility of his release from whatever it is that schackles him.

Secondly, we have already discovered the constitution of humans as body and soul, but we have found, as yet, no explanation--beyond the protective and punative custody of the soul in the prison of the body--for the soul's entrance to the body, nor yet of the manner of its release. Helpful information can be found in Plato's reference to the Titans./17/

5. Plato, Laws 3 701b-c./18/ The particular actions which Plato ascribes to a Titanic effect are civil rebelliousness, disobedience to parents, breaking of laws, and most significant of all, disrespect to the gods--all of which are involved in the episode of the Titans' destruction of Dionysos.

The question that arises, however, is whether Plato is here referrring to an Orphic version of the Titan-Dionysos myth or merely drawing a point from a more general and widespread myth. Earlier I analyzed two similar passages in whch the Orphics were seen to have identified the "prison of the soul." There I observed that although the Orphics thought the soul to be undergoing a punishment for something, Plato provided no information about the crime or the deliverance from the effects of the crime. One of Plato's students does give help at this point.

6. Xenocrates, fr. 20./19/ The passage is from Olympiodoros, and reads, "We argue, with Xenocrates, that it(φρουρά) is the Titanic--and it is fulfilled in Dionysos." We have, in this passage, evidence which strongly supports the thesis that at least the rudiments of the Titan-Dionysos myth dates to the fourth century, that it was known to Plato, and that it may have formed the background of his explanations of the Orphic φρουρά. We also have the further evidence that the Titans are not "inside" humans or a part of a "dual human nature."

Quite the contrary; as a prisoner is within and surrounded by the walls of a prison, so the soul is "within" the Titans and limited by the boundaries they establish. And perhaps the most important of all the features of the Orphic prison image found in Xenocrates is the enigmatic phrase that Dionysos brings fulfillment. One wonders whether the Orphics saw in Dionysos a savior-god, one who sets free the human beings who are trapped and imprisoned, or, at least, the god who set himself free by returning to life after his dismemberment. Xenocrates' statement is suggestive, but further conclusions cannot be drawn. In any case, Dionysos and the Titans were deities whose acts exercised a particularly determinative effect on human beings, according to the Orphic view. The Titans are the prison, and Dionysos may be the liberator.

Plato says (Laws 3 701b-c) that when men exhibit rebellious behavior the reproduce and imitate (ἐπιδεικνῦσι καὶ μιμουμένοις) the Titans. Guthrie, Rohde, and Nilsson have interpreted this passage in the light of Olympiodoros' statement that human nature includes and consists of a Titanic element within itself. But if we read Plato in the light of the few and early references to the Titan-Dionysos myth but without the aid of Plato's much later commentator, a different conclusion emerges: man does not have within himself a Titanic-Dionysiac nature but instead is capable of acting in a manner or after the pattern of the Titans. This interpretation obviates a problem that cannot be resolved on the views of Guthrie, Rohde, and Nilsson. If the Titanic element in man were to refer to man's evil and mortal nature in contrast to the good and divine element of Dionysos, then the Titans must represent unambiguous evil. Also, the Titans would have to represent human mortality, especially if, with Guthrie, the Titanic is considered to be synonomous with the body. Yet the Titans represent good as well as evil in the Orphic accounts. And more seriously, the Titans were gods prior to their killing Dionysos and they remained divine after the act; there is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that the Titans were mortal or represent mortality, and yet Guthrie's argument requires this assumption. However, if one takes Plato's statement to mean that the Titans and Dionysos are models for humans to imitate, as Plato plainly indicates, then one can eliminate from the story and its interpretation a needless contradiction.

In conclusion, one may say that the Titan-Dionysos myth indicates a form of anthropological dualism in Orphism. My analysis suggests that it is not a dualism that is interior to man and divides his nature into composite and contradictory elements. The Orphic anthropological dualism rather follows from the conception of soul as distinct from but entering the body from the universe, and existing in the body where it is guarded or watched by the gods. The Titan-Dionysos references add to our information about this view by indicating that man can act as the Titans did. Again, one must insist that men are, in this case, imitating beings other than themselves. Ugo Bianchi appeals to both the Titan-Dionysos myth and the Laws to distinguish a "péché antecedent" which occurs prior to human existence and is the act of superhuman beings, from a "péché originel" which is an act of humans for which they bear their own responsibility./20/ We have seen, in the cosmological and anthropological evidence, that the act of the Titans is obviously an act they perform, but whose major consequence

is the establishment of patterns which humans imitate.

The Orphic anthropological dualism, then, includes a body-soul distinction and reference to the models of the Titans and Dionysos. A third feature becomes clear when we extract from the Derveni commentary (particularly Cols. 13, 14, and 15) information which is relevant at this point. The cosmos is subject to the law of change and to the passage of time; in fact, one feature of the logos of Zeus is his control of time, and all existing things, without exception, must come into and pass out of existence. Thus, what is true of the world is also true of man; in the words of the Derveni commentator, man, as the world, must come into and pass out of existence. Man is born, and he dies; all is part of the natural cycle of birth and death. But when we collate this evidence with the statements from Plato and Aristotle, we learn that the human soul is different from the human body. The body is not, however, earth-like and different thereby from the heavenly and divine soul. Since man is subject to the law of time, he is mortal, and when humans exhibit the behavior of the Titans, their mortality constitutes a distortion or a transgression against the cosmic order of the gods. The "Titanic nature" is not an "evil" but a distortion which apparently Dionysos rectifies.

NOTES

1. I shall use the word "Orphism" to designate a mood or an attitude or a structure of thought available to many writers in ancient Greece, from approximately the sixth century B.C.E; an important characteristic of this mood is a concern with the nature or constitution of human beings.

2. Scholarly comment on this passage is sparse. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), p. 151, merely indicates that Aristotle doubts the authorship of the poems because of the phrase ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἔπεσι καλουμένοις . My analysis of this text does not require authorship by Orpheus or even the assumption that there were Orphics; it is sufficient to know that poems were ascribed to Orphics. See Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Der Glaube der Hellenen (Berlin: Weidmann, 1932), 2: 199, on the distinction between Ὀρφικά and Ὀρφικοί.

3. Aristotle, de Anima 1.3 407b 22-27.

4. E.R. Dodds, The Greeks and The Irrational (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), p. 140 and p. 171, n. 94, claims that a theory of reincarnation may be "inferred without undue rashness." Yet merely because some of the conditions necessary for a theory of transmigration are given does not entail the conclusion that the Orphics held the theory.

5. At first sight, the passage attributes a soma-sema equation to the Orphic literature; if that is the case, strong foundation is found for an Orphic concept of human pre-mortem and post-mortem existence. Martin P. Nilsson, "Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements," Harvard Theological Review 28 (1935): 205-07, called the soma-sema idea the central Orphic doctrine, although he retracted the assertion and cast doubt on the identification as Orphic in his review of Orphée et l'Orphism by Louis Moulinier in Gnomon 28 (1956): 18. Wilamowitz, Glaube, 2: 199, asserted that soma-sema is Pytha-

gorean; Linforth, Arts, pp. 147-48, follows Wilamowitz but adds that three etymologies are given in the passage, body as tomb, as sign, and as prison. W.K.C. Guthrie, The Greeks and Their Gods (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), p. 311, persisted in identifying the soma-sema doctrine as Orphic on the grounds that there is no substantial difference between saying that the body is a tomb or the prison of the soul, since both metaphors indicate that the soul is alient to the body. Dodds, Greeks, p. 170, n. 87, demonstrates through careful grammatical analysis that the Orphics did not hold a soma-sema theory.

6. Linforth, Arts, p. 148, argues that the phrase is loose and uncertain, and moves without justification or explanation from saying that it refers to "Orpheus and those who shared his views" to saying that it refers to "that form of religious thought which finds expression in theology (in a wide sense) and in teletae." For our purposes it is sufficient that the phrase refer to an Orphic mood. Guthrie, Greeks, p. 311, n.2, quotes additional passages where similar phrases refer to the followers of a particular figure.

7. See Ivan M. Linforth, "Soul and Sieve in Plato's Gorgias," University of California Publications in Classical Philology 12 (1944): 296, and E.R. Dodds, Plato: Gorgias, a Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 300.

8. If Plato had seriously considered reincarnation to be an Orphic tenet, he would most likely have mentioned it in a context most amenable to the idea; in Republic 10 620a, he merely mentions that Orpheus' soul once inhabited a swan but does not say here or in the Cratylus that the body is a tomb which the soul will forsake for another tomb.

9. In Laws 10 909, only those guilty of high impiety, necromancy, and cheating the gods were not to be set free but had to remain in prison until death; others could be set free if they reformed.

10. Guthrie, Greeks, p. 311.

11. The translation is by R. Hackforth, Plato's Phaedon (reprint ed., New York and Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, n.d.), p. 36. P. Chantraine, "Sur l'emploi de ΚΤΗΜΑΤΑau sens de 'bétail,' chaptel," Revue de philologie 20(1946): 9, indicates that whereas κρήματαrefers to "material," κτῆμα refers to living creatures who are guarded, and thus suggests that Plato is referring to a place where the human animal is guarded by the "pasteur divin." R. Loriaux, "Note sur la ΦΡΟΥΡΑplatonicienne (Phédon, 62b-c)," Les études classiques 36 (1968): 33-35, rejects Charntraine's interpretation by insisting that the first part of Phaedo 62b refers to a guard but the second part indicates a different view in which Socrates departs from the Orphics to speak for himself; there is, however, little evidence to suggest that two different statements are included in Socrates' speech--and he does say, "this much is true," i.e., this much of the "secret saying."

12. Greek religion and philosophy, with few exceptions, know of no creation of man by the gods or by a god. The stories of Cadmus (Euripides, Phoenician Maidens 638-75), Jason (Apollodorus, Argonautica 3. 1186), Pelasgos (Pausanias, Hellados Periegeseos 8.1.4; Hesiod, Katalogoi Gynaikon; and Apollodorus, Bibliotheke 2.1.5), and Deucalion (Pindar, Olympian 9.42), indicate that the race of mortals sprang from the black earth. Perhaps the clearest statement of the autochthonous origin of humans is found in Isocrates, Panegyrikos 24.

There is a hint of an alternative in the myth of Prometheus who equips humans with the means of survival after they are fashioned from earth and fire, but Prometheus appears here, as elsewhere, as the culture-giver rather than as creator; see Plato, Protagoras 320d, and also Claude Lévi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, tr. Claire Jacobson and Brooks Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, 1963), p. 216.

13. Jeanne and Georges Roux, "A propos de Platon: réflexions en marge du Phédon (62b) et de Banquet," Revue de philologie 35 (1961): 208-09, and Loriaux, "Note sur la ΣΡΟΥΡΑ," p. 36, argue that this discrepancy exists. Loriaux does not demonstrate the descrepancy, and Raux vitiates this assertion ("Plato resorts to two different images") by admitting that the second image--gods as keepers--expresses the same idea as the first but with stronger force.

14. J.C.G. Strachan, "Who Did Forbid Suicide at Phaedo 62b?" Classical Quarterly, n.s. 20 (1970): 217-18, demonstrates convincingly the thesis that the suicide proscription is not Orphic-Pythagorean but instead "purely Orphic." Unfortunately he does not discuss the question of the one who guards the human beings--which question is raised by Plato's insistence that the gods are man's watchers.

15. Especially Col. 15. I have in mind here "creature" not in the sense of creating from nothing or a beginning in nothing, but rather to specify dependence on the divine world.

16. John Burnet, "The Socratic Doctrine of the Soul," Proceedings of the British Academy 7 (1915016): 249-51 and 57, argues on the basis of the Apology that the originality of Socrates--and the reason he received the death penalty--lay in his transformation of the word "ψυχη" and the attendant rejection of contemporary notions of man and his nature. Burnet indicates that "soul" came to mean "that which has to do with goodness and badness, wisdom and ignorance," and thus urged his fellow Athenians to "care for their souls above all else." Burnet further argues that the two disparate strands of Orphism and Ionian science were material upon which Socrates drew to revaluate and revolutionize the conception of man. If Burnet is convincing, and I think he is, we have both the uniqueness of Orphism and an indication of the opposition to it in its form adapted by Socrates.

17. The myth of the Titans and Dionysos is found in late and scattered references. It is frequently claimed that the myth has a uniquely Orphic character and, moreover, that it is the most important or cardinal myth of Orphism; see Erwin Rohde, Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks, 2 vols., tr. from the 8th ed. by W.B. Hillis (reprint ed., New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 2: 340; Nilsson, "Early Orphism," pp. 202-03; and W.K.C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (reprint ed., New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), pp. 107, 153, and 155. Linforth, Arts, p. 309, has strenuously objected on the grounds that the myth "did not stand out with particular importance among the multitude of myths which was swept into Orphic poetry." For my purposes, however, the point is not whether the myth as cardinal or merely incidental, but only that Plato's reference produces significant information--limited though it may be--about why the soul is in the body. Particularly I wish to call into question a conclusion frequently drawn from the myth: the Orphics held that humans bear a composite nature, partly Titanic (evil and bodily) and partly Dionysiac (good and of the soul), and that humans are, thus,

predisposed by their origins to a dissolution and death. And whether a doctrine of metempsychosis can be found in the myth is open to question; I argue that it is not the only, or even the most likely, conclusion that can be drawn from the data.

18. In earlier use of evidence from Plato and Aristotle, I observed the ascription of quotes or references to "those around Orpheus" or the tradition of "Orphic authorship" of the poems. In the case of Plato's mention of the "Titans of story" there is no such direct ascription to "the Orphics." The case for accepting it as an allusion to the Orphic account of the Titan-Dionysos myth rests on inference, and any conclusions drawn from the passage must remain tentative. Guthrie, Orpheus, p. 156, and Greeks, p. 320, accepts the passage as Orphic and as referring to the Titan-Dionysos myth, but he does not give grounds for either identification. Nilsson, "Early Orphism," p. 202, and Dodds, Greeks, pp. 156 and 176, n. 132, however, provide a convincing but nevertheless inferential identification of the passage as Orphic on the grounds that Plato cannot be referring only to the Hesiodic account of the war between the Olympians and the Titans, since in Plato the Titans are not the enemies of Zeus but only the principle of rebellion. Any other evidence suggesting that the Laws passage is Orphic is still more tenuous.

19. Xenocrates, fr. 20 in Richard Heinze, Xenocrates: Darstellung der Lehre und Sammlung der Fragmente (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1892), p. 166 and pp. 150-52 for Heinze's discussion of the fragment and its significance for the "soul's existence in the body." Linforth, Arts, pp. 337-38, accepts the fragment as "no doubt...an illusion to the myth of the dismemberment," but refuses to go further. Strachan, "Who Did Forbid Suicide," pp. 216-20, uses the fragment to prove that both the body-prison image and the ban on suicide in the Phaedo are derived from an exclusively Orphic source. For discussion of Olympiodoros' interpretation of the Xenocrates fragment, see Pierre Boyancé, "Xénocrate et les orphiques," Revue des études ancienne 50 (1948): 218-25.

20. Ugo Bianchi, "Péché originel et péché 'antecedent,'" Revue de l'histoire des religions 170 (1966): 118-20 and 124-26.

S 263 HOUSEHOLD ETHICAL CODES IN PERIPATETIC, NEOPYTHAGOREAN AND EARLY CHRISTIAN MORALISTS

David L. Balch

Several suggestions have been made about the origin of the household-duty-codes (Haustafeln) in Colossians 3:18-4:1, Ephesians 5:21-6:9 and other texts. Weidinger [1], following his teacher Dibelius, thought they were lightly Christianized versions of a STOIC code. Rengstorf argued that the material was specifically CHRISTIAN. [2] Schroeder found the most important parallels in HELLENISTIC JUDAISM, esp. Philo, The Decalogue 165-167, and concluded that Hellenistic Judaism developed this ethic out of the OT decalogue interpreted in light of Lev. 18-19. [3] In Christian circles the ethic functioned to oppose the social actualizing of Gal. 3:27-8, which had caused problems like those of I Cor. 7. [4] Crouch carefully studied the proposed Stoic parallels, concluded that this influence, while not to be denied, should be minimized, and that a greater role should be attributed to the ORIENTAL-JEWISH background of the form. [5] He finally stresses the parallels in Philo, De Hypothetica 7:14 and Josephus, Against Apion 190-219. [6] In Christianity the Haustafel became one aspect of the nomistic tendency of Pauline churches. [7] I suggest that the form with its three pairs was codified by ARISTOTLE and that the stress on authority-subordination is typical of classical Greek political ethics.

