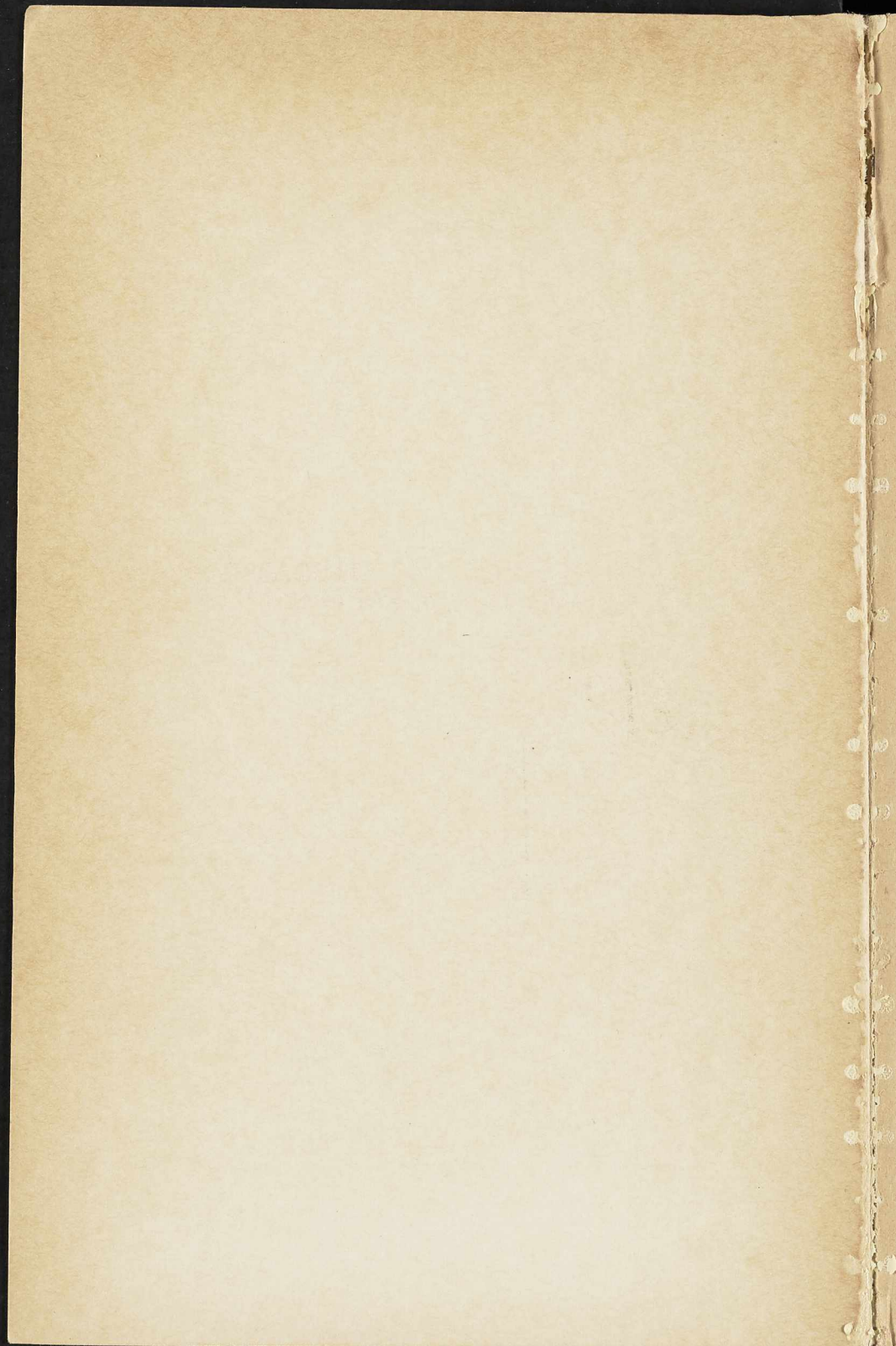


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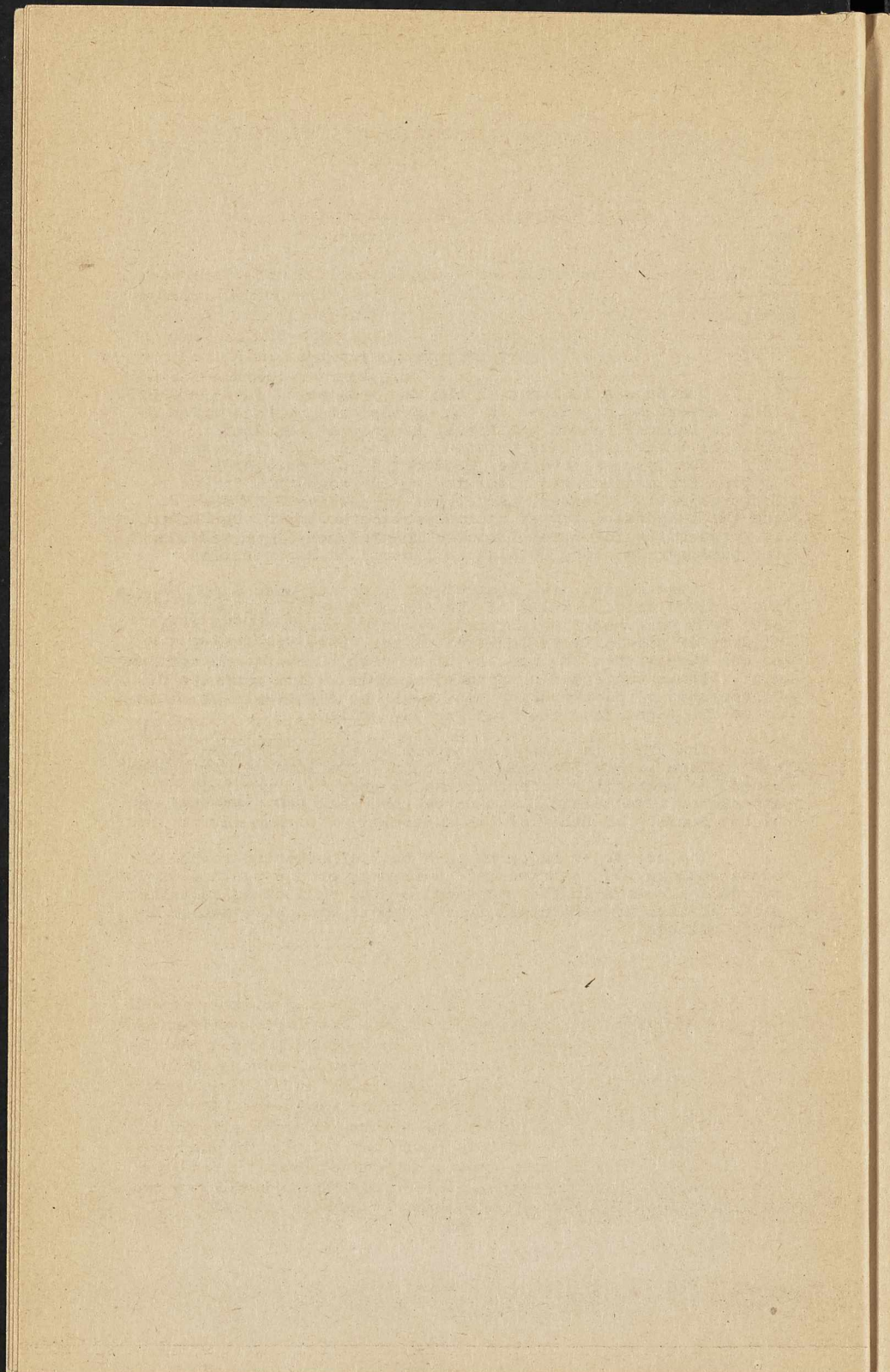
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The papers included in the two volumes of *Seminar Papers*, 1978, are to be discussed in the appropriate program units of the One Hundred Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New Orleans, Louisiana, 18-21 November 1978. The volumes have been produced by photographically copying the manuscripts submitted by the authors. In the large majority of cases, therefore, both format and content are the responsibility of the respective authors. The Editor is responsible for assembling the volumes and preparing them for publication; copy editing is limited to paper titles.

These papers are intended to stimulate discussion within the various program units of the Annual Meeting for which they have been prepared. Only rarely do they represent the final product of scholarly reflection; rather, they are intended to be one step within the process of scholarly debate and refinement. Their publication in these volumes is for purposes of convenience of distribution, and does not represent any claim as to the final form they may one day 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 the Book of Abstracts. The letter *S* indicates that they are presentations of the Society of Biblical Literature.

The editor is happy to take this opportunity to thank those authors and chairmen and chairwomen of the various Groups and Seminars, and to the Conveners of the various consultations whose efforts have resulted in the papers brought together in these volumes.



TOWARD A PRONOUNCEMENT STORY TYPOLOGY
IN PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

John E. Alsop

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Note: The SBL task group on Pronouncement Stories is one of several such groups of scholars studying as a team the forms and genres of the literature from the ancient world. The goal of the project is to gain greater clarity on the similarities and differences between those of the extra-Biblical sources and the forms and genres of the New Testament. The members of the Pronouncement Story group are presently studying a variety of possible classifications for "PS" types and this paper understands itself to be a contribution to that study. Presupposed is that the reader is (or shall be) familiar with the paper "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories" by Director Robert C. Tannehill, his preparation guidelines for the annual meeting of the society in San Francisco (dated Oct. 26, 1977), his summary report on progress from that meeting (dated Jan. 10, 1978), the task group papers published in the "Seminar Papers" volume, and particularly the typological analysis of Richard A. Spencer prepared for the S. F. meeting and based on a selection from Plutarch's Moralia.

In his paper for the 1977 meeting, Dr. Spencer indicated the division of labor between us on the Moralia. The selections and discussion below are based upon the thirty examples of "PS" which I submitted for distribution to members of the task group for the St. Louis meeting, 1976. Dr. Spencer has shown that some examples of "PS" from Plutarch do conform to the classifications thus far established in our deliberations, but that some raise questions for further work. I shall make no attempt in this paper to present numerous examples for each type--though as Dr. Spencer has shown such can be done in most cases with relative ease--but rather to offer (I.) an example or two from classifications we have adopted to date along with a brief discussion of the greater or lesser difficulties in placing them there, (II.) some examples and discussion of possible hybrids, and (III.) a summary of consequences for our work.

I. "Pure" Types

A. Objection Stories

1. "De Liberis Educandis" I, 4F/5A: (#2)

Many fathers, however, go so far in their devotion to money as well as in animosity toward their children, that in order to avoid paying a larger fee, they select as teachers for their children men who are not worth any wage at all--looking for ignorance, which is cheap enough. Wherefore Aristippus not inelegantly, in fact very cleverly, rebuked a father who was devoid both of mind and sense. For when a man asked him what fee he should require for teaching his child, Aristippus replied, "A thousand drachmas"; but when the other exclaimed, "Great Heavens! what an excessive demand! I can buy a slave for a thousand," Aristippus retorted, "Then you will have two slaves, your son and the one you buy."

At first glance it might appear that this is a hybrid because of the presence of indices for several types, e.g., inquiry stimulus, correction response, etc., but the dominant point is the resolution of the conflict created by the strong objection. There is a collision here between two value systems. The sage is the victor not only as superior in the battle for words, but also as the one possessing superior wisdom: who could wish his son a slave?

2. "Ad Principem Ineruditum" X, 779D: (#25)

Plato was asked by the Cyrenaeans to compose a set of laws and leave it for them and to give them a well-ordered government; but he refused, saying that it was difficult to make laws for the Cyrenaeans because they were so prosperous.

For nothing is so haughty
harsh and ungovernable
by nature as a man,
when he possesses what he regards as prosperity.

A most interesting example because of the role of redactional activity. The original pronouncement of Plato has been relegated to a subordinate role (indirect discourse) in favor of the introduction of another quotation which is deemed a more pithy response to the stimulus. There is no indication that they originally belonged together at all. It would be possible to classify this as a double inquiry story if it were not for the implicit objection character of the second but unstated "inquiry": "surely we are worthy, so do not refuse!"

Cf. also #'s 8:1 and 4, and 17.

B. Correction Stories

1. "Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata" III, 177 A/B: (#8:5)

When somebody had thrown water upon him, and he was incited by his friends against the man, he said, "But it was not upon me that he threw it, but upon the man he thought me to be."

Here the stimulus is both non-verbal and verbal while the response surprises all by correcting a mistaken presupposition of both stimulus parties. The response raises to the level of philosophical issue the question: wrong against whom? Archelaus comes out the intellectual victor in this clash of values. Biographical interest is apparent, but it is the correction of a concept that is primary.

2. "De Sollertia Animalium" XII, 965B: (#28)

For I think sport should be joyful and between playmates who are merry on both sides, not the sort of which Bion spoke when he remarked that boys throw stones at frogs for fun, but the frogs don't die for "fun," but in sober earnest. Just so, in hunting and fishing, men amuse themselves with the suffering and death of animals,

even tearing some of them piteously from their cubs and nestlings. The fact is that it is not those who make use of animals who do them wrong, but those who use them harmfully and heedlessly and in cruel ways.

The force of redactional activity is pronounced here. There is a tension between the concepts of "sport" and "making use of animals." The latter of the two represents the direction Plutarch has chosen: abuse rather than use in and of itself is wrong. The former is some distance from this point. Here the faulty assumption corrected is: it doesn't matter if they are the targets of "fun," they are only frogs. The first plays a subordinate compositional role, therefore, and acts more or less as a device to seize the reader's attention. It is difficult, for instance, to make the point here that "fun" is to be had by all participants.

Cf. #'s 1, 3, 8:2, 12, 14, 23, 27.

C. Commendation Stories

1. "De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute" IV, 331F-332A: (#16)

But when he came to talk with Diogenes himself in Corinth, he was so awed and astounded with the life and the worth of the man that often, when the remembrance of the philosopher came to him, he would say, "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes," that is to say: "If I did not actively practise philosophy, I should apply myself to its theoretical pursuit." He did not say, "If I were not a king, I should be Diogenes," nor "If I were not rich and an Argead"; for he did not rank Fortune above Wisdom, nor a crown and royal purple above the philosopher's wallet and threadbare gown. But he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes"; that is to say: "If it were not my purpose to combine foreign things with things Greek, to traverse and civilize every continent, to search out the uttermost parts of land and sea, to push the bounds of Macedonia to the farthest Ocean, and to disseminate and shower the blessings of Greek justice and peace over every nation, I should not be content to sit quietly in the luxury of idle power, but I should emulate the frugality of Diogenes."

Particularly interesting because it both develops the response in the absence of an immediate verbal stimulus--the recall of a former visit is sufficient--and, as if the response weren't already clear enough in the initial form, it is repeated and expanded in additional direct discourse to insure that Alexander's inclination toward philosophy is well established. Since the story is recounted elsewhere in the simple direct form (cf. 782A; Life of Alex. XIV/671D; Diog. Laertius VI, 32; and indirect refs. in Juvenal and Valerius Maximus), it is probable that the quotations really represent redactional elaboration introduced to make the case more convincing. The original story is a rather forthright recommendation then of the person, life-style, and values of Diogenes and not Alexander!

2. "De Vitando Aere Alieno" X, 832A: (#26)

But what need is there of mentioning these men, when Philoxenus the lyric poet, who shared in the allotment of lands in a colony in Sicily, which ensured him a livelihood and a household furnished with abundant resources, when he saw that luxury, indulgence in a life of pleasure, and lack of culture were prevalent there, said, "By the Gods, these good things shall not make me lose myself; I will rather lose them," and leaving his allotment to others, he sailed away.

Perhaps as good an example of a commendation story as one will find in Plutarch. The point is developed swiftly and with unmistakable clarity. The dominant figure is commended for his rejection of the value of opulence in favor of frugality. The commendation is an exhortation for all to follow his example. The notion of "doing good" (distributing to the poor, etc.) with the "good things" is missing.

Cf. also #'s 7, 11, 22.

D. Description Stories

1. "Bellone an Pace Clariores Fuerint Athenienses" IV, 350D/E: (#18)

Wherefore the State has given public burial not to men like Isocrates, Antiphon, and Isaeus, but to these men, whose remains she has taken in her embrace; and these men it was that the orator deified in his oath when he swore by men whose example he was not following. But Isocrates, although he had declared that those who had risked their lives at Marathon had fought as though their souls were not their own and although he had hymned their daring and their contempt of life, himself (so they say), when he was already an old man, replied to someone who asked him how he was getting on, "Even as does a man over ninety years of age who considers death the greatest of evils." For he had not grown old sharpening his sword nor whetting his spear-point nor polishing his helmet nor campaigning nor pulling at the oar, but in glueing together and arranging antitheses, balanced clauses, and inflexional similarities, all but smoothing off and proportioning his periods with chisel and file. How could this person do other than fear the clash of arms and the impact of phalanxes, he who feared to let vowel collide with vowel, or to utter a phrase whose balance was upset by the lack of a single syllable?

The length and detail of narrative and the relative insignificance of the pronouncement in its present context make it appropriate to classify this story as a description. The compositional point is apparently to commend those who had fallen in defense of their country rather than the example of Isocrates. The direct discourse response stands in a somewhat strained relationship to the verbal stimulus.

Cf. also #8:3.

E. Inquiry Stories

1. "Apophthegmata Laconica" III, 230F: (#10:1)

Pausanias, the son of Pleistoanax, in answer to the question why it was not permitted to change any of the ancient laws in their country, said, "Because the laws ought to have authority over the men, and not the men over the laws."

To a direct stimulus question is supplied a direct response answer. One notes also the chiasm of the response which helps elevate it to a maxim and assist in its memorization. Here there appears to be no obvious redactional activity.

2. ibid.: (#10:2)

When, in Tegea, after he had been exiled, he commended the Spartans, someone said, "Why did you not stay in Sparta instead of going into exile?" And he said, "Because physicians, too, are wont to spend their time, not among the healthy, but where the sick are."

As in the first example, this story offers a clearly defined stimulus/response relationship. The initial negation structure also lends itself to memorization and spoken repetition.

Cf. also #30.

F. Test Stories

1. "De Defectu Oraculum" V, 419B-D: (#21)

As for death among such beings, I have heard the words of a man who was not a fool nor an impostor. The father of Aemilianus the orator, to whom some of you have listened, was Epitherses, who lived in our town and was my teacher in grammar. He said that once upon a time in making a voyage to Italy he embarked on a ship carrying freight and many passengers. It was already evening when, near the Echinades Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship drifted near Paxi. Almost everybody was awake, and a good many had not finished their after-dinner wine. Suddenly from the island of Paxi was heard the voice of someone loudly calling Thamus, so that all were amazed. Thamus was an Egyptian pilot, not known by name even to many on board. Twice he was called and made no reply, but the third time he answered; and the caller, raising his voice, said, "When you come opposite to Palodes, announce that Great Pan is dead." On hearing this, all, said Epitherses, were astounded and reasoned among themselves whether it were better to carry out the order or to refuse to meddle and let the matter go. Under the circumstances Thamus made up his mind that if there should be a breeze, he would sail past and keep quiet, but with no wind and a smooth sea about the place he would announce what he had heard. So, when he came

opposite Palodes, and there was neither wind nor wave, Thamus from the stern, looking toward the land, said the words as he had heard them: "Great Pan is dead." Even before he had finished there was a great cry of lamentation, not of one person, but of many, mingled with exclamations of amazement. As many persons were on the vessel, the story was soon spread abroad in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. Tiberius became so convinced of the truth of the story that he caused an inquiry and investigation to be made about Pan; and the scholars, who were numerous at his court, conjectured that he was the son born of Hermes and Penelope.

This rather lengthy and complex story qualifies for the test story classification, a type rather uncommon in the Moralia. A mixture of mythological motifs abounds, but they are not at compositional odds with the ingredients of a test (e.g., riddle, conditions for action, etc.). As in the case of the following story (#20), the "voice" takes the place of the sage, but here no quest is involved. Thamus is to become the "voice's" herald, but only after the "voice" passes his test for (divine?) credence. The amount of redactional activity, including a postscript, is considerable, but embellishment rather than alteration or redirection seems to be the kind.

G. Quest Stories

1. "De Pythiae Oraculis" V, 404A: (#20)

For this reason they usually appoint as priests rather old men. By exception, only a few years ago, a young man, not at all bad but ambitious, who was in love with a girl gained the office. At first he was able to control himself, and succeeded in keeping out of her way; but when she suddenly came in upon him as he was resting after drinking and dancing, he did the forbidden thing. Frightened and perturbed in consequence, he resorted at once to the oracle and asked the god about his sin, whether there were any way to obtain forgiveness or to expiate it; and he received this response:

All things that must be doth the god condone.

This remarkable little story presents a complex narrative setting in which the reader presumably already knows the dynamics of the priestly vocation, the place of drinking and dancing (cult related?), and what "the forbidden thing" is and how this is interpreted in the priestly setting. Stimulus and response are compositional givens in the narrative, and then follows the verbal response of the oracle. The priest is a dominant (religious) figure, but here he is subordinate in importance to the "word" of the oracle. The latter represents the authoritative word (divine source of truth) and the priest the seeker who needs the resolution of the conflict and a decision on the course his life is now to take. The verdict is surprisingly mild. There are not many examples of such clear quest stories in the Moralia.

II. "Hybrid" Types

The following three stories have, in my opinion, the makings of true hybrid or mixed types and may provide the occasion for the further refinement of our classification grid. In evaluating possible types I have concentrated upon the kind of interaction present in the story and have weighed the relative importance of the competing elements of composition.

A. "Quomodo Adulator ab Amico Internoscatur" I, 71E: (#6)

In fact, persons that use frank speaking ought to be able to say what Thucydides represents the Corinthians as saying about themselves, that they "have a good right to reprove others"--which is not a bad way of putting it. For as Lysander, we are told, said to the man from Megara, who in the council of the allies was making bold to speak for Greece, that "his words needed a country to back them"; so it may well be that every man's frank speaking needs to be backed by character, but this is especially true in the case of those who admonish others and try to bring them to their sober senses.

This is a fascinating example of the editorial and compositional activity of Plutarch. In my opinion, he has fashioned here a pronouncement story of his own (not unlike #16 = C, 1 above)! He utilizes the brief settings and pronouncements of Thucydides and Lysander in order to focus the reader's attention on the topic of "frank speaking." The two brief excerpts then introduce--first positively then negatively--the point that "frank speech" is hypocritical and to no avail if the speaker is himself not acquainted with the chastening hand of the same critique or recommendation. To this Plutarch appends his own conclusion and a correction/commendation story is formed. The problem with this classification is that in the light of the compositional whole the categories "correction" or "commendation" are only partially adequate. Moreover, when one asks about overall intent and function the categories "warning" or "admonition" recommend themselves. There seems to be an element of intensity here that is not characteristic of the other stories under I, B and C.

B. "Parallela Graeca et Romana" IV, 305D/E: (#13)

Xerxes with five million men anchored near Artemisium and declared war on the inhabitants. The Athenians were in confusion and sent Agesilaus, the brother of Themistocles, as a spy, although his father Neocles had seen in a dream his son deprived of both his hands. Agesilaus, arriving among the barbarians in Persian garb, slew Mardonius, one of the king's bodyguards, supposing him to be Xerxes. He was arrested by the bystanders and led in bonds to the king. The aforesaid king was about to offer sacrifice at the altar of the Sun, and Agesilaus placed his right hand upon the altar; and when he had endured the cruel torture without a groan, he was freed from his bonds, whereupon he declared, "All we Athenians are men of this sort; if you do not believe me, I will place my left hand also on the altar." Xerxes was frightened and gave command that he be kept under guard.

A complex story whose several motifs strongly point in the direction of warning the dominant figure about something. It is true that it corrects and commends, describes and tests, but the intent of the composition is to convince Xerxes that he is up against a formidable opponent and to warn him that he'd better break off the offensive now before it is too late! Xerxes' response, his final command, probably existed originally as pronouncement in direct discourse as well, but redactional alteration has left the focus on the strong voice of brave acts: don't take the Athenians lightly or you'll perish! This element of the "or else" distinguishes this type from the others.

C. "De Garrulitate" VI, 508A/B: (#24)

But Fulvius, the friend of Caesar Augustus, heard the emperor, now an old man, lamenting the desolation of his house: two of his grandsons were dead, and Postumius, the only one surviving, was in exile because of some false accusation, and thus he was forced to import his wife's son into the imperial succession; yet he pitied his grandson and was planning to recall him from abroad. Fulvius divulged what he had heard to his own wife, and she to Livia; and Livia bitterly rebuked Caesar: if he had formed this design long ago, why did he not send for his grandson, instead of making her an object of enmity and strife to the successor to the empire. Accordingly, when Fulvius came to him in the morning, as was his custom, and said, "Hail, Caesar," Caesar replied, "Farewell, Fulvius." And Fulvius took his meaning and went away; going home at once, he sent for his wife, "Caesar has found out," he said, "that I have not kept his secret, and therefore I intend to kill myself." "It is right that you should," said his wife, "since, after living with me for so long a time, you have not learned to guard against my incontinent tongue. But let me die first." And, taking the sword, she dispatched herself before her husband.

Is this a pronouncement story at all? One might have reason to be skeptical, but upon close examination it does qualify, even if as a rather unusual example. It is a complex narrative, a portion of the direct discourse is suppressed and placed into indirect discourse. The result is to hasten the story along compositionally and to confront the reader without undue delay with the pointed exchange between the two key characters as they decide on suicide. This surprising exchange ends in the witty and almost proverbial saying of the wife: don't entrust secrets to a woman with an incontinent tongue, even if she happens to be your wife! That this pronouncement comes from the wife herself just prior to her suicide and--presumably--that of her husband would argue in favor of the "PS" character of the account. Classification, moreover, becomes possible by studying the interaction between the characters and the ultimate outcome for the reader. Uppermost are ideals and values which are at war; no sage is present to articulate the truth, it speaks for itself and compels to action. The maxim-like saying offers itself for all to follow for the general well-being of humankind. How that maxim is established, however, creates some problems. One could argue that the wife is "corrected" (condemned?), on the one hand, for having an "incontinent tongue," but is commended, on the other, for her act of

self-destruction over the grief she has caused another. Fulvius could be seen as condemned for his failure to keep the secret and as commended for his willingness to accept the consequences. The resolution of the tension between them is placed with the reader in much the same sense as the catharsis motif of Greek tragedy: beware that this doesn't happen to you, or be admonished and forewarned! It is this urgent word to "take heed" and its apparent reliance upon the metaphysic of order and tragedy--this conviction that betrayal of confidence is the unpardonable breach between people as a matter foreordained in the universe--that distinguish this from our other types.

Not included here but also noteworthy are #4 Inquiry/Commendation; #5 Text/Correction; #9 Description/Correction; #15 Correction/Commendation; #19 Inquiry/Quest; #29 Description/Test.

III. Consequences for Further Study

Our examination of "PS" in selections from Plutarch's *Moralia* has confirmed some matters that we have noted concerning classification categories in other literature of the period. Examples for all seven types exist in abundance (tests and quests are comparatively less frequent). In both the "pure" and possible "hybrid" types we have noted the importance of variation in stimulus and response form. Verbal and non-verbal stimuli and responses are used singularly, in alternation, and in combination. There is no indication thus far that a verbal or non-verbal stimulus/response pattern is characteristic of one type over against others. This will need to be tested by further examples in the literature. Dr. Tannehill's caution concerning a variety of motifs that might otherwise suggest the need for a hybrid classification were it not for a dominant point over others or other features of compositional focus which relegate all else to supportive roles has shown itself to be well taken. His stress upon the kind of interaction among participants and the kinds of values in conflict offer themselves as helpful criteria in classification. This has been most clearly the case where biographical interests are evident, but the hortatory element is of greater importance than the lauding of a hero type per se. Value conflict and the establishment of the higher (Greek) ideal is normally paramount, as one might expect in a work like the *Moralia*.

Two additional matters have emerged from this study which may prove of value for further work. First is the degree and importance of redactional activity. It is possible in a number of instances to decipher a distinction between an earlier source and later redactional form of an account or combination of accounts in which Plutarch has been responsible for alterations. These alterations are minor in some cases and quite massive in others. It would be useful to pursue this distinction and to weigh the consequences for the history of tradition question. Plutarch, in this instance, would emerge thereby in greater profile as theologian/moralist/writer and the sources as independent voices. Second is the possible need for an additional type in our classification grid. Under possible hybrids we noted examples where the intensity of the recommended action suggests the category "warning" or "strong

admonition." In light of the criterion of the kind of interaction, corrections and commendations are inadequate to cover the tension left unresolved in the account. It seems to me that this type is not merely a sub-category to one of the established seven.

Finally, it would seem premature at this point to venture a comparison with the NT. This will follow after further group deliberation and integration of additional examples from our literature.

THE PRONOUNCEMENT STORY IN DIOGENES LAERTIUS'
LIVES AND OPINIONS OF EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS:
A NEW CLASSIFICATION

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A year ago an initial attempt was made to establish a typology of the pronouncement stories which are related in Diogenes Laertius' Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers (3rd century C.E.).¹ The typology, based on the categories set up by Professor Robert C. Tannehill to describe the stories belonging to the synoptic tradition, consisted of seven classes: Type O (Topic and Comment), Objection Stories, Tests, Quests, Correction Stories, Disclosures, and Hybrids.

Although these classes served the philosophical text of Diogenes Laertius well, for the most part, there appeared to be a need for a more precise definition of several of the categories to remove some of the ambiguity in classifying the stories. Therefore, in light of the observations and discussion of the members of the Pronouncement Story group of the "Genres of Religious Literature in Western Antiquity" project and the modifications which its director, Robert Tannehill, made in his typology of synoptic pronouncement stories,² I have taken another look at the text of Diogenes' Lives and made revisions in the original classification of the apophthegms featured there.

Using the modified typological categories suggested by Tannehill as the basis of the new classification, I have found that the majority of the pronouncement stories fit rather easily into these types. Several problems do arise, however, when adapting the typology to Diogenes' work, and these will be treated as the discussion continues. Where necessary, suggestions for further modifications will be made.

The typology attempts to afford classification to almost every type of pronouncement story, from the simplest topic/comment to the most elaborately developed narrative/response. Regardless of the complexity of the story, the two basic components are always evident (stimulus and response or setting and response) and generally striking in their interaction. The stimulus may be verbal and/or non-verbal, and the same is true for the response. There are varying degrees of intensity apparent in the stories. Normally, the more personal the inter-

1

Paula J. Nassen, "A Typology of Pronouncement Stories in Diogenes Laertius' Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers," Society of Biblical Literature 1977 Seminar Papers (Scholars Press) 273-278.

² See his letter to the members of the Pronouncement Story work group dated October 26, 1977.

action between the stimulus and response, the more intense the story (e.g., the sage answering a question put to him as opposed to his observing a scene and then volunteering a comment or response regarding it).

In the ten books of Diogenes Laertius, eighty-two lives of sages and philosophers are depicted. Because of the anecdotal nature of the *Lives*, pronouncement stories occur fairly evenly distributed throughout the work, the heaviest concentration being in the lives of Aristippus (2.65-104), Diogenes the Cynic (6.20-81) and Zeno (7.1-160). I have identified 393 stories as true pronouncement stories, omitting the numerous lists of wise sayings of sages since the narrative setting is lacking in each case.

The pronouncement stories, as Tannehill suggests, are best divided into two major classes: stories in which the dominant figure responds to an open question or request (subdivided into inquiries, tests, and quests) and those in which the figure reacts to an assumption made or position adopted by another person, or to some situation described in the story (subdivided into objections, corrections, commendations, and descriptions). Roughly one-fourth of the apophthegms in the *Lives* fall into the first group and the remainder into the second. The typology of these pronouncement stories appears as follows:

I.1. Inquiries. All stories beginning with an open, non-challenging question or request are included here, approximately 90 in number. The stimulus is verbal in each instance, as expected; the responses are verbal, too, though there are several occasions when an act reinforces the saying. Six of the stories contain elements of humor in the answer. Examples:

Once when asked what is the best thing, Pittacus replied, 'To do well the work in hand.' (1.77)³

Being asked wherein lies the difference between the educated and the uneducated, Chilon answered, 'In good hope.' What is hard? 'To keep a secret, to employ leisure well, and to be able to bear an injury.' (1.69)

When a lad from Pontus was about to attend his lectures and asked him what he required, Antisthenes' answer was, 'Come with a new book, a new pen, and new tablets, if you have a mind to.' (6.3)

To the question why gold is pale, Diogenes' reply was, 'Because it has so many thieves plotting against it.' (6.51)

The various types of questions put to the sages are evident in these examples. They range from the serious to the commonplace to the nonsensical. The questions are most often very simple and direct (examples 1 & 2) but sometimes made part of a more complete descriptive setting. Since the majority of these stories is of the brief question/answer type where the contribution of the setting is minimal, the forcefulness of the

story depends almost solely on the effectiveness of the response itself. The sage is given ample opportunity to be wise and/or clever.

This category is, of necessity, general in nature because any story beginning with a neutral question or request is placed in it. This feature provides it with its flexibility but also with a certain awkwardness. Since the range of questions and answers is very broad, there is not a common theme to aid in the further analyzation of the passages as is found in the correction story class, for example.

I.2. Tests. This classification includes any story which begins with a special question or request designed to test the philosopher or to discover how wise or clever he is. The Lives surprisingly yield only one such pronouncement story:

Being asked what kind of hound he was, Diogenes replied, 'When hungry, a Maltese; when full, a Molossian--two breeds which most people praise, though for fear of fatigue they do not venture out hunting with them. So neither can you live with me because you are afraid of the discomforts.' (6.55)

Here we have a good example of a skillful sage giving an impressive answer when put to the test. He turns a question which implies that Diogenes the Cynic is a man of low rank and esteem into a personal compliment of his uniqueness and worth as an individual in society. Though any open hostility on the part of the questioner is subdued here, the tension which characterizes a test is apparent.

It is interesting to note that, of all the stories beginning with a question in the 82 lives of the sages, this is the only test. Diogenes Laertius uses the question rather to introduce general inquiries and quests, as well as a large number of objections, corrections, and descriptions.

I.3. Quests. Apophthegms of this type also begin with an open question. As the questioner confronts the philosopher, he seeks to discover what is best in life, how to live well, and how to find happiness. In the Lives, I have identified four quest stories in which verbal responses are made to the questions. Examples:

To the question how shall we lead the best and most righteous life, Thales' answer was, 'By refraining from doing what we blame in others.' (1.36)

To the question what man is happy, Thales' answer was, 'He who has a healthy body, a resourceful mind and a docile nature.' (1.37)

Upon receiving a reply, Socrates put another question, 'And where do men become good and honorable?' Xenophon was fairly puzzled. 'Then follow me,' said Socrates, 'and learn.' (2.48)

Someone asked Antisthenes what he must do to be good and noble, and he replied, 'You must learn from those who know that the faults you have are

to be avoided.' (6.8)

Although these quest stories are simple in structure, consisting of only the question and answer, the quests represent serious concerns in people's lives. Unlike the synoptic stories, they tend to concentrate on worthwhile earthly pursuits--how to lead life to the fullest--rather than on the search for salvation or some religious truth.

II.1. Objections. In these stories one or more people find fault with the behavior or speech of a philosopher and reproach him for it. The objection is sometimes made in the form of a question as to the reason for such behavior. Since justification of his words or deeds is either implied or explicitly requested in the objection, a sense of conflict is expressed even before the sage makes his reply. A high degree of intensity is normally exhibited in the defense, but the tension is resolved when the sage vindicates himself, often eloquently and cleverly, by attributing the reproach to the objector's lack of insight or wisdom or narrowness of vision regarding the important things in life.

Sixty-one objection stories appear in the Lives. Examples:

Being once reproached for giving alms to a bad man, Aristotle rejoined, 'It was the man and not his character that I pitied.' (5.17)

When he was reproached for not paying court to a youth, Bion's excuse was, 'You can't get hold of a soft cheese with a hook.' (4.47)

To one who accused him of living with a courtesan, Aristippus put the question, 'Why, is there any difference between taking a house in which many people have lived before and taking one in which nobody has ever lived?' The answer being 'No,' he continued, 'Or again, between sailing in a ship in which 10,000 people have sailed before and in one in which nobody has ever sailed?' 'There is no difference.' 'Then it makes no difference,' said he, 'whether the woman you live with has lived with many or with nobody.' (2.74)

Heraclitus would retire to the temple of Artemis and play at knuckle-bones with the boys; and when the Ephesians stood around him and looked on, 'Why, you rascals,' he said, 'are you astonished? Is it not better to do this than to take part in your bad civil life?' (9.3)

It happened once that he set sail for Corinth and, being overtaken by a storm, Aristippus was in great consternation. Someone said, 'We plain men are not alarmed, and are you philosophers turned cowards?' To this he replied, 'The lives at stake in the two cases are not comparable.' (2.71)

When someone inquired, 'Have you no concern in your native land?' Gently, Anaxagoras replied, 'I am greatly concerned with my fatherland,' and pointed to the sky. (2.7)

These examples illustrate the several different forms that the objection stories take. The first two passages are typical of the majority of this class which consist of an abbreviated stimulus and response that are both verbal. In the third example, there is the usual briefly stated objection followed by an extended verbal dialogue between the parties. The fourth represents the few stories that feature a non-verbal stimulus but a spoken response; the fifth, those stories with a more elaborately depicted setting; and the sixth, while introduced by the familiar short question, concludes with a saying and act combined. Although the form may differ, these stories presented no problems in terms of classification.

II.2. Corrections. In this category the conflict is not expressed until the moment of the response when the philosopher makes a corrective judgment regarding a person or scene that he has just encountered. He may correct an assumption that he considers erroneous behind a request, question, statement, or action; or the correction may simply follow the description of some situation.

This classification, with 158 stories, is the largest one of the typology. These stories, together with the objections, comprise one-half of all of the pronouncement stories in the Lives. Since the tone of the stories is so distinctive, there was little difficulty in establishing this category. Examples:

When a friend complained to him that he had lost his notes, 'You should have inscribed them,' said Antisthenes, 'on your mind instead of on paper.' (6.5)

As he was leaving the public baths, someone inquired if many men were bathing. Diogenes said, 'No.' But to another who asked if there was a great crowd of bathers, he said, 'Yes.' (6.40)

A youth was asking a question with more curiosity than became his years, whereupon Zeno led him to a mirror, and bade him look in it; after which he inquired if he thought it became anyone who looked like that to ask such questions. (7.19)

On coming to Myndus and finding the gates large, though the city itself was very small, Diogenes cried, 'Men of Myndus, bar your gates, lest the city run away.' (6.57)

One day as he entered the house of a courtesan, one of the lads with him blushed, whereupon Aristippus remarked, 'It is not going in that is dangerous, but being unable to go out.' (2.69)

Socrates, then, after Lysias had written a defense for him, read it through and said, 'A fine speech, Lysias, but not suitable for me.' Lysias said, 'If it is a fine speech, how can it fail to suit you?' 'Well,' he replied, 'would not fine clothing and fine shoes be just as unsuitable to me?' (2.40-41)

As observed in the objection stories, there is variety of

form here, too. Generally speaking, approximately two-thirds of the apophthegms have a verbal stimulus while one-third, a non-verbal one. All but twenty responses are verbal and appear to be roughly evenly split between responses that are volunteered by the sage and those requested in some way. The examples above are representative of the various types of combinations: verbal (a statement) stimulus/verbal response (#1); verbal (inquiry) stimulus/verbal response (#2); verbal stimulus/combined verbal and non-verbal response (#3); non-verbal (a scene, an action) stimulus/verbal response (#4, 5); non-verbal stimulus/verbal response in the form of a dialogue (#6).

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 displaced values and reassert the quality of life; they break illusions which have been wrongly created and play upon the absurdity of commonplace situations.

II.3. Commendations. This category, together with "Descriptions" (below), replaces the rather ambiguous "Disclosure" class of the previous typology. This type, the complement of corrections, is marked by a positive reaction on the part of the sage as he affirms or approves something in the setting. As the position is commended in his response, a previously hidden value or importance is often revealed. Sometimes it is necessary for the philosopher to correct a misconception or false assumption before the true value of what is being commended is seen.

In the Lives, I have identified seven commendation stories. Where the stimulus is verbal, the answer requested is given verbally; where the setting is non-verbal, the response appears to be spoken voluntarily by the sage. Examples:

Aeschines said to him, 'I am a poor man and have nothing else to give, but I offer you myself,' and Socrates answered, 'Nay, don't you see that you are offering me the greatest gift of all?' (2.34)

One day observing a youth studying philosophy, Diogenes said, 'Well done, Philosophy, because you have diverted admirers of bodily charms to the real beauty of the soul.' (6.58)

Zeno used to bid him return him an obol from his wages. And one day he (Cleanthes) produced a handful of small change before his acquaintances and said, 'Cleanthes could even maintain a second Cleanthes, if he liked, whereas those who possess the means to keep themselves yet seek to live at the expense of others...' (7.170)

His opinion of himself was so high that when someone inquired, 'To whom shall I entrust my son?' Chrysippus replied, 'To me; for if I had dreamt of there being anyone better than myself, I should be studying with him myself.' (7.183)

Three additional stories may also qualify for inclusion in

this category, but, for the moment, I am hesitant. They are:

When Plato styled him a dog, 'Quite true,' Diogenes said, 'for I come back again and again to those who have sold me.' (6.40)

There was a stout musician whom everybody depreciated and Diogenes alone praised. When asked why, he said, 'Because being so big, he yet sings to his lute and does not turn brigand.' (6.47)

Someone having said that he thought the chain-arguments of the philosophers seemed brief and curt, Zeno replied, 'You are quite right; indeed the very syllables ought, if possible, to be clipped.' (7.20)

Although these stories appear to have, for the most part, the features of the commendations, yet they seem to me to lack the universality of theme and spirit which the others have. Though the sages affirm something in the setting in each case, I do not feel that they are commending anything so much as reinforcing a point in the setting. Perhaps, such reinforcement stories could be a sub-group of this category. They do not appear to fit naturally in any other class, unless it would be "Descriptions."

II.4. Descriptions. Pronouncement stories in which the primary interest appears to be in describing the situation, scene, action, or person in a fitting or striking way are assigned to this category. The evaluation process, so characteristic of corrections and commendations, plays a negligible role, if any.

I have tentatively designated 65 apophthegms as descriptions. The setting is verbal almost as often as it is non-verbal. All but two of the responses, however, are verbal (occasionally accompanied by an act) with two-thirds of them being volunteered by the sage and the rest given upon request. Examples:

When mice crept onto the table, Diogenes addressed them thus, 'See, now even Diogenes keeps parasites.' (6.40)

Once, when he was applauded by rascals, Antisthenes remarked, 'I am horribly afraid I have done something wrong.' (6.5)

Someone had been reading aloud for a very long time, and when he was near the end of the roll pointed to a space with no writing on it. 'Cheer up, my men,' cried Diogenes, 'there's land in sight.' (6.38)

When news was brought him that he was condemned and his sons were dead, Anaxagoras' comment on the sentence was, 'Long ago nature condemned both my judges and me to death;' and on his sons, 'I knew that my children were born to die.' (2.13)

Description stories are most easily categorized if they

have scenes, events, or actions as their settings (as in the examples above). There are a number of apophthegms that have proved somewhat difficult for me to classify here, because, while they appear to be descriptions (mainly owing to the skill and cleverness of their presentations), they seem to exhibit features that might require their being assigned to other categories (e.g., corrections or inquiries). Stories with a verbal stimulus are the most troublesome, though there are others. For example:

When Empedocles remarked to him that it is impossible to find a wise man, 'Naturally,' Xenophanes replied, 'for it takes a wise man to recognize a wise man.' (9.20) : This appears to be a description, but at the same time, Xenophanes seems to be correcting Empedocles by implying that he is not wise.

To one who said, 'You are condemned by the Athenians to die,' Socrates answered, 'So are they, by nature.' (2.35) : This situation is cleverly described, but at the same time Socrates may be correcting a misconception.

Diogenes once begged alms of a statue, and when asked why he did so, replied, 'To get practice in being refused.' (6.49) : While the descriptive feature is strong here, might the story be considered an inquiry or even a mild objection?

Once when he saw the slave of one of his acquaintances marked with welts, 'I see,' said Zeno, 'the imprints of your anger.' (7.23) : This, too, is a striking description, but also a subtle form of correction.

Although this is a helpful category for identifying a number of pronouncement stories, its definition does not appear to have the precision required to allow ease of classification of such stories as those presented above. It seems to permit too much flexibility in the reading and interpretation of the passages.

Hybrids. This final class of pronouncement stories combines the features of any two of the types already discussed, with both of the elements having equal importance. Normally, three parties are involved, the sage plus two others. Four hybrids have been identified in the Lives: two inquiry/correction, one description/correction, and one correction/objection. The settings and responses are both verbal and non-verbal. Examples:

When an impious man asked him to define piety, Bias was silent; and when the other inquired the reason, 'I am silent,' he replied, 'because you are asking questions about what does not concern you.' (1.86)

To someone who declared that Arcesilaus did not do what he ought, Cleanthes' reply was, 'No more

of this; do not censure him. For if by his words he does away with duty, he maintains it at all events by his deeds.' And Arcesilaus rejoined, 'I am not to be won by flattery.' (7.171)

After informing against the tyrant's friends, Zeno of Elea was asked by the tyrant whether there was anyone else in the plot; whereupon he replied, 'Yes, you, the curse of the city;' and to the bystanders he said, 'I marvel at your cowardice, that for fear of any of those things which I am now enduring, you should be the tyrant's slaves.' (9.27)

There is one other group of stories in the Lives which, although they have the familiar stimulus/response or setting/response components, cannot be considered true pronouncement stories. The response, rather than interacting in a striking way with the stimulus, tends to complete the situation or statement in the setting, thus forming an integrated unit. No special category has been made to accommodate these stories.

With this typology, then, the nearly 400 pronouncement stories in Diogenes Laertius' Lives have been given sufficient framework to permit further study of these stories. Although the number of synoptic categories is limited, it is generally broad enough to take into account the large variety of stories which are found in this compendium of philosophers' lives. While difficulties arose in adapting the synoptic typology to the Lives, as noted throughout this paper, these resulted more because of substance than of form; for it's only when the content of a story is scrutinized and the central figure is observed as he relates to his audience and surroundings that the true function of the pronouncement story becomes apparent.

So, to a large extent, it's the portrayal of these relationships that accounts for both the common typology shared by the stories belonging to the synoptic and philosophical traditions (for wise men from culture to culture are similarly wise in word and deed) and the differences in the style, message, and impact of the individual stories.⁴ With the typology, then, providing the basic structure, let us look next to the stories for their intrinsic value.

4

The observations which Richard A. Spencer has made, regarding the form and substance of the pronouncement stories of Plutarch as they relate to the synoptic material, fit precisely with those that I have made while working with the Diogenes stories. For a good summary, see his paper entitled, "A Typology of Pronouncement Stories in a Selection of Plutarch's Moralia," pp. 5, 8, which was distributed to the work group at the 1977 meeting of the Pronouncement Story Seminar in San Francisco.

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PRONOUNCEMENT STORIES IN
PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF ALEXANDER AND JULIUS CAESAR

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Plutarch wrote his *Lives* in pairs -- accounts of renowned Greek leaders were paralleled with accounts of famous Roman leaders.¹ After composing a pair of *Lives*, he would pen a comparison (σύγκρισις) which indicated the parallel dimensions he perceived in the careers of the two men.² No comparison is extant for the *Lives* of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. If Plutarch completed one, it has been lost.³

Nowhere in *Alexander* and *Caesar* does Plutarch directly indicate his perspective toward the parallel attributes or achievements of these two men. One might infer one aspect of Plutarch's point of view from the one account in *Caesar* in which Alexander is mentioned (XI.5-6[3]):

In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he [Julius Caesar] was at leisure and was reading things written about Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. "Do you think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?"⁴

Plutarch's inclusion of this passage suggests that he is

1. Twenty-three pairs of Plutarch's *Lives* are extant. Paired composition hardly began with Plutarch; Cornelius Nepos had composed a series of short *Lives* of outstanding generals, and, in fact, comparison of generals or statesmen was common enough in the schools of Greece. It was Plutarch, though, with the encouragement of Roman friends, who first undertook the writing of an entire series of parallel *Lives*. In addition to the *Parallel Lives*, four separate *Lives* by Plutarch are extant -- Artaxerxes, Aratus, Galba, and Otho. For an excellent discussion of these matters, see R. H. Barrow, *Plutarch and His Times* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967) 51-53.
2. See Hartmut Erbse, "Die Bedeutung der Synkrisis in der Parallelbiographien Plutarchs," *Hermes* 84 (1957) 398-424; and Alan E. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974) 234-244.
3. Four pairs of *Lives* have no comparisons -- Phocion/Cato the Younger, Themistocles/Camillus, Pyrrhus/Caius Marius, and Alexander/Julius Caesar. It is uncertain whether Plutarch did not attempt to write comparisons for these pairs or he wrote comparisons for these that were subsequently lost. See Wardman, *ibid.*, pp. 3, 236-237.
4. Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations of *Alexander* and *Julius Caesar* are taken from Plutarch's *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, LCL VII (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). The paragraph numbers refer to the Teubner and the newer LCL editions; the numbers in parentheses or brackets refer to the older LCL editions.

interested in the amount of territory won and the number of peoples put under submission by these two men. Comparison of the two Lives confirms this impression. If Caesar's military successes came later in life than Alexander's, so far as Plutarch is concerned there are numerous parallels. Each won the undaunted loyalty of his soldiers through personal bravery and generosity.⁵ Moreover, as Alexander overcame Darius and his troops, so Caesar was victorious over Pompey.

The opening section of Alexander introduces both Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, and it contains a programmatic statement that could provide a basis for comparing the two Lives. In I.1 Plutarch indicates that the two Lives are to be understood as one book (βιβλίον), then in I.2-3 he indicates that he is writing Lives (βίαι) rather than Histories (ἱστορίαι) and proposes the interests that guide an author as he composes Lives. Perhaps the most interesting comments for this study emerge in I.2:

I am not engaged in writing history (ἱστορίας), but lives (βίους). It is not in the most conspicuous of man's acts (ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι) that good and bad qualities are necessarily best manifested (δῆλωσις). Some trivial act (πράγμα βραχύ), a word (ῥῆμα), a jest (παῖδι) often shows up character far more than engagements, with thousands of dead, or pitched battles or blockades.⁶

This statement does not mean that Plutarch plans to omit accounts of military engagements where 20,000 to 1 million of the enemy are left slain on the field.⁷ Such events constitute an obvious parallel, for Plutarch, in the careers of these men. But Plutarch is suggesting that instead of long detailed accounts of battles he will present minor events, sayings, and little remarks to exhibit the character of the men about whom he is writing.⁸

Corrective Commendation and Disapproval in Pronouncement Stories

Detailed comparison of the brief episodes, sayings, and remarks in Alexander and Caesar uncovers a notable difference in Plutarch's presentation of these two men. The Life of Alexander is a much more lively account. Analysis reveals that the attractiveness of the Alexander is enhanced by direct statements of speech: it contains 106 direct statements in contrast to 42 in Caesar. Since Caesar is three-fourths as long as Alexander, it would have to contain 80 direct statements of speech -- approximately twice as many as it does contain -- to be comparable to Alexander in this regard.

5. Cf. Alexander XV.1-7(1-3); XVI; XXXIX; XLV.4-6(3-4); LXIII; LXX.3-6(2-4); LXXI.8-9(5) with Caesar V.8-9(4-5); XV.1-4(1-3); XVI-XVII; XX.8-9(5); LVII.8(5). See also J. R. Hamilton, Plutarch--Alexander: A Commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) XXXIV.

6. This English translation is from Barrow, ibid., p. 53.

7. See Alexander XVI.15(7); XXXIII.6-8(4-5); Caesar XV.5(3); XIX.11(5); XX.5(3); XXII.5(3).

8. See Alan E. Wardman, "Plutarch's Methods in the Lives," Classical Quarterly 65, NS 21 (1971) 254-261.

Poignant statements of speech in Plutarch's Lives often occur at the end of a short episode. In fact, Plutarch's interest in brief episodes, sayings, and remarks exhibits itself in the numerous brief narratives that reach their high-point in a striking remark. Such narratives have received attention in NT scholarship for more than half a century,⁹ and recently Robert Tannehill has developed a typology for the purpose of comparing narratives of this kind in a broad scope of literature in Late Mediterranean Antiquity.¹⁰ The term "pronouncement story" has been chosen -- rather than "apothegm," "paradigm," "chria," or "aphoristic narrative," -- and the choice is related to the goals for the overall consultation project under the sponsorship of the Society of Biblical Literature.¹¹ First of all, it is necessary to have a term that transcends any particular categorization developed by a certain sphere of authors in Mediterranean Antiquity. The investigation of an author's work should begin with analysis of every brief narrative that reaches a dramatic conclusion through a well-formed pronouncement by someone. Second, the term is meant to indicate an integral relation between the story and the pronouncement. The saying is not simply an addendum to the narrative; the narrative provides the setting for the saying and the saying is "a response to what was said or done on a particular occasion of the past."¹²

Using the most lenient criteria, Alexander contains 71 and Caesar contains 42 pronouncement stories. In each Life, one-third of the pronouncement stories are brought to a dramatic conclusion through a statement in the style of indirect rather than direct speech. In this literature, indirect sayings at the end of brief narratives tend to function as poignantly as direct sayings. As might be expected, the stories exhibit different degrees of formal integration. Sometimes, though the story is long -- containing dialogue, descriptive passages, and a series of actions -- it moves naturally toward a dramatic conclusion in a poignant saying. At other times, though the story is short -- containing brief description and few (or no) oracular features -- the pronouncement emerges more artificially at the end.

Out of a total of 113 pronouncement stories in both Lives, twenty-three feature a person correcting an assumption made by another party. The frequency of this dimension supports Tannehill's proposal that pronouncement stories with a

9. R. Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, trans. J. Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); M. Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. B. L. Woolf (New York: Scribner, 1965).
10. R. Tannehill's "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories" for the 1976 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and his letter of revision to the Pronouncement Story Workgroup, dated October 26, 1977. See also R. Tannehill, The Sword of His Mouth (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 152-157.
11. V. Taylor, The Formation of the Gospel Tradition (London: Macmillan, 1933) 63-87 used this term.
12. Tannehill, "Typology," p.1.

corrective response represent a significant type among pronouncement stories. Also, these Lives contain thirty-three pronouncement stories in which "evaluation (correcting, commending) recedes and the main interest seems to be in describing the situation, scene, person, or action in an apt and striking way." These stories, designated descriptive by Tannehill, represent the least tense type of pronouncement story.

Analysis of Plutarch's Alexander and Caesar suggests that stories featuring either disapproval or commendation represent a mid-point between description and correction. In other words, as a sage moves beyond apt description towards an evaluation of someone's action or assumption, he may judge it as good or bad, proper or improper. To Tannehill's category of "commendation," therefore, a type called "disapproval" must be added. For in fact, while Alexander and Caesar contain twenty-one pronouncement stories featuring disapproval, Alexander contains only nine examples, and Caesar no examples, of commendation.

Therefore, our analysis suggests that a new type, designated "disapproval," be included in the typology. This type of pronouncement story is the negative form of a simple commendation. In the disapproval type, the sage does not go so far as to correct an assumption made by one or more persons -- he simply registers disapproval of this person and his action. An example is found in Caesar LIV.1-2(1):

Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself, and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate he said: "Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life."

In this story, Cato's action does not contain an assumption which Caesar corrects. Also, Caesar's hostility does not emerge from an objection Cato has made to his action or speech. Caesar simply pronounces disapproval upon Cato's action.

Another disapproval occurs in Alexander IX.6-10(4-5):

The most open quarrel was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, a maiden who Philip was taking to wife, having fallen in love with the girl when he was past the age for it. Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch."

This story, as well as the preceding one illustrates the nature of a pronouncement story of the disapproval type. The most neutral type of pronouncement story is the descriptive or

interpretive. The apt description produces only a mild tension as the situation is interpreted in a perceptive manner. The next level of pronouncement story contains tension that emerges from evaluation -- the sage either commends or disapproves of a person, action, statement or situation. In both of the stories quoted above, the protagonist describes a person and his action in a negative manner. As a commendation may range from slight to strong approval, so a disapproval may vary in intensity. Caesar's disapproval of Cato is direct and blunt; Alexander's disapproval of Philip is humorous, relaxing the tension that has developed in the situation. In neither story does the protagonist take a further step to correct the person and his actions.

The corrective type of pronouncement story represents the level beyond simple commendation or disapproval. Many corrections are an extension of disapproval. Instead of just disapproving, the protagonist in the story corrects the person's action or point of view. An example occurs in Alexander LII.8-9(4):

It is said that once at supper the conversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callisthenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said: "You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter with three rugs thrown over you."

In this story, Anaxarchus not only disapproves of Callisthenes' position, but he takes another step -- he corrects it. The final remark does not remove any hostility; the negative tension is increased by the correction.

Corrections may arise through commendation rather than disapproval. The person who makes the pronouncement corrects the other person not as a negative rebuttal but as a more positive acceptance of the person's remark than the original speaker had expected. Tannehill recognized this in his statement that "a subordinate correction is probably common in commendations."¹³ But it is necessary to see that there are commendations with or without corrections in them. In other words, simple commendation may extend into greater commendation through corrective response. An example is found in Alexander XXXIX.2(1-2):

Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying: "In my country, O King, such a gift as this is rewarded with a golden beaker." "Yes," said Alexander with a laugh, "an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine."

Alexander's correction of Ariston heightens the commendation -- it creates greater positive expression. Without Alexander's correction whereby wine will be added to the beaker, the story would be a simple commendation with less dramatic intensity.

13. Tannehill's letter, p.4.

Sometimes a corrective commendation features a person pronouncing favor upon the person who is the subject of the Life. The person pronouncing the favor dares to correct the protagonist in order to increase the commendation. An example occurs in Alexander XX.10-12 (7):

Although he [Alexander] won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king's chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carrying off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, although its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out for him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: "Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius." "No, indeed," said one of his companions, "but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his."

Again, the commendation would be less developed if the corrective feature were absent. By risking a correction of Alexander's statement, the companion directs praise upon Alexander. If the companion would have simply agreed with Alexander ("Yes, a noble bath for a noble general") the commendation might be weaker than it is. In contrast, a commendation lacking any corrective response exists in Alexander XL.4 (3):

Accordingly, he [Alexander] exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: "Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king."

Here the commendation is fulfilled through a poignant saying that has no corrective feature in it. This simple commendation is the correlate of the simple disapproval -- neither contain an additional development which introduces a corrective interchange in the story.

Information arising from analysis of Plutarch's Alexander and Caesar suggests, therefore, that if pronouncement stories should be classified according to a scale of intensity, there are two levels of commendation -- simple commendation and commendation with a corrective feature that heightens the commendation. These two levels are tensive developments of the descriptive type through positive evaluation. On the other hand, there are two levels in which the descriptive pronouncement story is extended through negative evaluation -- disapproval and correction. Disapproval is the negative counterpart of simple commendation; correction is the negative counterpart of commendation with a corrective feature. Accordingly, a table exhibiting the dynamics in pronouncement stories would begin with descriptions at the

bottom. On the tensive level above apt description would be simple commendation and disapproval. Above this level would be corrective commendation and correction:

Corrective Commendation	Correction
Simple Commendation	Disapproval
Description	

Objection and Laudation in Pronouncement Stories

Plutarch's Alexander and Caesar contain only seven pronouncement stories that are to be classified as "objections" (those with the most highly developed negative tension), but these instances are good representatives of the type. Objections present conflict in the sharpest mode since hostility is expressed in the opening narrative and the sage responds with a counter remark that intensifies the conflict. A brief example occurs in Alexander XVI.3(2):

When Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he [Alexander] declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed the strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen.

In this scene, Parmenio's objection is directly countered by Alexander's remark; but in five of the seven instances in Alexander and Caesar, the objection is launched against some one other than the subject of the Life (Alexander or Caesar) and the person who is criticized pronounces the counter attack. An example occurs in Caesar I.4(2) where Sulla's intention causes an objection to which Sulla responds:

Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he [Caesar] came before the people as candidate for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he [Sulla] was deliberating about putting him [Caesar] to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.

Another example occurs in Alexander LIV.4-6(3-4) where an objection is declared against Callisthenes' intention to kiss Alexander, and Callisthenes responds to the objection:

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him; but Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried; "O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance." So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes ex-

claimed in a loud voice: "Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss."

In both of these stories, the initial attention focuses on the person who is the subject of the life -- Caesar, in the one instance; Alexander, in the other. In the setting, however, another person undertakes an action to which someone objects, and the person who has been attacked responds. The intensity of the response may range from unwilling acceptance to direct rebuttal of the objection.

The most fully developed objection appears in Alexander LXIV and constitutes the entire chapter. Because of its length, it cannot be reproduced in its entirety. The story, with omission of the center, reads thus:

He [Alexander] captured ten of the Gymnosophists who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accordingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. ... [here follows nine more tests with clever responses] So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. "Well, then," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first for giving such a verdict." "That cannot be, O King," said the judge, "unless thou falsely saidst that thou wouldst put to death first him who answered worst."

This pronouncement story is a highly developed objection. It is developed through ten tests, the last of which is placed upon the Gymnosophist who has been chosen to be judge. When the judge announces his verdict, Alexander objects to it and the judge directs a poignant statement to Alexander for his objection. Here the relation of test and objection can be observed. Test is an interrogative form containing negative tension while objection is a declarative form containing negative tension.

Analysis of Plutarch's Alexander reveals two pronouncement stories that are a positive counterpart to objections. These instances present the most highly developed positive expression in pronouncement stories. Instead of objecting to something which has been done, a person offers honorific praise in the final pronouncement that transcends commendation. This type can be called "laudation." Laudations often attain complexity through inquiries, corrections, tests, and objections. Every instance discovered thus far features a second party pronouncing a laudation upon the subject of the life. One would expect this to be a constant feature in biographical literature. The most developed instance is the story of Alexander and the horse Bucephalas that constitutes Alexander VI. When the horse is brought to Alexander's father, Philip, and no one can ride it, Philip orders the horse to be led away (VI.1-2[1]). Alexander objects to his father's decision, and Philip responds to Alexander through a test in

which he asks Alexander what penalty he will pay if he is unable to ride the horse (VI.2-4 [2-3]). After Alexander successfully fulfills the test, the story ends with Philip's pronouncement: "My son, seek thee out a kingdom, equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee" (VI.5-8 [3-5]). In this story an objection scene and a test scene -- both highlighted by poignant dialogue -- create the setting for the laudatory pronouncement by Philip.

Another laudation occurs in Alexander XLII.6-10 (3-6):

In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied: "For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; "For," said he, "if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart." But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as they had such a king.

This story creates the intensity of a laudation through a scene of inquiry and corrective commendation. Already the scene of inquiry contains the dynamics of laudation in nuce, for when Alexander asks the Macedonians for whom they are carrying the water, they not only answer the question but add a statement of praise to their answer. If the story ended with the statement of the Macedonians, it would be classified as a commendation. Yet the pronouncement is already more than commendation; it is laudatory -- "For our sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these." In the face of this praise, Alexander risks a correction of their action. He must not accept the water or his horsemen will lose heart. Since the correction may offend the Macedonians, it heightens the intensity of the story. Commending the Macedonians, Alexander hands the helmet of water back to them, correcting their offer of the water to him alone. Only Alexander's corrective response is put in oracular form by Plutarch, and through this response the story builds to a satisfactory laudation. If the initial statement of the Macedonians seems a bit unmotivated, the final pronouncement of Alexander's horsemen suffers no such fate. Enough intensity has been created through the corrective commendation to warrant the exorbitant statement at the end: "We will not regard ourselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mortals at all, so long as we have such a king." Through a scene of corrective interaction, the story becomes a laudation.

In sum, therefore, the objection, which contains the most highly developed negative intensity, has the laudation as its positive counterpart. While the objection begins and ends with hostility, the laudation proceeds through scenes exhibiting negative tension -- correction, test, and objection -- to a positive pronouncement that knows few limitations.

Negative Tension and Positive Expression in Pronouncement Stories

Tannehill's typology of pronouncement stories distinguishes between those with declarative and those with interrogative statements in the opening part. Analysis of Plutarch's *Alexander* and *Caesar* reveals this distinction to be informative. Seventeen pronouncement stories in these two Lives move to the pronouncement through an interrogative dimension. In addition, test and quest should be understood as counterparts of one another. Test introduces negative tension while quest introduces positive tension. Test is a developed form of negative inquiry and quest is a developed form of positive inquiry. In other words, a test introduces the possibility of a negative result, but a quest honors the sage by placing the question before him. Test is the interrogative form of disapproval, correction, and objection; quest is the interrogative form of commendation and laudation. Consequently, not only hostile interaction but also expressions of admiration create intensity within pronouncement stories. This insight is implicit in the typology developed by Tannehill, but his schema omits types at certain levels. A classification system should contain both negative and positive types at every level of complexity and intensity.¹⁴ Only when the typology contains open categories at every level is it possible to classify the pronouncement stories with reliability. If certain levels are excluded from the typology, subordinate features are often inappropriately accepted as dominant.

If an investigator uses a typology based on a scale of intensity beginning with the most neutral to the most intense, he or she should be able to reach agreement with other investigators in most instances. Also, if the lowest numbers in the typology represent the least tensive types, the process of classification itself is facilitated. On this basis, the classification system would be:

- I. Declarative: the dominant figure reacts to a position adopted or an assumption made (usually through the words or actions of another person) or to some scene, situation, or event described in the story.

Negative Tension	Positive Expression
1) Descriptions	
2) Disapprovals	Simple Commendations
3) Corrections	Corrective Commendations
4) Objections	Laudations

14. Tannehill's discussion, "Pattern and Tension in Synoptic Sayings," in *Sword of His Mouth*, pp. 39-57, shows more interest in conflict and hostility than commendation and praise.

II. Interrogative: the dominant figure responds to a question.

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--------|
| 5) | Inquiries | |
| 6) | Tests | Quests |

In summary, pronouncement stories contain a setting and a saying that are interrelated to one another. One basic group of pronouncement stories ends with sayings that respond to questions, and another group ends with sayings that make a declaration. It is instructive to differentiate between pronouncement stories in which negative tension dominates and pronouncement stories in which positive expression dominates. Declarative pronouncement stories feature approval or disapproval, and negative tension may be produced through correction, objection, and test. If negative tension dominates through the pronouncement, the story will be a disapproval, correction, or objection. If positive expression results through the pronouncement, the story will be a simple commendation, corrective commendation, or laudation. Interrogative pronouncement stories feature challenge or search. The most neutral form of interrogation is the simple inquiry. If the question is not loaded, negatively or positively, the challenge is harmless and the search is ordinary. If negative tension dominates the inquiry, a test results; if positive expression dominates, a quest results. A test introduces the possibility of a negative result, but a quest presupposes that the question provides the opportunity for the sage to exhibit his wisdom. While a test makes the questioner an opponent, a quest is an action of praise -- it presupposes that the person has the insight to answer. If a person is unable to meet a test, one expects a negative result; if a person is unable to answer a quest, there may be disappointment, but the querter will accept the question as virtually impossible for anyone to answer.

Conclusion

It has been claimed that Plutarch portrays Greek leaders more attractively than their Roman counterparts in the parallel Lives.¹⁵ Do the pronouncement stories in Alexander and Caesar reflect any bias in terms of selection or composition of scenes by Plutarch?

First of all, Plutarch's Caesar contains no instances of commendation or laudation. No statement of approval by Caesar or anyone else in the Life is strong enough to rank as a simple commendation, a corrective commendation, or a laudation. Moreover, there are no interrogative quests that would indicate that Caesar or anyone else was deemed capable of answering a general search to understand life. Accordingly, this means that there are no pronouncement stories in Caesar in which a positive expression dominates. Twenty two pronouncement stories are neutral (either descriptions or inquiries) and twenty are negative (disapprovals, corrections, and objections).

15. See Wardman's discussion of this claim in Lives, pp. 236-244.

In contrast, there are twelve pronouncement stories in Alexander in which positive expressions dominate. Ten of these are commendations, and two are laudations. One of the laudations is pronounced by Alexander's father Philip (VI.8[5]), the other by Alexander's horsemen after he refuses to accept water when they have none (XLII.10[6]). In five pronouncement stories, Alexander commends others. They range from philosophers to ordinary people -- Aristotle (VIII.4[3]), Diogenes (XIV.1-5[1-3]), Homer (XXVI.5-7[3-4]), Ariston (XXXIX.2[1-2]), and a common Macedonian (XXXIX.3[2]). On the other hand, five pronouncement stories feature people commending Alexander -- a Spartan ambassador (XL.4[3]), seers (XXIV.8-9[5]), Aristander (XIV.9[5]), Perdikkas (XV.4[2]), and an unnamed companion (XX.10-12[7]). On the basis of the complete absence of pronouncement stories in Caesar in which a positive expression dominates and the presence of such stories in Alexander with a wide range of people commending and being commended, it is understandable that an interpreter might conclude that Plutarch composes a more attractive portrayal of Alexander than Caesar.

Second, no appreciable difference emerges when inquiries, disapprovals, and objections are compared with one another, but a comparison of the descriptions and objections reveals a difference in Plutarch's portrayal of the two men. While Alexander contains eighteen and Caesar fifteen descriptions, Caesar contains only one that exhibits him as a man of substantial character while Alexander contains five. The one in Caesar occurs at XVII.11 (6):

Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man's hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

This story portrays Caesar as a man willing to suffer inconvenience for his companions, and he articulates his willingness in a sagacious pronouncement. But this kind of story is unique among the descriptions in Caesar. More frequently Caesar offers blunt remarks or boasts about himself, and occasionally he complains about his circumstances.¹⁶

In contrast, Alexander contains at least five descriptions that present him as a man of charming wit, self-awareness and self-control. In XLI.1-2(1) he is willing to accept criticism graciously:

Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to

16. Caesar LII.9(6); XLVI.1(1); L.4(2); XXXII.5-8(4-6); XXXIX.4-8(3-5)

abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill-spoken of therefor.

Also, LVIII.6(4) shows him as a man who is willing to refer to his own deficiencies before others in an amusing and inspiring manner:

And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried: "Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim?" and at once, carrying his shield, he would have tried to cross.

Though Alexander is aggressive he can apply his wit and measure his action (XIV.6-7[4]):

And now, wishing to consult the god concerning the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and since he chanced to come on one of the inauspicious days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the first place he sent a summons to the prophetess. And when she refused to perform her office and cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if overcome by his ardour, she said: "Thou art invincible, my son!" On hearing this, Alexander said he desired no further prophecy, but had from her the oracle which he wanted.

Large numbers of people in the eastern portion of his empire consider him to be divine. With them, he freely allows the expression of honor, but with the Greeks, he takes opportunity to remind them of his mortality (XXVIII.3[2]):

At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering great pain, he said: "This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not 'Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed gods.'"

Alexander can be moved to anger, and at a banquet one evening his anger becomes so severe that he kills Cleitus with a spear (LI). But more often, Alexander is generous with his friends and tries to avert confrontation (XLVII.9-10[5]):

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the former in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king.

These pronouncement stories, classified as descriptions, portray Alexander as a king with honorable character. His comportment elicits assertions that he is divine, and he responds to this acclaim with care. Through his generosity and good humor he avoids quarrels within his ranks and arbitrates between parties when conflict arises.

Wardman proposes that Plutarch measures the subjects of his *Lives* "by standards which apply to the 'politicus' as the harmonizer of his people."¹⁷ The 'politicus' is a statesman with the abilities to decide, act, and speak in a manner that draws people together in political unity. While Caesar is not, by any means, totally lacking in these attributes, a comparison of the descriptions shows a greater exhibition of these traits in Alexander than in Caesar.

There is only one objection story that features Caesar and only one that features Alexander. The remaining objection stories feature other people objecting to one another or the subject of the Life. While the limited number of stories in this class makes it inappropriate to draw a general conclusion from them, these two stories present, almost in paradigm fashion, the difference between Plutarch's portrayal of Caesar and Alexander. Caesar does not hesitate to enter into direct invective against his friends (XVII.9-10[5-6]):

When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. "Surely," said he, "it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself."

A personal criticism like this does not produce the image of the 'politicus,' and the image of Caesar suffers as a result of such stories. In contrast, Alexander, in a story already cited above, responds in a manner that avoids the personal attack (XVI.3[2]):

When Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he [Alexander] declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen.

The political statesman not only exhibits generosity and bravery, he is able to turn personal confrontation into harmless rebuttal through his wit and charm. Instead of casting ill-fame on Parmenio, Alexander calls forth an image of the Hellespont blushing for shame. A personal objection to Alexander's action moves to a response that inspires unity, trust, and bravery.

Analysis of pronouncement stories in Plutarch's Alexander and Caesar reveals skillful use of short narratives ending with sayings to portray the attributes of famous Greek and Roman leaders. The degree to which negative tension or positive expression dominates the pronouncement stories affects the tone

17. Wardman, *Lives*, p. 235; see pp. 49-104 for his discussion of the 'politicus.'

of the Life. The larger number in Alexander of pronouncement stories featuring positive expression contributes to Plutarch's more attractive portrayal of Alexander as a model of political statesmanship.¹⁸

18. I am deeply grateful to Richard E. DeMaris for his diligent labors as research assistant during the preparation of this article.

Appendix: Index of Pronouncement Stories in Plutarch's
Alexander and Caesar

I. DECLARATIVE

1. Descriptions -- total 33

<u>Alexander</u>		<u>Caesar</u>	
III.6(3)		VII.3(2)	
III.9(5)		XIV.3-5(2-3)	
X.6-7(4)		XVII.11(6)	
XIV.6-7(4)		XXXII.5-8(4-6)	
XX.13(8)		XXXIII.5(4)	
XXI.10(5)		XXXV.10(4)	
XXII.4-6(2-3)		XXXVIII.1-5(1-3)	
XXVIII.3(2)		XXXIX.4-8(3-5)	
XXXVII.5(3)		XLV.7-8(4-5)	
XXXVII.7(4) cf.LVI.1(1)		XLVI.1(1)	
XLI.1-2(1)		XLVII.3-6(1-2)	
XLVII.9-10(5)		L.4(2)	
LVI.1(1)		LII.9(6)	
LVIII.3-4(2)		LVI.2-4(2-3)	
LVIII.5(3)		LVIII.2-3(1)	
LVIII.6(4)			
LX.1-6(1-3)			
LXVIII.3-5(2-3)			
Total = 18		Total = 15	

2. Simple Responses

a. Disapprovals -- total 21

<u>Alexander</u>		<u>Caesar</u>	
V.4(2)		VI.1-6(1-4)	
IX.6-10(4-5)		XIX.3-4(2)	
XXXIX.7(4-5)		XXX.4-6(2-3)	
XLVI.4(2)		XLI.2-3(1-2)	
XLVIII.3(2)		LIV.1-2(1)	
XLIX.12(6)		LIX.6(3)	
L.3(2)-LI.11(6)		LXII.9(5)	
LIII.1-2(1-2)			
LIII.3-6(3-5)			
LIV.1(1)			
LIV.1-2(1)			
LXV.2-3(2)			
LXVIII.7(4)			
LXXIV.4-5(2-3)			
Total = 14		Total = 7	

b. Simple Commendations -- total 6

<u>Alexander</u>		<u>Caesar</u>	
VIII.4(3)		none	
XV.4(2)			
XXIV.8-9(5)			
XXVI.5-7(3-4)			
XXXIX.3(2)			
XL.4(3)			
Total = 6		Total = 0	

3. Corrective Responses

a. Corrections -- total 23

<u>Alexander</u>	III.4(2)	<u>Caesar</u>	XVI.8-9(4)
	XX.1-3(1-2)		XVIII.3(2)
	XXII.7-10(4-5)		XXIX.7(5)
	XXV.7-8(5)		LVII.7(4)
	XXIX.7-8(4)		LX.2-3(1-2)
	XXXI.8-12(4-7)		LX.4(3)
	XXXIX.9(6)		LX.8(5)
	XXXIX.13(7)		LXII.6(3)
	XL.1-3(1-3)		LXII.10(5)
	XLI.9-10(5)		LXIII.5-6(3)
	LII.8-9(5)		
	LVII.7-9(5)		
	LVIII.7-9(5)		

Total = 13

Total = 10

b. Corrective Commendations -- total 4

<u>Alexander</u>	XIV.1-5(1-3)	<u>Caesar</u>	none
	XIV.9(5)		
	XX.10-12(7)		
	XXXIX.2(1-2)		

Total = 4

Total = 0

4. Developed Stories

a. Objections -- total 7

<u>Alexander</u>	VII.5-9(3-5)	<u>Caesar</u>	I.4
	XVI.3(2)		XVII.9-10(5-6)
	LIV.4-6(3-4)		XLI.4(2)
	LXIV.1-12(1-5)		

Total = 4

Total = 3

b. Laudations -- total 2

<u>Alexander</u>	VI.1-8(1-5)	<u>Caesar</u>	none
	XLII.6-10(3-6)		

Total = 2

Total = 0

II. INTERROGATIVE

5. Inquiries -- total 11

<u>Alexander</u>	IV.10(5)	<u>Caesar</u>	X.1-9(1-6)
	XIV.2-4(1-2)		XI.3-4(2)
	XV.7-9(4-5)		XI.5-6(3)
	LX.12-14(8)		XIV.14-15(8)
			XLIII.3-4(2)
			XLIV.8-12(5-6)
			LXIII.7(4)

Total = 4

Total = 7

6. Inquiries with Negative or Positive Feature

a. Tests -- total 6

Alexander IX.12-14 (6)
 XXVIII.4 (2)
 XXXII.1-3 (1-2)
 XXXIX.5 (3)
 LV.3-4 (2)
 LIX.1-4 (1-3)

Caesar none

Total = 6

Total = 0

b. Quests -- total 0

Alexander none

Caesar none

Total = 0

Total = 0

William D. Stroker, Drew University

This preliminary study of the pronouncement story in early Christian apocryphal literature has two primary tasks: 1) to identify the examples of pronouncement stories, and 2) to ascertain whether Robert Tannehill's revised typology¹ is adequate for categorizing these materials and providing the basis for subsequent, more detailed analysis. Extensive investigation of the content of these materials is not the purpose here. The survey of this extensive group of documents² has yielded fewer examples of the genre than initially expected. The conclusions to be drawn will therefore be somewhat limited and tentative. The usefulness of these can be more definitely determined at a later stage of the work of the pronouncement story group when the results of the various studies are more thoroughly integrated. The following is a categorization of the pronouncement stories from the documents studied, employing the criteria of Tannehill's revised typology.

Objections

The basic characteristics of this category are: a) an objection to a statement or act of the central figure, and b) a response which justifies the central figure's position and which may also criticize, correct, or even rebuke the stance of the objector. Two clear examples of this category have been found and a possible third.

- 1) Now one day as John was sitting (there) a partridge flew by and came and played in the dust before him; and John was amazed as he saw it. But a certain priest, who was one of his hearers, came and went in to John and saw the partridge playing in the dust before him. And he was offended and said to himself, "Can such a man, at his age, take pleasure in a partridge playing in the dust?" But John knew in the spirit what he was thinking, and said to him, "It would be better for you, my son, to watch a partridge playing in the dust and not to foul yourself with shameful and impious practices. For he who waits for the conversion and repentance of all men has brought you here for this purpose. For I have no need of a partridge playing in the dust; for the partridge is your own soul."³
- 2) It is told that the most blessed Evangelist John, when he was quietly stroking a partridge with his hands, suddenly saw one in the habit of a hunter coming to him. He wondered that a man of such repute and fame should demean himself to such small and humble amusements, and said: Art thou that John whose eminent and widespread fame hath enticed me also with great desire to know thee? Why then art thou taken up with such mean amusements? The blessed John said to him: What is that which thou carriest in thy hands? A bow, said he. And why, said he, dost thou not bear it about always stretched? He answered him: I must not, lest by

constant bending the strength of its vigour be wrung and grow soft and perish, and when there is need that the arrows be shot with much strength at some beast, the strength being lost by excess of continual tension, a forceful blow cannot be dealt. Just so, said the blessed John, let not this little and brief relaxation of my mind offend thee, young man, for unless it doth sometimes ease and relax by some remission the force of its tension, it will grow slack through unbroken rigour and will not be able to obey the power of the spirit.⁴

Despite the obvious differences, the progression of the two narratives is basically the same. We probably have independent developments of a common tradition. In both passages someone objects, verbally or 'to himself,' to John's amusement with the partridge. The response by John contains not only a defense but also an indication of a deeper significance. The response in the first narrative is *ad hominem*; the partridge in the dirt symbolizes the condition of the soul of the one who raised the objection. The second makes a general point about the necessity of mental relaxation. The second narrative has a more complex development, with its dialogue between John and the hunter, which functions to prepare for and also illustrate the point made in John's concluding words.

A 'borderline' example

And he took them and brought them into the place of purification itself and walked about in the temple. And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest named Levi, approached and spoke with them and said to the Savior. "Who permitted you to walk in this place of purification and to view these holy vessels, without having washed and without your disciples having washed even their feet? On the contrary, while still defiled, you have walked in this temple which is a clean place, in which no one who has not washed himself and changed his clothes walks or dares view these holy vessels." Immediately the Savior stood still, along with the disciples, and answered him. "Are you who are here in the temple therefore clean?" He said, "I am clean, for I have washed in David's pool and have gone down by one stair and come up by the other and have put on clean, white clothes, and then I came and looked at these holy vessels." The Savior answered and said to him, "Woe to you blind who do not see, You have washed yourself in these poured-out waters in which dogs and swine have wallowed night and day, and you have washed and wiped the outer skin which harlots and flute girls also anoint, wash, wipe, and beautify for the lust of men, whereas within they are full of scorpions and wickedness of every kind. But I and my disciples, whom you say have not washed, have been washed in waters of eternal life⁵ which come down from⁶ But woe to those who...⁷

There is some question as to whether this narrative should be designated a pronouncement story. It is longer and the dialogue more wordy than usually is the case. The narrative

does not move quickly and effectively toward a single pronouncement. The end of the episode is not preserved, so we cannot be confident the narrative reached its climax in Jesus' response to the objection. Nonetheless, the basic structure of situation-objection-response is clearly visible. We may have here an elaborated pronouncement story in which the usual economy of language is not operative, particularly in the dialogue. On the contrary, we may have, as part of a longer, more developed narrative, an episode which involves objection and response but whose development is distinct from that of the pronouncement story proper. The passage should be helpful in subsequent treatments of the history of the pronouncement story form and its relation to kindred genres and structures.

Corrections

More examples of 'corrections' have been found in the documents studied than of any other category. Tannehill's description of this category is as follows: "The corrective response may follow some request, question (provided some assumption behind the request or question is corrected), statement, or action of one who encounters the sage, or it may simply follow the description of some situation or scene if the response makes a corrective judgment about the situation or scene" (from the revised typology of Oct. 26, '77).

- 1) But, he said, when the apostles asked how the Jewish prophets were to be regarded who were thought to have proclaimed in the past his coming, our Lord, disturbed that they still held this conception, answered, "You have forsaken the living one who is before you and speak about the dead."⁸

This is a clear example of the correction category, as is shown in the narrative by the indication of what the assessment of the prophets was, the notice that Jesus was disturbed to learn the apostles still had this view, as well as by the corrective response itself. The close parallel to this passage in Thomas 52 is also a correction.

- 2) On the same day he saw a man working on the Sabbath and said to him: Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed. But if you do not know, you are cursed and a transgressor of the law.⁹

The description of the scene to which Jesus responds has no interest in things such as the motivation of the man or the type of work. The response also gives little insight into these matters but challenges the person to consider the situation with great care. The tension is not actually resolved in this narrative, whereas normally it is in pronouncement stories. Two judgments are actually given, one of commendation, the other of correction. It is tempting to view the narrative as a hybrid of these two categories. I consider it a correction story, however. The two judgments taken together seem to correct an implied assumption that working on the Sabbath is simply permitted. Also, the rhetorical weight of the passage as a whole seems to fall on the second, the corrective, response.

- 3) Behold, the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him: John the Baptist baptizes for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them: Wherein have I sinned, that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless this very thing which I have said is ignorance.¹⁰

The quotation by Jerome is in the form of a pronouncement story. Within the Gospel of the Nazaraeans, however, it was part of a more extended narrative which probably included an account of the baptism itself. Until the last sentence the narrative proceeds as a clear correction. The position of Jesus' mother and brothers implies he is in need of the remission of sins. Jesus' initial question corrects this by challenging the assumption (Thomas 104 provides a conceptual parallel; Jesus responds to the suggestion that he fast and pray with analogous words). The second sentence of the response in Jerome's quotation, the exact meaning of which is uncertain, complicates matters somewhat. It may seem to blunt the force of the correction. Nonetheless, the passage is best viewed as a correction story, challenging a misunderstanding of why Jesus was baptized.

- 4) Peter, speaking to a (man) who bitterly complained at the death of his daughter, said "So many assaults of the devil, so many struggles with the body, so many disasters of the world she has escaped; and you shed tears, as if you did not know what you yourself have undergone (i.e. what you have gained)."¹¹

This brief narrative shows no interest in the daughter or in the circumstances of her death. Attention is focused on the reaction of the father and the implied assumption behind his position. The words of Peter give an alternate perspective which corrects the assumption and also mildly rebukes the father.

'Borderline' Corrections

- 1) Consider and take note of the happening about which the following account informs us: A peasant had a girl who was a virgin. She was also his only daughter, and therefore he besought Peter to offer a prayer for her. After he had prayed, the apostle said to the father that the Lord would bestow upon her what was expedient for her soul. Immediately, the girl fell down dead. O reward worthy and ever pleasing to God, to escape the shamelessness of the flesh and to break the pride of the blood! But this distrustful old man, failing to recognize the worth of the heavenly grace, i.e. the divine blessing, besought Peter again that his only daughter be raised from the dead. And some days later, after she had been raised, a man who passed himself off as a believer came into the house of the old man to stay with him, and seduced the girl, and the two of them never appeared again.¹²

The affinities between this story and the one previously discussed are enough to suggest that they are independent developments of a common tradition. One may well question, however, whether the version in Ps. Titus is in the form of

a pronouncement story. The event which drives the point home and which forms the climax of the narrative is not accomplished by Peter, nor is it a result of Peter's prayer. When an act is the climactic element of a pronouncement story, it must be more closely related to the central figure than is the case here. The passage may perhaps be viewed as an expansion of a pronouncement story, which is still visible in the first half. The coupling of Peter's assurance that the Lord would do what was best for the daughter's soul with her immediate death 'corrects' the assumptions of the father. This could be a brief pronouncement story. The passage in Ps. Titus then continues with the words of its author, "O reward worthy..." The additional narrative makes the same point as the first part, 'correcting' the father again by dramatically portraying the negative consequences of his refusal to accept the initial correction. The passage can be more adequately assessed at a later stage in the work of the pronouncement story group when it is compared with other narratives in which the mode of pronouncement is an action.

- 2) When Salome asked, "How long will death have power?" the Lord said, "As long as you women bear children," not as if life were bad and creation evil, but as teaching the sequence of nature. For death always follows birth.¹³

Clement's interpretative comments point this passage toward the category of inquiry. The question would appear to be open, and the special characteristics of 'test' and 'quest' are not present. Clement's interpretation, however, blunts the pointed nature of the response¹⁴ which would appear to contain elements of rebuke. Within the proposed typology, rebukes following an open question could perhaps be considered as a sub-category of corrections, though this would stretch the current definition of the correction category. Modifying the typology may be necessary, since it currently has no clear place for open questions followed by rebukes.

A Possible Commendation

Commendations are the counterpart to corrections. The response often goes beyond simple approval to state a general principle or to point out a significance not immediately apparent in the setting itself.

For when she said, "I have done well then in not having born children," as if it were improper to engage in procreation, then the Lord answered and said, "Eat every plant, but do not eat the one which contains bitterness."¹⁵

Clement interprets this passage as a correction. That he understood the response in this way is seen in his inserted comment and in the broader context in which he uses the quotation. The encratite tendencies of the Gospel of the Egyptians, however, are well-known. If Clement's comment and overall interpretation are removed, then the metaphorical saying could be considered a commendation of the perspective expressed by Salome, the designation which I currently favor.¹⁶

Inquiries

In this category an open question or request is put to the central figure. The appropriateness of this is accepted, and a response is given. The following two versions of essentially the same tradition are clear examples.¹⁷

When Salome asked when the things would be known that she had inquired about, the Lord said: "When you (pl.) have trampled on the garment of shame and when the two become one and the male with the female is neither male nor female."¹⁸

For when the Lord himself was asked by someone when his kingdom would come, he said: "When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female."¹⁹

Results

Relatively few examples of pronouncement stories are found in the documents studied. Further, no examples of 'descriptions' were found, and apart from parallels to synoptic passages, no examples of 'tests' or 'quests'.²⁰ These factors do not lead to the conclusion that pronouncement stories were infrequent in early Christian apocryphal literature. The Nag Hammadi documents were not included in this survey. The Gospel of Thomas alone contains many pronouncement stories; smaller numbers are found in the Gospel of Philip and other documents. Further, our knowledge of much of the apocryphal literature is quite fragmentary. The Jewish-Christian gospels and the Gospel of the Egyptians contained pronouncement stories, as is evident from the few quotations preserved, and it is not unreasonable to assume that there were more. The documents of which Pap. Eg. 2 and Pap. Ox. 840 and 1224 are parts also likely contained more pronouncement stories. The 'gospel' category of apocryphal literature thus gives evidence of an extensive use of the pronouncement story genre.

Within other categories of apocryphal literature, the situation seems to be otherwise. We would perhaps not really expect the pronouncement story to be frequently employed in apocryphal epistles and apocalypses. The pronouncement story genre would have been useable in the apocryphal acts of the apostles. These acts often contain series of episodes relating actions and teachings of the central figures, but the combination of narrative and dialogue is quite different from the pronouncement story. The passages concerning Peter and John are only partly exceptions. There is evidence of independent circulation of both traditions, and their locations within the 'finished' acts are tenuous at best. It is perhaps possible that the authors of the acts had at their disposal briefer, isolated units of tradition, some of which may have been in pronouncement story form. Nonetheless, it is quite apparent that these authors tend not to preserve and employ traditions about the apostles in this form. The same goes for the pseudo-clementine literature.

Such a small group of examples is not a fully adequate testing ground for a typology, as is indicated in part by the absence of examples of some of the categories. Yet, the only instance in which the typology itself seems not fully adequate is in relation to Clement's Strom. 3.6.45, as noted previously. In the other 'borderline' cases, the question is whether the passages really are pronouncement stories, not whether the typology is adequate. Concentrating on the types of interaction between setting and pronouncement has thus proven a useful procedure for identification and initial categorization. It should also be helpful in the next stages of the work of the pronouncement story group.

Footnotes

¹The initial version, "A Typology of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories," was read by Professor Tannehill at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at St. Louis. A revision, dated October 26, 1977, has circulated among the members of the work group.

²For the work group on the pronouncement story, the phrase, 'early Christian apocryphal literature,' indicates primarily a division of labor. Issues concerning the scope and appropriateness of this designation will not be discussed in this context. The documents surveyed in search of pronouncement stories are those treated or referred to in such standard works as Edgar Hennecke-Wilhelm Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, 2 vols., English tr. ed. by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963, 65) and M. R. James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), with the exception of those materials contained in the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codices Bezae Cantabrigiae and Askewianus, and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. The separate handling of these materials is again a division of labor.

³Acts of John, sec. 56, tr. from New Testament Apocrypha, 2, p. 242. For the Greek text, see Lipsius-Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, 2.1 (reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959), pp. 178-79.

⁴Contained in John Cassian, Conlationes 24.21. Tr. from James, p. 241. For the Latin text, see Iohannis Cassiani Conlationes XXIIII, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966), pp. 697-98.

⁵or perhaps 'in living water.'

⁶The reconstruction of this fragment is relatively certain until the point where it breaks off completely. This sentence probably ended with words such as 'from heaven' or 'from the Father.'

⁷Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 840. For the Greek text, see The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol. 5, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908), pp. 6-7.

⁸From Augustine's Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum 2.4.14. For the Latin text, see Migne, PL, vol. 42, col. 647.

⁹Codex D after Luke 6:4.

¹⁰Jerome, *Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos* 3.2. For the Latin text, see Migne, PL, vol. 23, cols. 570-71. This quotation is probably from the Gospel of the Nazaraeans, not the Gospel of the Hebrews (see Vielhauer, in *N. T. Apoc.* 1, pp. 139ff).

¹¹A tradition about Peter contained in Codex Cambrai 254. Latin text ed. de Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, 25 (1908), p. 153; English tr. from *N. T. Apoc.* 1, p. 279.

¹²A quotation of an act of Peter in Ps. Titus, *De Dispositione Sanctimonii*. Latin text ed. de Bruyne, *Revue Bénédictine*, 37 (1925), p. 50; English tr. from *N. T. Apoc.* 2, pp. 146-47.

¹³Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.6.45; generally considered a quotation from the Gospel of the Egyptians. Text in Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* 2³, *GCS* 52 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), p. 217.

¹⁴This is even more the case in *Strom.* 3.9.64 where Clement again quotes and interprets the exchange between Salome and Jesus. The same material is also found in the *Excerpts of Theodotus* 67.

¹⁵Clement, *Strom.* 3.9.66; generally considered a quotation from the Gospel of the Egyptians. Text in Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* 2³, p. 226.

¹⁶Chadwick translates Salome's words: "I would have done better had I never given birth to a child" (*Alexandrian Christianity*, LCC, vol. 2 [London: SCM Press, 1954], p. 70). The metaphorical response would still be a commendation of Salome's statement.

¹⁷Parallels to aspects of these passages, though not necessarily in pronouncement story form, are found in the Gospel of Thomas 22, 37, 106, Oxy. Pap. 655.1b, Acts of Peter 38 (Martyrdom of Peter 9), Ps. Linus' Martyrdom of Peter 14, Acts of Philip 140 (34), Gospel of Philip 69, Testament of our Lord 1.28.

¹⁸A fragment from the Gospel of the Egyptians in Clement, *Strom.* 3.13.92. For the Greek text, see Stählin-Früchtel, *Clemens* 2³, p. 238.

¹⁹II Clement 12.2 For the Greek text, see *Die Apostolischen Väter*, 2nd. ed., F. X. Funk and Karl Bihlmeyer (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956), p. 76.

²⁰There is an incomplete parallel to 'render to Caesar...' in Pap. Eg. 2, a 'test,' and a varying version of the rich young man, a 'quest,' in the fragments of the Gospel of the Nazaraeans.

A WORD ABOUT METHOD

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INTRODUCTION

From the point of view of sociological theory, there are many ways to approach an historical text like the Gospel of Mark in order to describe its social world. Jonathan Smith outlines four:¹ First, the goal may be a description of *social facts*--the *realia*, like food, occupations, and artifacts of material culture. Joachim Jeremias' *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* and Martin Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* are examples of this approach.²

Second, and closely related, one may work toward a *social history* of a movement, integrating the *realia* with social and political history by means of an informed theoretical framework. Abraham Malherbe, in his *Social Aspects of Early Christianity*, and Robert Grant, in his *Early Christianity and Society: Seven Studies*, approach the subject in this way.³

Third, and most traditionally, one may attempt an account of the *social organization* involved in a movement's origins and development--its inner social genesis. Significant work has been started in this mode in Gerd Theissen's articles on methodology and his recent monograph, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, John Gager's *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*, and Leander Keck's *The New Testament Experience of Faith*.⁴ Theoretical models are important in this approach, since the range of possibilities for social organization often discloses the particular characteristics of the movement under investigation as well as what it has in common with other movements.

Fourth, and most consonant with contemporary social theory, one may attempt to reconstruct the *social world* of a religious movement, that is, what it is like to live in a world described and determined by the symbols, rituals, and language used by the movement. Peter Berger's understanding of "plausibility structure" or "symbolic universe" is pertinent here.⁵ Examples of this approach relative to New Testament are only beginning to appear, but they include Wayne Meek's "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism" and portions of the already-cited monographs by Gager and Theissen.⁶

In this paper the writer approaches the Gospel of Mark with an eye to its *social organization* and *social world*--the third and fourth approaches above. Investigations of *social facts* and *social history*--the time or place of authorship, the economic level of the readers, or the particular political events which may be reflected--are compatible pursuits but not the one proposed here. The primary focus is the reconstruction of the major socio-religious impulses which have come to expression in the various symbols and language of the Gospel of Mark. These symbols and this language contribute to the building and maintaining of a social structure and an understanding of "the way things are." Since the author's language is also constructed through social interaction, his communication through literature reflects his socially constructed world--the world he wants to share with his readers.⁷

TYPOLOGY AND THE INVESTIGATION OF A SOCIAL WORLD

In order to accomplish a reconstruction of the Markan social world, it will be helpful to use constructive types. A constructive type, according to sociological theorist John McKinney, is a "purposive, planned selection, abstraction, combination, and (sometimes) accentuation of a set of criteria with empirical referents that serves as a basis of comparison of empirical cases."⁸ In a sense, all concepts or abstractions are types. In contrast to the concept or abstraction, however, a constructive type is more purposive and planned. The investigator constructs the typology from empirical referents in a way that the literary critic constructs *genres*. Accordingly, the sociologist constructs types by accentuating and combining selected attributes of social data. A type is a heuristic device: it helps to explain something and to discover relationships that formerly were not clear. It has an heuristic purpose; its value is determined by its heuristic capacity, and its heuristic nature is the key to its proper application. A type never did and never will exist in experienced reality, and close approximations to a single type are rare. A type is simply a tool which helps to get at the material.

What set of types should one use? The question one wants to answer determines what types to use. If a point of entry is desired into some of the social impulses that motivate a religious person to address others through a written treatise, a typology may be constructed to observe and chart patterns that arise as religious people or groups have interacted with the world that surrounds them. From an exceptionally broad range of such empirical cases--pre-literate, literate, Christian, non-Christian, large, small, tribal, "civilized," past, and present religious groups--Bryan Wilson, Oxford sociologist of religion, has constructed a typology of *religious responses to the world* which can contribute to a social description of most Western religious movements. This typology has been set forth in several of Wilson's publications since about 1959, and some of the more accessible are: *Sects and Society*, *Religion in Secular Society*, *Religious Sects*, and *Magic and the Millennium*, in addition to several articles.⁹ The clarity and flexibility of Wilson's typology makes it one of the more attractive tools available for beginning a study of the Markan social world.

The question to which Wilson seeks an answer, "What is this movement's religious response to the world?" is based on considerations of harmony and tension in a social group vis-à-vis the wider society. "Response," rather than "mission," is used to emphasize more directly the soteriological elements expressed in many relatively unfocused, unpurposive activities, life-styles, associations, and attitudes. It is more completely sensitizing and includes a wider scope of conscious and unconscious impulses. "World" varies with the response, because people apprehend "good" and "evil" in different ways.

The first type of response--the dominant position--is harmony with the world: the acceptance of the facilities the world offers and the goals and values that a given culture enjoins upon people.¹⁰ This *affirmative* religious response to the world concerns us only as a base-line. The thought and action of a group with an affirmative response to the world share the standards, goals, and means of achieving goals of the wider society. The remaining seven types of response *deviate* from an affirmative response by rejecting--in various degrees and styles--the goals, facilities, or soteriological perspectives of the culture. The deviation arises primarily in the form of a particular group's apprehension of evil and expectation of relief from this evil. Accordingly, relief or salvation may range from limited demand for ad hoc instant therapy to a program for world transformation.

Wilson's seven types of religious response to the world which reject cultural goals and soteriological theories and facilities that exist in the wider society may be outlined briefly as follows:

1. The utopian type of religious response to the world perceives society as basically evil but seeks to reconstruct it according to divinely-given principles in order to establish a new social organization in which the evil is eliminated. The agency of the expected change is human, and the effect is radical and immediate. Action in this response is directed toward the world--to rebuild it. Insisting on the complete replacement of the social order, utopian groups build colonies to serve as models for a perfect society on the fullest scale.

2. The reformist type of response, like the utopian one, recognizes evil and assumes that it may be dealt with according to divinely-given insights about the ways in which social organization should be amended. Amendment of the world is the essential motivation. But differing from the utopian type of group, a predominantly reformist movement assumes gradualism. Divine influence reveals to chosen believers, much as with secular people who seek only rational justification for their advocacy, the specific alterations to be made. In this response there are broad accommodations to the wider society, and frequently the reformist's goals and means of achieving them are hardly distinguishable from those of non-religious movements.

3. The introversionist or isolationist response is to see the world as so irredeemably evil that salvation can be attained only by the fullest possible withdrawal from it. Renunciation of the world and flight from it is the essence of self-purification. Salvation is to be found in the present through membership in a separated community, even though ideologically the salvation may be future in realization.

4. The manipulationist response typifies a group which seeks only a transformed set of relationships with the world--a transformed method of coping with evil. Manipulationists reject institutional means and facilities for attaining goals, but they understand salvation as possible in the world, providing people learn the right means, techniques, or principles in dealing with their problems. They want a kind of everyday well-being, acquired by learning certain truths concerning an individual's relation with the world. Salvation encompasses the enjoyment of the scarce goods of this world like health, wealth, longevity, happiness, success, and high status. Illness, incapacity, pain, poverty, and death are the evils from which the manipulationist seeks liberation.

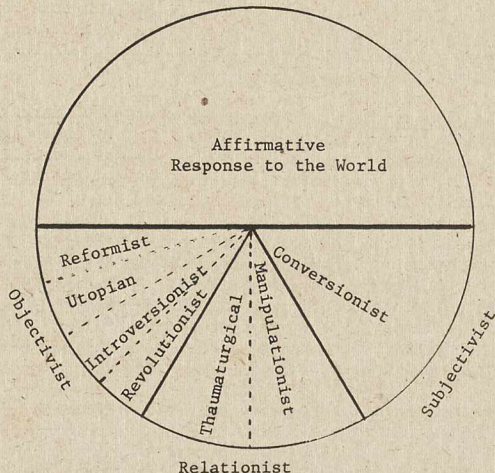
5. The thaumaturgical response differs from the manipulationist response primarily by its still narrower and essentially particularistic conception of salvation. The individual's concern is relief from present and specific ills by special dispensations. The demand for supernatural help is local and individual; its operation is magical or miraculous. Salvation is immediate, local, personal, and usually takes the form of healing, assuagement of grief, restoration after loss, reassurance, foresight, avoidance of calamity, or life after death. The evils feared are all highly specific; no attempt is made to generalize, universalize, or produce elaborate ideological formulations. Thaumaturgically-inclined religious movements tend to resist highly structured organization. The thaumaturgical is perhaps the most ancient and pervasive of all the deviant religious responses to the world.

6. The conversionist response considers the world corrupt because people are corrupt. If people can be changed, then the world will be changed. Ideologically or doctrinally, this subjective conversion may be possible only with the promise of a change in external reality at some future time, or the prospect of the individual's transfer to another sphere.

What people must do, however, is undergo a significant transformation of perspective--a conversion experience--including feelings, attitudes, and sometimes conduct. This is the proof of having transcended the evil of the world. In a very real sense the believer knows, from the subjective change, that he is saved *now*. The emphasis is not simply on recruitment but on the acquisition of a change of heart.

7. The revolutionist type of religious response considers the social world so alien that only a supernatural agent can change it. Groups which have this response look for destruction and re-creation (transformation) on a cosmic level (not local or individual) very soon (not yet present), and therefore they see people as basically powerless and weak in the face of the oppression of the present world. This response may also be called *adventist*, *millennialist*, *eschatological*, or *apocalyptic*. A person or group typified by revolutionism finds access to power and hope solely in the salvation brought by the divine agent in the approaching cataclysm. This type of response is rooted in broad societal tension, outrage about social injustice, internal conflict, and at times military conquest. It is episodic and difficult to stabilize or maintain over extended periods of time. Therefore in its more intense forms it is rare. It easily fades in favor of other types of religious response.

Wilson's typology of responses reflects complex orientations of religious groups to the wider society--its culture, values, cultural goals, the experience of evil and the means of escaping it and attaining salvation--which we refer to simply as the "world." These seven types are useful as hypothetical points of orientation for movements that reject established cultural resolutions of the problem of "evil." They may be summarized as prescriptions for changing the relation of persons to the "world." The objectivists focus on the world, saying: God will overturn it (revolutionists); God calls us to abandon it (introversionists); God calls us to amend it (reformists); God calls us to reconstruct it (utopians). The subjectivists say: God will change us (conversionists). The relationists, if we may call them that, say: God calls us to change perception (manipulationists), and God will grant particular dispensations and work specific miracles (thaumaturgists). In other words, a display of Wilson's typology may look like this:



In this display, manipulationists appear nearer to a subjectivist position, although they have a more specific, more intellectual, less total, and less emotional conception of the subjective change which is needed. Thaumaturgists, conversely, are nearer to objectivists, although they demand change only in specific self-affecting events. From another point of view, the revolutionist, thaumaturgical, and conversionist responses place greater emphasis on the operation of the supernatural than do the others. In the remaining types of response, it is men who have to act in the world. The introversionists do so minimally because they leave the world, and the manipulationists do so maximally because they are to remain active in the world but to alter their thinking about it.¹¹

How people perceive the supernatural to solve the basic problems of meaning and life for which their society and culture offer no acceptable solution is our task in defining these types of response. It is a person's social orientation to his human situation in relation to the divine which is crucial. Our question about response to the world is sociological rather than theological.

It is with this question and typology of religious response that we propose to reconstruct the Markan social world. The major impulses of its inner structure should stand out with sufficient clarity to draw some preliminary conclusions about what Mark's social world has in common with other social worlds and about how it is unique.

MARK'S RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO THE WORLD

Since the Gospel of Mark is a substantial cultural product, and Wilson's typology is drawn from an especially broad range of empirical referents, one may conceivably find traces of every type of religious response to the world in it. Systematic analysis, however, should reveal the type of response that dominates its composition. First of all, the author's act of composing a literary document in a basically biographic format suggests that he participates, to some degree, in an affirmative relation with the world in which he lives. But does affirmation of the culture and its values dominate? The answer is decidedly no. Mark rejects, in some form, the world in which he lives in favor of an orientation of thought and action that is religiously motivated. Let us explore Mark by means of the typology to delineate the religious response communicated by it.

1. Utopian. Does the author of the Gospel of Mark reflect a desire for the complete replacement of the social order by human agency within the near future? Does he expect that the world will be radically transformed according to the model provided by the community of believers he is trying to establish?

In 11:17 the author of the Gospel of Mark has Jesus say, "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations?'"¹² This could be interpreted as a utopian statement, meaning that soon all nations will become socially organized after the model of this house. Likewise, Jesus' statement in 10:42f., "You know that those who seem to rule the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not to be this way among you. Instead, whoever wants to be great among you must be your servant," may look utopian. If such is the case, then Gentiles would soon be expected to forego their structured authority systems to become more like the perfect society exemplified by Jesus' community, where authority structures are replaced by brotherly service. But this view of the text is difficult to maintain, especially when one observes that in his answer to James and John, Jesus says that the seat of honor in glory is "for those for whom it has been

prepared" (10:41), thereby indicating that rank does exist even in the best imaginable society.

If the Gospel of Mark were utopian in its dominant response to the world, it would contain more material about organizational structures, such as is found, for example, in documents from the utopian Oneida community of Perfectionists of New York State or from Thomas Harris' Brotherhood of the New Life in Mountain Cove, Virginia, and Fountain Grove, California. Mark contains little material about colony-building or developing a communitarian style of life, for utopians are always colony-builders, even though not all colony builders--like the Amish--are utopian. Whether or not Mark is trying to build a Christian community or colony, he does not seem to expect the wider society to follow suit, as the Thomas Harris Brotherhood did. Therefore, Mark's religious response to the world ranks low on the utopian scale.¹³

2. Reformist. Does Mark assume that evil in the world may be dealt with according to divinely-given insights about the ways in which social organization should be amended? Does he think that the world can be gradually improved if people are open to supernatural influence and are willing to put forth effort to build according to divinely-inspired blueprints? In other words, does Mark think that--with divine guidance to be sure--the Rule of God comes to fulness by means of man's agency?

It would seem that a statement like, "It is necessary first for the Good News to be preached to all the nations," in 13:10, may reflect an attempt to establish--in the manner of the Social Gospel movement--programs of humanitarian or philanthropic development. Likewise the whole theme of service in Mark is indeed painted in dramatic colors. Service may conceivably have the purpose of reforming society by promoting good will among men in the name of Christ. The teaching and preaching ministry may be seen as aspects of a divinely-inspired plan for amending the world. This project may also be the motivation for leaving everything to follow Jesus--like working in Peace Corps programs for third world development.

On the other hand, in a statement like, "What will the lord of the vineyard do? He will come and destroy the farmers and give the vineyard to others" (12:9), the issue does not seem to be one of reforming others but rather of creating an alternative group in which the ways of God are to differ from the ways of men (see also 10:42f., and 6:11). Crusades or campaigns to amend society are not significantly part of God's will as revealed by quotations from the sacred writings, according to the author of the Gospel of Mark. Rather, Jesus encourages the disciples to become aware that the elect are to be different from the wider society.

If a reformist response were dominant in Mark, it would set the stage for activity similar to that of the Society of Friends (Quakers), particularly in its English branch, characterized by philanthropy, wartime ambulance work, or campaigns for legislative reform. Other groups, such as the Christadelphians, Salvation Army, or the Ephrata perfectionists, at times in their history, took on such reformist endeavors as aiding Jews in nineteenth-century Palestine, establishing programs of social development, or endorsing policies of humanitarian work.¹⁴ By comparison, Mark seems neither urban enough nor politically sophisticated or influential enough to have aspirations of launching a reformist program.

3. Introversionist. Does the author of the Gospel of Mark see the world as so irredeemably evil that salvation can be attained only by withdrawal from it? Does the author envisage a kind of holiness that keeps itself intact only by separation from the wider society? Is renunciation of the world, leaving the world, or insulation from wider society encouraged by the author?

To answer these questions, we look first at the word which is sometimes translated in Mark as "deserted place," "wilderness," or "desert" (*erēmos*). John the Baptist's preaching ministry took place in the wilderness, even though the people of Judea and Jerusalem flocked to him (1:3-5). The Spirit drove Jesus into the wilderness, where he remained forty days with the wild beasts, Satan, and the angels (1:12f.). After many healings and exorcisms one day, Jesus went to the wilderness to pray (1:35). On one occasion his fame prevented him from entering a town, so Jesus went out to the wilderness where, nevertheless, still more followed him (1:45). Later on when the apostles returned to him to report what they had done and taught in their itinerant ministry, Jesus said, "You yourselves come privately (*kat' idian*) to the wilderness to rest a while." For so many people were coming and going, there was no opportunity even to eat. So they went off in the boat to the wilderness for privacy" (6:31f.), but again crowds flocked to them, some even arriving there ahead of them. As it grew late that evening, his disciples came to Jesus and said, "This is a wilderness, and it is already late. Disband the crowd" (6:35). Of the nine instances of the word "wilderness" (*erēmos*) in the Gospel of Mark, none seem to typify the ministry of Jesus or the twelve as one of flight from the world. They appear rather to be occasional instances for the practical purpose of eating, resting, praying, and recovering energy, in addition to the forty-day temptation. In fact, on one occasion, Jesus' response to Simon's statement, "Everyone is searching for you," was "Let us go somewhere else, to the nearby towns, so I might proclaim there also, for that is why I came out" (1:38). Jesus' attitude toward the ever-present crowds is typically marked by retreat only when they want him to leave, when he wants rest, or when their hostility makes it necessary. Otherwise, he relates to them with compassion (6:34) and receptivity (9:37; 10:14).

In order to detect possible introversionism in Mark, we may also examine his use of verbs meaning "to leave," "to depart," or "to withdraw." Of the thirty-four instances of the verb, "to leave" (*aphienai*), only six denote a departure, and of those six, only two understand the departure as somehow symbolic. In 10:28f. we read, "Peter began to say to him, 'Look, we left everything and have followed you.' Jesus said, 'I swear to you that there is no one who has left a house or brothers or sisters or a mother or a father or children or fields for me and for the Good News who does not receive a hundred times as many now, in this time.'" If we understand this passage correctly, the departure from home is precisely a departure *from* isolation—a movement *towards* wider society in the form of an itinerant ministry of preaching, healing, and exorcising. A monastic *fuga mundi* is not part of the exhortation here. The "hundred times as many" reflects a response quite opposed to introversionism.

Although there are occasional descriptions in the Gospel of Mark of various kinds of physical separation or withdrawal from crowds, these instances function more as interludes of rest and preparation in the face of an active public involvement. It is understandable that certain of these descriptions may later have been understood outside their context as exhortations toward introversionism by Christian interpreters who were already disposed to such religious response. However, in their context such descriptions of withdrawal assume a different function in light of such extroversionist statements as "It is necessary first for the Good News to be preached to all the nations" (13:10).

In fact there is every reason to think that the opponents of our author in the parent Jewish establishment were, by word and example, subscribing to an introversionist renunciation of the world. This is evidenced by their concern about what is clean and unclean, by their denial of public access to God in the temple, by their preoccupation with sabbath observance in determining right conduct, and by their dietary criteria for inclusion in table fellowship. The author of Mark is deeply opposed to the kind of exclusivity reflected in his Jewish opponents.

For these reasons, therefore, despite occasional and temporary instances of withdrawal from crowds, and despite the warning against involvement in war efforts (13:6., 21f.), Mark does not favor or encourage an introversionist religious response. Unlike his Jewish opponents, he advocates an active itinerant public ministry of preaching which may ultimately lead one even to civil courts (13:9) and death.

If Mark were high on the introversionist scale, he would resemble a member of an Amish Mennonite colony or the Amana Society, among others. The withdrawing rituals of the Peyote cults among the American Indians in the Southwest after 1870 or the retreat movements of the mescal-bean consumers among the Mescalero Apache during the same period are not enough like Mark to include him with their type of response.¹⁵ Likewise, Mark's "There is nothing from the outside a man that by going into him is able to defile him (thereby pronouncing all foods clean)" puts him in direct opposition to the introversionism he sees in the Scribes and Pharisees (7:1-23).

4. **Manipulationist.** Does the author think that one's relation with the world will be more harmonious if one alters his mental capacities and acquires new perceptions? Does he subscribe to the general goals of society while rejecting only the institutionalized means toward those goals? Is he concerned about divinely-revealed knowledge which, when received, leads one to such things as health, wealth, success, long life, or high status--which constitute the saved condition? Are proper mental techniques the solution to the problem of evil?

Indeed, in Mark, the mystery of the Rule of God is revealed to insiders, whereas for outsiders everything remains in riddles (4:10ff.). Indeed, in Mark, Jesus explains everything plainly to his own disciples (4:34). Furthermore, the author stresses the teaching shared privately with those closest to Jesus (8:30f.; 9:2, 18; 10:10, 23; 13:3ff.). However, he also has Jesus say, "And what I am saying to you, I am saying to everyone--keep watch!" (13:37). Moreover, it is precisely the insiders--the disciples--who were slow to understand and hard of heart (6:52; 8:14-21)--not the outsiders. Finally, the readers of the Gospel of Mark are in on everything. The author does not seem to be raising issues in his text which he then deliberately veils from his readers.

As such, secrecy in the Gospel of Mark does not center around an esoteric divinely-revealed knowledge for a select few. Rather, it appears to function within the story as a precaution against those who are hostile to Jesus. The mystery of the Rule of God in Mark is meant to be proclaimed to open ears. The *Logos* in Mark is meant to be sown (4:1-20). Lamps belong on stands (4:21). "For nothing is hidden except to become known. Nothing is secret but to come into the open. If anyone has ears to hear, let him hear" (4:22f.). The mystery of the Rule of God is the Good News about the tremendous present and future possibilities for salvation if a person receives the word as the good ground receives the seed. The mystery in Mark is more closely analogous to a marriage proposal than it is to an esoteric teaching. Likewise, faith in Mark is more closely analogous to acceptance of the proposal than it is to an intellectual assent to a revealed truth.

What may appear to later genuine or crypto-Gnostics as salvation through knowledge in Mark is really salvation through personal commitment to the Good News. What may look like manipulationism is really an invitation to an all-encompassing faith in God. Otherwise, the sowing of the seed would always result automatically in abundant harvest, whether or not the ground was rocky or weedy. Understanding is important, but lack of understanding is due not to mental incapacity but to hardness of heart, according to Mark. The woman with the twelve-year hemorrhage was healed not by means of an altered state of consciousness but by means of a personal openness to the healer (5:34). The "new teaching" which amazed everyone on the

occasion of Jesus' first exorcism in Mark was the heavenly authority of the exorcist—not a wise saying (1:27). Wise sayings of great teachers about true holiness come into far greater prominence in the Q tradition reflected by Matthew and Luke and later by the Gnostic Gospel of Thomas and other Gnostic literature than they do in the Gospel of Mark.

For these reasons, therefore, Mark ranks low on the manipulationist scale. In the Gospel of Mark, such evils as injuries, illness, hemorrhages, or blindness are not overcome by secret knowledge or positive thinking, as a Marcion, Mary Baker Eddy, or Norman Vincent Peale may suggest. Nor does Mark resemble Vedanta societies or Transcendental Meditation with their mental techniques and mantras for obtaining a life of bliss.¹⁶ Unlike Paul in his first letter to the Christians in Corinth, Mark does not reflect even an awareness of manipulationist practitioners.

5. Thaumaturgy. Does Mark reflect a religious response to the world which seeks relief from present and specific ills by special divine dispensations? Is he concerned with miracles rather than comprehending heavenly principles about life (manipulationism) or launching a program to train better doctors (reformism)?

Twenty thaumaturgical acts are described in the text of the Gospel of Mark, in addition to theophanies, four major summaries of thaumaturgical activity, and two commissions by Jesus in which authority to perform such acts is given to the twelve. In each case the thaumaturgical activity is reported as local, individual, specific, and for the present time. For example, the feeding of the four thousand in 8:1-9 requires a thaumaturgical act on the part of Jesus, similar to but distinct from the feeding of the five thousand in 6:30-44. The summaries of thaumaturgical activity in 1:32-34, 39; 3:10; 6:5, 12f., 30, 53-56 lead one to conclude that such activity constituted a major part of the ministry of Jesus and the twelve. In Mark Jesus appears to conduct a ministry in which wise teaching resides not so much in words as in mighty works: "Where did this person get these things? Just what is the wisdom given to him that even works of power come about through his hands" (6:2). This seems also to be the point of, "What is this? A new teaching? With authority he commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey him," in 1:27. In neither case are there any particularly wise words mentioned.

Mark looks favorably on the thaumaturgical activity of Jesus and others, but he does not favor the interpretation of such thaumaturgy as a prophetic sign of the endtime: "For false messiahs and false prophets will rise and give signs and portents to lead astray, if possible, the elect. But you look out! I have told you everything beforehand" (13:21f.). Furthermore, Jesus "groaned deeply in his spirit and said, 'Why does this generation seek a sign? I swear to you that a sign will not be given to this generation'" (8:12). The miraculous feeding of the four thousand occurs immediately preceding and the miraculous healing of the Bethsaida blind man immediately following this pronouncement. Evidently, therefore, thaumaturgy itself is not included in the condemnation.

From a sociological perspective, thaumaturgy ranks high in Mark's religious response to the world. Mark's interest, for example, in the blind man's view of people, as sight slowly returns, who look like walking trees has its parallels. Typologically it is not far from Shembe's interest, checking the progress of a Zulu patient near Durban, South Africa, as he lays on his healing hands, frequently for ten or fifteen minutes, dispelling the witch and reassuring tribal reunion. Mark is attracted to the present, pragmatic comfort afforded by the same thaumaturgy that many Pentecostals, Charismatics, and other religious healers and their patients find attractive.¹⁷

6. Conversionist. Does the Gospel of Mark reflect a religious orientation which encourages individuals to undergo a conversion experience--a significant alteration of perception and attitude--a change of heart? If so, in what manner is this experience reflected? How important is it in our author's overall religious response?

There are a number of reasons for ranking conversionism high on the author's overall religious response to the world. Let us examine some conversionist themes. First, repentance (*metanoia*) was an essential focus in the preaching of John the Baptist (1:4), Jesus (1:15), and the twelve (6:12). Because it is a basic element of the Good News of God as presented in Mark (1:14), it is therefore likely a central part of the preaching of our author and his readers (13:10).

Second, faith (*pistis*) in the Good News and in God (1:15; 11:22) is encouraged by Jesus. At times faith is the cause of a miracle (2:5; 5:34; 9:23; 10:52; 11:23f.), and at times it is conceivably the result of a miracle (15:32). Faith is the opposite of fear (4:40; 5:36) and doubt (11:23). It admits of degrees (9:24) and is especially present in "little people" (9:42). One may place faith in someone like the Baptist (11:31) or in deceivers who say, "Look! Here is the Anointed!" (13:21). Finally, one may rely on one's faith in God to do anything: "Everything is possible for one who has faith" (9:23), "because everything is possible for God" (10:27). The prayer of faith will be answered: "Everything you pray and ask for, have faith that you will receive it, and it will be done for you" (11:23f.).

Third, love (*agapē*), like faith, characterizes in Mark an affirmative, all-encompassing personal relationship: "You are to love the Lord your God with your whole heart, with your whole soul, with your whole mind, and with your whole strength. . . . You are to love your neighbor as yourself. There is no commandment greater than these" (12:30f.).

Fourth, as Norman Perrin has observed, there is a theme of radical conversion in the Gospel of Mark through imitation of Jesus. It appears in a pattern which seems to move historically from the ministry of John the Baptist, to the ministry of Jesus, to the ministry of the twelve, to the ministry of the Markan readers--or hearers--themselves.¹⁸ The pattern revolves around a constellation of significant words that surface in relation to different people within the story. The words are "preach" (*kerussein*), "deliver up" (*paradidonai*), and "die" (*apothnēskēin*), along with their cognates and more specific variations.

John the Baptist appeared in the desert preaching (*kerussein*) a baptism of repentance and forgiveness (1:4). Shortly thereafter, "John was delivered up (*paradidonai*) to prison" (1:14). Later in the story (6:27), we hear about his death by decapitation (*apekephalisen*).

In the case of Jesus, the first public action he performs as he returns to Galilee from the wilderness is to preach (*kerussein*) the Good News of God saying, "The right time has been fulfilled. The Rule of God has come near. Repent and put faith in the Good News" (1:14f.). Jesus continues his ministry of proclamation until he himself is delivered up (*paradidonai*) to the courts and the executioners (14:10, 11, 18, 21, 41, 42, 44; 15:1, 10, 15), which had been predicted with exactly the same word twice (9:30; 10:33). After that he is put to death by means of crucifixion (*es- taurosan*, in 15:25).

The twelve were appointed by Jesus to be sent out to preach (*kerussein*) that men should repent (3:14; 6:12), just as John and Jesus had done before them. But they are also forewarned by Jesus that their way too would lead inevitably to a delivering up (*paradidonai*, in 13:9, 11, 12) and to death (*thanatos*, in 13:12; see 10:38ff.).

Furthermore, Jesus ends his apocalyptic discourse in Mark with the statement, "And what I am saying to you (Peter, James, John, and Andrew), I am saying to everyone--keep watch" (13:37), thereby implying that the warning given to the four apostles applied also to others. Several Markan interpreters, including Norman Perrin, Theodore Weeden, and others, understand 13:9-13 to be a description of the contemporary situation of Christians at the time our author composed the Gospel of Mark.¹⁹ It is precisely here that the constellation of words, "preach," "deliver up," and "die," surfaces more prominently than anywhere else in the text:

But you look out for yourselves. People will deliver you up (*paradidonai*) to sanhedrins. You will be beaten in synagogues. You will stand before governors and kings for me, as a testimony to them. It is necessary first for the Good News to be preached (*kerussein*) to all the nations. When they lead you away and deliver you up (*paradidonai*), do not be anxious beforehand about what you should say. Instead, say whatever is given to you in that hour. For you will not be the ones speaking, but the Holy Spirit. Brother will deliver up (*paradidonai*) brother to death (*thanatos*), and a father his child. You will be hated by everyone because of my name. But whoever endures to the end, he will be saved (13:9-13).

On these four levels, therefore, the "preach," "deliver up," and "die" pattern has direct application. The movement begins with the Baptist, centers most dramatically on Jesus, extends to the apostles, and finally projects forward as an appeal to the Markan readers themselves to follow suit. In this way, the author of the Gospel of Mark invites his readers--or at least some of them--to a radical change in outlook and style of life which involves preaching, being delivered up, and finally death itself.

Fifth, this invitation to change radically is made explicit in the Gospel of Mark also through the idea of "following" (*deute, akolouthes*). Twice when he gathers disciples, Jesus says "Follow me" (1:17; 2:14). Both times jobs are left, and "following" automatically results (1:18; 2:15). People are drawn out of their former customs and styles of life into a totally new experience. In a radical way, the change encompasses everything they think and do. Sometimes disciples and crowds follow Jesus in his itinerant ministry (3:7; 5:24; 6:1; 10:28, 32, 52; 11:9; 15:41). On at least one occasion, Jesus' invitation was rejected by someone--the rich man--because he understood the full implications of it (10:21). However, on at least one other occasion, a recipient of one of Jesus' healing miracles--Bartimaeus--followed Jesus on the way, apparently even without an invitation (10:52b). Midway between these possibilities there is another kind of response, the maker of which, we are elsewhere led to conclude, did not realize the full implications: "Look, we left everything and have followed you" (10:28), said Peter. The invitation to discipleship is put in its most fundamental terms when Jesus says, "If anyone wants to follow after me, he must renounce himself, take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever wants to save his life will lose it, but whoever will lose his life for me and the Good News will save it" (8:34f.).

"Following," therefore, means losing one's life for the sake of Jesus and the Good News. "Following" implies leaving everything behind (10:28ff.) to preach, be delivered up, and finally die (8:34ff.; 13:9-13). It implies answering a "divine" invitation to change oneself radically--to start anew in a different direction, according to the model of Jesus.

Sixth, imitation is also a conversionist theme in Mark. In 1971 Perrin wrote, "The nature of the material he [Mark] was using and his purpose

in using it was such that the result was mimetic narrative and this fact created a possibility that had not been there before: the possibility of involving his readers in the gospel story as a whole rather than in some particular part of it. . . .²⁰ Likewise, in some excellent recent and forthcoming articles, Robert Tannehill and Norman Petersen have examined in detail the author's point of view in this "mimetic narrative" in order to clarify what aspects of the characters in the story are being set up for imitation and what aspects are not.²¹ The results of these studies point to a closer connection between the Markan readership and the actual lines of the story development than has formerly been thought.

The fact that the author of Mark wrote a gospel in the form of a biography rather than an apocalypse or letter is a strong indication that he intended his readers to undergo a radical change by becoming disciples through imitation of the master who is the hero of the story, Jesus the Christ. As Vernon Robbins shows in a forthcoming monograph, the Gospel of Mark bears a striking formal structural resemblance to the Greco-Roman biographical literature entitled *Apomimoneumata* and subsequently *Memorabilia*. According to Robbins, "Interaction between the teacher/philosopher and people around him furnish the fundamental impulse of the genre." This impulse provides the common ground between Greco-Roman *Memorabilia* and the Gospel of Mark.²² In another chapter of his forthcoming monograph, Robbins examines the relationship between teaching (*didaskkein* and its variations) and discipleship (*mathētēs* and its variations) in the gospels and Greco-Roman literature. One of his conclusions is that in the setting of late Mediterranean antiquity, discipleship simply is imitation (*mimēsis*). Robbins observes that part of Jesus' ministerial success is due to his ability to attract disciples who adopt much of his style and transmit his thought after his death. But part of the success of Christianity later on is due to extended narratives, such as the Gospel of Mark, which set the activities of Jesus within the context of teaching and discipleship as it was understood in the Greco-Roman world.²³ The fact that this imitation in discipleship required a radical transformation in a person and alteration of his conduct is another reason for ranking the Gospel of Mark high on the conversionist scale.

Seventh, baptism of the Holy Spirit reflects a conversionist response. When the author of Mark's Gospel has John the Baptist say, "I baptized you with water, but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit" (1:8), this, along with other information about "Spirit" and "baptism" in Mark, may be reflecting an attempt to "internalize" the conditions for inclusion among the elect (13:21, 22, 27). Rather than advocating water baptism as a ritual of initiation, the author draws the reader to conclude that it is the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person--especially during times of crises or conflict (1:12f.; 3:28f.; 12:36; 13:11)--which constitutes him as one of the elect. Likewise, baptism of the Holy Spirit, in Mark's view, is what typifies the living out of the pattern of preaching, being delivered up, and dying. This is the point of Jesus' answer to James and John the sons of Zebedee, "The cup that I am to drink, you will drink. With the baptism by which I am to be baptized, you will be baptized" (10:38ff.). There may be other ways of being included among the elect, according to Mark, but receiving the Holy Spirit aligns one thoroughly on the side of God.

Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (3:28f.), from a social point of view, may be the final rejection of a Spirit-filled person such as Jesus or his followers by outsiders who assume that such a person is really filled with an opposing spirit. To a less extreme degree, this may also be the social meaning of Jesus' statement in 8:38, "For whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will also be ashamed of him when he comes in the glory of his father with the holy angels." Mark presupposes the presence of the Holy Spirit where words are stated in settings of rejection (13:11). Finally, accep-

tance of an itinerant preacher as acceptance of the Holy Spirit may also be the social meaning for Mark's readers of such sayings of Jesus as "Whoever receives one of these little children in my name is receiving me, and whoever receives me is receiving not me but the one who sent me" (9:37). In other words, if the Holy Spirit is present in a person, that person has faith--has undergone a conversion. To reject a person who is faithfully preaching the Good News is to reject the Holy Spirit.

On the other side of this coin, people who receive an itinerant preacher like Jesus, his twelve, or any of his followers are also included in the elect: "Whoever is not against us is for us. For whoever gives you a cup of water to drink because you are under the name of Christ, I swear to you that he will definitely not lose his reward" (9:40f.). It is possible to conclude from this that the Markan readership recognizes at least two ways to be included among the elect: first, by becoming one of the itinerant preachers, filled with the Holy Spirit like Jesus and the twelve, in a life which may end in death for the sake of the Good News, or, second, by being part of a local community--perhaps a home owner--who inherits a reward by showing hospitality to the wandering preachers. The former requires a radical change of attitude as well as style of life, while the latter requires faith in God (11:22) and in the Good News (1:15). Both reflect a conversionist religious response.

For these reasons the Gospel of Mark ranks high on the scale of conversionism. Salvation is present in the sense that already the person with faith in God has experienced a subjective transformation of self. He knows he is saved not only when an exorcism or healing occurs through or to him, or when Spirit-filled words are present to him in a setting of rejection (13:11), but even when he is hated by everyone (13:13). By losing his life, the person of faith knows that he has saved it (9:35). Already in the present, the fruit of salvation can be tasted. The conditions for this salvation are the costly transformation of one's heart, mind, and conduct in the form of faith in God, preaching the Good News, hospitality to itinerant preachers, service to others and possibly even death, according to Mark.

With these impulses, the Markan response resembles that of individualist revivalism in America before and after Methodism arrived and in the Great Awakening led by Jonathan Edwards in the 1730s. At other times Mark's response may be more like the communitarian conversionism of the early stages of the Salvation Army, the Plymouth Brethren, or other holiness groups. Or Mark's conversionism may approximate that of Pentecostal, Charismatic, or Evangelical groups with their emphasis on emotional aspects of the transformation.²⁴ The emotionalism, for example, of the "born again" movements of the 1970s throws into relief the more orderly and disciplined life of the earlier sedate holiness movements, providing a broad range of conversionist possibilities. Within this range, Mark encourages conversionist responses which are considerably less volatile than other such movements in his own and our day. Although conduct may vary greatly according to the Markan understanding of conversion, nevertheless the eventuality of death because of it argues strongly that the Markan religious response ranks high in conversionism.

7. Revolutionist. Does our author think that society is so alien, that only a worldwide transformation of it by a divine agent in the not-to-distant future can solve the problem?

In order to answer this question, we look at the material from several points of view:

First, does the author understand his present social world as basically alien? Evidently his parent Jewish establishment as well as the Ro-

man establishment are seen as essentially alien, especially in view of the betrayals, trials, beatings, and executions (13:9). Likewise, the general stages of destruction which precede the final times are seen as something to be endured with steadfast perseverance (13:13). Since these stages of destruction cause hardships, and hardships cause suffering, they are considered alien. At times Mark qualifies the extent of alienation: "Whoever is not against us is for us" (9:40). At other times, the extent of alienation seems to be unqualified: "You will be hated by everyone because of my name" (13:13). Since Jesus' followers are depicted as the elect (13:20, 22, 27), it may be assumed that others were not the elect and were therefore alien. While Mark's opponents are drawn from a cross section of society--High Priests, Scribes, Elders, Pharisees, Herodians, and Gentiles--it is safe to say that persons with institutional authority are singled out as especially alien.

Second, does Mark expect the destruction and re-creation (transformation) of his present alien social world? There are several indications that this is the case. War (13:7), earthquakes (13:8), famine (13:8), deaths (13:12), tribulation (13:19), deception (13:21ff.), eclipses (13:24), falling stars (13:25), general cosmic cataclysm (13:25), and all heaven and earth passing away (13:31)--these symbols cumulatively point to an expected destruction. Likewise a re-creation in the form of salvation (13:13) is awaited with the arrival of the Son of Man (13:26f.), and its duration is to be endless (13:31). Except for the heavenly origin (13:27, 31) of the transformation of the world, no more is known about its nature. Speculation about it in Mark is almost non-existent and always vague.

Third, does the author expect the transformation to occur by divine rather than human agency? It would seem so. No amount of effort on the part of man could serve to hasten or usher in the transformation which our author expects. Even signs and wonders of the false messiahs and false prophets, enticing the elect to go astray, were to be ignored (13:21f.). Indeed human ingenuity was not great enough even to predict the time of the transformation (13:32, 33-37). It would occur with the arrival of the Son of Man on the clouds with great power and glory (13:26; 14:62). All that men could do with regard to the approaching transformation was wait, watch, and prepare (13:5, 9, 18, 23, 28, 33, 35ff.). No human disposition or act could usher in--or dance in--this millennium. Divine agency is solely responsible.

Fourth, does the author expect the transformation to occur on a cosmic scale? It is to *all* the nations that the Good News is to be preached (13:10), and it is for *all* nations that "My house shall be called a house of prayer" (11:17). All of heaven and earth were to pass away in the transformation (13:31). The heavenly cataclysms predicted in 13:24f. appear to universalize what may previously have been merely earthly disturbances, especially in view of the redactional "after that oppression" in 13:24. Likewise, the gathering of the elect "from the four winds, from the extremity of earth to the extremity of heaven" (13:27), signifies universality. The scale of the expected transformation is, therefore, cosmic--not local or individual.

Fifth, does the author expect the transformation to be imminent? The exact time is unknown to humans (13:32-37). However, once that fact is evident, there are other, more general, things that can be affirmed. On the one hand, there are indications that the author of Mark is attempting to "de-imminentize" an intense, revolutionary expectation of divine intervention on a cosmic scale. He appears to be doing this when he has Jesus say "but the end is not yet" in 13:7, or "this is but the beginning of the sufferings" in 13:8, or "after that oppression" in 13:24, which words several redaction critics ascribe to the Markan hand.²⁵ On the other hand, the transformation is also "near" (13:29), because "for the sake of the elect whom he elected, the Lord did cut short the days" (13:20). Similar-

ly, Jesus proclaims that "The right time has been fulfilled. The Rule of God has come near" (1:15). In the same way, Jesus later addresses a crowd, saying "I swear to you that there are some standing here who will definitely not taste death before they have seen the Rule of God come in power" (9:1). From these statements, we may conclude that the author of the Gospel of Mark probably expected the transformation to occur within the span of a generation—but not within the next few days, contrary to the hopes of the people he calls "false messiahs" and "false prophets."

Sixth, is there evidence for a situation of broad societal tension, outrage about social injustice, internal conflict, or military conquest surrounding the composition of the Gospel of Mark? In the text there appears to be evidence of serious tension between our author (and probably his readers) and his parent Jewish establishment (13:9). There is also evidence of at least questions concerning imperial taxation (12:13-17). It is possible that war plays a part in the discussion with respect to Mark's readership in 13:6-23. "Wars" (*polemous*), in 13:17, is the direct object of "hear" (*akousēte*), and the translation should read "when you hear wars" rather than "when you hear of wars." Note also the "desolating horror," "flee Judaea," "not one stone left on another," "pray that it may not happen in winter," "How dreadful for those who are pregnant and those who are nursing a child in those days," and "oppression the like of which has not happened since the beginning of the creation which God created until the present and definitely will not happen again." Cumulatively these textual features point to a situation under siege. Outside the text, a war situation can be documented for almost any time and place of composition that has seriously been suggested for the Gospel of Mark. War is simply its most accepted context. Therefore, for Mark, there is evidence for the kind of societal tension and crises from which a revolutionist response may arise.

For these reasons, even though our author attempts to mitigate the extreme revolutionism of the opponents who come "in my name," he does expect a favorable change to come about in the world by divine agency in the not-too-distant future. It is likely that Jesus' announcements of the arrival of the Rule of God in its fulness and the coming of the Son of Man were an important part of the preaching of the Good News and of the real expectations on the part of the author and his readers.

One of the more complete discussions of the literary aspects of Mark's futurist hopes can be found in Howard Kee's *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*.²⁶ It seems reasonably well established that Mark's religious response to the world ranks high on the revolutionist scale. Though his endtime scenario does not include the transposed war to which the Qumran community looked, and though Mark's proposed itinerant preaching goes counter to the introversionism of Qumran, nevertheless the revolutionism of each is intense. Typologically, Mark more closely resembles the *Manseren* cult, or *Koreni* movement, of the island of Biak-Numfor, one of the Schouten Islands in Geelvink Bay on the coast of northwestern New Guinea (now Irian), when they looked forward to the transforming arrival of Manamakeri (long since dead) to vindicate Manserens against enemies. The retrospective revolutionism of the Plains Indians, calling back the souls of ancestors in the 1890 Ghost Dance, resembles Mark's religious response in a different way, as does the revolutionism of the migratory Tupi-Guarani or Apapocuva-Guarani tribes of coastal Brazil.²⁷ The commodity millennialism typified by certain Pacific cargo cults throws into relief other revolutionist similarities.²⁸

In summary, we have observed that Mark has a response to the world which ranks high on the scales of thaumaturgy, conversionism, and revolutionism, while it ranks low on the scales of utopianism, reformism, introversionism, and manipulationism. As we expected, his response is mixed. How do we handle such apparently disparate masses of data in a coherent way? What do we do with such information?

VECTOR ANALYSIS AS A MODE OF SOCIAL DESCRIPTION

One of the values of Wilson's typology is its flexibility—it invites analysis both synchronically and diachronically. If, on the one hand, one examines the religious response of contemporary Judaism, Roman Catholicism, or Mormonism, for example, one faces mixed responses within the same group or even within the same individual—at the same time. Or if, on the other hand, one examines the religious response of the Kimbangu in the Congo before, during, and after the First World War with its subsequent economic depression, for example, one faces an alteration of responses—over a period of time.²⁹ Keeping in mind that "pure" types are not found in experienced reality, that clear approximations are rare, and that religious responses are not unrelated to history, one may expect that a majority of groups will manifest a mixed response and that their response will change with time.

We suggest in cases of mixed responses studied over periods of time that one may use a method which is *roughly* comparable to "vector analysis" in mathematics, geometry, physics, algebra, and calculus. Vectors have force and direction; they can be added to each other, and one may speak of resultant vectors. Likewise, one type of religious response in a group or person may modify or inform other types of response in the same group or person. Such mutation, fluctuation, volatility, and internal complexity of the religious response, should, however, yield to typological analysis just as vectors yield to analysis.

Using the model of a mathematician analyzing vectors, we now attempt to analyze the interrelationships between the various types of religious response significantly reflected in the Markan text: thaumaturgy, conversionism, and revolutionism.

1. Present and Future Salvation. From a synchronic perspective, one may ask the questions: Does conversionism and revolutionism exist in Mark at the same time? Is there a way in which salvation is understood by the author as both a present and future prospect? Or is he so intensely revolutionist that salvation is always and only a future possibility? On the other hand, as noted above, the conversionist, though nodding to a future external fulfillment, nevertheless knows from his subjective change that he is saved *now*. Is this the case with Mark?

First, we argued that the primary locus in the text for the discussion of revolutionism is the apocalyptic discourse. It was observed, however that in the midst of that discourse a distinct modification of future hopes also surfaces. Willi Marxsen uses such evidence to argue that Mark transforms apocalyptic into eschatology.³⁰ Werner Kelber speaks less extremely about the author's revision of an apocalyptic score,³¹ while Anitra Kolenkow describes a "periodization of endtime history."³² Statements in the discourse such as "These things are the beginning of the birth pangs" (13:8) and "However in those days after that oppression" (13:24) do function to modify the imminence of the hopes reflected in the remainder of the discourse. Likewise, the words, "And first" (*kai . . . prōton*), introducing "it is necessary for the Good News to be preached to all the nations" (13:10) provide the chronological space for the active itinerant preaching ministry discussed above. We see this chronological space provided in 13:10 and elsewhere as a modification of revolutionist hopes in the Gospel of Mark by means of conversionist aspirations. The kind of preaching ministry described in Mark, as we noted, is far more than a superficial recruitment effort with the purpose of swelling the numbers of the elect against the day of the millennial transformation. It is described rather as an invitation to undergo an alteration of perspective in an experience of faith in God so strong it can move mountains.

Second, another instance of this chronological counterpoise--the balance of conversionist salvation *now* with revolutionist salvation *then*--is in Jesus' words to Peter and other disciples who claimed they had left everything to follow him:

I swear to you that there is no one who has left a house or brothers or sisters or a mother or a father or children or fields for me and for the Good News who does not receive a hundred times as many *now, in this time*--houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and fields, with persecutions--and *in the coming age*, eternal life (10:29f.).

The picture one receives is that by leaving home and family for the sake of an itinerant preaching ministry, one is rewarded *now* by the welcome received wherever one goes (see also 3:35: "Whoever does the will of God, that one is my brother and sister and mother"). Such hospitality amounts to an association of like-minded people that is a hundred times greater than association with the few friends one left at home. It may be observed that the itinerant preaching ministry does not require one to abandon responsibility for a wife or young children (*paidia*). This is consistent with what has preceded concerning the prohibition of divorce and the reception of young children.

Third, it is possible that Jesus' proclamation of the Good News in Mark denotes salvation *now*: "The right time has been fulfilled. The Rule of God has come near. Repent and put faith in the Good News" (1:15). Perfect tense verbs do not ordinarily look forward. The seed falls on all kinds of ground during the present time (4:1-20), and the earth produces fruit on its own (*automatē*) night and day during the present time (4:26-29).

Therefore, in a real sense, salvation, subjectively understood, is *now*. However, there still remains the transformation of the wider society *in the future*. Salvation now and salvation in the future stand together. Conversionism and revolutionism counterpoise each other. Each informs the other. Salvation now determines salvation then, and salvation then makes salvation now even more worthwhile, according to Mark.

2. Christian Service and the Arrival of the Son of Man. Which is dominant in Mark--conversionism or revolutionism? Which is the stronger response? Is the promise of future reward an added attraction to a dominant invitation to salvation now? Or does a change of heart in the present function to bolster a more basic hope for the future? Or are they equally important in the author's response to the world?

To answer this question, we look at the theme of service in the Gospel of Mark, because it appears to be a significant part of his response to the world. Anitra Kolenkow, Joanna Dewey, Robert Tannehill, and David Rhoads have each discussed this theme recently from differing points of view in their respective publications.³³ For our purpose here it is important to consider the ultimate motivation for the service theme in Mark. Why should one be a servant to others?

Mark's immediate answer to the question about the importance of service is that it is God's will as revealed in the sacred writings (3:35; 12:10; 15:24, 34). A life of service which leads to death is said to be a "ransom for many" (10:45). But how is it a ransom? Is it a ransom because it may lead others to faith in God? The Centurion's confession under the cross (15:39) would support this interpretation. This also seems to be the reason a Christian stands in court "as a witness for them" (13:9). If service has this motivation, then it reflects a conversionist response. If, on the other hand, Mark sees it as part of a program for societal amelioration, it is motivated by reformism. This seems hardly the case, however, because society can be ameliorated appreciably only by God, and besides,

there is not that much time left, according to Mark.

Service and death are closely linked. Losing one's life for Jesus and the Good News will result in saving it (8:35). Just as service leads to death, so death leads to life. In Mark's view, when Gentiles try to save their life by lording it over one another, they lose it. But when a Christian, like Mark himself or his readers, following Jesus' example, gives his life in service for others, the result is more abundant life.

Death makes sense in Mark only as a result of conversionism and only for the sake of revolutionism. One's service to others may lead to death in the present (conversionism), but its ultimate meaning lies in the coming of the Son of Man to receive the elect in the age to come (revolutionism). Death is the immediate consequence of Christian service, but its *raison d'être* derives from eternal life.

Therefore, though conversionism and revolutionism are both strong, revolutionism is the dominant response. It is a revolutionism modified, however, in two ways: with respect to imminence of the expected change and with respect to criteria for inclusion in the elect. "Pure" revolutionists expect the transformation very soon. Mark tempers this expectation somewhat. "Pure" revolutionists require only token gestures or earnestness of faith to be included in the elect, since the wider culture or society is so alien, no amount of human effort would make any difference. Mark's anti-tokenism in his rejection of a ritual water baptism, kosher, signs, wonders, and war-waging (1:8; 7:1-23; 8:12; 13:21f.), however, heavily modifies his revolutionism with a subjectivism (in the sense used above) that the strongest conversionist group would find enviable.

Mark substitutes a life given in service (conversionism) for a life of handwashings (introversionism). He substitutes a ministry of preaching, being delivered up, and death (conversionism) for the millennial tokenism of the so-called false messiahs and false prophets (a more "pure" revolutionism in this regard, unless it is used solely as propaganda for military recruitment). However, Mark makes conversionism the condition for future reward. Inclusion in the elect comes from following Jesus. Christian service finds meaning ultimately in the arrival of the Son of Man.

3. Miracles as Christian Service. Why is thaumaturgy so prominent in Mark? Does he advocate thaumaturgy for its own sake--because it is always fascinating? Does he encourage it as an appeal to the expectations of a certain level of folk culture in his readership--as a form of thaumaturgical law of supply and demand? Or does it function as a "holding operation" for the one big miracle or social transformation which is still coming--but perhaps not immediately? Or is Markan thaumaturgy a reformist religious response in reality which gives support to a program for world improvement through healing, raising dead people, and exorcising? Or might one even suppose that the author is a man of greater sophistication than most of those to whom his words are addressed and that the miracles are offered at a level which they can understand and to which they are likely to respond, particularly if the hope of the Rule of God has already been considerably postponed by the time he writes? In view of the cognitive dissonance created by the delay of the cosmic transformation, is thaumaturgy being offered as an alternative to revolutionism?

A few observations about miracles in Mark will suffice to suggest some possible answers to these questions. Except for a herd of swine and a unproductive fig tree, all thaumaturgical activity in the Gospel of Mark is for the recipient's welfare. Miracles do not occur for their own sake generally or as signs of the endtime (8:11f.; 13:21f.). Rather they consistently appear as signs of forgiveness (2:1-12), compassion (6:34), service to others (10:46-52, immediately following the discussion on Christian service in 10:35-45), as a proper understanding of the meaning of the

sabbath (3:1-6), or simply as an answer to the requests of people in need (3:7-12). In Mark, miracles are couched within the framework and in the language of general service to others. They provide a sense of completion or salvation for the present time.

On the one hand, evidence in Mark does not easily support a direct connection between thaumaturgy and revolutionism. Miracles are not clearly previews of coming attractions; an exorcism is not clearly a hint of the great cosmic exorcism to come. One may assume, however, that thaumaturgy in Mark may be an appeal to the fascinations of a certain level of folk culture among his readers, especially since the endtime has apparently been delayed. Without thaumaturgy, the temptation to "be led astray" by the signs and wonders of false messiahs and false prophets would be greater still:

On the other hand, evidence is strong in Mark for connecting thaumaturgy directly with conversionism. Giving a cup of water to a thirsty preacher and exorcising an unclean spirit are not dissimilar in Mark's view. Thaumaturgy supports conversionism in two ways: it may reflect an already-present faith (5:34; 10:52; 11:23), or it may elicit greater faith (10:52b). Present-time and local-scale salvation in thaumaturgy and present-time, local-scale salvation in conversionism together modify and inform futurist revolutionism. The main purpose of miracles in Mark, therefore, is to enhance Christian service--which in turn enhances the millennial hope.

4. From Magic, to the Millennium, and Back Again. With a diachronic interest, Bryan Wilson observes that frequently groups have moved typologically from a dominant thaumaturgical response to a dominant revolutionist response and back again to a dominant thaumaturgical response over a period of time, if the social situation gave rise to it. The Shaker Church, originating in the 1880s in Washington state, and the already-mentioned Congolese Kimbanguist cult are a few of many instances of this typical fluctuation.³⁴ Thaumaturgy's immediately impressive individual dispensations are forgotten when widespread oppression, social crises, or military threat evoke concern for much broader transformation by supernatural action. As soon as the crises pass, thaumaturgy, with its ready comforts, again takes over, and concern about the unredeemed promises of world transformation fades.

The Gospel of Mark reflects a variation of this typical fluctuation between revolutionism and thaumaturgy. In Mark, thaumaturgy is secondary to conversionism. The movement, then, is more probably in Mark's case from magic, to the millennium, and then back to a more present orientation in conversionism which is only assisted by magic--not dominated by it. Is our synchronic camera catching Mark heightening revolutionist hopes or relaxing them? The evidence suggests the latter. Redaction criticism of the apocalyptic discourse points to a Markan tempering of an already existing fanatic revolutionist fervor rather than an accentuation of its more enthusiastic aspects. Mark counterpoises radical revolutionism with highly developed conversionism which uses thaumaturgy as a support. Nationalist, xenophobic millennial dreams are in the process of being replaced in Mark by an active itinerant ministry of preaching and healing in service to others in "all nations" (13:10). This is likely the reason he chose a biographic literary form--to give his readers someone to imitate--rather than an apocalyptic form, a more strictly aretalogical form, or a letter form.

5. Some Comparisons. Mark's mixed religious response resembles Paul's in First Corinthians in several ways, and it differs in others. Paul's revolutionism appears to be more intense than Mark's, and Mark's conversionism seems more carefully developed than Paul's. Paul's concern about community order and harmony likewise appears more considered than Mark's, and community boundaries are more clearly drawn (baptism, reasons

to bar members from community, preference to remain out of civil court), even though Paul's group does not seem introversionist in a strong sense (5:9-13). Paul argues against the individualism of manipulationists ("knowledge is imperfect") and thaumaturgists ("If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels. . ."), and he consistently moves in the direction of community or colony building with the Corinthians. One may observe that in Romans revolutionism is weaker than it was in First Corinthians, and the movement away from legal introversionism and toward a less nationalistic worldwide Christian missionary network seems more prominent.

In the Gospel of John, the revolutionist response is hardly traceable, and a combination of conversionism, manipulationism, and introversionism seems to have gained ascendancy. Compared with Mark's mixed response, John's is less future-oriented and more present-oriented, and greater attention is given to doctrinal purity and community boundaries, if Wayne Meeks' and Raymond Brown's assessments are substantially correct.³⁵

The mixed response of above-mentioned Shembe and his Zulu followers in South Africa, compared with Mark's, ranks higher on the introversionist scale. Shembe's attempt to reassert native dignity through tribal separatism is considered highly important by his followers. Even though thaumaturgy is strong in both Shembe's group and Mark's group, neither is merely a thaumaturgical cult. Thaumaturgy is used by Shembe in support of introversionism when he restores tribal integrity to individuals who, because of their illnesses caused by witchcraft, had been shunned. Thaumaturgy is used by Mark in support of conversionism and ultimately revolutionism when it reflects or elicits a mountain-moving faith in God which has its reward both in a present and future age.

In summary, the model of vector analysis has made several things possible in this study: it has helped the investigation of the interrelation of strong responses to each other in a given group or person; it has assisted in the charting of changes in religious responses in a given group or person over periods of time; and it has afforded comparisons of groups with mixed responses with other such groups.

CONCLUSION

Our preliminary conclusion is that the dominant socio-religious impulse of Mark with respect to the wider society is to consider it so alien that only a radical transformation by God in the future can solve the problem. His secondary socio-religious impulse heavily tempers his future hope with a focus on a significant change of personal life which may lead to an experience of salvation in the present in an active itinerant preaching ministry in the service of others even to the point of death, as was the case with Jesus. A tertiary socio-religious impulse is observable in Mark's encouragement of specific acts of miraculous healing which are meant to enhance the ministry of service and lead ultimately to eternal life in an age to come.

In this study we have attempted to demonstrate that nomothetic comparison as a supplement to idiographic description contributes to an understanding of the social world mirrored in the text of the Gospel of Mark. This is an embryonic study--preliminary in form and suggestive in purpose. The material examined, we propose, is representative but not exhaustive. What has emerged is a picture of the Markan social world that is in some respects similar to pictures of the social worlds of many other religious groups and in some respects unique.

Even though we approach the material in a different way, our study of Mark complements the work of Gerd Theissen of Bonn on early Corinthian and Palestinian Christianity. Concerning Theissen's publications, John Schütz wrote in 1977 for the AAR/SBL Social World of Early Christianity Group, "Individually the essays are provocative; in the aggregate I think Theissen's work is singularly impressive."³⁶ We agree with Schütz in this evaluation and wish also to contribute to the excitement which such social description has generated in recent years. Our particular study--with its comparisons afforded by a typology of religious response to the world--has, we hope, shed light on the relationships between basic socio-religious impulses in Mark and other materials which was not possible before. Whether one's focus is social facts, social history, social organization, or social world, the overall exegetical enterprise can only be enhanced by social inquiry--and there are many more questions to ask.³⁷

NOTES

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3. Abraham Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977; Robert Grant, *Early Christianity and Society: Seven Studies*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977.
4. Gerd Theissen, "Theoretische Probleme religionssoziologischer Forschung und die Analyse des Urchristentums," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 16 (1974), 35-56; "Die soziologische Auswertung religiöser Überlieferungen," *Kairos* 17 (1975), 284-99; "'Wir haben alles verlassen' (Mk 10, 28). Nachfolge und soziale Entwurzelung in der jüdisch-palästinischen Gesellschaft des I. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Novum Testamentum* 19 (1977), 161-96; "Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferungsform von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ZTK* 70 (1973), 245-71; ET "Itinerant Radicalism: The Tradition of Jesus' Sayings from the Perspective of the Sociology of Literature," by Antoinette Wire, *Radical Religion* 2:2, 3 (1975), 84-93; *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, ET John Bowden, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978; John Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975; Leander Keck, *The New Testament Experience of Faith*, St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1976.
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6. Wayne Meeks, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism," *JBL* 91 (1972), 44-72.
7. See Berger, *op. cit.*, 29-51.
8. John McKinney, *Constructive Typology and Social Theory*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Meredith Publishing Co., 1966, 3.
9. The discussion of Bryan Wilson's typology here is based on pertinent sections from his following publications: "An Analysis of Sect Development," *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959), 3-15; "Establishment, Sectarianism and Partisanship," *Sociological Review* 15 (1967), 213-20; *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples*, New York: Harper and Row, 1973; *Religion in Secular Society*, London: Watts, 1966; *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971; *Sects and Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961; "Sociological Methods in the Study of History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 21 (1971), 101-18; "A Typology of Sects," in *Types, Dimensions et Mesure de la Religiosité*, Actes de la X^e Conférence Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse, Rome, 1969, 29-56; *Contemporary Transformations of Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. In this paper, I have intentionally avoided the use of the word "sect" for reasons of clarity. Had it been used, it would have been in Wilson's technical sense of "deviant religious response to the world." For a fuller discussion of this term, see his *Religious Sects*, 22-35.

10. This and the following discussion heavily depend on Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 9-26; *Religious Sects*, 36-47.
11. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 27-69.
12. The translation of Mark used in this study is my own, but I have drawn heavily from a forthcoming Fortress Press translation by David Rhoads and Donald Michie.
13. Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 181-88.
14. *Ibid.*, 177-81.
15. *Ibid.*, 118-40; *Magic and the Millennium*, 384-449.
16. Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 141-66.
17. *Ibid.*, 167-77; *Magic and the Millennium*, 70-195.
18. Norman Perrin, *The New Testament: An Introduction*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974, 144f. However, Perrin observed this pattern with reference only to "preaching" and "delivering up" and with application only to the Baptist, Jesus, and "the Christians."
19. Norman Perrin, "Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," in *Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage: A Discussion with Norman Perrin*, edited by Hans Dieter Betz, Claremont: New Testament Colloquium, 1971, 35; Theodore Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in Conflict*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971, 81-90; Werner Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974, 117; Rudolf Pesch, *Naherwartungen: Tradition und Redaktion in Mk 13*, Dillseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1968, 125-38.
20. Perrin, "Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," 54; emphasis mine.
21. Robert Tannehill, "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *The Journal of Religion* 57, 4 (1977), 386-405; Norman Petersen, "'Point of View' in Mark's Narrative," forthcoming; Robert Tannehill, "The Gospel of Mark as Narrative Christology," also forthcoming.
22. Vernon Robbins, "Mark and Greco-Roman *Memorabilia*," from a forthcoming monograph; see also Charles Talbert, *What is a Gospel?* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977, *passim*.
23. Vernon Robbins, "Teaching and Discipleship in the Gospels and Greco-Roman Literature," also from forthcoming monograph.
24. Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 66-92.
25. Pesch, *op. cit.*, 118-25, 157-75.
26. Howard Kee, *Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel*, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977.
27. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 196-347; *Religious Sects*, 93-117.
28. Illuminating on this point is Jonathan Smith's reassessment of the Hainuwele myth of the Wemale tribe in West Ceram, west of New Guinea, in "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in situational Incongruity," *History of Religions* 16, 1 (1976), 1-19.

29. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 364-83.
30. Willi Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel*, ET James Boyce, Donald Juel, William Poehlmann, and Roy Harrisville, Nashville: Abingdon, 1969, 189.
31. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark*, 127f.
32. Anita Kolenkow, "Beyond Miracles, Suffering and Eschatology," in *Seminar Papers*, Society of Biblical Literature (1973), Vol 2, 155-202.
33. *Ibid.*; Joanna Dewey, *Disciples of the Way: Mark on Discipleship*, Published by Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 1976, 99-122; Robert Tannehill, *The Sword of his Mouth*, Philadelphia: Fortress, and Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975, 102-07, 147-52; *A Mirror for Disciples: A Study of the Gospel of Mark*, Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1977, 76-91; David Rhoads, from a forthcoming Fortress Press publication.
34. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 348-83.
35. Meeks, *art. cit.*; Raymond Brown, "'Other Sheep not of this Fold': The Johannine Perspective on Christian Diversity in the Late First Century," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 97, 1 (1978), 5-22.
36. John Schlütz, "Steps Toward a Sociology of Primitive Christianity: A Critique of the Work of Gerd Theissen," paper distributed to the AAR/SBL Social World of Early Christianity Group, Annual Meeting, December 27-31, 1977, San Francisco Hilton Hotel.
37. For their helpful suggestions in this study, I am deeply grateful to Neill Hamilton of Drew University, David Rhoads of Carthage College, Vernon Robbins of the University of Illinois, and Bryan Wilson of All Souls College, Oxford.

THE SOCIAL WORLD IMPLIED
IN THE LETTERS OF THE CHRISTIAN BISHOP-MARTYR
(NAMED IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH)

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"Theories are nets cast to catch what we call 'the world':
to rationalize, explain and to master it" (Popper 1961:59).

Our task is to understand Christian origins as a social phenomenon. To acquire such understanding, some set of theories of social interaction and social innovation is necessary. We need a set of theories that would adequately account for most, if not all, of the information available to us relative to Christian origins. Contemporary sociology has its nets and is seeking to make the mesh ever finer. Those at work on the social world of early Christianity, on the other hand, are still looking for a net.

Further, contemporary sociology is highly impatient with the grand social theorists (Mills 1959:55). Instead sociologists prefer a sort of raw empiricism, the gathering of data with little attention paid to generalizing results beyond the particular social system studied. The problem with such raw empiricism is that it contributes little to our ability to see life in general perspective or to understand social change (Mills 1959:55; Rogers 1971:87). The study of Christian origins, for its part, simply lacks any grand social theory. It does have a rather grand literary theory in form-criticism and its logically integral offspring. And on the basis of this grand literary theory, many useful form-critical, structural-critical and redactional-critical studies have appeared. However in all too many respects, such studies have all the features of the raw empiricism described above. They contribute little to our ability to see life in the first and second centuries in a general perspective or to understand the Christian movement as a social phenomenon resonating in and for the populations of the Mediterranean world of that time.

What is necessary is a set of interrelated propositions about human social behavior in cross cultural settings at a level of generalization that facilitates testing or validation in terms of our available texts and stones. Such a consistent set of interrelated propositions about human social behavior in cross cultural settings has been formulated by Douglas (1970; but in 1971 she tends to psychologize those propositions). Isenberg and Owen (1977) have admirably synthesized Douglas' (1970) presentation. And a number of less general propositions (Parsons 1963a,b; Turner 1969; Rogers 1971; Selby 1974) can readily fit into the matrix proposed by Douglas and in this way further expand the net she has woven.

Douglas' theoretical matrix fits within that aspect of social anthropology called "structuralist," "rationalist," or "expressive." Structure here refers to the outcome of the human process of classification or patterning. Meaning might be defined as socially shared and appreciated patterns of behavior. The presumption is that the world of man is a symbolic

social world, a world which is socially constructed and in which all human social interaction is a process of shared communication. In social interaction, just as in language, the central problem is to determine how far the meaning which is conveyed to the listener or partner is that intended by the cultural system. For if some person gets results in social interaction, we must presume that some sort of larger social set of "rules of the game" must be at work.

"Where there is discrepancy between verbal statements and observed behavior, rationalists tend to maintain that the social reality 'exists' in the verbal statements rather than in what actually happens. The justification for this position may be illustrated by an analogy. A Beethoven symphony 'exists' as a musical score which can be interpreted in all sorts of ways by all sorts of orchestras. The fact that a particularly incompetent performance diverges widely from the score as written does not lead us to say that the 'real' symphony was the bad performance rather than the ideal score. In thinking of rationalist (structuralist) social anthropologists, the 'structure' of a system of social ideas bears the same sort of relationship to what actually happens as does a musical score to the performance. The score is, in a sense, the 'cause' of what happens, but we cannot work backwards and reliably infer the score from direct observation of any single performer's behavior. In the musical case, the score originates 'in the mind' of the composer. By analogy, committed rationalists tend to write of cultural systems being composed by a kind of collectivity -- 'the human mind.' From this they infer that it is necessary to study a number of contrasted empirical examples (a number of separate performances by separate orchestras) before we can be confident that we know what is the common abstract 'reality' which underlies them all" (Leach 1976:5).

Douglas has in fact studied a great number of contrasted examples to come up with her set of interrelated propositions about human social behavior in cross cultural settings. What she offers, then, are general or theoretical hypotheses. Such general hypotheses are postulated sets of relationships between two or more conceptual generalizations (e.g. between purity, ritual, sin, cosmology, misfortune and the like). Theoretical hypotheses get validated by applying them to concrete cases and finding equivalences between the theory and the case in point. In the present study, I hope to apply the theoretical hypotheses of Douglas plus a number of less general ones that fit into Douglas' scheme to the texts of Ignatius of Antioch. These texts become concrete cases for social anthropology only by our empathetically imagining what the text is describing. For this purpose the simple social descriptions offered by historical and archaeological studies are quite necessary and useful. What the text describes then serves to flesh out the theory, while the theory serves to flesh out the lacunae in the text.

Some might think such a method to be rather circular. However such circular procedure seems normal to human perception:

"The question of what happens first [perception of an object as a whole or perception of salient general features composed to perceive an object as a whole] has been much discussed by students of perception. In order to perceive that something is, say, a table, it would seem necessary to use information about its location, size, and shape, but how is it possible to judge its attributes until we know what 'it' is? Which comes first, the attributes or the whole? Experience with modern systems for processing information has taught

us that such circles need not be vicious. Minsky and Papert remark in this connection that it is quite common in computer programs -- and presumably in thought processes -- for two different procedures to use each other as subprocedures. When the system is forming a percept, object-forming procedures can call on shape-recognizing procedures as subprocedures; when it pays attention to shape, shape-recognizing procedures can call on object-forming procedures as subprocedures. The assumption that one set of procedures must in every case precede the other imposes a rigid and unnecessary constraint on the complexity of our hypothesis about object perception" (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976:46).

Now in what follows we hope to relate attributes to wholes, texts to theories, and vice-versa. In this instance the statements in the letters of Ignatius, our texts, would be like the attributes of some object, while the conceptual generalization or theory postulate would be like the abstract whole we are seeking. The degree of match or fit between the concrete textual statement and the theoretical generalization cannot be tested except by intuitive means (Rogers 1971:90). Yet while this may be so, the bases for such intuition can and should be articulated by means of the circular procedure described above. This would entail relating theory and text by the joint processes of deduction (from theory to text) and induction (from text to theory). Such a procedure, applied to the early Christian social world evidence, is a sort of middle range analysis standing between highly abstract grand theory and purely literary study of texts or archaeological description of stones. The goal of such a middle range analysis would be to develop an interrelated and integrated series of generalizations linked in a matrix of theories and established relationships.

Such middle range theories are crucial if any sort of testable understanding of the early Christian social world is to be generated. In contemporary cross cultural study "one must resort to the level of conceptual equivalence in cross cultural enquiry rather than pursue the goal of operational equivalence which is an impossible objective." The reason for this is that it is impossible to sample populations of many contemporary cultures. If this is so for anthropology, then it holds a fortiori for our field of study since it requires imagination to make do for empirical observations. "But even conceptual equality is difficult to attain, and its assessment must be forged on logical rather than empirical grounds" (Rogers 1971:92). This conclusion would point to the value of an adequate "rationalist" theory from social anthropology in social world investigations.

Of course, studying in terms of theory is a mixed blessing. What we wish to understand is a process of human interaction, a process like raising one's arm. What theory does is break down a process into a series of acts, much like a movie film breaks down an arm-raising into a series of still pictures. So "we should not forget that we are artificially and heuristically chopping up reality into conceptual bite-sized pieces. Although such processing may aid digestibility, it also adds an ersatz flavor" (Rogers 1971:94). And it is perhaps this ersatz flavor that will turn away historians and theologians from such social world study, much like literary criticism did a generation ago (and still). On the other hand, the digestibility afforded by contemporary literary theory should encourage one to hope for similar digestibility with applied social theory.

* * * * *

The letters of Ignatius of Antioch are an invaluable source of information relative to the situation of the Christian movement in Asia Minor ca. 107 A.D. They offer us a long glimpse into the specifically Christian social world of that time and place, but only a glimpse. And they project scenes of typically Hellenistic Christian communities at a time not too long after their founding foreign father(s) moved on, a time when no written normative code or canon governed Christian social interaction.