Weidinger [8] pointed in this direction by suggesting that his Stoic material was a repetition of similar material in Plato and Aristotle. The neglect of these sources in subsequent discussion was led to unnecessary confusion. The most important text, which demonstrates that the topos did exist and that it was not a Jewish or Christian innovation, is Aristotle, Pol. I 1253b 1ff.:

> And now that it is clear what are the component parts of the (city-) state, we have first of all to discuss household management (οἰκονομία); for every state is composed of households. Household management falls into departments corresponding to the parts of which the household in its turn is composed; and the household in its perfect form consists of slaves and freemen. The investigation of everything should begin with its smallest parts, and the primary and smallest parts of the household are MASTER AND SLAVE, HUSBAND AND WIFE, FATHER AND CHILDREN (δεσπότης καὶ δοῦλος, πόσις καὶ ἄλοχος, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ τέκνα); we ought therefore to examine the proper constitution and character of each of these THREE relationships, I mean that of mastership, that of marriage..., and thirdly the progenitive relationship.... There is also a department which some people consider the same as household management and others the most important part of it...; I mean what is called the art of getting wealth.

Following this text A. discusses the master-slave relationship at length, the same pair stressed in Col. and I Pt. Against those who think that this is contrary to nature because only conventional, A. argues that authority and subordination (τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι) are not only inevitable but also expedient (1253b 20ff.). His argument refers to analogies in composite things which are combined to make single wholes; a musical scale has a ruling principle, an animal has soul and body, and among human beings the male is by nature superior and the female inferior

(1254a 28ff.). This concern for authority and subordination is at the heart of the NT Haustafeln, as both Schroeder and Crouch perceived. [9] However, its primary source is neither the decalogue nor Oriental Judaism, but rather classical Greek political ethics. A. again mentions the three pairs and discusses the kind of authority to be exercised in each (1259a 37ff.), despotic rule over slaves, monarchical rule over children, and political rule over wives. Moraux, beginning with a text later in the book (III 1278b 30ff.), argues that this theory of the three kinds of rule was worked out by A. in his youth as a polemic against his teacher Plato, who assumed that all rule was basically similar. [10] Moraux calls A.'s theory "wholly novel" [11], and argues that it was worked out in an early major dialogue On Justice. The major themes treated were authority, justice and friendship. [12] A. also utilized this theory in NE VIII 1160b 23ff., where he again says that the relationship of father to sons is regal in type, and that the Persian type of paternal rule is wrong, since it is tyrannical, for the Persians use their sons as slaves. The relationship of husband to wife is in the nature of an aristocracy, although this can degenerate into an oligarchy, or even be reversed if the wife is an heiress and rules. It is noteworthy that in this text A. specifically disparages democratic relationships within a household (cp. Pol. V 1313b 34ff.; VI 1319b 27ff.; Cicero, Republic I 67). Many (most if ERA passes?) in contemporary democracies would disagree. A.'s discussion of justice in the relationnship of these pairs would provoke as much heat:

> Justice between master and slave and between father and child is not the same as absolute and political justice, but only analogous to them. For there is no such thing as injustice in the absolute sense towards what is one's own; and a chattel (i.e. a slave) or a child till it reaches a certain age and becomes independent, is, as it were, a part of oneself, and no one chooses to harm himself; hence there can be no injustice towards them, and therefore nothing just or unjust in the political sense. For these, as we saw, are embodied in law, and exist between persons whose relations are naturally regulated by law, that is, persons who share equally in ruling and being ruled. Hence justice exists in a fuller degree between husband and wife than between father and children, or master and slaves; in fact justice between husband and wife is domestic justice in the real sense, though this too is different from political justice. (NE V 1134b 9-18)

A basic problem with citing these texts from A. is that he had very little influence on the Hellenistic age, although more on the Roman age. This makes it important to trace the philosophical tradition to see whether the ideas were influential. The three pairs appear again in a discussion of justice in Magna Moralia I 1194b 5-28. The long debate about the authenticity of this work was settle d to the satisfaction of many by Dirlmeier, who argued that it was a compendium of Peripatetic doctrine produced in the second half of the second cent. B.C. [13] Despite the fact that Dirlmeier reversed himself and later argued for the authenticity of MM, his former arguments remained convincing to most. [14] Allen made the interesting suggestion that it was "a selective version of Peripatetic ethics that ... is designed to make converts from Stoicism." [15]

There are three pseudo-Aristotelian Oeconomica. According to Philodemus (c. 110-35 BC), the Epicurean contemporary of Cicero,

the first of these was from Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle as head of the school. Philodemus himself wrote a work On Household Management (περὶ οἰκονομίας). Although wives, children and slaves are discussed in these works, the typical Aristotelian concern to describe the relationship between three pairs does not appear. Most relevant here is that Philodemus in his work disputes Theophrastus' opinion that the manner of living with a wife properly belongs to the topic of household managing (p. 29, 12-15 Jensen). He objects to Theophrastus' treatment of how to handle property (34,7), and then presents at great length his own views on the topos (38,2ff.). One should not be concerned about how to live well at home, but how to use and keep one's property (38, 5-9). Philodemus is thus an illustration of Aristotle's observation (see the first text quoted above) that some distinguish between a discussion of reciprocal relationships and the art of getting wealth. The Haustafeln in Col. and Eph. are also illustrations of this possibility, but they discuss only the three pairs of relationships in the house. One might speculate about why they dropped the discussion of how to use one's property.

Philodemus' younger contemporary, Arius Didymus, a Stoic who was Augustus Caesar's friend and philosophical teacher, wrote an Epitome of Peripatetic doctrines which included a summary of their ethics. [16] H. von Arnim tried to prove that Didymus relied on an old handbook from the third cent. BC, but this has been convincingly denied. However, the final section in the handbook on Peripatetic "economics" and politics is very close to Aristotle's own discussion in Pol. and NE. [17] The section on "economics" (vol. II, pp. 148-9 in Wachsmuth's ed. of Stobaeus) repeats the Aristotelian ideas that a house is like a small city (148,8-9), and is a pattern for monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. The relation of parents to children has monarchic character, of men to women aristocratic, and of children to one another, democratic (148,16-19). There are both slaves by nature who are stupid for whom slavery is beneficial, and slaves by law (149,1-4). The man rules the house by nature (149,6), for women, children and slaves are less rational (149,6-8). Household management consists of fatherhood, the art of marriage, being a master and money-making (149,10-11), and then Didymus makes a few comments on the fourth of these. Reference was made above to the problem of A.'s lack of influence on the Hellenistic-Roman age, but this text demonstrates that his thought on economics was both known and available in popular handbook form. I note that "women, children and slaves" are mentioned here in the same order as in the Haustafeln of Col. and Eph., and that authority is a central concern.

Other authors who used the form included the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who eulogized Romulus, founder of Rome, for legislating these social relationships (Rom. Ant. II. 24,1 ff.; 25,4-5; 26,1; 27,1-2). Dionysius' use of the form is closely paralleled in Josephus, Against Apion. [18]

A popular philosopher who used the topos was Dio Chrysostom (the six fragments of Dio's treatise extracted by Stobaeus were ed. by Crosby in Loeb, vol. 5, pp. 348-51). The few remaining sentences indicate that Dio discussed how to be a master of slaves, a wife's piety and love of her husband, and the rearing of children. This lost oration "orders the household", which Dio says philosophers in politiea or orators would discuss in advising and legislating for the state (Or. 22,1-2). Dio lived near the time and place one finds the Haustafel used in I Peter.

That the Peripatetics' ethics and politics included "not only the doctrine of the state but also that of the household" was remembered by Diogenes Laertius (V.28) and by Seneca (Ep. 89. 10-11).

The references given above point to a philosophical tradition which enables one to understand Seneca's observation that Aristo the Stoic (c. 250 BC) thought this topos with its three pairs unimportant (Ep. 94.1-2). Aristo, the most cynic of Stoics, waslabelled a heretic because he insisted on no concept of value outside ἀρετή and κακία; [19] Chrysippus was his opponent in this dispute (Cicero, De fin. III,50; IV,43 and 68). But his rejection of concern for the three pairs in the household is a result of his individualistic, self-sufficient rejection of the Aristotelian concern for a structured society. Crouch was thus incorect when he said of this text, "For the first time we have before us a schema which is limited to the relationships within the household". [20]

Seneca also refers to the Stoic Hecaton (early 1st cent. BC), who was willing to discuss these three pairs (On Benefits 2.18,1-2; 3.18,1ff.). Hecaton doubted that a slave could benefit his master, or perform a duty, but Seneca disagreed, affirming that a willing slave could perform a benefit inside the household (ib. 3.22,1). Again, Hecaton and Seneca are discussing a form originally codified by Aristotle. [21]

This ethic was assimilated by the Hellenistic Jew Philo, who is concerned with "ruling" as this is accomplished in the relationship between certain pairs. Philo presents Joseph as both a statesman and a household manager, asserting that these are identical, thus taking the Platonic, not the Aristotelian, view (On Joseph 38-9). Philo typically lists not three pairs but several, so his discussion seems more Platonic than Aristotelian:

> In the fifth commandment on honouring parents we have a suggestion of many necessary laws drawn up to deal with the relations of old to young, rulers to subjects, benefactors to benefited, slaves to masters. For parents belong to the superior class of the above mentioned pairs, that which comprises seniors, rulers, benefactors and masters, while children occupy the lower position with juniors, subjects, receivers of benefits and slaves (The Decalogue 165-7). [22]

Against Schroeder (n. 3 above), Philo is not simply interpreting the decalogue, which suggests that children "honor" (not "obey") parents (although see Deut. 21:18). In fact Philo is in tension with some aspects of early Israelite legislation, in which "all laws pertaining to slaves are concerned with furthering his protection and preserving his human dignity...." [23] Goodenough [24] noticed that some of Philo's remarks about the role of wives--their limitation to the indoor life, a life of seclusion, and their managing the house--are similar to those expressed by the Neopythagorean Phintys.

I conclude that seven philosophers used the Aristotelian form with its three pairs of those who "rule" and "are ruled": A., the author of MM, Arius Didymus, Dionysius Hal., Aristo, Hecaton and Seneca, to whom should be added Col. and Eph. Variations appear in Philodemus, Philo, Dio Chrysostom and I Peter, among other authors.

These ideas were also developed by the Neopythagoreans.[25] The Aristotelian form itself constitutes the outline for the extensive treatise by the Neopythagorean Bryson, On Household Management, who is thus the eighth author (or tenth counting Col. andEph.) to use the form. The first sentence reads, "He says, the topos 'household management' is complete in four things: the first of them concerns money, the second slaves, the third the wife, and the fourth children".[26] Plessner[27] says that this outline reflects Arist., Pol. I 1253b 6f.

The Neopythagorean authors continue the concern for the relationship between the "house" and the "city". Callicratidas, De dom. felic., said, "A house however and a city are an imitation according to analogy of the government of the world" (p. 105,23-4).[28] Occelus, De univ. nat., says that "(man) is part of a house and city" (135,20-1).

These two authors and the other Neopythagoreans are also concerned about the subordination of wives, children and slaves. I will quote some of the several examples:

> Every system consists of certain dissimilar contraries, and is coarranged with reference to one certain thing, which is the most excellent.... Thus too a house, being a system of kindred communion, consists of certain dissimilars, which are its proper parts, and is coarranged with a view to one thing which is best, the father of the family.... (Callicratidas, De dom. felic. 103,21-3 and 103,28-104,3)

> Since therefore the husband rules over the wife, he either rules with a despotic, or with a guardian, or in the last place, with political power. But he does not rule over her with despotic power: for he is diligently attentive to her welfare. Nor is his government of her entirely of a guardian nature; for this is itself a part of the communion [between man and wife]. It remains, therefore, that he rules over her with a political power, according to which both the governor and the thing governed establish [as their end] the common advangage. Hence also wedlock is established with a view to the communion of life. Those husbands therefore that govern their wives despotically, are hated by them, but those that govern them with a guardian authority are despised by them. For they appear to be, as it were, appendages and flatterers of their wives. But those that govern them politically are both admired and beloved. (Ibid. 106,1-10)

> Those who marry a woman above their condition have to contend for the mastership; for the wife, surpassing her husband in wealth and lineage wishes to rule over him. But he considers it to be unworthy of him, and preternatural to submit to his wife. (Ibid., 106,17-19)

Moraux argues that the material in Callicratidas is dependent on A.'s work On Justice, noting the similarity to ideas in Pol. I. He observes that the third extract quoted above has a number of specifically Aristotelian conceptions and terms.[29] Occelus, De univ. nat. (136,17-25) says something very similar to the fourth quotation from Callicratidas.

There are also examples of the exhortation to children to be subordinate:

> Parents ought not to be injured either in word or deed; but it is requisite to be obedient to them, whether their rank in life is small or great.... (Perictione, De mul. harm. 145,8-10).

Wilhelm [30] noted long ago that slaves are treated in every Neopythagorean discussion of household management (οἰκονομικός), and the same is true of course of the NT Haustafeln (Col. 3:22-5; Eph. 6:5-8; I Pt. 2:18-25; I Tim. 6:1-2; Tit. 2:9-10). In arguing against a Stoic origin of the form, Crouch [31] says that among them only Seneca, Ep. 94.1ff., and Ps.-Plutarch, De Lib. Ed. X refer to slaves' treatment as part of the list of duties. But thenhe admits that "the Jews were no more interested than the non-Jews in listing the social duties of slaves" [32], referring only to Philo, The Decalogue 167 and the Sibylline Oracles ii.278. Again it seems probable that the Aristotelian tradition, and earlier Plato, is more important than the Stoic.

Callicratidas, De dom. felic. (105,10-15) thinks that the rule of the master over slave should be despotic, for the master's advantage, not that of the slave. Theano's letter to Callistona gives advice on the government of slaves (τῶν οἰκετῶν ἄρχειν), discussing household management (περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ; 197,25-8). Married women have the rule of the house (ἀρχὴ ...οἴκου ; 197,31). Refractory behavior of servants is not to be met with cruelty (198,7-9), but too much relaxation produces disobedience (198, 25-6). Eccelus, On Justice, makes a remarkable reference to "the benevolence (εὔνοια ; cp. Eph. 6:7) of the servant towards the master, and the anxious care of the master for the welfare of the servant" (78,10-11), in the context of discussing justice in house and city. Bryson, Oecon. has a long section concerning slaves; he notes that a slave by nature is one who is intellectually inferior to another, whom he must then obey (IV.57 Plessner). When he needs correction, a slave should first be warned, then beaten (IV.64),with the same punishment given a child.(IV.65). Younger slaves are the best, for they are the most obedient (IV.71).

It has recently been argued that much of this Neopythagorean literature is similar in terminology and date to Didymus' epitome. [33] Burkert finds combinations of Academic and Peripatetic thought in some texts which are impossible before the first cent. BC, [34] a date which places most of the extracts in the general time period of the writing of the NT, and means that these Peripatetic ideas were known and available in that culture.

The Ephesian Haustafel describes these relationships as "just" (6:1), a common idea. Eccelus in his work On Justice mentioned not only the relation between slaves and masters, but the concordbetween husband and wife (78,9-10). Most importantly, Moraux seems to be correct that Aristotle's original dialogue on the subject was entitled On Justice. [35]

It is surprising, considering only the Aristotelian tradition, that Col. 4:1 would demand that masters treat slaves "fairly", for A. had excluded them from the discussion of "fairness" (see e.g. Pol. III 1282b 30ff.). But even in this case, the author of Col. would not have used the term without some contact on a popular level with the traditional Greek discussions of political ethics.

I conclude that the NT Haustafeln are similar to Neopythagorean ideas about household management, and that both the early Christian and the Neopythagorean moralists are dependent on a

topos (περὶ οἰκονομίας) which was given its form by Aristotle. The ideas were expressed even earlier in a less specific form by Plato (Laws III 690A-D).

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Weidinger, Die Haustafeln, ein Stück urchristlicher Paranese (Leipzig, 1928), who stressed the parallel to Hierocles.

2. K. H. Rengstorf, Man und Frau in Urchristentum (Köln, 1954), pp. 25-46, who stressed the early Christian interest in the house.

3. David Schroeder, Die Haustafeln des neuen Testaments (ihre Herkunft und theologischer Sinn) (Diss. Hamburg, 1959), pp. 69-70, 74, 92, 97, 124.

4. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

5. James E. Crouch, The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel (Goettingen, 1972), pp. 146-7.

6. Ibid., pp. 106-7; see p. 82, n. 30.

7. Ibid., pp. 144-151.

8. Weidinger, op. cit., pp. 46, 53.

9. Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 69, 74, 80, 83-4, 117; Crouch, op. cit., pp. 146-7.

10. Paul Moraux, A la recherche de l'Aristote perdu. Le dialogue 'Sur la Justice' (Louvain, 1957), pp. 22ff., 51, 149, 152. See Plato, The Statesman 258E-259C. On p. 26, n. 22 Moraux observes that Xenophon follows Plato's opinion; see Memor. III,4,12; 6,14. On the variation in A.'s use of οἰκονομικός see p. 139, n. 81.

11. P. Moraux, "From the Protrepticus to the dialogue On Justice," Aristotle and Plato in the Mid-Fourth Century, ed. I. Düring and G. E. L. Owen (Göteborg, 1960), pp. 113-132, here p. 117. He discusses Plato, Laws III 690A-D on p. 126, n. 1.

12. Moraux, La dialogue, pp. 25, 32.

13. Franz Dirlmeier, "Die Zeit der 'Grossen Ethik'", Rhein. Mus. N.F. 88 (1939), 214-43.

14. See D. J. Allen in JHS 77 (1957), 7-11; Gnomon 38 (1966), 138-149.

15. Ibid., p. 7.

16. I owe the reference to this crucial text, to mention only one, to my dissertation adviser, Professor Abraham J. Malherbe.

17. O. Regenbogen, "Theophrastos", PW Suppl. 7 (1950), cols. 1492-1494 and A. A. Long, "Aristotle's Legacy to Stoic Ethics", Institute of Classical Studies (University of London), Bulletin Number 15 (1968), p. 83, notes 8-10, who cites Dirlmeier's point that Didymus' source used the MM, and the source criticized late Stoic distinctions.

18. See my paper on "Josephus, Against Apion II.145-296", in the Society of Biblical Literature 1975 Seminar Papers, vol. I, pp. 187-192 and the forthcoming article, "Two Apologetic Encomia: Dionysius on Rome and Josephus on the Jews", Journal for the Study of Judaism (late 1980).

19. Long, op. cit., p. 74. 20. Crouch, op. cit., p. 59.

21. For the debate about the Peripatetic origin of other aspects of Stoic views of human relationships, biological and social, see Long, op. cit., pp. 72-85 and C. O. Brink, "Οἰκείωσις and Οἰκειότης. Theophrastus and Zeno on Nature in moral theory", Phronesis 1 (1955-6), 123-45, esp. pp. 132-3 on justice and friendship.

22. See the references to Plato in notes 10-11 above.

23. Shalom M. Paul, Studies in the Book of the Covenant in Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law (1970), p. 40.

24. E. R. Goodenough, The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt (1929), pp. 130-1, referring to Philo, Spec. Laws III.169ff. and Phintys, Concerning the Temperance of a Woman (154,1ff. Thesleff).

25. The following summarizes a forthcoming article, "The Neopythagorean Moralists and the NT", in Aufstieg und Niedergang der roemischen Welt, Teil II, "Religion", hrsg. von H. Temporini und W. Haase (Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 1978).

26. Martin Plessner, Der Oikonomikos des Neuyythagoreers 'Bryson' und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft, Orient und Antike 5 (Heidelberg, 1928), p. 214.

27. Ibid., p. 40, n. 5.

28. The following page references will be to the ed. of Holger Thesleff, The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period. (Acta Academiae Aboensis Ser. A., Humaniora 30) (Abo, 1965).

29. Moraux, op. cit. (n. 10 above), pp. 82-6. For the idea in the fourth quotation see NE VIII 1161a 1.

30. Friedrich Wilhelm, "Die Oeconomica der Neupythagoreer Bryson, Kallikratidas, Periktione, Phintys", Rhein. Mus. 70 (1915), p. 165.

31. Crouch, op. cit., pp. 70-1, 118. 32. Ibid., p. 117.

33. Walter Burkert, "Zur geistesgeschichtlichen Einordnung einiger Pseudopythagorica," Entretiens sur l'antiquite classique 18, ed. K. von Fritz (Fondation Hardt) (Louvain, 1970), pp. 23-55, here p. 38.

34. Ibid., p. 39. 35. Moraux, op. cit. (n. 10 above).

S 269 OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY (CT 2-33, LIH, CT 43-44)

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In order to have a wider range of Ancient Near Eastern Epistolography available for analysis, comparison and control, it was requested at the 1976 Annual SBL meeting to enter into another area of ancient epistolography - the voluminous Old Babylonian corpus. In answer to this request, some 324 letters from CT 2-33, LIH, and CT 43-44 were analyzed as to form and content as a sample collection of the copious Old Babylonian collection extant today.

The numbering followed in this paper reflects the system employed in the following:

Vol. I. Kraus, F.R. Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 43-44). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.

Vol. II. Frankena, R. Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 2-33, LIH). Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969.

PART I: SUMMARY OF ABB I (142 Letters)

I. THE GREETING

Type I:	a-na PN qí-bí-ma um-ma PN	107 exemplars
Type I Variants:		
A.	a-na a-wi-lim šá ^{d}marduk ú-ba-al-la-ṭú-su qí-bí-ma um-ma PN	11 exemplars[1] (Nos. 4,5,6,8, 10,11,12,14)
B.	a-na a-bi-ia šá be-lí ù be-el-ti ú-ba-al-la-ṭú qí-bí-ma um-ma PN	1 exemplar (No. 61)
Type II:	No Greeting	
A.	No Greeting and no Blessing	6 exemplars (Nos. 102,103, 104,107,118,120)
B.	The Blessing opens the Letter	6 exemplars (Nos. 15,105, 106,108,123,142)
Type III:	The Opening Broken	11 exemplars (Nos. 19,109-116,119,138,141)

II. THE BLESSING

Type A: ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk da-ri-iš u_4-mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka lu šá-al-ma-ta lu ḫa-al-ṭa dinger na-ši-ir-ka re-eš-ka a-na ga-mi-iq-tim li-ki-il a-na šu-lum-ka ma-ḫar ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk lu da-ri ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am um-ma šu-ma — 24 exemplars (Nos. 3-11,13, 16-21,14,38,45, 46,60,72,80, 100)

Note that the elements composing this formula may vary in order, some may be deleted thus shortening the formula, others are sometimes added. Note also the following:

1. be-lí ù be-el-ti for šamaš ù marduk in No.24
2. The god Ilabrat for Marduk in No. 46

[1] Nos. 43,52,80 are without a-wi-lim

3. Nos. 60 and 108 are very condensed - in fact, if you add two words, you have the B-formula below. The question is then, do you have a condensed A-formula or a lengthened B-formula?

Type B: ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš u_4-mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka[1] — 27 exemplars (Nos. 12,14,22, 23,25,29,31,36, 37,40,41,48,49, 51-53,59,66,67, 69,70,85,98,127, 133,137,138)

Note the following:

1. The god Ilabrat for Šamaš and Marduk in No. 23
2. Itur-Mer for Marduk in No. 29
3. Aa for Marduk in No. 31
4. Inana for Marduk in Nos. 36,48
5. Sin and Ištar for Šamaš and Marduk in No. 51. The phrase da-ri-iš u_4-mi is also missing
6. No. 52 has the unique addition: ^{d}za. mà.mà ša-ar-i-na-an-na ka-qá-ad-ka li-ka-bi-it
7. No. 59 substitutes a-na da-ri-a-tim for da-ri-iš u_4-mi - they are virtually synonymous
8. No. 66 has the addition: a-di-na-an be-el-ti-ia lu-ul-li-ik X ta SUR ra am-ma li-ib-bi tu-ba-al-li xx
9. No. 98 has be-lí ^{d}marduk ù be-el-ti ^{d}šar-pa-ni-it for šamaš ù marduk
10. No. 138 substitutes be-lí ù be-el-ti for šamaš and marduk

Type C: ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka — 30 exemplars (Nos. 26-28,42, 43,55,58,62,65, 68,74,77-79,82, 87,92,93,95-97, 101,108,121, 124,129,130,132, 139,140)

Note the following:

1. be-el-ki ù be-el-et-ki for šamaš and marduk (Nos. 26-28,55,78)
2. Marduk is replaced by:
   a. Inana in No. 74
   b. Nin-si-ana in No. 79
   c. Aššur in No. 130
3. li-ri-ba-ku-nu-ši is substituted for li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ku in No. 97

Type D: ^{d}utu li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka — 10 exemplars (Nos. 32,47,54, 57,63,64,81, 88,89,135)

Note the following:

1. The above four types represent a long formula (A) which is then progressively condensed in the following three types. It would be interesting to compare the abbreviations here with the date formulae as they occur on some of the letters. Old Babylonian date formulae show the same type of pattern (e.g., the extremely long form and then a series of more and more condensed formulae) and one would wonder if where a long blessing formula occurs whether a long date formula would also occur. Is there, in other words, any correlation between the blessing formula length and the date formula length?

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[1] Note that aš-šu-mi-ia is often omitted

Type E: No Blessing — 31 exemplars (Nos. 1,2,34,39, 44,50,56,71,73, 75,76,83,84,86, 90,91,99,102-104, 107,117-120, 122,125,126,128, 134,136)

Type F: Opening broken and thus no interpretation is possible — 12 exemplars (Nos. 30,33,94, 109-114,116,141)

Type G: Additional Types not classifiable in the formula types A,B,C,D and which are not similar enough to each other to be grouped thus forming a new type (items 105-106 may be the exception) — 8 exemplars

No. 15, lines 1-6
la-ma-as-sú ša bi-ia-a-ti-ia i-na
li-it-tum ù dam-qí-im i-na é.gal
ta-at-ta-na-al-la-ku a-bi ka-ta
li-ba-ab-bi-ru a-bi at-ta lu
ša-al-ma-ta lu ba-al-ta-ta la-ma-as-sí
bi-ia-ti-ia li-iṣ-ṣú-ur-ka

No. 61, lines 4-10
be-lí ù be-el-ti da-ri-iš u_4-mi a-bi
ka-ta li-ba-al-li-ṭú [b]a-la-ṭa-am bú-ub
li-ib-bi-im [l]a-ma-as-sí qá-bé-e ù ma-ga-ri-im
i-na é.gal su-mu-la-dinger be-lí ù
be-el-ti a-na da-ri-a-tim a-na a-bi-ia
ka-ta li-iš-ru-ku

No. 105, lines 1-4
^{d}marduk ra-i-im-k[a] ša ib-nu-ka la-le-e
l[i-. . .] ù ši-bu-tim li-še-eb-[b]i-k[a]
aš-šu-mi-ia a-bi at-ta ma-ḫar ^{d}marduk

No. 106, lines 1-3
^{d}marduk ra-i-im-ka a-ḫi ka-ta aš-šu-mi-ia
li-la-ab-bi-ir-ka a-ḫi at-ta lu ša-al-ma-ta

No. 123, lines 1-3
^{d}marduk ra-i-im-ka aš-šu-mi-ia li-la-ab-bi-ir-ka
lu ša-al-ma-ta

No. 131, lines 4-11
[^{d}]utu ù ^{d}marduk da-ri-iš u_4-mi a-ba-ni
ka-ta li-ba-al-lí-ṭú a-bu-ni lu sa-lim
lu ba-li-iṭ [dinger] na-ṣ[i]-ir-ka re-eš
a-bi-ni a-na da-mi-iq-tim [li]-ki-il [a-na
š]u-ul-mi a-bi-ni ni-iš-ḫu-ra-am [š]u-lum
a-bi-ni ma-ḫar ^{d}marduk ù ^{d}utu lu da-ri

No. 142, lines 1-2
dinger-ka ^{d}nin-šubur re-eš i-g[i]-re-ka
da-am-qí li-ki-il aš-šum-mi-ia lu
ba-al-ṭa-ta

III. SECONDARY FORMULAE - formulae in the body of the letter, usually immediately following the blessing, in addition to the greeting or blessing formulae.[1]

[1] For a summary of these formulae cf. the last page of this paper

Type a: 1 exemplar (No. 43)
Type b: 25 exemplars (Nos. 3,6,13-15,20,24,25,34,37, 52,54,55,57,63,68,76,85,92,93,117,119,131, 140,142)
Type c: 6 exemplars (Nos. 26,45,73,78,118,132)
Type d: 1 exemplar (No. 120)
Type e: 2 exemplars (Nos. 32,95)
Type f: 0 exemplars
Type g: 2 exemplars (Nos. 8,105)
Type h: 0 exemplars
Type i: 14 exemplars (Nos. 1,7,10,11,27,51,67,87,100, 109,115,123,127,137)
Type j: 8 exemplars (Nos. 5,18,39,77,106,108,122,141)

Type k: 2 exemplars (Nos. 83,84)
Type l (Mixed): 10 exemplars[1]
No. 44 (a+b); 46 (i+g); 56 (e+c); 58 (e+e+c); 59 (d+l); 60 (b+b); 70 (b+i); 74 (b+i+b); 80 (e+e); 81 (b+e)
Type m (No Secondary Formulae): 71 exemplars
Type n (Broken): 0 exemplars
Type o (Other): 0 exemplars

IV. THE CLOSING FORMULAE - No Exemplars

PART II: SUMMARY OF ABB II (182 Letters)

I. THE GREETING
Type I: a-na PN qí-bí-ma um-ma PN — 165 exemplars
Type I Variants:
A. No. 46 omits qí-bí-ma
B. No. 89: a-na šá-pí-ri-ia šá ^{d}marduk ú-ba-al-la-ṭú qí-bí-ma um-ma PN
C. No. 171: be-lí ^{d}na-bi-um aš-šu-mi-ia li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka
D. Nos. 85,92: a-na a-wi-lim šá ^{d}marduk ú-ba-la-ṭu-su qí-bí-ma um-ma PN
E. Nos. 113,159: a-na a-bi-ia šá ^{d}marduk ú-ba-al-la-ṭú-šu qí-bí-ma um-ma PN[2]

II. THE BLESSING
Type A: Note the following: — 29 exemplars
1. Variants of the standard gods, Šamaš and Marduk — (Nos. 80,87,93, 94,103,105,109, 114,137,138, 141,142,145,146, 154,155,150,158, 162-164,170, 173-175,177, 178,180,182)
a. No. 87 has ^{d}utu ù ^{d}IL-KA-AN-ŠA-AN
b. No. 105 ^{d}inanna replaces ^{d}marduk
c. No. 142 has ^{d}utu ù il-ka
d. No. 150 has be-li ù be-el-ti

[1] It should be noted on the mixed exemplars that the second (and the third) secondary formula are usually abbreviated in form.

[2] Note that in B,D,E the only difference is the noun following a-na

e. No. 155 has ^{d}utu ^{d}marduk ù ^{d}a-šur$_4$
f. No. 162 has ^{d}utu ù ^{d}en.líl
g. No. 170 has ^{d}utu ù ^{d}sataran

2. Additions to the standard A-Formula:
a. No. 137 has ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk sa-pí-ri li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ú
b. Nos. 138,141 insert aš-šu-mi-ia after Marduk
c. Nos. 145,163 are like 138 and 141 but without ša-pí-ri

Type B: 7 exemplars (Nos. 81,82,85, 92,96,100,159)

Type C: Note the following: 13 exemplars
1. No. 89 has a large addition, hitherto unattested in this work, following the C-Formula: is-ḫa-ka i-na é.babbar ša ta-ram-am-mu lu-ú da-ri-a u$_4$-mi-sa-am i-na é.sag.íla ak-ta-na-ra-ba-ak-kum šu-um-ka ù zi-kí-ir-ka i-na é.babbar ša ta-ra-am-mu lu-ú da-ri-i la-la ba-la-ṭ[i-im] ^{d}u[tu] li-še-bi-i-ka (Nos. 89,91,110, 113,115,136,140, 151,152,160.161, 176,179)
2. No. 110. ^{d}utu ù ^{d}a-a ka-al-la-tum
3. No. 136. ^{d}utu ù ^{d}iškur
4. No. 140. ^{d}utu ù ^{d}a-a ka-al-la-tum aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš u$_4$-mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka
5. No. 160. ^{d}utu ù ^{d}nin.si$_4$.an-na a-na da-ri-a-tim li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ú-ka

Type D: Note the following: 9 exemplars
1. No. 156 has be-el-ki li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ki (Nos. 102,104, 112,131,133,134, 156,169,181)

Type E: No Blessing 122 exemplars, including all 77 from the Ḫammurapi Old Babylonian Dynasty

Type F: Broken 0 exemplars

Type G: Additional Types not classifiable in the Types A,B,C,D: 2 exemplars (Nos. 132,171)
a. No. 132 ^{d}utu a-na da-ri-a-tim li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka
b. No. 171 be-lí ^{d}na-bi-um aš-šu-mi-ia li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka

III. SECONDARY FORMULAE

A. The Ḫammurapi Old Babylonian Dynasty
Type a: 16 exemplars (Nos. 5,17,27,29,31,32,35,39,41, 42,44,48-50,67,75)
Type b: 1 exemplar (No. 63)
Type c: 4 exemplars (Nos. 7,15,22,34)
Type d: 1 exemplar (No. 73)
Type e: No exemplars

Type f: No exemplars
Type g: No exemplars
Type h: 3 exemplars (Nos. 52,66,69)
Type i: 6 exemplars (Nos. 4,8,9,68,70)
Type j: No exemplars
Type k: No exemplars
Type l (mixed): 26 exemplars
b+a 1 (No. 57)
b+d 1 (No. 19)
b+d 1 (No. 38)
b+i 1 (No. 1)
c+a 1 (No. 13)
d+d 4 (Nos. 6,12,24,30)
d+e 1 (No. 61)
e+e 2 (Nos.
f+d 1 (No. 10)
g+g 4 (Nos. 54,65,71,25)
g+h 1 (No. 72)
i+i 1 (No. 78)
b+g+g 1 (No. 43)
d+d+a 1 (No. 74)
e+e+a 1 (No. 11)
d+d+h 1 (No. 53)
e+e+h 1 (No. 59)
i+e+e+e 1 (No. 28)
i+e+a+g 1 (No. 3)
Type m: 19 exemplars (Nos. 14,16,18,20,21,23,36,37, 40,47,51,55,56,58,60,62,64,76,77)
Type n: 1 exemplar (No. 79)
Type o: 0 exemplars