In the following study, I propose to consider Ignatius and his letters under these aspects:

1. The Christian Traveler (named Ignatius)
2. The Liminal Person (named Ignatius)
3. The Direction of Social Interaction in the Letters of Ignatius
4. The Social Dimensions of the Church in Ignatius
5. The General Social World Shared by Ignatius and Plutarch
6. The Letter Writer (named Ignatius)
7. The Social Analyst (named Ignatius)
8. Conclusion: Ignatius and Antioch

1. The Christian Traveler (named Ignatius)

A cursory reading of the letters of Ignatius indicates that his primary purpose in writing, except perhaps his letter to the Romans, was to acknowledge or to request proper "refreshment" from the communities he addressed, as he was forced to wend his way to Rome from Antioch as a Roman prisoner in chains and under guard. In other words, his letters look primarily to travel arrangements or are a response to arrangements provided. That he could presume upon the hospitality of his fellow Hellenistic Christians implies a set of social expectations. Sampley (1977:158-174) has recently pointed out how a very similar set of social expectations in Paul and the Pauline communities received their conceptualization in the consensual contract of Roman law known as societas (association). The same sort of conceptualization seems to be at work in the communities visited by Ignatius and those in the vicinity. Further, the fact that he could readily presume upon societas would also indicate that such a social arrangement existed in Antioch as well.

"At the turn of the eras, societas was still a legally binding, reciprocal partnership or association between one person and one or more second people with regard to a particular action, thing or person" (Sampley 1977:159). More specifically, societas was a bona fide consensual agreement. This agreement depended fully on the mutual trust and faithfulness of the partners, and it had its focus on some shared goal toward which the partners (socii) were to contribute their property or work or both in the fulfillment of the shared aim. With regard to the shared goal, all the partners of the association were equal regardless of their social status or factual contribution toward the goal. Societas required no formalities -- no independent witnesses, no documents or legal papers, no notification of public officials. The association lasts as long as the parties involved remain of the same mind (in eodem sensu). Moreover it could be dissolved by the attainment of the contracted goal, by the death of a partner unless provisions for its survival were otherwise made, by fraud or deceit on the part of a partner, or when a

partner was no longer "of the same mind." In this last instance, the matter might be taken to court, for societas was liable to court action; the guilty or terminating party would be declared infamis with appropriate penalties. Finally, a socius had to account for the business dealings that he might undertake on behalf of the association, and he was entitled to reimbursement for expenses properly incurred. As a result of their common and reciprocally binding societas, partners often regarded themselves in fictive-kinship terms (i.e. "brothers" and presumably "sisters") (Sampley 1977:159-163).

Although Ignatius does not use the word koinōnia (Greek equivalent of societas) like Paul does, yet he does reveal sufficient elements of societas in his letters to lead us to presume that such a conceptualization was at work directing explicit sets of social relations. To begin with, any work undertaken by an individual on behalf of the societas had to conform to the goal that created the association and should advance its realization (Sampley 1977:160). Apparently Christians along his route perceived Ignatius as advancing the goals of their association since they provided for him rather well (anapausis: refreshment, his needs on the trip: Eph 2,1; Mg 15,1; Tr 12,1; Sm 9,2; 12,1). Indeed, they did the same for other Christians on their way from Syria (Rom 10,3; Sm 10,1). The only ones who did not contribute to Ignatius' passage were the Philadelphians (Phil 6,3), although even they provided for others (dechesthai: to receive properly: Phil 11,1; and for Ignatius: Eph 6,1; Rom 9,3). What did such local Christians do for Ignatius? Lucian's description of the imprisonment of Peregrinus fleshes out some of the details:

"When he had been imprisoned, the Christians considered the affair a disaster and did everything they could to secure his release. When this proved impossible, other assistance of all sorts was rendered, not sporadically but with zeal. From the earliest dawn old women, widows, and orphan children were to be seen waiting by the prison, and men of rank among them slept with him after bribing the guards. They brought in all sorts of suppers, and their sacred discourses were read, and the most excellent Peregrinus -- such was still his name -- was considered a new Socrates by them. Some came down even from the cities in Asia [Peregrinus was in Palestine], sent by the Christians from their common fund, to help and plead for and encourage the man. They show extraordinary effort whenever such a thing happens which affects their common interest. In short, they spare nothing. And indeed, because of Peregrinus' bonds, many gifts of money were made to him at this time, and he made no little profit out of it" (Lucian, The Passing of Peregrinus 12, this version from Grant 1964:94; text and version in Harmon [Loeb] 1936:113-14).

While this description comes from ca. 166 A.D., it probably fits Ignatius' situation. However it seems that his significant visitors were mainly the local Christian supervisors, some of their council members and their association factotums (bishops, presbyters, deacons). And it would have been bribery from the common fund of the communities in question that allowed for this care of a transient Christian prisoner. The common fund (to koinon: Pol 4,3) likewise points to societas.

The common goal or mind (sensus in Roman law) of these Christian associations is best represented in Ignatius by gnōmē (intent, policy), mainly the gnōmē of God, the gnōmē orthē (Eph 1,1). He speaks of this central intent as follows (the versions, sometimes altered to bring out the literal Greek, are from Richardson 1953; the text followed is that of Fischer 1956):

Eph 2,2: You are "united in your submission [with one mind (nous) and one gnōmē] etc. The bracketed words are the Gg reading, which even if not authentic, indicates some scribes' understanding of what unity means, see below.

Eph 3,2: "I hasten to urge you to harmonize your actions with God's gnōmē. For Jesus Christ -- that life from which we can't be torn -- is the Father's gnōmē, as the bishops too, appointed the world over, reflect the gnōmē of Jesus Christ."

Rom 7,1: "The prince of this world wants to kidnap me and pervert my godly gnōmē (literally: tēn eis theon mou gnōmēn)."

Rom 8,3: "I have written prompted not by human passion but by God's gnōmē."

Phil insc: Association officers "have been appointed en gnōmē of Jesus Christ."

Phil 1,1: "For this reason I bless his [local bishop's] godly gnōmē."

Phil 3,3: "If anyone walks in the way of deviant gnōmē, he is out of sympathy with the Passion."

Phil 6,2: "Flee, then, the wicked tricks and snares of the prince of this world, lest his gnōmē wear you down, and you waver in your love."

Sm 6,2: "Pay close attention to those who have wrong notions about the grace of Jesus Christ, which has come to us, and note how at variance they are with God's gnōmē (literally: enantioi eisin tē gnōmē tou theou)."

Pol 1,1: "I praise your godly gnōmē."

Pol 4,1: "Do not let anything be done without your gnōmē, and do not do anything without God's."

Pol 5,2: "It is right for men and women who marry to be united with the bishop's gnōmē . . . Let everything be done so as to advance God's honor."

Pol 8,1: "I want you therefore, as one who has the gnōmē of God, to write to the churches ahead and to bid them to do the same."

This gnōmē of God, the Christian common focus, gets it further expression in unity (henotēs: Eph 4,2; 5,1; 14,1; Phil 2,2; 3,2; 5,2; 8,1; 9,1; Sm 12,1; Pol 8,3; henōō: Eph insc; Mg 6,2; 7,1; 14,1; Rom insc; Sm 3,3; henōsis: Mg 1,2; 13,2; Tr 11,2; Phil 4,1; 7,2; 8,1; Pol 1,2; 5,2; homonoia: Eph 4,1,2; 13,1; Mg 6,1; 15,1; Tr 12,2; Phil insc; 11,2). As a matter of fact, "unity" or "harmony" in some form or other is probably Ignatius' closest synonym for societas. I might note here that Hertling (1972:22) considers the following words, individually or in combination, as synonymous in early Christian writings: koinōnia, eirēne, agapē, communio, communicatio, pax, societas and unitas. Be that as it may, for Ignatius unity in the Christian association is based upon and derives from "our common hope (tē koinē elpidi)" (Eph 1,2; 21,1; Phil 5,2; 11,2) or the "common name" (Eph 1,2). This unity gets symbolized in unity and harmony with the local association supervisor (bishop), who "holds this office relating to the association (tēn diakonian ten eis to koinon anēkousan)" (Phil 1,1). For association partners, "only what you do together (epi to auto) is right" (Mg 7,1). On the other hand, Christian deviants who oppose the straight society addressed by Ignatius have their own gnōmē (Phil 3,3), as does the prince of this world (Phil 6,2), at variance with God's gnōmē (Sm 6,2). Consequently such deviants have their own societas, with their own aims relative to which they are of the same mind (to auto phronousin: Sm 5,2; see Sampley 1977:162 on this phrase

as a technical term vis-a-vis societas).

In sum, Ignatius' social expectations for material support on his trip to Rome derives from his social perception of societas with the various communities along his way. From them he and others before him expected concrete hospitality (Malherbe 1977:222-232; Chadwick 1961:281-285). His letters primarily either acknowledge such hospitality received, or seek it out along the way. Given the obviousness of his procedure, we can safely assume that as episkopos in Antioch, he also saw to such associational reciprocity in his community, which likewise perceived itself as a societas. However Ignatius was not an ordinary Christian traveler. He was a Roman prisoner in chains, a criminal condemned to death.

2. The Liminal Person (named Ignatius)

In his role as criminal condemned to death, Ignatius was a liminal person. A liminal person is one who finds himself suspended between two socially defined states, e.g. between life and death, between childhood and adulthood. Liminal persons are thus in a situation of transition. Such transitional situations obtain in human living because humans tend to make boundaries or artificial interruptions in what is naturally continuous time and space. Social time, like the ages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and social space, like the border between the U.S. and Canada, or between my yard and my neighbor's, are socially contrived. The same holds for the boundaries marking the inside and outside of my physical body and our social body. It is an axiom in social anthropology that boundary markers setting off such social time and space are ambiguous and a source of conflict and anxiety (Douglas 1966; Leach 1976:33-34). Leach observes: "All human beings have a deep psychological need for the sense of security which comes from knowing where you are. But 'knowing where you are' is a matter of recognizing social as well as territorial position. So we make maps of social space by using territorial space as a model" (1976:54). The socially shared map of social space and social time, with special emphasis on the boundaries, is what purity and pollution are about. It is also what being a liminal person is about.

Ignatius has moved from the social pole of free Roman citizen into the boundaries separating that state from the state of executed criminal. I would presume he was a free Roman citizen because he was shipped off to Rome to be executed. Now, any such movement across social boundaries like the one Ignatius undergoes tends to be perceived as pregnant with highly ambiguous meaningfulness. Such movement also requires some sort of ceremony or ritual to mark the interval socially, to proclaim the change of status, and in some way to help bring that change of status about. Turner describes the situation as follows:

"Van Gennep has shown that all rites of passage or 'transition' are marked by three phases: segregation, margin (or limen, signifying 'threshold' in Latin), and aggregation. The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a 'state' [i.e. any type of stable or recurrent condition that is socially recognized]), or from both. During the intervening 'liminal' period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the 'passenger') are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated. The

ritual subject, individual or corporate, is in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and 'structural' type; he is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions" (1969:94-95).

Ignatius is in this liminal state because in the eyes of Roman authority he is a deviant. Just as dirt or pollution is matter out of place, so also are deviants. Only deviants are people out of place. And they get out of place mainly because their social groups put them there in order to protect and reinforce the group's social boundaries. Thus deviants get segregated and placed into a liminal state. Whether reaggregation occurs or not depends upon the person's social status and the quality of the social group. For example, Roman society would look to no aggregation of non-citizen deviants and even certain classes of citizens by killing them; Christian groups of the time expel, shun or excommunicate deviants; our U.S. society segregates deviants for a time, then reaggregates them with an ex-criminal label for a lifetime.

"Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior people so label" (Becker 1963:9).

In social anthropology, as Selby observes:

"Deviance is seen as an interactive process involving negotiation between the straight society (or the agents of that society) and the candidate deviant populations. . . . Social groups create deviance by attention to behavior that they think requires explanation or sanction (or is dangerous or aberrant) and by the collective activity of labelling (i.e. assigning people to the categories of deviance)" (1974:10 and 14).

The Romans in Antioch successfully labeled Ignatius a deviant. They subjected him to the social ritual of apprehension, chaining and guarding as their preferred form of defining and dealing with deviance in a person of his status (probably a Roman citizen, as stated above). In this process of interaction, Roman agents perform a rite of transition, with Ignatius as ritual subject, that serves to reinforce the social boundaries of Roman imperial society.

In such a performance, the movement of individuals from one physical locality to another as well as the sequence of such movements become part of the message Roman imperial society communicates both to itself and to the Hellenistic communities of Asia Minor. But the Christian association of which Ignatius is ostensibly a member switch the meaning of the Roman message. And this they do in terms of their own associational values. For on the trip to Rome, the local Christian association members strive for normal relations with Ignatius. As a *socius*, he is completely rehabilitated in their eyes, even though Roman judicial authorities have labeled him a deviant. The local Christians' continued relationship with him and their attempt to activate normal social interaction, given the circumstances, would thus kill the deviant label or at least make it highly questionable in the view of their local Hellenistic communities.

In this context, it seems highly possible that the problem which the Philadelphians had with Ignatius was that some of the Christian socii there tended to believe that he was indeed a criminal, hence offered him no "refreshment" (Phil 6,3).

Be that as it may, Ignatius himself declares his transition, his trip, as pregnant with meaning: "God gave the bishop of Syria (i.e. Ignatius) the privilege of reaching the sun's setting when he summoned him from its rising. It is a grand thing for my life to set on the world and for me to be on my way to God, so that I may rise in his presence" (Rom 2,2). Ignatius thus sees himself in transition from East to West, from one pole to another, accomplishing by his horizontal journey what deviant Christians perhaps attempt to do vertically, i.e. going to God.

So far as his Christian socii are concerned, Ignatius in this liminal state is in an abnormal condition, in a sacred state and contaminated with "holiness" as it were. He is without status as we may note by the fact that he never ranks himself with his fellow bishops, but always as fellow slave of deacons doing Christ's ministry (Eph 2,1; Mg 2,1; Sm 12,2). Relative to his own societas in Syria, he ranks himself the least of those socii (Eph 21,1; Tr 13,1; Rom 9,2; Sm 11,1). He is thus outside normal society and outside normal time, in the wild, so to say: "All the way from Syria to Rome I am fighting with wild beasts, by land and sea, night and day, chained as I am to ten leopards" (Rom 5,1). And he hopes to stay in this transitional situation until his aggregation with God. His destined conflict with wild animals in Rome is all part of this single transitional situation (Eph 1,2; Tr 10,1), a situation of closeness to God: "To be with wild beasts means to be with God" (Sm 4,2).

As liminal person, Ignatius can be the vehicle of mysterious knowledge and insight (see Turner 1969:137-138). The Trallians, for example, seem to have asked for some such information, but Ignatius refused:

"Am I incapable of writing to you of heavenly things? No, indeed; but I am afraid to harm you, seeing you are mere babes. You must forgive me, but the chances are you could not accept what I have to say and would choke yourselves. Even in my own case, it is not because I am a prisoner and can grasp heavenly mysteries, the ranks of the angels, the array of principalities, things visible and invisible -- it is not because of all that that I am a genuine disciple as yet. There is plenty missing, if we are not going to be forsaken" (Tr 5,1-2).

On the other hand, he does give some "liminal" information to the Philadelphians, some of whom resent it:

"Some, it is true, suspected that I spoke thus because I had been told in advance that some of you were schismatics. But I swear by Him for whose cause I am a prisoner, that from no human channels did I learn this. It was the Spirit that kept on preaching in these words: 'Do nothing apart from the bishop; keep your bodies as if they were God's temple; value unity; flee schism; imitate Jesus Christ as he imitated his Father'" (Phil 7,2).

Considering the content of this liminal utterance deriving from the Spirit, we can see that it roughly covers all that Ignatius has to say apart from his travel arrangements. It would seem therefore, that it is the liminal quality of his communication that would motivate his Christian socii to want to know and preserve his writings (Polycarp to Phil 13,2). Why those writings did not end up in some early Christian canon is probably due to the fact that Ignatius explicitly states his refusal

to reveal the information he has (Tr 5,1-2), hence his letters are uneven and mixed in their "spiritual" origin, unlike the revelations of the author of the Shepherd of Hermas, for example.

Turner offers the following generalization: "If liminality is regarded as a time and place of withdrawal from normal modes of social action, it can be seen as potentially a period of scrutinization of the central values and axioms of the culture in which it occurs" (1969:167). And what Ignatius' letters do indeed offer is a scrutinization of the central values and axioms of the subculture formed by the Christian societas, with dimensions of criticism, directions and urgings that would be accepted only from a socially certified liminal person.

Moreover Ignatius' whole style of communication intimates the humility posture characteristic of persons in liminal situations. His formalized ritual greetings, his enormous care not to offend, his turn of phrase indicating respect and deference, his gravity of tone and concern -- while all these may be formal characteristics of a "friendly" letter, they are nonetheless also qualities of the liminal person, specifically in rituals of status elevation (Turner 1969:166ff.). A ritual of status elevation conveys the ritual subject irreversibly from a lower to a higher position in a socially acknowledged system of such positions. Now Ignatius' own words indicate that this is precisely what he has in mind: "To be sure, I am ever so eager to be a martyr, but I do not know if I deserve to be. Many people have no notion of my impetuous ambition" (Tr 4,2). His letter to the Romans is eloquent witness to his insistence that the only aggregation conceivable for a socius put in a marginal state by Roman legal conviction is aggregation to God, an elevation of status.

And since transition to God is what he intends, given the circumstance of the death penalty, it is only logical that he views his hoped for aggregation as a sacrifice:

"The central principle [in sacrifice] is that the separation of spiritual essence from material body at death is paradigmatic of the mechanism which 'causes' a change of social status among the living [i.e. the rite of transition]" (Leach 1976:92).

"The paradigmatic idea is that the procedures of the rite separate the 'initiate' into two parts -- one pure, the other impure. The impure part can then be left behind, while the pure part can be aggregated to the initiate's new status. In the case of sacrifice the sacrificial victim plays the part of the initiate, but since the victim has first been identified with the donor of the sacrifice, the donor is, by vicarious association, likewise purified and initiated into a new ritual status" (ibid.:84).

In other words, sacrifice is also a rite of passage, replicating the other social rites of passage common to the group. Ignatius' rite of passage as criminal, decriminalized by the new Christian label of martyr, gets readily replicated into sacrifice pleasing to God on behalf of the Christian associations with which Ignatius is in league. So he can write: "I am giving my life for you (antipsychon) and for those whom you, to God's honor, sent to Smyrna" (Eph 21,1), or as he previously mentioned: "A cheap sacrifice (peripsema) I am, but I dedicate myself to you Ephesians -- a church forever famous" (Eph 8,1). The words recur: "Prisoner as I am, I am giving my life for you (antipsychon), not that it's worth much" (Sm 10, 2), and again: "I give my life as a sacrifice (antipsychon), poor as it is, for those who are obedient to the bishop, the presbyters and the

deacons" (Pol 6,1; see 2,3).

He leaves behind the impure part (the sōma, not sarx), while the pure part, probably both sarx and pneuma as I shall point out below, get aggregated to God: "I would rather that you fawn on the beasts so that they may be my tomb and no scrap of my body (sōma) be left. Thus, when I have fallen asleep, I shall be a burden to no one. Then I shall be a real disciple of Jesus Christ when the world sees my body (sōma) no more. Pray Christ for me that by these means I may become God's sacrifice (thysia)" (Rom 4,2). Similarly, he urges the Romans: "Grant me no more than to be a sacrifice (spondizo) for God while there is an altar at hand" (Rom 2,2). From this point of view, Ignatius clearly articulates the idea that his death in these circumstances ("an altar at hand") will be of great benefit both to himself and to his fellow Christians.

Yet all the while Ignatius likewise considers his prisoner's status and forthcoming death as witness, as influence in action, directed specifically to deviant Christians of Docetist or Gnostic leaning -- and not to Graeco-Roman society at large. He writes to the Ephesians: "I am giving my life, not that it's worth much (peripsema) for the cross which unbelievers find a stumbling block, but which means to us salvation and eternal life" (18,1). Who are these unbelievers who find the cross a stumbling block? They are those who deny that Christ really suffered:

"Yet in their ignorance (agnoountes) some deny him -- or rather have been denied by him, since they advocate death rather than the truth. The prophets and the law of Moses have failed to convince them -- nay, to this very day the gospel and the sufferings (pathēmata) of each one of us have also failed, for they class our sufferings with Christ's (kai gar peri hemon to auto phronousin)" (Sm 5,1-2).

From this it would seem that these agnostic Christians put the sensus of their societas in the symbol of the impassible or non-suffering Christ. Ignatius continues:

"What good does anyone do me by praising me and then reviling my Lord by refusing to acknowledge that he carried around live flesh? He who denies this has completely disavowed him and carries a corpse around. The name of these people, seeing that they are unbelievers, I am not going to write down. No, far be it from me even to recall them until they repent and acknowledge the passion (pathos) which means our resurrection" (Sm 5,2-3).

Thus these Christian deviants are no Christians at all in Ignatius' view. So he advises the Philadelphians: "Make no mistake, my brothers; if anyone joins a schismatic he will not inherit God's kingdom. If anyone walks in the way of heresy, he is out of sympathy with the passion (pathos)" (3,3). The schism and heresy here are those deriving from a denial of the passion of Christ. The same theme occurs in his letter to the Trallians:

"Flee then these wicked offshoots which produce deadly fruit. If a man taste of it, he dies outright. They are none of the Father's planting. For had they been, they would have shown themselves as branches of the cross and borne immortal fruit. It is through the cross, by his passion (pathos), that he summons you who are his members. A head cannot be born without limbs since God stands for unity. It is his nature" (Tr 11,1-2).

The gnōmē of Ignatius' straight society can thus be summed up in the cross and the pathos of a Christ of flesh and blood. Anyone not sharing this

central concern is a deviant, and Ignatius so labels them. His own death, a real and physical death like that of Jesus, is to bear witness against these Christian deviants and prove them wrong -- while supporting Ignatius' straight socii (cf. the other mentions of pathos: Eph insc; 18,2; 20,1; Mg 5,2; 11,1; Tr insc; Phil insc; 9,3; Sm 1,2; 7,2; 12,2). Thus Ignatius can insist to the Romans: "Let me imitate the pathos of my God. If anyone has Him in him, let him appreciate what I am longing for, and sympathize with me, realizing what I am going through" (6,3).

In sum, Ignatius perceives his death amid the wild, his transition from the liminal stage to aggregation with God, as a multiple and replicating symbol: a symbol of death in Christ with a view to his own physical resurrection, a symbol of sacrifice on behalf of those communities with which he is associated, and a symbol of witness to deviant Christians. The purpose of it all focuses on the Christian gnōmē, to bolster unity in faith and love symbolized in Jesus as God-man and Christian associations headed by bishop, presbytery and deacons. If we consider Ignatius' forthcoming death as a symbolic medium of social interaction, we can see that he intends it to be a form of influence to convince people by persuasion of the truth of his straight society and perhaps to bring about their conversion, as well as a sort of inducement or offering to God to obtain his patronage on behalf of the straight Christian associations.

3. The Direction of Social Interaction in the Letters of Ignatius

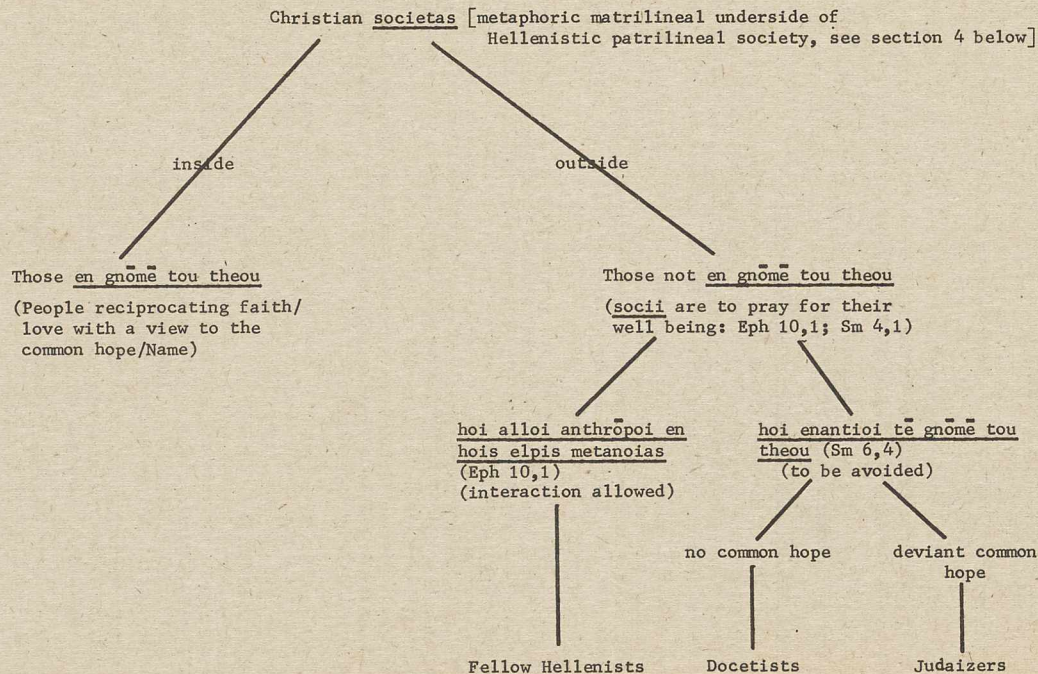
The previous conclusion fairly well indicates the taxonomy of the major social categories envisioned by Ignatius as he speaks within and to the Christian societas. The broad and general division he makes is between those who share the common Christian intent and those who do not. Among those who do not, we find those who may at some time join the societas, and those who stand at variance with the common intent of the association. As to these latter, some simply do not share the common intent at all (Docetists), while others have a somewhat deviant common intent (Judaizers). Figure 1 on the next page presents this taxonomy.

I should first like to turn to consider the insiders. As mentioned above, Ignatius seems to use "unity" as a synonym of societas. What sort of unity does he have in mind? Note, first of all, how Ignatius keeps united what many of his contemporaries, in some form or other, kept separated or would like to keep separated, e.g. Stoics, Cynics, Docetists, Gnostics and the like. I refer to the binates that recur in his letters like flesh and spirit, the fleshly and the spiritual, the blood of God (or Christ), material help and spiritual help. To get the flow of his argument, I quote these statements in context:

(1) Flesh and spirit (sarx and pneuma):

Mg 1,1: "I sing the praises of the churches, even while I am a prisoner. I want them to confess that Jesus Christ, our perpetual life, united flesh with spirit. I want them, too, to unite their faith with love -- there is nothing better than that. Above all, I want them to confess the union of Jesus with the Father."

Mg 13,1: "Make a real effort, then, to stand firmly by the orders of the Lord and the apostles, so that whatever you do, you may succeed in body and soul (sarx kai pneuma), in faith and love, in Son, Father and Spirit, from first to last, along with your most distinguished bishop, your presbytery -- that neatly plaited spiritual wreath -- and your



godly deacons."

Tr insc: "You are dear to God, the Father of Jesus Christ, elect and a real credit to him, being at peace in flesh and spirit, by reason of the passion of Jesus Christ . . ."

Tr 12,1: "They [surrounding churches] have completely refreshed me in flesh and spirit."

Rom insc: Roman Christians are "united in flesh and in spirit with each of his [Jesus'] commandments . . ."

Sm 1,1: cited under (3) "blood of God" below.

Pol 5,5: "Tell my systers to love the Lord and to be content with their husbands (symbioi) in flesh and spirit."

(2) Fleshly and spiritual (sarkikos and pneumatikos):

Eph 5,1: "If in so short a time I could get so close to your bishop -- I do not mean in a fleshly way, but in a spiritual way -- how much more do I congratulate you on having such intimacy with him as the church enjoys with Jesus Christ and Jesus Christ with the Father."

Eph 7,2: "You must be on your guard against them [Christian deviants] for it is hard to heal their bite. There is only one physician -- of flesh yet spiritual, born yet unbegotten, God incarnate, genuine life in the midsts of death, sprung from Mary as well as God, first subject to suffering then beyond it -- Jesus Christ our Lord."

Eph 8,2: "Carnal people cannot act spiritually, or spiritual people carnally, just as faith cannot act like unbelief or unbelief like faith. But even what you do in the flesh you do spiritually. For you do everything under Christ's control."

Eph 10,3: "Thus no devil's weed will be found among you; but though pure and self-controlled, you will remain fleshly and spiritually united to Jesus Christ."

Eph 11,2: "Do not let anything catch your eye besides him for whom I carry around these chains -- my spiritual pearls! Through them I want to rise from the dead by your prayers."

Sm 3,3: "For myself I am convinced and believe that even after the resurrection he was in the flesh. Indeed, when he came to Peter and his friends, he said to them, 'Take hold of me, touch me and see that I am not a daimon asomaton.' And they at once touched him and were convinced, clutching his flesh and his spirit. For this reason they despised death itself and proved its victors. Moreover, after the resurrection he ate and drank with them as fleshly, although spiritually he was united with the Father." [Note that soma in Ignatius refers to cadaver (Rom 4,2; 5,3) or to social body, corporation (Sm 1,2; 11,2).]

Sm 12,2: "Greetings . . . in Jesus Christ's name, in his flesh and blood, in his passion and resurrection, both fleshly and spiritually, and in unity -- both God's and yours."

Sm 13,2: "Greetings to the house of Tavia, whom I want to be firmly grounded in faith and love, fleshly and spiritual."

Pol 2,2: "The reason you are fleshly and spiritual is that you may deal tenderly [or: win the favor of] with what appears visibly; but ask that you may have revelations of what is invisible."

(3) The Blood of God (Christ) (haima theou/christou):

Eph 1,1: "I gave a godly welcome to your church which has so endeared itself to us by reason of your upright nature, marked as it is by faith in Jesus Christ, our Savior, and by love of him. You are imitators of God; and it was God's blood that stirred you up once more to do the sort of thing you do naturally and have now done to perfection. For you were all zeal to visit me when you heard that I was being shipped as a prisoner from Syria for the sake of our common Name and hope."

Tr 8,1: "Recapture, then, your gentleness, and by faith -- that's the Lord's flesh -- and by love -- that's Jesus Christ's blood -- make yourselves new creatures."

Rom 7,3: "I take no delight in corruptible food or in the dainties of this life. What I want is God's bread which is the flesh of Christ, who came from David's line; for drink I want his blood: an immortal love feast indeed."

Phil insc: "Greetings in the blood of Jesus Christ from Ignatius, the God-inspired, to the church of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia . . ."

Phil 4,1: "Be careful, then, to observe a single Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and one cup of his blood that makes us one, and one altar, just as there is one bishop along with the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow slaves. In that way whatever you do is in line with God's gnôme."

Sm 1,1-2: "I extol Jesus Christ, the God who has granted you such wisdom. For I detected that you were outfitted with an unshakable faith, being nailed, as it were, flesh and spirit to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, and being rooted in love by the blood of Christ. Regarding our Lord, you are absolutely convinced that on the human side he was actually sprung from David's line, Son of God according to God's will and power, actually born of a virgin, baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him and actually crucified for us in the flesh, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch. We are part of his fruit which grew out of his most blessed Passion. And thus, by his resurrection, he raised a standard to rally his saints and faithful forever -- whether Jews or Gentiles -- in one body of his Church."

Sm 6,2: "Let no one be misled: heavenly beings, the splendor of angels and principalities, visible and invisible, if they fail to believe in Christ's blood, they too are doomed."

(4) Material help and spiritual help:

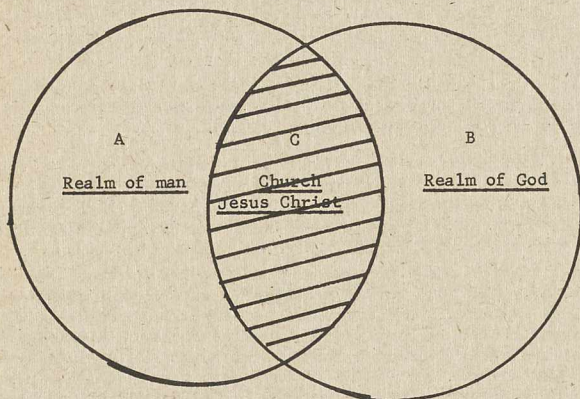
Sm 6,2: "Pay close attention to those who have wrong notions about the grace of Jesus Christ, which has come to us, and note how at variance they are with God's gnôme. They care nothing about love: they have no concern for widows and orphans, for the oppressed, for those in prison or released, for the hungry or the thirsty. They hold aloof from the Eucharist and from services of prayer, because they refuse to admit that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins and which in his goodness, the Father raised."

Pol 4,1-2 offers a list of such social help the bishop must see to.

Another binary that might be listed here is passion and resurrection: Eph 20,1; Mg 5,2; 11,1; Tr insc; 11,1; Rom 6,3; Phil insc; 3,3; 9,2; Sm 1,2; 5,3; 7,2; 12,2. The linking of the two would put the lie to the denial some would make of the resurrection, although this is not a clear item of interest in Ignatius.

The question we might raise here, then, is what is behind Ignatius' insistent concern to keep these separable items united. At bottom, all these united binaries are replications, statements of the same symbolic model within different horizons. They are synonymous symbols. Hence to deny unity in one set would be equivalent to denying the other sets, in word and deed. In one way or other, they all point to the underpinning of the societas, the gnome about which and to which the socii of the Christian association give their consent. And their unity within the Christian association replicates the unity of the church itself, which is the unity of God. Consider the following Venn diagram, figure 2:

Figure 2: United binaries in Ignatius



Thus, just as Jesus Christ, God and man, brings the realms of man and of God into unity, so too the church, the replication of Jesus Christ, brings the realms of man and God into unity. If we peruse the foregoing citations with a view to fitting the binates within the respective spheres of the Venn diagram, I believe we get the following:

A <u>Realm of man, this world</u>	C <u>Christian societas</u>	B <u>Realm of God</u>
Mg 1,1: flesh unbelief	churches faith Jesus Christ	spirit love Father (Spirit)
Eph 7,2: born Mary death suffering	Eph 5,1: spiritual way Jesus Christ	unbegotten God life beyond suffering
Eph 10,3: devil's weed Eph 11,2: chains Sm 3,3: death	Eph 8,2 Christ's control (God's planting) spiritual pearls resurrection of flesh-spirit	God
Pol 2,2: visible Eph 1,1: blood	God's blood Tr 8,1: new creatures	invisible God

A	C	B
Rom 7,3: David's line	flesh/blood of Christ	God
	one Eucharist	
	one Christ	
Sm 1,2: our flesh	cross of Christ	our spirit
Sm 6,2: material help	church	spiritual help

The whole idea here, then, is that in C, A and B get united, and this on multiple levels: in the person of Jesus, in the individual Christian associations, in the churches at large, in the individual Christian. The same conception was revealed in the liminal Ignatius; he was in chains, "in the wild," (A) yet with God (C) (God being under B). It is this sort of conception that lies behind another of its replications, unity in the church. What is the underlying social stance implied in such replication?

Douglas (1969:69-80) suggests that philosophical controversies about the relation of spirit and matter, or mind and body, generally are condensed, symbolic statements about the relation of society and the individual. Doctrines which use the human body as their metaphor, including those which define the relation of spirit to flesh, like Ignatius does, are likely to be especially concerned with social relationships. Conceptually, the body or flesh symbols the social, society, while the soul or spirit symbols the subjective, the individual. Hence flesh is to spirit as society is to the individual. Given this binary and artificial separation of the unitary human being, three configurations are possible:

(a) Spirit is greater than matter (in our case: the Christ is God, not man) replicates the conception that individual liberty is greater than societal demands. Therefore there is an emphasis to free the individual from social constraints. Denigration of matter, spontaneity, freedom, spiritual values -- all such emphases imply rejection of society in its established form.

(b) Spirit works through matter (in our case: the Christ is God-man) replicates the conception that the individual by nature is subordinate to society and finds his/her freedom within its forms. The sacralization of matter, of flesh, of typically human endeavors, is possible.

(c) Matter is greater than spirit (in our case: the Christ is simply man) replicates the conception that societal demands are all that count and really exist. The emphasis in such groups would be to tie a person to social constraints with the denigration of the individual and the purely spiritual.

Quite obviously, Ignatius holds and is held by the second position (b) above. Given this conception, his perceptions of the situations he encounters get described accordingly. Any movement from (b) to either (a) -- the Docetist position -- or to (c) -- perhaps the Judaizing position -- would symbol detachment or revolt from established social forms, whether those of society at large or of the Christian societas in particular. Ignatius' main concern seems to be levelled at those who would espouse position (a), i.e. Docetists or Gnostic types. Hence his insistence on shunning those who might personify such revolt. Perhaps his clearest articulation of position (b) comes at Mg 7,1-2:

"As, then, the Lord did nothing without the Father -- either on his own or by the apostles -- because he was at one with him, so you must not do anything without the bishop and presbyters. Do not, moreover, try to convince yourselves that anything done on your own is commendable. Only what you do together is right. Hence you must have one prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope,

dominated by love and unsullied joy -- that means you must have Jesus Christ. You cannot have anything better than that. Run off -- all of you -- to one temple of God, as it were, to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who came forth from one Father while still remaining one with him, and returned to him."

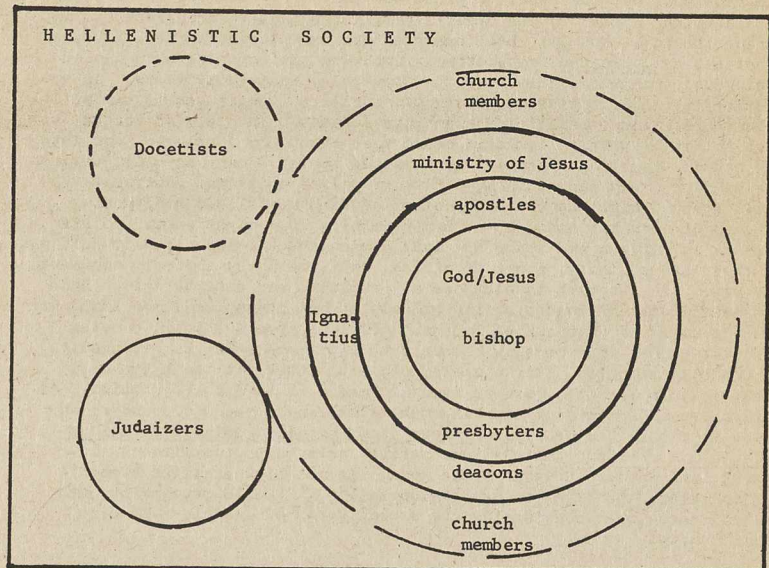
What all this implies is that the development of the "monarchical episcopate" within the Christian associations is a direct consequence of the social ideology that symbols Jesus of Nazareth as God-man. Such a development was inevitable, given the ideology. Perhaps the raw cultural antecedents for the developed "hierarchy" in bishop, council of the presbytery and deacons ought be found in the leader, boulé and bailiffs of the Hellenistic polis. But early Christian ideology would find Christian administrative officers replicated in the "gospel" or story of its Christian origins: "Let the bishop preside in God's place, and the presbyters take the place of the apostolic council, and let the deacons be entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ who was with the Father from eternity" (Mg 6,1; also Sm 8,2; Tr 3,1-2). Chadwick (1950) thinks the replication derives from some heavenly typology, but the presence of the apostolic council and concrete ministry of Jesus would seem to belie this view.

Yet the fact that not every Christian acquiesced in the developing social structure (e.g. the wandering apostles and prophets of Didache and III John) and the fact that not every Christian conceived Jesus as God-man (e.g. Docetists and perhaps Judaizers) simply point to the fluctuating degrees of assent given to the developing symbol system. That deviants are to be shunned further points to the porous quality of the boundaries between straight Christian insider and deviant. Ignatius felt it his concern to tone down the degree of fluctuating assent to central symbols. He seeks to bring Christian experience and lightly moored social symbols into closer focus. He also strives to counter the porous boundaries of the societas by urging centripetal behavior. Consider figure 3 on the following page.

The porous outer boundaries explain why Ignatius urges the thrust of the outer-circle church members to be centripetal, away from the boundaries to the center. His concern with the quality of these boundaries undergirds his strong insistence upon unity with and submission to the bishop, his council and recognition of deacons' work. As transient visitor, Ignatius situates himself in the circle of deacons, and this too indicates that he is replicating the ministry of Jesus (Eph 2,1; Mg 2,1; Sm 12,2). Finally his advice to Polycarp that marriages be performed before the bishop, a movement toward endogamy, again indicates the centripetal movement toward unity symbolized in the one bishop (Pol 5,2).

Undoubtedly such fluctuations of focus and porosity of boundaries were likewise to be found in the Antiochean church that Ignatius recently left. He is greatly concerned about the Syrian church (Eph 21,1; Mg 14,1; Tr 13,1; Rom 9,1). And he is greatly relieved when "peace" comes to his former local association (Phil 10,1; Sm 11,1; Pol 7,1). Further, he strongly urges the communities he visited to send official representation to congratulate the Syrian church "at peace." Why? All would seem to indicate that Ignatius now presumed that the church at Antioch would have a bishop instead of the invisible shepherd, God (Rom 9,1), to serve as central symbol of unity and conceptual focus of the reality that Ignatius was willing to die for. If this be so, it would be a good indication that Ignatius thought "sociologically" rather than psychologi-

Figure 3: Close-up of the Christian church in Ignatius.



cally when considering his situation and that of the churches. This point is important, and I shall return to it later (section 7, below). At present, however, our consideration looks to Ignatius' view of the inside of the church. How did Ignatius approach the groups he addresses in order to get results in his interaction with them?

By interaction here I mean the description of some action and of some reaction to that action. For example, if I give you some money (action), you give me a book (reaction). The letters of Ignatius as such are actions looking to reactions on the part of his addressees (e.g. unity, submission to the bishop, avoidance of heretics, schismatics, and the like). To list all the explicit actions and reactions in Ignatius' letters along with all the implicit ones would be a tedious and perhaps useless task. It can become useful only if we had some way to chunk or group together all their similarities in some convenient abstraction to be able to understand what is generally transacting. A model is precisely such a simplified and generalized representation on an abstract level for the purpose of facilitating understanding. Now Parsons (1963a,b) has developed such an abstract model to enable understanding of the types of transactions represented by and in Ignatius' letters to the various Christian associations.

People generally interact with each other in order to get some sort of results. For example, a person might give another a sack of wheat in order to obtain a ham; or he might get the ham by physically mauling the

other and taking it. He might also point to some mold or rot on the ham and thus convince the other to yield the ham; or if the two be related, the one might appeal to the other's family feelings to embarrass him into ceding the ham. Now all these examples are examples of barter. They are concrete, quid pro quo transactions involving the concrete exchange of individual, concrete items for other concrete, individual items. As societies get more complex and abstract, barter no longer serves to facilitate complex and specialized human interactions. In place of barter, such societies develop symbolic means that stand for a range of concrete individual items. To parallel our example above, I can use money to get the ham; or I can appeal to my office of police chief and confiscate the ham. Again I might convince the other of the harmful and cancerous effects of nitrates and get the ham from him; or I might appeal to his loyalty as citizen and shame him into giving the ham for a public raffle. In these cases, money, power of office, influencing by abstract argument and appeal to abstract loyalty are all symbolic and metaphorical. None of these items are concrete, individual, usable items, and they stand for a whole range of unspecified "goods." Parsons argues that in complex social systems, when persons communicate with each other to get results in their interaction, they normally ply each other with such symbols. These symbols are then used as symbolic media of social interaction. At a high level of abstraction, all such media can be reduced to four, and these four then can be called generalized symbolic media of social interaction. The four that Parsons defines are: power, commitment, influence and money. However since money was not a generalized symbolic medium before the 17th century (Polanyi 1968), I would replace it with wealth/status when considering the social world of Ignatius and early Christianity.

Why do such symbols get results? Power as a generalized symbolic medium of social interaction (=GSM), e.g. the power of the Roman emperor, procurator, and the like, gets results in social interaction because it is socially perceived to be rooted in physical force, and the person wielding symbolic power can and will resort to physical force if the interaction does not go his way. This presumes the symbolic power is not inflated as it would be if the emperor or procurator had too few soldiers at his disposal. If he has a soldier available for every resident in the empire, for example, such symbolic power would be deflated.

Commitment as GSM gets results because it is socially perceived to be rooted in actual belonging relationships, in actual bonds of loyalty, and the person wielding or activating symbolic commitment can shame, humble, or denigrate another in that other person's own self-estimation by effectively casting doubt on his personhood, his integrity or his basic humanity. Commitment, too, can be inflated or deflated. In this case, inflation or deflation depends upon the range of loyalties some wielder of commitment can activate. For example, if a Hellenistic polis official were to appeal to the loyalties of his fellow polis residents to do something for the city rather frequently, and these residents had multiple and perhaps conflicting loyalties (e.g. they might also be Roman citizens, guild members, heads of households, retired veterans, traders, and the like), the official might find commitment so spread out, so inflated, that no results occur in a given instance. On the other hand, if the city residents had loyalties only to the polis and these loyalties were evoked only rarely, a commitment interaction with them would be deflated and more effective for the activator of commitment. Loyalties obviously get set in hierarchies of priorities, but the larger the scope of the hierarchy, the more inflated the commitment is likely to

be, while the narrower the scope, the more deflated the commitment.

Influence as GSM gets results because it is socially perceived to be rooted in factual knowledge and ability. This means that the person wielding symbolic influence can have recourse to facts or actually do what he says he will in order to persuade another if the interaction does not go his way. For example, if I yell "Fire," and no one reacts, I can actually show people the smoke and eventually, the fire, if they refuse to take my word for it. Similarly, if I threaten to leave if no one pays attention to me, such a threat is influence if I can actually get up and go. Influence, likewise, can be inflated if the truth I offer is consistently unverifiable, e.g. the boy who cried "Wolf," when no wolf was there. On the other hand, deflated influence would mark the person who could actually and immediately verify every one of his truth claims or threats to act.

Finally, wealth/status as GSM gets results because it is socially perceived to be rooted in actual wealth and social standing. The person wielding symbolic wealth/status can have recourse to a range of inducements like gifts, leitourgia, bribery, banquets, and the like if the interaction does not go his way. Wealth/status gets inflated to the degree that the physical assets or socially recognized statuses diminish, and it gets deflated to the extent that such physical assets and statuses augment.

In these descriptions of generalized symbolic media of social interaction, the focus has been on the agent, the wielder of the symbolic media. Consider for a moment the object of the interaction, the person in the reaction segment of the transaction. What's in it for him or her? By acquiescing in another's power, a person does not get physically forced to do something. Further, by acknowledging another's activation of commitment, a person does not get shamed or embarrassed into doing something. In this sense, power and commitment as GSM are negative -- compliance yields nothing to or for the reacting partner. On the other hand, by submitting to the influence of another, a person might possibly get information or truth, while by submitting to wealth/status, a person might possibly get some inducement. In this sense, influence and wealth/status as GSM are positive -- compliance can yield something positive to or for the reacting partner.

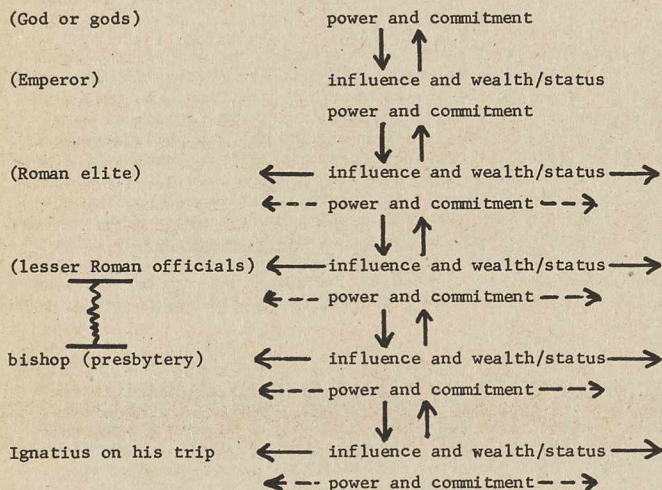
Again from the viewpoint of the reacting partner, note that power and wealth/status bear upon the outward, objective social situation in which one is placed especially by activating binding obligations that can be coerced (physical force, like Ignatius' captivity), or by offering some advantage (a gift that might lead to a new status, much like "grace" in Ignatius' letters). Thus power and wealth/status are primarily social pressures.

Influence and commitment, on the other hand, bear upon the subjective, personal and internal situation of the reacting partner. They look to his/her intentions, attitudes, values, opinions and the like, either by giving reasons for some desired action or perseverance in that action (and this is influence), or by appealing to a personal sense of obligation (this is commitment). Thus influence and commitment are internal, personal pressures.

How do these GSM work in the churches envisioned by Ignatius? First of all, I should like to note that these straight associations bespeak

what Douglas (1970) would call "strong group" social structures. Strong group indicates the social pressure on the social unit (if you will pardon the jargon at this point) to conform to societal norms along with corporate identity, clear distinction between in-group and out-group, clear sets of boundaries separating the two, and a clear set of normative symbols defining, expressing and replicating group identity. I believe all of these features have been pointed up to one degree or another in the previous sections of this essay with regard to the Christian associations. The reason I refer to strong group structure now (for more, see section 5 below) is that strong groups, I suggest, work by means of focal emphasis on the GSM of power and commitment, with wealth/status and influence as secondary. What I mean is that persons higher than ego in the stratification system get results on those below them by utilizing the GSM of power and commitment. Persons lower on the scale attempt to get results in interaction by plying their superiors with influence and wealth/status. Those on the same social level can use any of the four GSM on their peers, although using power and commitment on a peer would probably seem rude and less genteel, while the use of influence and wealth/status would seem appropriately sensitive. Thus the picture of social interaction in terms of GSM would look as follows (figure 4):

Figure 4: Direction of GSM Social Interaction in the World of Ignatius



The reason for this type of flow of GSM in interaction derives from strong group structure. Since members of the strong group are committed in some way to submission to the wielders of power and controllers of commitment, they would find the use of power and commitment on those above them closed. Consequently, the only recourse for a lower standing partner in interaction is to influence and wealth/status, and both of these are consensual devices in the sense that the partner upon whom these GSM are urged must consent to accept them since they do not work automatically on others. Further, since power and commitment offer no positive advantage

for compliance, only external or internal pain for non-compliance, their utilization as paramount GSM of social interaction by higher standing persons leads to the cultural presumption that all goods are limited. This presumption is expressed in social arrangements. Broad areas of human behavior get patterned in such a way as to suggest that persons in such strong group systems view their total environment (people, things, events) as one in which all of the desired objects in life (land, wealth, health, friendship, love, manliness, honor, power, loyalty, security and safety, etc.) exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply. Not only are all good things finite and limited in quantity, but in addition there are no ways aside from wielding power and commitment on those of higher standing to increase one's available quantities. Good, like power and commitment, is viewed as inherent in nature, there to be divided and redivided, if necessary, but not to be augmented (Foster 1965:296). Once again, the basic reason for this presumption is the perception that compliance with power and commitment never yields any increment for the person or group complying, only decrease for non-compliance.

Consequently, lower standing partners in interaction will tend to use wealth/status and influence to get power and commitment to work on their side. Examples of wealth/status applied in interaction would include *leitourgia*, benefactions, sacrifice, patronage, bribery, tax payments, gifts, marriage, adoption and the like. Examples of influence applied in interaction would include embassy, petition, prayer, vows, followership, clientship, and any attempts at persuasion (letters, speeches, arguments, etc.).

Finally, since the well being of a person or group in such social systems depends to a large extent on having inducement (wealth/status) or persuasive (influence) effect upon the wielders of power and commitment, persons in these systems tend to perceive all causality as personal. Every significant effect in a person's or group's life is perceived as caused by some superior "thou," by some person. Impersonal causality like technology is only of secondary interest and not the object of focal social concern. Technological causality is not perceived as very interesting.

If we turn, once again, to Ignatius, we find that the main approach he uses in interacting with the Christian communities in question is influence. He offers them information to persuade them; he pleads or prays to them; his posture is one of reputation as martyr in process. The only wealth/status symbol he emphasizes is that of sacrifice, but this sacrifice is referred to God. Done on behalf of the Christian communities, such sacrifice is another form of influence upon them. Then his whole letter to the Romans is an exercise in persuasion, in influence. As far as he is concerned, he has no power: "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody important; for even if I am a prisoner for the Name . . ." (Eph 3,1); "I do not give you orders like Peter and Paul. They were apostles, I am a convict" (Rom 4,3); "Since too I am a convict, I have not thought it my place to give you orders like an apostle: (Tr 3,3). The only instances of activation of commitment in Ignatius' letters are his travel arrangements, to which he seems to have a sort of contractual right as *socius*, and the way he urges representation to the church of Syria after the onset of peace, presumably another sort of contractual right. Rather, in those instances in which he might appeal to commitment or to Christian loyalties, in order to get results, he specifies that the results are already in hand. To see this, note his use of prepei (to be

fitting) at Eph 2,2; 4,1; 11,2; Mg 3,1.2; 4,1; Tr 12,1; Rom 10,1; Sm 7,2; 11,2; Pol 5,2; 7,2.

As for his estimation of the Roman societas, Ignatius seems to believe that the Roman socii have enough influence and wealth/status of their own to get his sentence changed. And this he does not want, specifically because it would prohibit him from bearing his anti-Docetist witness -- influence again. Further, he asks his fellow Christians to attempt to influence God on his behalf, or on behalf of non-Christians and even on behalf of Docetists in particular through prayer. God would be the personal cause effecting the desired result. Ignatius' whole approach takes place in a spirit of nothing ventured, nothing gained, since nowhere does he intimate any certainty about outcomes of the interaction. This sort of attitude is typical of limited good societies.

On the other hand, he urges the Christian socii to submit to the bishop and the presbytery. He wants them to respond when those officers seek to activate the commitment or loyalty of church members. He makes no allusions to those officers' having any power; he makes no mention of physical or non-physical coercion like sickness, punishment in hell, or the like, that might be inflicted for disregard of Christian officials. Instead his arguments look to disloyalty, inappropriateness, hence shamefulness in individuals who do not heed the bishop or who act against his gnome. This would indicate that in Ignatius' perspective, superiors in the Christian societas wield commitment rather than power. For his part, he is quite aware of being powerless and ranks himself among the deacons -- ministers like him in the ministry of Christ.

Now what would make Ignatius confident enough to believe that his influence would have effect, that his sacrifice to God would do some good? Social interaction requires some sort of normative, socially recognized framework marking the pathways of interaction, the persons available for interaction as well as confidence in the perduring quality of the interactive process. In other words, if a society employs such generalized symbolic media in social interaction, then there must be some socially acknowledged normative framework directing and regulating the use of the media in terms of what is proper use, with whom one may use them, and for how long such interaction will be considered meaningful, proper, legitimate and the like. Perhaps the basic rule is: he who urges symbolic media on others in exchange for some real world activity or object must be willing in turn to accept symbolic media from others in exchange for his real world activity or objects. For example, if I expect you to take the printed paper called money -- a generalized symbolic medium in our culture -- for your car, I must be willing to take your printed paper in exchange, say, for my house. Only confidence in the symbolic media saves a complex society from barter. Such confidence is the social oil, as it were, that makes the process of symbolic interaction work.

It is in such a context of acknowledgement of some normative framework of the pathways of interaction in terms of symbolic media that I would situate Ignatius' use of faith, hope and love. To put it succinctly, he espouses a posture of belief and confidence that the internal Christian system works (faith) and will continue to work over time (hope) relative to a given set of interacting partners (love).

In this perspective, faith refers to trust in the pathways of interaction, that they do indeed yield the results in interaction that the body social claims for them. In the Christian association, the interacting

partners sharing this faith and trust include God, Jesus Christ, the Spirit, Christian officers and the individual straight Christians.

The common hope refers to confidence in the perduring quality of the interactive process and its outcomes -- for Ignatius, his martyrdom and his resurrection as well as being with God; for the Christian association, the being with God and resurrection of the members after their death.

Finally agape refers to willingness to interact with the pool of persons designated for valid interaction -- reciprocal amity, openness, care and concern focused on the interactive partner with the willingness to interact and obtain the results of interaction. For Ignatius, this sort of love has its roots in God (see figure 2 above) and spreads to the association thus revealing their unity as a body with Christ. Faith, on the other hand, has its locus in the Christian association (also in figure 2).

The value of these three aspects or attitudes is that they gain both for the system as a whole and for individuals within the system a measure of independence from reliance on any given instance of the relationship in question. What this means is that one can have confidence in the system -- faith means the system need not be tested and verified all the time; hope means that an interaction effected today need not be verified and tested for reciprocity immediately tomorrow; love means that the system partners need not be sought out, tested and verified for adequacy each time one interacts. Thus in the Christian association, faith, hope and love work as the social oil that makes the process of interaction among all the members of the societas, God and men, function smoothly. What about interaction with society at large, with the outside?

4. The Social Dimensions of the Church in Ignatius

Turner (1969:177) observes:

"All human societies implicitly or explicitly refer to two contrasting social models. One, as we have seen, is of society as a structure of jural, political, and economic positions, offices, statuses, and roles, in which the individual is only ambiguously grasped behind the social persona. The other is of society as a communitas of concrete idiosyncratic individuals, who, though differing in physical and mental endowment, are nevertheless regarded as equal in terms of shared humanity. The first model is of a differentiated, culturally structured, segmented and often hierarchical system of institutionalized positions. The second presents society as an undifferentiated, homogeneous whole, in which individuals confront one another integrally, and not as 'segmentalized' into statuses and roles."

In other words, a given society will have two aspects binarily opposed, the one expressing the society as a complex structure of segmented parts, and the other expressing the society as a homogeneous totality. To see what this means, ask yourself how you would explain yourself as U.S. citizen to a fellow American. Then how would you explain yourself as U.S. citizen to some native in another country. Your first set of explanations will tend to be segmented and hierarchized in terms of functions, ethnic and local origins, mutually appreciable statuses and the like. Your second set of explanations will tend to be in terms of a homogeneous totality, the "typical American" vis-a-vis the non-U.S. cultural type.

Within a given society, these two phases tend to be expressed in terms of kinship in the sense that if the prevalent, exposed side is patrilineal or patriarchal -- this is the structured side, then the submerged matrilineal or matriarchal side will express itself in the non-structured, *communitas* terms and vice-versa. Turner (1969:113-125) offers three examples of these two phases in Tallensi, Nuer and Ashanti societies.

On the basis of his evidence, I would suggest that these aspects replicate the male and female aspects of embodied individuals as metaphor for the social body. Describing the Tallensi of Ghana, Turner quotes Fortes (1949:32):

"The dominant line of descent confers the overtly significant attributes of social personality -- jural status, rights of inheritance and succession to property and office, political allegiance, ritual privileges and obligations; and the submerged line (constituted by matrification) confers certain spiritual characteristics. Among the Tallensi it is easy to see that this is a reflex of the fact that the bond of uterine descent is maintained as a purely personal bond. It does not subserve common interests of a material, jural or ritual kind; it unites individuals only by ties of mutual interest and concern not unlike those that prevail between close collateral kin in our culture. While it constitutes one of the factors that counterpoise the exclusiveness of the agnatic line, it does not create corporate groups competing with the agnatic lineage and clan. Carrying only a spiritual attribute, the uterine tie cannot undermine the jural and politico-ritual solidarity of the patrilineal lineage."

Turner, in turn, comments:

"Here we have the opposition patrilineal/matrilineal, which has the functions of dominant/submerged. The patrilineal tie is associated with property, office, political allegiance, exclusiveness, and, it may be added, particularistic and segmentary interests. It is the 'structural' link par excellence. The uterine tie is associated with spiritual characteristics, mutual interests and concerns, and collaterality. It is counterpoised to exclusiveness, which presumably means that it makes for inclusiveness and does not serve material interests. In brief, matrilineality represents, in the dimension of kinship, the notion of *communitas*" (p. 114).

Consider the world of Ignatius. The Graeco-Roman world was clearly patriarchal and patrilinear on its dominant, exposed side (Pomeroy 1975). The prevalent social bodies, the *empire* and the *polis*, both get conceived of in terms of end-values. They are social bodies that exist in and for themselves, much like the Hellenistic male. Hence both the individual and the social body are characterized by such end-values as a sense of independence, leadership, task-orientation, outward orientation, assertiveness, self-discipline, impassivity, activity, objectivity, analytic-mindedness, courage, unsentimentality, rationality, self-sufficiency, confidence and emotional control (see Epictetus, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch's *Precepts of Statecraft*, and the like). These then are male end-values in a patriarchal system -- the dominant, jural side of the Hellenistic world.

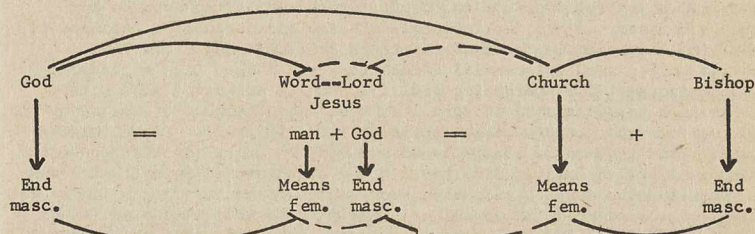
What of the corresponding means-values like dependence, non-aggression, non-competitiveness, inner-orientation, interpersonal-orientation, sensitivity, nurturance, subjectivity, intuitiveness, yieldingness, re-

ceptivity, supportiveness? As means=values, values directed to the maintenance of another, for the sake of another, they would shape the female side, the underside of Hellenistic society. And what institutions would embody these values? Probably the various Hellenistic private associations like guilds and clubs would be poised on such values. But, I submit, it was precisely such means=values that characterized the Christian societas, account for its fictive-kinship terminology and for its communitas aspect. As a sort of underside ekklēsia forming a binate with the dominant ekklēsia of the polis, the Christian association readily took feminine shape.

As the submerged side of a dominant patrilineal society, the church united individuals by personal bonds of commitment, by ties of mutual interest and concern -- faith and love. As societas, it is not in competition with the dominant jural structure. As a matter of fact, members of the Christian association could not see themselves as undermining the jural and politico-ritual solidarity of the dominant society. They form a fictive kinship grouping. Ignatius, in fact, addresses himself precisely to such a group of adelphoi committed to mutual interest and concern and embodying means=values. Offices in the church as described by Ignatius are not power positions, but positions of commitment activation, focuses of loyalty in multiple dimensions, and perhaps still obtained by means of leitourgia on behalf of the societas (see 1 Clem 44).

Just as the Christian church relative to society at large forms a social body comprising female aspects wedded to male aspects, the same holds for the church's relation to God. God is end=value, therefore male. But in the Christian perspective, Jesus Christ intervenes between God and the church and replicates that union as well. For Jesus is God, hence end, and man, hence means. At this level of symbolic replication, Ignatius' insistence upon the humanity of Jesus points to the need for perceiving Jesus as means on behalf of men; if there were no humanity, there would be no means to and for God available. Yet it is to Jesus as God, hence as end, that the church relates. Finally the Christian bishop, symbolizing God, is an end-symbol in relationship to the church. With the bishop as end, the Christian societas again replicates both Jesus as God-man as well as God as relating to the church. Figure 5 below will illustrate these relationships:

Figure 5: Ends (male) and Means (female) replications in the church



In the church, the individual Hellenistic male can relate to God with female qualities and still serve God as male. In this way, the Christian association serves as a religion that integrates its male adherents. This would mean that the churches of Ignatius' day were largely if not exclusively male centered. The problem for females is how can they as cultural means become ends and still remain female selves. The closest answer is

as "virgin called widow" (Sm 13,1), two sides of the same social state (see Ford 1965). As for other "sisters" in the association, they are to be totally devoted to their husbands, while the "brothers" are to love their wives as the Lord loves the church (Pol 5,1). The problem with the celibate male (Pol 5,2) imitating Jesus in his humanity, i.e. as means, is that the church and its members are already means. Such celibacy could only lead to competitive means positions, hence leading the person in question to either have nothing to do with the church (e.g. the hermit in Egypt), or serving as counterbalance to the church when it becomes almost exclusively an end-institution with Constantine (e.g. the Syrian hermit; see Brown 1971).

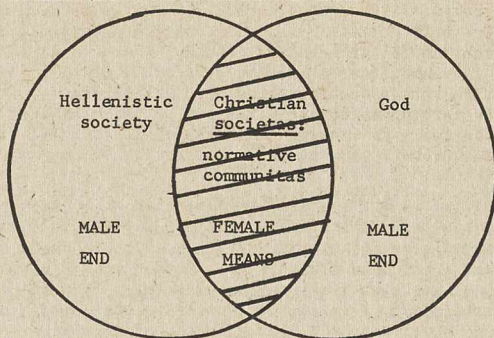
If we consider Christian relations to society at large, we find a similar means or female aspect at work. Ignatius writes to the Ephesians:

"Keep on praying for others too, for there is a chance of their being converted and getting to God. Let them, then, learn from you at least by your actions. Return their bad temper with gentleness; their boasts with humility; their abuse with prayer. In the face of their errors, be steadfast in the faith. Return their violence with mildness and do not be intent on getting your own back. By our patience let us show we are their brothers, intent on imitating the Lord, seeing which of us can be the more wronged, robbed and despised. Thus no devil's weed will be found among you; but thoroughly pure and self-controlled, you will remain body and soul united to Jesus Christ" (10,1-3).

Here the "others" have power and Christians are to recognize and submit to it. Relative to society at large, the Christian social body stands as a sort of community of liminal men, a normative *communitas* modeled after the submerged side of prevalent kinship patterns, as the jurally weaker and inferior side. And this is the way it should be, Ignatius says. Christians thus assume the attributes of the structurally inferior while maintaining their *societas*. The fact that they are a normative *communitas* in Ignatius' writings would indicate that the Christian movement was once comprised of spontaneous and existential liminal groups. Such existential liminal groups, marked by spontaneous *communitas*, are rather unstructured societies or fellowships of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of some charismatic or liminal person. In the Christian case, such existential liminal groups would have been formed by the first Christian converts in their exuberance, rallying around the figure of the wandering apostle and church founder. Under the influence of time and because of the need to mobilize and organize resources in terms of increasingly focalized shared goals, such existential *communitas* gets shaped into a perduring social system. This perduring social system is normative *communitas*, which adds the dimension of social control among members of the group for the sake of the group's common goals (Turner 1969:132). If we imagine society at large to be a structured pyramid, we might say that spontaneous *communitas* breaks in from beneath the structure in inferiority; and if society were cube-shaped, then spontaneous *communitas* breaks in at the edges of structure in marginality; finally if society were a series of adjacent squares, then spontaneous *communitas* breaks in at the boundaries of structure in liminality (Turner 1969:128). The normative *communitas* of Ignatius' day and certainly earlier, given the way Ignatius speaks of it, simply situates itself more firmly in those boundaries, at the edges, well beneath the patriarchal, patrilinear surface structures of Hellenistic society. This would be another replication of the conceptualization presented in figure 2 above. Only here, the emphasis is on the situation

of the normative *communitas* vis-a-vis Hellenistic society, thus:

Figure 6: The Church as normative *communitas* (see figure 2 above):



The shared hope of the Christian *societas* is in the transformation of its interstitial, marginal area into a permanent condition with the resurrection of body and soul, fleshly and spiritually, just as symbolized in the passion and resurrection of Jesus, the God-man (see figure 2). Thus the normative liminal *communitas* of the Christian church replicates the symbolic center once again. If we stick with our anthropological models and view the church as matrilineal underside in a patriarchal system, then authority in the church would be like that of the chief male role on the matrilineal side, i.e. the mother's brother, the *avunculus*. To call this structure of authority *Liebepatriarchalismus* (E. Troeltsch) before the time of Constantine would be inaccurate. To use the sacred language, we ought call it *Liebesheimismus*, a maternal-uncle-archy of faith and love, marked specifically by the activation of commitment. This is what Ignatius implies.

Finally, the churches of Ignatius are not characterized by the routinization of liminal charismata. Rather we find a radical shift in focus due to the strong group structure of the *societas*:

- from total margin to *societas* center + the margin of society at large;
- from total underside to *societas* topside + the underside of society at large;
- from total threshold to *societas* aggregation + threshold of society at large.

Thus Ignatius could say that it is the last times (*eschatoi kairoi*: Eph 11,1) but not mean it in the same way it would apply to a spontaneous *communitas*. For in this new situation of normative *communitas*, the liminal urgency gets shifted; liminal charismata are simply "beside the point" figuratively and symbolically. Focus on the new point, the stable Christian *societas*, leads to a sort of oscillation of charismata, again typical of strong group social structures with porous boundaries and centripetal focus. To a large extent, this too was the condition of the Hellenistic *polis* in the empire. We now turn to consider that larger social condition.

5. The General Social World of Ignatius.

Johnson (1975) has recently drawn a descriptive scenario of Asia Minor and early Christianity. Meeks (1976) has done something similar for Antioch in particular. And in a brief study of Thessalos, Smith (1977) makes a pertinent generalization relative to the overall social picture of our period and area, taking his cue from Brown's (1971: 102-103) remark: "In the popular imagination, the emergence of the holy man at the expense of the temple marks the end of the classical world." Only Smith sees the shift from temple to holy man as early as the 2nd century B.C. He characterizes aspects of the social situation before and after the shift as follows:

"One way of stating this shift is to note that the cosmos has become anthropologized. The old, imperial cosmological language that was the major mode of religious expression of the archaic temple and court cultus has been transformed. Rather than a city wall, the new enclave protecting man against external, hostile powers will be a human group, a religious association or secret society. Rather than a return to chaos or the threat of decreation, the enemy will be described as other men or demons, the threat as evil or death. Rather than a sacred place, the new center and chief means of access to divinity will be a divine man, a magician, who will function, by and large, as an entrepreneur without fixed office and will be, by and large, related to 'protean deities' of relatively unfixed form whose major characteristic is their sudden and dramatic autophanies. Rather than celebration, purification and pilgrimage, the new rituals will be those of conversion, of initiation into the secret society or identification with the divine man. As a part of this fundamental shift, the archaic language and ideology of the cult will be revalorized -- only those elements which contribute to this new, anthropological and highly mobile understanding of religion will be retained" (p. 238).

By way of example, Smith offers the following as instances of the shift: "In the synagogue, Judaism found its secret society: in the rabbi, its magician. Through the magic of words it attempted, in the great rabbinic legal enterprise, to construct a mythical cosmos, a portable homeland in which any Jew might dwell." And again: "One might note the concentration upon mobile elements from the Jewish cultus, e.g. the shekinah, kabod, and ark rather than the 'house'; . . . the image of the temple as the community of believers and the 'body' of the divine man etc. in early Christianity [is an] example of this revalorization which may be paralleled throughout the religious traditions of Late Antiquity" (p. 247, nn. 66 & 67).

By and large, I believe Smith is correct. To more to a higher degree of generalization, what he describes is in the terms of Douglas (1970) a movement from strong group/high grid social structure to strong group/low grid society. Douglas has developed a model of social scripts, so to say, that has the form of an algebraic matrix (see figure 7 on the following pages). She calls the vertical axis "grid," and the horizontal axis "group." The resulting model consists of four quadrants, the very center of which marks a state of no grid and no group at all. By studying a broad number of societies, then situating them on the matrix, Douglas proceeds to look for similarities among the societies occupying the same quadrant in her scattergram. Such similar qualities then go to make up the social scripts typical of each quadrant at a rather high level of generalization.

Although I present the whole of Douglas' matrix, for this essay I am mainly concerned with the strong group/low grid quadrant, since this is where Ignatius fits in. We have had enough indication of this in all that has been presented thus far. Group refers to the degree of societal pressure at work on a given social unit to conform to societal norms. Strong group indicates a high degree of pressure to conform along with strong corporate identity (e.g. the societas of Christians, the polis, Roman citizenship, etc.). Strong group is characterized further by clear distinctions between in-group and out-group (see figure 1 above), clear sets of symbolic boundaries separating the two (see figure 3 above), and clear sets of normative symbols defining, expressing and replicating group identity (see figure 2 above). Weak group indicates a low degree of pressure to conform to societal norms along with rather nebulous group identity, hence pronounced individualism. Weak group is characterized by unclear distinctions between in-group and out-group, shifting sets of symbolic boundaries between interfacing groups and few or too many non-normative symbols that define, express and replicate group identity. Spontaneous, existential liminal groups in our period would be weak group structures.

Grid, on the other hand, refers to the degree of assent that individuals in a society give to the symbol system of their social world. The symbol system enables societal members to bring order and intelligibility to human experiences. High grid indicates a high degree of fit or match between the individual's experience and societal patterns of perception and evaluation. The individual will perceive the world as coherent, consistent and readily understandable in its broadest reaches. Low grid indicates that individuals perceive a low degree of fit or match between their social world's symbol system and their own experiences. The world thus becomes largely incomprehensible and societal values come out of hierarchical focus.

Undoubtedly the Hellenistic world is strong group/low grid, much like Ignatius' societas. The shift in the Hellenistic world at large from strong group/high grid to strong group/low grid has its roots in the dissolution of Alexander's empire and the rise of Roman dominance. Plutarch, for example, offers descriptive examples of this strong group/low grid situation in many of his remarks in his Precepts of Statecraft. Now I would like to cite Plutarch at length. Then following the social script for the strong group/low grid quadrant, I shall present the salient features of that script and point to how both Plutarch and Ignatius offer evidence for that situation. The text and translation of Plutarch's Precepts of Statecraft are from Fowler (1949:155-299):

"Nowadays, then, when the affairs of the cities no longer include leadership in wars, nor the overthrowing of tyrannies, nor acts of alliances, what opening for a conspicuous and brilliant public career could a young man find? There remain the public lawsuits and embassies to the Emperor, which demand a man of ardent temperament and one who possesses both courage and intellect. But there are many excellent lines of endeavor that are neglected in our cities which a man may take up, and also many practices resulting from evil custom that have insinuated themselves to the shame or injury of the city which a man may remove, and thus turn them to account for himself" (par. 10, 895B, pp. 193-194).

Yet in what follows, the only examples Plutarch can offer are from the glorious past. There seem to be no models presently at hand. This along with the loss of traditional roles as well as the presence of "evil cus-

Figure 7: Group/grid matrix of Mary Douglas (1970)Weak Group, High GridHIGH
GRID

Purity: pragmatic attitude toward purity, pollution is not automatic; bodily exuviae not threatening and may be recycled

Ritual: used for private as well as public ends when present; ego remains superior to the ritual process; condensed symbols do not delimit reality

Personal Identity: individualism; pragmatic and adaptable

Body: viewed instrumentally, as means to some end; self-controlled; treated pragmatically

Sin: basically caused by ignorance or failure, hence viewed as stupidity or embarrassment with loss of face, with the individual as responsible

Cosmology: geared to individual success and initiative; the cosmos is benignly amoral; God is a sort of junior partner

Suffering and Misfortune: an intelligent person ought to be able to avoid them -- totally eliminable

Horizon: present oriented with a view to the future

WEAK
GROUPWeak Group, Low Grid

Purity: anti the purity of postures of the quadrant from which it emerged

Ritual: anti the ritual of postures of the quadrant from which it emerged; effervescent; spontaneity valued

Personal Identity: no antagonism between society and the self; but the old society of the quadrant from which it emerged is seen as oppressive; roles of previous quadrant rejected; self control and/or social control are low; highly individualistic

Body: irrelevant; life is spiritual; purity concerns are absent, but the body may be rejected; it may be used freely or renunciation may prevail

Sin: a matter of personal ethics and interiority

Cosmology: the cosmos is likely to be impersonal; there is individual access to God or gods, usually direct and without mediation; cosmos is benign

Suffering and Misfortune: love conquers all; love can eliminate it

Horizon: future oriented

LOW
GRID

Strong Group, High Grid

Purity: strong concern for purity; well-defined purification rituals, purity rules define and maintain social structure

Ritual: a society of fixed rituals; rituals express the internal classification system of the group; ritual symbols perdure in all contexts of life; permanent sacred places

Personal Identity: a matter of internalizing clearly articulated social roles; individual subservient to, but not in conflict with, society; dyadic personality

Body: tightly controlled but a symbol of life

Sin: the violation of formal rules; focus is upon behavior rather than on internal states of being; ritual is effective in counteracting sin; individual responsible for sin

Cosmology: anthropomorphic; non-dualistic; the universe is just and reasonable; personal causality

Suffering and Misfortune: the result of automatic punishment for the violation of formal rules; part of a divine economy; can be alleviated, but not eliminated

Horizon: past oriented

STRONG
GROUP

Strong Group, Low Grid

Purity: strong concern for purity but the inside of the social and physical body is under attack; pollution present but purification rituals are ineffective

Ritual: a society of fixed rituals; ritual is focused upon group boundaries, with great concern to expel pollutants (deviants) from the social body; mobile sacred place

Personal Identity: located in group membership, not in the internalization of roles, which are confused; distinction between appearance and internal state; dyadic personality

Body: social and physical bodies are tightly controlled but under attack; invaders have broken through bodily boundaries; not a symbol of life

Sin: a matter of pollution; evil is lodged within the individual and society; sin much like a disease deriving from social structure; internal state of being more important than adherence to formal rules; but the latter are still valued

Cosmology: anthropomorphism; dualistic; warring forces of good and evil; universe is unjust and may be whimsical; personal causality

Suffering and Misfortune: unjust; not automatic punishment; attributed to malevolent forces -- may be alleviated, but not eliminated

Horizon: past oriented with a view to the present

tom" in the self-sufficient polis are indications of low grid.

"But you must say to yourself: 'You who rule are a subject, ruling a State (polis) controlled by proconsuls, the agents of Caesar; 'these are not the spearmen of the plain' nor is this ancient Sardis, nor the famed Lydian power.' You should arrange your cloak more carefully and from the office of the generals keep your eyes upon the orator's platform, and not have great pride or confidence in your crown, since you see the boots of Roman senators [Fowler translates: "Roman soldiers," but this is wrong; see Oliver 1953:958 -- the problem alluded to is that of intrigue by leading citizens against established polis authority by collusion with Roman senators] just above your head. No, you should imitate the actors, who, while putting into the performance their own passion, character, and reputation, yet listen to the prompter and do not go beyond the degree of liberty in rhythms and meters permitted by those in authority over them. For to fail in one's part in public life brings not mere hissing or catcalls or stamping of feet, but many have experienced 'The dread chastiser, axe that cleaves the neck'" (par. 17, 813E-F, p. 237).

While Plutarch urges his advisee to conform to the situation of Roman dominance, he points to the instability of the situation, to the fact that by influence or bribery one of the leader's fellow city residents can go over his head and perhaps have him lose it. Such uncertainty and instability, along with advice to simply play roles to survive are all indications of mismatch between experience and traditional values, hence low grid.

"Furthermore when we see little children trying playfully to bind their fathers' shoes on their feet or fit their crowns upon their heads, we only laugh, but the officials in the cities when they foolishly urge the people to imitate the deeds, ideals and actions of their ancestors, however unsuitable they may be to the present time and conditions, stir up the common folk and, though what they do is laughable, what is done to them is no laughing matter, unless they are merely treated with utter contempt" (par. 17, 814A, p. 239).

Again, the values of the past are useless for present experience. Romans have the power and can readily activate commitment, i.e. treat people with utter contempt -- more indications of strong group/low grid.

"And not only should the statesman show himself and his native State (patris) blameless towards our rulers, but he should also have always a friend among the men of high station who have the greatest power as a firm bulwark, so to speak, of his administration; for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends; and it is a fine thing, also, when we gain advantage from the friendship of great men, to turn it to the welfare of our community" (par. 18, 814C, p. 241).

Here Plutarch advises the statesman to seek patrons; the way to do this would be to ply those of higher Roman station with influence and wealth. Those of higher station, in turn, seek "friends" among whom they could wield commitment. The patron-client system also points to an "all goods are limited" outlook. The juxtaposition of generalized symbolic media of social interaction implied here points to a strong group setting.

"However, the statesman, while making his native State (patris) readily obedient to its sovereigns, must not further humble it; nor, when the leg has been fettered, go on and subject the neck to the yoke, as some do who by referring everything, great or small, to the sovereigns, bring the reproach of slavery upon their country, or rather wholly destroy its

constitutional government (politeia), making it dazed, timid, and powerless in everything. For just as those who have become accustomed neither to dine nor to bathe except by the physician's orders do not even enjoy that degree of health which nature grants them, so those who invite the sovereign's decision on every decree, meeting of a council, granting of a privilege, or administrative measure, force the sovereign to be their master more than he desires. And the cause of this is chiefly the greed and contentiousness (pleonexia kai philoneikia) of the foremost citizens (hoi protoi); for either, in cases in which they are injuring their inferiors, they force them into exile from the State (polis) or in matters concerning which they differ among themselves, since they are unwilling to occupy an inferior position among their fellow citizens they call in those who are mightier; and as a result senate, popular assembly, courts and the entire local government lose their authority (exousia). But the statesman should soothe the ordinary citizens by granting them equality and the powerful by concessions in return, thus keeping them within the bounds of local government and solving their difficulties as if they were diseases, making for them, as it were, a sort of secret political medicine; he will prefer to be himself defeated among his fellow citizens rather than to be successful by outraging and destroying the principles of justice in his own city, and he will beg everyone else to do likewise, and will teach them how great an evil is contentiousness. But as it is, not only do they not make honorable and gracious compromises with their fellow citizens and tribesmen at home and with their neighbors and colleagues in office, but they carry their dissensions outside to the doors of professional orators and put them in the hands of lawyers, to their own injury and disgrace. For when physicians cannot entirely eradicate diseases, they turn them outwards to the surface of the body; but the statesman if he cannot keep the State (polis) entirely free from troubles, will at any rate try to cure and control whatever disturbs it and causes sedition (stasiazon), keeping it meanwhile hidden within the State, so that it may have as little need as possible of physicians and medicines drawn from outside. For the policy of the statesman should be that which holds fast to security and avoids the tumultuous and mad impulses of empty opinion, as has been said. In his disposition, however, high spirit and 'courage must be full of daring, dauntless and such as inspires all men who for weal of their country against men of hostile intent' and against difficult conditions and times stand firm in resistance and struggle to the end. For he must not create storms himself, and yet he must not desert the State when storms fall upon it; he must not stir up the State (polis) and make it reel perilously, but when it is reeling and in danger, he must come to its assistance and employ his frankness of speech as a sacred anchor heaved over in the greatest perils" (par 19, 814F-815D, pp. 243-247).

Note how Plutarch urges against the centrifugal attraction, the universalitas (Ong 1959:63-64) of Rome. The qualities of his polis are masculine; the polis is an end. People insist upon their normal statuses (strong group) and deal with troublemakers by expulsion from the body social (low grid). The statesman should use his influence among his peers for compromise, and toward the powers above him to maintain the integrity of the polis. Self-sufficiency of the polis, no recourse to outsiders, is a prime concern. But the statesman should expect to find the social boundaries of the city rather porous.