B. Inferior to Superior or Equal to Equal
Type a: 1 exemplar (No. 167)
Type b: 17 exemplars (Nos. 100,127,129,130,132,134, 137,140,146,147,162,170,172,173,176,178)
Type c: 7 exemplars (Nos. 128,145,148,158,163,175,182)
Type d: 1 exemplar (No. 31)
Type e: 7 exemplars (Nos. 101,106,107,108,154,156,169)
Type f: 0 exemplars
Type g: 2 exemplars (Nos. 144,153)
Type h: 0 exemplars
Type i: 5 exemplars (Nos. 92,114,135,149,174)
Type j: 3 exemplars (Nos. 88,96,179)
Type k: 0 exemplars
Type l: 16 exemplars
b+b 1 exemplar (No. 116)
b+e 3 exemplars (Nos. 104,112,142)
b+l 1 exemplar (No. 151)
c+a 1 exemplar (No. 181)
e+a 1 exemplar (No. 153)
j+b 2 exemplars (Nos. 93,109)
j+e 1 exemplar (No. 155)
j+l 1 exemplar (No. 94)
k+e 1 exemplar (No. 81)
l+g 1 exemplar (No. 84)
n+b 2 exemplars (Nos. 89,91)
n+g 1 exemplar (No. 110)
Type m: 45 exemplars
Type n: 0 exemplars
Type o: 1 exemplar (No. 86)

IV. THE CLOSING FORMULAE[1] 4/5 exemplars

A. No. 82, lines 30-35
ki-ma ^{d}marduk ù ^{d}EN.ZU-^{d}MAR.TU ša
a-na a-bi-ia i-ka-ar-ra-bu uz-na-ia
ba-ši-a a-bi li-ša-bi-lam-ma li-ib-bi
la i-le-em-mi-in ma-ḫar ^{d}utu ù
^{d}marduk a-na a-bi-ia lu-uk-ru

B. No. 88, lines 30'-34'
[ki-ma ^{d}]utu ù ^{d}marduk ra-i-mi-ka
[uz-n]a-ni a-na be-li-ni ka-ta i-
ba-aš-ši-a [šu-um] be-li-ni ba-ni-a
i ai-iz-ku-ur-ma ba-i-šu li-ba-ša-
an-ni-a-ti ma-ḫar ^{d}u[tu] ù ^{d}marduk
a-na be-li-ni ka-ta i ni-i[l-]r[u-b]

C. No. 99, line 28
šú-ḫa-a[r-ka x x o o]

D. No. 111, lines 33-36
be-lí at-ta i-zi-iz-za ^{d}marduk ra-im-ka
a-na šu-te-šu-ri-im i-na ki-it-tim ib-ni-ka

E. No. 118, lines 15-22
ta-ap-ḫu-ri i-na iš-ri-im a-na ^{d}asaru šu-uk-
na-a-ma i-lu-um li-nu-úḫ a-di ta-ap-ḫu-ri-šu

PART III: CONCLUSION

I. Content and Relationship of Correspondants

A. Although formulaic characteristics were evident overall in the letters, the content defied schematization. The letter content was ride-ranging and could not be broken down into classification. The three main types of letter content (instructions, requests, information given) are represented in this corpus in both pure and mixed forms, but there are no distinguishing features, schematic or formulaic, which set any of these categories apart from the others.

B. The letters could usually be distinguished on the relationship of the correspondants although in a great many cases this could not be determined. All of the Ḫammurapi correspondance was from superior to inferior (77 letters). The remaining 274 letters were either inferior to superior, equal to equal, or undeterminable.

II. Dating and Provenience

A. The exact provenience of the letters and their exact dating was not available. The letters were undated and do not contain any identifiable information that would allow us to pinpoint an exact date.

B. The Ḫammurapi Dynasty correspondance can be dated within the regnal years of the given king. Since this dynasty did not achieve true stability and total hegemony until Ḫammurapi, it is quite possible that the remaining 274 letters are to be dated from his reign and on, although one cannot preclude the possibility that some are earlier.

III. The Greeting

A. The greeting is virtually standardized in all of the Old Babylonian letters examined and is of the familiar type

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[1] No. 99, or example C, is broken and hence it is questionable as to whether this is a genuine closing formula

a-na PN qí-bí-ma um-ma PN.

B. When no greeting occured, no uniformity in content was indicated yielding any specific type.

C. All of the letters from the Ḫammurapi Old Babylonian Dynasty had the standard Type I greeting.

IV. The Blessing

A. The most significant statistical feature here is that ca. 47% (153 of 324) of the letters contained no blessing whatsoever. And, as we might expect in letters from a suzerain to a vassal, not one of the 77 letters from the Ḫammurapi Old Babylonian Dynasty contained a blessing.

B. Of the letters which contained no blessing there is neither any specific type of letter in content nor any particular relation to any of the three categories, superior to inferior, inferior to superior, equal to equal.

C. Although there are four types of blessing formulae identified in this paper, in reality it is probable that we are dealing with an original longer formula (Type A) which in time became three progressively shortened forms which became stabilized in form.

D. Of the letters from equal to equal or inferior to superior, we find ca. 46% (149 of 324) with the blessing formula present. If we disregard the Ḫammurapi Old Babylonian Dynasty letters (77 in number) we find ca. 60% or well over half containing the blessing (149 of 247). There seems to be no correlation between content and whether or not there is a blessing formula. Perhaps the only pertinent fact to be gleaned from these figures is that letters from a superior to an inferior never contain a blessing formula, while letters from equal to equal or inferior to superior contain a blessing 60% of the time.

E. The additional types of blessing formulae are not statistically significant and may or may not constitute distinctive types as only a small percentage of letters were examined of the enormous total presently extant.

F. It should be stressed that particularly for the longest formula (Type A), there is no one pattern which is always exclusively used. Elements are transposed, added, deleted seemingly at will. This is true only to a much lesser extent in Types B and C, and almost never in Type D.

V. The Secondary Formulae

A. A comparison between the Ḫammurapi Dynasty letters and the remainder shows two distinctive features: 1) the percentage of letters having no secondary formulae is much higher in the non-Ḫammurapi correspondance, e.g. ca. 47% (116 of 247) to ca. 25% (19 of 77); 2) the order by frequency of the types varies totally. The "mixed" and "none" categories are the only two among the top three in both cases. It should be pointed out however, that the "mixed" category is significantly different between the two: in the Ḫammurapi letters it constitutes ca. 34% (26 of 77) while only .105% among the others.

B. The "mixed" category show no uniformity in pattern although the d+d and g+g combinations occur more times than any of the others. In every case, the second (and third) secondary formula are abbreviations.

C. Of the formula types (excluding mixed and none), Formula A occurs more frequently among the Ḫammurapi letters, while Formula B occurs most often among the rest.
D. Formula F occurs only once and in combination with Formula D in the "mixed" category which could lead one to suspect it is not truly a secondary formula at all. However, it is too similar to Formula D to be totally dismissed and perhaps may be a variant form.

VI. THE CLOSING FORMULAE
A. Only 4 (possibly 5) occured of the 324 letters examined leading to the conclusion that a closing formula is not a standard feature.
B. The Ḫammurapi correspondance never contained anything like a closing formula.

VII. Some Conclusions concerning the Ḫammurapi Dynasty letters and the other letters in ABB I + II:
A. The Ḫammurapi Dynasty correspondance is more patterned, more stereotyped in almost every way:
1. There is always a greeting and it is always Type I
2. There is never any blessing
3. The percentage of secondary formulae is significantly greater than the other correspondance (75% to 53%)
4. There is never a closing formula
5. The letters are terse, succinct and in almost every case an imperative to do something
B. The non-Ḫammurapi Dynasty letters:
1. In almost 80% of the letters the Type I greeting was standard, although some variants and no greeting at all do occur
2. Ca. 69% of the letters contained some form of a blessing formula which in all but 10 cases was a standardized form or some shortening of it
3. The secondary formulae are less prevelant (only 53% of the letters) and one type stands out more than any of the others - Type B
4. There are 4/5 closing formulae but no visible pattern.
5. The letter content and style varies immensely

VIII. Summary of Old Babylonian Letter Formulae

The Greeting

Type I: a-na PN qí-bí-ma um-ma PN
Type II: No Greeting
Type III: Opening Broken

The Blessing

Type A: ^{d}utu ù ^{d}marduk da-ri-iš u_4-mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka lu ša-al-ma-ta lu ba-al-ṭa-ta dinger na-ṣi-ir-ka re-eš-ka a-na da-mi-iq-tim li-ki-il a-na šu-ul-mi-ka aš-pu-ra-am šu-lum-ka ma-ḫar dutu ù dmarduk lu da-ri ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am um-ma šu-ma
Type B: dutu ù dmarduk aš-šu-mi-ia da-ri-iš u_4-mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka
Type C: dutu ù dmarduk li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka
Type D: dutu li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka
Type E: No Blessing
Type F: Broken
Type G: Additional Types

Secondary Formulae

Type a: ṭup-pí an-ni-a-am i-na a-ma-ri-im
Type b: aš-šum
Type c: a-nu-um-ma
Type d: ki-a-am ú-lam-mi-da-an-ni um-ma šu-ma
Type e: ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am um-ma šu-ma
Type f: ša it-ti-iq in-nam-ru ki-a-am ú-lam-mi-du-ni um-ma šu-nu-ma
Type g: ki-a-am iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma šu-nu-ma
Type h: ki-ma ṭup-pí an-ni-a-am ta-am-ma-ra
Type i: aš-šum ša ta-aš-pu-ra-nim um-ma at-tu-nu-ma
Type j: ki-ma ti-du-u
Type k: i-na ṭup-pí be-lí-ia aš-šum
Type l: Mixed
Type m: No Formula
Type n: Opening Broken
Type o: Other

S 274 A TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF ARAMAIC LETTER TYPES

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Prolegomena

The materials I will attempt to classify here have been conveniently collected by J. D. Whitehead for the Aramaic-Hebrew Subgroup of the SBL Consultation on Ancient Epistolography; the letters on skin or papyrus were circulated among members after the October 1975 General Meeting, and the texts written on ostraca were distributed towards the end of 1976. Whitehead's "Handbook of Aramaic Letters" played a vital part in my work, but in the following pages reference must obviously be made to books and papers of a more public character. In this respect as in many others, J. A. Fitzmyer, "Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography," JBL 93 (1974) 201-225 served both as a basis and as a model. Fitzmyer's general survey of the extant corpus of Aramaic letters will be constantly presupposed, even though a few unimportant additions have to be made here and there; I shall also adhere very closely to the inventory of "the obvious formal elements" proposed by Fitzmyer, pp. 211-219, and I shall retain his terminology. The abbreviations used for letters on skin or papyrus will be those listed in his Chart I, in the columns marked "Easy Access" or "Name and Provenience". With regard to the ostraca, since in my opinion there is no real "easy access," reference will be made to "Museum Numbers" according to Fitzmyer's Chart II.

In classifying Aramaic letter types, my prime effort was directed towards establishing a small number of patterns characterized by definite sequences of formal elements, especially those which Fitzmyer calls praescriptio and "initial greeting." This task was not particularly difficult, but its results must not be overestimated, in view of the limitations of the material which has survived. Our data are surrounded by tremendous gaps in space and time - across the two millennia during which letters were being written in Aramaic, and over an area extending eventually from Nubia to Central Asia. The publication of the Arsames Correspondence (1954), and of the Padua letters (1960), brought to light substantially new letter types, and many more, undoubtedly, remain entirely unknown. Even the limits of stylistic variation within the presently documented types, and the possibilities of overlaps between them, are still quite elusive. Examples of overlaps will be discussed later. As for stylistic variations, why, for instance, does the initial greeting precede the praescriptio on Berlin Ost 11379? Why is the praescriptio replaced by a final address on Cairo Ost 49624?

Another disturbing factor is the apparent urge to brevity when writing on ostraca. Some of the main letter types evidenced in the papyri are easily identified on a few ostraca (e.g., Cl-G Ost 70) - but more often, decisive features such as the initial greeting are shortened (e.g., in the Strasbourg Libr. Ost.), or altogether omitted (e.g., Cairo Ost 35468a). Many short messages are even stripped of any introductory formula! On the other hand, when confronted with a long message, such as Berlin Ost 8384, are we justified in accounting for the brevity of its beginning in the same way? Should we not assume, instead, that this piece

of evidence, isolated as it is in many respects, is the only surviving example of yet another letter type? In the following pages, I will attempt to include all the sufficiently legible ostraca within the major patterns appearing in the more elaborate documents, but I fully recognize the limitations of the evidence and the tentativeness of some of these decisions.

Letter types, like any other genre, have to be defined according to content as well as according to form. In principle, one should be able to correlate the various stylistic patterns found in the corpus with the various subject matters, subjects ranging from politics to household concerns. By analyzing the rationale governing any such combination of form and content, one might reasonably expect to discover the Sitz im Leben of the genre.

In the present state of our knowledge, however, one has to steer a very cautious course through these crucial operations. It must not be too readily assumed that only one stylistic pattern was available at any given time for each kind of message - especially for writers in Aramaic who were so widely scattered over the Middle East, and so notoriously inclined to borrow from the traditions of all nations. Even before any systematic research in this area, it is possible to quote Akkadian, Ugaritic, Persian, Hebrew or Phoenician parallels to all the main formal elements, and to some of the complete patterns which will be outlined hereafter. These parallels are helpful in assessing the real import of some formulae, and they can be used as pointers to the Sitze im Leben of some letter types. At the same time, however, the parallels show plainly enough that the connection between a particular subject and a definite stylistic pattern can not be established solely on the basis of our scanty Aramaic evidence. For example, all the Aramaic Bar-Kosibah letters available so far are trenchant wartime orders; but two Hebrew letters, Mur 42 and 46, show that an almost identical formulary could be used in the same milieu and by the same people to discuss other topics as well. It would be wrong, therefore, to label "military orders" the letter type exemplified by 5/6 Ḫev 1,2,4,8,10, 11,14,15. In other words, letter types are an international phenomenon, and no definitive results can be obtained from the evidence of one language taken in isolation.

Even within the narrow limits of the extant Aramaic corpus, it does not seem possible to relate every one of the discernible stylistic patterns satisfactorily to a corresponding subject matter. Consider, for example, the letters exchanged between Eastern grandees. Two of Arsames' letters, AD 3 and 5, deal with much the same kind of situation as does the Aššur ostracon (Berlin 8384); i.e., Arsames writes to Artavant, another high ranking Persian official, about punishing runaway and thieving slaves (AD 3), and about releasing war prisoners (AD 5). Similarly, Bel-etir seems to be writing to Pir-Awur primarily to vindicate his claims on slaves he had captured but who are now out of his reach (Berlin Ost 8384).[1] On the basis of subject matter, one could reasonably expect all three letters to use identical, or nearly identical, formularies, but AD has praescriptio (iii) (mn PN_1 ʿl PN_2) while Berlin Ost 8384 has praescriptio (i) (ʿl PN_1 PN_2).[2] Again, in AD 3 and 5, the greeting is "I pass along to you surpassing peace and prosperity,"[2] while Bel-etir greets his own correspondent with a simple šlm.

It would be facile, in my opinion, to account for these discrepancies by pointing to the time lag and the cultural differences that separate Arsames from Bel-etir, for, by the same count, Arsames' secretaries should at least write like those of the contemporary Persian kings and satraps whose correspondence has been preserved in the Book of Ezra. But this is not so. The Persian letters quoted in Ezra 4-5 have greater affinity with Bel-etir's formulary than with Arsames'; i.e., Ezra 4:11 has the same praescriptio as Berlin Ost 8384 while Ezra 4:17 and 5:7 have ʿl PN (Ezra 4:11) or lPN (5:7), which is nothing but the first and decisive half of the same formula. Moreover, Ezra 4:17 and 5:7 add šlm (šlmʾ klʾ in 5:7) to the praescriptio, just as in Bel-etir's letter, while 4:11 drops the initial greeting.[3]

In case the reader entertains radical doubts about the authenticity of the documents quoted in Ezra, it might be useful to adduce another, less problematic, example. The Hermopolis letters, as we shall see, are the best specimens of a letter type most appropriate to the communication of warm feelings and to the discussion of matters of daily concern to the family circle - and such is indeed the usual content of letters belonging stylistically to this series. Nevertheless, Cl-G Ost 70, Bodleian Aram Inscr 3, and Cambridge Ost 131-133, all three of which share one or more of the best markers of the Hermopolis letter type,[4] are not distinctively profuse in their expressions of tenderness. In fact, the sender of Cl-G Ost 70 is probably not even a relative of the addressee, but simply his tailor! Here again, one might appeal to the necessary brevity of messages written on ostraca, a medium which leaves little space for endearments. But this is too facile. For example, on Cl-G Ost 70, four lines out of six are formulaic and of an affectionate character, and two other ostraca, which do not even belong to the Hermopolis letter type, end with formulae which would be very much at home on papyri of that very group.[5]

In addition, there are one or two examples in Hebrew of a letter type very similar in form to the Hermopolis letter type but which deal with military affairs, not family matters. The writers of Ktovot Arad[6] ## 21 and 40 use the Hebrew equivalent of Fitzmyer's "initial greeting brk (i)," and they both introduce themselves as the addressees' "sons." But the military object of # 40 is perfectly obvious, and that of the poorly preserved # 21 is implied by the word ʾdm ("Edom") on line 5.