"But the best thing is to see to it in advance that factional discord shall never arise among them and to regard this as the greatest and noblest function of what may be called the art of statesmanship. For observe that of the greatest blessings which States (poleis) can enjoy -- peace, liberty, plenty, abundance of men and concord -- so far as peace is concerned, the peoples have no need of statesmanship at present; for all war, both Greek and foreign, has been banished from among us and has disappeared; and of liberty the peoples have as great a share as our rulers grant them, and perhaps more would not be better for them; but bounteous productiveness of the soil, kindly tempering of the seasons, that wives may bear 'children like to their sires' and that the offspring may live in safety -- these things the wise man will ask the gods in his prayers to grant his fellow citizens. There remains, then, for the statesman, of those activities which fall within his province, only this -- and it is the equal of any of the other blessings -- always to instill concord and friendship (homonoia kai philia) in those who dwell together with him and to remove strifes, discords and all enmity. He will talk, as in the case of quarrels among friends, first with the persons who think they are the more aggrieved, and will appear to share their feeling of wrong and anger, then he will try in this way to mollify them and teach them that those who let wrongs go unheeded are superior to those who are quarrelsome and try to compel and overcome others, not only in reasonableness and character, but also in wisdom and greatness of spirit, and that by yielding in a small thing they gain their point in the best and most important matters. Then he will instruct his people both individually and collectively and will call attention to the weak condition of Greek affairs, in which it is best for wise men to accept one advantage -- a life of harmony and quiet (homonoia kai hesychia) -- since fortune has left us no prize open for competition. For what dominion, what glory is there for those who are victorious? What sort of power is it which a small edict of a proconsul may annul or transfer to another man and which, even if it last, has nothing in it seriously worth while? But just as a conflagration does not often begin in sacred or public places, but some lamp left neglected in a house or some burnt rubbish causes a great flame and works public destruction, so disorder in a State (stasis poleos) is not always kindled by contentions about public matters, but frequently differences arising from private affairs and offenses pass thence into public life and throw the whole State (polis) into confusion. Therefore it behooves the statesman above all things to remedy or prevent these, that some of them may not arise at all and some may be quickly ended and others may not grow great and extend to public interests, but may remain merely among the persons who are at odds with one another. He should do this by noticing himself and pointing out to others that private troubles become the causes of public ones and small troubles of great ones, if they are overlooked and do not in the beginning receive treatment or soothing counsel" (par 32, 824C-825A, pp. 291-293).

The low grid situation of the Greek polis is best seen in the uncertainty one finds between polis values and Roman intervention that can dismiss those values. Like Ignatius, Plutarch too sees the best course in strong group/low grid situations as concord and harmony. People should ply their gods and superiors with influence (prayer). The statesman, too, should use influence to effect concord among his conflicting peers.

What all this indicates, then, is that for the Hellenistic polis dweller of our period, the social grid has come down. I believe the situation for Ignatius is a bit different in the Christian association. Early Hellenistic Christianity before his time was weak group/low grid in many areas, e.g. the churches founded by Paul. The Christian movement itself was originally a weak group/low grid phenomenon (Theissen 1973). The problem in early Catholicism is to effect strong group and raise the grid somewhat so as to effect some stability, since weak group/low grid situations are always transitional, liminal and unstable.

However the similarity between Ignatius and Plutarch can yield some interesting comparisons if we go through the social script typical of the strong group/low grid quadrant of Douglas' matrix. I follow some of the items culled from Douglas by Isenberg and Owen (1977:7-8), namely purity, ritual, personal identity, body, sin, cosmology and suffering and misfortune.

(1) Purity: As pointed out in section 2 above, all social boundaries are artificial interruptions into what is naturally continuous in time and space. Social boundaries are generally considered to be ambiguous and a source of conflict and anxiety (obvious examples from our culture: reaching the age of retirement; the Iron Curtain; being physically touched by a person we do not know). Human societies develop metaphorical maps of social space and time, using territorial space and the time it takes to traverse it as a model. Now purity is specifically about the societal map of social time and space, about arrangements within the space thus defined, and especially about the boundaries separating the inside from the outside. In strong group/low grid systems, there is strong concern about these boundaries, but the presumption is that the inside of social physical bodies in the system are under attack. Pollution -- the perception of matter, persons, things and events out of place on the social map -- is felt to be present. Purification rituals, the symbolic social actions marking passage into the inside of the group are perceived to be ineffective since the group can at any time be invaded by alien elements. As a result, people in the group see the boundaries marking social time and space as rather porous and ineffective. Ignatius shared this perception, as pointed out in figure 3 above. His repeated warnings against schism, heresy, lack of unity and the like point to the same thing. Plutarch's remarks about the ready permeability of the polis by Roman intervention, his uncertainty regarding the statesman's decisions which can be so easily overridden by recourse to Roman patrons, his indications of loss of local control over the affairs of the polis -- all these likewise point to the porosity of the boundaries around the social body. Purity is thus difficult to maintain and requires constant vigilance on the part of all in the system -- socius and citizen.

(2) Ritual: The crossing of boundaries in social time and social space entails a passage through a sort of "no man's land" or "no man's time." Such transitions are normally marked by a symbolic social action called a ritual. Strong group/low grid rituals are rather formal, stable and unchanging. However these rituals focus mainly on group boundaries, specifically with expelling "pollutants" like seditionists, schismatics, the possessed, and the like from the social body as well as with keeping off their influence. Plutarch and Ignatius both offer admonitions in this direction. Indeed Ignatius calls for no social interaction with schismatics or heretics at all. On the other hand, those within the group alone are allowed a place at and urged to participate in the one Eucharist, the ritual aggregating "our" social body with God in Christ (see Fernandez 1974).

(3) Personal Identity: The answer to the question: "Who are you?" is the key for situating personal identity. In strong group/low grid scripts, the answer will be in terms of some group membership, rather than, say, in terms of roles and statuses clearly and legally defined by some territorial monarch or law (e.g. O.T., Roman law for the Roman elite). This does not preclude roles and statuses in the group, but "the new enclave, protecting man against external, hostile powers will be the group" (Smith 1977:238). Hence the importance of the Christian *societas* or of *polis* loyalty in face of the focus on Rome in the imperial levelling process. In strong group/low grid situations, roles are fluid, impermanent. Plutarch indicates this in the uncertainty he betrays concerning the precise role of the statesman. In Ignatius, the roles of church leadership are presumably questioned and unclear, hence his need to urge recognition and support for those roles. Further, groups in this quadrant normally make a clear distinction between appearance and internal state, between action and intention. So Ignatius writes: "We have not only to be called Christians, but to be Christians" (Mg 4,1). His concern with being a real disciple indicates attention to the same distinction (Eph 1,2; Tr 5,2; Rom 4,2; 5,2; Pol 7,2), as does his description of the action of heretics and their ultimate intentions (Sm 6--7; Mg 8--9). Plutarch, too, is not concerned about city walls and war, but with harmony and concord among the citizens -- the group that counts.

(4) Body: We have previously indicated that the way a society regards the human body normally replicates its perception and conception of the social body and vice-versa (section 3 above). In other words, the physical body serves as a sort of portable road map of the social body. In strong group/low grid systems, bodies, physical and social, tend to be tightly controlled. What this means is that patterns of sexual intercourse, disposal of body wastes, emotional displays, and the like tend to follow fixed and limited lines. Speech is quiet, dignified, formalized. However, in such systems this tightly controlled body is under attack. Invaders are presumed to have broken through bodily boundaries. Sin, evil, strife, contentiousness, factions and divisions of all sorts are in the heart and in the social body. But the heart is inaccessible to human scrutiny; what is perceptible are the works of such hearts disgorging in the social body. Thus Ignatius expresses a truism typical of this script: "The tree is known by its fruits. Similarly those who profess to be Christ's will be recognized by their actions" (Eph 14,2). Plutarch, in turn, points to the constant presence of strife and contention in the *polis*. But note that neither Ignatius nor Plutarch offer any psychological interpretations of the situation. Rather both offer "sociological" explanations in terms of the typical and recurring patterns of group behavior (e.g. Ignatius: how heretics function; Plutarch: how private strife leads to public discord). I shall return to this point in section 7 below. Finally, in this quadrant, the body is not a symbol of life; instead it must somehow be transformed. And since it is not a symbol of life, what happens to the body is not of great consequence. In this connection, both Ignatius in his willingness to have his *soma* torn to pieces as well as popular Hellenistic philosophy with the soul surviving natural bodily death bespeak similar perspectives.

(5) Sin: Sin is deviance, and deviance derives from the perception of pollution, the perception of people, things and events out of their proper place. The deviant is one who disturbs the social order by being out of place or putting someone or something out of place. In strong group/low grid systems, deviance is seen as penetrating and lodging itself within persons and groups mainly because the boundaries seem so porous. Consequently, internal states of being, personal and social, are more important

than adherence to formal rules, although formal rules are still valued. Thus both Ignatius and Plutarch insist upon the social body's being in a state of harmony and unity; and both insist upon the rightful roles of legitimate in-group authorities. Yet while Plutarch paints a rather negative picture of what a Greek statesman can do in a polis, he nevertheless expresses great respect for the authority of the Romans and inculcates such respect. Ignatius, in turn, never intimates any negative feelings toward his Roman captors. And both insist upon proper internal states of being in the persons they address -- Plutarch's qualities of the statesman and citizen; Ignatius' qualities of the Christian socius.

(6) Cosmology: Cosmology refers to the way in which social groups perceive their world to be outfitted and to function. In strong group/low grid systems, every effect that counts and affects social interaction is perceived to be caused by a personal cause, a "thou," human or non-human. In this sense, cosmology is anthropomorphic since all explanations of significant causality will be in terms of the typically human. Given the unsure state of purity boundaries, this cosmology tends to be dualist in the sense that there are warring forces of good and evil, the evil outside penetrating the good inside. "This world" of hostile groups and conspiracies that thwart man's best and noblest aspirations must be evil; the in-group is good. In such circumstances, the universe is obviously unjust and rather whimsical. Astrology only bears this out. This world, as untrue, unjust and evil as it is, is under the dominion of the "prince of this world" (Eph 17,1; 19,1; Mg 1,2; Tr 4,2; Rom 7,1; Phil 6,2; cf. Sm 6,1), who can be undone by adherence to the in-group (Phil 6,2). For Plutarch, too, the gods control sufferings and misfortune as well as health and fortune, but the passages cited make no clear reference to the hostile cosmic forces that Ignatius lists.

(7) Suffering and Misfortune: In strong group/low grid, these human limit experiences are not automatic punishments for anything, but rather generally unjust and unwarranted intrusions by some personal cause into human existence. They can thus be attributed to malevolent forces and may be alleviated, although never entirely eliminated. Ignatius himself is an embodiment of this stance -- a public criminal in the estimation of the Romans, a hero in the eyes of his associates, condemned capriciously as the in-group sees it; this is implicit in the Roman letter. For Plutarch, too, the gods control the vagaries of life.

In sum, Ignatius as well as Plutarch belong to strong group/low grid social systems. Society is no longer true and good as it was in the past. Deviance, misfortune, and trouble lie in the outside world. The only way the good individual can hold his world together is by access to someone who has the truth, who can offer security and who can transform the body -- social and personal -- into the way it should be. Undoubtedly "the way it should be" can only be known from some past prototypes (Plutarch) or from a past prototype embodying some revelation of some future type (Ignatius -- but not in the present. Such perspective, then, mark the parameters of the general social world of Ignatius.

6. The Letter Writer (named Ignatius).

The major portion of Ignatius' letters do not deal with travel related matters. As a perusal of those letters will indicate, they deal with his confirming and bolstering the various Christian groups in the associational forms and ideology that those groups adopted and that Ignatius embodies. These Hellenistic Christian communities derive from an innovation decision,

"a mental process through which an individual passes from first knowledge of an innovation to a decision to adopt or reject and to confirmation of this decision" (Rogers 1971:25 & 99). With his letters, Ignatius plays the role of confirmer of the innovation decision previously made by his addressees. And he performs this role in an interesting way.

The innovation decision process entails four analytic steps:

--knowledge: the individual is exposed to the innovation's existence and gains some understanding of how it functions;

--persuasion: the individual forms a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward the innovation;

--decision: the individual engages in activities which lead to a choice to adopt or reject the innovation;

--confirmation: the individual seeks reinforcement for the innovation decision he has made, but he may reverse his previous decision if exposed to conflicting messages about the innovation (Rogers 1971:25).

Ignatius comes in at the confirmation stage, a stage which continues for an indefinite period. Throughout this stage the individual seeks to avoid a state of dissonance or to reduce it if it occurs. And what Ignatius clearly attempts to do is reduce chances of dissonance or help avoid it entirely. This observation derives from a way of conceptualizing society as an integrated social structure held in balance, in equilibrium, by certain patterned and recurring processes. Any imbalance or disequilibrium in the social structure produces tension within the members of the society. For example, a society that structures family in such a way that children support their parents when those children come of age will find parents and potential parents quite tense should children cease supporting their parents. Such tension has to be reduced for the society to regain its balance. In the case of Ignatius, the structures of the Christian societas that he and his addressees share would be thrown into imbalance by the stance adopted by Docetists and perhaps by the Judaizers. The balance theory of tension reduction (Festinger 1957; Rogers 1971:311; Gager 1975:39-49) suggests a tendency over time for individuals adopting some innovation (1) to change their attitudes to make them consonant with the behavior demanded by societal norms (in this case, the norms of Ignatius and the sympathetic groups he visits); or (2) to discontinue the innovation (e.g. Lucian's Peregrinus, who becomes a Cynic), to misuse the innovation (e.g. Docetists and Judaizers for Ignatius), or to circumvent the adoption decision (e.g. perhaps some of the Philadelphians) in order to make their behavior consonant with their attitudes.

When an individual's attitudes are dissonant with the overt behavior demanded by the society (e.g. subjection to the bishop, attending one Eucharist, physical support for the needy, marriage before the bishop, etc.) the individual will attempt to reduce the dissonance by changing either his attitudes or his behavior. Change in behavior is usually temporary and needs surveillance for it to continue, but a change in attitude is more lasting (Rogers 1971:311). And it is precisely to attitudes that Ignatius looks in the interaction revealed in his letters. As we previously saw, his main emphasis is on influencing his addressees. He seeks to affect their opinions and attitudes so that they might decide to act in the way he wants. The personal visit with the various local bishops indicates that those bishops want the same thing. The thrust of Ignatius' persuasion is to get his audience to see that it is good for them, for positive reasons, if they persevere in the form of societas that they have. And he persuades by giving information in his arguments as well as by announcing his intentions to go through with martyrdom for their bene-

fit. In this way Ignatius expends his influence and simply appeals to his audience's sense of commitment in order to confirm their attitudes in their previously made innovation decision (see figure 4 above).

In this way, too, Ignatius further intimates that his role to some extent is that of opinion leader. An opinion leader is one who is able to influence informally other individual's attitudes or over behavior in a desired way with relative frequency (Rogers 1971:199). The fact that people seek his letters would indicate that they ascribe this role to him, and the collection of letters allows for influence over time. Opinion leaders normally possess some formal sanctioning ability. For Ignatius this ability lies in his influence and status as martyr in process. But opinion leaders have no formal authority in the sense that they are not the authority. The authority in the Ignatian letters is wielded by the bishop and local officers of the church.

Further, opinion leaders hold their influential position in the system because they represent the system's norms and values. By conforming to the norms and values of the system, the leader provides a valuable service to the system by acting as a living model of the norms of his followers. In strong group systems, opinion leaders relate to constituents both horizontally and vertically. Horizontal relations here look to Ignatius' peers, the local Christian officers, while vertical relations mark his stance toward the local church members at large. Horizontally, opinion leaders are no more nor less technically competent than their followers, and followers interact with opinion leaders no more nor less competent than themselves (Rogers 1971:215). Witness Ignatius' knowledge of the Old Testament in the argument at Phil 8,2. It would seem that those more competent than Ignatius and the local bishop as well rejected him as opinion leader. It would also follow that the local church officers who submitted to his influence and were committed to the same values would be much like Ignatius in their technical competence in articulating the main symbols of Christianity. For as opinion leader in this homophilous relation, it was not his technical competence as theologian that counted, but rather the usual qualities sought in strong group opinion leadership -- social competencies like gregariousness, sociability, interpersonal competence, age (note the problem Ignatius perceives for Damas, the bishop of the Magnesians), and higher status. Ignatius' letters evidence his interpersonal competence. His visits with local community representatives point to his sociability. Undoubtedly his impending martyrdom gave him higher status.

On the other hand, Ignatius was from Antioch, hence a foreigner relative to the communities he visited. Rogers (1971:213) notes that in social interactions of a vertical, heterophilous nature, opinion leaders are perceived to possess higher social status, more education, greater exposure to change, be cosmopolite and more innovative than those below them. The presumption, then, would be that the members of the associations to whom Ignatius wrote would believe he had all of these qualities -- and Ignatius would feel constrained to demonstrate some of them. This might explain his descriptions of and warnings against schismatic deviant groups, even though they have no effect on the communities in question, his arguments bolstering the structure of the societas even though no group apart from the Philadelphians seems to have had any trouble in this regard, his use of Asianic rhetoric and the like. I might note here that given the high status of Rome in the 1st-2nd century world, the Christian officers of the Roman societas would easily be ascribed the qualities of heterophilous opinion leaders by provincial bishops, simply due to the social situation.

To some extent, Ignatius' letter to the Romans reveals some such attitude toward the Roman church in general (see especially Rom insc and 1).

If we turn for a moment to consider Ignatius' letter in itself as a social datum, we find that it functions as a mass media channel, a single source reaching an audience of many. Now the message content of mass media channels of communication normally consist of events of either rather high or rather low saliency. This means that they contain either information of overwhelming importance or routine information. Thus in Ignatius' letters we find both. The travel arrangements as well as mention of visiting bishops, presbyters and deacons would be the routine information. All the rest would be, at least in Ignatius' view, high saliency information. Further, these letters are directed to organized small groups of individuals who meet regularly and will receive this mass medium communication as well as, presumably, discuss its contents. Such an organized group is a mass media forum (Rogers 1971:261).

From the viewpoint of communication, letter writing in early Christianity was bound to be effective. For community directed letters (mass medium) with recipients who are members of organized groups (media forum) have greater effect because interest in attendance and participation is encouraged by group pressure and social expectation; attitude change and maintenance are more readily achieved when individuals are in groups; and finally, the novelty effect of new channels of information and the subsequent high credibility that can be attached to these new channels of information accounts for the success of such a combination (Rogers 1971:263). Thus Ignatius' letters read in Christian assembly would further his confirmation function in these communities.

But before he wrote his letters (apart from Romans), Ignatius utilized interpersonal channels of communication with the local church officers, that is mainly, if not exclusively with the local Christian elite. This was almost predictable since in strong group systems, interpersonal channels of communication are mostly homophilous. Most communication occurs horizontally when it is interpersonal, the elite interacting with each other (Rogers 1971:84, 212, 214). And the message content in interpersonal communication of this sort consists of events of medium saliency, neither routine information nor information of overwhelming importance. Now such would have been the contents of Ignatius' conversation with his visitors.

7. The Social Analyst (named Ignatius).

It is quite difficult for Americans to be engrossed by the discussions presented in Hellenistic writings. Generally this difficulty is ascribed to differences in language and culture, in literary forms and world-views. These are all valid reasons, but the basis for the difficulty stands even deeper. Whenever we start discussing some individual or social problem, the inevitable frame of reference that we bring to the conversation is psychological. Hellenistic writers and their audiences simply do not share this frame of reference. They would not comprehend our idea of an "individual" at all. Geertz observes that our conception of the individual as

"... a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against its social and natural

background, is, however incorrigible it may seem to us, a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures" (Geertz 1976:225).

In the strong group world of Hellenism, the basic unit of social perception and analysis is not the individual but the dyad. What this means is that the Hellenist conceived of himself or herself as always interrelated to other persons and within social statuses. To paraphrase Geertz, the Hellenist perceived himself or herself as a distinctive whole set in relation to other such wholes and within a given social and natural background. To get a feel for the situation, imagine your name to consist only of your family name and locus of origin, e.g. Smith of Detroit. You would be only one particular instance of Smith of Detroit, while only Smith of Detroit has perduring, lasting, fixed qualities and you would be presumed to share in those qualities. By referring to yourself and others in this way, you would tend to think that human character is fixed and unchanging. Consequently whatever unpredictability you might find in this world would be caused by events beyond the control of the predictable and unchanging human beings you might know. Finally, with such a frame of reference, human problems and crises would inevitably have to be ascribed to stereotypical causes or precipitating phenomenological events, never to personal and individual psychological motives or introspectively generated reasons.

With such a perspective, the 1st and 2nd century Hellenist defined social conditions as problematic and ignored the individual. In this sense, the responsibility for morality and deviance is not on the single individual, but on the body social. It is because the social body is deviant that some symptomatic individual deviance might crop up. So Ignatius enjoins his audience to avoid schismatics who seem to have their own societas; Plutarch urges the statesman to be concerned about the social fabric of the polis; and Paul of Tarsus can find some social hamartia the cause of individual sinful actions. To be sure, the moral norms of Hellenistic moralists have relevance for individual conduct, but in all such moral disquisitions, the individual is not the main concern. Witness the abstract discussion of virtues and vices, the various sin lists, and the like, all of which are generated from the objective, supra-individual vantage point of the social body.

One of the chief implications as well as one of the main reasons behind such emphasis on social conditions is that Hellenists, like strong group people in general, did not know each other very well. Jesus of Nazareth is a good example in this regard. Of the twelve he chose, one betrayed him, one denied him and the rest abandoned him in a crisis situation. All this simply indicates what poor judges of individual character people in such cultures are. This is not because they are obtuse and unobservant. Rather it is because it is culturally unimportant. Strong group people stigmatize conditions under which it would be advantageous to know people well. If one had to know people very well, it would mean that people were idiosyncratic, inconstant, moody, indirect, changeable and unpredictable. If people are anything, it is certain that they are not "psychologically unique worlds." Thus a Hellenist like Ignatius could contend that only God knows the secret things of man (Mg 3,2), only God's spirit can fathom ta krypta (Phil 7,1). This is not an expression of despair. It simply means that people do not have to know what is in another's heart because it is not culturally defined as being very interesting and it should have nothing to do with human relations anyway (Selby 1974: 62-63, describing the strong group/low grid Zapotecs).

Thus Ignatius resorts to "sociological" thinking in his discussion of schismatics, heretics or anyone else. His descriptions are stereotypical and phenomenological. No introspective explanations of any kind are presented. Psychoanalysts in our society might say that the Hellenists were rigid and highly controlled personality types (recall the script of strong group/low grid systems), or that they were fearful of others (recall the problem of porous social boundaries), or that they interacted in standardized and conventional ways at all times. They might be called anti-introspective or not at all psychologically minded. The whole point is that they were not like we are, and to infer the psychological state of some Hellenistic author on the basis of texts would be a highly questionable and hazardous enterprise.

Moreover, if in every day life we were to think consistently and continually about our own social position and the social position of our fellows, we would find that it offered us little toward understanding what goes on in our interpersonal relations. For the Hellenist, the emphasis is the reverse. The primary reality habitually considered with full awareness and repeatedly is lasting social organization, enduring dyadic relationships, e.g. social statuses and the vagaries they might undergo, people with whom I stand in reciprocal or patron-client relationship, defined social roles. A Hellenist can think this way systematically and with clarity and direction. He sees another most concretely and precisely when he views the other as an incumbent in a definite social slot. He views himself as moving, mainly horizontally, into social slots, occupying a given slot for a time, and acting appropriately or not, then moving out and on to other such social slots. Primary Hellenistic reality is a system of social positions that endure, and this is another description of strong group. After working on this essay for some time, I get to thinking of my friend "Ignatius (who was bishop of Antioch and martyr)." The Hellenist would think of the same person as his friend "The bishop of Antioch and martyr (named Ignatius)" (see Gearing 1970:137-138). Thus the title and some section headings in this essay; they are Hellenistic titles.

To see aspects of this approach in Ignatius, notice how fixed and unchanging he knows his addressees to be. He knows (oida) that they are not puffed up (Mg 12,1), that when he praises them, they feel embarrassed (Mg 12,1), that they are full of God (Mg 14,1), that they behave properly (Sm 4,1), that they have a drive for the truth (Pol 7,3). These are not examples of winning their benevolence, but simply the way one Hellenist knows another -- even though he never met any of them individually at all. That is not necessary to know them. Further, when Ignatius claims to know himself (Eph 12,1-2), his knowledge consists of social categories, "condemned and in danger." Finally, note the quality of the reasons Ignatius gives to motivate his exhortations; I refer to the gar motivational clauses (random sampling: Mg 1,2; 5,2; 8,2; 10,1,2; 12,1; 14,1; Tr 2,1,3; 4,1-2; 5,2; and frequently elsewhere). All the motivation is in terms of the maintenance of the social order that he embodies and in terms of the socially generic, often stereotypical cliches. It is as though if he were to admit that the social categories of the societas were based on shifting and highly individual personal and psychological factors, then the world of the societas would lose its fixity, and human interaction would be unknowably intolerable. Plutarch's motivational clauses are much the same.

Within the societas, it seems that arrogance would be the personal quality that can undo the fixity of the social order -- hence the paramount axiomatic primitive, a quality that can stay undefined and undefinable, yet have enormous explanatory power. When men contravene the basic assumptions

about the way life should be lived by a socius or about the operations of the social world on the inside of the group, arrogance would automatically be imputed. Its manifestations are numerous, e.g. the unwillingness to be subject to the bishop and to each other (Tr 13,2 and passim), in the rejection of unity or any deviant behavior (see Eph 5,3; Sm 10,2; Pol 4,3), in the general stance of schismatics and heretics. Outside the Christian societas, however, to judge from the limited information provided by Plutarch in the aforementioned texts, the prime candidates for the ultimate personal reason for deviance are greed and contentiousness.

In conclusion, while the foregoing observations might be interesting in themselves, they simply further point to the strong group/low grid social location of Ignatius and Plutarch and their respective social bodies. The Christian societas subsists in the larger Hellenistic polis, and the Hellenistic polis subsists in the larger Roman empire. This admitted and acknowledged consubstance of inequality further makes for a social location in strong group/low grid. If either societas or polis sought total differentiation and separation from the larger context, their location would move to either strong group/high grid (the church after Constantine), or weak group/low grid (the normal location of existential liminal groups). Yet when either Ignatius or Plutarch ascribes deviance to some individual, it is always in terms of sociological thinking. And it always means that "the person is in an abnormal position because the matrix of relationships in which he is embedded is abnormal" (Selby 1974:15). In this regard, note how Ignatius' anxiety about his role as bishop would be greatly allayed after he learned that the church at Antioch was "at peace." After all, to see the local bishop is to see the whole church (Eph 1,2; Mg 2,1). After the "peace," Ignatius' primary dyadic social slot once more related to a normal matrix of social relationships; he no longer need feel abnormal (see Swartley 1973).

8. Conclusion: Ignatius and Antioch.

The foregoing observations should allow for some general conclusions about life in Antioch at the turn of the 1st century A.D. These conclusions pertain both to the city at large and to the Christian societas in particular.

To begin with, social life in the polis was characterized by the features of strong group/low grid society. The Romans wielded the power and sought out clients of appropriate social strata over whom they could wield commitment. These clients, in turn, would seek out adequate patrons to facilitate their ongoing drive to convert their wealth/status into prestige. The ordinary city resident plies his gods and his fellows with influence and wealth/status to obtain results in interaction and maintain his social standing. All goods were perceived as limited. Personal causality explained life's vagaries. The social unit was the dyad, the individual-in-relationship and in marked social niches. Other conclusions are likewise available, e.g. small manufacturers and artisans would inhabit similar quarters of the city both because of dyadic personality as well as because it was always a seller's market. However since I did not develop these aspects in the essay, I will not pursue them further.

The Christian city resident of the stripe embodied by Ignatius followed much the same social script. But one of his major groups of reference was the Christian societas, headed by some higher status city resident and called episkopos. This associational supervisor acquired

his position due to his social competencies, undoubtedly involving the prestige generated by the outlay of wealth on behalf of the societas, the Christian leitourgia. He had a council of elders and some functionaries who took care of the dole and other specific needs of the association. This local association was aware of sharing the same ideology with a number of similar associations in the Roman Empire. Hence travelling socii could count on the local groups to see to their needs, even if they were harassed by Roman officialdom. The ideology of the local Christian societas had its conscious focus on Jesus of Nazareth as God and man. This ideology then gets replicated in the hierarchy of the local administrative officers, in shared ritual activity, and in the social symmetry and amity, exchange and reciprocity that characterized the associational ethic. The local supervisor had formal responsibility for the association, which he headed by activating commitment when necessary. This supervisor, dyadic personality that he was, likewise served as the association's social focus. He and his societas related to other straight Hellenistic Christian associations in terms of the Greek quality katholikos, rather than the Latin universalis (Ong 1959:63-64).

Deviant Christian factions were also to be found in the city (Grant 1972:97-108). The faction perceived as the greatest threat to the straight Christian societas of Ignatius was the one composed of individualist types who formed spontaneous liminal groups. They cared little for the material aspects of life or the concrete demands of day to day existence. They were after vertical release of their souls to God as revealed in the God Jesus. On the other hand, there were likewise those deviant Christians who insisted upon the traditional societal demands of Judaism as necessary for an adequate response to the phenomenon of Jesus of Nazareth. For this group, Jesus was the prophet and foreordained Messiah who would lead people to the one God of Judaism. Both groups deviated from the central ideology of the straight group, the former (Docetists) by their exaggerated individualism, the latter (Jewish Christians) by their exaggerated subject of the individual to societal demands, i.e. the demands of their closed societas.

As previously mentioned, the focal ideology replicated in the multiple symbolic behavior of the straight group was Jesus as God and man. But the ideology was still under stress and required repeated bolstering in the polis by the local administration and members of the group as well as by administrative officers from neighboring Christian straight groups. Given the same central concern, in-group behavior both locally and between cities was characterized by amity and reciprocity. These straight groups found meaning, belonging and comfort in life by approaching God horizontally, across the plains of day to day human living. In the case of Ignatius, this process gets foreshortened and accelerated through his execution. But to the straight group, that hastened process could serve as a successful means to label and highlight deviant groups, especially Docetists, and further serve to bolster their own ideology. For "neither Docetist nor Gnostic could be a man of martyrdom" (Frend 1967:153).

* * * * *

Many more conclusions and inferences could be made, but these should be sufficient to set the parameters of social interaction in Antioch during the time of Ignatius. For the foregoing applied models are meant to be heuristic and explanatory, not simply descriptive. I hope I have shown how some of those models do in fact explain. Perhaps now the reader might apply other data from the period to the models to vindicate their heuristic quality.

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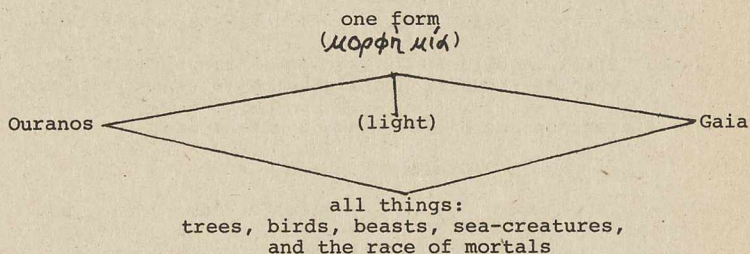
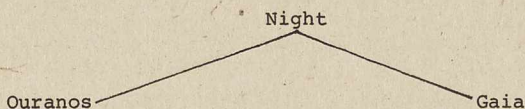
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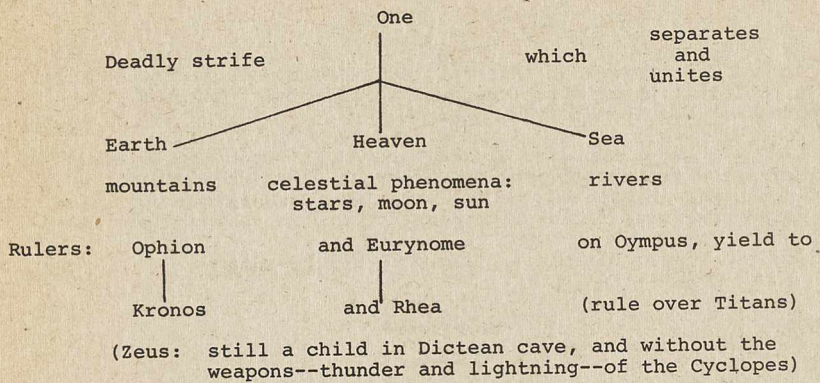
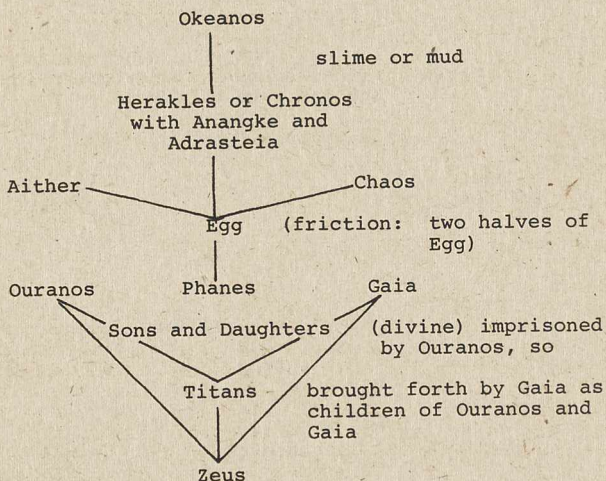
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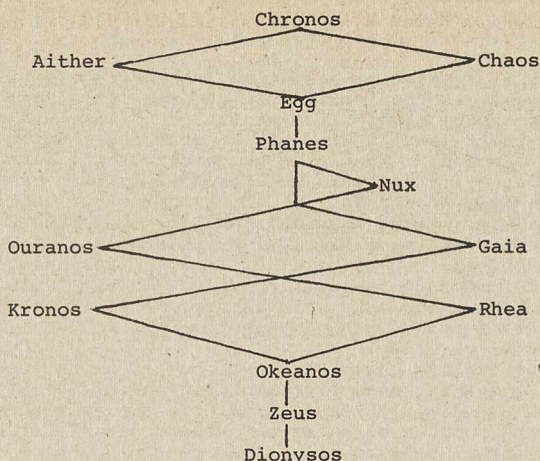
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The purpose of this investigation of Orphic cosmogonies is to detect their structures and to ascertain the role and situation ascribed to human beings.¹

These structures are delineated in seven Orphic accounts. They are extremely complex and are most clear when presented in diagram form. Each of the following diagrams illumines the ancient and significant references to Orphic cosmogonies.

1. Euripides, fragment from Melanippe.²2. Aristophanes Birds 690-702.³3. Eudemos⁴

4. Apollonios Rhodios Argonautica l. 496-511.⁵5. Hieronymos and Hellanikos and Athenagoras⁶

6. The Rhapsodic Theogony.⁷7. Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias.⁸generations in order
of birth

Chaos
|
Okeanos
|
Night
|
Ouranos
|
Zeus

generations in order
of succession of rule

Erikepaios
|
Night
|
Ouranos

Otto Gruppe has proposed that the emergence of the many from the one and the reabsorption of the many into the one⁹ accurately describes the "Grundgedanken" of the cosmogonies. Apart from the question of whether or not this can be demonstrated, it is clear that all the Orphic cosmogonies, like all cosmogonies, deal with the phenomena of the world, or what the Derveni papyrus calls $\tau\alpha \epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$, existing things.¹² Eud and EM are the most elemental. They suggest heaven and earth are the product of a primal fissure. HHA and RT also work with the distinction between heaven and earth, and AR and AB add the element of the sea to result in the triad of worldly divisions: sky, earth, and water.¹¹ With the separation and distinction, light and life can make an entrance.

The differences among the accounts become most apparent when one considers the manner in which the cleavage between sky and earth occurred. Eud provides only the barest information; the separation took place. HHA pictures an Egg, whose power generated the friction which divided the two halves into heaven and earth (we may note, additionally, that the power is that of Chronos), and AB accounts for the division by Eros, and adds, significantly, that Eros transverses the divisions and thus enables them to commingle and be fruitful. Similarly, "deadly

strife" in AR accounts for the division.¹² In RT, on the other hand, Ouranos and Gaia are the products of sexual reproduction of an unusual sort, Phanes (father and husband) and Nyx (daughter and wife) give birth to sky and earth.¹³

The motif of creation either by Eros or by a dividing-unifying strife is clearly "sexual" in nature. This can be discerned in either or both of two senses.¹⁴ First, the creative force is itself sexual, since it separates and unites, and is productive. Secondly, the issue or result of the forces is sexual: Ouranos, male; and Gaia/Ge, female. In both cases sexual language is used to describe the creation and continuation of the world.¹⁵ As we observed earlier, the Derveni commentator also employs a specifically sexual explanation in describing the coming-into-being of existing things and their perpetuation, although the separation is not into male and female entities but into parts of a unified world whose sexual character derives from its monistic source.

Thus, RT employs sexual language but of a sort very different from the other accounts (the description in the Derveni papyrus is unique); Ouranos and Gaia are separated but are the products or issue of a father/husband and daughter/wife union.¹⁶ The Derveni papyrus is similar to RT in that a sexual explanation of the world's genesis is employed. Yet the Derveni papyrus and RT give very different explanations. First, both sexual explanations are unusual. One speaks of incest between father and daughter and the other speaks of a sexual act which requires two partners but is performed by only one. Secondly, the imagery suggest different meanings. In the Derveni papyrus, as we have seen, the focus is on the unaided, monistic power of Zeus' creativity. A different problem is in focus in RT; here, the question at stake is both the creativity which generates the world and the power which enables a god to rule what has been created. And HHA still differently, is concerned to show the coherence between Ouranos and Gaia; of the same generation from the Egg is the hermaphroditic Phanes who contains within himself the opposites that Ouranos and Gaia signify. Each account resolves a problem not raised, or raised only obliquely, by other accounts.

A further conclusion that strengthens the thesis of Orphism as an identifiable mood can be drawn from the diversity of statements describing the separation of Ouranos and Gaia in the accounts (Eud, EM, AR, and AB) where the focus is on the force which accomplishes the task. The emphasis is on the capacity and effects of the force, whereas in the account which emphasize the sole power of Zeus (the Derveni papyrus), the language explicitly excludes not only a partner but any product of Zeus' power before that power exercises its capacity. Further, in the account (RT) where rule and creative power required for the act of creation are joined, there is an existent world that is the recipient of the actions of divine personages, since the issue of governance and rule require something to be ruled. Finally, the account (HHA) which includes both the force or power of sexuality and rule emphasize both the separation of Ouranos and Gaia into male and female and their symbol of union in the hermaphroditic Phanes, as well as the threat by the Titans to the rule of Zeus.

We see a variety of accounts, therefore, dealing with a variety of problems: sexually creative force qua force, sexuality as an expression of both union and separation, and of

personalities who by their sexuality create the world. One may be tempted to consider one or another of the Orphic accounts as contaminated or spurious because of such diversities, but this analysis has demonstrated that the cluster of differences focuses on a single problem viewed from a variety of perspectives: how do existing things come to be the way they are and continue as they do? Rather than concluding that differences require rejection of one or another of the accounts, it may be concluded that a careful analysis of the accounts reveals an Orphic spirit in all of them in which the cosmological question played a large role.

Not only "existing things" but also the governance or rule of the world is an important factor in the Orphic cosmogonies. Again, this motif receives different treatments. It has already been noted that RT combines the issues of creation and governance with the consequence that creation occurs after the governance is in effect. It is clear from the emphasis on succession and the "swallowing" of previous rulers that the factor of governance predominates. RT explains the disparity between creator (Phanes) and ruler (Zeus) by Zeus' swallowing of Phanes. The consequence is that the ruler and the creator become one and the same.

In the Derveni papyrus a different view is found. Prior to the existence of the world there is the hypostasis named Zeus who accounts for the world's existence as well as its governance. The role of Zeus' governance is equal in importance to his creativity but secondary in the sense that it becomes active upon the completion of his creative activity.

The text of AA is concerned exclusively with the issue of succession of generations and rulers; unfortunately, neither list provides information beyond the mention of names. HHA, however, is more helpful. Phanes, the hermaphroditic deity who emerges with Ouranos and Gaia from the Egg, found it necessary to imprison in the earth the children of Ouranos and Gaia.¹⁷ The reason for the imprisonment is crucial: fear of loss of kingdom. The question of governance is at stake, and, when raised for the first time, includes both a threat and the necessary steps for defense against the potential challenge. AR includes the notion of strife as creative energy, but in this account it is separated from the struggle between rulers; ¹⁸ Ophion and Eurynone yield their throne to Kronos and Rhea.

In the Derveni commentary, the unquestioned rule of Zeus is correlated with his sole generative power. More importantly, in the Derveni papyrus Zeus rules by power (Okeanos) and thought (Moirai), giving the strong impression of a patterned and rational rule with every constituent of the world in its customary or recognizable, i.e., knowable, form with everything "fitted together."

The conclusion that emerges from a consideration of the rule or governance of existing things is that respective accounts view the power by which governance is exercised as a goal to be won or as a power that is threatened, or as the serene power of an undisputed king. But what is common to all the accounts is the recognition that once the world is in existence it cannot operate according to an internal power but rather requires the strenuous efforts and thoughtful exercise of a ruler or king. The pluralities that exist within the variants of the Orphic cosmogonies converge on the issue of the

governance of existing things, although the order may be reversed from one instance to another.

Underlying the dual features of existing things and their rule are three further features which are equally complex: the positing of an origin, the monstrous or outrageous character of certain figures and events, and the nature of time.

The Orphic accounts give very different starting points for the world's existence. In Eud, Nyx is the "first principle;" it exists prior to the division between Ouranos and Gaia which permits the light to shine and be seen. Prior to form or hardened earth in HHA is Okeanos.¹⁹ Chaos is the darkness prior to the Egg and the subsequent force of Eros in AB, or the first in a series of generations that culminates in the rule of the tripartite world of earth, heaven, and sea in AB. In one instance "one form" is likewise the prelude to orderly division of the world and the additional feature of the world's governance (AR), and in another instance is only the prelude to the orderly division (EM). Very differently, in the account which more than others is concerned with the succession of rulers, Chronos stands as the prelude to all things, perhaps as the foundation necessary to their acquisition and loss of ruling power (RT). And finally, in the Derveni papyrus Zeus alone stands as the origin, source, and culmination of all. The additional presence of the Egg in three accounts is perplexing; in all three accounts where it appears (HHA, RT, and AB) it is closely related to time, but it appears in only these three accounts. There probably is no explanation of its limited appearance. The association of the Egg with the origins of the world not only stems from the shell as a symbol of space but also because the Egg bursts in giving life as the primal unity is shattered with the creative act.²⁰

We find, thus, five different origin-points for the world's existence: Nyx, Chronos, Okeanos, "one form," and Zeus. Each of these makes a specific contribution to the shape the world has: the prelude to light, to the succession of rulers, to worldly divisions, to the figure who fashions the cosmic egg or the unexplained generation of the egg. Once again, one wonders how such diverse conceptions of origin and of consequences which follow can belong to a single perspective such as Orphism. If it can be demonstrated, however, that each of these starting points deals with a different problem, while sharing at least one crucial characteristic, the thesis that the myths constitute variants of a perspective or "spirit" becomes not only plausible but valid.

We notice, in the first place, the Nyx prohibits observation and identification of entities in all the accounts where Nyx occurs, and, paradoxically, that Nyx is a source of knowledge and wisdom to all the rulers who follow;²¹ in fact, prior to the separation into day and night, sky and earth, the world is both unknown and nonexistent. Okeanos, likewise, is without form or content and indistinct in HHA. On the other hand, in RT Chronos stands at the beginning but lacks any connotation of formlessness; rather, he is described as having counsels which never perish²² and as dividing sections of the world and apportioning their rule to various gods.²³ Finally, he is thought of as one who creates in darkness.²⁴ In this account an important clue is found. Aither and Chaos exist subsequent to the labors of Chronos, Nyx appears later still, and the succession of rulers and their struggles for the rulership are all within

the world which does not eliminate or destroy Chronos. There is neither a direct statement nor a suggestion that Chronos is ever absent from subsequent events. And the fact that Zeus swallows Phanes, the "first born and origin" of all, indicates that Zeus does not thereby eliminate Phanes or even emasculate him. Phanes continues to exist; the Zeus who swallows Phanes becomes the "beginning, middle, and end of all."²⁵

The place Chronos occupies at the beginning in RT finds a parallel with the location of Chaos in AB. The nature of Chaos in this account can be determined from the virtually adjectival additions of Nyx and Erebos and Tartaros and the explicit statement that neither earth nor sky was present. A second determination of the nature of Chaos follows from the emergence of heaven, earth, and sea, from Chaos and the fact of their nonexistence when there was only Chaos. Chaos is the creative source from which the world derives. In all the accounts, the distinction between beginning and world does not deny the relationship of continuity between the beginning and the world; in fact, the opposite is the case.

The conclusion that the "beginning point" continues to remain as a feature of the world is strengthened by two further considerations. First, the beginning point is pictured, with two exceptions, as a dimension or a characteristic. An exception is RT where Chronos is pictured as a divine personage, and here his person is virtually synonymous with his character, since, as we have seen, Chronos not only establishes the conditions for heaven and earth but also the elements of light and life which move between them. The second exception is the view of Zeus in the Derveni papyrus where the logos of Zeus also permeates the world as does AB' Eros. Secondly, since the existence of the world is distinguishable but inseparable from its governance, and since gods as personages exercise dominion over the world, the very need for that rule or governance is contrapuntal to the world of which Chaos is a feature.²⁶

The manner in which the Orphic cosmogonies portray and relate the creation and governance of the world and the creation and nature of the world has been demonstrated. In both cases, the relationship is one of distinction and tension, and also continuity and control. It is also evident that Chaos--Nyx--Chronos--Okeanos--Zeus signify at the beginning emptiness, darkness, or formlessness as the creative source for the world.

But once the world is in existence, it bears an unusual monstrous, or even grotesque character. Herakles or Chronos, in HHA, the figure born from Okeanos, is a clear example of this monstrosity. He has the body of a dragon. He is multi-headed, one head a bull's, another a lion's, and in between the head of a god.²⁷ With this figure, adds Damaskios, was Anangke and Adrasteia who are somehow the same. Both are bodyless and pervade the entire cosmos. The same figure of Chronos, in RT, creates Aither and Chaos, but lacks the outrageous features; he is merely ageless, powerful, extraordinarily wise and of endless extension.²⁸ The figure of Phanes, in both HHA and RT, is strikingly similar. In both cases he is born of the cosmic Egg,²⁹ but more important is the description given him. As Chronos, he has the body of a dragon.³⁰ His face is unusual; it has four eyes.³¹ His body has angelic wings of gold, similar to the golden Eros in AB.³² His voice sounds like the combination of the sounds made by a bull and a lion.³³ In both accounts he is very different from the masculine sky and feminine earth he

creates, since he combines both genders within his hermaphroditic self. His being accentuates his sexuality.

Phanes behavior, too, is of an unusual sort. He fathered a daughter and became her husband as well. In the Derveni papyrus we noticed the mixing and mating of elements to create the world. In both RT and the Derveni papyrus the point is the same despite the very different imagery. Fragment A of the Derveni papyrus draws attention to the violence perpetuated by one divine generation against another. Opposites of heaven and earth, male and female, come from one which transcends the opposites and contains within himself the seed of differentiation. In any case, the hermaphrodite, incest, and solitary intercourse accentuate and exaggerate sexuality in the accounts.³⁴

In addition to the form and behavior, the attributes of Phanes are surprising. Phanes has three names, two of which focus on features already observed in the Derveni commentary: Phanes is Eros or the power or figure of Okeanos; Phanes is Metis (wisdom or counsel), or the thought or Moira of Zeus. Phanes is also Protogonos (first-born), somewhat similar in importance to the position of Okeanos and Moira in the Derveni papyrus. What is surprising in these attributes is not their unusual character; in fact, they signify clarity and rationality. The surprise is that such features by which governance or rule is exercised are attributed to an otherwise strange and monstrous deity.³⁵

The monstrous or grotesque figures are also found in a generation later than Phanes in HHA, those children born to Heaven and Earth. Three daughters are Klotho (who spins), Lachesis (who measures or apportion), and Atropos (who does not turn, and is inflexible).³⁶ Their brothers, too, are grotesque, each with a hundred arms and fifty heads, presumptuous, of great strength, and most hated by their father.³⁷ And finally, the Cyclopes--Brontes (thunder), Steropes (lightning), and Arges (shining)--have only one eye.³⁸

The unusual traits of Phanes given in RT have already been discussed, but this account includes additional strange features. There is the story of his incestuous relations with Nyx and an equally strange account emphasizing the succession of rulers,³⁹ the story of the Titans: gods of evil counsel, power, insolence, and pride.⁴⁰ They are cast into darkness by their father.⁴¹ Kronos performs an equally strange act. His violence enables his generation to live at the expense of his father's emasculation,⁴² the father who had himself swallowed his children.⁴³ And the last act in the sequence is also unusual at least and grotesque at most. Zeus, although he had the weapons of thunder and lightning, swallowed the previous five generations in order that all things might be mingled in his stomach.⁴⁴

All the accounts I have examined agree, more or less, that the ruler is Zeus. But while RT explicitly recounts the devious and deviant events that lead to Zeus' rule and HHA preserves traces of the dark happenings, Eud, AR, AA, and EM neither mention nor even allude to the events. Further, the statement in Kern, O. F., fr. 167, that all things were created anew in the body of Zeus reminds one of the statement in the Derveni papyrus that Zeus is ruler or king as well as creator of all existing things. But all the grotesque features are absent from this account as they are from some of the other

accounts: strange bodies, swallowing, incest, father-mutilation. In fact, the opposite is the case; Zeus rules by power and thought.

Thus, what has been described as the "unusual" or "disproportionate" features are found, in greater or less detail, in many of the accounts. In other accounts, however, such features are lacking. In one account (RT) both the presence and absence are found; a "rational" Chronos and an "unusual" Phanes. In the case of the "monstrous" features, as in previous instances of differences between the various accounts, it is not necessary to conclude that the divergences preclude the existence of Orphism. Rather, the evidence leads in the direction of an Orphic spirit or mood since this spirit was multi-faceted and points to the ambiguities and dualities that characterize the world itself.

Moreover, most discussion of the "grotesque" or "distorted" features have focused on two problems, one a matter of identification and the second one of explanation. The first problem raises the question of sources for the imagery. Generally, the consensus is that "Oriental" traces are unmistakably present. The explanatory focus of dating rests on the identification of sources: the likelihood of the Orphic "Oriental" features dating to the Greece of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.⁴⁵ To this Guthrie adds that the sixth-fourth centuries also marked the "birth of rationalism" in philosophy. He gives the further explanation that in view of the diverse Orphic versions of Chronos, one "crude" and the other "purged," Orphism was "somewhat removed from the main stream of Greek culture . . . the comparative seclusion of Orphic ideas from the main flow of Greek thought."⁴⁶

Important as these problems are, there are additional important matters which remain to be resolved. Attention has been called to the fact that the differences among the cosmogonic accounts are striking; some include the "unusual" and some exclude it. The sources and dating for such features should not obscure or obviate the search for the explanation.⁴⁷ The fact is that the "monstrosities" are patterned and quite coherent. They focus, without exception, on the body (heads, eyes, arms, wings), on a sexual dimension (incest, hermaphroditic form, and emasculation), and on family-relations (struggle for supremacy, swallowing of previous generations, imprisonment of children), and, in all cases, on attempts to combine oppositions. They also occur in a context of cosmogonic accounts whose motifs include a continuity between the act of creation and the further governance of the world, and a continuity between the origin-point and the subsequent nature of the world. Finally, all the monstrosity and all the disproportion occur on a mythical level, i.e., they describe deities and events that occurred prior to the appearance of man in the world.

In keeping with the description of the "unusual" features and the motifs underlying them, interpretation consisting of three facets is offered. First, the ambiguity we find within the accounts is to be explained as a focusing on diversity. The ambiguities we find in the Orphic accounts are attempts to portray the ambiguities in existence itself: up/down, male/female, gods/men, life/death, and beginning/present. Secondly, the emphasis on flesh or body-features of the divine figures is not capricious or a matter of "fable," but in so far as it

functions to accentuate and intensify certain features, attention is drawn to the creative and governing abilities, the very themes we find in accounts which lack the "unusual:" strength (multi-armed), knowledge (multi-eyed and multi-headed), and extension or presence (multi-eyed and bodiless).⁴⁸ Thirdly, the emphasis on sexual exaggeration cannot be explained by ignorance of sexual differentiation and reproduction, since the male/female distinction is clearly stated in the accounts. Rather, the hermaphroditic god goes beyond the sexual differentiation to exemplify, in a being such as Phanes, the combination of opposite features. In this way we find a mediation of opposites for the purpose of asserting the relation of continuity between the one beginning and the plurality of the world. Equally, Zeus as polyonymous deity or the Phanes-Nyx incest account for the generation of plurality from a monistic origin.

The motifs discussed in this chapter converge on the theme of time, which is deeply embedded in the Orphic cosmogonies and can be extracted and articulated in summary form. In the first place, time is subordinate to Zeus, the controlling force whose actions determine the events of the world. Coming into being and passing out of being (or ceasing to be) and bringing things to fulfillment are all the work of Zeus. The distinction between the time of Zeus (always and forever) or Chronos (ageless) and the time of the world (beginning and ceasing) is signified by the contrast, the limitations imposed by temporal duration upon existing things. Secondly, time also bears a fixed or hard stamp. The monstrosity of time is that it is spun and thus inflexible; it is atropaic--what is done cannot be undone--and inexorable. Although time "pursues transgressions," it lacks a moral dimension; time is neither good nor evil, but simply a datum, and its "outrageous" nature has to do with its inexorable dimension. Thirdly, time is not only fixed and hard; it is also flexible and variable. In being and character, Chronos is that by which things come into being and is of great extension or duration (ageless). It is, therefore, the context for good and evil, for birth and wisdom as well as cruelty and mutilation, truth and deception. Fourthly, time also bears a stamp of regularity: the force of Eros causes the regular alternation of the seasons and thus the productivity of the earth. Finally, time as a force also unifies and divides, separates and brings together the spatial dimensions of earth, heaven, and sea as well and the seasonal alternation. Time is almost the container or structure in which the contents move, or the law of change which regulates coming into being, the "recognizable form" during existence, and the inevitable disintegration to which all things are subject. The same force which brings together also rends assunder.

This analysis of time in the Orphic cosmogonies does not permit the conclusion that time is defined as bad or evil and therefore to be escaped or at least feared. Nor if there justification for interpreting time as circular, possessing neither end nor beginning.⁴⁹ A different interpretation of the Orphic cosmogonic accounts is more accurate. In these accounts we find that time is an inescapable characteristic of "existing things," in fact, that temporality is the form or structure--the logos--of the world. Temporal significance derives from the fact that it is created by, and distinct from, Zeus or Chronos (always and ever); therefore, the character of temporality also becomes more clear and more specific. Temporality, in the Orphic accounts, is a matter of sequence and alternation. Since time is described in terms of birth and ceasing to be,

of coming to form and dissolution, it is the opposite of the continuous presence of the origin-point, which persists as the correlate of time. Time is a matter of sequence and duration, is divided into segments, and, therefore, includes death as well as birth. Death is the correlate of life.

We see, then, that time, in the Orphic cosmological framework, has three valences. First, it is sequential rather than circular, a moment. Secondly, time includes end as well as beginning, death as well as life. Finally, death is not a matter of an invasion or interruption into an otherwise good world; death is not the consequence of a fall or the result of a mistake or the sign of a flaw in the world of man. Death inheres in the world and is a trait of existing things.

All cosmogonies, by definition, have as their crucial feature the giving of an account of the genesis of the world. The specific shape the Orphic cosmogonies give the world have been delineated in this chapter. The distinction between gods and world involves the categorical difference between beings whose power, existence, and nature distinguish them from beings who are subject to birth, integration and dissolution, and death. The difference, however, provides the grounds for the bonds that connect the gods to the world: through rule or kingship (governance), naming (knowledge of the world), and sexuality (creativity). Yet the "chaos" of the beginning or origin of the world is neither a distortion nor a disorder but the *Abgrund* which persists with and in the existence of the world as the source of creativity, life, and motion. Paradoxically, the similarities between gods and men enables men to continue to live and participate in naming and in sexuality, and thus in creativity. And again, paradoxically, the similarities between the monistic origin of the world and the world in its multiplicity enable the world to be named, in the words of the Derveni papyrus, "Zeus." The world is a unity. There is, however, no suggestion of a fall or a fault or a defect in the world thus constituted: birth and death, time as a sequence, and mortality are integral to the constitution of the world.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the Orphic cosmogonies--whether profound or common sensical--exemplify an identifiable "spirit" or a "mood." It is a "temper" with many facets but which has an integrity or consistency. It includes diverse, variant--even disproportionate--items in its portrayal of the world's character in presenting a context for human existence. The "world-view" given is neither speculative, philosophic, nor scientific.⁵⁰

In so far as man is like the world and, indeed, embedded in it, the conditions of the world condition his being. As Walter Burkert points out:

In Orphism . . . the function of the cosmogonic myth --to renew life--concentrates still more on the individual: it extends to the renovation of life, the overcoming of death, and the preservation in another world.⁵²

To this it may be added that the Orphic cosmogonies also specify time and death as being inextricably woven into the world so as to give the contours and conditions of human life. The destiny of man is not separated from the destiny of the world.

FOOTNOTES

¹For the purposes of this paper, the Derveni commentary will not be given direct analysis, although references will be made to it for comparative purposes. On the commentary, see S.G. Kapsomenos, "Ο ΟΡΦΙΚΟΣ ΠΑΤΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ" Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 19 (1964): 17-25 and "The Orphic Papyrus Roll of Thessaloniki," Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologist 2 (October 1965): 17-25; and Walter Burkert, "Orpheus und die Vorsokratiker: Bemerkungen zum Derveni-Papyrus und zur pythagoreischen Zahlenlehre," Antike und Abendland 14 (1968): 93-114 and "La genèse des choses et des mots: le papyrus de Derveni entre Anaxagore et Cratyle," Les études philosophiques 25 (1970): 433-55.

²Euripides Melanippe fragment, printed in Dieterich, Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse (Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1913), p. 101, and translated by Gilbert Murray in Jane E. Harrison, Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927; rep.ed., New York and Cleveland: World Publishing Co, 1962), p. 463. The text and translation are also found in G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957; rep.ed., 1963), p. 32. That the fragment played a role in late Orphism is known from its inclusion with other fragments on a clearly Orphic alabaster bowl dated to the third to the sixth centuries A.D.; see R. Delbrueck and W. Volgraff, "An Orphic Bowl," Journal of Hellenic Studies 5 (1934): 129-39. The Melanippe fragment dates to the fifth century B.C., and its Orphic identity stems from its close similarity to the account given by Apollonios Rhodios and its agreement with other Orphic accounts. For further discussion of the Orphic character of the fragment, see Dieterich, Nekyia, pp. 101-02 and Willibald Staudacher, Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde: Ein vorgriechischer Schöpfungsmythos bei Hesiod und den Orphiker (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 102-05.

³Aristophanes Birds was performed in 414 B.C. For the text, see Kern, O.F., fr. 1. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and Festugière accept this passage as Orphic but do not analyze it. Moulinier does not discuss it, nor does Linforth. Kirk and Raven, Presocratic Philosophers, p. 45, discuss the passage in the context of the Orphic cosmogonies but add that it is not specifically Orphic on the strange grounds that the Egg does not appear in all the Orphic contexts; in fact, the Egg rarely appears in any but an Orphic context. J.H. Croon, "De Orphiek," Forum der Letteren 6 (1965): 23, raises and rejects objections to the identification of the passage, as Orphic and Staudacher, Trennung p. 80, concludes that Aristophanes' cosmogony is authentically Orphic, on the grounds that the Nyx-Egg motif is known from other sources and that the birth of Heaven and Earth from Night is Orphic. Nilsson accepts the passage as Orphic and considers it to be a valuable source of information; see Geschichte, 1:685, and "Early Orphism," p. 199.

⁴Eudemos is quoted in Damaskios; see Kern O.F., fr. 28. The text is also found in Diels-Kranz, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, I B 12, and Kirk and Raven, Presocratic Philosophers, p. 21. The authenticity has not been questioned and although its information is sparse the passage is valuable; see Staudacher, Trennung, pp. 77-78, and Ivan M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), p. 155.

⁵Apollonios Rhodios was born 296? 260? See Kern, O.F., fr. 29, for text and translation, see Apollonios Rhodios, Argonautica, with a translation by R.C. Seaton, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: William

Heinemann, 1955). This passage has been identified as "Empedoklean" by Andre Boulanger, "L'orphisme a Rome," Revue des études latines 15 (1937): 121-35. However, main tenets of Empedokles are noticeably absent, and it would be somewhat unusual to have the philosophic views of Empedokles spoken by Orpheus; see Staudacher, Trennung, p. 103. Apollonios explicitly attributes the cosmogony to Orpheus and is likely influenced by Pherecydes; see Diels-Kranz, Fragmente, I B 7 for the reference to Ophion.

⁶See Kern, O.F., frs. 54-59. Fragments 57, 58, and 59 are from Athenagoras Embassy for the Christians 18, 20, and 32; for translation see Athenagoras Embassy for the Christians and The Resurrection of the Dead, trans. and annotated by Joseph Hugh Crehan, Ancient Christian Writers, no. 23, (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press and London: Longmans, Green, 1954). Although the theogony of Hieronymos and Hallanikos does not mention the name of Orpheus, the account is virtually identical to that of Athenagoras who does identify the account as Orphic in a treatise written to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and philosophers. Gruppe Die griechischen Culte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1887): 1:632-40, and W.K.C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (London: Methuen, 1952; rep. ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 74-76, argue convincingly for a sixth century B.C. data.

⁷The Rhapsodies are drawn from a variety of sources; see Kern, O.F. frs. 60-234, and for translation of the metrical fragments, Guthrie, Orpheus, pp. 137-142. Its identity as Orphic is demonstrated by Gruppe, Griechische Culte, 1: 632-40; Guthrie, Orpheus, pp. 77-78, accepts Gruppe's argumentation and a sixth century composition date. Otto Kern, Orpheus: Eine religionsgeschichtlich Untersuchung (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920), pp. 41-50, argued on the basis of similarities between the Rhapsodic Theogony and the Hesiodic literature that the Rhapsodic Theogony itself dates to the seventh or sixth centuries; one can only say that although the motifs appear to belong to the sixth century, its compilation date is unknown. Staudacher, Trennung, pp. 86-88, demonstrates the presence of items that date to the sixth century--Uranos and Gaia, the Egg, and Nyx.

⁸Alexander of Aphrodisias dates to the early third century A.D.; for the text, see Kern, O.F., fr. 107. The information provided by this fragment is least helpful for my purposes. For its identity as Orphic, see Guthrie, Orpheus, pp. 103-104.

⁹Gruppe Griechischen Culte, 1: 643.

¹⁰I will use the following abbreviations for the accounts: EM for Euripides' Melanippe fragment; AB for Aristophanes' Birds; Eud for Eudemos; AR for Apollonios Rhodios' Argonautica; HHA for Hieronymos and Hellanikos, and Athenagoras; RT for Rhapsodic Theogony; and AA for Alexander of Aphrodisias.

¹¹AR and EM go further still to mention contents of the divisions the world--trees and mountains; birds, stars, moon, and sun; rivers, sea creatures, and finally men.

¹²Also in EM; see the Murray translation in Harrison, Themis, p. 463.

¹³See Kern, O.F., frs. 97, 98, and 99. Staudacher's thesis about the distinction between "geneology of rulers" and "creation-idea" in RT and HHA is not clear-cut at this point.

¹⁴Guthrie, Orpheus, pp. 95-96, sees a close relation between the Eros of Aristophanes and the Phanes of the Rhapsodies, and draws the further conclusion: "I for one am ready to give up the struggle and affirm that in describing Eros as he did, Aristophanes must have been playing with the phrases of a poem in the Orphic tradition."

¹⁵For the sexual imagery in later Orphism, in a non-mythical context, see Delbrueck and Volgraff, "An Orphic Bowl," pp. 131-32, and Michael Tierney, "A New Ritual of the Orphic Mysteries," Classical Quarterly 17 (1922): 81.

¹⁶On the dual role of Nyx, see Staudacher, Trennung, pp. 87-88.

¹⁷Athenagoras says only that to god born of the Egg was two-bodied and hermaphroditic, but Damaskios includes further dimensions of this god I will discuss later.

¹⁸AR only mentions Zeus as a child in the Dictaeon cave; the mention may be present to prepare the way for the obvious fact that the present ruler is Zeus.

¹⁹Damaskios reads ὄλη, "form" and Athenagoras reads λάσ, "slime."

²⁰See Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion tr. Rosemary Sheed (New York and Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1958), p. 413. For a discussion of the Egg in the Orphic cosmogonies, see especially Guthrie, Orpheus, pp. 93-95; Robert Eisler, Weltenmantel und Himmelszeit: Religionsgeschichtlich Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1910), pp. 393-97; and Staudacher, Trennung, pp. 94-100. Most of the analyses of the Egg are restricted to either the geographical sources for the Orphic usage or to statements about the Egg as generally symbolic of the origin of life. I will return later to the more specific explanation I have suggested, viz., that the breaking of the Egg symbolizes a rupture or a dissonance.

²¹See Guthrie, Orpheus, p. 81

²²Kern, O.F., fr. 67.

²³Kern, O.F., fr. 108.

²⁴Kern, O.F., fr. 96.

²⁵The "unifying force" is not mentioned in EM, but see the Murray translation in Harrison, Themis, p. 463.

²⁶The meaning of the word "chaos" is most clear in Hesiod Theogony 116-125, where Chaos came into being. In this instance, the cosmos was in existence when Chaos came to be; cf. Theogony 108-114 and esp. 700. Chaos, thus represents the open space or the empty area between the two. The burden of my argument has been that although the Orphic accounts reverse the Hesiodic order, for the Orphics as for Hesiod "chaos" and "cosmos" are not mutually exclusive but stand in tension.

²⁷Kern, O.F., frs. 54 and 57. As I mentioned earlier, Athenagoras reads λάσ and Damaskios ὄλη. Given Damaskios' philosophic predilections ὄλη is the better word, but on the otherhand, Athenagoras, too, had his burden to prove that the Orphics as well as most other Greeks had a despicable and contradictory "theology," as he put it. Yet if Athenagoras' word is "Orphic," my argument about the grotesque origin of the world would find further support; slime is not the most "noble" or "elevated" feature of the world.

²⁸Kern, O.F., frs. 69 and 70. Guthrie, Orpheus, p. 89, remarks of Chronos in RT: "shorn of his monstrous attributes, he appears almost in the form in which a Greek rationalistic philosopher of the sixth century might have cast him."

²⁹Guthrie, Orpheus, p. 94 for a discussion of the cosmic egg and especially for the notion that the egg is born without impregnation--ὑπηγεμειον. If this is the case, we have another exaggeration of sexuality.

³⁰Athenagoras Embassy 20, asserts that because Phanes has a body fashioned from matter he cannot be a god; Phanes is, according to Athenagoras, "in no way different from the vilest beast . . . bestial in form."

³¹Kern, O.F., fr. 76

³²Ibid., fr. 78.

³³Ibid., fr. 79.

³⁴See Guthrie Orpheus, p. 95, for the identification of Eros in AB with Phanes. If this is the case, the dual nature of

Phanes and his behavior finds confirmation in another Orphic cosmogony: Eros both unites and divides.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 95-100, for a discussion of epithets or attributes of Phanes.

³⁶See Homer *Iliad* 24.49 and Hesiod *Theogony* 217-224 and 904-906, where the three sisters spin good and evil for men and also pursue and punish transgressions (*παράσχοις*) of men and gods. Plato *Republic* 10. 617c adds that Klotho has to do with the past, Lachesis the present, and Atropos the future.

³⁷See Hesiod *Theogony* 139-145.

³⁸Ibid., 147-159 and Kern, O.F., fr. 179.

³⁹The six generations of Plato *Philebus* 66c; see Guthrie, *Orpheus*, p. 82.

⁴⁰Kern, O.F., fr. 119 and 120. ⁴¹Ibid., fr. 121.

⁴²See Ibid., fr. 127 where the severed genitals of Ouranos swirl in the white foam they create in the sea.

⁴³Ibid., fr. 58.

⁴⁴Ibid., fr. 167. Fragment D of the Derveni papyrus also contains a reference to the swallowing of the genital; unfortunately, the information is so sparse as to render interpretation impossible.

⁴⁵For a summary of scholarly comment, see Guthrie, *Orpheus*, pp. 75-89.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 90.

⁴⁷One relatively common explanation would assert that the "unusual" or "disproportionate" items are features of idle speculation or fancy. Theodor Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers: A History of Ancient Philosophy*, 4 vols., trans. Laurie Magnus and George G. Berry (London: John Murray, 1949), 1: 94 and 123, speaks of "fable" and "fairy-tale," and of a "surplus of visionary and fantastic elements." Jane E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903; rep. ed., New York and Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1960), p. 658, does not let her high regard for Orphism ("a revived and intensified spirituality, enthusiasm . . . temperance in all . . . a marvellous gentleness to all living things. . .") stand in the way of finding a reverse side: ". . . lapse into arid symbolism, pseudo-science, pseudo-philosophy . . . squalid credulity." It can be added that Harrison was using her description of the "high" and the "low" in Orphism to serve as a description of her day as well.

⁴⁸Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 103-14.

⁴⁹It is difficult, consequently, to understand the interpretation of Manfred Lurker, "Der Kreis als symbolischer Ausdruck der kosmischen Harmonie," *Studium Generale* 19 (1966): 525, who contends that Zeus as beginning and end signified circularity; the distinction between the time of Zeus (always and forever) and the time of the world (beginning and cessation) rules out this view.

⁵⁰Interestingly enough, the most valuable accounts I have used as evidence date to the fifth (EM, AB), fourth (Eud and the Derveni papyrus) or early third (AR) centuries; the most likely dating for HHA and RT is the sixth or fifth century.

⁵¹Burkert, "Orpheus und die Vorsokratiker," p. 104.

THE JEWISH ORPHEUS:

A new reading of a Jewish mystical hymn from the Hellenistic period.

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The piece commented on in this paper is a pseudo-Orphic hymn, long recognized as Jewish in origin. The hymn exists in two versions¹, one considerably longer than the other and also more difficult to understand. Previous scholarship² has, as I see it, missed some key points necessary for understanding this longer version, and, because it seemed incoherent as it stands, concluded that it was secondary to the shorter version, and full of mutually discordant interpolations. It is the purpose of this paper to show that careful attention to this longer version, and proper comparison with other Hellenistic material, reveals it to be a consistent, unified, and even tightly written composition. More interestingly for the general reader, the proposed interpretation points to the existence of an early Jewish mystical group with a distinctive theology related to contemporary gnostic and Hermetic groups.

The following is my translation of the long version of the hymn to be commented on. I stick for the most part to the text established by Mras³ - points at which I depart will be discussed in the body of the paper.

1. I will sing for those for whom it is lawful,
but you uninitiate, close your doors,
2. Charged under the laws of the Just ones, for
the divinity has legislated
3. For all alike. But you, son of the light-bearing
Moon,
4. Musaeus, listen, for I proclaim the Truth.
5. Let not what you formerly felt lose for you
a happy eternity,
6. But look to the divine word, study it closely,
7. Guiding your heart, that knowing vessel.
Set out firmly
8. On the path, and look only at the undying
Shaper of the universe.
9. There is an ancient saying about him:
10. "He is one" -- self-completing, and all things
completed by him;
11. In them he himself circulates. But no one
has seen him
12. With the souls mortals have, he is seen
[only] by Mind.
13. He does not take good things and make them
into evil

14. For people, but he comes in company with
love and hate,
15. And war and plague and weeping pain --
16. "And there is no other." You would understand
everything
17. If you were to see him. But before that,
here on earth sometimes,
18. My son, I will point it out to you, whenever
I notice his footsteps,
19. And the strong hand of the mighty God.
20. But I do not see him, because around [him]
a cloud is set up,
21. A thin one for me, but ten-fold for all
[other] people.
22. And no one has seen the ruler of mortal men,
23. Except a certain unique person, an offshoot
of the ancient race
24. Of Chaldeans. For he was knowledgeable
about the path of the Star,
25. And the movement of the sphere as it circles
around the earth,
26. Circling alike, but each on its own axis.
27. He rides in spirit through the air and through
the water
28. Of the river. A fiery comet made these things
manifest -- he became full of might.
29. Yes, he now is established in the great heaven
30. On a golden throne. The earth lies beneath his
feet.
31. He stretches out his right hand to the ends
of the ocean.
32. The foundation of the mountains trembles within
at [his] anger,
33. They cannot endure the mighty power.
34. He is entirely heavenly, and he brings
everything to completion on earth,
35. Being "the beginning, the middle, and the end"
36. As the saying of the ancients, as the one
water-born has described it,
37. The one who received from God, in the form
of sayings, a double law.
38. It is unlawful to say anything else. I tremble
before [new] members
39. In Mind. He rules from above over everything
in an order,
40. My son. Approach him with your mind.
41. Do not betray, but guard the divine message
in your heart.⁴

[The translation of lines 38b-39 is somewhat tentative, following suggestions given in the paper. A somewhat more conservative translation would be, "I tremble in my members./ He rules from above over everything in a Mind-like order."]

The chief point of my argument has to do with the scheme of the whole as it appears in the long version, and the light this throws on some particular problems of interpretation in lines 22-35.

The hymn is introduced as esoteric instruction, inviting "those for whom it is lawful" to listen, while excluding the "profane". In the longer version (not the shorter) the hymn ends on a similar note, "Do not betray, but guard the divine message in your heart".

Again in a section contained in only in the longer version (lines 22-28), the hymn speaks of a matter quite proper in esoteric instruction: the divine vision and how one attains it. Here the vision is attributed to "an offshoot of the...Chaldeans" -- probably Abraham (though Moses is also a possibility). He alone of all mortals came to see God, and this was through his knowledge of astrology (l. 24-26)

The next lines, in the long version, are at first sight problematic. Lines 27 and 28 have many textual variants, and because of the difficulties there have been many suggested emendations. The text I read is without emendations except for an omission of πυρός for the sake of the meter:

27. πνεύματι· δ' ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἥερα καί περὶ χεῦμα

28. νάματος· ἐκφαίνει· δὲ (πυρός) σέλας τάδε· ἴφι γενήθη.

A key question here is the subject of ἡνιοχεῖ. And this problem continues with the following section:

29. αὐτὸς δὲ μέγαν αὔθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται·

Lines 30-34 proceed with further images of God from the Old Testament - but there has been no mention of God (to be an antecedent for αὐτὸς) for 9 lines. The most likely antecedent, grammatically, is Abraham!

These problems have served as grounds for suspecting interpolations, but a rather plain and grammatically straightforward reading points to a depiction of something quite appropriate in an esoteric instruction about an ideal figure's divine vision -- the heavenly ascent, transforming initiation, and apotheosis of Abraham.

Accordingly, I understand the subject of ἡνιοχεῖ to be Abraham, the subject of the previous sentence. ἡνιοχεῖν means to drive a chariot (from ἡνία "reins"), and in the Jewish tradition, following the Elijah story, the chariot is a frequent means of heavenly ascent.⁵

"He became full of might" (ἴφι γενήθη) I take to be a reference to a quasi-divine transformation -- gaining divine power is a frequent theme in gnostic initiation.

The interpretation of the divine images from the Old Testament that follow is a more complex matter. It is possible to read it simply as a description of the apotheosis of Abraham. The description of a similar initiatory ascent in *Poimandres* (par. 26) ends with a merging into God, and the statement "this is the good end of those who attain gnosis, to become God [$\Theta\epsilon\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$]". And in another Hellenistic Jewish writer, Ezekiel the Tragedian, there is an account of an enthronement of Moses in heaven.⁶

This interpretation is possible. On the other hand, it is perhaps too extraordinary in a Jewish context to have a human being attain such a divine status, with no differentiation between this status and that of the One God. The following seems more likely, then.

The Jewish reader would immediately recognize the images as references to God, and would understand $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ as a reference to God also. However this description of the divine majesty is led up to by an account of Abraham entering the divine realm, and the grammatical lapse is deliberate. Grammatically the description of Abraham's initiatory vision/ascent gets lost in, suddenly changes into, a description of God - and this mirrors the fact that in this experience Abraham himself 'gets lost in' the glory of God, in a way that is deliberately left unclear.

In this understanding, the hymn parallels in several points the Hermetic tractate *Poimandres*. There also we have esoteric instruction climaxing in an account of the heavenly ascent and apotheosis of a figure taken to be paradigmatic for other initiates. There the ascent is made through the seven planetary spheres, which is similar to the connection of Abraham's ascent with his knowledge of 'the path of the Star, etc.'" (See also C.H. IV, "How many paths of stars....must we pass through in order to reach the One and Only.") Another point of contact between the two documents, not directly related to the ascent, is a dualistic psychology involving $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ as a higher faculty and $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (*Poimandres*) or $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ (this hymn) as an inferior one. *Poimandres*, on its side, quotes the Jewish Genesis (par. 18), so that contact between Hermetic and Jewish groups, hence borrowing also in the other direction, is not unlikely.

The features of the hymn treated so far constitute the major differences between the longer version of the hymn and the shorter. The other important differences between the two versions come in lines 9-17, where they both have roughly the same amount of material, but with numerous variations in respect to each other. Again, the shorter version has been seen as the more easily intelligible, and therefore the more original. And again, as above,

I want to show that the difficulties in the long version are due primarily to the somewhat esoteric character of its thought patterns, and disappear once these are grasped.

At first sight, lines 9-17 appear to be a string of rather conventional theologoumena only loosely thrown together. But two observations suggest that there is more.

First, we have a favorite Jewish scripture quore "He is one" (the opening of the *shema*, Dt. 6:4), introduced as an "ancient saying". Several lines later there is a related scripture quote "And there is no other" (a repeated refrain in Is. ch. 45-46) - this time remarkably abrupt in its context. It seems quite likely, then that we are dealing with a composite scripture "saying", which has been split up, and now sandwiches other material.

Secondly, line 13 is peculiarly worded: αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει ἀνθρώποις. literally, "he does not from good things prepare evil for mortal men." The wording makes sense, however, if we understand it as polemic - a specific denial of an opponent's assertion that there is a malicious God who turns good things into evil. The positing of a malicious divine principle, was of course, one solution to the problem of evil current in the Hellenistic age. And that the author of this hymn has in mind the problem of evil is suggested in the following two lines: "He comes in company with love and hate, and war and plague and weeping pain". That is, the author proposes that God does not maliciously cause evil, but that he is somehow present in apparent evils -- most likely the suggestion is that this transforms their nature. This assertion of God's immanence in apparent evils goes along with a very strong assertion of his immanence in the world in general in line 11, "in them [his creatures] he circulates."

These statements are framed by the monotheistic formula "He is one and there is no other". The whole, then, hangs together quite well if we assume that the author's polemic is against those who, in order to avoid making the supremely good God responsible for evil, posit a second 'malicious' divine principle. Against this he asserts "He is one and there is no other," adding his own monistic solution to the problem.

Following this line of interpretation, the remaining lines in this section are to be treated as an explanation of why the one God's presence in the world (including in suffering) is not evident to all. "He is not seen by the soul mortals have [human, natural intelligence], but by Mind [a divine principle developed by mystics]....You would see everything [understand all the above] if you were to see him [in a transformative vision such as Abraham's]."

Read in this way, these lines remain a patchwork of theologoumena. But they are selected and arranged in such a way as to provide an esoteric exposition of the composite scripture saying that frames the whole. Such esoteric exegesis is probably referred to early in the hymn: "Look to the divine word, study it closely, [so] guiding your heart, that knowing vessel."

This is the burden of my interpretative proposals toward a rehabilitation of the longer version of the hymn. Seen in this light it is full of quite interesting and intriguing ideas. It is, to be sure, couched in somewhat obscure terms, but this befits the form of esoteric instruction announced in the introduction. In comparison, the short version, while easily understandable, is also completely conventional and prosaic - the "mystery" introduction, which it also has, is mere window dressing for theological platitudes, common themes to be found almost everywhere in Jewish propaganda literature. This suggests a reversal of the common opinion -- rather than being original, the short version is a cleaned up, orthodoxizing redaction of the more heterodox, syncretistic, and esoteric longer version.

As to the Sitz im Leben of the longer version, two features make it likely that it was actually used in an esoteric Jewish group. First of all, its very obscurity makes it ill suited for propaganda purposes -- most likely even in the Hellenistic age it was only fully understandable to those who had some special acquaintance with the issues and thought patterns involved. Secondly, the hymn shows a very well developed and consistent mystical theology, and it seems unlikely that this could be a mere ad hoc creation for a piece of propaganda. If this hymn itself was not used in an actual esoteric group (the archaic language of the piece is the sole evidence weighing against this) it almost surely imitates hymns that were.

I want to close with a rather tentative reading of lines 38 and 39. The Greek reads:

38. ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δὲ γε ρυῖα
39. ἐν νόῳ· ἔξ ὑπάρτου κραίνει· περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.

Most want to translate 38b as "I tremble in my [bodily] members". But this makes ἐν νόῳ of the following line problematic. If this hymn was actually used as a kind of mini-initiation in an esoteric group, it might be proper to read, "I tremble before [stand in awe of] [newly initiated] member's in Mind." The initiator, impersonating "Orpheus" as singer of the hymn, is acknowledging the new divine status of those being initiated (collectively designated as Orpheus' son/pupil Musaeus).

As to 38a and 39b, they may have to do with a certain sequence to be followed in progressive divulging of mysteries, progressive series of initiations in the group. "It is unlawful to speak further [mysteries, at this time]...He rules from above over everything [specifically initiation sequences] in an order."

Both these suggestions receive some support from the Hermetic tractate found at Nag Hammadi (Disc. 8-9). That document begins with a mention of the τάξις παραδωσας, the "order of transmission" that is being followed in the progressive initiation of the "son" by the "father". And later (58:23), following the climax of the "son's" initiation, the "father" mentions that he is now "one who cannot be spoken to."

FOOTNOTES

1. The shorter version is found in two works of "pseudo-Justin", De Monarchia (ch. 2) and Cohortatio ad Gentiles (ch. 15). See Otto, Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum. The longer version is found in Eusebius Praep. Ev. 13:12:5. See the GCS edition of Eusebius, ed. K. Mras.
2. N. Walter's Die Thoraausleger Aristobulos has the latest treatment as well as a useful summary of previous work.
3. In his GCS edition of Eusebius.
4. This last line is the one line of the longer version that seems to me unsalvageable. Since the Theosophical text has at this point a metrically sound and intelligible text, I have followed it here. See N. Walter ad loc.
5. See Test. Abr. ch. 10, I Enoch 70:2, Heb. Enoch 6:1. The reading πνευματι at the beginning of line 27 is not attested in Mras, apparently by oversight, but it is given by Walter (Thoraausleger), in Kern (Orphic. Frag. #247) and in Staehlin's GCS edition of Clement's Stromata V:123:2-124:1.
6. Eusebius Praep. Ev. IX:28. See also the enthronement of Enoch as the "lesser Yahweh" in Heb. Enoch ch. 10-13.
7. This opinion is commonly associated with Marcion, but is by no means limited to him. See for example the Hypostasis of the Archons from Nag Hammadi. And as early as the Wisdom of Solomon we find polemic against the idea that God introduced evil (death) into the world (1:13).

S 177 Hans-Herbert Stoldt, GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK DER MARKUS-HYPOTHESE
Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977, pp. 125-144. Translated by
Donald Neiwycyk, Dept. of History, S.M.U.

B Critical Analysis of the Evidence for the validity of the Marcan Hypothesis.

I. The proof of the common narrative sequence.

We have seen in the course of our examination up until now that neither Wilke nor Weisse nor Holtzmann nor Wernle nor Bernhard Weiss has been able to provide proof for the priority of the Gospel of Mark. Without prejudice to this, one could now raise the question: Even if this is the case, is there not proof, based on extensive research, that the Gospel of Mark has been the source of the other two synoptic writers?

Regarded as the most important, indeed the really penetrating main argument for the correctness of the Marcan Hypothesis is the proof of the common thread of narration (Akoluthie) or, according to Karl Lachmann's treatise "De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis" (1835): proof from order.

The founder of the two-source theory, Christian Hermann Weisse, puts the main emphasis of his whole argumentation for the priority of Mark directly on this proof from order: "A view that differs still further from the contemplation of style and the representation of details is that of the composition and arrangement of the whole. It is precisely this examination which carries the ultimate, decisive weight in favor of our view on the mutual relationship of the synoptic gospels; just as it is this examination that we will painstakingly pursue beyond the present introductory paragraph throughout the entire course of our historical presentation." (Evangelische Geschichte, vol. I p. 68).

Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, the "new founder of the Marcan Hypothesis," champions the same viewpoint: "Herein lies the essential strength of the Marcan Hypothesis: here it never has been shaken, scarcely even attacked, let alone refuted. As if of their own accord, the passages of Matthew in particular transform themselves once more into a historical order which coincides with that of Mark as soon as they are freed from the subject order subsequently imposed upon them." (Introduction N.T. 1892³ p. 359).

And William Wrede declares in his famous work "Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien" (1901, 1913²):

"I agree completely with Holtzmann - and I may add, with Wernle, too--when he notes that the strength of the Marcan Hypothesis lies specifically in the fact that the sequence of the narrations by Matthew and Luke is based on the sequence by Mark." (p. 145).

What is to be made of this assertion of the common thread of narration or the sequence of narration, the "Akoluthie"? Is there indeed such a sequence that is held "in common" by all three synoptic writers? The answer is: The Gospel of Mark nowhere enters into a consistent narrative connexion with the other two Gospels; rather, it runs parallel to these two others, always only temporarily and partially, in changing intervals and in quite different lengths. Sometimes it runs parallel to Matthew for a passage, sometimes to Luke, sometimes to both, occasionally to neither. Insofar as all three do not conform, the parallelism of one of them to Mark ceases as soon as it begins with the other.

Now, instead of saying "Mark runs parallel to Matthew and Luke" - as long as this has not been incontestably proved - one can just as well say: "These two run parallel to Mark." Wilke, who together with C. H. Weisse is regarded as the founder of the Marcan Hypothesis, says: "Mark is always the one accompanied." (see above, p. 31), and Weisse, Holtzmann and Wernle claim that Matthew and Luke always return to Mark's main thread of narration. But

this is precisely the question, whether Mark is the accompanied or the one who accompanies. And when one returns to the other, he must have deviated from him beforehand. The question remains: Who from whom?

For there is not much to the "thread of narration, held in common by and running evenly through all three Gospels" (Weisse): Luke, in his so-called "Little Insertion" (6,20-8,3), has a narrative context of one and a half chapters for which no equivalent whatever is to be found in Mark. But, worse still: In his extended "Lucan travel narrative" (9,51- 18,14) an additional, this time enormous breach yawns in the "thread of narration, held in common by and running evenly through all three Gospels," one that extends for nine chapters, and for which there is in Mark likewise not the slightest equivalent! Griesbach had explained this as follows, "(ut Marcus) tertiam fere Evangelii Lucae partem intactum praetenmitteret" (Commentatio p. 366).

But it does not stop here. The Gospel of Mark too has an extended narrative report of almost two chapters (6, 45-8, 26) which has no parallel whatever in the Gospel of Luke! This fact of the so-called "Marcan gap in Luke" was felt time and time again to be so aggravating for advocates of the Marcan Hypothesis that they took refuge in the Ultimatum refugium of all failed proponents of a hypothesis, in the "defective copy" of Mark that was available to Luke. Edward Reuss (1804-1891), a supporter of the Marcan Hypothesis, writes accordingly:

"Mark 6:45-8:26 did not appear in the book which Luke followed for the most part in one section of his work...therefore all that we can do is pronounce his source a defective copy" (Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments. 1842, 1852² p. 174).

Even in our time Bultmann followed him in this respect: "I shall not deal here with the question of whether Luke deliberately passed over chapters 6:45-8:26 or whether he--as appears more likely to me--did not read it in his Mark" (Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition. 1957³ p. 387 footnote).

As a result it appears that one simply cannot ignore the view that Luke and Mark have no common story line. Not only B. H. Streeter has come to this realization (The four Gospels. 1924, 1930⁴ p. 167.f) but also Bultmann himself must concede: "But in the joining of the sources he (Luke) proceeds differently from Matthew. He does not take the structure of Mark as a basis" (p. 347; authors italics).

Continuous divergences from the narrative sequence also occur in the first half of the Gospel of Matthew (4,24-13,58). The oldest advocate of the Marcan Hypothesis - before Wilke and Weiss - Gottlob Christian Storr ("De fonte evangeliorum Matthaei et Lucae" 1794) had already recognized this. In his second work "Ueber den Zweck der evangelischen Geschichte und der Briefe des Johannes" (On the Purpose of Evangelical History and the Letters of John) he declares: "Only in the story of the resurrection and in the period of the life of Jesus described in Mark 1:21-6:12 and in Matthew chapters 5-13 do both writers differ noticeably from one another" (1810², p. 294).

And exactly this deviation in the narrative sequence between Matthew and Luke had become for Lachmann the impetus to his work "De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis." He compared the same section out of Matthew and Mark (Mk. 1:21-6:13: Mt. 4:24-13:58) as Storr had; he divided the whole into chapters ("Capita"), and came to the conclusion: "intelleges: quae enim apud Marcum sunt tertium, quartum, septimum ea Mattheo quartum, septimum, octavum; item Marci quintum, sextum, octavum, Matthaei tertium, quintum, sextum" (De ordine narrationum p. 576).

One can illustrate the diverging Akoluthie in Matthew and Mark still more clearly by starting out with a cohesive narrative passage by Matthew and

juxtaposing the parallel reports of Mark, numbering the sequence on both sides:

1, Leper	Mt 8:1-4	Mk 1:4-45	3,
2, Centurion's pericope	8:5-13	-	
3, Peter's mother-in-law	8:14-15	1:29-31	1,
4, Evening healings	8:16-17	1:32-34	2,
5, Rejected disciples	8:18-22	-	
6, Stilling of the storm	8:23-27	4:35-41	7,
7, Demoniac	8:28-9,1	5:1-20	8,
8, Paralytic	9:2-9,8	2:1-12	4,
9, Meal with the customs officials	9:9-13	2:13-17	5,
10, Question of fasting	9:14-15	2:18-20	6,
11, Jairus's daughter	9:18-26	5:22-43	9,

The divergence becomes even clearer when one numbers the comparable passages in Mark's sequence and juxtaposes those of Matthew:

<u>Mark</u>	<u>Matthew</u>
1, Peter's mother-in-law	2,
2, Evening healings	3,
3, Leper	1,
4, Paralytic	6,
5, Meal with the customs officials	7,
6, Question of fasting	8,
7, Stilling of the storm	4,
8, Demoniac	5,
9, Jairus's daughter	9,

Missing in this arrangement of the sequence by Mark are the two Matthean pericopes of the centurion of Capernaum and of the rejected disciples, which in Matthew appear in second and in fifth place respectively, but have no equivalent in Mark.

In view of the evidence that has been produced of a strong discrepancy in the "Akoluthie" of all three synoptic Gospels, one asks: Just where is the "thread of narration held in common by and running evenly through all three Gospels?" And how, in view of such facts, can a coherent thread of narration be spoken of at all? For the truth is: There is no common thread of narration among the synoptic authors! Matthew has his story line, Luke has his story line, and Mark has his story line. But to declare the last as the "common" one is to give preference to the gospel of Mark -- preference not justified by confirmed evidence. Ferdinand Christian Baur has spoken on this subject, as on so many others, the final word: "It is an a priori tenet."

A simple deliberation elucidates the error made by the advocates of the Marcan Hypothesis when they compare the three Gospels: They draw forth from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke only those parts for comparison which have equivalent contents in the gospel of Mark, i.e., they start their comparison of the three Gospels only with the beginning of the Gospel of Mark. Thereby a key position is given to the latter from the very start. That, however, is an inadmissible anticipation of the result.

But even within the limitation set by the beginning and the end of the Gospel of Mark, one cannot even speak of any continuous common material in terms of content and theme: The Sermon on the Mount, with its parallel equivalent, the Sermon on the Plain in Luke, as well as the centurion's pericope, John the Baptist's question, Jesus' sermon about John the Baptist, and the sermons of John the Baptist himself, all together constitute clear ruptures of the Marcan story line, quite apart from the fact that the extensive travel narrative of Luke cannot be fitted at all into a continuous thread of narration. In view of this Bruno Bauer correctly comments:

"For six chapters Jesus is active in Gallilee; throughout nine chapters he travels to Jerusalem" (Synoptiker vol. 3 p. 85).

Indeed this characterizes exactly the enormous discrepancy in Akoluthie between Mark and Luke.

The grave, and indeed decisive mistake of the advocates of Marcan priority lies in the fact that they also eliminate from the "comparative material" that content matter in the other two synoptic authors which appears in the structural framework of Mark but is not contained in the Gospel of Mark itself; they accomplish this by claiming from the very beginning -- without being able to present proof for it -- that this material was added by Matthew or Luke to the material and framework of Mark. Only on the basis of this unproven assumption can Holtzmann claim:

"But if one takes the sequence of the individual narrations by Mark and arranges the stories by Matthew in one sequence and those by Luke in another, one can prove step by step that each of the other two writers presupposes precisely this first sequence by Mark as the original." (Einleitung N.T. 1855 p. 359).

Now, it is not really quite that simple. For the only one who here assumes that the sequence of Mark is the original is Holtzmann. In doing so he commits an egregious classical *Petitio principii*: the proposition that needs to be proved is already assumed proven and used by him as evidence. And only in this way can he claim, as mentioned at the beginning (see above, p. 125)

"As if of their own accord, the passages by Matthew in particular transform themselves once more into a historical order which coincides with that of Mark as soon as they are freed from the subject order subsequently imposed upon them."

But here too one must again reply: Not the slightest thing transforms itself into the order of Mark--it is Holtzmann who does it. For how does he know which is the "subject order subsequently imposed upon them" by Matthew and Luke from which the passages must be freed? Exactly that must be proved to begin with. Since Holtzmann is unable to do that and does not provide such proof, he postulates his assertion as proven even though the order of the material neither by Matthew nor by Luke in the available form is congruent with that of Mark.

And how can this previous order really transform itself again into a "historical order which coincides with that of Mark?" Well, one has only to eliminate those parts of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which have no equivalent in Mark and to regroup the remaining parts according to the order of Mark (who, it will be recalled sometimes parallels Matthew, sometimes Luke); then, of course, these parts transform themselves into a historical order which coincides with the one by Mark -- but not "as if of their own accord!"

One must now scrutinize Bornkamm's assertion in the RGG³: "If Mark were not available to us, he could be reconstructed in his main features from the other two [Evangelists]." (Vol. II p. 755). For the scholar who could accomplish this without knowledge of the Gospel of Mark one would have to erect a monumentum aere perennius. For, to be sure, this reconstruction is possible only if one postulates knowledge of the Gospel of Mark. If one does not do that, another Gospel, even in its "main features," could indeed be constructed only on the basis of the common material of the first and third Evangelists. Then the reconstruction would yield the following, not contained in Mark: a prehistory, an *Evangelium infantiae*, a genealogy, a posthistory, the resurrection appearances as well as a Sermon on the Mount, and the entire remaining parallel material contained in Matthew and Luke. However, from the content of Mark it would have only those pericopes which he has in common with both of the other synoptic authors, but not those in which he runs parallel only to one of the two. For how should the restorer know, without knowledge of the Gospel of Mark, that it has the report of the beheading of John the Baptist in common only with Matthew, and the pericope of the exorcist that did not follow the disciples only with Luke? Or viewed the other way around: that this Lucan pericope has a parallel in Mark, but that the raising of the widow's son does not? The same holds true for the widow's mite. On the other hand, the parable of the talents which is contained in both Matthew and Luke without having an equivalent in Mark, would at all events have to be included in that Marcan Gospel which is reconstructed from the other two Gospels.

One can see that the whole argumentation that the Gospel of Mark appears as a common narrative line in Matthew and Luke -- so that these two are constructed "as if of their own accord" after the Marcan order -- rests on a preconceived opinion and is not secured or supported by reality. The truth is rather: There is neither a continuously factual nor even a merely reconstructible common narrative line. What then is there? There are only shifting parallels between Mark on the one hand and Matthew and Luke on the other -- sometimes one, sometimes the other.

Now the extraordinary, characteristic, and hence decisive fact here is one that may be derived logically: Insofar as all three synoptic authors are not in harmony and insofar as Mark does not stand alone in advancing material (as, for example, the two miracles of healing the deaf-mute and the blind man of Bethsaida), Matthew and Luke alternate in running parallel to the Gospel of Mark; that is to say, at the same moment that the parallelism of one of these two Evangelists to Mark ceases, the parallelism of the other one to Mark begins. Mark is therefore always -- well, what? The "accompanied," as Wilke claimed, or is he the one accompanying? In the first instance the initiative thereto would lie with Matthew and Luke -- in the second instance, however, with Mark. In other words: There Mark would possess priority -- here posteriority. And thirdly: the "accompanied" Mark would have been the model for Matthew and Luke; the accompanying Mark, however, would have used these two as sources.

Let us suppose that Mark were indeed the accompanied, as advocates of Marcan priority; how then could the alternating accompaniment of Matthew and Luke be explained? According to the unanimous opinion of supporters of the Marcan hypothesis, both had the Gospel of Mark in front of them and used it as a model, independently and without knowledge of each other. How, then, does this rhythmical change in the "accompaniment" of Mark come about? Can it be explained at all?

It is completely inexplicable -- unless through a transcendental contact ... What a mysterious understanding would have had to be present for Luke to have known exactly when Matthew stopped accompanying Mark; that he then should have jumped in, at that same moment and without being told, in order to assume the accompaniment in place of Matthew, until after some time he stopped again, to be replaced by Matthew. This would have had to go on, back and forth, throughout the entire Gospel of Mark, from the beginning to the end. What

magical events could have caused this repeated exchange of roles, and in uneven sequence and length at that? And by which utterly enigmatic agreement would the first and third Evangelists have sensed, without knowledge of each other, when the other receded from the narrative sequence of Mark; and through what uncanny clairvoyant contact could they have received from time to time the magical impetus once more to take their turns accompanying Mark? This whole conception is -- well, let us just say: scarcely believable.

Hence only one other possibility remains -- and it is the only one which shows sense and understanding -- that Mark revised the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, using them as his models and choosing freely between them. In doing so he followed sometimes the narrative sequence of one and sometimes that of the other, or -- whenever they coincided -- both at the same time.

Christian Hermann Weisse, in his "Akoluthie proof," has given a central function to this occasional congruence of all three synoptical authors in matters of narrative sequence and theme, actually placing it at the center of his argumentation. Since then (1856) "Weisse's canon" has been considered the main support of the Marcan hypothesis. It states: "Even within those parts held in common by all three synoptic authors, the agreement of the other two is always established by Mark. That is to say, the other two coincide with each other only insofar as they are also congruent with Mark, where the order of the whole as well as the syntax of the details is concerned. But whenever they deviate from Mark, they also always diverge (except for a few insignificant omissions where the concurrence may be considered accidental)." (Evangelienfrage p. 72f; author's italics).

For the moment we shall not deal with the fact that Weisse's canon obviously leaves questions open so that he must save himself by resorting to the insignificance of the exceptions and to "general contingency." Instead, let us limit ourselves to the factual content of his canon, his main principle. It states: Matthew and Luke always concur with one another only insofar as they simultaneously agree with Mark; therefore, says Weisse, their concurrence is "always established solely by the agreement of these two with each other."

The fact that the second conclusion can be drawn just as well from Weisse's reasoning shows that Weisse's deduction is wrong. It is wrong because it is not compelling.

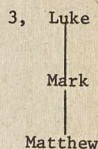
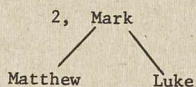
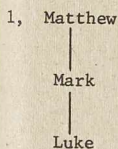
One of the few who have recognized this fundamental error in logic is B. C. Butler, "Abbot of Downside," in his book "The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document - Hypothesis," 1951: "The argument conceals a schoolboyish error of elementary reasoning at the very base of the Two-Document - Hypothesis" (p. 63). That objection is justified. Butler, in an amusing example taken from the book by E. A. Abbott, "The Fourfold Gospel" (sect. 1 p. 2) shows just how wrong Weisse's argumentation is:

"Matthew and Luke are in the position of two schoolboys, Primus and Tertius, seated on the same form, between whom sits another, Secundus (Mark). All three are writing (we will suppose) a narrative of the same event . . . Primus and Tertius copy largely from Secundus. Occasionally the two copy the same words; then we have agreement of three writers. At other times Primus (Matthew) copies what Tertius (Luke) does not . . . At others, Tertius (Luke) copies what Primus (Matthew) does not . . . But Primus and Tertius cannot look over each other's shoulders, and hence agreement of them 'against' Secundus is only by accident. As the same results (exactly) will follow, if Secundus copied from Primus (or Tertius) and was himself copied by Tertius (or Primus), we must hope that Abbott, who was headmaster of a famous school, is not illustrating from real life" (p. 66).

In order to illustrate the full dimension and significance of Weisse's fallacy, one which had such extremely momentous consequences for the entire further development of the Marcan hypothesis, it is useful to display purely

theoretically the logical possibilities resulting from Weisse's premise. Already Butler had recognized that "We are left with three possible 'relations' of the problem of the 'triple tradition' and none of them is more probable than the other, on the evidence so far presented" (p. 66). But even that has not been thought through completely. In the following we juxtapose all of the theoretical possibilities with Butler's scheme of "possible relations:"

Butler:



Actual possibilities:

I. Without source:

Matthew, Mark and Luke arrived at agreement without negotiation, and thus independently and without knowledge of one another.

II. Utilization of a preevangelical source:

- 1) All three used the same preevangelical source.
- 2) Two used the same preevangelical source (=Q); the third used both other Gospels:
 - a) Mt and Lk use Q,
Mk uses Mt and Lk,
 - b) Mt and Mk use Q,
Lk uses Mt and Mk,
 - c) Mk and Lk use Q,
Mt. uses Mk and Lk.
- 3) Two used the same preevangelical source; the third used only one of the other two Gospels:
 - a) Mt and Mk use Q,
Lk uses either Mt or Mk,
 - b) Mt and Lk use Q,
Mk uses either Mt or Lk,
 - c) Mk and Lk use Q,
Mt uses either Mk or Lk.
- 4) One Evangelist used one preevangelical source; the other two used this Gospel:
 - a) Mt uses Q,
Mk and Lk use Mt,
 - b) Mk uses Q,
Mt and Lk use Mk,
 - c) Lk uses Q,
Mt and Mk use Lk.
- 5) One Evangelist uses Q; the second uses the first; the third uses the second:
 - a) Mt uses Q,
aa) Mk uses Mt, Lk uses Mk,
ab) Lk uses Mt, Mk uses Lk,

- b) Mk uses Q,
- ba) Mt uses Mk, Lk uses Mt,
- bb) Lk uses Mk, Mt uses Lk,
- c) Lk uses Q,
- ca) Mt uses Lk, Mk uses Mt,
- cb) Mk uses Lk, Mt uses Mk.

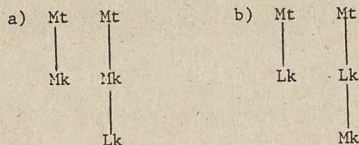
III. Internal utilization of the Evangelists without a preevangelical source:

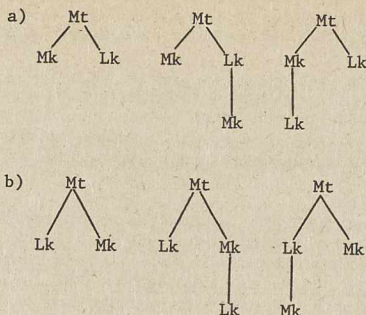
- 1) One Gospel is original; the other two use this Gospel:
 - a) Mt is original,
Mk and Lk use Mt,
 - b) Mk is original,
Mt and Lk use Mk,
 - c) Lk is original,
Mt and Mk use Lk.
- 2) One Gospel is original; the second Evangelist uses the first; the third uses the second:
 - a) Mt is original,
 - aa) Mk uses Mt, Lk uses Mk,
 - ab) Lk uses Mt, Mk uses Lk,
 - b) Mk is original,
 - ba) Mt uses Mk, Lk uses Mt,
 - bb) Lk uses Mk, Mt uses Lk,
 - c) Lk is original,
 - ca) Mt uses Lk, Mk uses Mt,
 - cb) Mk uses Lk, Mt uses Mk.
- 3) Two Gospels are original and have reached concurrence independently of each other; the third Evangelist uses the two others:
 - a) Mt and Mk concur originally,
Lk uses Mt and Mk,
 - b) Mt and Lk concur originally,
Mk uses Mt and Lk,
 - c) Mk and Lk concur originally,
Mt uses Mk and Lk.
- 4) Two Gospels concur originally; the third Evangelist uses one of the two.
 - a) Mt and Lk concur originally,
 - aa) Lk uses Mt,
 - ab) Lk uses Mk,
 - b) Mt and Lk concur originally,
 - ba) Mk uses Mt,
 - bb) Mk uses Lk,
 - c) Mk and Lk concur originally,
 - ca) Mt uses Mk,
 - cb) Mt uses Lk.

Presented schematically, it appears as follows, using Matthew as an example:

Matthew

- 1) no other Gospel used
- 2) one other Gospel used:



3) Two other Gospels used:

For every synoptic author eleven possibilities are feasible: thirty-three all together. But Christian Hermann Weisse considers only possibility III.1 b as given: Mark is the original; Matthew and Luke use Mark.

The unfortunate thing about this is the fact that out of thirty three theoretically feasible possibilities he declares this one to be logically compelling and with that considers the Marcan hypothesis as proved. Worse yet, research has -- with few exceptions -- accepted this fundamental fallacy. What was it that Holtzmann said? "Herein lies the essential strength of the Marcan Hypothesis: here it never has been shaken, ... let alone refuted" (see above p. 125).

Now there remains within the sphere of the "Akoluthie" proof yet another fundamental error in historical research -- a misconception, to be precise -- to be clarified and corrected, one that has extended throughout the entire history of the Marcan Hypothesis ever since Christian Hermann Weisse conceived it. It will be recalled that Weisse, in establishing the two-source theory had laid claim (without justification) to the authority of Schleiermacher in order to support his contention that Luke, too, must have used the Logia collection of Matthew mentioned by Papias. He had stated that "the famous theologian" himself undoubtedly would have abandoned his contrary opinion and "after closer examination" would have conceded that which he had always denied, "that Luke, too, must have used this collection, directly or indirectly" (Evangelische Geschichte vol. I p. 84). As he had taken unfair advantage of the prestige of Schleiermacher, Weisse now carries out a corresponding scholarly falsification of Lachmann in order to take advantage of the learned authority of the latter for the purpose of his own substantiation of Marcan priority.

The point in question is the following: As mentioned above, Lachmann, in his treatise "De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis," had made the narrative sequence in the first three Gospels the sole subject of his investigation: "placet mihi nunc nihil nisi ordinum considerare."

In this way he reached the conclusion that the deviation in "Akoluthie" is not as great as it appears to most observers. It is greatest when one compares all three to one another, or Luke to Matthew; it is least when one places Mark parallel to each of the other two separately -- "sed narrationum evangelicarum ordinis non tanta est quanta plerisque videtur diversitas; maxima sane si aut hos scriptores eadem complexione omnes aut Lucan cum Matthaeo composueris, exiqua si Marcum cum utroque seorsum" (p. 574).

Lachmann then tried to carry this out in detail, that is, as shown above, first by using Matthew as the example in the comparable passages Mk 1:21-6:13; Mt 4:24-13:58. After he points out the divergences, Lachmann asks for an

explanation for them and gets it in the thesis championed by Schleiermacher in his work "Über die Zeugnisse des Papias", i.e., that the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias constituted the matrix of the first Gospel; according to Lachmann, narrative material from other sources had been added later on to this Logia.

In the same way, Lachmann then examined the divergences in order between Luke and Mark ("est mirabilis quaedam rerum ac verborum discrepantia").

He attributed the divergences partly to a possible special source of Luke, and partly to exceptional considerations which might have motivated Luke to deviate.

And then Lachmann inquired into the conclusions which result from the deviations of Matthew and Luke from the narrative sequence of Mark in spite of the high degree of congruence they otherwise display. This answer is of decisive significance in regard to the Marcan Hypothesis: "Si in hoc summo consensu tamen illos Marci exemplum quod imitarentur propositum non habuisse manifestum est, quid superest nisi ut illum quem omnes velut sibi praescriptum sequuntur ordinem, prius quam ipsi scriberent, auctoritate ac traditione quadam evangelica constitutum et confirmatum fuisse dicamus?"

That is to say: "If it is obvious that those (Matthew and Luke) - in spite of this extremely high degree of congruence - nevertheless did not have a copy of Mark as a model to be imitated, what other assumption, indeed, is left, than that this Akoluthie, followed by all (three) as if it had been prescribed to them, had already been authoritatively and definitively determined by the evangelical tradition before their own literary activity?"

We conclude from this: Lachmann clearly rules out the contention that Matthew and Luke used the Gospel of Mark; rather, he assumes a pre-evangelical order of the narrative sequence determined authoritatively by tradition.

For the moment Lachmann chooses not to examine the issue of whether this order was available to the Evangelists in written form or whether it was transmitted by oral tradition, in order not to digress from the main subject: "Is autem ordo utrum scripto evangelistis monstratus fuerit, an docendi et audiendi quadam iam certa consuetudine comparatus, ne aliena causa tractanda meae officiam, nunc quidem non definire satius duco" (p. 582).

It is sufficient, Lachmann continues, if one recognizes that evangelical history cannot be investigated on the basis on the testimony of three Evangelists any more reliably than it can be if a single and, moreover, unknown author were called as a witness. To him it is not nearly as important to determine who the first author of that narrative sequence was as it is to recognize the nature and disposition of his work. According to Lachmann, nobody believes that this entire "Corpus historiae evangelicae" came into the world all at once in a single delivery "uno quasi partu" - with all its individual parts complete. Rather, various indications point to the theory that at first some smaller "corpora historiarum" were formed, originating, presumably, from different authors and later tied together by a common bond. Lachmann holds that such "historiae evangelicae quasi corpuscula" were used by our Evangelists. He believes that he is able to demonstrate rather precisely how many there were and what their content was. He identifies altogether six such Corpuscula - not five as most authors state. This implies that Lachmann's concept of Corpuscula represents nothing other than a modified Latin equivalent of Schleiermacher's "Diegesen" = smaller preevangelical narrative units.

According to Lachmann, the first five of these six "historiae evangelicae quasi corpuscula" are contained in purest form, relatively speaking, in the Gospel of Mark; and yet, Mark at times had an inferior source or else deliberately omitted smaller parts; but on the other hand, he also had a certain special source; thus the report on the two healing miracles in Mark (7:32-37 as well as

8:22-26) does not belong in the narrative context of one of the "corpuscula". According to Lachmann, Mark generally seems to have omitted little, if one disregards the fact that his Gospel ends unfinished with 16:8, minus the sixth Corpusculum which includes Luke's travel narrative.

Matthew and Luke, however, deviated from each other by adding and omitting material; at times they undertook "traiectiones", i.e., textual transpositions from the proper place to another narrative context. The parable of the talents, which Matthew places in the sermon on the Last Judgement but which Luke has pronounced as being told by Jesus while the latter was in Jericho with Zaccheus, is transmitted in such radically divergent forms that it could not have originated out of a common tradition but must have been rendered by both Evangelists using different authors as sources. It is also noteworthy that Luke calls Jesus "Kyrios" here (19,9), but does so only in places in which he diverges from the common tradition.

So much for Lachmann. The result is the following: One simply cannot speak of proof for the Marcan Hypothesis and still less of any substantiation through proof from order on the basis of Lachmann. Nowhere, not even with one single word, does he contend that Mark constituted the model for Matthew and Luke; on the contrary: He explicitly eliminates this possibility ("Si in hoc summo consensu tamen illos Marci exemplum quad imitarentur propositum non habuisse manifestum est"). Similarly, he does not make even the slightest claim that the narrative sequence of the first and third Evangelists is determined by the Gospel of Mark. Rather, he assumes a preevangelical state in which the Akoluthie was determined authoritatively on the basis of tradition - not only for Matthew and Luke but also for Mark, i.e., before the beginning of their own literary activity ("prius quam ipsi scriberent"). In view of that, Lachmann states, the original narrative sequence is contained in its purest form, relatively speaking, in the Gospel of Mark - he does not say that the two are identical.

Seen from this point of view, the Gospel of Mark takes on importance for Lachmann in ways quite different from those it had up until then. And this is the essential goal which Lachmann pursued in his treatise: "Praeterea harmoniarum, quas hodie synopses dicere malunt, conditores, quibus ordinis et consecutionis diversitas maxime adferre solet incommoda, in negotio suo faciendo ne Marci auctoritatem nimis contemnere velint, fortasse non inutiliter commonuero."

This may be translated: "Moreover, I hope to admonish, and not in vain, the authors of the synopses - as one prefers to call these nowadays instead of harmonies - by no means to underestimate the importance of the Gospel of Mark in their work in which major deviations from the narrative sequence present so many problems."

It is not difficult to recognize who it is that Lachmann addresses himself against here: Griesbach, and if one wants to go back still further to the very beginning of Gospel research, Augustine, who had declared, in his treatise "De consensu evangelistarum": "Marcus eum (scil. Matthaeum) subsecutus tamquam pedissequus et brevior eius videtur" (vol. 1 p. 2).

Thus, what one can say about Lachmann's treatise "De ordine narrationum in evangeliiis synopticis" in support of the Marcan Hypothesis is that he warns against an underestimation of Mark in Gospel research. But what one cannot claim under any circumstances is that he has founded the Marcan Hypothesis on the basis of the Akoluthie proof.

Only three years after Lachmann's treatise, Christian Hermann Weiss published his "Evangelische Geschichte" (1838) and right away laid claim to the authority of the former in support of his two-source-theory, just as he had done with Schleiermacher, but at the same time twisting the results of the research of these first two for his own purposes. Here, too, he at first

renders Lachmann's fundamental thoughts essentially correctly and then takes the liberty of thinking for him, rather like a teacher who, earnestly setting the course for a student who stands several steps away from mature proficiency, combines fatherly admonition with a *Captatio benevolentiae*. "Nevertheless the sagacious philologist, who has successfully advanced the explanation extracted from these presuppositions, will not fail to recognize that he cannot feel confident that he stands firmly on ground which he has reached or is about to reach as long as he does not dare to demolish those bridges which have led him to his present position" (Evangelische Geschichte vol. I p. 40).

Lachmann thought it beneath his dignity to react to this scholarly pretension and the unsolicited lecture - for who, indeed, was Christian Hermann Weisse compared to the great Lachmann?

In his second treatise on the question of the Gospels, Weisse once more claimed this authority for his purposes and in doing so went considerably further than before. He could afford to do so: Lachmann had died in the meantime. At the same time Weisse augmented Lachmann's scholarly significance considerably - indeed, he himself gained most from it, since he obviously understood matters even better than Lachmann did. We will quote the entire passage since, as we will demonstrate, Weisse's falsification of Lachmann had a far-reaching and disastrous effect:

Immediately after Schleiermacher's discovery, . . . Lachmann - in a Latin treatise written in 1835 - was the first to follow a course which had to lead to a second discovery if pursued without prejudice and with calm circumspection. This treatise bears splendid witness to this famous scholar's critical acuteness and temperate, cool-headed caution, qualities repeatedly proved in several fields of philology and, as is well known, in the realm of the New Testament. And yet, so far it has found no recognition among present-day theologians with but one exception: [C. H. Weisse himself]. Proceeding from the question which offers itself so naturally from this standpoint, i.e., in which manner the apostolic collection of sayings was used by the authors of the canonical Gospels - Lachmann became aware of a narrative thread, running evenly through all three synoptic Gospels, one which occurs plainly in Mark while it is interrupted in the first and third Gospels by interjected narrative passages. Since the content of these parts always consists essentially only of speeches and didactic maxims of the Lord, and since, according to Lachmann's own observation, details are also changed several times in a manner which almost invariably can be explained quite satisfactorily by taking into consideration the parts which are adopted and interjected from the collection of sayings, the presumption which followed quite naturally soon thereafter [thanks to C. H. Weisse] would have suggested itself from the very beginning. And yet, Lachmann, with his usual caution, did not venture to draw the conclusion that our Mark really was available to the authors of both other Gospels and was used by them as their structural foundation, to which each in his own peculiar way added the words of the epigram collection and, beyond that, still other narrative passages obtained from various sources. (Evangelienfrage p. 81 f).

Weisse's entire statement constitutes sloppy scholarship and inadmissible logic and, what is more, contains falsification of Lachmann's words. We have already seen above how Weisse referred to Schleiermacher's authority in the same, indeed in an even worse, manner and how he then foisted his own opinion upon the latter as well. He does exactly the same thing here. For when Weisse writes: "Lachmann became aware of a narrative thread, running evenly through all three synoptical Gospels," one asks in astonishment where Lachmann states this. This is the first falsification of Lachmann by Weisse.

The second is even worse: Weisse claims that Lachmann had become aware of the "narrative thread running evenly through all three synoptic Gospels," "proceeding from the question which offers itself so naturally from this

standpoint, i.e., in which manner the apostolic collection of sayings was used by the authors of the canonical Gospels." Now, nothing of the sort can be found in Lachmann. One can see how Weisse imputes to him the standpoint of his two-source-theory. By no means does Lachmann raise the question of "in which manner the apostolic collection of sayings was used by the authors of the canonical Gospels;" rather, he identifies himself expressis verbis with the viewpoint of Schleiermacher that the Logia collection of Matthew, as mentioned by Papias, constitutes the foundation of the Gospel of Matthew, into which narrative material from other sources was later woven in.

And now comes yet a third falsification: In regard to the narrative thread, Weisse goes on to say that it occurs plainly in Mark while it is interrupted in the first and third Gospels by interjected narrative passages," and he continues: "Since the content of these parts always consists essentially only of speeches and didactic maxims of the Lord . . ." Now, a "narrative thread" which is "interrupted by interjected narrative passages" which in turn consist "essentially only of speeches and didactic maxims of the Lord" is a unique occurrence in itself. But be that as it may, it is palpably obvious that Weisse reverses the thesis of Schleiermacher--a thesis with which Lachmann had identified himself--into its exact opposite, and that he imputes it to Lachmann as the latter's scholarly opinion. While Schleiermacher had explicated: "To the Logia collection, contained only in the Gospel of Matthew in the form of the Sermon on the Mount, narrative materials have been subsequently added," Lachmann, according to Weisse, is supposed to have determined, while searching for the manner in which the Logia collection had been incorporated into the other Gospels, that all three synoptic authors have a continuous common narrative thread which is preserved by Mark in its pure form; into this narrative thread Matthew and Luke are supposed to have interpolated "parts" that "always consist essentially only of speeches and maxims of the Lord."

And now the complete two-source theory has emerged! And who is its spiritual father, distinguished by highest scholarly authority? Apparently Lachmann--with considerable "prompting" from Christian Hermann Weisse! This is the "Lachmann fallacy," as the English researcher B. C. Butler (Two-Document Hypothesis p. 63) calls it.

Weisse's falsification of Lachmann has produced far-reaching effects extending to the present day. After Weisse had claimed Lachmann for the Marcan hypothesis with regard to proof of a common narrative sequence, Holtzmann, too, referred to it, and so did Albert Schweitzer (L. J. Forsch, p. 90). And in 1905 Julius Wellhausen bewailed the fact that Lachmann's merits in regard to the Marcan hypothesis were still frequently overlooked:

One can understand that Strauss in his time influenced a broader public than Lachmann with his Latin and his dry circumspection; but it is astonishing that the latter is ignored even today as the real founder of the Marcan hypothesis (Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien p. 43; author's italics).

Twenty-six years later the weight of Lachmann's argument in support of the Marcan hypothesis and above all of the "Akoluthie" proof has grown still more impressively. In Juelicher and Fascher's Introduction of 1931, we read:

Our first thesis runs thus: Mark has been a main source for Matthew as well as for Luke. As early as 1935, Lachmann demonstrated one of the main proofs for this: the "ordo narrationum evangelicarum." This proof alone would be quite sufficient: the sequence in Mark is the original not only because it is the most basic and because Matthew as well as Luke present, in comparison, an unnatural, often affected arrangement, but above all because Matthew and Luke essentially adhere to this sequence from the beginning to the end. The only exception is

that they interpolate major parts--but in different places, like Mt. 5-7 and Lk. 6:20-8:3; 9:51-18:14--and now and then they undertake transpositions according to their own particular inclinations." (p. 330; author's italics).

Would it not have been more useful in the interest of scholarship if Juelicher and Fascher themselves had checked Lachmann's "main proof," supposedly "sufficient by itself" to substantiate the Marcan hypothesis, against Lachmann's original text?

Again we let twenty-seven years pass and look into the last edition of the RGG (1958) on the subject of Lachmann's share in the founding of the Marcan hypothesis:

The solution to the problem of the synoptic sources that has been advocated most commonly in research till today--that Mark is the oldest Gospel--was pioneered convincingly and independently by C. Lachmann(!) in 1835, Chr. G. Wilke in 1838 and Chr. H. Weisse in 1838." (vol. I, 754, Bornkamm).

It is apparent, then, that the alleged substantiation of the Marcan hypothesis through Lachmann's proof from order is comparable to Lessing's famous snowball which grows bigger the longer it is rolled. The point of departure lies with Christian Hermann Weisse. The Peccatum originale rests entirely with him.

Our result is short and to the point: The "Akoluthie" proof for the priority of the Gospel of Mark falls to the ground.

as seen in I Thess. 4:1-8

William Klassen

PREFACE

It has not been possible to explore in depth all the various dimensions of this pericope. I have therefore attempted to summarise the major positions and to provide some parallel material which is not often cited. Members of the Seminar should therefore be prepared to discuss the texts cited and those here presented in full, and in particular to draw comparisons especially with the other two papers. I submit this as a working paper which requires considerable refinement, additional supporting materials and invite your critical response especially on questions of method.

INTRODUCTION

One of the distinguishing features of Pauline ethics is its concreteness.¹ Paul does not hesitate to be specific in telling people what they should do and why. At the same time there appears to be a grand design. It is apparent that Paul is concerned about both. The present paper assumes that Paul in I Thessalonians for the first time writes to one of his churches and puts into writing his ethical exhortations through the use of standard parenetic literary forms. It will be necessary to look at Paul's instructions in the light of the society in which he lived if we are to see both similarities and differences. For the difference between Christians and pagans was nowhere more evident than in the style of life which each pursued calling attention to the distinctive history, values, and motivation which provided a rationale for their individual existence.²

Exegetical Outline of I Thess. 4:1-8

Paul begins by asking and urging his readers ἐν κυρίῳ ἡμεῶν to maintain the style of life which they have received from him. That style centers on a particular manner of behaviour pleasing to God. He calls them to continued progress in that style of life. They know what manner of directives Paul and his associates received ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμεῶν. (v. 2).

It is all a part of the grand design: the will of God or it is also called, ἀγιασμός. The process of becoming holy is seen here as the way in which people are able to incorporate God's will into their lives.

Four imperatives follow which express the contents of the ἀγιασμός. They concretise the meaning of the will of God in the areas of sexual ethics and business ethics. Each follows the general parenetic pattern and appears in the form of an infinitive.:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Keep away from fornication (v. 3). | 1. ἀπέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας |
| 2. See that each one of you maintain his own spouse in ἀγιασμός and τιμῇ (v. 4). | 2. εἰδέναι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οὐκεὺς κτᾶσθαι ἐν ἀγιασμῷ καὶ τιμῇ |
| 3. Let no man invade his brother's rights (v. 6a). | 3. τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ... |
| 4. Let no man defraud his brother in business (v. 6b). | 4. πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ |

Two motives are called to mind, the judgement of God and His Call. His Imperium has been mentioned to them before and solemnly invoked.³ This is the purpose for which they have been called--God himself has called them--not to uncleanness but to ἀγιασμός. He who sets aside this instruction sets aside not men, but God himself who provides the Gift of His spirit.

Exegetical Comments on Details

Since the textual variants are not numerous or determinative for the interpretation of this segment we will deal with them only where they do arise.

Verse 1: Λοιπὸν is Paul's usual way of shifting to direct parenesis (cf. II Cor. 13:11; Phil. 3:1; 4:8) Bultmann (Stil, p. 101) has demonstrated that it is also used in the Stoic diatribe as an introduction to the ethical exhortation.

The combination of ἐρωτάω and παρακαλέω here is unique in Pauline literature although both appear singly elsewhere. Paul clearly prefers the latter for the former appears only four times in Paul and three of those four occurrences are found in the Thessalonian correspondence (I, 4:1; 5:12; II, 2,1 cf. Phil. 4:3). The warmth and deference implicit in ἐρωτάω are replaced by the more commanding nature of paraclesis. "The address marks a new topic, perhaps with the additional intention of removing the sting of rebuke from the following admonitions" (von Dobschütz, 155).

The force of ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ is to locate the basis for Paul's exhortation. The preposition ἐν has a softer ring than the more formal διὰ in verse 2, but in both cases the combination κύριος / Ἰησοῦς calls attention to the juxtaposition of Lordship and earthly life of Jesus.

καθὼς affirms the continuity that exists in the tradition of the apostles. It is used by Paul both to affirm continuity with Jesus (Rom. 15:7) and also the continuity between what the Apostle preached and how he lived (I, 1:5) and now expects from his people (I, 4:1). It is a particle of continuity used by Paul to stress that there is a uniformity of practice wherever the churches are (I Cor. 4:17). In the last reference, like here, Paul is stressing the need to be reminded of his "ways", which are really the "ways" of Christ.⁴ Here

likewise the concern is with "walking" in such a way as pleases God.

The use of the term παραλαβάνω indicates that what has generally been called διδαχή is no less part of the tradition than is κήρυγμα. The Divine mandate on how to live would appear to have been every bit as much a part of Pauline preaching as was the declaration of the acts of God.

It is a "walk" or style of living which has only one goal: "To please God." While the category of "pleasing" does not occur often in Paul it is fundamental to his understanding of himself and his mission. It tends to surface when Paul is dealing with the strategy of the Christian mission (Gal. 1:10; I Cor. 10:33) or when he deals with the matter of sexual conduct. He affirms that those who live by the flesh "cannot please God" (Rom. 8:8) and that the married person runs the risk of living to please his spouse rather than the Lord (I Cor. 7:32-34). In general Paul affirms that just as Jesus did not live to please himself so Christians too must live not to please themselves but so as to please their neighbours (Rom. 15:1-3). And yet he affirms that he has set as his primary objective not to please men but God (1, 2, 4) and that God is constantly testing the genuineness of that effort.

It would appear that a difference exists here between the approach outlined by Epictetus and that of Paul. For Epictetus in dealing with the question of temptation to commit adultery with a beautiful woman sets it out as the greatest conquest (νικῶν) man can have to remain aloof (ἀπόσχομαι) even when she is willing and sends for him. A man who conquers such temptation has every right to be proud, for such a victory is greater even than the victory over a cruel master. How can it be done? "Set your will always to please your own self, set your will to appear beautiful in the sight of God". (Disc. II, xviii. 19ff.). Go to Socrates as your example and treat the temptation as an impression--nothing more, then "you will overcome" (*ibid* 23).

The paragraph begins and ends with the admonition: ὅτι περισσεύετε μᾶλλον. (v. 1;10). Whether we are here in the presence of an eschatological formula, a parenetical device or perhaps an echo of a saying of Jesus (cf. Matthew 5:20) it is clear that Paul was especially fond of this way of speaking for the verb appears twenty-five times in Paul and only thirteen times in the rest of the NT. The general meaning of it here is that they make progress. The fact that it is not more closely defined would argue for a broad application rather than a narrow one. In I, 3:12 he has in mind a narrower reference to Christian love.

Verse 2: His call to remember the instructions given them previously is striking only in that Paul nowhere else uses this same term παραγγελίας. παραγγελία is a term not found in the LXX, but common in his day. "We gave orders" has a military ring and was used to describe "the strict orders of the Commander" (see von Dobschütz *ad loc*). Malherbe has shown that the formula "you know" or similar expressions are a stock in trade among parenetical discourses and it would seem that

Paul is then merely following a rhetorical device used in such literature (Malherbe, "Hellenistic..." pp. 8ff.).

Verse 3: The category "will of God" is firmly embedded in the Christian tradition. According to all four Gospels Jesus wrestled in his attempt to know and do that will or at least to align his will with that of God the Father. Since Jesus' life was according to early Christian belief totally rooted in that Will and life became for him such a process of living according to God's will, the followers of Jesus must do the same. One affirmation of the early church about the historical Jesus was that he had done the will of God, he had learned obedience.

The concept of the will of God in early Christianity is not seen in an impersonal way. Only once does it appear as the will of the Creator of the Universe (Rev. 4:11). Generally it is used in connection with the saving work of God and therefore is directed towards the way in which that saving work of God is to be carried on by those who accept the Lordship of Jesus. Paul affirms that the Divine Will lay behind the achievement of redemption in Jesus--that which he accomplished was κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal. 1:4) thus echoing the opening of the Kaddisch and a fundamental affirmation of Judaism.⁵

It is also important for Paul that this will can be known. Not only does the Jew assume that he knows the will of God--he in fact knows it (Rom. 2:18). It is part of God's gracious act that he imparts a knowledge of his Will through the Torah. Paul's own conversion is described by Luke (Acts 22, 14) in order that "he might know (God's) Will" and that must mean that an element of mystery or secrecy has been revealed to Paul.

For our purposes it is important to note that Paul here assumes that the will of God is concrete and directed at the ethical situation. Thus he speaks of "testing" to find out what is the will of God (Rom. 12:2), and understanding what the will of God is, is the opposite of being "foolish" (Eph: 5:17).

The fulness of that will is made known to people or at least that possibility exists (Col. 1:9, 4:12). Paul prays that the Philippians may be able to test or discern what that will is--thus assuming that in the sphere of ethics or behaviour the members of his churches will seek to know that will and then do it. "Doing God's will" (only in Eph. 6:6 explicitly) is therefore an abbreviated way for Paul to refer to the state of being a Christian or living under the Lordship of Christ. It is allowing the power of God to work within the believer, allowing God to work out his good pleasure (Phil. 2:12). God both wills and does it and therefore Paul does not have to worry even though he is absent.

Only on two occasions Paul defines the content of that Will of God specifically. Here in I Thess. 4:3, he defines it as ἀγαπᾶς and in 5:18 as εὐχαριστεῖν. The reason why it is not further defined may very well be that Paul did not see it as a mystery and that he had often spoken about it to his churches. Perhaps also he allowed for its redefinition

for each particular situation and assumed a process in which the community was constantly involved in sorting out what the concrete meaning of the Will of God was for each situation. Thus he does not hesitate to participate in the process--but he always allows for the possibility that he may be mistaken.

Oscar Cullmann (1951) put it well:

"Precisely this is also the position of Paul concerning the ethical question. Here too there are no general ethical demands but concrete applications in the light of the indicative which redemptive history presents. The sixth chapter of Romans shows in a particularly clear way how for Paul the imperative proceeds from the indicative of the dying and rising with Christ. The Holy Spirit must lead to the walking in the Spirit. This walk, however, Paul nowhere defines in the form of new commandments. Rather, the working of the Holy Spirit shows itself chiefly in the 'testing' δοκιμαζεῖν, that is, in the capacity of forming the correct Christian ethical judgement at each given moment, and specifically of forming it in connection with the knowledge of the redemptive process, in which, indeed, the Holy Spirit is a decisive figure.

This 'testing' is the key of all New Testament ethics. Thus Paul writes in Rom. 12:2: 'Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, in order that you may attain the δοκιμαζεῖν, the capacity to distinguish what God's will is.' Likewise Phil. 1:9f.: 'This I pray, that your love may grow more and more in knowledge and in all sensitiveness for the δοκιμαζεῖν, the testing and determining, of that which is necessary.' The same idea is present also in Phil. 2:13, when it is said that 'God works in us the willing,' that is, he causes our willing to agree with his. Certainty of moral judgment in the concrete case is in the last analysis the one great fruit that the Holy Spirit, this factor in redemptive history, produces in the individual man.

This 'testing' rests upon the connection of judicial thought with spontaneous inspiration: 'Quench not the spirit. Despise not prophesyings, but test all things, and hold fast that which is good' (I Thess. 5:19f.).

It is characteristic that Paul does not reach his conclusion by using sayings of Jesus, but must add to them his own instructions (I Cor. 7). This too shows that New Testament ethics is always concrete, and that all instructions are intended to be only paradigms, signposts, and that the decision must be made ever anew," (pp. 228-9)."

C. F. D. Moule (1963) stressed that this process involves not an individual search for "The organ of perception through which the Holy Spirit may be expected to speak with distinctively Christian moral guidance is the Christian worshipping congregation listening critically." These last five words are vital and definitive.⁶

The limits are however clearly defined. The will of God always means ἁγιασμός never καθαροσία. The -μός ending indicates that although we are dealing with a noun, it is a noun which stresses action and intends to emphasise the process. It is not a state which has already been attained. The fact that the word ἁγιασμός occurs three times in this brief unit indicates that it is important to attempt to find its meaning, and discuss its significance. The term "holy" is important to Paul. In Judaism the word had its ultimate anchor in the nature of God and the imitation of God for the Jew centered in the imitation of his holiness.

Paul differs from at least some of his Jewish contemporaries in that they stressed the fact that Israel is holy seed and that holiness is to be protected. Therefore in the case of proselytes directives were stated which would safeguard contamination of the seed through intercourse with non-Jews. Thus after a proselyte had taken the appropriate steps and become a member of the covenant community the children born of such a union could be considered holy. Some urged that a three month waiting period be observed so that it would be clear indeed that the child was conceived after both parties were members of the people of Israel.⁸

What is striking is that while Paul too is concerned about holiness and uses the language associated with it he affirms that husband and wife should remain married if one is a Christian because the possibility exists that the "holy" one will "save" the other. In any case the holy one "sanctifies" the other. (I Cor. 7:14-16).

Paul gives expression here to a conviction that the power of the Holy to influence the unholy is greater than vice versa. In a similar context, namely temptation to adultery the Testament of Benjamin (8:2-3) states: "As the sun does not defile itself by coming in contact with dung and mire but rather dries up both and drives away the evil smell: so also the pure mind does constructive things (οἰκοδομῶ) though confined by the defilements of earth. It is not itself defiled."⁹ In contrast III Baruch 98:4, 5 (betraying Gnostic influences?) insists that the sun's rays have been defiled precisely because it sees so much adultery, divorce, thievery, etc., and thus needs to be renewed.

Throughout the NT all restrictions about sexual relations within marriage are approached functionally, and from the presupposition that ἡ κοίτη ἀμύαντος (Hebrews 13:4). Only Apocalypse 14:4 using holy War terminology lauds the eschatological warriors for the fact that they have not defiled themselves with women.

Here in I Thessalonians and elsewhere in Paul it is clear that within the confines of marriage there is no uncleanness attached to marital sex. Rather human relationships within the marriage bond have a sanctifying potential--they allow for the presence of God in a wholly unique way just as Hosea's broken marriage becomes a vehicle for the expression of Yahweh's love for his people (acted parable?) so here Paul does not divinise sex, but see the profoundest human encounter as

having "holying" power.

If the question is raised where a Jew like Paul might get the idea that he is free from all of the legal codes on purity and sexual intercourse, it might not be too far-fetched to suggest that he derived it from Jesus. There is evidence in Acts (10) that Peter had to learn the meaning of the words of Jesus: "nothing that goes into a person from outside can defile; no it is the things that come out of us that defile" (Mark 7:15). While the primary reference there is to food, surely it is not too much to suggest that the early Christians also applied this to sex and believed that in the sexual act you cannot be defiled by what enters your body. In fact, they seemed to have applied it so thoroughly that in Corinth it was even a cause of boasting that a man was living in incest "in the name of the Lord Jesus" (I Cor. 5:4). That and being joined to a harlot (I Cor. 6) all seemingly were condoned, and were a cause for boasting. Paul endorses only sexual union within the bonds of marriage, but within that he seems to have been totally free of all taboos, allowing for the woman to take the initiative, (I Cor. 7:5) yielding to the other autonomy of the body, and not restricting sexual activity for the purposes of having children. It would be interesting to find anyone within his culture or in his time who had such a "liberated" view: one which proceeds from Divine purpose and is spelled out within the creative purposes of God.

Abstain from Porneia

It is a part of the parenesis that it not only give the overall goal towards which one moves τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ but also proceeds to specific injunctions.

The formula (as the enclosed sheet from Professor Selwyn's commentary on I Peter demonstrates) was widespread in early Christian catechesis. The verb ἀπέχεσθαι also is found in pre-Christian parenetic literature. What Paul here urges is a continued separation and abstention from porneia. Since there is a similar mandate in the Apostolic Decree of Jerusalem it has been suggested that for that decree and for a number of other occurrences in Pauline letters the primary meaning of porneia may well be incest. It is argued that Jewish Christians would hardly have found it necessary to specify that fornication in general is to be avoided but that in I Cor. 5; in the exception clauses with reference to divorce as well as in the references in the Apocalypse the meaning incest would make perfectly good sense.¹⁰ Whatever may be the case it surely means more than that here. It would seem to be clear that the meaning is broad and covers therefore a multitude of sins of a sexual nature.

Traditionally it has meant sexual intimacy outside of marriage. There is no reason to believe that it means anything else in Paul,¹¹ and it is also striking to note how important that vice is to him in contrast say to Jesus who says little about it. Five times he begins his catalogue of vices with porneia and as Juncker noted many years ago there is an intensity to his attack against fornication which is noteworthy. Juncker also noted however that Paul is here following Jewish

practice for in many Jewish writings fornication is singled out as the most serious sin.¹² According to Juncker Paul generally begins his catalogue of vices with a reference to porneia and what is remarkable from other sources is the recognition that certain social problems of the first century find no mention in Paul whatever: e.g., child exposure, drunkenness, and above all suicide. Against none of these has Paul anything to say. Most likely the reasons for this can be found in the fact that they were not problems among his churches. Given the popularity of the cult of suicide, it is somewhat startling that Paul does not address himself to it.

It is clear that Paul placed a heavier ban on sexual irregularity than he did on any other deviation. At the same time the explicit denunciations of pederasty found in the Jewish writings are missing in Paul. For Paul fornication was an uncleanness from which believers were purified and he therefore took his stand with his Jewish colleagues and an emerging group of Hellenistic teachers as well who rejected all fornication and saw monogamy as the context in which sexual energy could be discharged.¹³

Verse 4: It is well-known that this verse is difficult to interpret.

A special problem arises with the interpretation of the clause: εἰδέναι ἑαυτόν ὑμῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ σκεῦος κτῆσθαι ἐν ἀγλαΐᾳ καὶ τιμῇ. Our options seem to be:

1. See that each one of you acquire his own wife in holiness and in honour (RSV).
2. Each one of you must learn to gain mastery over your own body, to hallow it and honour it (NEB Jerusalem; New International Version).

If we take the first then Paul is taking the same approach here that is seen in I Corinthians 7: Marriage is an anodyne for sexual energies. In favour of this position it must be said that the phrase σκεῦος κτῆσθαι is used in several places to 'acquire a wife.' Furthermore the word σκεῦος does on occasion mean "wife" in the NT.

In favour of the second it can be argued that skeuos is used by both Jewish and Greek Writers to refer to the human body, indeed more specifically at times to the male sexual member: the penis. From the Greek side it appears that way in Antistios (1st century B.C.)¹⁴ and in a most interesting context in the LXX rendering of 1 Sam. 21, 6. What is intriguing here is that the question of purity is raised in connection with David's visit to Ahimelech the Priest. David's men are given bread once the priest has been told that their "vessels" are pure for they have not seen women for three days. As Maurer says, "It is uncertain whether κῆλτ in 1 Sam. 21, 6 refers to body or directly to the penis. In any case what is involved is the instrument with which one has intercourse with the other sex."¹⁵ There is agreement that in Rabbinic literature the direct correlation κῆλτ = wife does not occur¹⁶ Maurer, Strack-Billerbeck, Dibelius). There is however

evidence that the expression, "the vessel which I use" or which "serves me" is used in a sexual sense. "To make use of a vessel" thus is clearly a euphemism for the sexual act.

What this means is that in looking for the Pauline sense we must go beyond the use of certain words and their meaning and ascertain whether certain expressions in Hebrew and Greek may shed light. It would now seem clear that a Jewish euphemism to use a wife as a vessel could have been in the mind of Paul when he wrote I Thess. 4:4.

When we look at the whole phrase the question arises whether the present form, *κτᾶσθαι* must mean only the ingressive, obtain, or whether it might well mean the perfect sense of a durative nature, thus possess. Since the evidence cannot convince merely on the basis of the meaning of various words, the total context of the usage of the expression in the 1st century must be reviewed.

Maurer has shown that the expression was commonly used for both: to institute marital relations, consummate a marriage and also "to be master of" thus in the sexual act to "lord" it over a woman and lead her to womanhood through the sex act. *bā'al iṣṣā* thus means to have sex with a woman whether she is your wife or not.¹⁷

This parallel between *bā'al* and *κτασμαι* leads to the question: Is it possible that Paul, knowing both Hebrew and Greek, would have translated the Hebrew term *bā'al iṣṣā* with the Greek term *κτᾶσθαι γυναῖκα* and give to the latter a durative connotation? Did he form the new expression *σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι*, to "use a woman" or a "vessel" under influence of the Hebrew euphemism *kēlî ṣāmaš*? If so, then the correct translation of I Thess. 4:4 would be:

"For this is the will of God; your sanctification, that you might refrain from all fornication, that each one of you might possess his own vessel in Holiness and honour (i.e., live with your wife in holiness and honour) not in the passionate lusts as do the heathens who know not God."

This would correspond exactly with I Cor. 7:2: *οὐδὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔχτω*. . . Paul is saying here as there that marriage is the best protection against sexual aberrations and that marriage between Christians is to take place as a part of the holiness code. He assumes that selection of partners should come as a result of a deliberate choice and decision. It flows out of knowledge of God and is a part of *ἁγιασμός* over against *καθαρσία*. He rejects love without commitment, based only on passion, affirms the sanctity of marriage and does not disparage one partner simply by calling her a "skeuos."

Paul is then arguing for being able to obtain control over sexual passions and for the expression of sexual energies in a context in which *ἁγιασμός* and *τιμῆ* are both maintained. Negatively then the Thessalonians are admonished to reject the

example of their neighbours who follow lusts of the passions, unable to control their desires because they do not know God. It is not surprising that he here lapses into a quote from the OT which summarises the basic differences between those who belong to Yahweh and those who do not.

Verse 6: The meaning of this imperative is that none is to defraud his brother in business. It strikes some commentators as strange that Paul would move from sexual ethics to business here but anyone who knows ancient parenetic literature will be quite accustomed to placing these two infractions of the love commandment together in this way. Indeed Paul often places the sins of avarice and greed alongside of sexual aberrations. J. B. Lightfoot finds it "strange that several able commentators have supposed that the sin of avarice is here reproved"¹⁸ (ad loc. Notes) and concludes that Paul uses the expression ἐν τῷ πράγματι because he suppresses a plainer term and that Paul displays a delicacy of feeling. I rather doubt that he is still talking about sexual morality or that Paul saw a wife as a piece of property belonging to a man and that therefore he rejected fornication because it was a breach of property rights.

The final admonition in this series deals with the rights of the brother. It was standard in the lists of vices constructed by ethical teachers in the Hellenistic period to relate sexual and other aberrations to each other in this way.¹⁹

The Social Context

It would only seem appropriate to contrast the approach of several teachers with Paul. We suggest that two writers, Josephus and the Testament of Reuben be considered from the Jewish side and that we look at Musonius Rufus from the Stoic side.

1. Josephus

In his treatment of porneia in Josephus, Rengstorff has called attention to a number of interesting editorial changes which Josephus made when writing the history of his people.²⁰ For our purposes the description he provides of Jewish marriage laws in the contra Apionem are even more enlightening. For Josephus spells out what the Jewish sexual ethic is:

1. The Law recognises no sexual union except that between a man and wife.
2. Sexual intercourse is allowed only for the procreation of children.
3. Sex between males is not permitted and punishable by death.
4. In selecting a wife, the size of dowry is not to be a factor, violence is never to be used, nor guile, not deceit, but straightforward dealing with the one authorised to give her away. He cannot be a next of kin.

5. The Law says that woman is in all things inferior to the man.
6. Consequently, since she is inferior she must be submissive to man, for God has given him authority.
7. The husband must confine his sexual activities to his wife; it is impious (*ἀνόσιος*) to tempt another.
8. Anyone who violates that law is punished by death.
9. The Law does not tolerate child exposure.
10. Abortion is forbidden for a woman who does it destroys a soul and diminishes the race.
11. To have intercourse with a pregnant woman is to become impure.
12. Any couple having legitimate sexual relations must have lustrations and be unclean for one day.
13. The Law considers that when intercourse takes place a partition of the soul takes place, part of it going to another place; and being implanted in another person. Therefore purification must take place.

While there are some clear evidences here that Josephus cites the OT law, there are really only two areas where he agrees with Paul--or coincides with positions we know to have been taken by Paul. Sexual union confined to marriage; rejection of child exposure, and perhaps rejection of homosexuality. Where Paul and Josephus see eye to eye they seem to do so for different reasons; e.g., the submission of women to men is never argued by Paul on the basis of the conviction that women are as (Josephus) the Law says, inferior in all things to men. What is perhaps most striking by contrast is that Paul shows so little interest in the general topics which Josephus describes. He is much more situation-oriented in that he deals with situations which appear to have come up in his churches. And although Josephus does not compare to Philo in his misogyny, he does on occasion record his low view of women as when he attributes to the Essenes the belief that no woman is able to preserve her fidelity to one man (WJ II, 8). While Paul did on occasion specify certain conduct for women, his sexual ethic does not rest on the assumption that the male is superior to the female. Therefore also he does not need to attack women in his writings.

2. From among the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs we may be allowed to select some readings from the Test, of Reuben:

III 9. And now, children, love the true and it will guard you. I am instructing you; hearken to Reuben, your father: (10). Don't pay attention to the appearance; don't get alone with another man's wife; don't busy yourself with feminine affairs. (11) For if I had not seen Bilhah bathing herself in a sheltered place, I would not have fallen into great iniquity...

IV.1. Therefore, do not pay attention to the beauty of women, neither think about their affairs...

6. For sexual sin is the ruin of the soul. It separates one from God and brings one near to idols; because it leads the mind and the inclination astray, and leads young people down to Hades before their time (7). For sexual sin has destroyed many: because even if he be old or well-born, it makes him a reproach and a laughingstock to Beliar and his fellow men...

11. If sexual sin does not get power over your mind, then neither can Beliar overpower you...

V.1. Women are corrupt, my children. Because they do not have authority or strength over the man, they use wiles of dress and manner so that he will be attracted to them; (2) so that the one whom they cannot prevail against by physical power, they yet prevail against by deceit.

3. Moreover, the angel of the Lord told and taught me about them, that women yield to sexual desire more than men. In their hearts they devise schemes against men; through adornment they first lead their inclination astray. Then, by their glances they instill the poison; and finally, through the deed, they take them captive. (4) For a woman cannot take a man by force, but by the manner of a harlot she can beguile him.

5. Therefore, my children, flee sexual sin; and command your wives and daughters not to adorn their heads and their faces, because any woman who resorts to such tricks is reserved for eternal torment. (6) For thus women allured the Watchers before the Flood...

VI.1. Therefore, keep yourselves from sexual sin; and if you want to keep pure in your inclination, guard your senses from every female. (2) Command the women also not to pair off with men so that they, too, may keep pure in thought. (3) For frequent meetings, even if the immoral act is not done, is with them a disease without cure, while for you it is an eternal reproach of Beliar. (4) Because fornication has in itself neither understanding nor godliness, but all jealousy inhabits its desire. Text from H. R. Moeller, The Legacy of Zion (Grand Rapids, 1977) pp. 90-91.

III. The Stoics and the Family

(i) Zeno In order to understand the way in which Paul's sexual ethics would ring to his bearers it may be of help to know something about what his contemporaries were saying on the topic. The Stoics were speaking most about it and therefore allow us good opportunity to compare.²¹ In view of the massive amount of material I shall restrict myself to some general comments and then look in detail at one writer: Musonius Rufus--who said more about marriage than anyone else but who nonetheless for some strange reason continues to be neglected.

It is often asserted that the Stoics were too individualistic to be concerned with the institution of

marriage. This is a gross distortion. As early as Zeno's ideal state, his answer to Plato's Republic, the question of sex relations in the community is dealt with. Philodemus saw his proposals as shameful and unholy, and this type of response may have exaggerated the importance sexual regulations had for Zeno and other Stoics. Nevertheless it has been noted that as Greek sects and parties go, the Stoics surely have a rather praiseworthy concern for marriage as an institution.

To be sure, Zeno had to take a position on the idea of $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\varsigma$, made familiar through Plato's Republic. Plato had rejected complete promiscuity for his guardians on eugenic grounds during the age of child-bearing, but once that was past, proposed complete freedom of intercourse, restricted only by rules of incest (461b). Zeno went beyond Platonic principles for his Republic did not need eugenics and he allowed incest (SVF i. 256). He allowed homosexual relationships in the *politeia*, for it is the boy's manifest goodness which attracts the wise man's love. All, men and women alike, are to wear the same clothes "and keep no part of the body entirely covered" (D.L.VII.33). Presumably Cynic $\delta\upsilon\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ is being expressed here. Nature is not shameful and therefore is not to be concealed. "He accepted marriage and the family as a natural institution but possibly believed at the same time in promiscuity of sexual intercourse - the fulfillment of a natural appetite unconnected with love."

(ii) Antipater The next most important teacher on sexual ethics among the Stoics was Antipater of Tarsus. He affirmed the equality of men and women, spoke about the symbiosis which two people could attain in the marriage state and appears to have spoken out in favour of heterosexual unions. Particularly interesting is the evidence that among ethical teachers there now emerges some guidance on how to choose a wife. It is as if the choice of a partner was previously made by someone else, but it is clear that Antipater rejects the position of an earlier Stoic teacher, Aristo who had only disdain for those who thought that it was the business of philosophy to teach you how to live with a wife. Antipater emerged as one of the most influential teachers of Stoicism, being praised by Musonius as "our great teacher." Although he was not an innovator he was an influential champion of ideas and especially promoted the view that ethics was a legitimate part of one's role. Thus he wrote at length, giving a young man advice in his search for a wife. Antipater urges that attention not be paid to wealth or good birth or any other vanity, let alone beauty which always creates a proud and despotic character. Antipater believed that parents have a deeper impact on children and so if you wish to learn to know the child, get acquainted with the parents. The characters of the father and mother will provide a clue to that of the child. But even if the parents are good they may have brought up the child to be like themselves or may have spoilt her through excessive fondness. In his research he should inquire from freeman and slave, neighbours and friends,

cooks and workmen, and workmen who have been in the house and have had occasion to study her at close range--such people are generally all too eager to share such information.

Like Paul, after him, Antipater urges people to marry. "For a man with no experience of a wife and children has not tasted the truest and most genuine kind of goodwill. Other kinds of friendship and affection are like the mixing of juxtaposition of beans or the like but the affection of a man and wife resembles the complete blending of wine and water. For they alone share not only their property and their children, man's dearest possession, and their souls, but their very bodies also." (Stobaeus 4.67.25).

For Antipater, husband and wife are to form a partnership: "If one should take a second self as it were (and it makes no difference whether male or female) one would do all one's work much more lightly and easily." (Sandbach, *ibid.*)

Antipater died in 129 B.C. Whether his ideas were discussed in his home town during the first century cannot be determined with certainty. We do know that Musonius Rufus thought highly of him and Antipater's ideas on marriage find their fullest expression here.

(iii) Musonius Rufus²² The text of Cora Lutz is here presented, along with her English translation. Musonius is important for our discussion because he speaks at length about the need for women to be treated equally with men, to get the same education as men, and that they are able to be philosophers in the same way as men are. Furthermore he has explicit discussions about marriage and on sexual indulgence. It is the latter that we will look at in attempt to compare him with his contemporary Paul.

It may be most helpful to present the position of Musonius Rufus in outline form and provide, at the same time, the text in both English and Greek of his two discussions on sexual indulgence and on the purpose of marriage. They will provide us with an opportunity to see for ourselves the position that he represents and also to compare it then with Paul.

1. Musonius opposes sexual indulgence because it appears to come out of the craving for variety. These "shameful intimacies" constitute "A grave indictment of manhood."
2. People who are not wanton or immoral are bound to consider sexual intercourse justified only in marriage and only for the purpose of begetting children. That is lawful but sexual intercourse engaged in merely for pleasure, even in marriage, becomes unlawful and unjust.
3. Adultery or homosexual activity is a monstrous thing and contrary to nature.

4. All sexual intercourse is shameful when practised from lack of self-restraint for then it is without lawful character.
5. No one with self-control would think of having relations with a courtesan or a free woman outside of marriage, not even with his own maidservant.

The fact that activities like this are carried on in secret, presents its own indictment.

The person argues that sexual intercourse with an unmarried woman or a courtesan harms no one, for he does not destroy anyone's hope of children. To that Musonius replies that everyone who offends and does wrong harms himself. Doing wrong makes a person worse and less honourable and therefore it cannot be approved. It is rejected because it is yielding to the temptation of shameful pleasure "and like swine rejoicing in his own vileness."

6. He rejects also the possibility of a man having relations with his own slave maid although many people consider it without blame since the slave belongs to the master for him to do with as he wishes. Musonius replies that if it is tolerable for the master to have relations with his female slave particularly if she happens to be unmarried, then he must consider how he would feel if his wife had relations with an unmarried male slave. Since this is considered completely intolerable, then we would not expect men to be less moral than women nor less capable of disciplining themselves. Both have to be rejected. Thus he cleverly rejects a double standard on the basis of an assumption that in this society the male is clearly superior to the female. He also invoked what is one of the earliest forms of the so called golden rule by building morality on placing ones self into another persons shoes and saying "how would you feel if this were done to you?"

Twice Musonius asked the question, what is the chief end of marriage? Simply stated he argues that marriage is a "community of life with a view to the procreation of children." The two partners in a marriage come together for the purpose of making a life in common and of regarding all things in common between them, "and nothing peculiar or private to one or the other, not even their own lives." (Par. 1 Cor. 7:4).

While the birth of an individual is remarkable, marriage is more than that. Birth can come from a purely sexual union as it does in the case of animals.

In marriage there must be above all perfect companionship and mutual love of husband and wife, both in health and in sickness and under all conditions, since it was with desire for this as well as for having children that both entered upon marriage:

"Where then, this love for each other is perfect and the two share it completely, each striving to outdo the other in devotion, the marriage is ideal and worthy of envy, for such a union is beautiful. But where each looks only to his own interests and neglects the other, or what is worse, when one is so minded and lives in the same house but fixes his attention elsewhere and is not willing to pull together with his yoke-mate nor to agree, then the union is doomed to disaster and though they live together, yet their common interests fare badly; eventually they separate entirely or they remain together and suffer what is worse than loneliness."

Along the same lines as Antipater, Musonius argues that for a good marriage one need not look at family or status or wealth or physical traits or beauty in the partner. Rather you should look at qualities of the soul and character and particularly for self control in justice. Beyond that there must be a sympathy of mind and character between husband and wife for the partnership to work out well.

"For neither wealth nor beauty nor high birth is effective in promoting partnership of interest or sympathy, nor again are they significant for producing children. But as for the body it is enough for marriage that it be healthy, of normal appearance, and capable of hard work, such as would be less exposed to the snares of tempters, better adapted to perform physical labour, and not wanting in strength to beget or to bear children. With respect to character or soul one should expect that it be habituated to self-control and justice, and in a word, naturally disposed to virtue. (These qualities should be present in both man and wife.) For without sympathy of mind and character between husband and wife, what marriage can be good, what partnership advantageous? How could two human beings who are base have sympathy of spirit one with the other? Or how could one that is good be in harmony with one that is bad? No more than a crooked piece of wood could be fitted to a straight one, or two crooked ones be put together. For the crooked one will not fit another crooked one, and much less the opposite, a crooked with a straight one. So a wicked man is not friendly to a wicked one, nor does he agree with him and much less with a good man."

Musonius also raises the question whether marriage is a handicap for the pursuit of philosophy. Obviously this is a point which was much debated. Epictetus returns to it later in his discourses. Musonius rejects the idea that it might be. He calls attention to Pythagoras, Socrates and Crates each of whom had a wife and you can't find better philosophers than they are. Since marriage is manifestly in accord with nature, and philosophers indeed are men who live according to nature, it stands to reason that marriage

is far from a handicap but rather an asset. Furthermore, the creator of mankind divided the human race into two sexes, implanted in them a strong desire for association in union with each other, instilling in them a longing for each other and it is manifest that he wishes the two to be united and to live together, to build a common life, to rear children so that the race might never die. If persons look only for their own interests then man is an animal, a wolf or a beast. What is unique about man is that he is able to look out for the common good, co-operate with others, share in a notion of justice.

Like the bee he cannot live alone but must live in a community therefore it is each man's duty to take thought for his own city, "and to make of his home a rampart for the protection of the city." And the first step towards this is marriage. "Thus who ever destroys human marriage destroys the home, city, and the whole human race." It is clear that the home and the city depend not on women or men alone but upon their union with each other. No association is more necessary none more pleasant. No association so fully joins the body and soul, none allows possessions to be so fully held in common as marriage. "For these reasons, all men consider the love of man and wife to be the highest form of love..." Furthermore the gods have a particular investment in the institution of marriage shown not only in that they willed its institution but also watch over it with particular concern.

If the gods are concerned about it, how much more should the philosopher who is surely not worse than other men. Therefore he concludes that a bachelor is not more patriotic, more a friend nor a partner of his fellow man than the man who maintains a home for his children and contributes to the growth of a city.

Other topics that Musonius takes up is the question of whether every child that is born should be raised and here he argues that they should indeed and shows a very high interest in children. He urges that it is the will of the lawgivers that people have many children.

The man who is unjust to strangers, sins against Zeus, god of hospitality, the man who is unjust to friends, sins against Zeus, god of friendship, and the man who is adikos to his own family, sins against the gods of his fathers and against Zeus, guardian of the family from whom wrongs done against the family are not hidden, and surely one who sins against the gods is asebes (cf. I Tim. 5:8). Those who think they cannot afford many children he urges to think of the little birds, "which are much poorer than you yet have enough to eat." (p. 99).

He also takes up the question of whether under every circumstances the parents must be obeyed and although he sees the importance of obeying the parents, he does not allow for it in all circumstances for one must live from a higher standard. The philosopher obeys God or does the Will of God and not the Will of Man. "If you obey your

father, you will follow the Will of a Man; if you choose the philosopher's life, the Will of God." (p. 107).

When we compare these statements with Paul we note some similarities. Both are men who combine sex with marriage and both place a very high value on the morality of the sex act. Musonius explicitly, Paul implicitly assumes that the sex act can harm a person even when it has no adverse social consequences. Musonius argues from nature and therefore concludes that the sex act is meant only for the procreation of children. Paul argues on the basis of God's law and concludes that sex is a power to be used by two people within marriage as they choose under their divine mission. Both treat men and women equally with regard to sexual ethics and both emerge as having a high respect for human beings and urging a responsible use of sexual energies.

For Musonius, it is the common good; society as such which he seeks to strengthen and preserve. For Paul the community of believers, the reputation they enjoy in society is important, because they communicate God's good news. He wants to avoid immorality because in line with the Old Testament, that immorality is evidence of departure from God. Both see marriage as an institution with potential for great social good, instituted by God, but still penultimate in its purpose and reason for existence. It is an institution which must serve human beings and not vice versa. Both reject homosexuality as unnatural.

(iv) Epictetus The philosopher Epictetus, is a pupil of Musonius who spells out these matters in greater detail and in some areas does not follow his teacher. When a young man asked whether he should get married as a matter of prime importance, Epictetus replies that there are more important things to do for the cynic's profession. There is of course nothing to prevent him from marrying and having children provided "his wife will be another person like himself." But "in such an order of things as the present, which is like that of a battle field, it is a question, perhaps, if the cynic ought not to be free from distraction, wholly devoted to the service of God and thus maintaining his role as an excellent man." He then goes into a detailed description of how distracting marriage can be with respect to the wife's relatives, but even worse when children come and they are ill and need attention so that he cannot really do justice to both. To those who mention Crates (can he mean Musonius?) he replies that "you are mentioning a particular instance which arose out of passionate love, and you are assuming a wife who is herself another Crates." "But our inquiries are concerned with ordinary marriage apart from special circumstances and from this point of view we do not find that marriage, under present conditions, is a matter of prime importance for the cynic." (Book III, xxii 67-77)

When Epictetus's interlocutor asked who then is to keep the world going and who will keep society functioning, he replies, "those who bring into the world two or three ugly

snouted children to take their place or those who exercise oversight to the best of their ability for all mankind?" Finally, he argues "Man, a cynic has made all mankind his children; the men among that he has as his sons, the women his daughters; in that spirit he approaches them all and cares for them all. Or do you fancy that it is in the spirit of idle impertinence he reviles those he meets? It is as a father he does it, as brother, and a servant of Zeus, who is Father of us all". (III, xxii, 81)

Like Paul and Musonius, Epictetus argues for purity and, at the same time, he is aware of the danger of boastfulness. So he says, "In your sex life, preserve purity, as far as you can, before marriage; if you indulge, take only those privileges which are lawful. However, do not make yourself offensive or sensorious to those who do indulge. Do not make frequent mention of the fact that you do not yourself indulge." (Manual No. 8)

Conclusion

If we now review what Paul seems to be saying in I Thess. 4:1-8, it is clear that the foundation for Paul's sexual ethics rests upon an affirmation of the Lordship of Jesus. Under that Lordship, the Will of God is defined as the process of making holy, of sanctifying, and of purifying and Paul makes specific reference to abstention from fornication. Fornication although not defined by Paul here means any sexual activity outside the normal family situation. Sex then for Paul is seen here as expressed within the context of holiness and respectability or honour. The reference to honour in Verse 4 indicates that respect for the other person has to be maintained at all times and a rejection of drives that are beyond our control is implicit to what he is saying.

Sexual behaviour is grounded in the call of God to cleanliness and holiness. It is important also that the gift of the Holy Spirit brings these into being and therefore those who reject this ethic in effect reject God himself and the Spirit which he has given. What appears from our contrast of Paul and his contemporaries is that he rejects both concern of ritual purity of his Jewish background and also the concerns of morality as expressed among the Stoics. Here at least he does not argue on the basis of nature but argues on the basis of God's divine will as made manifested in Torah.

Missing is any appreciation of the social and political role of the family. What is also missing in Paul is a deep appreciation of the levels of common life which can be achieved in marriage. It would appear that for Paul the safeguarding of morality is found in marriage because it is an outlet for sexual energy. For Musonius, on the other hand, the protection against sexual immorality is found in his self-control and above all, in the levels of common life which marriage partners are able to achieve together. It would appear that Paul has a more adequate theological foundation whereas Musonius has a much richer and, in my judgement, a

much more profoundly humanistic foundation for the relationship of two people to each other. Such judgements cannot be made with finality on the basis of the small amount of evidence gathered here and must await a fuller exploration on this topic. Specifically, more work would need to be done on sexual morality in the first century and the various ways in which sexual fidelity within the marriage union was defended.

It would be wrong to assume that this is where all of the emphasis lies for Paul. For Paul it is clear that joy, happiness, fulfillment, peace, and righteousness can only come within the context of the community. Under the Lordship of Christ, all that God has intended can be brought into existence. Therefore, he places his advice on sex to the Thessalonians under the umbrella of God's purpose for human life and the resources that God has made available to his people. In the meantime, it is significant that for Paul as the first Christian to grapple with the question of ethics, the category of the Will of God could be directed specifically to the point of sex and relationship of male and female to each other. It supports the hypothesis with which this paper began, namely that it is the degree of specificity in Paul's ethics that is striking and not the general principles which he develops.

Completed June, 1978.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Wolfgang Schrage, Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paraenese (Gütersloh, 1961)
- 2 The following have proved to be especially helpful to me in the preparation of this paper: Abe Malherbe, "Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament" from the forthcoming volume in the series, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt ed. by H. Temporini (Festschrift for Joseph Vogt, published by De Gruyter). This essay appears to incorporate the paper Malherbe did for the Paul seminar, "I Thessalonians as a Parenetic Letter." Anton Grabner-Haider, Paraklese und Eschatologie bei Paulus: Mensch und Welt im Anspruch der Zukunft Gottes (NTA, N.F. 4) Münster, 1968; Franz Laub, Eschatologische Verkündigung und Lebensgestaltung nach Paulus: Eine Untersuchung zum Wirken des Apostles beim Aufbau der Gemeinde in Thessalonike (Regensburg, 1973); Otto Merk, Handeln aus Glauben: Die Motivierungen der paulinischen Ethik (Marburg, 1968) pp. 45-58; Victor Paul Furnish, Theology and Ethics in Paul (Nashville, 1968). E. P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism, Phila., 1978). E. von Dobschütz, Die Thessalonicher-Briefe, 1909.
- 3 The fact that Paul so infrequently mentions the judgement of God or at least the vengeance of God (about seven times) needs to be noted. It would appear that he uses it much along the lines of the appearance of the concept in the OT as seen by George Mendenhall, in his chapter "The Vengeance of Jahweh," in The Tenth Generation (John Hopkins Press, 1974). It should be noted however that the solemnity of this invocation is strengthened by the use of the formal (diamartureo) which originally was an oath formula. While the word is a hapax Legomenon here in Paul, Luke was fond of it and Paul avails himself of legal or prelegal tactics in his solemn affirmations (see Paul Sampley, NTS, 23 (1977) pp. 477-482.
- 4 Malherbe has shown that the epistle is a unit and that all of it really serves a paraenetic function. (op. cit.).
- 5 Furnish, op. cit., pp. 188-191 has a detailed analysis of Pauline usage of the expression. He agrees with Wahlstrom's conclusion that Paul seldom speaks of God's will in specific terms (p. 191). Furnish is right in affirming that for Paul "God's will is the object of a constant and repeated seeking, finding, and doing..." To what extent he is correct in his denial of the similarity between obedience for Paul and his Jewish colleagues it is hard to say. When we concentrate on obedience the similarities are greater than centuries of scholarship have allowed us to believe. This is particularly the case when we follow Wahlstrom, Stendahl, and E. P. Sanders in allowing Paul to be seen within his own context rather than through the eyes of Luther. On the "will of God" see also, von Dobschütz, ad loc. and the excellent article by Schrenk in KTWNT vol. III, pp. 43-62, esp. 53-61.

- 6 Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time (1951) pp. 228-229. See also the series on "The Will of God" in various writers of the New Testament done in the Expository Times during the year 1960-61. The article by C. F. D. Moule is entitled, "The NT and Moral Decisions," Exp. Times (Sept. 1963) pp. 370-373. This quote from page 372. See also Schrage, op. cit. pp. 174-181: "Das Miteinander im Suchen des rechten Weges."
- 7 Hans Kosmala, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes, II Im Jüdischen Denken" has not in my judgement done justice to the evidence in his brief treatment of this aspect (pp.87-88). Annual of the Swedish Institute, vol. III. pp. 65-110. For a more adequate treatment see Andreas Nissen, Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum (Tübingen, 1974), pp. 69-75.
- 8 See in addition to the materials gathered by S. Billerbeck III, 372ff., the materials presented by Gedalyahu Alon, Jews, Judaism and the Classical World (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 146-234.
- 9 Following the text of Becker and mainly his translation as well, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistischer/Zeit, vol. III, (Gütersloh, 1974).
- 10 H. Baltensweiler, Theologische Zeitschrift (September, 1959)
- 11 The verdict of E. Stauffer that "Copulation without communion is fornication" may be correct in the light of the total NT teaching on marriage and love. It cannot however be made into a definition of fornication (See TWNT I, 650. under gameo.)
- 12 A. Juncker, Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus II, (Halle, 1919), pp. 113-116. See also the article by Hauck/Schulz in TWNT VI, 579-595.
- 13 On sexual ethics and practises in Paul's world see Hans Licht, Sexual Life in Ancient Greece (London, 1949); Otto Kiefer, Sexual Life in Ancient Rome, (London, 1950); Robert Flaceliere, Love in Ancient Greece (London, 1962); Carl Schneider, Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus I (München, 1967) deals with Hellenistic sexual mores in detail and the view of human personality which undergirds them in pp. 44-116. K. J. Dover, Homosexuality in Ancient Greece is forthcoming. From the Jewish side some helpful information is to be found in D. M. Feldman, Marital Relations...in Jewish Law (New York, 1968).
- 14 Anthologia Graeca XVI, 243 ed. Hermann Beckby, (München, 1958)
- 15 "skeuos" in KTWBNT VII, 360.