Once it is understood, however, that more than one stylistic pattern was acceptable for the expression of similar messages, it seems that one should not make too much of the relative lack of consistency which I have tried to demonstrate in the foregoing paragraphs. I shall readily admit that one broad category of letters (my Series II, below) has an indefinite range of application; however, in its two main forms, the letter type used by Arsames' chancellery has a clearly definable Sitz im Leben, and nowhere else is the same stylistic pattern documented in Aramaic. Also, in Aramaic, at least, the use of the Hermopolis letter type (my Series III, below) is usually restricted to cordial messages of a private character. Perhaps, when other expressions of friendliness had to be left out for want of space or some other reason, this key-note of intimate warmth was sufficiently sounded by the initial blessings themselves.

In spite of the paucity of the evidence, it is a fact that some of the stylistic patterns enjoyed a relatively wide diffusion. The essentially formal classification which will be proposed hereafter does not coincide altogether with a grouping based on the place and time of discovery.

This is apparent enough even in the case of the letters dating back to the second Jewish Revolt (Mur and 5/6 Ḫev). No doubt a careful comparison of the Hebrew-Aramaic formulary used in those letters with the style of their Greek counterparts[7] will reveal in due season significant contacts with more broadly documented patterns; for the present, however, I shall simply point to a little-known literary piece which testifies to a similar epistolary style, more than two hundred years before Bar-Kosibah.

The Aramaic fragment 4QEnGiants^{a} 8, recently published by J. T. Milik,[8] belongs to a Herodian skin scroll,[9] and the "Book of Giants," from which it is taken, was probably composed in the last quarter of the second century B.C.[10] As recognized by the editor, the epistolary style of Enoch's letter to Šemîḫazah agrees well with that of the letters from the Judaean Desert, and best of all with that of Mur 42:[11]

1) Lines 4-5 are partly lost. In their present condition, it can not be excluded that the text ran: "PN$_1$ wrote to PN$_2$"; but this is not likely, for, in Aramaic as in English, the verb should normally stand after the sender's name (cf., Dan 6:26). The original wording was probably that of a plain praescriptio; and this could only be praescriptio (iii)(as in the Hebrew letters of Bar-Kosibah), or praescriptio (iv) (as in his Aramaic letters):
(mn ? PN ...) wqdyš' lšmyḫzh wlkwl ḫ(brwhy).
2) There is a lacuna where the initial greeting should stand.
3) Then follows on line 6 an opening formula, ydyᶜ lhw' lkwn ḏ(y) ...("let it be known to you that ..."), which is also found 5/6 Ḫev 14, l. 3; Mur 42, ll. 2-3 (an Hebrew letter). In Mur 42 as in the "Letter of Enoch," this phrase immediately follows the heading.
4) The body of the letter contains rebukes, threats and orders, as in many of Bar-Kosibah's letters.

It is unfortunate that the initial greeting, or rather, the ironical imitation which perhaps replaced it,[12] has been lost, but the praescriptio is a good pointer to the 5/6 Ḫev letter type, with its sender - addressee name sequence. As will be evident from the outlines given below, this sequence sets the letters from the Judaean Desert apart from two of the best-established early letter types, while the other early type, my Series I, can perhaps be considered as a collateral antecedent.[13]

The third major class of letters which we shall examine in the second and main part of this paper is another good example of a stylistic category which was in favor at more than one time and place. Not only does Padua Letter I link the small collection from Padua to the eight papyri of Hermopolis West, but Cl-G Ost 70 also seems to bridge the gap between the Hermopolis papyri and two other ostraca from Elephantine, Cambrige Ost 131-133 and Bodleian Aram Inscr 3, - if only we allow for the customary brevity of the ostraca.

Further proof of the wide diffusion of this letter type can be inferred from closely related forms present among the Arad ostraca and even on a VIth century Phoenician papyrus found at Saqqarah in Egypt (KAI 50).

The relevant Arad ostraca are Ktovot Arad ## 15 (?); 16 (to an extent); 21; 28 (?); 40:

1) The praescriptio of ## 15 (?); 16; 21; 40 is:
   PN_1 slḥ lšlm PN_2
   This formula has close counterparts in:
   a) the Aramaic concluding formula lšlmky šlḥt sprh znh which is found only in the Hermopolis letter type.[14]
   b) the Aramaic formula PN_1 šʾl šlm PN_2, which is used only in the HermW letters (I,3; VI,2,7-8; VIII,7-8).[15]
2) The initial greeting of ## 16; 21; 28 (?); 40 is: brktk lyhwh ("I bless you by YHWH"), a formula similar to Fitzmyer's Aramaic "initial greeting brk" which is found in the HermW letters (except # VII); with a syncretistic twist on Cl-G Ost 70; and in a slightly different form, brk ʾnt (lyhw), in Padua pap Letter I.[16]
3) In Ktovot Arad ## 15-16, the sender introduces himself as a "brother" of the addressee's and in ## 21 and 40, as a "son." This feature is not, by itself, proof of the relationship, but is, nonetheless, in agreement with the general cordiality of the Hermopolis letter type.

The Saqqarah papyrus (KAI 50) has some unique characteristics but, in many respects, its form is similar to that of the Hermopolis letters. Here are a few comments to this effect:[17]

1) The praescriptio written on the verso, ʾl PN, corresponds to Fitzmyer's praescriptio (v), viz., the first and determining half of praescriptio (i) or (ii), both of which are features of the Hermopolis letter type.
2) The second formal element, ʾmr (imper.) lPN$_1$ ʾmr (perf.) PN_2 (recto, line 1), is the old Botenformel, as first recognized by Dupont-Sommer.[18] To the wording of KAI 50, ʾmr lʾḥty ʾršt ʾmr ʾḥtk bšʾ, compare, for example, the affectionate address a-na a-ka(sic!)-ti-i qí-bí-ma um-ma a-da-tum-ma ("Zu Schwesterchen sprich: folgendermassen (hat) Väterchen (gesagt)," Kraus), in an Old Babylonian letter.[19] This Akkadian heading, which is frequently attested before the first millennium B.C. and is closely paralleled in Ugaritic,[20] is almost never found in first millennium Mesopotamia.[21] It is, therefore, remarkable to find it in a Phoenician letter of the late VIth century.
3) Although expressions similar to the third element, wšlm ʾt ʾp ʾnk šlm ("Are you well? - I too am well") (recto, line 1), are very common in letters generally, I have not been able to locate any perfectly parallel expressions. In the Aramaic corpus, however, two formulae seem to be related fairly closely to it:
   a) One is used in the Arsames correspondence: bznh qdmy šlm ʾp tmh qdmyk šlm yhwy ("I am well here; may you also be well there"[22]) (AD 1,1; 5,1-2. Partly restored at both places). This phrase differs from the third formal element of KAI 50 by the explicit wish it contains.[23]
   b) The other formula is particularly common in letters of the Hermopolis type. It coincides with only the second half of the Phoenician phrase.[24] Its purpose is to inform the addressee about the sender's, or some of his companions', good health:[25]

šlm <l>	lḥrwṣ	tnh			HermW I,3-4
šlm	nbwsh	tnh			II,2-3
šlm	bntsr	tnh	wbrh		VI,8-9
(šlm PN$_1$)	wbšh	tnh			VIII,11
šlm	glgl	tnm	šlm	ynqyh	Padua pap Letter II, verso, 2
šlm	ln	tnh			AP 37, recto, 2
šlm	ly	tn$^{\flat}$ (or:			
šlm	lytm/n$^{\flat}$	?)			AP 57,1.

4) The fourth element, brktk lb^{c}l ṣpn wlkl $^{\flat}$l tḥpnḥs ("I bless you by Baal Ṣaphon and by all the gods of Taḥpanḥes"), is one of the best markers of the Hermopolis letter type; see above, on Ktovot Arad ## 16; 21; 28 and 40.

5) The fifth element is yp^{c}lk šlm ("May they cause your welfare"). The closest parallel I have been able to find is an old one, a letter in Akkadian of the XVth century B.C. from Tell Atshana: ^{d}IM šu-lum-ka (...) šu-lum mārē.MEŠ ù māti.DI-ka li-ip-pu-uš ("May Adu cause thy welfare, the welfare of thy sons and of thy land").[26] Similar phrases are common in the Neo-Assyrian and especially in the late Babylonian correspondence, but the verb used is qabû (liqbû, "let them pronounce").[27] A phrase appearing twice in the Arsames correspondence is a good equivalent of both the Phoenician yp^{c}lk šlm and of this Babylonian formula: $^{\flat}$lhy$^{\flat}$ šlm yšmw lk (AD FV1 line 2; AD 13, line 5).[28]

From the foregoing analysis, it appears that the Phoenician letter found at Saqqarah has clear affinities with the Hermopolis letter type, in spite of all its peculiarities. In addition, this Phoenician letter has striking similarities to a surprisingly ancient Akkadian phraseology, but the blessing brktk lGN is an unmistakable earmark of the Hermopolis family, and this coincides well with the insistence on "sisterly" greetings, and the matter of private concern discussed in the main body of the text.

At the same time, KAI 50 is a good illustration of a striking characteristic of the Hermopolis letter type - devout though the wording is, it is basically indifferent to the precise religious affiliation of the writer. While the Phoenician papyrus, like the Hermopolis papyri, is obviously "pagan" (brktk lb^{c}l ṣpn; brktk lptḥ; etc.), the other messages of similar form seem to originate with Jews. Thus, Padua pap Letter I begins with a greeting for Yaho's temple; letters II and III of the same group are addressed to a Yahuyšma^{c}; the sender of C1-G Ost 70 blesses his "lord" Micah by Yaho (if also by Ḫnub!); "mother" Qawwî-l-Yah, to whom Cambridge Ost 131-133 is sent, bears a Jewish name; and the Jewish origin of the Arad letters is beyond doubt.

It would be just as easy to demonstrate that the general letter type (my Series II, below) has no particular confessional ties. While most examples are Jewish, Adon, the sender of KAI 266, invokes Baalšamayn's protection over Pharaoh (line 2); and even during a period close enough to the one we are studying, the very same pattern, with Fitzmyer's praescriptio (i) and initial greeting (i), is still to be found in an Akkadian letter invoking Aššur, Šamaš and Marduk.[29]

The Classification

Series I:

Letters written in a Persian administrative style by Arsames and some of his correspondents (briefly: The Arsames correspondence)

Two subclasses will be distinguished:
A. Orders from High Officials
B, Letters to Equals

Both of these subclasses share the following features:
Praescriptio (iii)[30]
(No titles are given to the persons mentioned)
Absence of secondary greetings
Address (ii) (here, titles are used)
Dockets

Series I differs in the following fashion from the Bar-Kosibah correspondence (Series IVC, below):

Arsames	Bar-Kosibah
(a) praescriptio (iii); no titles	praescr. (iv); titles
(b) no greetings when a superior is the sender	initial greeting even then; and the forms differ
(c) body introduced by wkᶜt	body introduced by d(y)
(d) end formulae are: address (ii) a docket	end formulae are: a concluding formula the sender's name

(a) is of little importance: the Hebrew letters from Bar-Kosibah and his circle have praescriptio (iii) like Series I, and we cannot ascertain whether the letter of Enoch[31] had (iv) or (iii).
(c) could be accounted for by the time lag, and the letter of Enoch, at least, has kᶜn somewhere within the body of the letter.
(b) and (d) are more serious, whether they point to different origins for the two series, or to grave disturbances caused in the Bar-Kosibah correspondence by external (Greek?) interference.
In the present state of our knowledge, these two series have to be kept separate.

Series I differs in the following fashion from the General Letter Type (Series II, below):

Arsames	General Letter Type
(a) praescriptio (iii); no titles	praescr. (i); titles
(b) initial greeting šlm (iv), if any; no titles	initial greeting šlm (i) or (ii); titles
(c) address (ii)	address (i), if any
(d) dockets	absence of dockets

All these differences are striking and decisive.
There are few overlaps:[32]

- AP 42, which belongs to Series II by its praescriptio (i) and final address (i), seems to have initial greeting šlm (iv);[33]

but the text is badly damaged. Even if AP 42 really uses šlm (iv), one has to bear in mind that this papyrus is palaeographically dated by Naveh to the last quarter of the Vth century,[34] and that it is, therefore, contemporary with the Arsames correspondence.[35] The type represented by Series I had probably been around long enough to make its influence felt here and there, as we can also infer from the use of initial greeting šlm (iv) in one of the letters of Series III, Padua pap Letter I. Such an influence is all the more easy to assume, if we consider initial greeting šlm (iv) as of ultimately Iranian origin, in light of the sparse evidence quoted by F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung (2d ed.; Leiden, 1964) 27 n. 3,[36] and of the Parthian letter Dura Europos 153.[37]

Iranian influence is also probable in the comparable greetings which appear in the headings of two other examples of the general letter type:

- AP 70,1-2: šlm(1m) hyʾ ḥdh wšryrʾ mrʾy yhwy yt(yr)
- AP 30-31,3 (at the end of the rather long initial greeting šlm ii): šlm ... whyn ... whdh wšryr hwy bkl ʿdn.[38]

At the same time, the absence of contacts with AP 17, addressed to Arsames from a lower level of the Persian administration, shows clearly that the letter type used in Series I was but one of the letter types permissible in the Persian offices.

Subclass A. Orders from High Officials

Name of this letter type: probably tʿm.
Cf. AD 4; 6-10. In all these examples, the body of the letter is followed by: PN ydʿ tʿmʾ znh ("PN is cognizant of this order").

List: AD 4; 6-11; FIII,4; AP 26.

Stylistic pattern:

(a) praescriptio (iii): AD 4; 6-11; FIII,4; AP 26.
(b) absence of greetings: AD 4; 6-11; AP 26.
(c) body:
beginning: wkʿt: AD 4; (6); 7-11; AP 26;
arrangement: information, followed by order.[39]
(d) statement that PN (a high-standing servant?) "is cognizant of this order": AD 4; 6-10.
(e) scribe's identification (PN sprʾ): AD 4; 6-10; AP 26.
(f) address (ii): AD 4; 7-11; AP 26.
(g) docket: AD 4; 7; 10; faint traces on AD 9; 11.

The principles behind the special features of this letter type are clear enough:
A high-ranking official does not greet his inferiors, he issues orders and threats.[40] He writes through a secretary, and however one explains element (d) above (cf. Driver, in AD, pp. 17-18), it is certainly connected with the superior-to-subordinate relationship of sender and addressee.[41]

AP 26 is special in many respects. It is concerned with public expenditures rather than with Arsames' own estate. It involves more civil servants than the satrap's private concerns - in fact, so many people are involved, that the omission of

element (d) seems natural. AP 26 was apparently written in Egypt (cf. line 27), while the AD letters were written somewhere in the eastern parts of the Empire (cf. AD, pp. 10-12); the AD letters were written on skin, AP 26 on papyrus. In view of those differentiating factors, the style of AP 26 is remarkably consistent with that of AD.

AD 6 is even more peculiar (titles in the praescriptio; no final address; no docket); but is is a kind of "passport" (cf. AD, p. 14) rather than a "letter," and, technically speaking, perhaps it should not be included here.

An isolated, but possibly related, item:

RES 1810, a fragment of papyrus found at Saqqarah in 1902, was published by M. Sznycer in 1971.[42] The imperative šlḥ ly (line 2) shows that the document was a letter, but the beginning with its formulae is lost. The fifth line has a date formula ("year 29 of king Artaxerxes" - probably Artaxerxes I, which would date the fragment to 436 B.C.), and the sixth and last line authorizes the letter by the "seal ring of Ptaḥra ...". This document obviously originated with the Persian administration, but, as far as I can judge from its end formulae, it was not written in exactly the same style as the Arsames correspondence (although AP 26 too has a date formula, line 28). This is one more illustration of the variety of patterns acceptable for office use in Vth century Egypt.

Subclass B. Letters to Equals

List of Vth century B.C. instances: AD 1-3; 5; 12; 13; FII, 1-2:1; III,4; V,1; IX,6; XII,8 (?).
(The following items will be discussed in an appendix:
Dura-Europos 153;[43]
Rabbi Jehudah the Prince to Emperor Antoninus;
Dura-Europos 154;[44]
pap Mird A).

Stylistic pattern (on the basis of the Vth century evidence):

(a) praescriptio (iii): AD 1 (it seems); 2 (it seems); 3; 5; 12; 13; FIII,4.
(b) initial greeting šlm (iv): AD 1 (it seems); AD 2 (as restored); 3; 5; 13; FII,1-2:1; IX,6 (and V,1? XII,8?).
(c) additional greetings:
- šlm bznh qdmy ʾp šlm tmh qdmyk yhwy (AD 1 and 5; partly restored at both places).[45]
- ʾlhyʾ šlm yšmw lk (at the end of the body of AD 13; before the body of FV,1).[46]
(d) the body, introduced by wkʿt: AD 5; 12; 13; FXII,8. (The same particle can also be read on FII,23:1, and I cannot see any reason for assigning this frg. to Subclass A. There is no letter or letter frg. where wkʿt is positively excluded by what remains of the text).
(e) address (ii): AD 2; 3; 5; 12; ;3; FV,1 (?).
(f) docket: only faint traces on AD 2 and 3; legible on AD 5 and 12; positively no trace on AD 13.

The guiding principles at work in these letters are easy to perceive:

The chancellery formalities evident in Subclass A are generally observed (even the omission of titles in the heading!), but an equal (as in AD 12 and perhaps 13), or a quasi-equal (as in AD 1-3; 5) is politely greeted, unless the reason for the letter is a quarrel (AD 12). Because no "order" has been issued here by the writer, there is no need for the somewhat threatening statement that "PN is cognizant" of it.

AD 13 is undoubtedly a member of this subclass. Note, for example, the combination of praescriptio (iii), initial greeting šlm (iv) and address (ii). Nevertheless, it has some unique features. Its content is more private and more cordial than in the other AD letters. There is no need for a docket - this is not the kind of document to which one might have to return in order to clear up some later complications. The concluding formula "May the gods grant you šlm," comparable, as we saw, to one of the affectionate formulas used in KAI 50, is consistent with the geniality of AD 13, but the fact that the same phrase reappears in the more businesslike FV,1 shows that, more generally, we are dealing with a letter type other than Subclass A.

Appendix. Related items from later times.

Only very limited probes into materials from the Christian era have been possible so far. It is nonetheless beyond doubt that the influence of the administrative style evident in the Arsames correspondence, or of comparable letter types, lingered a long while in what had been the sphere of Imperial Aramaic. This much can be inferred from the following documents, although no one of them can be shown to perfectly conform to the style used in AD.

(a) Dura-Europos 153, a Parthian letter from the IIIrd century A.D., is very close to Series I, Subclass B: praescriptio (iii), initial greeting šlm (iv) (entirely in Aramaeograms), followed by two other courtly formulae in which Aramaeograms play a lesser part, and which must be the subject of further inquiry. The rest of the letter is lost, and nothing can be said, therefore, about the use of kʿt, of an address formula, etc. A minor divergence from AD is the use of the title "lord" in the initial greeting and the subsequent formulae;[47] but comparison is unsafe because the AD correspondence has no example of a letter to a superior official.

(b) In the anecdote about Rabbi Jehudah's letter to Antoninus quoted in Gen. Rab., parasha 75, only the praescriptio is quoted. Two wordings are proposed: the scribe's spontaneous formulation, and Rabbi Jehudah's correction, supported by a biblical quotation. From our standpoint, only the first draft is meaningful. It corresponds with Fitzmyer's praescriptio (iii), but it differs from the Arsames Correspondence, and probably also from Dura-Europos 153, in that the title mrʾn mlkʾ is prefixed to the addressee's name.

(c) Dura-Europos 154 preserves part of the greetings and of the body of a IIIrd century A.D. Middle Persian letter. The body of the letter is introduced by wkʿt, and the greeting (complete?) reads:

šRM ʿS(G)D(H) (K)BYR šDRWN (K)Lʾ

"Greetings, hommage, much sent (to) all" (Henning). ʿs(q)d(h)[48] is unparalleled in the rest of our epistolographic evidence, but the general similarity of this formula to initial greeting šlm (iv) is unmistakable. At the same time it seems that this petrified Aramaic phrase took shape in some unknown, but definitely eastern, part of the Imperial Aramaic area. I shall not try to demonstrate that the adj./adv. kbyr and the paʿel of šdr are exclusively eastern, but it is noteworthy that their only attestations in Imperial Aramaic are in the Proverbs of Ahiqar (both), in an inscription from Armazi in Georgia, KAI 276 (kbyr), and as Aramaeograms in Iranian texts (both). It is even more significant that kbyr should be used where the other letters which have survived have šgyʾ, and that the verb šdr should replace hwšr or šlḥ. Dura-Europos 154 thus gives us a glimpse into the little-known epistolographic realm to which the Arsames correspondence also belongs.[49]

(d) pap Mird A, written in Judaea late in the first millennium A.D., brings us back to the Western Aramaic area. Praescriptio (iii) (with titles!) is visible through a smear of Christian devotion, and even the concluding good wish, for all its Christian coloring, is not necessarily foreign to Series I, Subclass B, as we can see from AD 13,5. However, there can be no question of a direct continuity.

Series II:

An all-purpose letter type

List of unimpeachable instances:[50]
KAI 266; AP 17; 21; 30-31; 37-41; 56; BMAP 13; pap Berlin 23000; pap El Hibeh;[51] Cl-G Ost 277

Stylistic pattern:

(a) praescriptio (i), with titles:
from "servant" to "lord": KAI 266; AP 17; 30-31; 39; BMAP 13; pap El Hibeh;
to "lords": AP 37; 38.
from "brother" to "brother": AP 21; 40; 41; 56; pap Berlin 23000; Cl-G Ost 277.

(b) initial greeting šlm (i): AP 17; 21; 37; 39; 40; 41; 56; BMAP 13; pap Berlin 23000; Cl-G Ost 277.[52]
or initial greeting šlm (ii), i.e., various expanded forms of šlm (i): KAI 266; AP 30-31; 38.

(c) The body of the letter begins by wkʿt (or a variant) wherever verification is possible, viz.:
wkʿt: AP 17; 21; 38; 39; 56; BMAP 13 (restored); pap Berlin 23000.
kʿt: AP 31.
kʿnt: AP 37.
kʿn: AP 30.

(d) final address (i):[53] AP 21; 38; 39; 40; 41 (it seems); 56; BMAP 13; pap Berlin 23000; pap El Hibeh.

(e) (dates are added to AP 17;[54] 30-31; BMAP 13; but this can not be said to be a standing element of the all-purpose letter type).

Nature and Origin of Series II

The great regularity shown by the fourteen pieces of evidence listed above establishes beyond doubt the existence of a definite pattern, characterized above all by praescriptio (i) (on which final address i is moulded) and by initial greeting šlm (i) (capable of various expansions). We shall propose below that the same formulae could be abridged in many ways, especially when the writing material was an ostracon, and that Series II thus had a much larger membership than the basic list would suggest.

As to its contents, Series II embraces the widest range of subject matters, from the most serious imperial (KAI 266) or ethnico-religious (AP 21; 30-31; etc.) issues, to family or household concerns with a sentimental (AP 39; 40) or a business-like keynote (pap El Hibeh; pap Berlin 23000; ostraca). As stated above, at the end of the Prolegomena, people of all religious affiliations used this same stylistic pattern; it was undoubtedly an "all-purpose" letter type.

The distinctive formulae of Series II begin to appear in Akkadian during the Middle Babylonian period, and this, interestingly enough, in the Canaanite speaking area. Many of the Tell El-Amarna letters begin by ana PN_1 umma PN_2 (-ma),[55] which is a fair equivalent of praescriptio (i), ʾl PN_1 PN_2 although the very frequent Neo-Assyrian formula ana PN_1 PN_2 is even closer.[56] As to the initial greeting, the first letter from Taʿannak (XVth century B.C.), as observed as early as 1909 by S. Daiches,[57] already has ilānu li-iš-a-lu šu-lum-ka šu-lum bīti-ka ma-re-ka, "May the gods greet you, your house, your sons" (lines 5-7), a fine equivalent of initial greeting šlm (i), of which there is a handful of other examples in the Neo-Assyrian letters.[58] In Aramaic, Series II is documented as early as ca. 600 (KAI 266), while pap Berlin 23000 is palaeographically dated ca. 375-350,[59] and pap El Hibeh ca. 350.[60] Even though the Strasbourg Libr. Ost is too peculiar to be included in the basic supporting evidence of Series II, it certainly belongs to this same letter type, as we shall see below - and it is addressed to a lptynʾ, Leptines, thus illustrating the persistence of Series II in the Hellenistic era. A letter type used by so many and for such a long period of time was bound to be occasionally interspersed with formulae more at home in other epistolary patterns.

Simplified forms, used mainly on ostraca

The justification for collecting a dozen items here lies in the following observations:

1) Ostraca did not usually lend themselves to the use of lengthy headings.

2) Praescriptio (v) is nothing but the first, and determining, half of praescriptio (i).

3) Various short greetings are best explained as shortened forms of initial greeting šlm (i).

As this last statement is likely to evoke skepticism,[61] it may not be superfluous to tabulate some evidence supporting the derivation of šlm PN from the full form of initial greeting šlm (i):[62]

Cl-G Ost 186	šlm-k	yhh	(sbʾt	yšʾ)l	bkl	ʿdn	kʿn
Cl-G Ost 167	(šlm-k	yh)h	sbʾt	yšʾ(l	?	?	?
Munich Ost 899 conc.	(šlm-k	?	?	?	bkl	ʿd)n	kʿn
Strasbourg Libr. Ost	šlm ʾhy				bkl	ʿdn	wkʿt
Cl-G Ost 228	šlm-ky						kʿnt
Bodleian Libr. Ost	šlm-k						kʿn
Cl-G Ost 44	šlm ydnyh						kʿn
Cl-G Ost 169	(š)lm ʾhwtb						kʿn

It can not be strictly demonstrated that the forms with only šlm and a pronominal suffix, or šlm and a PN, are abridged from initial greeting šlm (i); but the Strasbourg Libr. Ost, and perhaps also the poorly preserved Munich Ost 899, seem to mediate convincingly enough between the full form and the short phrases. It is also interesting, in this connection, to note with Dupont-Sommer[63] how forms with šlm followed by a genitive are added to the full greeting on lines 1-3 of AP 39:

ʾlhyʾ kl yšʾlw šlm-ky bkl ʿdn
šlm mrʾy mnḥm
etc.

It seems, therefore, that a number of Aramaic letters with short praescriptio and initial greeting can best be assigned to the all-purpose letter type:

(a) praescriptio (i); shortened initial greeting šlm (i): Strasbourg Libr. Ost (= RES 1300).
(b) praescriptio (v); shortened initial greeting šlm (i): Bodleian Libr. Ost (= RES 1793);[64] AP 54,verso,1-2(?).[65]
(c) praescriptio lost, but probably to be restored as praescriptio (v); initial greeting šlm (i): Cl-G Ost 167; 186; Munich Ost 899, conc. (restored).
(d) no praescriptio; the heading is simply šlm plus a PN: Cl-G Ost 44; 152; 169; Munich Ost 898; Bodleian Aram Inscr 2; Berlin Ost 10680; 11379;[66] 11383.
(e) praescriptio (v), no greeting: Cairo Ost 3468a; the separate message at the end of the Assur Ostracon (Berlin Ost 8384), lines 19-21.

As for the last two categories listed below, their relevance to Series II is admittedly rather speculative:

(f) praescriptio irretrievably damaged; no greeting: BM Ost 14219 (= CIS II 138);[67] RES 247 (a papyrus);[68] Mur 72.[69]
(g) no praescriptio, no greeting: Cl-G Ost 16; Berlin Ost 1137; 10679; Ashmolean Museum Ost; Cairo Ost 35468b, conv.; 49624; 49625. All these ostraca have texts without headings. Berlin 1137 begins by kʿn; Berlin 10679 and Ashmolean Mus., by kʿnt; Cairo 49625 is unintelligible on its conc. side; the conv. side begins by kʿn, but this is not necessarily the beginning of the message.[70] The three remaining ostraca begin with imperatives. Cairo Ost 49624 is somewhat special. It ends by an address formula identical to praescriptio (v), and its relationship to Series II is thus more positively established.

Other relatively legible texts without epistolary headings, which one might be tempted to list here, are really strikingly different, and are probably not to be regarded as "letters."[71]

I shall not venture to classify here messages broken at both ends, such as those on BM Ost 133028,[72] which might conceivably have had a praescriptio of a type other than (i) or (v).

Letters influenced by formulas from other series.

A. Series II as contaminated by Series I, or at least by Iranian influence.

AP 30-31 has praescriptio (i) and initial greeting šlm (ii) as Series II, but the last element of this greeting has some similarity to šlm (iv).[73]
AP 42 has praescriptio (i) and final address (i) as Series II, but initial greeting šlm (iv) as Series I.[74]
AP 70 has praescriptio (i) as Series II, but its greeting is related to šlm (iv).[75]
C1-G Ost 228 has praescriptio (iii) as Series I,[76] but the greeting is šlm with a pronominal suffix, which is probably derived from initial greeting šlm (i), and which thus points to Series II.

B. Slight overlaps with Series III.

Much less far-reaching are the formal overlaps of Series II with Series III than those with Series I; in my opinion, they simply demonstrate that Series II was indeed an all-purpose letter type, adptable to the expression of kindly interest as well as to the discussion of pressing business.

(a) Letters with secondary greetings:
- šlm PN_1 šlm PN_2..., closely following the initial greeting: AP 39 and 40.
- šlm PN_1 šlm PN_2..., deep inside the body of the letter, which otherwise occurs only in Series III: BMAP 13,6.
- šlm bytk wbnyk, at the end of AP 34.[77]

(b) AP 37 has the formula šlm PN tnh (recto, line 2).[78]
(c) Formulae characterized by the hope or wish to "see your face (happily)" should probably be restored in AP 34,7; 41,8; BMAP 13,14; cf. also C1-G Ost 152,conv.,4-5, where a comparable phrase is used.[79]

None of these contacts is serious enough to cast into doubt the relationship of any of these letters to Series II; and BMAP 13 could very well be listed with the basic evidence for this letter type.

Appendix. The Bel-etir Type.

List: Berlin Ost 8384; Ezra 4:11-16;17-22; 5:7b-17.

Stylistic pattern:
(a) praescriptio (i): from "servants" to "king": Ezra 4:11;
from "brother" to "brother": Berlin Ost 8384;
or praescriptio (v): to "king": Ezra 5:7;
to various officials: Ezra 4:17
(b) initial greeting:
šlm: Berlin Ost 8384;[80] Ezra 4:17;
šlm' kl' : Ezra 5:7;
omitted: Ezra 4:11.
(c) Body of the letter:
begins by: wkᶜnt: Ezra 4:11; wkᶜt: Ezra 4:17;

begins ex abrupto: Berlin Ost 8384 (it seems; cf. ftn.1); Ezra 5:8.

(d) concluding formula:
there seems to be one at Ezra 5:17b, but its wording is somewhat surprising.[81]

This class of letters is hard to discuss. Bel-etir's message is a reliable witness to actual practice, but it is an ostracon, and, as such, it is suspect of not presenting all the earmarks of its genre, in spite of the considerable length of its text. The rest of the evidence is literary. It is common knowledge that the orthography has been modernized (e.g., dy instead of zy); but how far did the adaptations go? Were closing formulae (such as a final address, for instance) eliminated by the biblical narrators? This is to be expected, but our only independent witness, Berlin Ost 8384, does not enable us to test it. Was a greeting omitted, after the praescriptio of Ezra 4:11? From the analogy of Bel-etir's letter and of Ezra 4:17, this greeting might have been a bare šlm, but why then eliminate it? And could the original greeting have been so curt as in those two examples, neither of which is a letter to the king as Ezra 4:11-16?

Note also the serious differences that separate Ezra 5:7b-17 from the letters of ch. 4:
- praescriptio with l- instead of ʿl;
- initial greeting with klʾ added to šlmʾ;
- absence of kʿ(n)t at the outset of the body of the letter;
- concluding formula in 5:17b.

Of the royal letter which no doubt included Ezra 6:3-5 (Cyrus' decree) the first part has been omitted by the narrators. We can only surmise that it was in the style of 4:17ff., but the style of 5:7ff. cannot be excluded. One must also bear in mind that Ezra 7:12ff. belongs to yet another series.

Everything considered, the unity of the present group is not assured. These letters can, however, be provisionally classified together as a separate entity in the vicinity of Series II because of their praescriptio. It seems preferable not to regard them as directly pertaining to that series because, contrary to many ostraca, one can not account satisfactorily for the brevity of their initial greeting (and of the praescriptio used in Ezra 4:17 and 5:7). The case for their simple šlm being abridged from the full form of initial greeting šlm (i) would be really too weak. The best analogy might well be Akkadian lū šulmu (late: šulum) ana bēlija, "Greetings to my lord."[82] Of course, more light can be expected from an analysis of formulae used inside the letters; one can point, for instance, to the phrase :

ʿl dnh šlḥnʾ whwdʿnʾ lmlkʾ (Ezra 4:14),

which appears as a sort of concluding formula in two letters of Series II (AP 30-31,28f.; AP 38,9). On the other hand,

ydyʿ lhwʾ lmlkʾ (Ezra 4:12;cf.4:13;5:8)

would link the Ezra letters to Arsames' correspondence (cf. AD 4,3;7,8),[83]

Series III:

Cordial Private Letters. The "Hermopolis Letter Type"

List: HermW Papyrus Letters I-VIII; Padua Papyrus Letters I-III Cl-G Ost 70; Bodleian Aram Inscr 3;[84] Cambridge Ost 131-133; HermW IIIB (i.e., HermW III,5-10(?), a fairly complete and independent message).