¹⁶ Maurer, ibid. 368

¹⁷ Maurer, ibid. 366-367.

¹⁸ Notes on Epistles of St. Paul (London, 1904) p. 57

¹⁹ Already Hesiod, Works and Days (trans. D. Wender, Penguin Series, 1973) puts it bluntly:

Don't let a woman, wiggling her behind,
And flattering and coaxing, take you in;
She wants your barn: woman is just a cheat (377)

²⁰ See also Alon, op. cit. pp. 157ff.

²¹ Only H. Greeven, Das Hauptproblem der soziaethik in der neueren Stoa und im Urchristentum, (1935) among NT scholars has given Musonius his due.

I have been unable to obtain J. Stelzenberger, Die Beziehungen der früh-christlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa München, 1933, or J. Bauer, "Die Ehe bei Musonius und Paulus," Bibel und Liturgie (1955-56, 23) pp. 8-13. Among the works I have found helpful are: F. H. Sandbach, The Stoics (London, 1975), J. Rist, Stoic Philosophy, (1969); L. Edelstein, The Meaning of Stoicism (Cambridge, 1966). The first to alert me to the higher Stoic views of marriage; higher than is generally assumed; was M. Pohlenz, Die Stoa Vol. I, p. 190. On Zeno see especially H. Baldry, "Zeno's ideal State" Journal of Hellenic Studies, 79 (1959) pp. 3-15.

²² See Cora Lutz, "Musonius Rufus, 'The Roman Socrates' ", Yale Classical Studies X, 1949, pp. 3-147 and P. W. van der Horst, "Musonius Rufus and the New Testament", Novum Testamentum XVI (1974) 306-315. The text of Epictetus is taken from the Loeb edition. On both Epictetus and Musonius see also the brief descriptive article dealing with their concept of "humanitas" Studi Storico Religiosi (Rome, 1977) pp. 63-82.

Introduction

This is a summary of an argument that apocalyptic writers were looking directly into the OT when they received some of their "visions" or "heard" some of the messages that came to them. The case will be presented in three steps:

1) The first part will show that a portion of II Isaiah is a midrash on Exodus 15. 2) The second division will show that Jeremiah was also midrashically related to earlier scripture and began his exegesis with the preface, "Thus said Jehovah" or "said Jehovah." 3) The third section will illustrate the way the authors of Daniel and Revelation produced midrash, prefaced by the reports that they had received these messages from angels or "heard" or "saw" them. Most of the space allowed here will be used for illustrative purposes rather than interpretation and defense.

The New Exodus

The exodus from Egypt and the passage through the Reed Sea are historical events about which several prophets wrote in general, but II Isaiah did more than that. Exod 15:1-16 provides the text upon which II Isaiah based his prophecy. This shows, not just a typological, but a verbal, relationship.

II Isaiah

Sing to Jehovah (שירו יהוה)
a new song

his praise (תהלתו) from the
ends of the land (ארץ),

[you] who go down to the sea
and fill it (יורדי ים ומלאו),

[you] coastlands and their inhabitants (ישביהם).

Let the wilderness and its settlements raise [their voices],
the villages Kedar inhabits (חשב).
Let the inhabitants of Sela (ישבי סלע)

sing for joy,
from the top of the mountains, let them shout!

Let them give to Jehovah (ליהוה) glory

let them make known in the coastlands his praise (תהלתו)!

Jehovah (יהוה), like a mighty man, goes forth,
like a man of wars (כאיש מלחמות),
he stirs up his fury.
He cries out; he shouts aloud!
He becomes mighty against his enemies (איביו) (Isa 42:10-13).

Exodus 15

I will sing to Jehovah
(אשירה ליהוה) (15:1)
fearful so as to be
praised (נורא תהלה) (15:11)
the land swallowed
them (תבלעמו ארץ) (15:12)
They went down (יורו) into
the depths (15:5)
My desire will be filled
(תמלאמו) (15:9)
inhabitants of hilistia
(ישבי פלשה) (15:14).
inhabitants of Canaan
(ישבי כנען) (15:15)

I will sing to Jehovah
(אשירה ליהוה) (15:1)
fearful so as to be
praised (נורא תהלה) (15:11)
Jehovah

is a man of war (יהוה איש מלחמה) (15:3)

shatter the enemy (אויב)
the enemy (אויב) (15:6,9)

Thus said *Jehovah, your redeemer*
(יהוה גאולכם).

the holy One (קדוש) of Israel,
your King:

"For your sakes I sent and
brought down all the refugees
of Babylon
and the pleasure boats of the
Chaldeans

I am *Jehovah, your holy One*
(יהוה קדושכם),
creator of Israel, your King."
Thus said *Jehovah* (יהוה), who
provides *in the sea* (בים)
a way;
in the mighty waters (במים)
(עזים), a path,

who brings out *the rider and*
horse (רכב וסוס)
the strong (חיל) and the

mighty together:

"They collapse, never to rise;
they will be extinguished;
like [a] flax [wick] they will
be snuffed out" (Isa 43:14-17).
Awake! Awake! *gird on strength*
(לבושי עז) *O arm of Jehovah*
(זרוע יהוה)

awake, as in the days gone by,
earlier generations!
Are you not the One who shat-
ters Rahab? who slays the
dragon?

the waters of great Tehom
(מי תהום)

who made in the depths of *the*
sea (ים) a way
for the redeemed to pass over
(לעבר גאולים) (Isa 51:9-10).

For I have provided in the
wilderness *water* (מים),
rivers to supply my chosen
people,
this people I formed
(עם זו יצרתי)

will tell of *my praise*
(תלתי) (Isa 43:20-21)

this people you redeemed
(עם זו גאלתה) (15:13)
majestic in holiness (בקדש)
(15:11)

majestic in holiness (בקדש)
(15:11)

horse and his rider he
hurled *into the sea* (בים)
(15:1)

in the mighty waters (במים)
(אדירים) (15:10)
in your strength (בעוזך)
(15:13) *my strength* (עזי)
(15:2)

horse and his rider
(סוס ורכבו) (15:1)
Pharaoh and *his army*
(חילו) (15:4) *pangs* (חיל)
seized the inhabitants of
Philistia (15:14).

My strength (עזי) and my
song is *Jehovah* (יהוה)
(15:2). *greatness of your*
arm (זרועך) (15:16)

Tiamat is congealed in the
heart of the sea (15:8)
in the mighty waters (במים)
(אירים) (15:10)

until your people *passed*
over (יעבר) (15:16)
this people you redeemed
(עם זו גאלתה) (15:13)

this people you redeemed
(עם זו גאלתה) (15:13)
this people you acquired
(עם זו קניתה) (15:16)
fearful so as to be *praised*
(נורא להלתה) (15:11)

Midrashic Details

If it had not been for the earlier exodus from Egypt, which II Isaiah thought would be repeated, his expectation of deliverance from Babylon to Canaan would not normally have anticipated crossing the wilderness or the sea. The normal route would have been around the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and south through Lebanon, but the author considered the Exodus from Egypt as the type for which the departure from Babylon would be the antitype. His knowledge was more than general. The precise words he used show his familiarity with the poem in Exodus 15 itself: exhortations to sing, references to the horse and rider, the arm of Jehovah, Tiamat, the waters, the sea, the holy One, Jehovah as a man of war, going down to the sea, and the redeemed ones. References in Exodus 15 to the inhabitants of Philistia and Canaan are echoed in II Isaiah's mention of the inhabitants of Kedar, Sela, and the coastlands. This poem in Exodus was obviously the text that inspired II Isaiah to write his later poetry. In fact II Isaiah himself compared the anticipated deliverance to the earlier time when Jehovah awoke and overthrew the sea monster (Isa 51:9). II Isaiah has here composed a narrative midrash. Other prophets also wrote midrashic prophecy, which they introduced with the preface, "Thus said Jehovah" as if the OT texts they used were accepted as the word of God itself. Some of these were Daniel (9:1-2, 20-27), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. Here only a few illustrations will be given from Jeremiah.

The Word of Jehovah

Jeremiah

Therefore, look! The days are coming, said Jehovah (יְהוָה),...and the dead bodies of this people will be for food for the birds of heaven, and for the beasts of the earth; and no one frighten them away (7:32-33).

Deuteronomy

And your dead body will be for food for all the birds of heaven, and for the beasts of the earth; and no one will frighten them away (28:26).

That which Jehovah said, according to Jeremiah, seems to have come from the Book of Deuteronomy. The same is true of the following sample passages:

Therefore, thus said Jehovah (יְהוָה) the God of Israel,...I will scatter them among the nations

Jehovah

will scatter you among the peoples, from one end of the earth to the other; and there you will serve other gods, of wood and stone which neither you nor your fathers have known (28:64).

which neither you nor your fathers have known (9:16).

Thus said Jehovah (יְהוָה) the God of Israel, "Cursed be the man who does not pay attention to the words of this covenant, which I commanded your fathers

Cursed be he who does not uphold the words of this Torah by doing them. And all the people shall say, "Amen." (27:26)

when I brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying, 'Pay attention to my voice, and do all that I will command you, and you will be my people, and I will be your God,

so that I might uphold the oath which I swore to your fathers (11:3-5).

To this people you shall say, "Thus said Jehovah (כה אמר יהוה), 'Look! I have given before you the way of life and the way death (21:8).

You will seek me, and you will find me, because you will search for me (חורשני) with all your heart, and I will be found for you, said Jehovah (נאם יהוה) (29:13-14).

But the Lord has taken you, brought you out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt

to be his people, his inheritance, as this day (4:20).

It will be, because you will pay attention to these ordinances, and guard them and perform them, Jehovah, your God will guard the covenant and steadfast love which he swore to your fathers (7:12).

I have given before you this day, life and good, death and evil (30:15).

But from there you will seek Jehovah your God, and you will find him, because you will search for him (חורשנו) with all your heart and with all your soul (4:29).

These are only a few of the samples which show that Jeremiah considered Deuteronomy to be the word of Jehovah and referred to the teaching in that document when he said, "Thus said Jehovah" or "said Jehovah." He also interpreted the Torah of Deuteronomy (27:26) to be the covenant (11:3). Deuteronomy was one of the places where Jeremiah searched for Jehovah with all his heart, and he urged his people to do the same. The interpretation which he gave to the discovery he made in this way was a midrash (מדרש) on Deuteronomy.

This is only the tip of the iceberg. Jeremiah also based prophecies on Exodus and Leviticus, and other prophets followed his lead. In the name of Jehovah, Ezekiel and Zechariah spoke words from Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Jeremiah. Midrash was also composed by wisdom writers, such as Job and Proverbs, and certain Psalmists.² Intertestamental materials, such as Enoch and the Twelve Patriarchs are heavily dependent upon earlier literature for their understanding of the word of God. One of the early composers of apocalyptic midrash was the author of Daniel 9.

Apocalyptic Visions and Voices

The author of Daniel believed that the Maccabean victory was the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy that the Jews would be returned to the Land of Canaan.³ No other return from Babylon was complete. So the prophet began to study in

the books (בִּינְתֵי סְפָרִים) on the assumption that there was some explanation for Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years, which was not fulfilled until hundreds of years later. Daniel's dramatic explanation of the insight that came to him was that Gabriel flew into his vision and gave him the necessary explanation (Dan 9:21-23). The seventy years prophesied by Jeremiah was to be interpreted midrashically as seventy weeks of years (Dan 9:24) predestined to pass after the destruction of Jerusalem until the temple was rededicated after an important victory over the Syrians by Judas. Once convinced that all prophecy was to be fulfilled in the days of the Messiah and convinced further that Judas was the predestined Messiah, the author had only to deduce *how* Jeremiah's prophecy was fulfilled. The seventy weeks of years were divided into four units: 1) the period spent in Babylon, 2) the period after the return until seven years before the first Hanukkah, 3) the first half of the last seven years, and 4) the last half of the last seven years. This all had to total 490 years. The first jubilee was allocated to Babylon, the last half week of years to the period between the defilement of the temple by Antiochus IV and the rededication by Judas. The three and a half years just prior to that were only important as being part of the same week of years. All the rest of the years were allocated uncritically to the long period in between: 62 years. This totals as follows: 7 plus 62 plus 3 1/2 plus 3 1/2 equals 70 weeks of years. This was the word of God that came to Daniel while he was studying the scriptures under the belief that they held the key that would explain the recent events in Israel's history. The text of Jeremiah was more directly involved in providing Daniel the basis for God's word than Gabriel was.

By NT times the practice of searching the scriptures for God's word was well established, and apocalyptists heard "voices" and saw "visions" while reading OT texts. The message the apocalyptist received from God resulted in some kind of midrash on the scriptures he was examining. Convictions of later rabbis were evidently the same as earlier prophets and apocalyptists: 1) all prophecy is prophesied only for the days of the Messiah, 2) everything in the world is in the scripture, and 3) apocalyptists were living in the days of the Messiah. Dependency of apocalyptists on OT scripture is evident in Revelation, where there are more than four hundred allusions to the OT. The first sample vision given here is quoted together with the OT passages the seer examined to acquire his "vision."

Rev 13:1-10

And I saw (καὶ εἶδον)
out of the sea a beast came up

OT Scripture

And four great *beasts* came up out of the sea, different from one another. The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings. Then as I watched, God plucked off its wings and took it up from the ground and stood it upon two feet like a man;⁴ and God gave it the mind of a man. Now, look!

having *ten horns* and *four heads* and on its *heads* were ten crowns, and upon its *heads* were blasphemous names. *The beast* which I saw was *like a leopard*, and its mouth was like the mouth of a *lion*. The dragon gave it its power, throne, and great authority. One of its *heads* was as slaughtered mortally, but its mortal wound was healed. All the land followed the *beast* and worshipped the dragon, because it gave authority to the *beast*. So they worshipped the *beast*, saying, "Who is like the *beast*, and who is able to engage in war with it, and it had a *mouth speaking great things* and blasphemy, and God gave it authority to make [war] for forty-two months. It will open its *mouth* to blaspheme against God, to blaspheme his name, his dwelling, [and] those who dwell in heaven. God gave it [authority] to make *war with the saints* and to conquer them, and he gave it authority over every tribe, people, tongue, and nation, and all those [Gentiles] who dwell in the land worship him--every-

[there was] another beast, a second one, *like a bear*. God raised it up on one side. It had three ribs in its mouth between its teeth, and God told it, 'Rise up, devour much flesh!' After this I watched, and look! another, *like a leopard*, with four wings of a bird on its back, and the beast had *four heads*, and God gave dominion to it. After this I saw in the night visions, and look! a fourth *beast*, terrible, dreadful, and exceedingly strong, and it had great iron teeth. It devoured and broke in pieces and stamped the rest with its feet. It was different from all the *beasts* that were before it, and it had *ten horns*. I was meditating on the *horns*, and look! there arose among them another *horn*, a little one, before which three of the first *horns* were pulled up by the roots. Now look!

in this *horn* were eyes like the eyes of a man and a *mouth speaking great things* (Dan 7:3-8).

As I watched, this *horn* made war with the saints and conquered them, until the Ancient of Days came and God judged in favor of the saints of the Most High, and the time arrived when the saints received the kingdom.

Thus he said, "The fourth *beast*--There will be a fourth kingdom in the land, which will differ from all the [other] kingdoms, and it will consume all the land, trample it down, and break it to pieces. The *ten horns*--Out of this kingdom *ten* kings will arise, and another will arise after them. He will differ from the earlier ones and will put down three kings. He will *speak* words against the Most High and exhaust the *saints* of the Most High. He will plan to change the calendar and the religion. God will give them into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time" (Dan 7: 21-25).

The one *who* is left in Zion, the one *who* remains in Jerusalem, will be called "holy"--everyone *who* is *inscribed for life* in Jerusalem (Isa 4:3).

Let him be erased from the *book of life*, not *inscribed* with the righteous (Ps 69: 29).

Thus said Jehovah:
 "Whoever [is predestined]
 for pestilence,
 [let his lot be] for
 pestilence;
 whoever [is predestined]
 for the sword,
 [let his lot be] for the
 sword;
 whoever [is predestined]
 for famine,
 [let his lot be] for famine;
 whoever [is predestined]
 for captivity,
 [let his lot be]
 for captivity
 (Jer 15:2).

one
 whose name is not
 inscribed

in the
 book of life of the Lamb that is
 slaughtered from the foundation
 of the world. If anyone has an
 ear, let him hear.

If anyone [is predestined]
 for captivity, he goes away

into captivity; if anyone kills
 by means of the sword, he will
 have to be killed by means of
 the sword. Here is the patience
 and the faith of the saints
 (Rev 13:1-10).

Just as Jeremiah had learned what the Lord's message to his people was from his study of Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and Exodus, and as Daniel understood the Maccabean victory as the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy, so the recipient of the vision in Rev 13:1-10 "saw" Daniel 7 as the word of the Lord for his day. The four beasts described there were considered to be the type for which the oppressors of contemporary Jews were the antitypes. This is a narrative midrash, composed by an author who intentionally used words from scripture to express his vision. The reader was expected to recognize the message of Daniel 7, especially the fourth beast (Greece) and the little horn (Antiochus IV Epiphanes). There were signs of contemporary times which would convince the reader who knew his scripture (had ears to hear) that the current Roman ruler was the antitype of which Antiochus IV was the type. After three and a half years of warfare (a time, two times, and half a time or forty-two months), Judas threw the Greeks out of the temple and re-established worship there. The seer's vision said that Jews of his day were then at the predestined point in time, comparable to the earlier period before the Hasmonean victory. There was a new fourth beast, a new "little horn," and a new victory for the Jews in the near future. This is what the seer "saw" when he read the word of God according to Daniel. There are many other such visions in Revelation. For instance, the vision of the abyss (Rev 9:1-12) seems to have come to the seer while he was reading Joel 2. The vision of the two witnesses in Rev 11:1-13 was evidently "seen" by the apocalypticist while he was reading Zechariah's visions about the new temple and the two messiahs (Zech 2 and 4). The harvesting vision (Rev 14:14-20) was motivated by Joel's prophecy about the great battle in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel 3) and the installation of the Son of man (Dan 7). The "Song of the Lamb" came as part of a vision, motivated by the "Song of Moses" at the crossing of the Reed Sea (Rev 15:1-4; Exod 15:1-18). The voice which the apocalypticist "heard" told to the seven angels seems to have come to him as he was reading of the ten plagues in Egypt (Exod 7-11). The vision of Babylon's fall (Rev 18) was probably inspired by a similar prophecy by Jeremiah (50-51) and Ezekiel (26-27). Some selected verses from that chapter will be quoted here with relevant OT passages.

After these things,
(εἰδὼν) another angel coming
down from heaven, having great
authority, and the land was
lightened from his glory. He
cried out with a loud voice,
saying,

After these things (Dan 7:
6,7; 8:4)
Flee from the midst of
Babylon; let each man save
himself. Do not be cut
off in her punishment! For
it is Jehovah's time of
vengeance, the punishment
he is paying her. Babylon
was a golden cup in Jeho-
vah's hand, making all the
land drunk. The Gentiles
have drunk part of her
wine; therefore the Gen-
tiles became crazy. Sud-
denly, *Babylon has fallen;*

"Fallen,
fallen is Babylon, the great, and

has
become a dwelling place of
demons, a prison of every un-
clean spirit, a prison of every
unclean and hated foul, because

of the wine of wrath of her for-
nication
all of the Gentiles
have drunk, and rulers of the

land have committed fornication
with her, and the merchants of
the land have become prosperous
from the power of her might.

It is clear that the "angel" who cried out his message
to the apocalyptist had the texts of Jeremiah, Isaiah, and
possibly Nahum before him. The next "voice" which the apocal-
yptist heard from heaven also quoted from Jeremiah:

Rev 18
Then I heard another voice from
heaven, saying, "Come out from
her, my people, lest you share
her sins, so that you will not
receive part of her afflictions,

because her sins
have reached heaven
and God has remembered her in-
justices.

give back to her as she
has given;
pay her back double according to
her action (Rev 18:1-6).

she is shattered! wail for
her. Take salve for her
pain; maybe she may be
healed (Jer 51:6-8).

Now, look! he is coming--a
rider, teams of horsemen.
Then he answered, "Fallen,
fallen is Babylon (Isa 21:
9).

Therefore, she [Babylon] has
become a dwelling place of
fantasies (LXX Jer 27:39=
M 50:39).

Thus said Jehovah, the God
of Israel to me: "Take this
cup of the wine of wrath
from my hand and give it to
all of the Gentiles to whom
I am sending you to drink.
They will drink, stagger,
and become crazy because of
the sword which I am send-
ing among them (Jer 25:15-
16).

All for the numerous har-
lotries of the harlot, -
graceful and deadly charms,
who betrays Gentiles with
her [Nineveh's] harlotries,
and people with her charms
(Nah 3:4).

OT Scripture
...the wall of Babylon has
Come out from her
midst, my people. Let each
man save himself from Je-
hovah's wrathful anger
(Jer 51:45).

We would have healed Baby-
lon, but she would not be
healed. Abandon her, and
let us walk, each man to
his land, because her judg-
ment has reached heaven,
has been raised to the sky"
(Jer 51:9).

For it is the vengeance of
Jehovah; do to her as she
has done (Jer 50:15).

pay her according to
her action (Jer 50:29).

Revelation 18

The *merchants* of these [goods] who became rich from her, stood at a distance on account of fear of her torture,

weeping and

mourning, saying, "Woe! woe! the great city that was clothed in fine linen, purple, and scarlet and plated with gold, precious stone, and pearl, because in one hour all this wealth was destroyed. Every *shipmaster*, seaman, *sailors*, and all engaged in sea trades stand at a distance and cry,

"Who is like the great city?"

They threw dust on their heads, weeping and mourning, saying, "Woe! woe! the great city" (Rev 18:15-19).

OT Scripture

Merchants among the peoples hiss at you. You have been destroyed suddenly. You will not exist until the age (Ezek 27:36).

They gird themselves with sack cloth. *They weep* for you with bitterness of soul, *mourning* bitterly (Ezek 27:31).

All who pull the oar come down, *sailors and shipmasters*

stand on the shore and cry, wailing bitterly (Ezek 27:29-30).

Who is like Tyre (Ezek 27:32)?

They threw dust on their heads and wallowed in ashes (Ezek 27:30).

Conclusions

The quotation from II Isaiah has shown that prophets formed some of their prophecies by elaborating midrashically on earlier scripture texts. Quotations from Jeremiah have shown that Jeremiah was one of the prophets who saw his visions and received God's word, at least partly, while he was examining scripture passages from the Torah. He called these messages the word which God spoke. Daniel relied on the prophecy of Jeremiah to explain the events that occurred in his own day, assuming that this was the fulfillment of prophecy. Later apocalyptists, such as the authors of Enoch and Revelation, found many of their "visions" and heard many of their "voices" while studying the scriptures. This midrashic method of forming prophecy was not confined to prophets and apocalyptists. Midrashic exegesis was much earlier and more prominent than scholars have normally believed. This realization can help to clarify a lot of confusion about apocalyptic literature.

Notes

1. A.G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," *CBQ* 28 (1966), p. 128.
2. "Midrashim Pre-Tannaites," *RB* 72 (1965), 227-239; *To The Hebrews* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1972), p.xix-xxii.
3. For a defense of a *post eventum* dating of Daniel, see *my To The Hebrews*, pp. 38-51.
4. Assuming God was intended as the subject of these passive verbs.

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The opening sentence of the Gospel of Luke is a "remarkable specimen of fine and well-balanced structure, and at the same time of well-chosen vocabulary."¹ The sentence spans the first four verses of the Gospel and inaugurates the document with admirable literary skill. There is, however, a problem with this opening sentence -- it does not unambiguously signal the nature of the subject matter and the generic character of the work.

The preface to Luke has been investigated primarily in relation to historiographical prefaces. The development of prefaces to Greek and Roman histories, and the extensive investigation of them within scholarship, has encouraged this approach. But it is instructive to know that scholars uncovered good parallels in prefaces to medical treatises when they were seeking evidence of Luke's knowledge as a physician.² Consideration of the preface to Luke, by itself, leaves uncertainty concerning the generic nature of Luke-Acts.

Fortunately, the initial sentence of the Acts of the Apostles positions both Luke and Acts in relation to contemporary literature of its time: the first volume narrates the teaching and actions of Jesus and the second volume presents the words and deeds of the apostles as they did the things Jesus commanded them to do. In other words, Luke and Acts are a two-volume biographical narrative. The first volume contains an account of the teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, from birth to death, and the second volume portrays the extension of this man's teaching and action through his major successors.³

If it is fortunate that the preface to Acts indicates the generic nature of the two volumes, it is unfortunate that prefaces to biographical literature are so disparate. The formal character of the prefaces to Luke and Acts suggests that special impulses have come to expression in them. This paper is designed to uncover the special influences that were playing a role as the author constructed the prefaces. First, then, the vocabulary, style, and structure of the prefaces to Luke and Acts will be set forth, and Greco-Roman literature containing the impulses that produce these literary features will be investigated. Second, the prefaces to Luke and Acts will be analyzed in relation to sections in Acts

1. Friedrich Blass, Philology of the Gospels (London: Macmillan, 1898) 7.
2. See James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament (New York: Scribners, 1915) 263-264, and Henry J. Cadbury, "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts: V. Luke and the Horse-Doctors," *JBL* 52 (1933) 55-58.
3. See Charles H. Talbert, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts, *SBLMS* 20 (Missoula: Scholars, 1974) 129-136.

which contain parallel language and style. Third, a thesis will be introduced concerning the function of the prefaces in Luke and Acts.

Vocabulary, Style, and Structure in the Prefaces to Luke and Acts

Because a majority of extant Greco-Roman biographies are products of a multi-volume undertaking by one author, many of these works contain no preface. The author had little need to introduce yet one more life through a formally constructed introduction. Nevertheless, if the author writes an introduction, certain features are likely to appear. A number of these features are present in the prefaces to Luke and Acts.

First, the initial sentence of a biography is likely to contain a statement about the person who is the subject of the life. There is little surprise, accordingly, when the preface to Acts speaks of "all the things that Jesus began both to do and to teach" (ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν). Perhaps the closest parallel to this exists in the first sentence of Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*: "Xenophon the philosopher, who is unique among all philosophers in that he adorned philosophy both with words and with deeds" (ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις). But the biographical character of these features is expressed in detail, and emphasized, by the last sentence in Xenophon's preface to the *Memorabilia* (I.1.20):

I wonder, then, how the Athenians can have been persuaded that Socrates was a freethinker, when he never said or did (οὐτ' εἰπόντα οὐτε πράξαντα) anything contrary to sound religion, and his utterances about the gods and his behaviour towards them (λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα) were the words and actions (λέγων καὶ πράττων) of a man who is truly religious and deserves to be thought so.

There should be no doubt that reference to the teaching and action (or words and deeds) of the sage is a stock feature of biographical literature about a philosopher-teacher. Its presence in Acts reflects the biographical enterprise undertaken by the author.

Second, it is customary for an author to refer to his biography as a διήγησις, a narrative. Plutarch, in his comparison of Agis and Cleomenes with the Gracchi provides an example: "Now that I have brought this narrative (τῆς διηγέσεως) of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel" (I.1). Further, near the beginning of his *Lycurgus*, Plutarch states: "However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative (ἀποδοῦναι τὴν διήγησιν), to follow those authors who are least contradicted, or who have the most notable witnesses (γνωριμωτέρους μάρτυρας) for what they have written about the man" (I.3). The passage illustrates the relation between biography and history. While some historians felt ill toward biographers, most biographers looked with favor upon historians. Plutarch, as many other biographers, gleaned his information from historical accounts. He refers to his biographies as narratives (διηγέσεις) and seeks reliable information.

Third, therefore, Luke shares with other biographers a reference to accuracy (ἀκριβῶσαι). The concern for accuracy pervades all kinds of prefaces in Greco-Roman literature, but its role in biography is well illustrated in Philo's Life of Moses:

But I will ... tell the story of Moses as I have learned it, both from the sacred books, the wonderful monuments of his wisdom which he has left behind him, and from some of the elders of the nation; for I always interwove what I was told with what I read, and believed (ἐδοξα) myself to have more accurate knowledge (ἀκριβῶσαι) than others of his life (τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον).

Philo of Alexandria composed a biography of Moses in the style of Greco-Roman Lives. He draws information not only from written biblical sources but from oral traditions circulating among the Jewish elders. Following the convention of contemporary biographers, he asserts that his account, based on written and oral traditions, is more accurate than any other.

Prefaces to literature in Mediterranean Antiquity share much in common, but particular features may characterize a preface within any genre. Tore Janson has illustrated this well in his study of oratorical features in Latin prose prefaces.⁴ The prefaces to Luke and Acts reflect features related to oratory and letters. Since speeches and letters are standard components of biography, this influence is paralleled by other biographical prefaces.

First, direct address in the preface (Lk 1:3: κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν; Acts 1:1: ὁ θεόφιλε) derives from Athenian oratory.⁵ Usually a person writes a letter to address a second party directly, and the person to whom the correspondence is addressed is referred to in dative case. But it was customary to send written discourses in Mediterranean Antiquity, and direct address in the preface characterizes these speeches. Three works of Isocrates -- To Demonicus, To Nicocles, and To Philip -- exhibit this phenomenon exceptionally well. In addition, the prefaces to these and other discourses by Isocrates contain language closely related to the Lucan prefaces. Selections from To Philip 1-4 illustrate the parallels:

Do not be surprised, Philip (ὦ Φίλιππε), that I am going to begin my discourse (τοῦ λόγου ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν) not with speech which is to be addressed to you and which is presently to be brought to your attention, but with that which I have written about Amphipolis (τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γραφέντος) ... it was not in a moment of folly that I undertook to write my address to you (ἐπεθέμην γράφειν τὸν πρὸς σέ λόγον) ... For when I saw ... the war in which you and our city had become involved ... I endeavoured to express opinions

4. Tore Janson, Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XIII (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964).

5. Ibid., pp. 16-18.

regarding this city (ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν περὶ τῆς πόλεως) ... you and the Athenians were mistaken about the real state of affairs (τῶν πραγμάτων) ... I so impressed my hearers by my statement of the case that not one of them thought of applauding my oratory (τὸν λόγον) or the finish and the purity (ἀκριβὲς καὶ καθαρῶς) of my style, as some are wont to do, but instead they marvelled at the truth of my arguments (τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων)...

While direct address was not a standard feature within historiographical prefaces,⁶ it was common within biography.⁷ It was natural to include features of discourse in biographical prefaces since sayings and speeches were abundant throughout the work.

In Hellenistic times, direct address appears also in letters, and it is only one of several features from written discourses that influenced epistolary style. Direct address appears at the opening of the Letter of Aristeeas, the Epistle to Diognetus, the Letter of Melito, and Theophilus' To Autolycus.⁸ Moreover, the two letters of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Ammaeus contain direct address within the body of the letter.⁹ In return, written discourses can be prefaced by the characteristic opening of an epistle.¹⁰ The interplay between epistolary and discourse style helps to explain the role of direct address in the prefaces to Luke and Acts.

Second, the expression ἔδοξε καμοῖ ... σοι γράψαι (it seemed good also for me ... to write to you) is common in letters and orations. Dionysius of Halicarnassus opens Letter to Ammaeus II with:

6. Ibid., p. 16; Donald Earl, "Prologue-form in Ancient Historiography," Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt I.2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) 842-846.
7. See Cornelius Nepos, Great Generals of Foreign Nations, Preface 1; Plutarch, Theseus I.1; Dion I.1; Aratus I.1.
8. See Henry J. Cadbury, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke," The Beginnings of Christianity II.II, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (London: Macmillan, 1922) 506, but note that καμῖοτε Ἀμμαεῖ occurs in the preface to de Orat. Vet. rather than Ep. ad Ammaeum. This classic article has been a starting point for many observations in this paper.
9. English translations and citations of Dionysius' letters are from W. Rhys Roberts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters (Cambridge: University Press, 1901). See Letter to Ammaeus I at II.14-15; III.1 and Letter to Ammaeus II at XVII.3 (p.158).
10. See William R. Schoedel, Athenagoras, Legatio and De Resurrectione, Oxford Early Christian Texts, ed. H. Chadwick (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) xii, 2-3.

I thought I had sufficiently indicated the characteristics of Thucydides when describing the most important and remarkable of these peculiarities which seemed to me (ἐδοξέν μοι) to distinguish him from all previous orators and historians (I.4-10).

Likewise, Letter to Ammaeus I features Dionysius writing: "And you seemed to me, further, to be right (ἐδόκεις τέ μοι καί), in counselling me ..." (II.9). If this expression appears to be too commonplace in Greek literature to be an important feature, one should bear in mind that discourses and letters are the setting in which a person is expected to state his or her views (τά δοκοῦντα). The central role that one's views play in the composition of letters and discourses is illustrated in Letter to Ammaeus I when Dionysius writes that he will state his views in a separate work (III.1: ἐν ἰδίῳ δηλώσω γραφῇ τά δοκοῦντα μοι). Further, the common ground of letters and orations is captured by Dionysius when he cites the opening line of an oration in Letter to Ammaeus I: ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μοι δοκεῖ (IV.27).¹¹ People write letters and discourses for the expressed purpose of communicating their views to other people. Therefore, direct address and the statement "it seems good to me" go hand in hand in speeches -- written or spoken -- and letters. Their presence in the preface to Luke reflects oratorical and epistolary influence.

Third, it is unusual for a preface to suggest that the account presents information concerning things about which the recipient has been informed (κατηχέσθαι). This feature of the preface to Luke has been complicated by the absence of this verb from pre-Hellenistic Greek literature.¹² But this impulse has a natural place in biography. Though information about a person may be abundant in various kinds of literary works, that information is not satisfactory so far as a biographer is concerned. Historical accounts give so much detail about battles and political intrigues that they lose sight of the person himself, while other accounts give fragmented insights into the thought and action of the person. Therefore, the biographer presents a succession of brief scenes, crucial events, poignant statements, and highpoints of interaction with other people to show the importance and influence of the person who is the subject of the biography.¹³ The biographer does not hesitate to write his biography when an abundance of information is known to people. In other words, sometimes a biographer writes about a person when little information is available in public circles, but a biographer writes to organize information around a particular perspective. Often an abundance of information is available, and often the biographer thinks that erroneous impressions accompany that information. He writes his biography to re-organize perceptions so that the speech and actions of the person favorably influence the reader.

11. Cf. Isocrates, On the Peace I.1; To Nicocles II.1.

12. See Cadbury, ibid., pp. 508-509.

13. See, e.g., Plutarch, Alexander I.1-3.

Oratorical features emerge naturally in a biographical preface when the author knows that information is available about the subject of his biography and he desires to present this person in such a way that people will receive a particular type of influence from him. Plutarch's preface to Aratus provides an illustration:

There is an ancient proverb, O Polycrates (ὦ Πολύκρατες), which it seems to me (μοι δοκεῖ) the philosopher Chrysippus puts not as it really is, but as he thought better: "Who will praise a father, except happy sons?"... But surely for a man ... like thee, who patterns his life after the fairest examples in his family line, -- for such men it will be good fortune to be reminded of their noblest progenitors, ever and anon hearing the story of them, or telling it themselves... And therefore, now that I have written the life of Aratus, who was thy countryman and forefather, and to whom thou thyself art no discredit in either reputation or influence, I send it to thee, not as though thou hadst not been at pains from the beginning (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) to have the most precise (ἀκριβέστατα) knowledge of thy ancestor's career (πρόξενος), but in order that thy sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be reared, now by hearing and now by reading, after examples found in their own family line -- examples which it well becomes them to imitate (I.1.1-4).

This preface contains many points of relation to the prefaces in Luke-Acts. Plutarch presents an account of the actions (πρόξενος) of Aratus to Polycrates so that the life of Aratus may play a role in forming appropriate thought and actions among his descendants. Plutarch knows that Polycrates has much information about Aratus. Yet he composes this account, and sends it to Polycrates, so that the career of Aratus will stand as a paradigm for later action. He envisions that Polycrates will not only read this biography, and give it to his sons to read, but he will transmit the information orally to them. His interest in oral transmission is captured in the oracular features in the preface itself. Since the goals of biography can be met best when people both hear and read the information, Plutarch composes a preface to the Life that speaks directly to Polycrates and introduces an oracular context for his narrative.

The linguistic features of the first verses in Luke and Acts suggest a context paralleled by other biographies in the Greco-Roman culture. Luke has constructed biographical prefaces in an oratorical style related to epistolary discourse. The prefaces were not expanded through rhetorical flourish like many Latin prose prefaces. Instead, they begin the account with an abruptness characteristic of biographical literature. The oratorical and episolary nature of the prefaces to Luke and Acts creates an interrelationship with the speeches and letters in Acts.

Prefaces, Letters, and Speeches in Luke-Acts

The vocabulary and style characteristic of the Lucan prefaces appear also in the last half of Acts (chaps. 15-28). In other words, the opening of both Luke and Acts contain a linguistic and structural relation to the final portion of the second volume.¹⁴ For the most part, the parallels appear in the two letters and ten speeches within the narrative. These parallels reveal a relation among the prefaces, letters, and speeches that indicates the special nature of the prefaces and the two-volume biography Luke composed.

The language and style of the prefaces reappear in the narrative when the apostles and elders decide to compose a letter to set forth the conditions under which the Gentile mission is to be conducted. Features of the prefaces appear initially in the narrative that precedes the letter, and these features continue in the letter itself. In Acts 15:22-23, the apostles and elders accept a position analogous to the position Luke adopts when he writes to Theophilus:

Then it seemed good (ἔδοξε) to the apostles and the elders ... having chosen men from among them (ἐκλεξαμένους ἀνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν), to send them to Antioch ... having written by their hand (γράφαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν)....

In a parallel manner, Luke says (Luke 1:1, 3) that it seemed good to him to write to Theophilus (ἔδοξε κάμοι ... σοι γράψαι) as others had taken such a task in hand (ἐπεχείρησαν). Also, he refers to the apostles who were chosen (Acts 1:2: τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ... οὓς ἐξελέξατο) to do the things commanded to them. The same style and vocabulary pervade the letter (Acts 15:24-29):

Since (ἐπειδὴ) we have heard that some persons from us (ἐξ ἡμῶν) have troubled you with words (λόγοις), unsettling your minds, although we gave them no instructions (οἷς οὐ διεστείλαμεθα), it has seemed good to us (ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν) in assembly to choose men (ἐκλεξαμένους ἀνδρας) and send them to you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have delivered (παραδεδωκόσι) their lives for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who themselves will tell you the same things through word (διὰ λόγου). For it seemed good (ἔδοξεν) to the Holy Spirit and to us....If you ... you will do well (εὖ πράξετε).

This letter contains many points of relation to the prefaces to Luke and Acts. People in various cities have heard

14. Henry J. Cadbury also observed this phenomenon: "The Purpose Expressed in Luke's Preface," *The Expositor*, Series 8, Vol. 11 (1921) 440.

information about Christian activity that is disturbing and inaccurate. Therefore, it seemed to be a good thing to write to the people in these cities and to have this information delivered by men specially chosen for the task. That which is written will be confirmed by that which is spoken, and if people follow the guidelines as set forth, they will act properly.

The story of Apollos at Ephesus (Acts 18:24-28) presents the next setting which contains language characteristic of the prefaces:

This one had been informed (κατηχημένος) about the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spoke and taught accurately (ἀκριβῶς) the things concerning Jesus (τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), though he knew only the baptism of John. He began to speak boldly in the synagogue; but when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him and expounded to him the way of God more accurately (ἀκριβέστερον). And when he wished to cross to Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples (ἔγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς) to receive him....

In the same way in which Luke is concerned that Theophilus be presented with an accurate account of things about which he has already been informed, so Priscilla and Aquila expound a more accurate understanding to Apollos concerning that which he has been informed. After they have transmitted this more accurate understanding to Apollos, they write a letter asking the disciples to receive him.

After these two episodes, features characteristic of the prefaces are absent until Paul returns to Jerusalem and visits James in the company of the elders (Acts 21:17-18). At this point, James gives a speech that shows various points of relation to the prefaces:

You see, brother (ἀδελφέ), how many thousands there are among the Jews of those who have believed; they are all zealous for the law, and they have been told (κατηχήθησαν) about you, that you teach (διδάσκεις) all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses ... What then is to be done?...Do therefore what we tell you (τοῦτο οὖν ποιήσον ὃ σοὶ λέγομεν)....Thus all will know that there is nothing in what they have been told about you (καὶ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ὧν κατήχηνται περὶ σοῦ οὐδὲν ἔστιν)....But as for the Gentiles who have believed, we have sent a letter (ἔπεστείλαμεν) ... (Acts 21:20-25).

Again, where features of the prefaces emerge, there is formal speech and reference to a letter. Both the speech and letter are designed to give information to people who have already been informed (κατηχέσθαι) so that they may understand teaching and actions more accurately.

Soon after this, Paul delivers a formal defense speech before the people of Jerusalem (22:1-21).¹⁵ When the tribune who has been in charge of the proceedings writes a letter to be taken along with Paul to Felix (23:26-30), features characteristic of the prefaces reappear:

Claudius Lysias [the tribune] to his Excellency (τῷ κραιττοῦ) the governor Felix, greeting. This man was seized by the Jews, and was about to be killed by them, when I came upon them with the soldiers and rescued him, having learned that he was a Roman citizen. And desiring to know (βουλόμενός τε ἐπιγνῶναι) the charge on which they accused him, I brought him down to their council. I found that he was accused about questions of their law, but charged with nothing deserving death or imprisonment. And when it was disclosed to me that there would be a plot against the man, I sent him to you (ἐπεμψα πρὸς σέ), ordering his accusers also to state before you what they have against him (λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοῦ).

For the first time since Luke 1:3, the honorific adjective κραιττοστος occurs, and the recipient of the address is a Roman official. The tribune's action is motivated by the desire to know (ἐπιγινώσκειν) accurate information about the situation. After he has made a judgment about Paul's activity, he writes a letter and sends people along who will state their accusation orally.

When Tertullus, the oral accuser, speaks to Felix, his opening statement contains the direct address κραιτιστε Φήλιξε (24:3). He concludes his formal accusation (24:8) with:

By examining him yourself you will be able to learn from him about everything of which we accuse him (περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐπιγνῶναι ὃν ἡμεῖς κατηγοροῦμεν αὐτοῦ).

When Felix motions for Paul to respond, Paul offers "a typical apology" (24:10-21)¹⁶ beginning with:

Realizing that for many years you have been judge over this nation, I cheerfully make my defense. As you may ascertain (δυναμένου σου ἐπιγνῶναι), it is not more than twelve days since I went up to worship at Jerusalem ...

At the end of Paul's speech stands an editorial comment by Luke:

But Felix having a rather accurate knowledge of the Way (ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ), put them off, saying, "When Lysias the tribune comes down, I will decide your case."

In this narrative sequence before Felix, Luke uses language characteristic of the prefaces. Tertullus addresses Felix in the same manner as Luke addresses Theophilus, and

15. For an excellent study of the defense speeches, see Fred Veltman, "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts," SBL Seminar Papers 11, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (1977) 325-339.

16. Veltman, ibid., p. 334.

Tertullus proposes that Felix should scrutinize the facts himself so that he may know (ἐπιγινώσκειν) the truth of the accusation. In return, Paul tells Felix that he is able to know (ἐπιγινώσκειν) the actual situation by checking out what Paul tells him. In the end, Felix having a more accurate knowledge of the Way (than the accusers?), refuses to pronounce a verdict of guilty. The interaction between Paul and Felix is reminiscent of the appeal in the preface to Luke, and the Roman official Felix responds in a most careful manner because of his more accurate information.

When Porcius Festus succeeds Felix as governor of the province, the accusation against Paul is renewed (Acts 25:1-5). When Paul responds to Festus' questions, again language characteristic of the preface to Luke appears (Acts 25:10-11):

But Paul said, "I am standing before Caesar's tribunal, where I ought to be tried; to the Jews I have done no wrong, as you know very well (ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις). If then I am a wrongdoer, and have committed anything (πέπραχά τι) for which I deserve to die, I do not seek to escape death; but if there is nothing in their charges against me, no one can give me up to them. I appeal to Caesar."

When, after a few days, King Agrippa and Berenice visit Caesarea, Festus presents Paul's case to them. This account is skillfully composed by Luke, since Felix, a Roman governor, now transmits orally to King Agrippa the information that Luke has just transmitted to his readers through written narrative. Moreover, in a formal trial setting on the following day, Festus reiterates his statement with a significant additional component (Acts 25:24-27):

And Festus said, "King Agrippa (Ἀγρίππα Βασιλεῦ) and all who are present with us, you see this man about whom the whole Jewish people petitioned me, both at Jerusalem and here, shouting that he ought not to live any longer. But I found that he had done nothing deserving death (μηδὲν ἄξιον αὐτὸν θανάτου πεπραχέναι); and as he himself appealed to the emperor, I decided to send him. But I having nothing definite to write to my lord about him (περὶ οὗ ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω). Therefore, I have brought him before you, and especially before you, King Agrippa, that, after we have examined him, I may have something to write (σχεῶ τί γράψω). For it seems to me (μοι δοκεῖ) unreasonable, in sending a prisoner, not to indicate the charges against him.

Festus transmits orally, in both private and public session, the information he has about Paul. He transmits the information to a higher Roman official so that, through consultation, he may know what to write to a yet higher Roman official, the emperor himself. The role of Festus in this setting is remarkable. On the basis of his present information, he has become an advocate of Paul. Still he feels that he has nothing certain (ἀσφαλές) to write to the emperor. Therefore, he seeks more specific information through consultation with higher officials which provides the setting for Paul to rehearse the details of his career (Acts 26:1-29).

In the setting that Festus has created, Paul delivers an account of his career from the beginning (26:4: ἀν' ἀρχῆς). He asserts that the Jews, if they are willing to testify (26:5: ἐάν θέλωσι μαρτυρεῖν), have known for some time past (ἀνωθεν) that he has lived according to the strictest (ἀκριβοστέτην) party of their religion. At first it seemed to him (26:9: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα ἑμαυτῷ) that he should do (πράξαι) things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth. But after a heavenly vision in which Jesus confronted him, he declared to both Jews and Gentiles that they should repent and perform deeds worthy of their repentance (26:20: ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα προσκοινοῦντας). This speech by Paul is saturated with language reminiscent of the prefaces. Moreover, as with the speech by Festus, so here Paul recounts information that Luke has previously presented in biographical narrative form.

After this speech by Paul, language characteristic of the prefaces does not reappear in Acts. Paul is taken to Rome where he addresses the Jewish leaders and is allowed to go about "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered" (Acts 28:31). The language and style characteristic of the prefaces emerges in the letters and speeches in the last half of Acts, and these features appear when a person or a group of people is transmitting information to another person or group. Most often in these settings reference is made to both written and oral transmission of the information. Also, usually people who are being addressed, either by written document or by speech, already have information concerning the matter about which they are being more specifically informed.

The Function of the Prefaces to Luke and Acts

The oratorical and epistolary features in the prefaces to Luke and Acts suggest that the direct address to Theophilus serves a larger function than dedication to a patron. Theophilus is addressed as though a special plea were being made through a written speech or letter. On the basis of this and other data in Luke-Acts, C. A. Heumann proposed in 1721 that Luke had written an *apologia*,¹⁷ and H. J. Cadbury renewed the assertion in 1921.¹⁸ The linguistic and stylistic parallels between the prefaces and the defense speeches provide strong evidence for this suggestion, but one must not focus on Paul's defense oratory alone. The defense speeches of Paul are functioning in an overall biographical context, and this context determines the force of the speeches and letters contained in it. In his final defense speech, Paul recounts his career in relation to biographical impulses -- his action and speech is related to the action and speech of the prophets, Moses, and Christ:

I myself was convinced that I ought to do many things in opposing the name of Jesus of Nazareth (26:9) ... And the Lord said, "I am Jesus whom you are persecuting" (26:15) ... To this day I have had the help that comes from God, and so I stand here testifying both to small

17. C. A. Heumann and Th. Hase, *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, Class IV, Fasc. 3 (1721) 489.

18. Cadbury, "Purpose," pp. 437-441.

and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass: that the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles (26:22-23).

Moreover, the last words of Acts relate Paul's activity to the life of Jesus:

And he [Paul] lived there two whole years at his own expense, and welcomed all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered (28:30-31).

Therefore, the poignant question is: What is the relation of the overall biographical narrative to the oratorical and epistolary character of the prefaces?

First, the oratorical and epistolary features in the prefaces introduce the primary impulse for Luke's two-volume biography. This impulse is didactic in nature -- Luke wants to inform Theophilus (and anyone else who reads the document) about the words and deeds of Jesus and his successors. Parallels to this function for oratory and epistles can be found in the Oration of Isocrates entitled *To Demonicus* and the Epistles of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Ammaeus. As Isocrates wants Demonicus to know the principles underlying proper conduct and Dionysius wants Ammaeus to know the procedures of good literary criticism, so Luke wants Theophilus to know the ideology and goals of members of the Christian community. In like manner, the letter of the apostles and elders in Acts 15:23-29 contains a basic didactic impulse. The apostles and elders want the brethren of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia to know the guidelines for inclusion of Gentiles in the Christian community. Similarly, Priscilla and Aquila expound to Apollos more accurate information concerning the way of God (Acts 18:26) after they have heard him speak boldly in the synagogue, and the brethren write a letter for him to take along as he travels. In other words, the underlying impulse of the oratorical and epistolary features in the prefaces is didactic, and this impulse is present in the first two contexts where this language reappears in the last half of Acts.

But the prefaces to Luke and Acts contain the semantic potential for extension beyond didactic oratory into defense oratory. This potential is realized in the letters and defense speeches that result from the arrest of Paul in Jerusalem. In the episode prior to the arrest, James and the elders instruct Paul to undertake action that will correct the inaccurate information that the Jews in Jerusalem have been told about Paul (21:20-25). The function of this speech is didactic, but its goal extends beyond instruction into pre-trial advice. The language represents a transitional stage between didactic oratory and defense oratory. In Paul's trial speeches (Acts 22-26), the language functions directly as defense oratory. Even this context, however, exhibits the biographical nature of the literary enterprise. Paul's defense is not just a defense of himself, but a defense of the life and death of Jesus and those who follow his teachings and actions. Accordingly, Paul recalls the death of Stephen in his first defense speech (22:20), and between the first and second speech Jesus appears to Paul at night and says, "Take

courage, for as you have testified about me at Jerusalem, so you must bear witness also at Rome" (Acts 23:11). Moreover, in the first conclusion to Paul's final defense speech, King Agrippa says to Paul: "In a short time you think to make me a Christian!" (26:28). In other words, the end result of the trial speeches is not simply a defense of Paul but a presentation of Christ and his successors.

The defense oratory in Acts functions in the overarching context of a biographical account that presents the thought and action of a particular religious community. The prefaces prepare the way for a full defense of this religious community, but they show a restraint that is characteristic of didactic biography. Luke did not launch his work in the full context of defense oratory. Instead, he formulated his prefaces so that didactic biography was the medium for a full defense of his religious community.

Second, the oratorical and epistolary features in the prefaces establish the importance of both oral and written transmission of information about Jesus and his successors. As Plutarch emphasized the importance of written and spoken transmission of information in his preface to Aratus, so Luke presents biographical information to Theophilus (and those who read the account) with the directness of a face-to-face speech or a personal letter. This directness enhances the presentation of didactic biography, and it prevails throughout Luke-Acts.

In Acts 15-28, language characteristic of the prefaces emerges persistently in contexts where speeches are delivered and letters are written that contain the content of the speech. This occurs at the Jerusalem council (15:7-29), the instruction of Apollos (18:24-28), Paul's meeting with James and the elders (21:18-25), and the trial with the tribune Claudius Lysias (22:26-23:30). Porcius Festus presents Paul's case to King Agrippa because he does not have anything definite to write to Caesar (25:26-27). This creates the context in which Paul has the opportunity to rehearse the long account of his career to a large public assembly (25:23-26:29). Throughout all of this, the author implies that either written or spoken information by itself is not satisfactory. A context for both written and oral presentation of information must be provided or misinformation will reign supreme.

The emphasis on both written and oral transmission of tradition in the preface to Luke reaches its conclusion in Acts 28:21-22 when the leaders of the Jews in Rome tell Paul:

We have received no letters from Judea about you, and none of the brethren coming here has reported or spoken any evil about you. But we desire to hear from you what your views are; for with regard to this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against.

Misinformation about this sect is abundant, but it circulates through unreliable oral transmission. As the Jews in Rome want to hear Paul himself -- just as King Agrippa (25:22) and Festus (25:16) had insisted on hearing Paul -- so Luke presents his information directly to Theophilus (Luke 1:3-4). But Theophilus should understand that Luke's account is not simply a matter of written transmission of information.

Couched in the form of didactic biography, it contains an interplay between written and spoken information that should be self-confirming.

Third, the prefaces introduce a relationship between Luke and Theophilus that parallels the relationship between Paul and Festus in Acts. Only Theophilus and the Roman governors, Felix and Festus, are addressed by means of the honorific adjective *κατάτιστος* (Luke 1:3; Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25). Paul addresses only Festus by means of this adjective (26:25), and Festus functions as a governor should. The implications of this are close at hand for anyone in a position to be addressed by *κατάτιστε*.

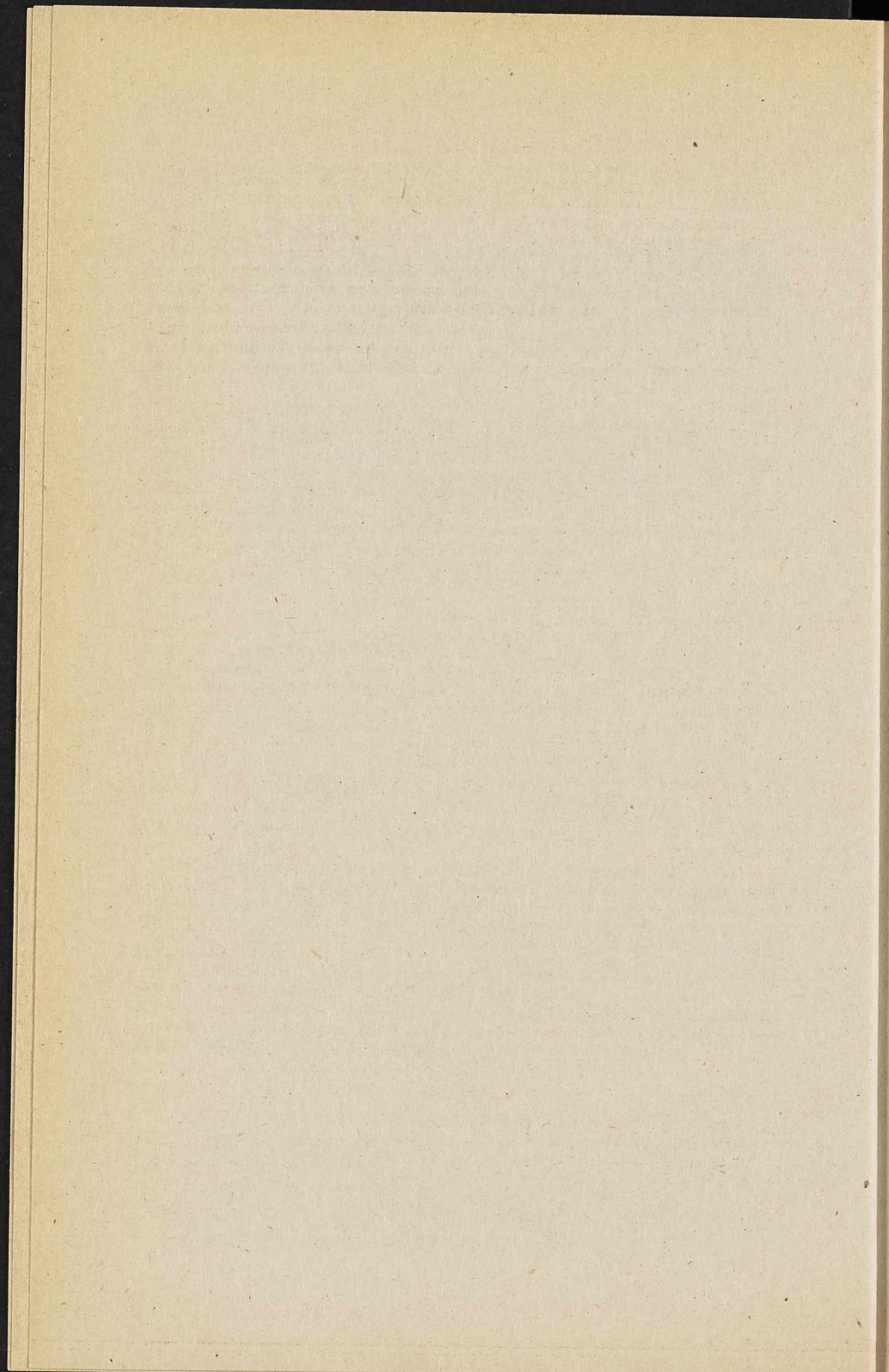
As Theophilus has received information about Christianity (Luke 1:4), so Festus received information about Paul (Acts 25:2). As Luke presupposes that Theophilus will give careful attention to his account of the information, so Festus provides the context for Paul himself to offer his version (Acts 25:4-6). The remarkable feature emerges when King Agrippa and Berenice visit Caesarea -- Festus presents Paul's case to the king as an advocate of Paul. He has found Paul guilty of no serious offense, so he consults with a higher official. His consultation with this higher official provides Paul the opportunity to recount his career before a class of people more advanced in the social and political hierarchy. Festus' role is paralleled by Pilate's action when he arranges for Jesus to go before King Herod (Luke 23:7), who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time thought none of the other Gospel writers know about it. There can be little doubt that Luke would expect Theophilus to play a similar role. After reading this account, Theophilus will have definite information that will make it possible for him to inform his superiors of the innocence of Christians. Moreover, he will be able to transmit their belief that Jesus rose from the dead (cf. Acts 25:19). If Theophilus does this, a unanimous decision should arise that followers of Christ "do nothing to deserve death or imprisonment" (Acts 26:31).

In summary, therefore, the prefaces contain oratorical and epistolary features that introduce the genre of didactic biography. As the narrative develops, this language is placed in the setting of assembly and trial which elicits defense oratory. As both written and oral information is interwoven throughout the narrative, the biographical account achieves the status of a reliable defense of the founder of Christianity and his successors. If the prefaces did not prepare Theophilus (and other readers) for a fully developed defense of Christianity, they created the context in which the defense was credible and self-confirming when it emerged.

Conclusion

For the most part, the prefaces to Luke and Acts have been investigated in relation to historiographical prefaces. But the oratorical and epistolary features in the Lucan prefaces are more common to biography than to historiography. The language and style of the prefaces are characteristic of didactic biography, and Luke-Acts meets the requirements of this genre. But in the last half of Acts, the style and language of the prefaces reappear in the context of defense

oratory. By this means, didactic biography is used as the medium for a defense of Christianity. The prefaces, therefore, are a product of skillful composition. They are restrained enough that they do not offend the reader, yet they are direct enough that they elicit the reader's attention and create the context in which the narrative may persuade the reader of the innocence and courage of the members of this religious community.



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Several Factors suggest that Acts 7.35-37, although lodged approximately two-thirds of the way through Stephen's speech, are redactional to Luke and best understood in light of major themes of the speech which also characterize Luke-Acts as a whole.¹ These verses may be described as redactional because:

1. Although not separable in meaning from what comes before and after and, therefore, dependent on their context; and although not distinguishable in form from their context, these verses are distinct from their context. They constitute a grammatically independent unit which differs significantly in tone from 7.2-34, 38-50.²
2. The tone of vv 35-37 is one of rhetoric, passion, emphasis,³ and argumentation. The tone of the material which precedes and follows these verses is one of impartiality characteristic of historical narrative.
3. The difference in tone implies a difference in the intention of the writer. The intention of historical narrative is to inform the reader of relevant events and related facts. The intention of rhetoric, passion, emphasis and argumentation is persuasion to an evaluation of the facts without providing additional essential facts to the reader.⁴

¹Quentin Quesnell (*The Mind of Mark*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute 1969, pp. 51-52) describes 8 criteria to identify redactional material in the gospel of Mark. Not all of the criteria identified by Quesnell are pertinent to Acts because of the different literary character of synoptic gospel comparison. However, Quesnell's criteria #3, #4, and #8 are clearly criteria which vv 35-37 meet.

²This observation is confirmed in the history of exegesis of Stephen's speech. Though rarely singled out for study, vv 35-37 are frequently noted. Martin Dibelius, ("The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography", *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*. Ed. by H. Greeven. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1956, p. 167) describes them as "polemical". Bacon notes the emphatic tone of the verses (*Stephen's Speech: Its Argument and Doctrinal Relationship*. Yale Bicentennial Publications, Biblical and Semitic Studies. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, p. 248.). Johannes Bihler singles out 35-37 as conspicuous in their use of the demonstrative and as the highpoint of Stephen's speech (*Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte*. Munchen: Hueber, 1963.). Goulder comments on the "remarkable compression" of the Exodus event into 7.36 (*Type and History in Acts*. London: S.P.C.K., p. 166). Haenchen sees v 35 as the conversion of a simple narrative into rhetoric, specifically, an indictment (*The Acts of the Apostles*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971, pp. 288-289). Willink describes v 37 as the "crux" of the speech ("The Exodus in the New Testament", *Theology* 30, 1935, p. 106). A similar difference in tone is evident in vv 51-53 of the speech.

³The tone of emphasis is conveyed in Luke's repeated use of *outos* in these verses, twice in v 35, once in v 36, and once in v 37. Luke uses the emphatic *outos* similarly elsewhere (e.g. 2.22, 32; 3.13; 13.27, etc.) usually of Jesus.

⁴Vv 35-37 on the level of information merely repeat vv 30-34 and anticipate v 38. Where the information is not repetitive, the information is not

As redactional material, these verses raise these questions: What interpretative value did Luke intend to give the broader context by including these verses? Conversely, what specific meaning do these verses have given the context in which they are found?

Themes in Stephen's Speech

Two related and interwoven themes dominate Stephen's speech.⁵ These themes determine the broad outline of the speech, which parts of Israel's history are narrated, and which persons and events are discussed to what extent. They also determine to some extent which details of the Old Testament account are narrated, which are excluded, which are altered, and what emphasis is given which details.⁶

essential. E.g: Anyone vaguely familiar with the Exodus account knows Moses performed signs and wonders but one does not need these details to grasp the essential event, that Moses successfully led his people out of Egypt; Moses' prophecy does not add an essential fact to the story. Indeed, most Christians who know the story do not know the prophecy. Hence, these details are unnecessary to the basic meaning of their immediate wider context.

⁵Another theme important to the overall direction of Acts and evident in Chapter 7 but less important to the immediate concerns of Acts 7 is the call to hear. For a discussion of this theme, cf. my dissertation, Moses and Meaning in Luke-Acts. Unpublished. Marquette University, 1976, pp. 169, 243. This theme is related to the theme of witnessing in Acts, obviously present in the Stephen story, discussed by Charles Talbert in Luke and the Gnostics. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966.

⁶For example, as the development of the paper will indicate, Luke did not choose to have Stephen discuss Isaac and Jacob at great length because their lives did not embody the pattern in Israel's history of salvation, created in the promise-fulfillment dialect, which the lives of Joseph and Moses embody. On the level of detail, examples include: 1) the speech does not describe how Joseph incurred the jealousy of his brothers or how he won the favor of Pharaoh. His dreams and his talent as a dream interpreter are not characteristics Luke can build on since neither Moses nor Jesus shared them. 2) Luke's themes necessitate his introduction into the Moses story, where he largely follows the LXX account, the redactional verses 7.22 and 7.25 which have no LXX parallels. Likewise, Luke omits several details from the Moses story: the opportune return of Moses to his own mother to be nursed (Ex. 2.7-9); Moses' marriage to Zipporah (Ex. 2.15b-21); Moses' doubts about his divine appointment and commission (Ex. 4.1, 10; 5.22); more significant is the complete silence regarding the plagues and the Passover. 3) Luke's focus on the tabernacle and Temple rather than personalities of Israel's history in the last third of the speech and his choice of prophecies to interpret their values is entirely dependent on the themes at hand. The reference to Aaron in 2.40 probably rests on Luke's implication that Aaron worshipped falsely as the priests of his line later did in the Temple.

The emphasis given the Joseph and Moses stories is entirely dependent on the themes Luke is developing. The Hebrew Scriptures share the primary role Luke gives Moses but not the important treatment Luke gives Joseph relative to other personalities and events of Israel's history.

The first theme introduces the speech and provides the context for the second theme and remainder of the speech. This is the theme that God makes promises through the fathers with foreknowledge of serious obstacles to their fulfillment, obstacles which God himself acts to overcome and which serve to structure God's ongoing relationship with the people.

The second theme describes how the obstacles come about and how God removes them or uses them to save the Israelites and fulfill the divine promises. Specifically, God is wont to choose a person who is rejected by his people ("brothers": vv 2; 8c-9 literally with regard to Joseph, 23, 25, 26) to be a vehicle of God's salvation to those same people in spite of their rejection of this chosen savior.

It is important to remember that from Luke's vantage point and from that of his audience, the promises discussed are recorded in the books of Moses, the prophets and the psalms just as the obstacles which God removed in order to fulfill promises made were removed in acts now remembered in these books. Hence, there are two levels on which the themes of the speech function: on one level, God acts in the narrative told to fulfill a promise; on another level, Luke's audience sees their Scriptures fulfilled before their eyes.

Theme I

God's dealings with Abraham define the first theme and dominate the first section of Stephen's speech.⁷ God makes Abraham the promise that he and his seed after him will have possession of the land to which God has invited Abraham and to which Abraham has come (2-5). God makes this promise with the foreknowledge that Abraham is childless (5c), and that Abraham's seed will be enslaved in a foreign land and done evil for 400 years (6). God foretells to Abraham that the oppressor will be judged and that the Israelites will come forth and worship him in this place which makes clear that the obstacle will be overcome. Abraham's childlessness, which is removed by Isaac's birth, illustrates one way in which God removes obstacles to promises.

Theme II

Most of Stephen's speech deals with how the obstacles to God's promises come about and how God deals with those obstacles. The Joseph story (9-19), the Moses story (20-44), and the tabernacle-Temple contrast interpreted from the prophets dramatize this theme (44-50).

The obstacle to the fulfillment of God's promises in the Joseph story is the famine in Canaan which threatens the very existence of the Israelite people. Joseph, Jacob's son and one of the 12 patriarchs, is sold by his brothers into slavery in Egypt out of jealousy but God "rescues him out of all his afflictions" and gives him favor and wisdom before Pharaoh (9). Joseph is appointed governor over Pharaoh's household and, as a result, is available to rescue his family from the famine of Canaan. Through Joseph, who was rejected by his brothers, God removes the obstacle to the promise. The predicted sojourn

⁷My own division of the speech is as follows: 2a - introduction; 2b-8 - Abraham and the patriarchs; 9-19 - the Joseph story; 20-44 - the Moses story; 44-50 - the tabernacle-Temple contrast; 51-53 - Stephen's application of his speech to his audience in his accusations. For other examples of divisions of the speech cf. Bacon's, *Op. Cit.*; Bihler's, *Op. Cit.*; John Kilgallen's in *The Stephen Speech*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976, and J. Colmenero

in a foreign land, which threatens the fulfillment of God's promise that Abraham's seed would have possession of the land and worship God there, thus saves Jacob's family from starvation but is, simultaneously, the catalyst for their oppression which follows after Joseph's death under a Pharaoh who did not know Joseph (11-19).

The obstacles to the fulfillment of God's promises in the Moses story are the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt, Pharaoh's mandate regarding the death of Hebrew children (both previously narrated in vv 17-19), and the rejection of Moses by his brother Israelites. Moses' infancy narrative (20-24) illustrates how God overcomes the obstacle of Pharaoh's mandate: through an ironic series of circumstances, Moses survives to live in the very household which had condemned him at birth (20-22). Moses' concern for his Israelite brothers which leads him to kill an Egyptian and intercede between two quarreling Hebrews results in the last obstacle of the story: his brothers did not understand that through his hand God would give them salvation; they reject Moses as their ruler and judge forcing him to flee to Midian where he receives his commission to return to Egypt (23-34).

Moses' rejection did not end here. In the desert, the fathers did not want to obey Moses; they wanted to return to Egypt; they worshipped the calf, in other words, other gods in other places (38-43).

The obstacle to the fulfillment of God's promises in the tabernacle-Temple contrast is the Israelite false worship of God. The reference to the calf incident introduces the subject. The calf worship in the desert is criticized in a quote from Amos.⁸ Thus is also introduced another group of persons who were rejected by their people but chosen by God to bring salvation: the prophets. Linked in this way with the preceding material, the tabernacle-Temple contrast is introduced to illustrate how obstacles to the fulfillment of divine promises developed in this stage of Israel's history and how God attempted to deal with them.

Appropriately, the Israelites did make the tent in the desert according to the model Moses gave them and it was brought into the land under the leadership of Joshua. Through Joshua, the promise regarding the land is fulfilled. Once in the land, however, the tabernacle which David respected⁹ gave way under Solomon to the Temple. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, the Temple is interpreted to be a violation of God's self-concept (48-50). The prophets who, presumably like Isaiah, tried to draw Israelite attention to obstacles which they created to the fulfillment of divine promises, were rejected.

Atienza's "Hechos 7. 17-43 y las corrientes cristológicas dentro de la primitiva comunidad cristiana". *Estudios Bíblicos*, 33 (1 '74) 43.

⁸As Luke uses the Amos quote in reference to the idolatrous *Βουδα* of v 40, he alters the meaning these verses had in their original context. For a detailed treatment of the Amos quote and its implications here cf. the dissertation, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 120-121, notes 5 and 6.

⁹Old Testament traditions are usually interpreted to mean that David wanted to build God a Temple. Since Luke is developing a contrast between the tabernacle and the Temple which criticizes the Temple, he does not want to associate David, whose person, role, and prophecies are so important to seeing that Jesus is the fulfillment of the Scripture, with the idea to build the Temple. Hence, he introduces David as one favored by God who simply wanted to build a house for Jacob, meaning the people Israel as Luke's use of the term in the prophecy of Luke 1.33 indicates. The idea of the Temple is

Vv 35-37 in light of the themes
of the speech

Vv 35-37 immediately follow the first rejection of Moses by his people and his commission to return to Egypt. At this juncture of the story, they interpret Moses and the preceding and following events related to him for Luke's audience: the same Moses who was denied as ruler and judge God sent as ruler and redeemer, working signs and wonders to bring the people out of Egypt. In the person of Moses who was rejected by his brothers, God acts to remove a divinely foreseen obstacle: the sojourn in the foreign land involving evil treatment. Through Moses, God redeems Israel. Moses is identified as a prophet. Through Moses, God further extends the divine promises.

The speech and Luke's audience

It is important to note that throughout the speech from vv 2-50, Stephen periodically refers to the persons about whom he is speaking as "our fathers".¹⁰ In this way, Stephen identifies himself and his past with his audience and their past, and Luke identifies both with Luke's audience. Only in vv 51-53 does Stephen speak of "your fathers" and this when he accuses his audience of representing in the present those persons in Israel's past who have created obstacles to God's promises by persecuting the prophets and killing the one coming before the Just One and by their own killing of the Just One.¹¹

These and related themes elsewhere in Luke-Acts

Persons, actions, and events identified in and interpreted by the specific vocabulary of vv 35-37 are the substance and source of the themes developed there. The vocabulary of these verses are links to other related texts in Acts and Luke. A statistical investigation reveals that the words of these verses not only appear independently of one another elsewhere in Acts and Luke but also appear in convergence with one another in other sections of Acts and Luke.

attributed to Solomon whose person is mentioned nowhere else in Acts. For an analysis of the grammatical problems associated with this interpretation, Cf. Via, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 123-124, with special attention to note 8.

¹⁰7.2, 11, 12, 15, 19, 39, 44.

¹¹This detail of the speech extends the second theme of the speech to the case of Stephen himself. Stephen is described in terms similar to those describing Joseph and Moses: he is "full of grace" (6.8)/Joseph was given "grace" before Pharaoh; he works signs and wonder (6.8) like Moses did (7.36); he is a man of wisdom (6.10) and Joseph and Moses were (7.10,22). Stephen is commissioned by the apostles (which, for Luke, is a divine commission) as Joseph implicitly and Moses explicitly were commissioned by God. He is here and now misunderstood, accused by false witnesses (6.13) and rejected by his Hellenistic Jewish brothers, those who his words were intended to enlighten. But his martyrdom vision verifies that Stephen is also a chosen one.

A similar pattern can be found in Luke's description of John the Baptist, and in his picture of Paul in Acts. Thus the pattern associated with Israel's saviors did not end with Jesus but is extended into the life of the church.

Most frequently they reappear in convergence with one another in the Moses section of Stephen's speech. A similar statistical analysis of the major noun and verb forms of the Moses section reveals that these words too converge in other sections of Acts and Luke. Those sections in which there is a heavy convergence of vocabulary from 7.20-44 and in which there are also obvious thematic relationships must be treated.¹²

Themes in Acts

Chapter 13

There is a remarkable convergence of vocabulary and themes in sections of Acts which are speeches: chapters 13, 3, and 2.¹³ Paul's speech at Psidian Antioch in chapter 13 is most heavily laden with vocabulary links.

This speech has characteristics which it shares with Stephen's speech which not all of the speeches of Acts have: it too is addressed to the worshipping Hellenistic synagogue; in style and tone it resembles Stephen's speech; it narrates selected events from the history of Israel; the persons and events of the speech are identified with Paul's audience and with Luke's audience in similar ways.

There are also substantial differences between the two speeches: Stephen's speech treats the history of Israel at length and, as noted by commentators, does not treat Jesus except, presumably, for the reference to the Just One; Paul's speech treats the history of Israel briefly but treats Jesus at length in a kerygmatic-historical narrative.

Detailed comparison of the two speeches reveals that Luke developed the speech of chapter 13 as complement and completion of Stephen's speech.¹⁴

¹²For a complete report of the statistical analysis including a list of the words considered, identification of their other places of convergence, a comparison of their statistical relevancies, and the criteria for their application, cf. again, my dissertation, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 141-145. There are two sections of Acts in which there is a heavy convergence of the vocabulary of 7.20-44 without obvious thematic ties: the travel narrative of chapter 16 and the narratives of chapter 8. Neither are considered here because their lack of obvious thematic ties makes them secondary evidence. Each is briefly considered in the dissertation, which finds related themes in the narratives of chapter 8 but generally dismisses chapter 16. Vernon Robbins' paper "The We-Passages in Acts and Ancient Sea Voyages", *Biblical Research*, 1975, analyzes chapter 16, however, in ways which uncover thematic relationships.

¹³Not considered in this paper are the passages in Acts described in the dissertation as secondary evidence because they show more minor convergence patterns. Among these passages are some which are also speeches: chapters 4, 5, and 10.

As noted above, there are sections of Acts in which there is heavy convergence of the vocabulary of 7.20-44 but no obvious thematic ties. These sections are also considered secondary evidence. All of these sections are not speeches, however, but narratives. This corresponds to the category of tertiary evidence in which there are minor convergence patterns and no obvious thematic ties. These sections are also narrative.

¹⁴For a complete discussion of the literary dependence, comparison, and completion of chapters 7 and 13, cf. Via, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 145-160.

The periods of Israel's history treated at length and in detail in Stephen's speech are almost entirely absent from Paul's speech and vice-versa.¹⁵ The person of David is the link between the content of the two speeches.¹⁶ The treatment of John the Baptist and the Jesus narrative complete the history of Israel begun in chapter 7 up to the present stage of dialectic involved in God's promises to Israel and their fulfillment.

In Paul's speech, Jesus is described in terms reminiscent of both themes of Stephen's speech: he is called a savior (23) as Moses was (7.25); he was proclaimed by a man called John (24) who was described but not identified in 7.52; he is "from the seed according to the promise" (23) which links this Jesus who is savior to all of Israel's past as narrated in chapter 7 (cf. v 25). God brought forth this savior (23), which specifies Jesus as a divinely chosen savior; the narratives of 27-31 describes Jesus as one put to death by the Jews of Jerusalem and their rulers, persons who were Jesus' brother Jews, in spite of his innocence, in ignorance, but also in fulfillment of the prophets; Paul's speech explicitly declares this to be the fulfillment of the promise God made to the fathers and their children, among whom are included Paul and his audience; Paul does so by alluding to Ps 2.7, 16.10 and Is 55.3; Paul interprets the implications of these facts: since those promises are now fulfilled through Jesus, all those who believe are justified through him in all things which the law of Moses could not justify (i.e. receive the forgiveness of sins, 13.38-39). The speech closes with a warning to Paul's audience, formulated in the words of the prophets (whose other words have been already declared by Paul and demonstrated to have been fulfilled) (40-42).

The only dimensions of the divine promise made in Israel's history as narrated in Stephen's speech which were not also fulfilled therein were the dimensions regarding 1) worship, and 2) the one to be raised up like Moses. Since in Paul's speech Jesus is specifically linked with the promise, he must therefore be linked to these dimensions of it. As in the cases of Joseph and Moses, the obstacle to the fulfillment of the promise is the rejection of Jesus by his brothers. As in the case of Joseph, God uses this obstacle created by Jesus' brothers to save Jesus' brothers: without the crucifixion there could have been no resurrection. As in the case of Moses, the obstacle was created out of ignorance. As in both cases, the obstacle and its removal - the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus - fulfill Moses, the prophets and the psalms and are further evidence that Jesus is a divinely chosen one. Specifically, Jesus' resurrection by God fulfills the Moses prophecy.

¹⁵A chart, *Ibid.*, p. 152, illustrates how Luke covers all the major persons and events of Israel's history in the 2 speeches, giving emphasis to those aspects which support his thematic concerns.

¹⁶David is the only person given comparable treatment in both speeches: (7.46) "he found favor before God and asked to build a tabernacle for the house of Jacob"; he is described in Paul's speech in imagery derived from a conflation of texts (Ps 89.20, 1 Sam 13.14, Is 44.28) as the son of Jesse, a man according to God's heart who does all that God wishes (13.22). In the first case, the words are reminiscent of the description of Joseph (7.10). In both cases, he is described to be, like Joseph and Moses, the responsive tool of God's act to overcome obstacles to the promises. Recall Luke's portrayal of David with regard to the Temple, cf. above, note 9.

David is frequently mentioned elsewhere in Luke-Acts and is frequently quoted as author of the psalms. As such, from Luke's point of view, David is

In these ways, Luke ties the central salvific persons and events of Israel's past to Jesus and the events surrounding him as the central salvific person and events of Israel's present. In this way, Paul's speech ties the promise and problem of Israel's worship to Jesus.¹⁷ Luke portrays the rejection of Jesus and the message of salvation which he brings, which lives in the preaching church,¹⁸ as that to which God's promises, Israel's past, and Stephen's martyrdom point. In Jesus, God overcomes obstacles to and fulfills divine promises.

Chapters 3 and 2

Peter's speeches in these chapters are also addressed to primarily Jewish audiences. They also identify the audience of the speech with Israel's past and Luke's audience in the present through the same techniques as the speeches of chapters 7 and 13.¹⁹ Both speeches contain kerygmatic Jesus narratives which describe Jesus as the chosen-rejected one through whom God's promises are now fulfilled and through whom salvation is extended. Both speeches contain Scriptural allusions, arguments, and proofs which contribute to the interpretation of Jesus in this way. Both describe promises made by God which are now

a prophet through the psalms who participates in God's promise making and in the prophecy of obstacles and in their overcoming. On David as prophet in Luke-Acts, cf. Joseph Fitzmeyer, "David Being Therefore a Prophet", CBO 1972.

¹⁷Through Jesus, as the rest of Acts reveals, the whole earth - symbolized in Stephen's speech by the traveling tabernacle - becomes the place of worship and God's footstool in contrast to the spatially confined Temple. For a more full discussion of this point cf. Via, Op. Cit., pp. 156-159. Here I argue that the attitude to the Temple in Stephen's speech is given place and perspective by the themes of chapter 7 as developed in relationship to Jesus in Paul's speech of chapter 13. The destruction of the Temple, a past event for Luke's audience, is used by Luke as the symbolic foreshadowing of the shattering of the particularity of Israel's worship. The Temple also symbolizes the "hardheartedness" which prevents many Jews from embracing the salvation available in Jesus. Practically speaking, the Temple is Luke's jumping off point for Stephen's martyrdom and enables Luke to link Stephen with the pattern of salvation illustrated in the speech. The interpretations Luke gives the tabernacle and Temple provide Luke's readers a theological explanation, demonstrated from the Scriptures, for the destruction of the Temple and simultaneously offers any hostile Jews of Luke's time a theological explanation of the destruction of the Temple which directs guilt away from Jesus. From the point of view of Luke, the Temple was destroyed by God in order to fulfill the promise completely.

¹⁸Cf. 13.26: "... to us the word of this salvation was sent forth."; 13.31 "... who now are witnesses ..."; 13.32 "And we preach to you how the promise made to the fathers ...". Paul's own preaching of the moment is itself an illustration of this point. This is the call to hear, another theme of chapter 7 and of these other speeches, not discussed here. Also indicative of this dimension of Luke's thought is the fact that the two themes discussed here first and most clearly emerge in the speeches of the first half of Acts, some of which are described as homilies (7, 13) and all of which have homiletic function for Luke's audience (this against Talbert, Op. Cit., pp. 102.)

¹⁹Peter says to his audience in 2.39: "For to you is the promise to your children and to all those far away, as many as call on the Lord our God." This

fulfilled. Both suggest that the rejection of Jesus was an obstacle to the fulfillment of the promises which God turned to a facilitator of their fulfillment. In both speeches, these are accomplished in specific vocabulary also found in 7.20-44.²⁰

In chapter 3 the obstacle to the fulfillment of God's promise is again the rejection of Jesus by his brothers: servant of the God of the fathers, a holy and just one delivered and denied, author of life, Jesus was killed by Peter's audience (13-15). Though rejected he was chosen as his resurrection attests (15-16). His rejection, like other obstacles to the fulfillment of divine promises in Israel's past, was foretold, in this case in the prophets (17-18). Vv 24-25 link the promises of God of chapter 7 made to Abraham to the promise that "through Abraham's seed all nations of the earth will be blessed" (given here in chapter 3, chronologically first for Luke's reader, because for Luke it is the most important aspect of the promise which Jesus fulfills and it defines the development of other aspects of the promises' fulfillment like the destruction of the Temple).²¹ Explicit mention is made that all the prophets from Samuel foretold these days. The salvation through Jesus is described: sins are removed. This makes possible the worship of God in any place (19, 26). The promises are extended into the future: Jesus will come again (20).

is the passage closing the speech, thereby linking everything that has come before with "the promise". The person of Peter is Luke's link to Luke's audience. Luke's audience identifies with Peter, at the time of Luke's church, no doubt, an established and legendary father of the church; Peter is one of the Jews of Jerusalem and as such is identified with his audience; and the Jews are identified with the promise. The content of the speech is already something with which Luke's audience identifies and what they know to be to them is said here to be the promise to Peter's audience. The techniques are more explicit in Peter's speech of 3, although the same basic principles are operative: 3.13 reads "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of our fathers"; 3.17 "and now brothers"; " Moses indeed said that 'The Lord God will raise up out of your brothers a prophet like me'"; 3.25 "You are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers saying to Abraham . . .". Peter identifies himself with his audience, his fathers with their fathers. Luke's audience already identifies with Peter and is, therefore, related to those Peter is related to.

²⁰The vocabulary which do appear in the speeches of 2 and 3 are striking not only because they also appear in 7.35-37 but because some of these words appear rarely in Luke-Acts and in the New Testament: *προφήτης* (2.16; 3.21, 22, 23, 24, 25); *τέρας* and *σημείους* (2.22); emphatic *οὗτος* (2.23, 32, 36; 3.16); *ἀρχηγόν* (τῆς ἑωρῆς) (3.15, 17); *ἠρνήσατο* (3.13, 14); *ἀνίστημι* (2.24, 32; 3.26); *ἀποστέλλω* (3.20, 26). These parallels are intensified by the inclusion of the same quote from Dt. 18.15 though in a slightly modified form in 3.22.

The parallels are even more striking if one expands them to include vocabulary from 7.20-44: ways of life (2.22), author of life (3.15); fathers (2.29; 3.13, 25); saved (2.21, 40); heart (2.26); fill/fulfill (2.28; 3.18; 3.15, 17; 3.20, 26); promise (2.33, 39; turn (3.19, 26) etc.

²¹The universal character of salvation in Jesus, hinted at in the criticism of the Temple in chapter 7 and in the promise of God to Abraham referred to in chapter 3, is a related theme. Like the theme of hearing the word there is not sufficient space to consider it here. It is important to note that the narrative sections of Acts where convergence patterns occur, not considered in this paper, confirm this thematic relationship: Philip's preaching to the eunuch in

In chapter 2, Jesus - specifically his powerful deeds, wonders and signs - is portrayed to be the fulfillment of the promises of God given in the prophecy of Joel (15-22). He is specifically identified as chosen by God and rejected by his brothers (the Jews of Peter's audience) (23). Jesus' rejection is again the obstacle to the fulfillment of the promises, an obstacle converted by God into the vehicle of their fulfillment through Jesus' resurrection. God's raising up of Jesus is presented as the fulfillment of the prophecies of David recorded in the psalms, and, therefore, as evidence of Jesus' chosenness (30-32). It is also regarded as the act by which God overcomes the obstacle and institutes Jesus as the Messiah of David's line, fulfilling Messianic promises (36, 39). He also received God's promise made through the prophets regarding the pouring out of the spirit which is occurring before the eyes of Peter's audience through Jesus. In short, Jesus is the fulfillment of God's promises.

Notice that in these speeches the themes of chapter 7 merge into one. This results because Jesus embodies both themes. A new emphasis results: Jesus is the fulfillment of Moses, the prophets and the psalms partly because the pattern of his life parallels that of other great saviors in Israel's history. This is especially evident if one returns to 7.35-37 in light of these speeches.

Vv 35-37 in light of chapters 13, 2, and 3

The speeches of chapters 13, 3, and 2 explicitly enrich and prepare for, respectively, the words and meaning of 7.35-37: Jesus' signs and wonders of 2.22, the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy, are like Moses' signs and wonders; Jesus is portrayed to be raised up, in chapter 2 in fulfillment of God's prophecies through David, but in chapter 3 in explicit fulfillment of Moses' prophecy of Dt 18.15 also quoted in 7.37; Jesus is portrayed to be the one who redeems (from sins) as Moses redeemed the Israelites (leading them forth from the land of Egypt); God's foreknowledge of Jesus' rejection and God's act upon his rejection to save the people (2.23-24; 3.13-15) parallels in many of the same words God's act in Moses described here.²²

After chapters 2-3, a careful listener/reader would hear the redactional description of Moses at 35-37 to be a description of Jesus, a parallel between Jesus and this great figure of Israel's history. The careful listener/reader of Paul's speech at 13 would hear the parallel more clearly defined when the Jesus narrative is repeated there, now that the parallel to Moses was already introduced in Stephen's speech: Jesus is savior of Israel (23) as Moses was; Jesus was raised up (30,33), as Moses foretold.

The details of both chapters and the patterns they create give substance to the words of 7.37 "like me".

In the Gospel of Luke

As in the case with Acts, a statistical analysis of the words used by Luke in 7.20-44 indicates that these words also appear in Luke's gospel and in

Samaria; Peter's revelation about the Gentiles concretized in his encounter with God-fearing but Gentile Cornelius etc.

22 ἡν ἔσαν, ἀναστήσας, ἀπέσταλκεν, the Dt. quote. N.B.: the repeated use of emphatic οὗτος regarding Jesus in chapters 2-3 which parallels its use regarding Moses.

convergence patterns.²³ The convergence patterns of the gospel vary in importance as did those in Acts. In the gospel, the convergence patterns often are based on words which directly refer to Israel or Israel's great persons.

The most important of these patterns will be considered here.²⁴ Note that all of these fall into sections of the gospel which are considered highly redactional in content and composition.²⁵ It is significant that these sections of the gospel introduce and conclude it because one expects major themes and/or concerns of a writer to emerge in the introduction and conclusion.

As in the case with Acts, the gospel convergence patterns considered here also reflect obvious thematic ties. The themes necessarily have a different context however. Since the gospel is the Jesus narrative elaborated in great detail, describing the signs and wonders and narrating how and why Jesus is chosen by God but rejected by his people, an aspect of the theme of Acts 2, 3, and 13 (which unites the two themes of chapter 7) becomes the formulation of these themes in the gospel: Jesus is the fulfillment of the divine promises as given in Israel's history and as recorded in Moses, the prophets and the psalms. Luke builds this theme in chapters 2, 1, and 24 in the following ways:

Chapters 2 and 1

Because chapters 2 and 1 introduce the gospel and introduce Jesus, the aspects of the themes of Acts 7 which emerge here are: A) Jesus' divinely chosen character; B) the likeness of Jesus to great saviors of Israel's past; and C) Jesus and the salvation which comes through him as fulfillment of the promises made to the fathers, now recorded in Moses, the prophets and the psalms.

A

The miraculous details of the infancy narrative convey Jesus' chosenness:

- Zachariah and Elizabeth bear their child in their old age (1.7, 18).
- an angel is the mediator of the announcement of John's birth to Zachariah and of Jesus' birth to Mary (1.13, 26, 31).
- Mary's conception occurs without her knowing man when she is overshadowed by the power of the Most High God (1.34, 35).
- Zachariah first loses then regains his speech because of the power of the divine messenger (1.22, 64).
- God's power is recognized to be in Jesus even while he is in the womb by the babe in Elizabeth's womb (1.41-44).
- Righteous men and devout women prophetically recognize the power of God in the infant Jesus in the persons of Simeon and Anna (2.25-38).
- the heavenly host announce Jesus' birth (2.9-14).
- Jesus is a precocious child with regard to the teaching of Israel (2.46-47).
- the repeated use of the phrase "and, behold!" implies the miraculous in the context Luke creates (1.20, 31, 36, 38, 48, etc.)

Jesus' chosenness is also conveyed in the description of his family as holy

²³For a complete list of the words considered and their patterns and locations in the text cf. Via, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 197, 200 and relevant notes.

²⁴Other sections of the gospel which reflect convergence patterns not treated here include: primary evidence, chapters 11 and 9; secondary evidence, chapters 7, 8, 10, and 12; tertiary evidence, chapters 21.7-28, 18.31-34, and 6.22-23.

²⁵Cf. Rene Laurentin, *Structure et Theologie de Luc 1-2*. Paris:

and righteous before the law of Moses:²⁶

- Members of Jesus' family are filled with the Holy Spirit: Elizabeth, Zachariah, John, Mary (1.15, 35, 41, 67).
- John is circumcised (1.59).
- Zachariah is a priest of the shrine (1.5, 9).²⁷
- Jesus is circumcised (2.21).
- Jesus is presented at Jerusalem according to the law of Moses (2.22) which is quoted (2.23).
- A sacrifice is made at Jesus' presentation according to the law of the Lord (2.24).
- Jesus' parents only return to Galilee only when everything according to the law was performed (2.38).
- Jesus' parents took him to Jerusalem in his twelfth year at Passover as they were accustomed to bring him other years (2.42).

B and C

The likeness of Jesus to Israel's great saviors and his self and salvation as fulfillment of the Scriptures is conveyed in the images of the messages of the angels to Zachariah, Mary, and the shepherds; the songs of Mary and Simeon; and the prophecy of Anna:

- he will be called Jesus (savior) (1.31).
- he will be called great and son of the Most High God (1.32).
- the Lord will give him the house of David his father and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever and be called Son of God (1.33).
- Jesus' birth is God's mercy to generations who fear him (1.50).
- his birth is a call to Israel to remember mercy (1.54, 78).
- Jesus will guide feet in a way of peace.²⁸

Librairie Lecoffre, 1966. His Jesus au Temple is also relevant since the work centers on a study of Luke 2.50. H. H. Oliver's article, "The Lukan Birth Stories and the Purpose of Luke-Acts", NTS, 10 (1964) 202-226 is especially helpful.

²⁶Jacob Jervell ("The Law in Luke-Acts", Luke and the People of God, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972, p. 138) identifies this same theme in these passages and also relates Luke's concept of the law to Stephen's speech. He speaks of Luke's insistence on a "circumcised Messiah" and holds that Luke's versions of Jesus' disputes about the Sabbath are a reflection of Luke's concern "to show that Jesus acted in accord with the law" (p. 140). Jervell calls Luke's terminology for the law "conservative and Jewish" (pp. 136-137). He sees different implications in this evidence than we do, however.

Bo Reicke (The Gospel of Luke, Translated by Ross Mackenzie, Richmond, Va: John Knox Press, 1962, pp. 30-31) describes Luke 1-2 as a section of the gospel "staunchly Jewish in character" but Reicke feels this section of the gospel does not seem to suit Luke's ideas and style. He does identify other passages in Luke which he describes as having a "striking Jewish Christian style and Palestinian orientation"; but Reicke holds Luke to be a Jewish convert to Christianity.

²⁷Luke's use of the term *ναός* rather than Temple conforms to the tabernacle-Temple contrast of Acts. He prefers to associate Zachariah's priesthood with a place other than the Temple.

²⁸Peace was the salvation Moses tried to bring to his brother Israelites when he was first rejected according to Luke (7.26).

- he is a savior who is Christ the Lord (2.11).
- he is God's salvation prepared before all the people, a light to the Gentiles and glory for the people Israel (2.32).
- he is set for the rising and falling of many in Israel, a sign to be spoken against (2.34).
- Anna speaks about Jesus to "all those in Jerusalem expecting redemption" (2.38).

The royal and priestly connections of Jesus contribute here.

- Luke portrays John's family as related to Jesus (1.36) and both Zachary and Elizabeth are of priestly families (1.5).
- Mary is portrayed as betrothed to a man of David's family (1.27).
- Luke portrays Jesus' birth in Bethlehem, David's city (2.4-7).
- Jesus will be given the throne of David his father and will rule over the house of Jacob forever (1.33).

The narrator's verbal descriptions of Jesus describe Jesus in terms used by Luke to describe Joseph and Moses:

- Jesus was full of wisdom (2.40, 52).
- God's grace was upon Jesus before men (2.40).

Chapter 24

Almost all of the words from 7.20-44 which appear in chapter 24 appear in the two encounters and dialogues of the risen Jesus with his disciples. These narratives put into the mouth of the Risen Lord the themes of chapter 7 as developed throughout Acts and the gospel. Luke portrays Jesus to be teaching his disciples what Luke, in the themes of his works, is teaching his audience. What is suggested in Acts and early in Luke's gospel is forthrightly stated here.

In the Emmaus story Jesus finds two of his disciples sadfaced because Jesus' rejection in Jerusalem, acted out in his crucifixion, made them lose their hope that Jesus was "the one about to redeem Israel" (21). They see Jesus' death as an obstacle to a divine promise which they were hoping to see fulfilled in Jesus.

Jesus sets about to explain to these disciples that what happened to their dead prophet (19) was foretold in Moses and the prophets and the psalms, thereby indicating that the crucifixion was part of God's plan to overcome obstacles and fulfill the promise. It is significant that the disciples do not recognize Jesus because, in their blindness to how he fulfills the Scriptures, they do not understand what glory the Christ will enter and they are not open to experiencing Jesus raised up. Their blindness to this possibility is confirmed in their conclusionless wonder regarding the women's story of the empty tomb. In this short interchange between Jesus and the 2 disciples, several words are used by and about Jesus which appear in 7.20-44.²⁹

The words of the risen Lord in his appearance to the 11 which follows make the themes earlier treated explicit beyond all doubt: "I told you this while I was still with you, that it is necessary for everything written in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms concerning me be fulfilled. Then he opened their minds to understand the Scriptures." (44-45).

²⁹ προφήτης, ἄρχοντες, αὐτροῦσθαι, Ἰσραὴλ, καρδιά, Μωϋσέως, πληρωθῆναι, συνένכי, ἀναστῆναι, ἐξαποστέλλω, ἐπαγγελίαν etc.

V 46 summarizes what they understood when he opened their minds: "Thus it has been written that the Christ will suffer and rise from the dead on the 3rd day and that in his name repentance unto the forgiveness of sins be proclaimed in his name to all the nations, beginning in Jerusalem".

In these narratives, the crucifixion becomes the most recent obstacle to God's promises, an obstacle which God converted to a vehicle for salvation, which makes Jesus like Moses. Jesus' being raised up by God is the event which leads Luke to argue in Acts that Moses' prophecy of Dt. 18.15 is fulfilled in Jesus.

7.35-37 Recapitulation

In light of the themes of chapter 7 as developed throughout Acts and the gospel, it must be concluded that 7.35-37 constitute one redactional detail in Luke's effort to portray Jesus in the pattern of Israel's great saviors. The pattern as realized in Jesus fulfills Moses, the prophets, and the psalms. Specifically, Jesus being raised up by God fulfills Moses' prophecy of Dt. 18.15 as quoted at 7.37. Luke edits out of the LXX quote the phrase "hear him" because Stephen's audience, accused by Stephen at the end of the speech and perpetrators of his stoning, does not hear the prophecy, has not realized it was fulfilled in the Just One recently killed among them. It is for this broad thematic purpose, so basic to both the gospel and Acts, that Stephen here interprets Moses in the same emphatic terms he does Jesus; that both men are described as sent by the hand of an angel; that Moses is here described as denied by his people as ruler and judge rather than understood as the ruler and redeemer God intended him to be; that Moses' prophecy of Dt. 18.15 is here reported; that Moses' signs and wonders of redemption are contrasted with his denial by his people. All of these statements about Moses in the context of Israel's history as Stephen and Paul narrate it in chapters 7 and 13 provide a credible precedent and context for Jesus' divinely ordained salvific significance, in spite of his crucifixion, an obstacle overcome in his resurrection, through which the promises originally made to Abraham are now fulfilled.

THE CIRCUMFERENTIAL SPEECHES OF LUKE-ACTS:
PATTERNS AND PURPOSE

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A consideration of the speech form in New Testament literature immediately brings to mind the work of Luke, and in particular the book of Acts. Cadbury has said concerning the speeches in Acts, "unless it be in Luke iv. 16-30, these speeches have no parallel in the synoptic gospels."¹

This essay will not only indicate parallels between Luke 4 and speeches of Acts, but will reveal a close relationship in regard to patterns and purpose. Because of the limitations of space, the discussion will be limited to the circumferential speeches, the first and last addresses recorded in Luke-Acts. Sequentially, the speeches at Nazareth and at Rome will be viewed in terms of carefully structured patterns which this writer will posit; correlations will be made between form and content; and, the relationship of the speeches to each other will be observed in the light of their correspondence with the purpose of Luke-Acts.

The Nazareth Sermon

"Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" Nathanael's question was fielded by Philip's "Come and see" (John 1:46). The people of Jesus' home city unwittingly would echo Nathanael's query when Jesus returned to preach there. Unlike Nathanael, their response would not be one of belief. Luke begins his narrative of Jesus' public ministry with the account of the inaugural sermon at Nazareth. Cadbury has described it as a "keynote speech."² Well he might! For its declaration of the good news for people of all nations and the unreceptive attitude of Jesus' countrymen weave like a golden thread through Luke-Acts, even to the final climactic speech in Rome at the end of Acts.³

Luke alone, among the four evangelists, presents the Nazareth sermon; and, he does more than just to place the pericope prominently; he augments the reader's appreciation of its significant message through use of striking literary artistry. That Luke is a writer of exceptional aesthetic awareness is acknowledged widely. His literary versatility reflected acquaintance with the style of the LXX as well as with that of literary masterpieces of the classical world.⁴ As a purposeful writer, he placed his artistry in the service of his message. It will be the burden of this essay to have the reader feel and experience the gospel content more deeply by having him stop to look at Luke's lines, and then listen more keenly to his message.

Patterns

The immediate context already suggests that something special is "in the air." Farrer has observed a chiasmic⁵ framework (Lk. 4:1-5:11) surrounding the Nazareth sermon pericope. The outline of the three temptations in the wilderness and the reverse order in the events of the narrative subsequent to them follows.⁶

Jesus is tempted (Luke 4:1-13)

- (a) to provide Himself bread by miracle,
- (b) to submit to Satan,
- (c) to throw Himself from the temple and force the hand of God.

The exterior lines (AA') of stanza I stress Jesus' return to His home land and city, Galilee and Nazareth. Units BB' tell of the response by "all." The climactic center line introduces the synagogue, which then is focused upon in stanza II, where both extreme lines call attention to the setting in the synagogue where he would preach. The confrontation which is to follow is thus clearly set into the context of Judaism.

The Lukan symmetry is perhaps easiest to spot in stanza II. Besides the "linking" of the stanzas through repetition of the word "synagogue" (IC, IIAA'), Luke cements the connection by the repetition of the parallel ideas "and he came," "and he entered." Other clearcut correspondences of ideas or words are as follows.

BB' he stood up/ he sat down

CC' there was given, to him/ having given [it] back, to
the attendant

DD' and having opened, the book/ and having closed, the book

EE' the Lord/ the Lord

FF' to preach good news/ to proclaim

GG' he has sent, release/ to send forth, release

The mission of bringing sight to the blind on which stanza II centers (in line H) is thwarted by resistance in the synagogue, subsequent stanzas go on to show. Momentarily, however, the eyes which Jesus came to open are fixed on him, as closing unit A' shows. Stanza II, which for the most part follows Lund's structuring,⁸ centers in the quotation from Isaiah 61:1-2, as taken from the LXX. The Spirit-led Jesus thoughtfully chose the Isaianic word which allowed him to identify himself as the Servant who proclaims God's good news. The asterisks placed into stanza II indicate meaningful variances from the text, as follows.

* The LXX includes, "to heal the broken hearted"; Luke does not repeat it; there is no parallel in the corresponding unit of stanza II.

** A line (G') is inserted here which is found in Isaiah 58:6, with just a slight change in the verb form; note the clear parallel it creates with unit G.

*** The verb κηρύττειν replaces the verb καλέσαι from the LXX, again to strengthen the parallelism. Καλέσαι is a more general verb, while κηρύττειν and εὐαγγελίσασθαι both have to do with the gospel.

**** At this point Luke has left off "and a day of recompense" from the Septuagintal reading. Apparently the parallelism has already been established.⁹ It would be an extraneous matter here, Marshall has observed, since the ministry of Jesus at this time focuses upon salvation rather than upon parousia.¹⁰

The Lukan narrative continues with Jesus' interpretation of the prophetic word and the people's surprised reaction.

III

- 21 A And he began to say to them,
 "Today [this scripture] has been fulfilled
 To II E-E'
 B in your ears."
- 22 C And all bore witness to him
 C' And wondered at the words of grace which proceeded
 B' Out of his mouth;
 A' And they said, To IVA
 "Is not this Joseph's son?"

Stanza III links with stanza II by referring in its opening line to the scripture which has been quoted in the central section of stanza II. Units AA' correspond through their combined reference to Jesus' and the people's words of response. "In your ears"/ "out of his mouth" of BB' provide further parallels. The center of stanza III focuses on the attentive reception that Jesus' message at first received. The attitude of interest, however, quickly changes to one of inquiry. The people's questioning, which closes the stanza, links it with the following stanza where Jesus replies.

IV

- 23 A And he said To IIIA' to them,
 B "Doubtless, you will quote to me
 C This proverb: 'Physician heal yourself;
 D What we have heard you did at Capernaum,
 D Do here also in your own country." To VDD'
- 24 A' And he said,
 B' "Truly, I say to you,
 C' No prophet is acceptable
 D' In his own country." To VDD'

V

- 25 A But in truth, I say to you, there were many widows in Israel in
 the days of Elijah,
 B When the heaven was shut up three years and six months,
 B When there came a great famine over all the land;
- 26 C And Elijah was sent to none of them To IVDD'
 D Except to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, to a woman,
 a widow.
- 27 A' And there were many lepers in Israel in the time of the prophet
 Elisha;
 C' And none of them was cleansed,
 D' Except Naaman, the Syrian." To IVDD'

Stanzas IV and V are set into alternate parallelism. The reader will readily be able to spot the correspondences between AA', (BB'), CC', and DD' within each of these two stanzas. External parallels are indicated by underlines, internal parallels by broken underlines. AA' repeat "And he said," BB' has a three-fold parallel in the words of affirmation and of telling, and in the personal pronouns (me/you). CC' both draw attention to a proverb; and, DD' refer to one's own country. Stanzas IV and V display the Lukan trait of shortening the second half of a parallelism. Thus, Unit D in stanza IV is expanded beyond D' to include internal antithetic parallels between Jesus' doings at Capernaum and in his own country.

In stanza IV Luke has taken over the Markan proverb regarding the rejection of the prophet (Mk. 6:4) and has placed it into a parallelistic structure, which he then expanded on in similar fashion in stanza V. Stanza IV leads very naturally to stanza V; lines A' and B' of stanza IV, "And he said, 'Truly I say to you,'" are repeated in stanza V, "but in truth I say to you"; and, the "no prophet" and "country" themes of lines C' and D' of stanza IV are repeated in both halves of stanza V. The multitude of parallels between the two parts of stanza V is particularly striking.

Accordingly, the viewer who compares the pattern of verses 25 and 27 will see the three-fold repetition in AA'.

there were many widows/ in Israel/ in the days of Elijah
there were many lepers/ in Israel/ in the time of Elisha

The two parts of Unit B have an internal parallel respecting the time

when the heaven was shut up, and
when there came a great famine.

While the shortened second member of the parallelism (i.e., verse 27) does not add temporal details, units CC' and DD' include the parallel ideas of "none of them" and "except", and then indicate people and places foreign to Israel's intimate circle that are favored.

The prophet has clearly trodden on dangerous ground! Not only were those who were on the fringes of society singled out for preferential treatment, i.e., the widow and the leper, but the great prophets of old are shown to favor outsiders from the despised lands of Phoenicia and Syria; it was a painful remembrance to recall what heartache the idolatries of the homeland of Jezebel and the military might of Syria had brought Israel in the ninth century and thereafter. Every zealous Jew felt it.

The climax of the pericope has been reached. The prophet is rejected by his own, and he replies that God comes to those who are in need of his gracious presence. God's grace comes to the widow, to the leper, even to the despised foreigner. The outcasts who have not cast him out are gathered in. The "in-group" which has cast him out now in turn feels rejected. Their violent response is indicated in the pericope's closing words.

- VI 28 A And all in the synagogue were filled with anger when hearing these things.
- 29 B And after rising up, they threw him out
- C Outside of the city,
- D And they led him up to a brow
of the hill
on which
- C' their city was built,
- B' So as to throw him down headlong.
- 30 A' But he,
passing through
through the midst
of them, went away.

Stanza VI is denouement. The opening line focuses attention back to the physical setting, the synagogue, which was last mentioned in the closing line of stanza II. In dramatic fashion, thus, Luke presents the stark contrast from the earlier scene where all were filled with expectation. Now clearly the opposite condition exists, as anger is pointed to.

This stanza which begins with the mention of the anger of the opponent, closes depicting Jesus' contrasting cool and collected departure, through use of a chiasm within a chiasm. The Greek text here shows a repetition of the preposition ἐκ (ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς and ἐκ τοῦ βουνου) flanked by a repetition of forms of αὐτός (i.e., αὐτὸς and αὐτῶν). However, that is not all that stanza portrays. After units BCC'B' stress their intent to dispose of him from the city, the center line uses three consecutive prepositional phrases. These further focus on Jesus' being led to the brow of the hill on which he was to be slain. While he escapes this scene, it appears to be a foreshadowing of his coming passion and death on the hill which is shaped like a skull.¹¹ The threefold assonance ἕως ὁρῶντος/ τοῦ ὄρους/ ἐφ' οὗ in the center line further heightens the effect of the event on the hill. Already in the inaugural scene of Jesus' ministry Luke deftly sketched in the shadow of the cross!

Purpose

Thus, Luke dramatically and poetically presents the programmatic Nazareth sermon. The literary artist has stimulated the readers' awareness. Luke's carefully chosen words have been both meaty and mighty. The momentous message was made memorable. The implied question returns, "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" Luke leaves no doubt. Yet, because "no prophet is acceptable in his own country," the incarnation of Good must flee his own. Even so, the Servant of God would complete his task: the good news would be preached to the poor (who were elsewhere); release would be proclaimed to captives (who wore spiritual chains); sight would return to the blind (to those of whom it had not been said, "their eyes they have closed, lest they should perceive with their eyes," Acts 28:27). It is the intention of Luke that the reader continue to see that "Today this scripture (the good news) has been fulfilled in your ears."

The Speeches at Rome

The major speeches of Acts, with one notable exception, have been observed elsewhere to be in tightly structured literary patterns.¹² From among them, perhaps of special significance in relation to the Nazareth sermon account is the narrative which includes the speeches at Rome.

As Luke unraveled his story in his two volumes, he moved the reader along the way that Jesus walked from Galilee, by means of the circuitous journey through Samaria and adjoining territories, to Jerusalem. The story of the church in Acts was the outward and opposite geographic movement from the center. From Jerusalem the church would extend to "all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). At the culmination point of Luke's account, Paul has attained the announced objective, Rome. Even as Jesus moved from Nazareth inward toward the Jewish capital, Jerusalem, to complete his ministry, the apostles, including Paul, would move outward until finally the good news would be preached at the imperial capital, at Rome itself.

Patterns

As in the case of Luke 4, so in Acts 28 the narrative exhibits various patterns of parallelism. Both of Paul's speeches in Rome are presented chiastically. The entire pericope of Acts 28:17-31 may be structured as follows:

- I
- 17 A After three days he called together (συγκαλέσασθαι) the local leaders of the Jews. And when they had gathered, he said to them, "Brethren,
 - B though I had done nothing against the people or the customs of our fathers,
 - C yet I was delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans.
 - 18 D When they had examined me, they wished to set me at liberty,
 - E (ὁδὸν . . . αἰτίαν) because there was no reason for the death penalty in my case.
 - 19 D' But when the Jews objected,
 - C' I was compelled to appeal to Caesar--
 - B' though I had no charge to bring against my nation.
 - 20 A' (ὁδὸν . . . αἰτίαν) For this reason therefore I have asked (παρεκάλῃσα) to see you and to speak with you, since it is because of the hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain."

- II [21 A And (δέ) they said to him, "We have received no letters from Judea about you, (περί σοῦ)"
 B And none of the brethren coming here has reported or spoken any evil concerning you.
 22 A' But (δέ) we desire to hear from you (παρὰ σοῦ) what your views are;
 B' For indeed concerning this sect we know that everywhere it is spoken against."

- III [23 A And when they had appointed a day for him,
 B They came to him at his lodging in great numbers, to whom he set forth,
 C solemnly witnessing the kingdom of God,
 D persuading them concerning Jesus
 E from both the law of Moses and the prophets,
from morning until evening.

- IV [24 And some were convinced by what he said,
While others disbelieved.

- V [25 A So, as they disagreed among themselves,
 B they departed,
 C after Paul had made one statement:
 D "Well the Holy Spirit spoke
 E through Isaiah the prophet
 F to your fathers,
 26 G saying, go to this people and say,
 H "You shall hear with hearing
 I and not-at-all understand;
 H You shall see with seeing
 I and not-at-all perceive.
 27 J For it has grown dull,
 K the heart of the people,
 L and they hear heavily
with their ears (-αυ)
 M And their eyes
 N they have closed (-αυ)
 N' lest they perceive (-αυ)
 M' with their eyes,
 L' and hear with their ears (-αυ)
 K' and with their heart
 J' they understand,
 I' and they turn
 H' and I heal them."
 28 G' Therefore, let it be known to you that
 F' to the gentiles
 E' has been sent this salvation
 D' of God; and they will hear."
 29 C' (And when he had said these words,
 B' the Jews departed,
 A' holding much dispute among themselves.)

- VI [30 A And he lived a whole two years
 B in his own rented apartment,
and he welcomed all those coming in to him,
 31 C proclaiming the kingdom of God
 D and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ
 E with all boldness
without hindrance.

The speech accounts of this longer pericope seem to be in chiasm while the remaining sections are in parallelism of other sorts. The following outline for the whole, which shows an arrangement like that of Vergil's *Eclogues*,¹³ may be useful:

- I. Paul's first speech: defense of himself before the Jews (Romans to free him; Jews object).
- II. Their response:
 - A. Received no report
 - B. Will give a hearing
- III. Transition: Paul preaches a day, to Jews, in bonds
- IV. Their response:
 - A. Some accept
 - B. Some reject
- V. Paul's second speech: defense of the gentile mission before the Jews (Jews are hardened; gentiles will hear).
- VI. Conclusion: Paul preaches two years, to all, freely

The opening speech of Paul (verses 17-20) is one of defense. The focal center line stresses the fact that there was "no reason" for the death penalty; that emphasis is echoed as the exterior unit A' adds that it is for "this reason" that Paul wanted to see them. A' points to A in that the same root verb (καλέω) is used in both. Paul had called together the Jews in order to vindicate his cause, to show that there was no reason for the death penalty. Other parallels in AA' are the genitives referring to the Jews and the phrases indicating Paul's speaking to them. After one observes the main point of this address, Paul's innocence, the sharp contrast becomes apparent between the Romans, who wished to set him at liberty (D), and the Jews, who objected (D'). This points forward to the end of Acts (verses 25-31) where the Jews again object to the preaching of Paul, who in turn decides to proclaim the word to the gentiles, who receive his bold witness. Units CC' carry the parallel thoughts that Paul was delivered prisoner into the hands of the Romans and that he was compelled to appeal to Caesar. BB' further indicates Paul's innocence over against his own people through the form of adversative clauses.

Two balancing statements, set into alternate parallelism, follow the opening speech. The first part of the respective units of stanza II exhibits parallels through the use of the particle (ὅτι) and the first person

plural verbs. The prepositional phrases show auditory and semantic parallelism ($\kappa\epsilon\pi\lambda\ \sigma\sigma\upsilon/\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \sigma\sigma\upsilon$). Additionally, "from you" of A' forms another parallel with "from Judea" in A. At first, the Jews said they had no information; then they indicated a desire to hear.

Through the following series of five parallel points in units BB'

and none/ has reported/ spoken evil/ any/ concerning you
for indeed/ we know/ it is spoken against/ everywhere/ concerning
this sect

it is pointed out that the brothers had not reported or spoken any evil about Paul; but, by way of contrast, "this sect" was known to be spoken against everywhere. To sum up the two-part response, the Roman Jews' first thought is that they have heard nothing bad about Paul; as an after-thought, since they have nothing against him, they show a polite interest in hearing Paul's viewpoint despite his membership in the malignant religious party.

Stanza III is transitional and needs to be looked at in connection with the conclusion (compare verse 23 with verses 30-31). The two paragraphs are set into alternate parallelism; both speak in sequence about a provision of time, about coming to his (Paul's) dwelling place in great numbers, and of interacting with those who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about Jesus; both paragraphs conclude with a double adverbial phrase.

The contrast between the two paragraphs is even more significant. Verse 23 shows his speaking with the Jews for a single day in contrast to the two years that he spends with the gentiles (verse 30). Verse 23 shows him still imprisoned, and those who come to him are the Jews; whereas, in the concluding section he is in his own rented apartment; and all (including gentiles) come to him. The different adverbial phrases are instructive: to the Jews he preaches from the law of Moses and the prophets as long as the day lasts; to the gentiles the preaching and teaching continues over a longer time; the concluding adverbial phrases in verse 31 are open-ended, saying nothing of time; instead they describe his manner, which is with all boldness and without hindrance. The contrasting feature of these parallelized paragraphs is that as he ministers to the Jews he is under restriction of time and also of mobility: he is still imprisoned; but, as he ministers to the gentiles, he has freedom in the way of time, in the way of dwelling place, and even in the bold approach that he can take.

The parallel arrangement of sections III and VI within the composite chiasmic structure (28:17-31) indicated in the above outline, suggests their special importance. Paul's brief hearing by the Jews (verse 23) is focused in the position of central interest (ABC B' A' C'). His lengthy and unhindered ministry, described in the corresponding and concluding section (verses 30-31), forms a powerful contrast. The gentiles will hear!

Stanza IV of the structure (verse 24) is a simple summary statement, in doublet form, to the effect that after Paul's preaching to the Jews there is a divergent response. Some were convinced; others were not. Just as the reply of the Jews (verses 21-22) had had a two-fold emphasis: "we don't know," "we want to know," so now, after the address to the Jews, there is a two-fold result: "we want"; "we don't want."

The Final Speech

One more section remains to be considered within the larger composite structure, Paul's final speech, verses 25-29. As outlined, it falls into a stanza pattern of fourteen corresponding units. Kraft has observed that both Duham and Briggs had discovered stanzas or strophes which included up to fourteen lines.¹⁴ Here then Luke pulls all the stops. He offers a chiastic structure of the full magnitude of fourteen corresponding units, befitting of the monumental emphasis he wants to make right at the conclusion of his long history.

Various scholars have seen chiasm in parts of this sermon structure. Lindars has noticed that Luke presented the verbatim quotation which is found in Matt. 13:14-15, taken from the LXX version of Is. 6:9-10.¹⁵ The editors of the twentieth edition of Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1950) indicated, through their structuring, the chiastic order that is found in Matt. 13:15.¹⁶ They did not repeat that method of outlining as they presented the same quotation in Acts 28:27. Perhaps, it is because they observed that there is also another type of parallelism in Acts 28, and so they preferred to denote that in setting up the page. Morgenthaler, although he did not observe the chiastic structure of the larger part of the quotation from Isaiah, did find chiasm in the brief passage, "Lest they see with their eyes and with their ears, they hear"; the verbs are at the extremes, and the parts of the body are the center of that brief structure.¹⁷ That chiasm begins the second half of the stanza; it is the point of turning.

As Matthew used the quotation from Isaiah in the pivotal chapter of his Gospel,¹⁸ Luke similarly reserved it for a climactic moment. Lindars has shown that through Pauline and Matthean usage this passage has become classic for the Jewish rejection.¹⁹ Repeatedly throughout Acts Luke has issued similar indictments against the Jews. Now, at the very end, this vital text on blindness is presented. The reader is graphically warned of the need to open his eyes; for the Jews' eyes had been closed, the center units of the stanza suggest; and, for that reason they were rejected.

Units F and F' are of particular interest because Paul has disassociated himself from the Jews. Up to this point in Acts, Paul had repeatedly referred to himself as one of the Jews, referring to "our fathers." Now, Acts 28:25 refers to "your fathers." Not to believing Jews such as Paul, but to the "blinded" Jews, this message of judgment from Isaiah had been spoken. F' speaks of the gentiles. Obviously, Paul could not lump himself with a group that would be in opposition to the gentiles; it is to the latter that the word of salvation now has been sent; and they will hear.

Units E and E' show synthetic parallelism. It is "through Isaiah the prophet" that "salvation has been sent"; the Jewish opposition, to which the word from Isaiah pointed, has become the gentiles' opportunity. D and D' each includes a divine name in these terminal units of the speech proper, and together include the kindred verbs of speaking and hearing. G and G' correspond grammatically and semantically through their use of the imperative verbs "go and say" and "let it be known." H and I speak respectively of opportunity and response; in I' their hoped-for response of "turning" has not been realized, and the opportunity of being healed (H') thus also has been missed. JK and K'J' show that their hearts were not receptive.

The idea of "seeing," as already indicated, is central to the entire construction (MNN'M'). In similar fashion, their hearing (LL') is important. Their senses had grown dull, and because they did not effectively hear when

they heard, nor perceptively see when they saw, they did not, in turn, receive healing. The "lest" of line N' refers back to the preceding. It means that they have closed their eyes lest they would see and they have similarly dulled their hearing and the perception by the heart lest they understand and repent. It does not mean that their eyes and ears and heart have been imperceptive for the purpose of keeping them from seeing and hearing and understanding and receiving healing. Rather, Luke seems to stress that it is their repeated deliberate act of rejection, despite continual invitation and opportunity, that has led to their own resultant rejection and to the turning to the more receptive gentiles.

Verse 29 has a considerable number of ancient authorities who vouch for its presence in the text. Although the better texts have omitted it, this writer would retain it in view of the close parallelism of units ABC with C'B'A' (verses 25a and 29). Its omission would detract from the precise symmetry that the composite structure and the fourteen unit stanza now exhibit.

Parallels "at the Circumference"

The sermons of Luke 4 and Acts 28 have much more in common than the fact that they help to frame the extremities of the narrative which recounts the ministry of Jesus and his apostles. A simple table of parallels between the two pericopes illustrates their commonalities.

Luke 4:14-30

1. beginning of Jesus' ministry suggested
2. a report went out
3. to give sight to the blind
4. quotation from Isaiah
5. to preach
6. release the captives
7. eyes, ears, mouth
8. polite interest by Jews
9. disbelief expressed
10. no honor in own country
11. the nations (Sidon, Syria) received favor
12. expulsion of Jesus from Nazareth

Acts 28:17-31

1. culmination of the apostolic ministry suggested
2. no report was received
3. blindness is confirmed
4. quotation from Isaiah
5. preaching
6. Romans wished to set Paul, the prisoner, free
7. eyes, ears, heart
8. polite interest by Jews
9. disbelief expressed
10. innocence regarding own nation
11. the gentiles (in Rome) will receive salvation
12. no hindrance for Paul in Rome

Purpose

In these two speech narratives Luke has come "full-cycle." As he had placed the matter of preaching for the recovery of sight for the blind at the point of central importance in the Isaiah quotation of his first recorded sermon (Luke 4:18), so he follows suit in Acts 28:27. In Luke's final recorded sermon the centrally placed word from Isaiah serves to confirm the blindness of the Jews. The repeated efforts toward "enlightenment" by Jesus and His "witnesses" had been regularly refused or opposed throughout the record of Luke-Acts. It is now clear to the reader that the turning to the gentiles is justified. Outreach to all was in line with the will of the Spirit and the word of the scriptures. This realization lies at the heart of the message of Luke-Acts (cf. also Acts 13:46-47 and 18:6).

Always in Luke-Acts rejection seems to trigger even greater outreach. The two themes are hard to separate. The sermons of Luke-Acts present the gospel for all people, Jew and gentile alike. The "good news" is for the poor, the captive, the blind, the oppressed, and the foreigner. Such universal outreach to those traditionally regarded as outsiders and less favored is hard for those traditionally "on the inside" to accept. Rejection results. Luke-Acts dramatizes the innocence and the rightness of those who see the scriptures as urging outreach to all. In this spirit, the messenger proclaims "the kingdom of God" in keeping with the words and works of "the Lord Jesus Christ." This is Luke's legacy for Theophilus. This is the message of the circumferential sermons of Luke-Acts.

NOTES

¹Henry J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (London: SPCK, 1958) 61.

²Ibid., 189. Similarly, Luke 4:18-19 has been described as "a programmatic introduction to all of Luke-Acts" by Robert H. Smith, Acts, Concordia Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970) 78.

³Luke has moved the pericope of the rejection of Jesus in Mark 6 forward in his Gospel to the beginning of Jesus' ministry; there it apparently emphasizes the Jewish rejection of Jesus from the very beginning. The message which Jesus proclaimed was immediately seen to be for the "fall and rising of many" (Luke 2:34). The same theme of rejection is placed early in the book of Acts where it is found especially in chapters 3-5; thereafter it continues to bob up for emphasis, with such special stresses as 13:46, 47; 18:6; and 28:25-29. In Luke 4 as in Acts 2, the keynote speech of Luke's second volume, the "prophet" meets a favorable response at first; and later, when the showdown comes, finds rejection. Both speeches open with reference to the power of the Spirit. The gentile issue becomes the theme of the Lukan speech and is seen prominently throughout the book of Acts. In Luke 4, it led to Jesus' expulsion from the city, to attempted homicide by His opponents, and to a foreshadowing of His coming passion (verse 29). In Acts, it is this same gentile cause which leads to the frequent sufferings of the apostolic witnesses. For truly, "the servant is not greater than his master."

⁴Exposition and examples are available in such works as the following: Kenneth E. Bailey, Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976); Nils W. Lund, Chiasmus in the New Testament (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942); Donald R. Miesner, "Chiasm and the Composition and Message of Paul's Missionary Sermons" (unpublished Th. D. thesis, Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, 1974) 53-96; and Charles H. Talbert, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes and the Genre of Luke-Acts, SBLMS XX (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974).

⁵Chiasm is an artistic device, found in both Hebrew and classical literature, according to which ideas, words, lines, or paragraphs are arranged first in one order, then in the reverse order. Thus, a "stanza" will end in a way that corresponds to its beginning. Chiastic stanzas may be joined to others by repetition of a key word or idea from the center or extreme line of one stanza in the extreme or center line of another. Stanzas usually divide according to sense groupings, with the thought of the center and end lines carrying the greatest weight. Skilled writers often included other types of parallelism within a chiastic whole.

⁶A. M. Farrer, St. Matthew and St. Mark (Westminster, England: Dacre Press, 1954) 166.

⁷While the translation used for the Luke 4 pericope (and later in the essay, for Acts 28) basically follows the RSV, of necessity it departs from it in a few places to reflect the verbal sequence and parallelisms indicated by the Greek word order. For the corresponding diagram of the Greek text of the Nazareth pericope, cf. Miesner, Appendix E. For Bailey's comment on this writer's structure for Luke 4:14-20, cf. Poet and Peasant, 68-69.

⁸Lund, 236.

⁹Ibid., 237-238.

¹⁰I. Howard Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971) 121.

¹¹For a diagrammatic comparison of Luke 4 and Luke 23 on this point, cf. Richard F. Zehnle, Peter's Pentecost Discourse, Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter's Speeches of Acts 2 and 3, SBLMS XV (New York: Abingdon, 1971) 88.

¹²Cf. Miesner, *passim*; and Zehnle, 27-39.

¹³The Roman epic poet Vergil arranged his Eclogues in such a way that the first nine poems form a chiasmic whole; the tenth poem balances the fifth, and thus gives additional interest to the end of the work. The pattern has been outlined, as given below, by George E. Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid: A Study in Mathematical Composition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962) 3.

- I Country life; confiscation of territory
- II Song of love
- III Responsive singing match; no decision
- IV World to come; religion and philosophy
- V Shepherd becomes a god
- VI World that was; philosophy and mythology
- VII Responsive singing match; decision
- VIII Two songs of love
- IX Country life; confiscation of territory
- X Friend becomes a shepherd

¹⁴Charles F. Kraft, The Strophic Structure of Hebrew Poetry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938) 11-12.

¹⁵Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961) 160-165. Both Mark and John, on the other hand, have disregarded the chiasmic structure of the LXX.

¹⁶Interestingly, the twenty fifth edition of the Nestle and Aland Novum Testamentum Graece (1963) does not show the Matthean quotation to be structured in chiasmic fashion. Even so, the fact that an earlier edition did observe this structuring is notable.

¹⁷Robert Morgenthauer, *Die lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis*, I (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1949) 65, noted that he himself, Norden, and Bultmann have observed the standard parallelism in this passage, as it applies throughout. Thus, he scolds that Luke disturbs that parallelism as he carries the quote to its conclusion. Apparently, Morgenthauer has not seen the chiasm of the larger structure. That he has observed the standard parallelism, as had the editors of the Greek New Testament, is in keeping with the frequent occurrence of a counterpoint of patterns within the parallelisms of Holy Scriptures.

¹⁸J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew*, The Pelican New Testament Commentaries, edited by D. E. Nineham (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1963) 225, has observed the symmetry of Matthew's Gospel, and has noted that Chapter 13 is the turning point of the entire Gospel. It is here (13:36) that Jesus goes from the crowds into the house to further instruct his disciples. This anticipates Jesus' turning from the Jews to the gentiles, according to Fenton.

¹⁹Lindars, 164-165.

CRITERIA FOR A STUDY OF
THE OUTLINES OF MARK AND JOHN

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The parallels between Mark and John lie not only in the areas of pericopes and language, but also in the outlines of the two works, the "plot" of the story of Jesus. Further, it is precisely at the level of the outline of the basic story that the contact between John and Mark is most significant to the study of gospel genre. Thus the study of the relationship(s) between Mark and John must concern itself not only with the phrases and incidents we normally think of as parallels, but also with the general structure or shape of the two gospels considered as whole pieces. John's gospel, with its long monologues by Jesus, its dramatic dialogues, and its frequently liturgical character, is far removed from the narrative world of Mark. Yet it goes without saying that an examination of the structure of John is the examination of a gospel. The Fourth Evangelist chose to shape his very different sort of presentation of Jesus the messiah into the same basic form that Mark and the other synoptists had used.

Not only did John write a gospel, but he can also be shown to have followed, in broad strokes, the general outline of the life of Jesus as presented in the synoptic gospels and in Acts. C. H. Dodd has observed that the Fourth Gospel shares with the first three a marked difference in the treatment of the passion and the treatment of the rest of the ministry, the former being continuous and detailed and varying little in the various versions, the latter discontinuous and episodic, with free variations in order: "These phenomena are consistent with the view that the essential core of a 'Gospel' as such is an account of the Passion, with an introduction which might be expanded at will with a varied selection of material, and which followed no fixed order."¹ More even than this can be said, for the kerygmatic outline of Mark is not entirely lacking in John. Both begin with the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist, which is followed by a ministry in Galilee (more briefly in John, 4:46-54; 6). Jesus then goes to Jerusalem where he speaks in the temple precincts, and the narrative proceeds to passion, death and resurrection. Raymond Brown asks whether the longer Jerusalem ministry in John can be considered an essential variation from the outline, in light of Luke's similar variations in the journey to Jerusalem, which occupies ten chapters of that gospel.²

Clearly, whatever coherence may be discovered in the sequence of events in John as compared to Mark is easily explained by the hypothesis that John knew Mark. But the evidence for this position is far from conclusive, largely due to the difficulty in constructing an adequate redaction history for John. If it is supposed that John did not know Mark, then the search must begin for alternatives which permit a more satisfactory elucidation of the text. As Reginald H. Fuller puts it, "If we assume (a) that Mark created the gospel form being the first to combine pericopes and a passion narrative;

and (b) that John is independent of Mark, how came it about that Mark and John independently created more or less the same genre?"³ In fact, the similarity of the Markan and Johannine outlines has been to date one of the strongest arguments of those who wish to retain Johannine dependence on Mark. But this argument ignores the fact, on which there is scholarly agreement approaching a consensus, that Mark's outline is not entirely his own, but is rather based on the primitive preaching of the church, which dealt in a highly summary way with Jesus' baptism, work, and death. Efforts to elucidate the relationship between Mark and John, particularly at the level of their outlines, must take account of the possibility that John has taken up this same basic outline from the narrative portions of the kerygma, with their brief schema of the ministry of Jesus and their more firmly fixed blueprint of the passion. Such a hypothesis provides a conceivable alternative to Johannine dependence on Mark. If the Fourth Evangelist has access not only to traditions of the words and works of Jesus which paralleled the synoptics, but also to a traditional schema into which those words and works fit, we might expect to find in the Fourth Gospel traces of a framework like Mark's, the latter also based on traditional formulations. Thus the study of the shape of the gospels moves us inevitably into a study of the narrative kerygmatic fragments in the New Testament, most notably the speeches of Acts and the narratives of I Cor. 11 and 15.

Raymond Brown states flatly that "...the tradition behind the Synoptic Gospels is that of the preaching and teaching of the primitive Church." He goes on to argue that the evangelists, not themselves eyewitnesses, were forced to accept the schematic outline of the ministry of Jesus as they received it from the community, and to fit the Jesus tradition into it as best they could. The outline itself is basically identical with that of Peter's speeches in Acts, running from John the Baptist through Galilee to Jerusalem and the passion. The same outline is attributed to Paul in Acts 13:23-30.⁴ Brown is following in the tradition of the form critics, for his conclusion is that the origin of the gospel outline lies not (or at least not entirely) in the mind of the evangelist, but in the growth of the tradition within the community, though he stops short of the isolation of a new form. What is contended here is simply that the Petrine preaching and the gospel are individual examples of two species with a common ancestor (or ancestral tradition) which existed in the primitive community. The principal course of the story of Jesus was already known to the evangelists from and through the preaching and confession of the early church.

A kerygmatic forbear to the outlines of Mark and John need only be sought if Mark and John are independent of one another. But since neither the hypothesis of Johannine dependence on Mark nor that of Johannine independence is sufficiently strong to be accepted failing proof to the contrary, the outlines themselves must be searched for evidence suggesting which position is to be preferred.

John Donahue and Kim Dewey, building on the work of Norman Perrin, have made one such attempt, finding evidence

of Markan redaction in the Fourth Gospel's insertion of the trial narrative into the story of Peter's denial, as well as in the common details of the cock crow, Peter's warming himself by the fire, and the use of indirect discourse.⁵ If true, this would be strong evidence for Johannine dependence on Mark. But none of the common details are especially convincing. If (as the insertion of Mk, 14:28 indicates) the prediction of the denial is traditional, then the cock-crow, a basic element of that saying, is pre-Markan. Peter's warming himself is natural enough in the context--all accounts mention the fire--but it may be common tradition: the second Markan mention of this element is simply a one-word allusion, while the second mention in John is a virtual repetition of the first, not as well assimilated into the story as in Mark.⁶ The use of indirect discourse is precisely what we would expect from primitive tradition, and it occurs (as do the notices of Peter's warming himself) at different locations in the two narratives. So far as the intercalation of the trial is concerned, there is reason to doubt that Mark is responsible for joining the denials and the hearing, since even in Dewey's analysis the denial story began with Peter's following Jesus to the high priest's house, thus anticipating at least the conjoining of the two accounts. Further, Fortna observes that both stories demand a setting at the high priest's house, the hearing by necessity, the denial because it is gratuitously but firmly fixed there by the identification of one of Peter's questioners (two in John) as a servant of the high priest. Fortna doubts, too, that Donahue's identification of a Markan technique of intercalation can be adequately supported. But even if it is accepted, John uses the same technique elsewhere, where there is no question of dependence: the discourse of John the Baptist (3:25-36) divides the story about Jesus' baptizing; the conversation between Jesus and his disciples (4:31-38) divides the story of the Samaritan woman; and the race to the empty tomb (20:3-10) divides the account of the appearance to Mary.

Finally, Anitra Kolenkow has observed that John places the first denial before the interrogation; Mark reports all three denials together (after the trial), but moves Peter to a new location for the second. (It may be that the change of location in Mark reflects a pre-Markan tradition, though this cannot be proved.)⁷ If Brown is right that both divisions are redactional, to indicate simultaneity with the interrogation, and thus that Mark and John express their understanding that Jesus was absent when Peter denied him, while Luke believes he was there, then the present structure of the account is secondary in both gospels, and it is Luke who preserves the earlier form.⁸

If Markan redaction in the Fourth Gospel would be strong evidence for Johannine dependence on Mark, Johannine sequences reflecting not Mark but traditional sequences known to Mark would argue equally strongly for sources of the gospel outline predating both books. While space limitations prevent an examination of more than a few examples here, we may point out that such instances do exist, and that they appear at virtually every stage of the gospel story. To begin, in the testimony of John which follows the prologue of both gospels, the Baptist appears as the forerunner, the herald of Jesus, this

despite the simultaneous ministries of John and Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. In Mark, of course, Jesus' ministry begins only with the arrest of the Baptist. But as Willi Marxsen has remarked, the account of Mark is not historical but theological, for Mark has loosed the Baptist from his historical context: viewed from Jesus, the Baptist is the forerunner of the coming one, with no reflection on historical sequence.⁹ Chronologically, even on the gospels' terms, the Baptist is not necessarily prior to Jesus, as the Johannine account demonstrates. Since the simultaneous ministry was doubtless the earliest tradition, how came Mark and John by the alteration to the Baptist as the forerunner? Most likely the community began to see the Baptist in this role, as Acts 10 and 13 suggest, and the notion was appropriated by both evangelists.

Our second example stems from the resemblance between the material in John 6 and Mark 6-8. The Markan chapters contain two accounts of the feeding of a multitude, of course, which complicates matters, but in general the sequence of events is as follows: feeding of the multitude (Jn. 6:1-15; cf. Mk. 6:31-44; 8:1-10); walking on the sea (Jn. 6:16-24; Mk. 6:45-54; cf. Mk. 8:10, following the second feeding miracle, which also involves a crossing in a boat, but without a walking on the sea); seeking a sign (Jn. 6:30; Mk. 8:11); discourse on bread (Jn. 6:35-59; Mk. 8:14-21); confession of Peter (Jn. 6:60-69; Mk. 8:27-30); betrayal and passion (Jn. 6:70-71; Mk. 8:31-33). Particularly striking is the fact that the miracle of walking on the sea appears intrusive in its Johannine context, separating the bread miracle and the discourse on bread, which fact suggests that the linking of this miracle with the miraculous feeding is traditional.

If this sequence is indeed traditional, then it appears to be John who preserves the more primitive arrangement, for traces in Mark can still be found of the Johannine arrangement: 1) The first feeding in Mark is preceded by a reference to teaching, the content of which is unspecified; in John 6, a long teaching in the synagogue does accompany the miracle, though it follows it. 2) The miraculous feeding is associated, by the vocabulary employed, with the eucharist, an association which is clear in John. 3) The confusion of geographical detail following the walking on the sea implies that Mark has brought together originally unrelated material; it is then possible that the feeding miracle in Mk. 8 is a doublet, and that the walking on the sea originally continued with the request for a sign, σημεῖον ἀπο τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Mk. 8:11 referring not to the feeding in Mk. 8 but to the one in Mk. 6. 4) The discussion of bread and leaven which follows suggests a polemic connection between the miraculous feeding and the demand for a sign (probably involving the anxiety and misunderstanding of the disciples), which is also reflected in John.¹⁰

Paul Achtemeier rejects the traditional linking of the feeding of the five thousand with the walking on the sea, proposing instead two pre-Markan miracle catenae, one ending with the former, the second beginning with the latter.¹¹ In order to make catena II jibe with catena I, Achtemeier is forced to reorder the events therein, moving the blind man of Bethsaida

from its place after the demand for a sign to a place after the walking on the sea. This creates the common order of the two catenae, but it ignores (and destroys) two very similar sequences existing in the present text following the two miraculous feedings:

Mk. 6:30-44 Feeding 5000	Mk. 8:1-9 Feeding 4000
:45-52 Crossing to Bethsaida	:10 Crossing to Dalmanutha
Loaves not understood	:11-13 Versus Pharisees
:53-56 Landing; sick come	:14-21 Loaves not understood
7:1-23 Versus Pharisees	:22 Crossing to Bethsaida
:24-30 To Tyre-Sidon healing	:23-26 Spittle healing of blind
:31-37 Spittle healing of deaf	:27 To Caesarea Philippi ¹²

If 7:1-23 is omitted and 8:22-26 moved to a position following 6:51, as Achtemeier would require, the above double sequence, whatever its significance, must be dismissed as coincidental.

If the Fourth Gospel is brought into consideration, this argument may be extended still further. We have already dealt with the traditional linkage between the feeding of the 5000 and the walking on the water. But in fact the linkage is not merely two-fold, but four-fold, continuing in both John and Mark to the demand for a sign and the confession of Peter. In both gospels the seeking of a sign is associated with a discourse on bread, one that centers on the inability of Jesus' hearers to understand the miraculous feeding. In both Mark and John, then, the confession is set in the general context of the failure of men to understand who Jesus is or his true mission. In both, Jesus then turns to his disciples, challenging them, and it is Peter in both traditions who answers. If Haenchen is correct that Mk. 8:27--9:1 is a composition of the evangelist, then it is all the more curious that John should preserve such a similar scene, in roughly the same place. In John, too, as Haenchen observes, the question of Jesus provokes the Christological title, and in John as in Mark Jesus then rejects one of the disciples as a devil, though in John it is no longer Peter, but Judas.¹³ This last may be due either to ambivalence in the tradition or to John's well-known tendency to emphasize Judas' evil character, probably the latter (cf. Jn. 12:6; 13:27). While the details are beyond our scope, the additional Markan material in ch. 7-8 can be explained via Markan theological interest in the bread and the lack of understanding of the disciples.

Two provocative examples from the passion narrative will conclude our presentation of Markan tradition found in John.¹⁴ Both Mark and John agree on the betrayal by Judas (though the kiss of the betrayer is lacking in John), and the injury to the high priest's slave. Eta Linnemann argues that Mark has constructed this episode, combining a biographical apophthegm (14:43, 48, 49b), a betrayal narrative (14:44-46, with

14:1, 2, 10, and 11a), and a disciple narrative (14:47, 50-52).¹⁵ Certainly v. 48-49 are intrusive in their present context, but it is difficult to imagine v. 47, 50 existing independently of v. 43.¹⁶ If the logion and the betrayal narrative are eliminated, what remains duplicates the Johannine order in 18:3, 10-11. The typically Johannine dialogue in v. 4-9 is, of course, redactional. It is apparent from both gospels that traditions concerning this moment circulated freely, and the coincidence between the basis of the Markan construction and its Johannine parallel is striking.

Both Mark and John then proceed to an interrogation of Jesus by one or more Jewish officials. In Mark the incident is a full-fledged trial of Jesus by the Sanhedrin, while John reports only an interrogation of Jesus by Annas. But some features of the Markan narrative suggest a growth of the tradition ($\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\delta\zeta$ in the singular in 14:53a, 60, 61, 63 in the plural in 14:53b, 55; the double introduction to the narrative in 14:53 and 55), and others suggest theological tampering (the confession of 14:62, the collection of Christological titles in 14:61-62).

Donahue's analysis of 14:53 is particularly instructive, suggesting as it does that Mark is building upon a tradition that Jesus was led before a Jewish official. The use of $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$, a technical term for leading people to trial which is rare in Mark, and the mention of the high priest in the singular are traditional elements in the verse. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\iota$ here, as at 15:1, probably represents a pre-Markan tradition concerning the "handing over" of Jesus to his enemies. V. 53b, in which the leading away becomes a formal trial, shows the following signs of Markan composition: the use of "all," $\kappa\alpha\iota$ parataxis, a compound of $\epsilon\rho\chi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, and the phrase "the chief priests and the elders and the scribes" (cf. 14:43). Donahue further argues that the very verses which give the narrative its character as a trial are those which show the strongest evidence of Markan language and style, viz., 14:53b, 55, 57-59, 61-62, and 64.¹⁷

None of this seemingly Markan material affects the sequence of the narrative as a whole, and none of it appears in John, who reports that Jesus was taken to Annas (described as δ $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\delta\zeta$) for questioning. The questioning is typically Johannine dialogue, and such Markan trial details as the Sanhedrin assembly, the calling of witnesses, and a formal condemnation are lacking. Particularly significant in John are the absence of Mark's "I am" and his Son of Man saying, both common elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel, and the formal condemnation by the Jews, which would suit Johannine theology.

John further resembles Mark in mentioning a second session before the Jewish authorities (18:24, 28; cf. Mk. 15:1). Brown, following Bultmann, ascribes the two sessions in Mark to the combination of sources,¹⁸ but as we have seen, the tradition underlying the Markan trial is not 15:1 but 14:53a. Thus the Markan tradition seems to have contained two sessions, an interrogation before a Jewish official, a second before the counsel as a whole, the details of which are not recorded. This receives at least partial corroboration from Luke, whose

single morning session is not (pace Brown) a doublet or Mark's night session (it is not a trial), but of the morning session, which traditionally included the whole council.¹⁹

When the texts of Mark and John are examined as above in the light of Johannine use of a pre-Markan structural tradition or traditions, the coherence between the outlines of the two gospels appears to be rooted in the early kerygmatic traditions. The beginnings of the development of a gospel outline are already visible in the kerygma of Acts and Paul. In the speeches of Acts and in the kerygmatic passages of I Cor. 15 and Rom. 8 the focal point is the proclamation of Christ's death and resurrection. But this basic pattern could be expanded by the taking up of details from the ministry of Jesus or by the expounding of a particular section of the kerygma. I Cor. 11:23-26 and 15:3-7 are evidence of the early felt need to illustrate the motifs of the kerygma. Acts 10:37 and 13:23-25 reflect the addition of the figure of John the Baptist to the proclamation, while Jesus' miracles are the subject of 2:22 and 10:38. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is Bultmann's detection of what we might call a "Pilate trajectory," beginning with the addition of Pilate to the kerygma in Acts 3:13 and 13:28. This was expanded almost to the level of a dramatic episode in I Tim. 6:13 (cf. Ignatius' mentions of Pilate in Tr. 9:1; Sm. 1:2; Mg. 11:1), before it achieved credal form in the Symbolum Romanum. "As more and more exact and stable formulas grow out of the kerygma and gradually crystallize into creeds, so there develops out of the kerygma the literary form: Gospel [emphasis Bultmann's]," Bultmann concludes.²⁰

Bultmann conceived of this development primarily in terms of the addition to the kerygma of the various elements of the gospel tradition--miracle stories, apophthegms, logia, etc. But more important than this in the development of the literary form itself was the addition--to a kerygma already beginning with John the Baptist and ending with the passion and resurrection--of a central section dealing with the life of Jesus, into which pericopes would later be fit by the evangelists. It is this level of the literary development of the kerygma which is reflected by the outline of Mark and John. That is to say, the biographical impulses in early Christianity which developed the synoptic tradition out of the Palestinian church not only produced individual pericopes, but also shaped (or provided the means for shaping) those pericopes into the literary form we call a gospel.

Such reconstructions as Fortna's Gospel of Signs and Dornmeyer's Acts of a Martyr provide evidence of the existence in early Christianity of narrative forerunners of our extant gospels, deficient in teaching material, dialogue, and detail even when compared to Mark. These appear to lie in direct line with the developing schema of the kerygma of Acts and Paul, with the gospel outline we have observed in Mark and John being an intermediate stage. One of the chief difficulties with current theories of gospel composition is their neglect of this trajectory. The notion that Mark alone is responsible not only for the contents of his gospel but also for its shape--i.e., for the presentation of the proclamation about Jesus

through the presentation of his ministry and passion--ignores the prior existence of this format in the apostolic kerygma, and cuts Mark off from the form of the very well-springs of the Markan tradition. Similarly, in the case of the Gospel of Signs we have a complete gospel containing no teaching material except for narrative conversations. But how was this gospel constructed? A signs source, like the one Bultmann hypothesized for the canonical gospel, is possible, as is a passion narrative. But as Barnabas Lindars remarks, "What does seem unlikely is that the Gospel form, such as was achieved by Mark, should be reached simply by joining together a book of signs and a passion narrative."²¹ These two elements had begun to be joined long before, in the proclamation of the early church. Though the author of the signs gospel has been even freer with his tradition than was Mark, the traces of the Kerygma in its narrative development are nonetheless still visible, and they provide the link between the Fourth Gospel, the kerygma of the early church, and the gospel form of Mark.

James Robinson argues quite correctly that "...in view of the plurality of kerygmatic trends in primitive Christianity, and their history of religious parallels, the view that one distinctive *Gattung* Gospel emerged *sui generis* from the uniqueness of Christianity seems hardly tenable."²² but we are not limited to such a view if we cease to consider the gospels of Mark and John in isolation from one another. Rather we see emerging from primitive Christianity, to use Robinson's own word, a gospel trajectory, displaying gradual expansion of one form of the kerygma into a primitive outline of Jesus' life. The process of development and growth which produced the outline then continued until it ultimately produced the two most distinct examples (Mark and John) of a genre whose fundamental format had already been determined by the primitive community. The origins of the gospel genre then lie neither outside Christianity nor in some unique trait inherent and universal within the early church, but in the history of proclamatory tradition.

That this particular trajectory was not the only one is indicated by the work of Helmut Koester on heretical gospels. Koester contends that "Only the gospels which are developed out of the passion narrative (Mark and John), and the gospels dependent upon Mark (Matthew and Luke), have a genuine claim to the title 'gospel.'"²³ The kerygmatic trajectory of which we have been speaking makes it clear that we must include with the passion the ministry of Jesus, for it was the interest of certain primitive Christian groups in the "biographical" section of the kerygma that led to the expansion of that section and eventually to the gospel outline. But other directions of development were possible. Koester's work suggests that logia gospels and revelation gospels were produced by groups with no interest in the circumstances of the ministry or passion of Jesus, while miracle-sources or aretalogies similarly were created and preserved in communities with an interest in the ministry of Jesus, but none in the passion. Mark and John then were the products of evangelists who considered that

" . . . traditional material could be understood and interpreted as words and works of that Jesus who is the Lord, who suffered and was crucified."²⁴ And the outline of both gospels was at bottom the product of a community or series of communities for which both Jesus' ministry and passion were essential.

Certainly the traditional format could be interpreted in quite different ways, as the style and content of the Second and Fourth Gospels demonstrate. And the outline was flexible, with each evangelist adding, editing, rearranging, as he sought to mold tradition with theology and to paint his own unique portrait of faith. But both evangelists shared not only a common conviction of the identity of Jesus, but also a common commitment to the manner of its proclamation. The shape of both gospels, like that of the developing kerygmatic outline on which they were founded, was determined in the end by the awareness that only the full account of what Christ did could adequately proclaim who he was.

NOTES:

1: Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 447-48.

2: Brown, The Gospel according to John, The Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966-70), 29:xli-xlii. Rudolf Schnackenburg agrees, citing Acts 10:37-41 and 13:23-31. (The Gospel according to St. John. Vol. 1, Introduction and Commentary on Chapters 1-4, trans. Kevin Smyth, Herder's Theological Commentary on the New Testament [New York: Herder and Herder, 1968], pp. 14-15)

3: Fuller, "Johannine Redaction Criticism," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 9, 1973.

4: Brown, New Testament Essays (Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1968), pp. 190-91.

5: Donahue, Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 10 (Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), pp. 58-63, 238; Dewey, "Peter's Curse and Cursed Peter (Mark 14-53-54, 66-72," in The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14-16, ed. Werner H. Kelber (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 96-114.

6: This observation is Robert Fortna's. Critiquing Dewey's analysis, Fortna finds little system in the Johannine parallels, with close similarities standing alongside apparently gratuitous differences, all of which would be more likely to stem from related traditions than from literary dependence. ("Jesus and Peter at the High Priest's House: A Test Case for the Question of the Relation between Mark's and John's

Gospels," NTS 24 [1978]: 371-83)

7: Kolenkow, "Healing Controversy as a Tie between Miracle and Passion Material for a Proto-Gospel," JBL 95 (1976): 624, n. 5.

8: Brown, Gospel, 29A:837.

9: Marxsen, Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel, trans. James Boyce, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969), p. 42.

10: Cf. Bertil Gärtner, John 6 and the Jewish Passover, Coniectanea Neotestamentica, 17 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1959), pp. 8-12.

11: Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenaes," JBL 89 (1970): 265-91.

12: This chart is Brown's. (New Testament Essays, p. 202)

13: Haenchen, "Die Komposition von Mk vii [viii] 27-ix 1 und Par.," NT 6 (1963):96, 106-07.

14: Some recent critics have called into question the older view that a coherent passion narrative lay before Mark as he wrote, preferring to ascribe to Mark a far greater role in the structuring of this portion of his gospel. Neither of these approaches precludes the existence of a primitive gospel outline which included a schematic account of the passion. If Mark did indeed possess a (relatively) complete narrative, it is highly probable that that narrative itself was composite, with the structure of the narrative having been determined at an even earlier stage, when the account was considerably less developed. On the other hand, the evidence of those who contend for Markan composition of the passion is that Mark builds on a traditional foundation, employing a brief, highly schematic passion outline. Cf. the pre-Markan tradition isolated by Ludger Schenke (Der gekreuzigte Christus, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, 69 [Stuttgart: KBW Verlag, 1974], pp. 302-06) and the primitive Christian Acts of a Martyr proposed by Detlev Dormeyer (Die Passion Jesu als Verhaltensmodell, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, n.F., Band 11 [Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1974], pp. 288-90, 297-301).

That such a schematic tradition is a necessary element in the reconstructions of both schools of thought on the Markan passion is no accident, but arises out of the nature of the passion traditions and their gradual transformation from fragments into narrative. The structural agreement between John and Mark at the traditional level appears best to be explained by their common contact with some such primitive passion outline, into which they both attempted to fit such floating traditions as they possessed, and with which they both worked freely and creatively to weave the theological and literary fabric of their respective narratives.

15: Linnemann, Studien zur Passionsgeschichte,

Forschungen zur Religion und Literature des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Heft 102 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), p. 68.

16: There is no good reason to attach v. 51-52, which is quite abrupt, to what precedes it.

17: Donahue, Are You the Christ? pp. 53-102; "Temple, Trial, and Royal Christology (Mark 14:53-65)," in The Passion in Mark, p. 65. See also Perrin, "The Use of (para)didonai in Connection with the Passion of Jesus in the New Testament," in Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde, ed. Eduard Lohse (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 204-12.

18: Brown, New Testament Essays, p. 259; Gospel, 29A:833-34.

19: John does not mention the council, and perhaps only a vague echo of the two sessions was available to him. (Cf. Fortna's analysis of the Johannine source in "Jesus and Peter") But only the second session in John could have been a council meeting, for only there does Caiaphas appear (cf. Jn. 11:47-53). Bultmann is probably correct in ascribing Jn. 18:13-14 and at least the name Annas in v. 24 to the evangelist, thus leaving the "high priest" of v. 19 unidentified, as in the Markan tradition. (Gospel of John: A Commentary, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray et al. [Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971], p. 643) It is unnecessary then to conclude with Fortna that John's source contained the name Annas, for the Johannine tendency to identify by name minor characters in the passion is well known.

20: Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), 1:83-86; History of the Synoptic Tradition, 2nd ed., trans. John Marsh (New York: Harper & Roe, Publishers, 1968), pp. 370-371.

21: Lindars, Behind the Fourth Gospel, Studies in Creative Criticism (London: SPCK, 1971), pp. 31-32.

22: Robinson, "On the Gattung of Mark (and John)," in Jesus and Man's Hope, vol. 1 (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970), p. 104.

23: Koester, Trajectories through Early Christianity, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 162.

24: Ibid. This contention is quite aside from the question of authenticity. As Koester remarks, "... the gospels are pseudo-biographical, not truly biographical."

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The thesis of this study is that canonical Mark is one of the sources of the Fourth Gospel. If this thesis is correct, one should expect that the main outline of Mark would be reflected in John and that individual pericopes in John should reflect words, phrases and/or concepts peculiar to Mark. It is further important that these be found in the various portions which some source critics have assigned to different sources. If John only shows an outline that parallels Mark, it might come from a common source; if John also reflects peculiar words, phrases and/or concepts, especially if these come from material identified as from the final redactor of Mark,¹ it shows that John or one of his sources used canonical Mark, but if this material is found throughout the Gospel, then the thesis that the author of the Fourth Gospel used Mark as one of his sources is established.

There are certain presuppositions which underlie this study. One is that unless there is a compelling argument against the use of known documents, it is better to posit known documents as sources rather than hypothetical documents or oral traditions. We know, of course, that the early church knew and used oral tradition, and we also know that it had documents, such as Q, which were lost. But the number of hypothetical "lost" documents which scholars suggest require that the early church was extremely careless with its literary heritage and that the ravages of time have been especially cruel so that much of it has disappeared without a trace. True, it happened to Q. But the appeal to a lost document or an oral tradition should be a last resort, turned to only when all other attempts to explain the evidence fail.

A second presupposition is the priority of Mark. Both the dates for the writing of the Gospels and the order in which they were written are no longer regarded as established facts, but consensus would still seem to favor Mark, Luke, Matthew and John as the order of writing,² therefore Mark would have been available for the author of John to use.

A third presupposition is that John comes from a charismatic community. In his Presidential address to our Society last year Prof. Raymond E. Brown characterized the Johannine Community as one which was distinguished from the "Apostolic Churches" primarily by a "very high Christology" altho he did note that they placed a priority on "unity with Jesus."³ Cullmann has a somewhat similar view of the Johannine Community, altho he feels that the main point of difference between it and the Apostolic Churches was over the question of the Temple. At the same time he notes the Evangelist had an awareness of "being inspired by the 'spirit of truth'".⁴ Despite James M. Robinson's strong but unargued warning that the calling of John a "spiritual gospel" was one of the major hindrances to critical study of the gospel,⁵ the assumption of this paper is

that while both Brown and Cullmann have recognized a pneumatic element in the Johannine community, neither has stressed it adequately, that indeed the primary difference between the Johannine Church and the Apostolic Church may well have been the stress that the former put on the guidance of the Spirit in the affairs of the church rather than the authority of tradition.⁶

A correlary to the charismatic assumption is that the evangelist used his sources in a free manner. While persons other than charismatics can use sources freely, charismatics have a strong tendency to do so because their source of authority is not in a received text or tradition but in the guidance of the Spirit. Cullmann speaks repeatedly of the evangelist as "a very strong literary and theological personality" who was "not content to reproduce these traditions according to certain individual points of view which can be investigated by means of 'redaction criticism'."⁷ Freed has shown us that the evangelist exercised greater freedom than any other New Testament writer in his use of the Old Testament.⁸ If he could exercise this kind of freedom with material that was already canonized, why should we not expect him to treat non-canonized material with even greater freedom?

Comparison of Basic Outlines (See "Condensed Parallel Outlines of Mark & John, Appendix.)

Both Mark and John are divided into two basic parts. Part I deals with the ministry of Jesus and Part II deals with the final Judean ministry. In Mark Part I deals exclusively with a Galilean ministry, while in John an essentially Galilean ministry is interrupted by two journeys to Jerusalem (Jn. 2:13-4:42; 5:1-47, I.D, E, G on outline) and the call of Andrew and Simon is placed in Judea (Jn. 1:45-52, I.B on outline). An earlier study done by this writer has shown that these changes can be explained in terms of the theological and literary interests of the Fourth Evangelist.⁹ When these sections are removed, the remaining outline of John parallels Mark very closely both as to Jesus' movements, activities, and other themes. He leaves out some Marcan material, primarily at the point of the doublet dealing with the feeding of the multitude, where John skips from the controversy over bread and tradition (Mk. 7:1-23 to dialogue regarding bread that follows the second feeding in Mark (8:14-21) and the transfiguration, which John leaves out for theological reasons--it does not fit his Christology. The common points, in order, in the first part are

Mark		John
1:7f.	John the Baptist's messianic preaching	1:19-28
1:14	Jesus goes to Galilee	1:43
1:23-28	First miracle (to be discussed below)	2:1-11
1:21-3:6	Jesus at Capernaum	2:12

3:7	Jesus in Galilee (Capernaum, where Jesus had been acc. to Mk, was in Galilee, but Mk. notes movement here.)	4:43-54
3:7-12	Healings (Mk., many; Jn., healing at Cana)	4:46-54
6:1-7:24	Jesus' movement in Galilee	6:1-7:9
6:31-44	Feeding of the 5,000	6:1-14
6:45-54	Walking on the water	6:15-21
7:1-23 & 8:14-21	Dialogue re. bread	6:22-65
8:27-30	Peter's confession	6:66-71
7:31 & 9:30	Jesus goes about Galilee	7:1

A comparison of the second part of the outline shows 23 items with a common theme in a common order. These, together with the thirteen items noted above, give a total of thirty-six pericopies with common theme and common order. It is true that the development of the material within these units is often very different, but they do have significant points of contact as to theme and/or movement of Jesus.

In addition to these thirty-six units, John has fourteen pericopies that are similarly related to Mark, but are not in the Marcan sequence. These items, in the Johannine order, are

Mark		John
1:16-20	Calling of disciples	1:35-51
2:18-22	References to "new wine" & "bridegroom" (As "first miracle" this parallels Mk. 1:21-28. See discussion below.)	2:1-11
11:15-19	Cleansing of Temple	2:14-22
3:1-6	Sabbath Controversy	5:10-15
3:31-35	Jesus estranged from family	7:2-9
10:30f.	Prediction of passion	7:11-36
11:27-33	Dispute over Jesus' authority	8:12-59
8:22-26	Healing of blind man (this parallels Mk. 10:46-52, but Jn. passage also as affinities with Mk. 8:22-26.)	9:1-41
3:13b-30	Charge that Jesus is demon-possessed	10:19-21
10:1	Jesus beyond Jordan	10:40-42
14:3-9	Mary anoints Jesus' feet	12:1-8
10:35-45	Disputes over first place in Kingdom	13:3-16
9:33-35	Servant theme	13:12-17
15:2-15	Pilate's verdict (Jn. divides trial into two parts, so verdict is out of Marcan sequence.)	19:4-16

It will be noted that in three instances above--first miracle, healing of blind man, and first place in kingdom-servant theme--the Fourth Evangelist seems to be combining material from two Marcan sources into a single unit, so that we now

have a total of fifty Marcan units that have thematic relationship to forty-seven Johannine units, with thirty-six of these being in sequence. This would seem to be compelling evidence that the Fourth Evangelist is familiar with the Marcan outline, or that they both know a common outline.

Examination of a parallel unit for peculiar words, phrases and/or concepts.

The space limitations imposed upon this study will not permit a detailed analysis of each parallel unit for similarities--a project that must be undertaken to complete this study. At this point one unit, the first miracle, will be examined in an effort to see whether the Johannine and Marcan stories, which at first glance seem so dissimilar, show any relationship; and, whether this relationship can be attributed to sources or must come from the canonical writers.

The Marcan first miracle (1:23-28) is the healing in Capernaum of a demon-possessed man. Before he is healed, the demon (singular) cries out to Jesus "ti hēmin (plural) kai soi." The Johannine first miracle is the turning of water into wine at Cana. Here, before the first miracle is performed, Jesus addresses his mother, "ti emoi kai soi." This is a very unusual Greek idiom. It occurs four times in the Septuagint (Judges 11:12, I Kgs. 17:18, II Kgs. 3:15 and II Chron. 35:21), where its meaning is "What is there common to us?" Essentially the same idiom, with variations as to number, or with a noun for one of the pronouns, is found four times in the Septuagint (II Sam. 16:10; 19:22, II Kgs. 9:18 and Jos. 22:24.¹⁰ It occurs four times elsewhere in the Gospels (Mt. 8:29, Mk. 5:7, Lk. 8:28 (all parallels) and Lk. 4:33f.) In all of these Gospel uses the phrase is on the lips of demons who use it to testify that Jesus is of a different and higher nature than they, before he exorcises them.¹¹ The function of the phrase in John is the same as it is in Mark: it is a recognition that Jesus is a superior being. However, there are no demons in John, so the expression cannot come from a demon. Further, except for the testimony of John the Baptist, Jesus always bears witness to himself in the Fourth Gospel, so it follows that the Fourth Evangelist puts the expression on the lips of Jesus to designate that he no longer has anything in common with his earthly mother--he is now the divine being moving through history. This is done, as in Mark, before the first miracle can be performed. The Evangelist may have been influenced by the alienation between Jesus and his family (Mk. 3:31-35) in having this idiom addressed to his mother. It is significant to note that Fortna holds that this verse is not from the signs source.¹²

There is also a thematic relationship between the Cana miracle and Mk. 2:18-22. Jesus there talks about a bridegroom and about new wine. The "bridegroom" is an obvious reference to the presence of Jesus as messianic figure and the "new wine" to the spiritual religion which replaces the old. In the Fourth Gospel the first miracle is set at a wedding, and a major theme running through the story is the new wine which the just-announced messianic figure makes available.¹³ The

meaning of this miracle is clearly that, while the Spirit can only be given after the Hour has come, the new religion of Jesus is clearly superior to the rites of Judaism. John 2:4f. does not come from the signs source as determined by Fortna. Is it not possible, even probable, that the Fourth Evangelist, with his charismatic freedom, has "created" his first miracle out of Mk. 1:22-28; 2:18-22 without any dependence on a lost source? If he had a signs source, I think we have demonstrated a use of canonical Mark by the Fourth Evangelist.

Summary.

The overall outlines of Mark and John have been compared and a surprising agreement in major structure has been found. The major disagreement--the early visits to Jerusalem--can be explained on theological and literary grounds.

When the individual units within the outlines are examined, we find fifty Marcan units that have a thematic relationship to forty-seven Johannine units, with thirty-six of these in sequence.

A single unit has been examined in detail, the first miracle as recorded in each Gospel. It is recognized that this is a major limitation of this paper; that to be complete, such an examination should be made of all parallel units, and such a study is projected, but it would go far beyond the limits imposed upon this paper. This examination found that, in spite of great differences in the two stories, there are significant points of contact: (1) The same unusual Greek idiom found in both stories, where it serves the same purpose; (2) the Johannine pericope has common themes--bridegroom and new wine--with a second Marcan passage (2:18-22), which is not too far ahead in the Marcan outline; and (3) the common idiom comes from a passage that Fortna holds to be from the Evangelist rather than from the Signs source. These three points suggest that the Fourth Evangelist may have "created" his first miracle out of the Marcan material, or that, at the very least, he revised a Signs Source in the light of his knowledge of canonical Mark.¹⁴

These findings would seem to sustain the thesis that canonical Mark is one of the sources of the Fourth Gospel.

NOTES

1. H.M. Teeple, The Literary Origin of the Gospel of John (Evanston: Religion & Ethics Institute, 1974) p. 142, argues that the Signs Source used canonical Mark.
2. Werner Georg Kummel, et al., Introduction to the New Testament 14th ed., (tran. by A.J. Matill, Jr.) (N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1966), dates Mark c.70, Luke between 70 & 90, Matthew between 80 and 100, and John "in the last decade of the first century."
3. Raymond E. Brown, "Different Religious Groupings in the

- Johannine Purview of the Late First Century," mimeographed chart distributed in connection with his Presidential Address, Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, 1977.
4. Oscar Cullmann, (John Bowden, tr.) The Johannine Circle (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976) p. 8.
 5. James M. Robinson, Remarks made at the SBL Consultation on the Relationship between the Gospels of Mark and John, SBL Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 1977.
 6. While it is not concerned about the Johannine community, the book that places the most emphasis on the significance of the Spirit in the Gospel of John is Ernest C. Colwell and Eric L. Titus, The Gospel of the Spirit (N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1953). Cf. Felix Porsch, Pneuma und Wort: Ein exegetischer Beitrag zur Pneumatologie des Johannesevangeliums. Frankfurter Theologische Studien, 16 (Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 1974). A review of Porsch by D. Moddy Smith appears in JBL, Vol. 96, No. 3. (1977) pp. 458-9.
 7. Cullman op. cit., p. 7, cf. pp. 5, 13, 94.
 8. Edwin D. Freed, Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965) the whole study is relevant, but especially the conclusions drawn on p. 127.
 9. Arthur H. Maynard, "Did Jesus have an Early Judean Ministry?" Paper read to the Society of Biblical Literature, 1959.
 10. A fifth use of the idiom, with greater variation, is found in Hos. 14:8; autō eti kai eidolois, (What to him, yet, and to idols).
 11. Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John (The Anchor Bible. N.Y.: Doubleday & Co. 1966) vol. I, p. 99, has a good discussion of this phrase as a Semitism.
 12. Robert T. Fortna, The Gospel of Signs (Cambridge: University Press, 1970) pp. 31f.
 13. An excellent discussion of "new wine" as Spirit, and its relationship to "my hour" (which helps remove some of the "inconsistencies" many commentators find with vv. 4f.) is found in Eric L. Titus, The Message of the Fourth Gospel (N.Y.: Abingdon, 1957) pp. 87f.
 14. H.M. Teeple, op. cit., assigns the common idiom to the Signs Source (p. 171). If Teeple rather than Fortna is followed, Teeple's argument that the author of the Signs Source knew Mark is sustained at this point, and revision of the Signs Source by the Evangelist is not.