Stylistic pattern:

(a) temple greeting: HermW I; II; III; IV: VIII (it seems); Padua I; verification is impossible on Padua III; omitted elsewhere.

(b) praescriptio (i): HermW III; Padua II; Cl-G Ost 70; Bodleian Aram Inscr 3 (it seems); Cambridge Ost 131-133;

or praescriptio (ii): HermW I; II; IIIB; IV; V; VI; VII; Padua I; verification impossible on HermW VIII; Padua III could have praescriptio (i), (ii) or (v).

sender/addressee relationship:

"brother" to "brother" or "sister":		HermW I; II; IIIB; IV; V; VI;
"brother" to "mother":		HermW VII;
"brother" to "son":		Padua I;
"brother" to ? :		Bodleian Aram Inscr 3
? to "sister":		Padua III;
"son" to "mother":		Padua II; Cambridge Ost 131-133;
"servant" to "lord":		HermW III; Cl-G Ost 70;
? to ? :		HermW VIII

Titles seem to have been used everywhere - and titles pertaining to family relationships are strongly predominant.

(c) initial greeting brk: HermW I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VIII; in second place, after šlm (iii), in Cl-G Ost 70; inserted, in a variant form, towards the end of the body of Padua I, which has šlm (iv) as main greeting.

or initial greeting šlm (iii): HermW IIIB; VII; Cl-G Ost 70; Bodleian Aram Inscr 3; Cambridge Ost 131-133;

no initial greeting (it seems): Padua II;

verification impossible: Padua III.

(d) The secondary greeting šlm PN (i.e., "greeting to PN," PN being a companion of the addressee's) is often and freely enough inserted, anywhere between the main initial greeting and the final address, thus:

- once, before the body of the letter: HermW I; III;
- once, after the concluding formula: Padua II;
- twice, i.e.,before the body and before the concluding formula: HermW VII;
- twice, i.e.,within the body and before the concluding formula: HermW II;

- 3 times, i.e., before the body, before and after the concluding formula: HermW IV;
- 3 times within the body (it seems): HermW VIII;

omitted in HermW IIIB; V; VI; Padua I; Cl-G Ost 70; Bodleian Aram Inscr 3; Cambridge Ost 131-133; verification is impossible on Padua III.

From this table, Series III would seem to omit this secondary greeting as often as it uses it; but this would be a false impression. No such greeting can be expected in HermW IIIB, a letter within a letter, nor very well on the ostraca. HermW V is addressed jointly to the sender's two (apparently) close relations in Luxor - perhaps his only close relations there! In HermW VI, a comparable formula plays the same part as šlm PN, on lines 2 and 7-8. Therefore, some flexibility in the pattern must be admitted even with regard to this formula, but it was certainly normal to use it in letters of this series.

(e) The body of the letter begins by:
wkʿt: HermW I; II; III; IIIB; IV; V; VI; VIII(?);[85]
wkʿn: HermW VII;
kʿn: Cl-G Ost 70;
kʿnt: Bodleian Aram Inscr 3; Cambridge Ost 131-133;
verification is impossible on the Padua letters.

(f) Various formulae giving expression to friendly sentiments:
- šlm (l) PN tnḥ, "PN is well here;"[86]
- PN$_1$ šʾl šlm PN$_2$, "PN$_1$ greets PN$_2$;"[87]
- ʾl tṣp lPN ("do not worry about PN"), and PN$_1$ yṣp lPN$_2$("PN$_1$ worries about PN$_2$");[88]
- phrases centered on "beholding each other's countenance."[89]

(g) Concluding formula (i):
HermW I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VII; Padua II; Cl-G Ost 70;
omitted: Padua I; Bodleian Aram Inscr 3 (it seems); Cambridge Ost 131-133; and, of course, HermW IIIB;
verification is impossible on HermW VIII and Padua III.
The only surprising omission is Padua I.

(h) Final address (i), with specifications:
- address: HermW I; II; III; IV; V; VI; VII; VIII; Padua I; Padua II;
omitted on Cl-G Ost 70; Cambridge Ost 131-133;
verification is impossible on Padua III and Bodleian Aram Inscr 3;
HermW IIIB is irrelevant here.
- place name: omitted by the ostraca; by Padua I;
verification is impossible on Padua II and III as well as on Bodleian Aram Inscr 3.
- ybl (cf. Fitzmyer, JBL 93, 1974, 219):
omitted by HermW IV and by the same witnesses as the place name.

If one allows for the brevity of the ostraca, and for a quite natural measure of flexibility with regard to the use of secondary greetings and other friendly expressions, this is one of the most sharply differentiated letter types. But it is necessary to add that some of its best markers have an optional character:

(a) The temple greeting. - One can easily suspect that there is a rationale for its inclusion or rejection. Thus, if it is lacking in the letters directed to Luxor, this may be due to the insignificance of the Aramaean colony there, which did not have a shrine of any importance. But this is sheer hypothesis.

(b) Praescriptio (i) or (ii).- Obviously, this difference is a minor one: praescriptio (ii) merely adds mn before PN_2, without any change in the meaning or even the word order; and note that we have both on the same papyrus (HermW III and IIIB).

(c) Initial greeting brk or šlm (iii). Again, the connection between these two formulae is demonstrated by HermW III and IIIB, and by Cl-G Ost 70, which has both! And note that both formulae belong exclusively to Series III.

It is impossible to divide Series III into two shorter series, one of which, for instance, would have temple greeting, praescriptio (ii), initial greeting brk and a concluding formula, while the other would have no temple greeting, praescriptio (i), initial greeting šlm (iii) and no concluding formula. The options permissible within the bounds of Series III are simply not made with such regulariy! But because they do exist, this series as a whole resembles a spectrum, the extremities of which would seem to have nothing in common. At one end, there are the HermW papyri I and II, with a very complete assortment of the characteristic features of Series III, while at the other end, there are two ostraca (Bodleian Aram Inscr 3 and Cambrige Ost 131-133) with barely initial greeting šlm (iii) (not found on HermW I and II!) as a distinguishing mark.

So, at the very minimum, Series III is set apart from all the others by its initial greeting, whether it is brk or šlm (iii). Nevertheless, Padua II, which unquestionably belongs here, has no "main" initial greeting, and Series III is, in most instances, differentiated from Series II (its closest parallel[90]) by more features than the initial greeting:

Series II	Series III
never any temple greeting	often with temple greeting
never with praescriptio (ii)	often with praescr. (ii)
initial greeting šlm (i) or (ii)	šlm (iii) or brk
no concluding formula	often with concl. form. (i)
sometimes dated	never dated
no specifications for delivery	often with specifications.

Although, as we have seen, the all-purpose letter type could be used for cordial private messages, there can not be any doubt that this function belonged more specifically to Series III. The three ostraca which seem formally to belong to it are very sober in tone, but they can not reverse the general impression resulting from the papyri. Moreover, those same ostraca and the Padua papyri show that the "Hermopolis style" was not only known to a particular group of Aramaeans, but that it was also quite familiar to the Jews of Elephantine, who wrote most of the letters classified in Series II.

More work has to be done concerning the antecedents of Series III. Commenting in the Prolegomena on the Saqqarah Phoenician papyrus and on some of the Arad ostraca, I pointed to certain ties with Akkadian epistolary formulae. It will be necessary to examine further whether there is any link at all between, e.g., brktk lGN, and the greetings centered on likrubu ("may ... they bless"), frequent in the late Akkadian correspondence,[91] or the rare praescriptio ana PN_1 PN_2 karibka ("... who blesses you").[92] In any case, if the proposed connection of Series III with KAI 50 and some Arad ostraca wins ac-

ceptance, the formative period of this series will be found to go back to the VIth century at the very latest.

Series IV

Letter types characterized by praescriptio (iv)

"Series IV" is in fact a medley of ill-documented letter types. The evidence consists largely of literary pieces of unclear origin. The most self-contained subclass, the Bar-Kosibah letters, is not yet completely published, and has to be judged in the light of the Hebrew and the Greek letters reflecting the same environment. Its final assessment would call for judgements somewhat premature at the present stage of our work.

I have chosen to classify this series of letters under three headings. The first category, A, is admittedly lacking in consistency, and the only reason for putting it here is that it may contain antecedents of formulae which emerge more decisively later in B and C.

A

List: Ahiqar, line 165;[93] Ezra 7:12-26; Enoch's letter (4Q EnGiants[a] 8, lines 4-15.[94]

Formal elements:

(a) praescriptio (iv): Ahiqar; Ezra 7:12. Enoch's letter had either this, or praescriptio (iii), perhaps recast in the style of a narrative introduction.

(b) initial greeting: none: Ahiqar;
none, or lost: Enoch's letter;
unclear: Ezra 7:12.[95]

(c) the body of the letter is introduced by:
wkʿnt: Ezra 7:12;
no particle: Ahiqar;
verification is impossible on Enoch's letter, but note wkʿn, line 14.

B

The Daniel and Gamaliel Type

List: Dan 3:31-33;[96] 6:26-28; letters of Gamaliel II to three parts of the Jewish world, in t. Sanh. 2:6 and parallels.[97]

(A caveat.- Of all the five examples listed above, only the first has correctly preserved the form of its praescriptio. All the others underwent narrative adaptations, with the result that the form of praescriptio they use seems to be (v). This is just as clear in the case of the Gamaliel letters as in the case of Dan 6:26, as soon as one breaks the false impression created by their separate printing by Dalman, and reads them in their Talmudic context. The best test of this interpretation is the Septuagint version of Dan 4 (sic). There, the praescriptio proper (praescr. iv!) is preserved

at the beginning of v 34c, and a narrative transposition, similar to that of Dan 6:26, and suggestive of praescriptio (v), is offered at the beginning of v 34b. I shall therefore assume that the letter type used in all those documents actually had praescriptio (iv)).

Formal elements:
(a) praescriptio (iv): Dan 3:31. Recast as narrative elsewhere (cf. above, caveat).
(b) initial greeting šlm (v): everywhere.
(c) the body of the letter has no introductory particle.

This is not necessarily a late pattern. Praescriptio (iv) is old, cf. Ahiqar 165, and Ezra 7:12; and the greeting šlmkwn yšg' is reminiscent of an ancient Akkadian formula, documented in the Tell El-Amarna and the Ras Shamra correspondence: lū šulmu ana PN adanniš ("may PN prosper very much").[98] Of course the Aramaic formula has a ring of originality. It uses a verbal form, contrary to Akkadian, but this also can be quite old; to šlmkwn yšg', compare lmh yšg' ḥblh (Ezra 4:22).

C

The Style of Bar-Kosibah's Aramaic Correspondence

List: 5/6 Ḥev 1;2;4;8;10;11;14;15.

Stylistic pattern:
(a) praescriptio (iv): 5/6 Ḥev 1;4;8;10;11;14;15; verification impossible on # 2.
(b) initial greeting šlm/šlm:
- šlm appended to praescriptio: 5/6 Ḥev 1;10;
- šlm inserted after sender's name: 5/6 Ḥev 4;
- initial greeting omitted: 5/6 Ḥev 8;15;
- verification impossible : 5/6 Ḥev 2;11;14.
(c) the body of the letter is introduced by:
- d: 5/6 Ḥev 4;
- dy: 5/6 Ḥev 8;10;
- no particle: 5/6 Ḥev 15;
- verification impossible: 5/6 Ḥev 1;2;11;14.
(d) concluding formula (ii): 5/6 Ḥev 4;11;15.[99]
(e) writer's identification: 5/6 Ḥev 8.[100]

Whereas the same pattern emerges in the Hebrew letters from the same circle (cf., e.g., š- as the particle introducing the body of the letter, in Mur 42 etc.), comparison between those two parts of Bar-Kosibah's correspondence shows the relative unimportance of the distinction between praescriptio (iii)(Hebrew) and praescriptio (iv)(Aramaic); and, as I pointed out in the Prolegomena, it shows that the epistolary style before us was not reserved for the proclamation of orders and threats.

Stylistically speaking, in spite of such antecedents as the fable of the Bramble-bush (Ahiqar 165), or the letter of Enoch, I suspect very strongly that Greek influence has contributed at least as much as Semitic tradition to the development of the epistolary forms evidenced in Bar-Kosibah's letters. More evidence is to be expected, and I must admit I have not fully analyzed even the data presently available, but a pheno-

menon like the semantic and functional conformity between Greek errõso (SB 9843 line 21; 9844 line 7) and the Aramaic concluding formula hwʾ šlm (which has no antecedent in our corpus) can hardly be explained otherwise than by Greek influence.

NOTES

1 Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'ostracon araméen d'Assour,"Syria 24(1944/1945)54-55.

2 Transl. J. D. Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography: The Arsames Correspondence." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974.

3 Only Ezra 7:12-26 may be more comparable to Arsames' correspondence; e.g., in the praescriptio, it uses the same sequence writer-addressee, even though the sender's name is not preceded by mn as in AD. Towards the end of v 12, gmyr possibly stands for something like our "etc." and allows for any kind of greeting. The Greek of Esdras A' reads chairein, i.e., šlm, instead of gmyr (8:9), and the letter heading as a whole thus appears similar to that used in the letters from 5/6 Ḥev (for the Greek Ḥev letters, cf. B. Lifshitz, "Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda,"Aegyptus 42,1962,240-258,or: Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, ## 9843;9844); but it is doubtful that chairein represents a better Vorlage than gmyr; it agrees much too well with the hellenizing tendency of the context (note ta philanthrõpa,v 10!).

4 Fitzmyer's initial greeting šlm (iii) is used in all three of these messages, with the addition of initial greeting brk in Cl-G Ost 70 (conc.,line 3).- With the help of Lidzbarski's collation of Bodleian Aram Inscr 3 (in Ephemeris, II p. 402, M b), and in light of the two other ostraca discussed here, lines 1-2 of the conc. side of this inscr. can be restored as: (šlm whyn? šlḥt) lk (cf. Fitzmyer, JBL 93,1974,215).

5 a) Cl-G Ost 152 conv 4-5: tḥzyn ʾnpy wʾḥzh ʾpyky, "may you behold my countenance and may I behold your countenance" (B.A. Levine,JAOS,84,1964,21; so also P. Grelot, Documents araméens d'Egypte, Paris, 1972, # 91). To this formula, cp. zy yḥzny ʾpyk bšlm (HermW I,2), and cognate forms in HermW II,2;III,2;V,2; with the verb ḥwy instead of ḥzy: HermW VI,2;Padua I,3. It seems that cognate forms should also be restored in some letters of the "all-purpose" type (AP 34,7;41,8;BMAP 13,4).

b) Bodleian Libr. Ost (= RES 1793),conv.,5-6: hʿwʿy šlḥ šlm ynqʾ,"keep sending news of the baby" (cf. B. Porten, Archives from Elephantine, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968, 276; Grelot, Documents, # 94). To this formula, compare šlm yqyh hwy šlḥt lh (HermW I,verso,4).

6 Ed. Y. Aharoni, with the collaboration of J. Naveh (Jerusalem: Bialik Inst. & I.E.S.,1975).

7 References above, in ftn. 3.

8 The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4 (Oxford:Clarendon,1976) 315-316.

9 Ibid., 178.

10 Ibid., 57-58.

11 Ibid., 316.

12 Another Enochic text in epistolary dress is discussed by Milik, Books of Enoch, 51-52.

13 Among the few other pieces sharing the sender-addressee sequence, note Ezra 7:12 and the Daniel letters. 4QEnGiants

would seem to link the Mur and the 5/6 Ḥev evidence to these materials and to letters from the Persian times generally; besides ydyᶜ lhwᵓ lkwn, common in Ezra, note prsgn (l. 3); prsᵓ (l.4); qblh (l. 10); kᶜn (l. 14) (the Bar-Kosibah letters do not use kᶜn; their Greek counterparts do not use kai nun).

14 Cf. Fitzmyer, JBL 93,1974,217.- The unmistakable perfect of the Aramaic, as well as the preterit used in Old Babylonian letters, suggest that Aharoni should have pointed šlḥ as a perfect rather than as a participle; but see his comments on # 40, where he envisages the possibility of restoring šlḥ(w) as well as šlḥ(m). For Old Babylonian examples (ana šulmīka ašpuram, etc.), cf. E. Salonen, Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen (StudOr; Helsinki, 1967) 21; 31ff.

15 This formula resembles the late Babylonian phrase: PN_1 šulum ša PN_2 išâlu, used as a praescriptio, e.g., in E. Ebeling, Neubabylonische Briefe (Munich, 1949) ## 157;225;247 (and 16 other times), and used as a "secondary greeting" ibid. ## 300; 301. Cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln, pp. 80;86; 105-106.

16 Cf. Fitzmyer, JBL 93,1974,215.- This formula had already been correctly explained by A. Dupont-Sommer in his edition of Cl-G Ost 70, "Le syncrétisme religieux des Juifs d'Eléphantine d'après un ostracon araméen inédit,"RHR 130(1945)22; see, most recently, M. Weippert, "Zum Präskript der hebräischen Briefe von Arad,"VT 25(1975) 207-211.

17 As a supplement to KAI, cf. J.B. Peckham,S.J., The Development of the Phoenician Scripts (Cambridge,Mass.,1968) 128; A. van den Branden, "La lettera fenicia di Saqqâra,"BeO 12 (1970)212-219; L. Delekat, "Ein Papyrusbrief in einer phönizisch gefärbten Konsekutiv-tempus-Sprache aus Ägypten (KAI 50),"Or 40(1971) 401-409.

18 "Note on a Phoenician Papyrus from Saqqara,"PEQ 81(1949)53-54.

19 Cf. F.R. Kraus, Altbabylonische Briefe,I(Leiden,1964) # 22, 1-3. And note the next words: "I am well; may Šamaš and GN keep you in good health forever for my sake." (Compare the 3d and 5th elements here).

20 Cf. O. Kaiser, "Zum Formular der in Ugarit gefundenen Briefe," ZDPV 86(1970)12-13.

21 Cf. AHW, s.v. qabû G 1 a; Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,p. 80.

22 Whitehead's translation; cf. above, ftn. 2.

23 Another formula, popular at Ugarit both in Akkadian and in the local speech (cf. Kaiser,ZDPV,86,1970,19-20), would have even greater affinities with KAI 50, except that the information on the sender's well-being comes first, and that an answer is explicitly requested (ṯēma terra ana ardīka in Akk.; in Ugaritic: wrgm ttb l.ᶜbdk). For more Akkadian background, cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln, pp. 52-53.

24 As do Akkadian parallels of the first millennium: "Due to the gods' protection, šu-lum a-na-ku, šu-lum a-na I.dbēl-iddina, etc." (Ebeling, Neubabylonische Briefe, # 293,4-6). Cf. also ABL ## 108;109 (medical reports!) and of course the numerous royal letters beginning like this: "I am well; rejoice!"(e.g. ABL # 399).

25 The only examples I have retained are those where the word tnh ("here") makes it clear that we are not dealing with good wishes for the addressee's companions. Padua pap I,recto,5, however, is an example without tnh which is certainly part of the same series, and which somewhat bridges the gap between

it and the form used in KAI 50.

26 Cf. D.J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London,1953) # 116,5-7.

27 The form used in the letter is: GN_1 (GN_2 etc.) šulum PN (or another genitive) liqbû. Cf. Ebeling, Neubabylonische Briefe, ## 9;68;70;112;269(a letter dated of 511/510 B.C.,with an Aramaic seal print);274;315. - # 269 and # 315 use an Akk. equivalent of praescriptio (v)(i.e., ana PN), as does also, in Phoenician, KAI 50. # 274 begins with an equivalent of the praescriptio associated with the Hermopolis letter type, which opens some of the Arad letters: $^{I.d}$nabû-aḫu-iddina šulum šá ^{I}bēl-ētir-^{d}šamaš aḫi-šú i-šá-a-lu. This letter is dated of the first year of Cambyses; it is therefore from the same period as KAI 50.

28 In a IVth century A.D. Greek inscription from Thessalonika, a Samaritan version of Num 6:22-27 translates Heb. yśm lk šlwm of v 26 (cf. AD and late Babylonian letters) by poiēsei soi ei(rē)nēn (cf. KAI 50; Alalakh letter # 116)(lines 11-12 of the Thessal. inscr.).Cf. B. Lifshitz and J. Schiby, "Une synagogue samaritaine à Thessalonique,"RB 75(1968)368-378; or CIJ I (2nd ed.; New York:Ktav,1975) Prolegomena by B. Lifshitz, # 693a.

29 ABL # 258, written in 676 B.C. (cf. M. Dietrich, Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, 30-31). There are very few other instances of initial greeting šlm (i) in Akkadian, even during the first millennium; cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,110f.

30 As stated above, at the outset of the Prolegomena, labels like "praescriptio (iii)" are taken from Fitzmyer, JBL 93 (1974)210ff.

31 Cf. above, the 4th page of the Prolegomena.

32 The first preserved line of AP 16 can hardly be identified as a praescriptio (iii), contrary to Driver's suggestion in AD, p. 42. As the text now stands, with its beginning and its end torn off, it does not show any of the well-established formulae. On the other hand, J. J. Rabinowitz has correctly pointed to the similar use made of šlḥ in AP 16,5,8,9 and of the Greek verb adikeisthai in the third century enteuxeis (legal complaints) submitted to the Ptolemies (Jewish Law: Its Influence on the Development of Legal Institutions, New York, 1956, pp. 375-376). I am not sure that one can infer from this that those legal complaints received their form from the Jews; but in any case, AP 16, if really an early example of enteuxis, may very well not be technically a "letter" (on the non-epistolary character of enteuxeis, cf. E. Bickermann, "Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte. III," Archiv für Papyrusforschung 9,1930,154-182).

33 So Driver, AD, p. 44 n. 1, followed by B. Porten, Archives from Elephantine, 159, n. 26, and by P. Grelot, Documents, p. 130, n. (b). Independently of Driver: E. Bresciani, RSO 35 (1960)16;20.

34 Cf. J. Naveh, The Development of the Aramaic Script (Jerusalem,1970) p. 33.

35 Cf. AD, pp. 8-10.

36 Rosenthal is followed by Driver, AD, p. 44.

37 Cf. C.B. Welles - R.O. Fink - J.F. Gilliam, eds., The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report, V/1 (New Haven,1959), pp. 414-415 and pl. LXX; R.N. Frye, ed., The Parthian and Middle Iranian Inscriptions of Dura-Europos (= Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part III, Vol. III, Portfolio I; London, 1968) # 38 and pl. XXXIV (non vidi; cf. C.J. Brunner, JAOS 92,1972, 494-495). The greeting preserved on line 1 is: ŠLM WŠRRT ŠGY (ḤW)ŠRT LMR^{3}Y, i.e., initial greeting šlm (iv) without its

verb.

38 The presence of a formula of Iranian origin among the greetings of AP 30-31 is not very surprising, in view of the Eastern Official Aramaic features found in this letter by E.Y. Kutscher, in T.A. Sebeok, ed., Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa, The Hague & Paris, 1970,363; cf. also 361). One should explore AP with the same question in mind.- The appearance of bkl ʿdn at the end of AP 30-31,3 strengthens the case for restoring initial greeting šlm (iv) at the beginning of AP 42; AP 30-31 shows indeed that bkl ʿdn is not exclusively connected with šlm (iv).

39 Not only is ṭʿm with the sense of "order" borrowed from Akkadian (cf. S.A. Kaufman, The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic, Chicago,1974,p. 109), the frequent expression š(y)m ṭʿm (AD 3,6; etc.), "to issue an order," is itself copied on ṭēma iškun: cf., e.g., ABL ## 91,9;338,verso,8; ND 2434 (in Iraq,36,1974,204 and pl. XXXV),lines 6-7.

40 Cf. the formula kn ydyʿ yhwy lk: hn ... , followed by an apodosis in the future tense, in AD 4,3-4;7,8-10. Threats are expressed similarly in Ezra 4:13; 5/6 Hev 14,2-3; cf. also Ezra 4:16.

41 This feature is omitted in AD 11 - a message addressed to Arsames' men by one who is not their master.

42 "Trois fragments de papyri araméens d'Egypte d'époque perse," Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer (Paris,1971)161-176,esp.p. 168 and fig.2.

43 References above, ftn. 37.

44 Cf. ibid. Excavations at Dura-Europos,415-417 and pl. LXX; Parthian and Middle Iranian, # 39 and pl. XXXIV.

45 Cf. above, ftns. 22-23.

46 Cf. above, ftn. 28 and the sixth p. of the Prolegomena.

47 Even in the praescriptio, the ill-preserved last word, ḫn (...) "may conceal an epithet or title" (Henning, in Excavations at Dura-Europos,415).

48 Some derivative of the verb sgd (cf. Syriac segdᵉtā), with prothetic ʿayin (cf. Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik,Halle, 1875, paragr. 24).

49 The greeting formula exemplified in Dura-Europos 154 need not be late; cf. the occurrences of kbyr and of šdr in Ahiqar; cf. esp. the parable of the Bramble-bush sending a message to the Pomegranate, line 165!

50 AP is probably an early example of enteuxis, and as such it should not be included here; cf. above, ftn. 32. In any case, even if this were truly a letter, the initial and final formulae are lost, and AP 16 can not be listed with the main body of evidence. AP 27 and 34 have to be left out for the same reason, although a good case can be made for their relevance to Series II. By its content, AP 27 obviously belongs in the vicinity of AP 30-31, and it is written in the same style of script as AP 30,1-11. As for AP 34, it was "written by the same extreme-vulgar hand" as AP 56 (so Naveh, Development, p. 33), and its content readily lends itself to combination with AP 56 (cf. B. Porten - J.C. Greenfield, Jews of Elephantine and Aramaeans of Syene, Jerusalem,1974,pp.84-85).

51 Cf. E. Bresciani, "Un papiro aramaico da El Hibeh del Museo Archaeologico di Firenze," Aegyptus 39(1959)2-8; J.T. Milik, "Lettre araméenne d'el-Hibeh," Aegyptus 40(1960)79-81. The Museum number in Florence is 11913.

52 Perhaps this same greeting, or an abridged variant, could stand in the lost part of pap El Hibeh. Aliter Milik: "Je pense que la lettre est complète, sauf une ligne de l'adresse

au bas du verso." (Aegyptus,40,1960,79).

53 The endings of KAI 266 and of Cl-G Ost 277 are lost; in any case, addresses were not put at the end of messages on ostraca (with the only exception of Cairo Ost 49624). Perhaps AP 30-31 bears no address because it was entrusted to a confidential messenger. lwthm at the end of AP 17 is unclear; perhaps it means that this was a copy kept "by" the senders; cf. also Grelot's solution in Documents, # 60.

54 But is the date given l.7 truly meant as the letter's date?

55 Cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,62.

56 Ibid.,79.

57 "Zu den Elephantine Papyri," ZA 22(1909)197.

58 Cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,110; and, above, the end of the Prolegomena.

59 Cf. D. Golomb, "The Date of a New Papyrus from Elephantine," BASOR 217(Feb. 1975)49-53.

60 Cf. J. Naveh, Development, 44.

61 Cf. Fitzmyer: "... it is not easy to say from which of the several longer formulae ... they would have been abbreviated." (JBL,93,1974,214).

62 Following the lead of A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un ostracon araméen inédit d'Eléphantine adressé à Aḥuṭab," Revue des Etudes Sémitiques et Babyloniaca (1942-1945)69; cf. also B. Porten, Archives,276; H. Lozachmeur,Semitica 21(1971)87.

63 Loc.cit.above,ftn.62.

64 Reading ʾl hwšʿyh (conc.,l), with A. Dupont-Sommer, "Sur la fête de la Pâque dans les documents araméens d'Eléphantine," REJ NS 7(1946-1947)47.

65 Reading: (ʾl mrʾy ?)qḏnbw šlm mrʾy
(bkl ʿdn)kʿt ...
or: (ʾl ?)qḏnbw šlm mrʾy
(bkl)kʿt ...
J.N. Epstein, ZAW 33(1913)225;311 object the well-documented name nbwʿqb to the restoration of (ʿ)qbnbw on line 1.

66 Note the peculiar form of the heading: šlm PN_1 mn PN_2.

67 As republished by R. Degen, "Zum Ostrakon CIS 138," Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik 1(1972)23-37 and pl. II.

68 The first words are ʿl b(...); but some lines might be missing above, according to Clermont-Ganneau, apud Lidzbarski, Ephemeris,II,p. 219.

69 There is no certainty as to the epistolary nature of this very damaged document; cf. the editor himself, p. 173.

70 This would call for further investigation; I do not have access to the editio princeps.

71 Such are:
- AP 32;33: AP 33 is not explicitly labeled zkrn ("memorandum") as AP 32, but it was most probably just like it : a mere aide-mémoire, ancillary to the oral message delivered by a trusted go-between.
- Berlin Ost 8763 might after all be a "letter" (note the imperative hwšry,conc.,5); ʾnty ʾmrh zy ntnw (conc.,l) would suggest a contract (cf.,e.g., AP 11), or a litigation of some kind (cf.,e.g., AP 16,3,5) but one would expect the declaration to be set in the first person, if such were the case.
- Munich Ost 899, conv., is very obscure. Lidzbarski thought that this might be a bill of receipt (Ephemeris,III,p. 20).

72 Cf. J.B. Segal, "Miscellaneous Fragments in Aramaic," Iraq 31 (1969)173-174 and pl. XXXVII. - I also left aside several of the APO and of the CIS ostraca, which seemed too fragmentary, or whose original publications I could not check.

73 Cf. above, ftn. 38

74 Cf. above, ftn. 33.
75 Cf. F. Rosenthal, Aramaistische Forschung, p. 27 n. 3; and above, ftn. 36.
76 Note the absence of titles, as in Series I, while titles are often present in the praescriptiones of ostraca belonging to Series II.
77 On the relationship between AP 34 and 56, cf. above, ftn. 50. - The formula found on line 7 of AP 41, šlmk wṭ^{c}mk(...), is probably different; it is reminiscent of the late Babylonian concluding formula kapdu ṭêmu u šulum ša bēlīja lušme, "let me hear soon about my lord's desire and good health;" cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,113.
78 The evidence is tabulated above, on the 6th p. of the Prolegomena.
79 The evidence from Series III is listed above, ftn. 5.
80 šlm is followed by lš(...); the rest of line 1 and some five letters at the beginning of line 2 are lost; when the text becomes legible again, the body of the letter has obviously begun. On line 1, lš(...) is probably the beginning of the body, but some otherwise unknown expansion of the initial greeting can not be excluded.
81 Concluding formulae such as ṭênka lušme ("let me hear your desire") are frequent in late Babylonian letters, cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,113.
82 Frequent enough in the first millennium. Cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,93-94.
83 Cf. also, for more recent occurrences of this phrase, the discussion of the Letter of Enoch, 4th p. of the Prolegomena.
84 Depending on the validity of the restoration proposed above, ftn. 4.
85 It appears on line 7, but the body of this ill-preserved letter probably began earlier, in a lost portion of the text.
86 Cf. above, 6th p. of the Prolegomena.
87 Cf. above, ftn. 15.
88 Cf. HermW I; II; III (twice); IV; VI; VIII (two or three times). - This formula might prove interesting for long range comparative purposes; cf. the Peshitta of Phil 2:20;4:10.
89 Cf. above, ftn. 5, first part. These phrases are often connected with the brk greeting. They also can prove interesting for comparative purposes; cf. the Peshitta of 1 Thess 3:6,10.
90 Cf. above, the last page of my treatment of Series II proper, dealing with the occasional presence of formulae more characteristic of Series III.
91 Cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,86 etc.
92 Ibid., 79.
93 The message of the Bramble-bush to the Pomegranate is styled as a letter, with a praescriptio; compare its counterpart in 2 Kgs 14:9, which has no praescriptio.
94 Discussed above, 4th p. of the Prolegomena.
95 Cf. above, ftn. 3.
96 Dan 3:31 is undoubtedly a letter heading. Cf. its parallel in 6:26. Cf. also the cognate tradition in 4QOrNab, where it is prescribed to Nabonidus hḫwy wktb lm^{c}bd ygr wr(bw whdr) lšm $^{\flat}$(lh$^{\flat}$), "Make a written proclamation that honour, gr(eatness and glory) be given to the name of (God)" (B. Jongeling - C.J. Labuschagne - A.S. van der Woude, Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Leiden,1976,129). Cf. also the interpretation reflected in the Septuagint (not Theodotion) text of Dan 4, towards the end of this chapter (v 34b in the Göttingen Septuagint). On the origin of the Septuagint of Dan 4, cf. recently P. Grelot "La Septante de Daniel IV et son substrat sémitique" RB 81

(1974)5-23.

97 As collated by G. Dalman, Aramäische Dialektproben (2d ed.; Leipzig,1927) p. 3.

98 For Neo-Assyrian attestations, cf. Salonen, Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln,88-89; for El-Amarna, cf. ibid., 65; for Ras Shamra, cf. 74-76.

99 Elsewhere, verification is not possible, pending the formal publication of those letters.

100 Same remark.

Addenda et Corrigenda

p. 20, line 10 (from bottom): There might be another sign that the distinction between praescriptio (iii) and praescriptio (iv) is unimportant: if we trust Yadin's translation (he does not quote the Aramaic wording), 5/6 Ḥev begins: "From Shimʿon Bar Kosiba ... ".

p. 22, line 4: prš' is probably an epithet of Enoch (something like "distinguished"); as such, it is irrelevant to the present discussion.