Appendix

CONDENSED PARALLEL OUTLINES OF MARK & JOHN
(Only parallel sub-points are noted)¹

Mark	John
I. The Galilean Ministry (1-9)	Prologue (1:1-18)
A. John the Baptist (1:1-8)	I. The Ministry (1:19-7:9)
2. John's messianic preaching (1:7f.)	A. John the Baptist (1:19-34)
B. The temptation of Jesus (1:12f.)	1. John's messianic preaching (1:19-34)
C. Jesus in Galilee (1:14-9:50)	B. The call of disciples (1:35-51)
3. Teaching & first miracles at Capernaum-- <u>ti hēmin kai soi</u> (1:21-38)	C. Early Galilean ministry (2:1-3:12)
5. Jesus returns to Capernaum (2:1-3:6)	1. First miracle, new wine at wedding, Cana-- <u>ti emoi kai soi</u> (2:1-11; see also Mk. 2:18-22)
6. Jesus to Sea of Galilee (Capernaum was on the sea, but Mk. notes movement here; 3:7-5:43)	2. Jesus at Capernaum (2:12)
a. Healings (3:7-12)	D. Jesus goes to Jerusalem for Passover (2:13-3:36)
7. Jesus goes about Galilee (6:1-7:24)	E. Jesus returns to Galilee via Samaria (4:1-42)
e. Feeding of the 5,000 (6:31-44)	F. Jesus in Galilee (4:43-54)
f. Walking on the water (6:45-52)	Healing of Nobleman's son at Cana
	G. Jesus to Jerusalem for "a feast of the Jews" (5:1-47)
	H. Jesus goes to "other side of the Sea of Galilee" (6:1-7:9)
	1. Feeding of the 5,000 (6:1-14)
	2. Walking on the water (6:15-21)

1. Author will have full outlines available on request at the Annual Meeting.

Condensed Parallel Outlines of Mark & John, p.2

Mark

John

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>h. Controversy with Pharisees over tradition & <u>bread</u> (7:1-23)</p> <p>10. Jesus goes to Caesarea Philippi (8:27-9:30)</p> <p> a. Peter's confession (8:27-30; see also Jn. 1:41f.)</p> <p>11. Jesus passes through Galilee (9:30-50)</p> <p>II. The Judean Ministry (10:1-16:8)</p> <p> A. Journey to Jerusalem (10:1-52)</p> <p> 1. Jesus to Judea & beyond Jordan (10:1)</p> <p> 2. Teaching re. divorce & adultery (10:2-12)</p> <p> 7. Healing of blind Bartimaeus (10:46-52)</p> <p> B. Passion Week (11:1-16:8)</p> <p> 1. The triumphal entry (11:1-11)</p> <p> 15. Passover meal (14:17-25)</p> <p> a. Jesus announces betrayal, "<u>amēn legō humin hoti eis ex humōn para-dōsei me,</u>" (14:17f.)</p> <p> b. Judas identified (14:19-21)</p> | <p>3. Dialogue re. <u>bread</u> from heaven (6:22-65, see also Mk. 8:14-21)</p> <p>4. Peter's confession (6:66-71)</p> <p>5. Jesus goes about Galilee (7:1; see also Mk. 7:31)</p> <p>II. The Final Judean Ministry (7:10-20:31)</p> <p> A. To Jerusalem for Tabernacles (7:10-10:21)</p> <p> 1. Jesus to Jerusalem privately (7:10)</p> <p> 5. (Woman taken in adultery--textual problem, but note Marcan parallel; Jn. 7:53-8:11)</p> <p> 7. Healing of blind man (9:1-41; parallel, also see Mk. 8:22-26)</p> <p> B. Feast of Dedication (10:22-11:54)</p> <p> C. Passion Week (11:55-20:30)</p> <p> 4. The triumphal entry (12:12-9)</p> <p> 7. Last Supper (day before Passover) (13:1-17:26)</p> <p> b. Jesus announces betrayal, "<u>amēn, amēn legō humin hoti eis ex humōn paradōsei me.</u>" (13:21)</p> <p> c. Judas identified & departs (13:22-30)</p> |
|--|---|

Condensed Parallel Outlines of Mark & John, p. 3

Mark

16. Arrest & crucifixion (14:26-15:47)
 - a. To Mt. of Olives (14:26)
 - d. Judas comes with crowd (14:43-46)
 - e. Disciple cuts off ear of high priest's slave (14:47-50)
 - g. Jesus led to high Priest (14:53-65)
 - h. Peter's denial (14:66-72)
 - j. Jesus delivered to Pilate (15:1b)
 - k. Hearing before Pilate, verdict (15:2-15)
 - l. Mocking by soldiers (15:16-20)
 - m. Jesus & Simon carry cross (15:21)
 - n. Crucifixion (15:22-39)
 - o. Two Marys and Salome at cross (15:40-41)
 - p. Joseph of Aramathea requests permission to bury Jesus (15:42-45)
 - q. Joseph prepares body for burial (15:46)
17. Resurrection (16)
 - a. Two Marys & Salome come with spices early on first day of week (16:1f.)
 - b. See "young man in white robe" who tells disciples to

John

8. Arrest and crucifixion (18-19)
 - a. To garden across Kidron (18:1)
 - b. Judas comes with soldiers (18:2-9)
 - c. Peter cuts off ear of high priest's slave (18:10f).
 - d. Jesus led to high priest's father-in-law (18:12-23)
 - e. Jesus sent to high priest (18:24)
 - f. Peter's denial (18:25-27)
 - g. Jesus led to praetorium (18:28)
 - h. Hearing before Pilate (18:29-40)
 - i. Mocking by soldiers (19:1-3)
 - k. Jesus carries cross (19:17)
 - l. Crucifixion (19:18-14)
 - m. Three Marys & the Beloved Disciple at cross (19:25-27)
 - p. Joseph of Aramathea requests permission to bury Jesus (19:38)
 - q. Joseph & Nicodemus prepare body for burial (19:39-42)
9. Resurrection (20)
 - a. Mary Magdalene comes to tomb early on first day of week (20:1)
 - c. Mary sees "two angels in white" (20:11-13)

Condensed Parallel Outlines of Mark & John, p. 4

Mark

John

meet Jesus in Gal-
ilee (16:3-8)

(End of authentic Mark)

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Introduction: The slow progress in gospel relationship research

By and large relationship between the gospels has been judged on the basis of obvious similarity. Even a synopsis as ambitious and complex as Aland's depends largely on this method. And through studying variations in texts which are obviously similar some basic conclusions have been drawn - notably the dependence of Matthew and Luke on Mark.

But then the trail fades and we are left with a mass of texts which are very different from one another and therefore very difficult to interrelate. The problem comes to this: have we any method of establishing the relationship between texts which have no obvious similarity?

Creative rewriting as the key to unravelling gospel relationships

It would seem that we can find an effective method once we look for relationships that are, not obvious, but creative. To some extent the evangelists' ability to use their sources creatively is already recognized. Thus the infancy narratives are generally accepted as a highly complex form of creatively rewriting several OT texts. But if Matthew and Luke could be so creative for two chapters, so bedazzling in their ability to reshape and synthesize the scriptures, why should we not expect equal creativity, equal evidence of the ability to reshape and synthesise, in the relationship between the gospels? And if John was such a creative thinker, so capable of reworking the gospel message, it does not seem unreasonable to ask if he was not also a creative writer capable of reworking the gospel text. Thus perhaps the most important principle in tracing relationships between the gospels is to allow for greater creativity on the part of the evangelists.

This variety of forms of rewriting is not limited to the gospels. Chronicles involves a rewriting of Kings, Ephesians rewrites Colossians but in a different way, and 2 Thessalonians depends on 1 Thessalonians in yet another way. Further examples of the creative reworking of scripture are found in such texts as Wisdom, Judith, Hebrews and Revelation. And there is the world of midrashic rewriting, as yet largely uncharted, both within and outside the bible.

It is useful, in passing, to note the endless types of creative reworking found in secular literature and art (G. Steiner, After Babel. Aspects of Language and Translation, OUP, NY/London, 1975, 424):

We find innumerable formal possibilities and shadings of change. These extend, as we have noted, from the

closest echo to the most remote, often unconscious reference, embedded resonance, or allusion. They range from an interlinear translation of Homer to the Homeric contours in Joyce...Transformations can proceed from linguistic to meta-linguistic and non-linguistic codes. The Homeric text can be set to music in its original wording or in translation. It can serve as caption to a painting or sculpture which illustrates one or another episode. But the painter, sculpture, or choreographer need not cite his source-text. He can image, reflect, or enact it with greater or lesser fidelity. He can treat it in a limitless variety of perspectives ranging from 'photographic' mimesis to parody, satiric distortion or the faintest, most arcane of allusions. It is up to us to recognize and reconstruct the particular force of relation. (How soon does the generally alert but unaided reader catch the detailed echoes of David Copperfield in Dostoevsky's The Possessed, or the kinship between the fable of Lear and that of Cinderella, particularly when the latter is cast in the form, say, of a ballet or a pantomime?)

Creative rewriting therefore means the reshaping of an existing text whether by minor variation or radical reformulation.

Creative rewriting between gospels: an illustration

As an illustration of how texts which have little obvious similarity might be related we take the two texts, the only two, which tell of Jesus weeping. Despite considerable differences the texts can be placed side by side:

John 11:34b-40

Luke 19:41-44

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) Lord, come
and see.
Jesus began to cry. | And as he approached
seeing the city
he wept over it, |
| (2) The Jews therefore said,
Behold how (<u>ide pōs</u>)
he loved him. | saying,
If you had known (<u>ei ignōs</u>),
this day, what brings you
peace. |
| (3) But some of them said,
Could not be that opened
the eyes of the blind man | But now
It is hidden from your
eyes. |
| (4) have also made it that
this man should not die? | |
| (5) Jesus therefore
again being disturbed
(<u>palin enbrimomenos</u>)
within himself
came to the tomb. | For the days shall come upon
you that your enemies shall
throw up against you
(<u>par-embalousin</u>)
a rampart, |

- (6) It was a cave and surround you
and a stone lay on it. and press you in from all
sides,
- (4) and they shall dash to the
ground you and your
children within you,
- (7) Jesus said, Take away the stone. and they shall not leave a
stone upon a stone in you,
- (8) Martha, the dead man's sister,
said to him, Lord by now
it smells; it is four days. because you have not known
the time
- (9) Jesus said to her, Did I of your being overseen.
not say to you that if you (e-pisk-opēs)
believed you would see
(ean pisteusēs opsē)
the glory of God?

In both passages the focus is on the eyes, and on the dire importance of their sensitivity. Sensitive eyes are the eyes that see God. (Jesus is sensitive to the point of weeping.) But there are Jews who do not appreciate open eyes and their direction is towards death. In other words both texts speak of the tension between faith and death. The similarity of detail is clearer when the images are analysed:

- (1) Come, see, began to cry. Approached, seeing, wept.
- (2) Behold love. Know peace.
- (3) But the eye-opener [is ineffective] But the eyes cannot see.
- (4) Jewish comment on the relationship between eye-opening and death.
- (5) The commotion within Jesus. The battle of Jerusalem.
[=his struggle with Satan,
see R E Brown, John, 435.]
- (6) Within a sealed cave. Shut in on all sides.
- (4) The Jewish failure to see
results in death.
- (7) Removing the stone. Removing the stones.
- (8) Knowing and understanding the element of time. Not knowing the time.
- (9) Belief sees the glory of God. Unbelief misses the activity
of God.

The most reasonable explanation of this similarity seems to be that one is a creative rewriting of the other. Obviously there are major differences between the texts, yet it is on the basis of a similarity rather than difference that relationship is established. Generally speaking significant similarity establishes the existence of a relationship; significant difference does not disprove relationship. Thus when R E Brown (John, 397) is replying at one point to Bultmann's scepticism about John's dependence on the OT he does not deny the differences between the texts: "The question must not be whether... [the] symbolism is exactly the same...but whether there is enough similarity to suggest that the OT supplied the raw material for [the] creative reinterpretation." Similarly here. If we simply stress the differences we are left without an explanation of the similarities. If on the other hand we accept the similarities as basis for saying that one text is a rewriting of the other, then we can still explain the differences through the creativity of the rewriter.

Excursus: The danger of resorting to oral tradition

Probably the greatest danger when faced with gospel texts which have an enigmatic similarity is to look for an explanation in oral tradition. Not only does this mean abandoning the search but it implies the most unlikely of explanations: that the fluid world of oral tradition could take some historical event such as the weeping of Jesus and decades later throw it up as two separate events, different in appearance but similar in structure and detail. How can something so fluid produce so precise a result? Unless of course we speak of a very stable if not rigid oral tradition. But then we are back with our problem: how could something which was so stable be given a very different appearance? However we go about it we are faced with a stable gospel narrative and with the fact that at some stage someone decided to radically rework that narrative. The simplest explanation seems to be that one gospel text is a systematic rewriting of the other, and the burden of proof lies with the person who explains the similarity through oral traditions or lost documents the existence of which is hypothetical.

Application to Mark and John

John 9.1-10.21 contains two distinct elements, the cure of the man born blind and the image of the Good Shepherd, yet it would seem (C H Dodd, Interpretation, 354-9) that it should be taken as a unit. In any case the text has a peculiar similarity to Mark 8.11-9.29. Thus:

1. The most obvious point of contact is the curing of a blind man. The texts are so different that generally no dependence is seen (Brown, John, 378; Schnackenburg, John, 65-66), but on closer analysis we find that John's account seems to reproduce, in altered form, almost every detail of Mark's narrative:
 - a) The blind man is brought (Mark 8.22) or led (John 9.13) by others.
 - b) The cure does not take place where Jesus and the blind man meet but away, outside the town, or at its extremity (out-

side the village, Mark 8.23; at the pool of Siloam, John 9.7).

- c) The cure involves a process both of spitting and touching by hand (Mark 8.23; John 9.6).
- d) There is a progression in the man's coming to vision: from seeing men vaguely to seeing them clearly (Mark 8.24f); from seeing Jesus first as a man, then as a prophet and finally as the Son of Man in whom he believes (John 9.11, 17, 35-38).
- e) The man remains excluded from the community in which we first find him: from the village (Mark 8.26); from the synagogue (John 9.22, 34).
- f) In both texts, as the man is progressing to sight, there is an interrogation process, brief in Mark (8.23), more lengthy in John (9.8-35). In both texts the man's reply involves the simple statement "I see" (blepō, Mark 2.24; John 9.15, 26).

2. Another fairly obvious point of similarity is the clash with the Pharisees. What John seems to have done is to take the two adjacent texts of Mark (8.11-21 on the perversity and blindness of the Pharisees; 8.22-26 the cure of the blind man) and to weld them into the single account (John 9) of the clash with the Pharisees concerning the man born blind. And it is precisely in Mark's Pharisee text that we find a prolonged and rather tense atmosphere of interrogation corresponding to the lengthy interrogation process in John (9.8-35). In both texts the blindness is shared both by the Pharisees and the disciple(s) (see Mark 8.15, 18), except that in John the Pharisees become entrenched in their blindness (John 9.39-41) while the disciple, the blind man, gradually escapes from it.

3. In both gospels the cure of the blind man is followed by texts dealing with the identity of Jesus, as Christ, (Mark 8.27-30), and as the Shepherd (John 10.1-6). In more detail:

- a) Identity by recognition and contrast (Mark 8.27-29; John 10.1-5). The identity of the Christ/Shepherd is established largely through the link of recognition between him and his disciples: Peter, speaking for the others, recognizes the Christ (Mark); the sheep recognize the voice of the shepherd. This identity is established in contrast to rival claims: The opinion of others that he is John the Baptist or one of the prophets (Mark); the would-be shepherds who use another entry or have another voice (John).
- b) The identity is surrounded by mystery (Mark 8.30; John 10.6). In Mark we find mystery in the sense of secret - the disciples must tell nobody; in John we have mystery in the sense of mysterious parable - which the disciples could not penetrate.

4. Both texts continue by having Jesus elaborate his mysterious identity and role to the disciples: the Son of Man must die (Mark 8.31-9.1); the Good Shepherd lays down his life (John 10.7-16). Further details:

- a) There is a strong contrast to Jesus: Peter, who thinks like Satan (Mark 8.33); the thief who comes to steal and kill and destroy (John 10.10).
- b) If anyone follows in the way Jesus indicates he will be saved (Mark 8.35; John 10.9).

- c) Jesus suddenly introduces the notion of mutual acknowledgment: the need not to be ashamed of the Son of Man, otherwise the Son of Man will reciprocate that shame (Mark 8.38); the reciprocal knowledge of the Shepherd and his flock (John 10.15f). Both texts note that this reciprocity is dependent on Jesus' connection with his heavenly father.
- d) Finally both gospels refer to some special elusive group: some who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God (Mark 9.1); other sheep that shall be part of the one flock (John 10.16)

5. Both texts conclude the explanation of Jesus' identity by pointing out that even though he is going to die he is replete with power and love (Mark 9.2-13; John 10.17f). Thus in John's brief words about Jesus being loved by his father and having full power to lay down his life and take it up again we have a summary of Mark's text on the power-filled transfiguration of the beloved son and on its relation to Jesus' death and resurrection.

6. Finally both texts emphasise that Jesus is able to work miracles (Mark 9.14-29; John 10.19-21). In other words just as Matthew and Luke had synthesised the cure of the epileptic demoniac from sixteen verses down to seven, (Mt 17.14-20; Lk 9.37-43) so John seems to have synthesised it further, distilling its essence and adapting it to his own purposes. Thus Mark's recurring question about being able or not being able to work the miracle of throwing out the demon (Mark 9.18, 22f, 28f) is summed up in John in the one verse which asks if a person possessed by a demon is able to work a miracle. And what in Mark is a distinction (between the disciples and the crowd, 9.14, 28) in John has become a division (among the Jews, 10.19).

Conclusion

The relationship of Mark 8.11-9.29 to John 9.1-10.21 may now be set in summary outline:

Mark 8.11-9.29	John 9.1-10.21
Clash with the pharisaic spirit (8.11-21).	The cure of the blind man and the clash with the Pharisees (chap 9).
The cure of the blind man (8.22-26).	
The mysterious identity of Christ (8.27-30).	The mysterious identity of the Shepherd (10.1-6).
The Son of Man must die (8.31-9.1).	The Good Shepherd lays down his life (10.7-16).
The power-filled transfiguration of the beloved son before his	The son, beloved of the father, has power to lay down

death and resurrection
(9.2-13).

and take up his life (10.17f).

Jesus is able to drive out
the demon (9.14-29).

Jesus is not demonic - he is
able to cure (10.19-21).

It does not seem unreasonable to conclude that John has systematically rewritten the text of Mark. This rewriting process involves two major innovations in presentation: the highly dramatic form of the narrative concerning the blind man (John 9) and the striking image of the Good Shepherd (John 10.1-18). Thus the scattered events and changing images of Mark have been reworked into forms that are simpler and more memorable - into one dramatic event and one powerful image. His work therefore appears to be a creative synthesis not only of the content of the gospel but also of its form.

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This paper is a brief report to the consultation¹ on the results of my own attempt, using Norman Perrin's suggestion, to develop criteria for arguing in specific passages the relationship between the gospels of Mark and John.

The Perrin Suggestion

Perrin's suggestion about this relationship can be inferred from his succinct remarks in two books published in 1974. In The New Testament: An Introduction and specifically in the course of presenting an introductory chapter on the Johannine literature, he used the work of his students, Werner Kelber and John Donahue, to make two points.² First, since Kelber in a 1971 Markan Task Force project had concluded that Mark himself had been the virtual creator of the connected passion narrative, Perrin called into question "the very existence of a pre-Markan and non-Markan passion narrative extensive enough to have been the basis for (the highly similar narrative in) the gospel of John."³ Secondly, since Donahue in his dissertation had argued that Mark himself had composed the trial scene (14:55-65) and had intercalated it into the denial story (14:53-54, 66-72), Perrin asserted that the fact that in the Fourth Gospel also the trial before the high priest (18:19-24) is set in the context of Peter's denial (18:15-18, 25-27) means that "the evangelist John must necessarily have known the gospel of Mark."⁴

Shortly thereafter, in a chapter written to conclude the collection of his essays entitled A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology and specifically in the course of reporting his initial reflections upon the use of Son of Man in the gospel of John, Perrin made two points of his own.⁵ First, having argued earlier that Mark 14:62 is a Markan composition, he declared that "John 1:51 looks extraordinarily . . . like a translation of (this verse) into a Johannine idiom," and secondly, also having argued previously that the use of *exousia* in connection with the earthly Jesus is a Markan contribution, he pointed to its occurrence in John 5:27.⁶

In each of these four points, Perrin was identifying in the gospel of John something which he considered to be distinctively Markan. Therefore, he clearly was suggesting a new argument for the discussion of the relationship of these two gospels, viz., the argument that the evangelist John can be shown to have had knowledge of the gospel of Mark, because we can observe his use of elements of Markan redaction and composition.

Perrin's suggestion was and is a new argument for the solution of this old and persistent problem in New Testament studies. In fact, in recent years the discussion of the problem has become increasingly controlled by scholars who have asserted John's independence of the Synoptic gospels. By

John's independence they mean its lack of literary dependence upon the other canonical gospels, for, as the following brief review indicates, literary dependence is the primary category upon which the discussion has focused for the last one and one-quarter centuries.

The Discussion Prior to Perrin

In the first ninety years of this period, from c. 1850 to c. 1940, the existence of literary dependence was the scholarly consensus. Prompted in no small measure by F. C. Baur's schema of the history of primitive Christianity, the majority of scholars held, in summary, that the evangelist John had written after the other evangelists and in a context which was quite different from theirs. Moreover, his gospel, they said, exhibits many points of agreement with the others, especially in the use of words and phrases, and its general outline is the same as that of the gospel of Mark, which source critics had identified as the first of the Synoptics to have been written. Therefore, most scholars concluded that the gospel of John surely is dependent literarily upon the gospel of Mark (and perhaps also upon that of Luke), and the main point for their discussion shifted to the fourth evangelist's intent with reference to these other gospels. Did he write to interpret them, to supplement and sometimes to correct them, or to supplant them?

Around 1940, however, there appeared two books which began the eventual overthrow of the prevailing consensus of literary dependence. The first of these books, Percival Gardner-Smith's *Saint John and the Synoptic Gospels* (1938), directly attacked the consensus' bases.⁸ Its author held essentially conservative views about the historical reliability and the date of John, to which he had accommodated certain features of the form critics' work on the development of tradition prior to the writing of the gospels. Accordingly, he criticized his scholarly predecessors for their premature and inappropriate affirmation of literary dependence. In the case of the similar outlines of Mark and John, these scholars had failed to acknowledge the early standardization of Christian tradition which had been dictated, on the one hand, by the facts of Jesus' life and death and, on the other, by the needs and conventions of the apostles' preaching.⁹ In the case of similar passages, they had treated in isolation the comparatively few similarities to be found between the text of John and the texts of the other gospels, and then, and only then, after having affirmed already the existence of literary dependence, they finally had turned to the matter of accounting for the far more numerous differences. In fact, "the differences far outweigh the similarities" became Gardner-Smith's refrain, as he treated seriatim every passage in the gospel of John which had been cited as proof of its literary dependence upon the Synoptics. In addition, he adjudged a great many of these differences to be nothing other than theologically pointless contradictions, and he declared inconceivable the notion that St. John would have contradicted in matters dogmatically indifferent standard works accepted and read in the churches.¹⁰

Accordingly, invoking the support of the form critics, Gardner-Smith offered as the easiest and most logical explanation for such numerous and inexplicable differences John's ignorance of the Synoptic gospels. The most that could be claimed, he said, is that the fourth evangelist was familiar with some of the oral tradition upon which those other writings were based.¹¹

The second book which precipitated the negation of the existing consensus was Rudolf Bultmann's commentary, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (1937-41).¹² Whereas Gardner-Smith's book had demonstrated directly the superficiality of the main arguments for literary dependence, Bultmann's was crucial in a more indirect way, viz., that it soon became the focal point for a new source-critical discussion of the Fourth Gospel which did not include the Synoptic gospels on its list of sources. By devising stylistic criteria, Bultmann identified, in addition to the evangelist's own work and the additions of a later ecclesiastical redactor, three major source documents: (1) a discourse source, (2) a *sêmeia* source, and (3) a passion source. Besides these three, he also isolated certain scattered passages for which the evangelist had used other traditions and sources. Many of the latter, for instance, are at least recognizably parallel to Synoptic passages. Yet, in no case did Bultmann posit literary dependence, for he too always found divergences which could not be explained satisfactorily by an appeal to the evangelist John's own concerns and activity. Across the gospel, he attributed John's similarities to the Synoptics to three factors: (1) the evangelist's acquaintance with a rather broad range of the Synoptic tradition, (2) his use of the pre-Markan passion narrative, and (3) the ecclesiastical redactor's attempts at several key points to harmonize the gospel with the Synoptics.¹³ The discussion which this commentary generated has not produced unanimous affirmation of Bultmann's proposals. Nevertheless, in the main it has not challenged his failure to list the Synoptics among John's sources.

For the last forty years, therefore, a new consensus has been developing. Fundamentally it is a denial of the previous consensus, and thus, it perhaps is best stated negatively--i.e., that the gospel of John is not dependent literarily upon the Synoptic gospels.

However, although this position has tended increasingly to control the discussion, a minority report has been heard from time to time. Its proponents have lessened the weight of their claim: instead of asserting John's dependence upon Mark, they speak of John's knowledge of Mark. Illustrative of this shift are the remarks of C. K. Barrett, who has been a key figure in the minority viewpoint.

It may be laid down at once that John did not use any of the synoptic gospels as, for example, Matthew used Mark. The most that may be claimed (and will be claimed in the present discussion) is that John had read Mark, and was influenced both positively and negatively by its contents--that is, that he reproduced in his own way some Marcan substance and language, and also emended some of the Marcan material¹⁴

With this understanding and following the pattern of the argument for Matthew's and Luke's use of Mark, Barrett then presented as evidence two lists: (1) a series of ten "corresponding passages which occur in the same order in both Mark and John," and (2) a series of some thirteen "close verbal resemblances" within several of the passages cited.¹⁵ These data, he concluded, cannot be said to "amount to proof that John knew and used as a source our second gospel, but they do seem sufficient to make plausible the view that John had read Mark, thought that it contained a suitable gospel outline and often--perhaps involuntarily (*italics mine*)--echoed Mark's phrases when writing about the same events."¹⁶

Two scholars (besides Perrin) who have shared Barrett's basic viewpoint and who have incorporated his lists into their own presentations of evidence are Josef Blinzler and W. G. Kummel. The former, in the course of writing a *Forschungsbericht* on the problem, offered the specific suggestion that the evangelist John probably reproduced parts of Mark from memory.¹⁷ The latter, in the course of updating the standard German introduction to the New Testament, has continued to stress the freedom which the evangelist John exhibits in his handling of source materials--witness his use of the Old Testament.¹⁸

The Methodological Background for Perrin's Suggestion

In his Introduction, Perrin did cite Barrett's lists and did adopt his de-escalated claim. Moreover, despite his having used some strongly conclusive language in presenting his own points, Perrin's conclusion was as cautious as Barrett's: "Obviously, (these considerations) do not point overwhelmingly in one direction or the other, but they have convinced the present writer that the gospel of John shows knowledge of the gospel of Mark, . . ."¹⁹

Yet, despite these similarities, the basic background for Perrin's suggestion was not his intimate knowledge of nor his prior participation in the discussion of the relationship of John and Mark. Rather, it was his own redaction-critical work on the Synoptic gospels, particularly on the gospel of Mark. As is indicated by an article published at about the same time as the writing of the Introduction, this redaction-critical work had convinced Perrin that the Synoptic evangelists all were genuine authors, and it had given him an appreciation for the considerable authorial freedom which Matthew and Luke, for instance, had exercised, while still making extensive use of traditional material, especially Mark's gospel.²⁰

Therefore, as he once said to me privately, when in preparation for writing the Introduction he had begun thinking about the possibility of a relationship between John and Mark, his other work had prepared him for remaining open to that possibility, even though the differences between the two gospels were as many as they are and even though a goodly number of those differences could not be explained by a quick and easy

appeal to one of the evangelist John's main concerns. Indeed, given Perrin's developing understanding of the evangelists' authorial freedom, he had no reason for limiting the possibility of the fourth evangelist's use of our second gospel either to the degree or to the specific manner of Matthew's or Luke's use of it. Accordingly, in his preparation Perrin had been struck by the data contained in Barrett's lists and by some additional verbal parallels presented by Klummel. However, he had become excited when his own reading of John had reminded him how closely John and Mark correspond in their passion sections. Previously, his having noticed such correspondence might have led him merely to surmise both evangelists' use of an independent, pre-Markan passion narrative, but his and his students' work on the passion in Mark was beginning to suggest Mark's free and creative activity in this part of his gospel too. Therefore, the correspondence could mean that John had known and used the Markan passion!

This was a matter which Perrin wanted sometime to pursue beyond the remarks he had made in the Introduction and in A Modern Pilgrimage. Readily he admitted his lacking special competence in the gospel of John,²¹ but he would be making his new and perhaps definitive contribution to the discussion from the Markan side. As he and his students worked upon more of the sections in Mark, our sense both of the nature and of the scope of the evangelist's authorial activity would be increasing, and such knowledge should provide a new basis for looking again at the long-acknowledged similarities, verbal and structural, between the gospels of Mark and John. If this re-examination should yield a substantial number of instances of John's use of Markan redaction and composition, then his knowledge of the gospel of Mark virtually would be assured. In late 1975, Perrin presented the project in this fashion, as he and I first discussed it as a possible subject for my dissertation, and he pointed with anticipation toward the new studies on the Markan passion which then were being assembled for the book to be edited by Kelber.²²

A Methodological Evaluation of Perrin's Suggestion

If a new approach to the problem of the relationship of John and Mark is to focus upon John's possible use, all across his gospel, of elements of Markan redaction, then the logical first step is the rather precise identification of those elements in the gospel of Mark which are the evangelist's distinctive contributions. One hardly should move on to try to establish specific criteria for determining whether or not John has used something characteristically Markan, unless he has satisfied himself that he possesses reliable criteria for discerning what those distinctively Markan contributions are.

Accordingly, I shall not move on, for I must confess that, in my view at least, twenty years of redaction-critical work on Mark have not produced the necessary reliable criteria. Despite some other gains, we still have not made sufficiently satisfactory progress toward compensating for that deficiency which Marxsen had to acknowledge in 1956, when he began the

redaction-critical discussion of Mark, viz., the deficiency of our not possessing Mark's sources.²³ In fact, slightly more than twenty years later, the results of our Markan studies have brought us to the recognition that the separation of tradition from redaction in this gospel is an even harder task than we once had thought it was.

Conveniently, Perrin's own methodological development in the study of Mark reflects rather well what has happened to produce this recognition. In the study guide, What Is Redaction Criticism? (1969), his position was very near Marxsen's.²⁴ He defined redaction criticism as "concerned with studying the theological motivation of an author as this is revealed in the collection, arrangement, editing, and modification of traditional material, and in the composition of new material or the creation of new forms within the tradition of early Christianity."²⁵ Moreover, he affirmed Marxsen's considering the evangelist Mark to have been an author in his own right and his having chosen the investigation of Mark's literary activity as the means toward distinguishing tradition from redaction.²⁶

However, from this book in 1969 until Perrin's death in late 1976, five more publications, in particular, show his quick and steady movement toward a general literary criticism as the method most appropriate for interpreting the gospel. The five publications are these: "The Christology of Mark: A Study in Methodology" (1970), "Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark" (1970), "The Evangelist as Author: Reflections on Method in the Study and Interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts" (1972), his chapter on Mark in the Introduction (1974), and "The Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark" (1976).²⁷ A respondent to the first two papers, Edward Hobbs, called attention to the degree to which Perrin already was devoting himself to literary criticism, and in reviewing the Introduction, Dan Via spoke of the mutation of redaction criticism in Perrin's hands from a form of historical criticism into a type of genuine literary criticism.²⁸

In the last of the publications cited, Perrin acknowledged the influence of Via's review in bringing this movement into his consciousness, but as the definitive reason for the movement and for the methodological proposal he was about to make, he emphasized his own growing appreciation for the appropriateness of viewing Mark as an author and his gospel as a unified literary whole. His earlier definition of redaction criticism, he said, did not provide for the adequate treatment of this authorial phenomenon. "In retrospect one can see that after Marxsen what was needed for the further interpretation of the Gospel of Mark was the development of a critical method that would, on the one hand, do justice to the full range of the Evangelist's literary activity, and, on the other hand, also move beyond concern for authorial activity and theology to include a concern for the text of the Gospel as a totality."²⁹ Accordingly, in the remaining pages, Perrin proposed for the interpretation of Mark a method which included six main foci: (1) the literary genre of the gospel, (2) the themes pursued by the evangelist, (3) the structure of the gospel, (4) the various distinctive features of the narrative, (5) the different

levels at which the narrative moves, and (6) the characters in the drama which the evangelist has constructed. Only in the article's concluding paragraph did he mention the more familiar agenda in a gospel's interpretation: "I am assuming that the concern for authorship, sources, and circumstances of writing characteristic of the older historical criticism will be carried over and taken up in the newer literary criticism."³⁰

Regardless of the specifics of Perrin's methodological development, other scholars also have come to interpret the gospel of Mark by means of the categories and procedures of a general literary criticism. In fact, certain literary critics have preceded us in this endeavor, and they now are being joined by others of their own number and by some from ours.³¹ The day of literary criticism in the interpretation of the gospels has arrived, and although individual conclusions drawn through the use of this method always remain debatable, the general appropriateness of the method, even in the case of Mark, is being demonstrated by the work which is appearing.

However, contrary to Marxsen's initial expectation, this development actually is complicating, not facilitating, our desire to separate tradition from redaction in the gospel. Now as we analyze Mark, we are faced with a dilemma which is the direct result of our understanding the evangelist to have been a creative author, on the one hand, but an author who made extensive use of traditional material, on the other hand.

We indeed are finding Mark's gospel to be a unified literary whole and an appropriate and congenial object, therefore, for analysis and interpretation by the procedures and categories of literary criticism. Yet, this discovery has not nullified necessarily the general validity of that basic phenomenon of early Christianity discovered by our forebears, viz., that for the writing of his gospel, Mark had available to him and probably used Jesus-tradition, some oral and possibly some written--tradition which had been developing, circulating, and accumulating in Christian communities since the time of Jesus' death. Accordingly, whereas previous scholars or even we ourselves once were able to expect Mark's literary activity to have been much more confined--concentrated, e.g., in places, such as the seams between traditional pericopes--now we must be open to recognizing the evidence of his hand anywhere and everywhere, and yet, we must know at the same time that even our being able to discern a concentration of his labors in a particular passage would not rule out the possibility of his having reworked rather extensively therein some existing tradition.

As an indication of our need to acquaint ourselves further with the work of literary critics in general, Norman Petersen has referred recently to redaction criticism's having raised some questions which it simply cannot answer.³² Truly, the precise identification of Mark's emendations of the tradition and his additions to it is one of those questions. As Petersen says, we are in need of some new ways for discerning the specifics of Mark's freedom.³³

What are these ways? Wherein lies the means for our devising a method which will guide us safely between the horns of our dilemma? Some probably will suggest that we continue the familiar practice of studying the vocabulary and the style of Mark. However, the existing studies first will have to be scrutinized from the standpoint of our present understanding of the gospel and its author and with an eye toward exposing any equivocation on the term Mark--i.e., Mark as a Greek text and Mark as an author.³⁴ Others may propose the observation and listing of every literary device to be found in the gospel. Again, however, caution is in order for the reason given above, viz., that we do not yet possess the means for determining that in a particular place--e.g., the passion--Mark was not working with a written source.³⁵ In the end, Petersen's advising our wider reading of literary critics, to see how they currently are dealing with such historical concerns, may be the most promising. Yet, this reading will require time and effort and a continuing discussion of the validity of the work we read and of its applicability to the gospel of Mark.

In summary, I personally am not ready methodologically to attempt a comprehensive implementation of Perrin's suggestion, because I detect a major deficiency in method at the point of what I consider to be the necessary first step in the argument, viz., the precise identification of what in the gospel of Mark is distinctively Markan. To my knowledge, we do not possess reliable criteria for making this distinction across the gospel, and within our own discipline, the way has not yet been pointed toward their formulation. Nevertheless, I have deemed it worthwhile to make my report at this length, in the event that it may generate some useful discussion of basic issues--in particular, our general understanding of the nature of a gospel and its author, the present usefulness of the category of literary dependence in speaking about inter-gospel relationships, and the starting point for the formulation of the kind of criteria we are seeking in this year's program.

NOTES

¹The Consultation on the Relationship Between the Gospels of Mark and John.

²(New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974), pp. 228-229 (hereafter cited as Perrin, Introduction).

³*Ibid.*, p. 228. See Werner H. Kelber, Anitra Kolenkow, and Robin Scroggs, "Reflections on the Question: Was There a Pre-Markan Passion Narrative?," *SBLASP* (1971), 2:503-585. The two other investigators each gave a distinctive answer to the question posed. Scroggs: Yes, there was such a narrative, but it was much more brief than Mark's account. Kolenkow: It is more likely that there was a traditional pattern of story-sequence which guided early reciters of the story of Jesus' death and which Mark used. (Pp. 564-565.) Kelber, along with others of the students and friends of Perrin and Perrin himself, pursued and furthered his answer in a collection of

essays which he edited, viz., The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14-16 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); see especially Kelber's concluding chapter (pp. 153-180) and, in particular, the third of his concluding theses (p. 157).

⁴Ibid., pp. 228-229. See John R. Donahue, S.J., Are You the Christ?: The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark, SBLDS, 10 (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973).

⁵(Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 128. This concluding chapter, "Reflections from a Way Station" (pp. 122-132), was written in 1973; the Introduction had been written in 1971-72.

⁶That Mark 14:62 is a Markan composition Perrin had argued in the essay, "Mark 14:62: The End Product of a Christian Peshier Tradition?," NTS 12 (1965-66):150-155; reprinted with a postscript in A Modern Pilgrimage, pp. 10-22. That this particular use of exousia is Markan he had argued in two earlier essays: (1) "The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition," BR 13 (1968):1-23; reprinted with a postscript in A Modern Pilgrimage, pp. 57-83; and (2) "The Creative Use of the Son of Man Traditions by Mark," USQR 23 (1967-68):237-265; reprinted in A Modern Pilgrimage, pp. 84-93.

⁷A more detailed review of this discussion of John's intent is not germane to this paper, but it may be pointed out that the attempt at such a review is complicated by the lack of clear differentiation of the alternatives proposed.

⁸(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938); see especially pp. 88-97.

⁹The only example Gardner-Smith gave of the early standardization of Christian tradition is the passion narrative. This example is perhaps an unacknowledged debt to the form critics. See pp. 54-56.

¹⁰Gardner-Smith's conception of the other gospels as "standard works" is spelled out best on pp. 47-48 and 74.

¹¹Gardner-Smith's argument moves to two climactic points: (1) Mark and John may have been almost contemporaries (p. 95), and (2) John, therefore, may be an independent authority for the life of Jesus (p. 96). These points are his somewhat hidden agenda, for already at p. 15, n. 1, he has hinted that John may have written his gospel before Mark's appeared.

¹²MeyerK, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937-41); ET: The Gospel of John: A Commentary, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, R. W. N. Hoare, and J. K. Riches (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971). The summary which follows is based not only upon my own reading of the commentary, but also upon D. Moody Smith's study, The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel: Bultmann's Literary Theory (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

- ¹³See Smith, pp. 44-45, 51, 53, 219-220.
- ¹⁴The Gospel According to St John (London: S.P.C.K., 1955), p. 34. In the remainder of the quotation, Barrett posits John's knowledge of Luke also.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 34-36. Although Barrett does not mention the fact, the foci of his two lists are the very contentions of the old consensus which Gardner-Smith had attacked.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ¹⁷Johannes und die Synoptiker: Ein Forschungsbericht, SBS, 5 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1965), p. 59.
- ¹⁸Introduction to the New Testament, rev. ed., trans. from the 17th Gm. ed. by Howard Clark Kee (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 204.
- ¹⁹Perrin, Introduction, p. 229. In the remainder of the quotation, Perrin follows Barrett in suggesting John's knowledge of Luke also.
- ²⁰See "The Evangelist as Author: Reflections on Method in the Study and Interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts," BR 17 (1972):8-10, 13-15.
- ²¹E.g., A Modern Pilgrimage, p. 123.
- ²²Werner H. Kelber, ed., The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14-16 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976). See n. 3 above.
- ²³Willi Marxsen, Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel, trans. James Boyce, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969), p. 26 (Gm. original, 1956).
- ²⁴Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).
- ²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 2, 33. See Marxsen, pp. 18, 26.
- ²⁷JR 51 (1971):173-187 and reprinted in A Modern Pilgrimage, pp. 104-121; in Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage: A Discussion with Norman Perrin, ed. Hans Dieter Betz, rev. ed. (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 1-52; BR 17 (1972):5-18; "The Gospel of Mark: The Apocalyptic Drama," in Perrin, Introduction, pp. 143-167; Int 30 (1976):115-124.
- ²⁸Hobbs, "Norman Perrin on Methodology in the Interpretation of Mark: A Critique of 'The Christology of Mark' and 'Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark,'" in Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage, pp. 55-56. Hobbs illustrated with quotations how consistently Perrin moved from a discussion of tradition and redaction in a saying or pericope to the consideration of the use to which Mark had put that saying or

pericope in his gospel. Indeed, Perrin's transitional sentences implied sometimes the uncertainty of the former and always the decisiveness of the latter. Via, "A Quandary of Contemporary New Testament Scholarship: The Time between the 'Bultmanns,'" review of The New Testament: An Introduction, by Norman Perrin, JR 55 (1975):459-460.

29 "The Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," p. 120; the reference to Via's influence appears in n. 9.

30 Ibid., pp. 121-124; quotation, p. 124.

31 Earlier studies by literary critics: Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 40-49 (Gm. original, 1946); Helen Gardner, The Business of Criticism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 101-126. Recent studies by literary critics: John Paul Pritchard, A Literary Approach to the New Testament (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), pp. 34-65; Kenneth R. R. Gros Louis, "The Gospel of Mark," in Literary Interpretations of Biblical Narratives, ed. Kenneth R. R. Gros Louis, et al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), pp. 296-329. Recent studies by New Testament scholars outside the circle of Perrin's students: Robert C. Tannehill, "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," JR 57 (1977):386-405 and "The Gospel of Mark as Narrative Christology" (forthcoming in Semeia); Howard Clark Kee, Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977); Donald Juel, Messiah and Temple: The Trial of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark, SBLDS, 31 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977) and (with James S. Ackerman and Thayer S. Warshaw) An Introduction to New Testament Literature (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1978); Norman R. Petersen, Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics, Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

32 Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics, pp. 18-19.

33 Ibid., p. 23.

34 John Donahue also made the latter point in a 1977 address to the Catholic Biblical Association: "Two Decades of Markan Research" (typewritten), pp. 9-10.

35 My own evaluation of the essays in the Kelber volume (see nn. 3 & 22 above) is that they call into question, not necessarily the existence of a pre-Markan passion narrative, but rather the form critics' notion of its authoritativeness, especially for Mark. Certainly, given the work presented, we no longer are justified in maintaining that Mark wrote a thirteen-chapter introduction to a fixed passion narrative which he had felt the need to adopt in toto, but neither have we warrant for denying the existence of a passion source which Mark thoroughly and characteristically may have reworked.

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The sequence in which the gospels present their material has long been recognized as most important evidence of their relations. In fact, the sequence of events common to the synoptics is generally taken as the conclusive proof that they cannot have been composed independently from an oral tradition or a literature of handbills containing only isolated stories or short collections of sayings. The fact that all three gospels present so many apparently unrelated elements in much the same apparently arbitrary order is taken by most scholars as evidence that the order must have come from some one document, whatever the relations of the present gospels to this original document may have been.

If this common opinion be justified, then a similar conclusion should follow from the similar parallelism in sequence of events between Mk. 6:32-15:47 and Jn. 6:1-19:42. The evidence for this parallelism is presented in the appendix to this article, reprinted with some revision from pp. 158-160 of my book Clement of Alexandria (Harvard, 1973). The disputes set off by that book were so numerous that this question of the relation between John and Mark was rarely noticed in the reviews and, so far as I recall, never seriously discussed. Therefore I think it worthwhile to present the evidence to this group because the facts seem to me most important for the problem before us.

The essential facts are that in the last halves of Mark and John there are twelve reports that occur in both gospels. Seven of these occur in both in the same order. There are also eight brief notices about Jesus' journeys, little geographical notes similar or identical in content and often even in wording, which occur in both gospels in substantially the same order and in the same relation to the parallel stories. These are given in the appendix in Greek to show their verbal resemblances, the closest of which are underlined.

These figures are minimal. In counting the "twelve reports" the whole of the passion story has been counted as just one; if it were broken down into its components the number of parallel stories would be much greater and so would the number of those that occur in the same order. Also, besides the parallels counted, there are several passages in which John and Mark seem to develop in different ways the same basic material. For instance, after reporting the demand for a sign Mark tells of a discussion implying that Jesus is the best and sufficient source of bread, John of one in which he claims to be "The bread of life"; after the confession of Peter Mark reports that Jesus called him Satan, John says Jesus declared that one of the twelve was a devil, but then "explains" that this referred to Judas; after telling of the disciples' fear during the return to Jerusalem John makes Jesus announce Lazarus' death and

prophecy his resurrection, canonical Mark, which lacks the Lazarus story, makes him prophecy his own death and resurrection, presumably *ex eventu*. Again, the longer text of Mark, used by Carpocrates in the early second century, had the Lazarus story (thus increasing the number of parallels to John by an important one) and had it in exactly the same place as it occupies in John in relation to the rest of this material. The longer text of Mark also contained another travel notice parallel to one in John, and this too stood in the same place as John's in relation to the other stories. (In the appendix the material from the longer text of Mark is indicated by double brackets in the left margin.)

When we put together these considerations (but still count the passion story as a unit) we get sixteen parallel reports, besides the nine parallel geographical notices. Since the total number of independent reports in this part of Mark is only 33, and in John only 23, it would seem that almost three quarters of those in John come from a common source. (It is of course possible and even likely that more of the material in these parts of Mark and John comes from the same source. Probably neither Mark nor John used all the material that the source provided. Anything one omitted but the other retained must appear in our present texts as unparalleled and therefore cannot be assigned to the source. Thus the above figures, being based only on the parallels, are again minimal.)

Finally, of the reports in John that do not occur in the same order as those in Mark, three (the cleansing of the temple, the prophecy of its destruction, and the question about Jesus' authority) are found in a single pericope that John has located in the beginning of his gospel (2:13-22) and there they occur in the same order as here in Mark. Apart from these three, the only change in the order of reports is that the hatching of the plot against Jesus and the anointing in Bethany are placed by John before the triumphal entry of Jerusalem, by Mark after it. (This is again connected with canonical Mark's omission of the Lazarus story since, according to John 11:45ff., Lazarus' resurrection was the occasion for both.) The only alternation in the order of the nine notes about Jesus' travel is that, after the feeding of the multitude, John puts Jesus' withdrawal into the mountain before the disciples' taking ship, Mark after it (Mk. 6:45, 46 = Jn. 6:16f., 15). Particularly significant in these travel notes are the occasional verbal agreements underlined in the appendix. It would be surprising enough that John and Mark should send Jesus to substantially the same places in the same order, and after and before the same events. That they so often use the same words in reporting these almost identical journeys can hardly be accident.

Some of these similarities in order have of course been noticed. Those between the more conspicuous sequences--feeding and walking the sea, entry of Jerusalem and passion story--were long familiar. Over fifty years ago Dodd pointed out that in both gospels feedings were followed by crossing the lake and then by demands for a sign and contrasts between the bread of this world and the proper and sufficient bread which Jesus gives ("The Close of the Galilean Ministry," *The Expositor*, 8 Ser. 22 (1921) 273ff., followed by N. Hufmann, "The Sources

of Mk.," Quantulacumque, edd. R. Casey et al., London, 1937, 123 ff.) Incidentally, that a spectacular, public miracle should be followed almost immediately by demand for a sign is a sequence so odd that the parallel occurrences can hardly be due to independent composition by two authors. Dodd at first thought them and the other parallels evidence that John had used Mark; later he changed his mind and in Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge, 1963) argued persuasively for the dependence of both gospels on common tradition.

What was the form of this common tradition? Was it oral, or embodied in some document? In view of the evidence just presented, the more likely supposition would seem to be that both Mark and John used some prior gospel in which the earlier group of stories (feeding, walking on the sea, demand for a sign, discussion of Jesus' bread, Peter's confession and Jesus' curse of him) were followed by a brief, general note on Jesus' travels in Galilee, return to Judea, and passage to Jordan. Thence he went up to Bethany and raised Lazarus, thence returned again to the open country, probably in Jordan, where he stayed until his final visit to Jerusalem. Here the matching geographical notices (Mk. 9:30f = Jn. 7:1; Mk. 10:1 = Jn. 7:10 and 10:40f.; Mk. 10:32 = Jn. 11:7f.; Mk. longer text III.10f. = Jn. 11:54), the first two with striking verbal similarities, give each gospel an identical geographical outline and a peculiar one: Galilee, Judea/Jerusalem, Jordan, Bethany, back to Jordan/"near the desert," back again to Jerusalem. Once again we have something that could not have occurred independently to two authors collecting disjointed material. In fact, as K. Schmidt showed (Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu, Berlin, 1919) it is just such reports of historic location that are not usually preserved in stories handed down by oral tradition. Those commonly begin with formulae like, "And it happened they were going through the fields," "And again he came into a synagogue." Which fields? What synagogue? Where? Don't ask irrelevant questions. The virtual identity in these parts of John and Mark of a geographical outline which by the canons of form criticism should not have occurred in either, is pretty clear evidence of their use of a common source.

In Mark and John this outline is interrupted at different points by different stories, sayings, and discussions peculiar to the gospel in which they appear. As already remarked, some of these peculiar elements may have stood in the common source, but most are doubtless insertions by Mark or John. After these insertions each comes back to the geographical outline; the parallelism then resumes. It is not so close as to suggest that each was using the same Greek text. The same ideas are usual, the same words occasional, the same constructions rare. This is also the case in the stories and discussions that Mark and John have in common. John has freely rewritten and expanded in his unique style. Mark too may have made editorial changes larger than generally supposed. The results look to me like those to be expected from independent use of independent translations of different texts of an original Semitic document. This is admittedly conjecture. What is not conjecture but observable fact is the sequence of parallels with which we began--parallels both of travel notices and of larger elements. That these parallels usually occur in both

gospels in the same sequence, throughout most of the second half of both texts, is a fact that will be difficult to obscure by exegesis and impossible to explain without conjecture.

Mk. 6.32 καὶ ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῷ
πλοῦς εἰς ἔρημον τόπον
κατ' ἰδίαν.

The feeding of the five
thousand

6.45 καὶ εὐθὺς ἠνάγκασεν
τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ
ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ
προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν
πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν, ἕως αὐτὸς
ἀπολύει τὸν ὄχλον.

6.46 καὶ ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοὺς
ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος
προσεύχασθαι.

The walking on the sea

6.54-55a καὶ ἐξεληθόντων
αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς
ἐπλυνόντες αὐτὸν
περιέδραμον ὅλην τὴν
χώραν.

Summary: Jesus' miracles
of healing
The dispute on handwashing
Trip to the territory of
Tyre
The Syrophenician
Return to Galilee
The dumb man (εφφασα)
The feeding of the four
thousand

8.11 The demand for a sign

8:14-21 Discussion: Jesus
suffices for bread

The blind man of
Bethsaida

8.27-30 Peter's confession
(in Caesarea Philippi)
Peter is Satan

The sayings on self-
sacrifice

The transfiguration
The demoniac boy

9:30-31 κατέβησαν ἐξεληθόντες
παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς

Jn. 6.1 μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς
θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας
τῆς Τιβεριάδος.

= The feeding of the five
thousand

6.16-17a ὡς δὲ οφθα ἐγένετο
κατέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον
ἤρχοντο πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης
εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ.

(6.15 Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινούς ὅτι
μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ
ἀρπάζειν αὐτὸν ἵνα
ποιήσωσιν βασιλέα,
ἀνεχώρησεν πάλιν εἰς τὸ
ὄρος αὐτὸς μόνος.)

= The walking on the sea

6.24-25a ὅτε οὖν εἶδεν ὁ
ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ
ἔστιν ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ οἱ μαθηταὶ
αὐτοῦ, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοῦ εἰς
τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἦλθον
εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ ζητοῦντες
τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ εὐρόντες
αὐτόν . . .

= 6.30 The demand for a
sign

= 6.31-59 Discussion: Jesus
is the bread of life

= 6.66-69 Peter's confession
(in Capernaum?)

= Judas is a devil

7.1 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν

Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ
ἤθελεν ὕνα τις γνοῖ.
ἔδιδασκεν γὰρ τοὺς
μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, καὶ
ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται
εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων καὶ
ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτὸν . . .

τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν
ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν,
ὅτι ἐζητοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ
Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι.

Jesus' brothers taunt him

The dispute on precedence
The stranger who exorcized
The sayings on scandals

- 10.1a καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστὰς
ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς
Ἰουδαίας

7.10 ὡς δὲ ἀνέβησαν οἱ
ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν,
τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη . . .
The disputes in Jerusalem
The man born blind
The sayings on the door to
the sheep
The appeal to the witness of
his works

- 10.1b καὶ πέραν τοῦ
Ἰορδάνου, καὶ συνπορεύ-
ονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς
αὐτόν, καὶ ὡς εἰώθει
πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς.

10.40-41a καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πάλιν
πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὸν
τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης τὸ
πρῶτον βαπτίζων, καὶ ἔμενεν
ἐκεῖ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἤλθον πρὸς
αὐτόν

The question on divorce
The blessing on children
The rich young ruler
The sayings on scandals

The preface to the Lazarus
story

- 10.32 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ
ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν
προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς,
καὶ εθαμβοῦντο, οἱ δὲ
ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο.

11.7-8 ἔπειτα μετὰ τοῦτο
λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἄγωμεν
εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πάλιν.
λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί,
Ραββεί, νῦν ἐζητοῦν σε
λιθᾶσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ
πάλιν ὑπάγεις ἐκεῖ;

Jesus- prophecy of his
own passion and resur-
rection

= Jesus' announcement of Laz-
arus' death and prophecy
of his resurrection
= The Lazarus story

[Longer text: The Lazarus
story
The nocturnal initiation
(The Jews' plot, Mk.
14.1-2 *infra*)

= The Jews' reaction and plot

[III. 10-11 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ
ἀναστὰς ἐπέστρεφεν εἰς
τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

11.54 ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς οὐκέτι
παρησιᾷ περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς
Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν
ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγὺς
τῆς ἐρήμου, εἰς Ἐφραιμ
λεγομένην πόλιν, κακεῖ
ἔμενεν μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν.

Mk. The question of James
and John

[Longer text: The events in

- Jericho
- Mk. Bartimaeus
- The entry of Jerusalem = (The entry of Jerusalem, Jn. 12.12-19, infra)
- The cursing of the fig tree
- The cleansing of the Temple = (The cleansing of the Temple, Jn. 2.13-17)
- The fig tree found withered
- The question as to Jesus' authority = (The question as to Jesus' authority, Jn. 2.18)
- The parable of the rented vineyards
- Questions by Herodians, Sadducees and a scribe
- * The question as to the son of David
- The widow's mite
- The prophecy of the destruction of the Temple = (The prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, Jn. 2.19-22)
- The prophecy of the end
- The Jews' plot = (The Jews' reaction and plot, Jn. 11.47-54, supra)
- The anointing in Bethany = The anointing in Bethany
- (The entry of Jerusalem, Mk. 11.1-10, supra) = The entry of Jerusalem
- The request of the Greeks
- The Evangelist's comments on the Jews
- Jesus' declaration of his mission
- The preparation for the last supper
- The last supper = The footwashing
- The passion story = The last supper
- = The passion story

EPISTOLARY FORMULAS AND CLICHES
IN GREEK PAPYRUS LETTERSJohn L. White
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INTRODUCTION

The essential functions served by letter writing, it has been said, are: (1) to maintain contact, (2) to disclose, and/or to seek, information, and (3) to make requests.¹ And, the present author has elsewhere suggested a correlation between these epistolary functions and the major letter parts. Namely, the opening and the closing tend to convey those sentiments that enhance family ties or friendship, the *keeping in touch* aspect of letter writing (the first function above), whereas the body tends to serve the more specific occasion of the letter (the second and third functions).

Due to the correlation of the aforementioned epistolary tasks and the respective letter parts, it seems advantageous in this study to examine epistolary formulas in connection with the broader epistolary tasks they execute. Consequently, we will analyze opening and closing formulas in tandem, since they serve the same broad function, the maintenance of contact, and, collectively, they will provide an index to the various dimensions of this function. Then, we will examine the stock phrases in the body, as a means of determining the kinds of more specific needs which occasioned the letter. A third aspect of the letter, meriting our attention, is the outside address and the conventions used in sending the letter. Finally, we will attempt, in a preliminary way, to differentiate epistolary clichés and epistolary formulas.

The data for this study is derived from 660 Greek letters, preserved in Egypt on papyrus and ranging from the third century B.C. to the third/fourth century A.D. Though this number is a fraction of the extant letters, it is probably sufficient to illustrate the majority of formulas that appear in the administrative, business and private letters of the non-literary papyri. References to papyri texts below conform to the abbreviations proposed by J. Oates, R. Bagnall and W. Willis in their "Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca," *BASP* 11 No.1 (1974). The conventional editorial signs are used within texts,² and dates are indicated thus: i, ii, and iii refer to the first, second, or third century (the qualification B.C. or A.D. immediately following). Where a particular year is indicated, it has the form, 157 B.C. or 37 A.D.

OPENING AND CLOSING FORMULAS

F. X. J. Exler did a marvelous job of analyzing opening and closing epistolary phrases, by and large, in his 1923 study, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*. Much of this stage of our study, consequently, is in conversation with his work. He illustrated opening and closing formulas according to similarity in form and in chronological sequence. Moreover, he determined that there were four broad categories of letters and he set out opening and closing conventions under each of these four categories to determine the characteristic phrases

of each type. His fourfold classification was: Familiar Letters, Business Letters, Petitions and Applications, and Official Letters.³ Limitations of space prohibit the detailed illustration of texts according to similarity of form, chronology and letter type, in this study, though these aspects will be examined. Unlike Exler, we will attempt to hold together the initial and closing phrases of the letter, as suggested above, to emphasize the similarity of function. A more substantial departure from Exler followed here, however, concerns some of the stereotyped phrases he examines under the rubric, "Conventional Phrases in the Body of the Letter." He analyzes stereotyped wishes under this heading, though he himself notes that they follow the initial phrase immediately or they directly precede the closing. These formulas also express the *keeping in touch* aspect of the letter and, consequently, they will be examined under the opening and closing formulas heading. These wishes occur almost entirely in familiar letters and the two common types are the wish for health (the ἐρῶσθαι or the ὑγιαίνειν wish) and the expression of greeting (ἀσπάζεσθαι and its modifications). These conventions are examined separately from the initial and closing formulas below.

1. The Initial and Closing Formulas

The most common type of opening phrase in the Greek letter is the formula, A (=the writer) -to B (=the recipient) χαίρειν (= "greeting"), e.g., Κρίτων Πλουτάρχῳ χαίρειν ("Kriton to Ploutarchos, greeting.").⁴ Moreover, the customary word of farewell in letters which begin with this initial phrase is ἐρῶσο. The principal variant of this initial formula is that in which the recipient's name is written first, either with or without the salutation, namely, either To B- χαίρειν A- or To B- from A-. And the principal word of farewell in letters that begin with this formula is εὐτύχει, later changed into δεινύχει. A variety of opening formulas exist, as one or another modification of these two basic types.

At least two-thirds of the letters of this study, and in each century represented except the iii A.D., have as their initial formula, A- to B- χαίρειν or, by the ii B.C. onward, A- to B- χαίρειν combining, syntactically, with the wish for health, e.g., Ἡλίοδωρος Ἀδάμῃ τᾶδελεφῶνι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρῶσθαι ("Heliodoros to Adamas his brother, greeting and good health.").⁵ Letters with this initial formula customarily take ἐρῶσο, as noted above, as their closing convention. And, by the i A.D., ἐρῶσο also, analogous to the salutation, begins combining with the prayer (or wish) for health so that, by the iii A.D., it is expressed more often as a discrete prayer for health than as a simple word of farewell,

Familiar Letters almost always take A- to B- χαίρειν as the initial phrase and ἐρῶσο, with or without the letter's date, as their closing. Also, familiar letters tend to give expression to the familial relation of the correspondents by the addition of appropriate words to the address and/or the salutation. Thus, the recipient may be further identified in the address, from the iii B.C. onward, as ἀδελφῶνι (ἀδελφῆνι), πατρὶ (μητρὶ), and υἱῶν (θυγατρὶ); from the i A.D. onward as φιλιτάτῳ, ἡμετέρῳ, τιμιωτάτῳ, ἰδίῳ, κυρίῳ (and κυρίᾳ);

from the ii A.D. onwards as γλυκυτάτω and ἀξιολογωτάτω. Correspondingly, the salutation may be qualified by such sentiments as πολλά, πᾶσαι and πλεῖστα.⁶

Thus, the basic formula, A- to B- χαίρειν, could be expanded to express familial relations in the following manner:

relation to the recipient

A- to B(ἀδελφῶν, etc., etc.)- χαίρειν (ἀδελφῆ, πατρί, μητρί, υἱῷ, θυγατρὶ)	iii B.C. - iii A.D.
A- to B(φιλιτάτῳ, ἰδίῳ, etc.)- χαίρειν (τιμιωτάτῳ, κυρίῳ, κυρίᾳ, ἡμετέρῳ)	i A.D. - iii A.D.
A- to B(γλυκυτάτῳ, ἀξιολογωτάτῳ)- χαίρειν	ii A.D. - iii A.D.

qualification of the salutation

A- to B- πολλά χαίρειν	ii B.C. - iii A.D.
A- to B- πᾶσαι χαίρειν	ii B.C. - i B.C.
A- to B- πλεῖστα χαίρειν	i B.C. - iii A.D.

Family designations, *brother* (ἀδελφῶν), *sister* (ἀδελφῆν), etc., in the address do not always specify the family tie they suggest. *Brother* is widely used to express the friendship of the correspondents and *sister* often refers to the writer's wife, whether or not she is his sister. Κυρίᾳ and κυρίῳ often refer, respectively, to the writer's mother and father. References to the recipient as φιλιτάτῳ, τιμιωτάτῳ, κυρίῳ, etc., arose only after Egypt began to be ruled by the Roman empire. Indeed, these designations appear to constitute a stylistic feature occasioned by Roman rule. Comparable stylistic alterations arise in the Byzantine period. Regarding the qualifications of the salutation, πᾶσαι seems to disappear by the i A.D. and πλεῖστα is used more often than πολλά in the i-iii A.D.

Exler observed that the A- to B- χαίρειν formula was also used in business and official letters. He suggests that these letters employ the formula somewhat differently, however, than familiar letters. This is the case in his analysis of *business letters*, especially, since he largely limits the rubric to legal documents in letter form. When agreements of sale, loans, receipts, contracts and tenders are written in letter form and take A- to B- χαίρειν as their initial formula (they prefer the convention, To B- from A-), the familial designations within familiar letters do not appear. Rather, the writer's patronymic, guardian (in the case of women and minors), occupation and address, which give a legal cast to the document, are added to the address.⁷ Letters of this type regularly omit the word of farewell; the date of the document is often stated.

A- to B- χαίρειν is often the opening formula in *official letters*, namely, the administrative correspondence at all levels of the government bureaucracy. And, depending on the degree of familiarity of the corresponding officials, terms of familiarity and cordiality were added to the address and salutation, like familiar letters. Inferiors, and subordinates,

sometimes use *To B- from A-* as the opening formula in their letters but, unless the writer is petitioning the addressee for something, the percentage of such letters is small. Letters between officials sometimes express the official titles of the corresponding parties in the address, e.g., Δωρίων Ἀκουσίλαδι τῷ διοικητῇ πλεῖστα χαῖρειν καὶ διὰ παντός ὑγιαίνειν (Dorion to Akousilaos *the dioiketes*, many greetings and continued good health).⁸ Administrative letters with *A- to B- χαῖρειν* as their initial formula also take ἔρρωσο as their closing formula, though it tends to be omitted more often than in familiar letters. Administrative correspondence that takes some form of *To B- from A-* as the opening formula, on the other hand, frequently omits the closing formula.

The only kind of communication which does not employ *A- to B- χαῖρειν* to open the letter is Exler's category, *Petitions and Applications*, namely, complaints or petitions about injuries or other injustices suffered, with a request for redress, and applications for rental or purchase, notices of birth/death, census and related registrations. In these documents, the recipient's name is regularly written first in the address, either in the form, *To B- χαῖρειν A-* or as *To B- from A-*. And, as previously noted, letters of this broad type have εὐτύχει (δευτύχει) as their closing formula.

Exler suggested that the *To B- χαῖρειν A-* opening formula was employed in letters of petition to the king or to other high officials in the iii-i B.C. He is correct in noting that petitions to high officials, and especially to the king/queen, use this formula. But the letter need not be a petition, nor be addressed to a high official, to employ the convention. The formula does seem to reflect the writer's sense of reverence and/or dependence on the recipient. There is evidence that the king was regularly addressed in this manner, e.g., the Palestinian, Toubias, addresses Philadelphos (Ptolemy II) in this way, when informing the king of a gift of rare animals.⁹ And, if the writer was the recipient's servant or agent, and especially if he/she were a native Egyptian, the phrase could be used in letters other than petitions.¹⁰ The formula is relatively common in the iii B.C. but rare, in my sampling, in the ii-i B.C.; appearing in the two latter centuries only in petitions to the king/queen. Letters with this opening formula almost always have a closing formula, εὐτύχει.

Though Exler suggests that the formula, *To B- from A-*, occurs from the iii B.C.-iii C.E., he oversimplifies the situation. Only one instance of the simple formula, *To B- from A-*, occurs in my corpus in the iii B.C. (P.Col.Zen.II 65), but it becomes common in the ii B.C.-iii A.D. On the other hand, a variation of this formula, introduced with the word ὑπόμνημα, is common in the iii B.C. and disappears thereafter. It seems likely, therefore, that the original form of the convention was ὑπόμνημα *to B- from A-* and that it was expressed in the truncated form, *To B- from A-*, in the ii B.C.-iii A.D. The formula seldom conveys the root meaning of ὑπόμνημα, *reminder* or *memorandum*, since previous correspondence is rarely mentioned. Customarily, letters with this formula are requests, employing terminology used in letters of petition. Therefore,

P. Collomp was on the right track, generally, in suggesting that ὑπομνήματα are petitions to lower officials, whereas, ἐντεύξεις are petitions to the king or higher officials.¹¹ However, letters with the opening formula, ὑπόμνημα to B- from A-, like letters with the convention, To B- χαίρειν A-, may convey functions other than petition. Both conventions express the writer's sense of inferiority in the epistolary situation, though the use of the formula, To B- χαίρειν A-, probably reflects a greater sense of reverence/dependence. The shortened formula, To B- from A-, was used for petitions, except those addressed to the king, by the ii B.C. When this shortened form was used in legal texts (agreements, letters of contract and tender, etc.), as noted above, the closing formula was regularly omitted.

Another variant of the To B- from A- formula is the form, προσάγγελμα to B- from A-. Like the *hypomnēmata*, these *prosangēlmata* are confined to the iii B.C. Customarily, they are addressed to the local police, for the purpose of reporting the loss or theft of something.¹² The more official are written in duplicate, with the second, or lower, copy sealed up and with the date written at the top, before the initial formula of address. *Prosangēlmata* omit the closing formula.

At least 40 letters in the ii-iii A.D. are introduced with the formula, To B- A- χαίρειν, though only one example appears in either my or Exler's corpus before this.¹³ This convention is, apparently, another Roman adaptation of Greek epistolary style. Exler notes that the form appears both in familiar letters (33f.) and in administrative correspondence (p.58). The form seems to be used to show deference to the addressee; in familiar letters, the correspondence is from family members asking for favors, from children, or from servants/agents of the household. A degree of cordiality is exhibited in the letters, by the common use of ἐρωῶσαί σε εὖχομαι ("I pray for your health") as the closing formula.

Another form of the opening formula, which arose in the Roman era (ii-iii A.D.), is that which employs the optative or imperative form of the verb of greeting, i.e., χαίροις or χαῖρε. Not many examples of the formula are extant and Exler suggests that they all appear in familiar letters (p.68). F. Ziemann suggested that letters using this convention were written by untrained people (*homines ineruditi*) and he quotes two letters written by slaves.¹⁴ His interpretation is too narrow, since the spelling and grammar is not noticeably worse than in other letters of the period, though the use of the form does seem to show respect for the addressee. This form, like the immediately preceding, seems to have arisen as a result of Roman rule but, in neither case, can I provide a specific explanation of their emergence. The preferred closing formula of these letters, also like the preceding category, is ἐρωῶσαί σε εὖχομαι. The present formula often has a second word of salutation, e.g., Χαίροις Καλόκαιρε, Κύριλλος σε προσαγορεύω (Hail, Kalokairos, I Kyrillos address you).¹⁵

The peculiar opening formula in two letter types, Questions to the oracle and Letters of Invitation, arises from the special nature of the correspondence. The recipient's

name is omitted in invitations, for example, since the correspondence was usually local and delivered to the door by a messenger. Both letter types tend to omit the closing formula, though invitations sent to other villages may express both the opening and the closing formulas, according to the ordinary manner. Both types are confined to the Roman period. An example of each is written below.

Invitation: 'Ερωτᾷ σε Ἀπολλώνιος δεῖπνῆσαι... ("Apollonios requests you to dine.."; P.Oxy XII 1484, ii/iii A.D.)

Question to the Oracle: Σοκωννωκουννῷ θεῶι με(γά)λομαγάλῳι ("To Sokonob-koneus the great, great god." P.Pap 133, 58 A.D.)

One major category of letter-opening formulas remains, those abbreviations of the standard forms, i.e., *A-, To B-, To B-, etc.* Exler seems to agree that these are all abbreviated forms of other conventions (p.66f.), though he lists the various phrases as if they were separate types. It can be demonstrated in almost every instance, however, that these anomalous forms are the result of the letter being either a first draft or a copy. This was Wilcken's opinion, in a note on "Eine Epikrisis-Eingabe aus Oxyrhynchus": "Da das präskript unvollständig ist, so liegt eine Kopie vor."¹⁶ This interpretation is supported by the fact that letters with these phrases also tend to omit the final greeting. And, in one instance, we have the fair copy to compare with the draft:

the draft: Ὡρωι χαίρειν. (P.Teb.I 26, 114 B.C.)

fair copy: Μεγχιῆς κωμογραμματεὺς Κερκεσσίρεως τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος Ὡρωι χαίρειν. (P.Teb.I 142)

Though we can not assume that the opening formula was regularly abbreviated in first drafts, enclosed letters, etc., or that abbreviations were standardized, it is the case that drafts, copies, and comparable situations account for almost all of these shortened forms. There is some evidence, for example, that petitions and pieces of administrative correspondence were sometimes abbreviated, if not abstracted, when copies were made for local record offices.¹⁷ Correspondingly, when administrative correspondence went through channels, a *chain letter* resulted, each respective official attaching a copy of the orders received at that point to his own forwarding note. Six or seven attached letters would sometimes reach the last official and the opening formula was frequently shortened in the enclosed letters, especially in the form, *To B-*, and the word of farewell was often omitted, though the closing date formula was often retained.¹⁸ An analogous abbreviation of the address is often found in the so-called *υπογράφω* appended to the bottom of letters of petition, i.e., a note written by the king or another official, in which the official directs a subordinate to execute, or investigate, the petitioner's complaint.¹⁹

The opening formula, *A- to B-*, is, perhaps, the only shortened form which does not fit the preceding explanation. It does appear in the fair copy of legal texts that are written in letter form.

The following chart illustrates the standard types of opening conventions, as well as their typical closing formulas and their dates, excluding the initial formulas in questions to oracles, invitations and the abbreviated forms.

<u>opening</u>		<u>closing</u>	
A- to B-	χαίρειν	ἔρρωσο	iii B.C.-iii A.D.
To B-	χαίρειν A-	εὐτύχει	iii B.C.-i B.C.
ὑπόμνημα to B-	from A-	εὐτύχει/omitted	iii B.C. only
προσάγγελμα to B-	from A-		iii B.C. only
To B-	from A-	εὐτύχει/omitted	ii B.C.-iii A.D.
To B-	from A- χαίρειν	ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι	ii A.D.-iii A.D.
Χαίρους Ἰαίρε B-	from A-	ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι	ii A.D.-iii A.D.

2. Health Wish, Greetings, etc., in the Opening and Closing

We have noted that the initial phrase may combine syntactically with the wish for health by the ii B.C., i.e., A- to B χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι. Correspondingly, the word of farewell also begins to combine with the health wish by the early Roman period, i.e., ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι. But the health wish is often stated separately from the initial and the closing formulas, both in the Hellenistic and the Roman period. Simply stated, the health wish expresses concern about the addressee's welfare and assures the addressee of the writer's well-being. Though the phraseology is generally similar within each century, the subtle variety of expression is almost bewildering. The Greek formula differs considerably, in this respect, from the Latin *formulis valetudinis*. We may take an example from the early Ptolemaic era, both to illustrate possible lineaments of the wish in the letter-opening and as a basis of comparison with other forms.

εἰ σύ τε ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ σὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σοῖι κατὰ νοῦν ἔσθιν, πολλὴ χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑγίαινον, σοῦ διαπαντός μνηστὴν ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ δίκαιον ἦν.

If you and all your affairs are flourishing, and everything else is as you wish it, many thanks to the gods! I too have been well, and have thought of you at all times, as was right. (C.P.Jud.I 4, 11.1-3, 257 B.C.)

Here, the writer states that thanks are due to the gods, if the recipient is well and his affairs flourishing. Thanks to the gods may be expressed more explicitly in connection with the addressee's health in the form, εἰ ἔρρωσαι..., εἴη δὲ ὡς τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι ("If you are well..., it would be as I pray to the gods"). Or, again, the desire for well-being may be stated blandly in the form, εἰ ἔρρωσαι· εὖ δὲ ἔχῃ ("If you are healthy, it would be well"). In the latter case, καλῶς may substitute for εὖ. Similarly, κατὰ λόγον and κατὰ γνώμην may substitute for κατὰ νοῦν in the above example; τὰλλα for τὰ λοιπὰ; ἡμεῖς for αὐτός(αὐτοί); ἔρρωμεθα for ὑγίαινον (ὑγιαίνομεν); continuity of remembrance (διὰ παντός) may be expressed by other constructions; πρὸ μὲν πάντων and πρὸ τῶν ὅλων are interchangeable in a later period, etc., etc.²⁰

About one of six letters have the wish (prayer) for health in the letter-opening, in the present sampling, and the percentage is more than twice this amount in familiar letters. Despite the subtlety of expression noted above, recognizable stages in the health wish may be traced: the wish for health is always stated separate from the initial formula of address/salutation in the iii B.C.; by the mid ii B.C., the health wish begins to combine with the initial formula and the phrase, *διὰ παντός* becomes more frequent; the salutation and health wish tend to combine even more in the i B.C., the wish being shortened by omitting the assurance of the writer's health; by the ii A.D. the health wish is frequently expressed as a prayer, especially with a formula of obeisance (*..καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιοῦμε ἡμερησίως παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεραπίδι*, *..and I make supplication for you daily before the Lord Serapis*),²¹ it separates once more from the salutation and the phrase, *πρὸ μὲν πάντων*, is preferred; in the iii A.D., the phrase, *πρὸ μὲν πάντων*, continues and the verb *ὁλοκληρεῖν* tends to replace *ὕγιαίνειν*.

The deliberateness with which the health wish is often employed is indicated not only by the aforementioned subtlety of expression but by the phrases used as a surrogate for one or another of the aspects. For example, the writer may replace the wish for health with a statement of concern, occasioned by news of the recipient's poor health, e.g., *συνέβη ἡμῖν ἀγωνιάσθαι ἀκούσαντας ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρόνον ἐλκυσθῆναι σε ἐν ἀρρωστίαι, νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντές σε ὕγιαίνειν καὶ εἶναι ᾗδῃ πρὸς τῷ ἀναλαμβάνειν ἡσθημεν. ὕγιαίνομεν δὲ καὶ αὐτοί* (I suffered anxiety when I heard of your long protracted illness, but now I am delighted to hear that you are convalescent and already on the point of recovery. I myself am well).²² Or, news of poor health, either that of the writer himself or of another, may replace the assurance of well-being, e.g., *καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ ὕγιαίνεις τῷ σώματι. ἐγὼ εἰς μεγάλην δὲ ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσον καὶ εἰς ἀπόριαν* (I hope that you are feeling well and are in good physical health. I have fallen into a serious state of sickness and difficulty(?)).²³ Correspondingly, it is appropriate to celebrate news of the addressee's well-being, especially with the phrase, *λίαν (μεγάλην) ἐχάρην* or to assure the recipient that things have taken a turn for the better and/or to advise the addressee not to be anxious about family members and affairs at home, e.g., *καὶ μὴ λυποῖσθαι περὶ τῶν τέκνων. καλῶς διακινῶνται* (And do not worry about the children; they are in good health).²⁴ By contrast, the writer may express aggravation and incredulity at some negligence of the recipient, especially at failure to write (about health), with either the formula, *θαυμάζω πῶς (ὅτι)...* or by reference to the number of unanswered letters.²⁵

Elsewhere, I have referred to these expressions of joy and aggravation (astonishment) as formulas that may introduce the body of the letter.²⁶ But Nils Dahl advised me several years ago--recently he has written on the subject²⁷--that these expressions have a more natural affinity with the letter-opening sentiments. Though one should not correlate epistolary formulas with letter elements too specifically, I now agree with him that such phrases tend, like the opening and closing

greetings, the wish for health, and related phrases, to express the maintenance of contact aspect of letter writing. Moreover, Heikki Koskenniemi has suggested that many letters in the Roman period--he calls them *family letters*--have keeping in touch as their sole purpose; employing only such phrases as maintain the contact.²⁸ Letters from soldiers, and especially new recruits traveling to distant ports, seem to constitute a sub-category of the broader class. Characteristically, these letters from soldiers inform the recipient of the writer's safe arrival and, not infrequently, the soldier expresses thanks to the god(s) for safety in the recent sea travel and/or deliverance from some other hazard.²⁹

The expression of thanks, referred to immediately above, has three possible meanings in the letter: (1) *oblige, do a favor* (usually in reference to benefit the recipient can do for the writer); (2) *give thanks* (to a god), and so *intercede*; (3) *express thanks* (to a human). Customarily, the expression of thanks in or near the opening is used in the second sense, namely, as is the case with the grateful recruit, the writer thanks the deity for his assistance. This type of thanksgiving is a substitute for--and/or in addition to--the assurance of the writer's welfare. The apostle Paul regularly employs this formula in the opening of his letters,³⁰ though his thanks to the deity seems to be occasioned more by the well-being of his recipients than by his own welfare. And, his thanksgiving leads, customarily, to an intercession on his addressees' behalf. He also employs an aspect of the health wish in the letter-opening, the act of remembering his recipients in prayer.

The expression of thanks in the sense of *doing a favor*, the first of the three formulas above, is a convention that is used, ordinarily, in or near the close of the letter, occasionally in connection with the closing wish for health. We examine this use of the formula as a transition to the broader analysis of the characteristic phrases of the letter-closing. When the writer states that the recipient will favor him by taking care of his health, as a means of closing the letter, one of the following phrases appears:

εὐχαριστήσας οὖν μοι ἐπιμελούμενος τοῦ σώματος σου ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃς. *You will gratify me, therefore, if you care for your person as to be in health.* (P.Yale 40, c.230 B.C., l.24)

τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαρίζοισθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃτε. *For the rest, you would do me a favor by taking care of yourself to stay healthy.* (P.Grenf. II 36,95 B.C., ll.19-21)

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα χαριεῖ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμελόμενος ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃς. *For the rest, you will do me a favor by taking care of yourself to remain healthy.* (BGU IV 1208, reign of Augustus, ll.48-50).

It is evident that these examples are only variations of the same formula; χαρίζοισθε or χαριεῖ substituting for εὐχαριστήσας; σεαυτοῦ or ἑαυτῶν for τοῦ σώματος. This type of closing health wish is limited to the Ptolemaic period and, even in this period, we have intimated that reference to a favor often refers to something other than the addressee's health.

We will examine a more common form of the reference to a favor, shortly, but other forms of the closing wish for health, and related formulas, must be examined first. The basic health wish in the closing, both in the Ptolemaic and into the Roman period, is: ἐπιμέλου δὲ σεαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς (And take care of yourself that you be healthy). Like the opening health wish, as well as the *doing a favor* health wish of the closing which is clearly related, the formula admits many variations; ὅπως may substitute for ἵνα and σεαυτοῦ (ἑαυτοῦ) for σώματος, or the phrase, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, may be added to the beginning. The verb ἐπιμέλου, converts to the participle, ἐπιμελόμενος, when, as in the showing *favor* form above, it depends on another verb (χαρίζοισθε, χαριεῖ, ἔρρωσο).³¹

By the latter half of the i A.D., and through the iii A.D., the health wish tended to combine with the word of farewell, producing the form, ἔρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι (βοῦλομαι), *I pray (wish) that you are well*. The following additions may extend the basic form:

ἐρρωσθαί σε εὖχομαι	πολλοῖς χρόνοις (διὰ βίου)
" " " " "	, ἀδελφε (τιμιώτατε, φίλτατε, κύριε)
" " " " "	πανοικεῖ (μετὰ τῶν τέκνων)
" " " " "	καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι (εὖ πράττοντα, εὐτυχοῦντα).

Additional phrases may extend the health wish, or appear alone, in the closing. Most of these conventions relate to the broader circle of the writer's family and/or friends, either as an expression of concern about their welfare or as a greeting. Indeed, this feature is characteristic of the closing, differentiating it from the opening sentiments which either do not extend so broadly to friends or express such concern infrequently or late in the period examined. One of the phrases that conveys concern for the broader circle is stated with the imperative form of the verb, ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι, which, in the present sampling, appears from ii B.C.-i A.D. The following sample is representative:

ἐπισκοποῦ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς καὶ Πέλοπα καὶ Στάχον καὶ Σεναθούριν. *Look after my sister also and Pelops and Stachus and Senathuris.* (Sel.Pap.I 101,130 B.C., ll.12-14).

A collective phrase, πάντας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ (τοὺς σοὺς πάντας), may replace, or appear in addition to, the enumeration of people in the above example. This formula seems to me, as well as to some of its translators, to have the meaning, *look after*. However, the verb is also used in the indicative form in the closing, with the meaning, *send regards to*. And, in the latter situation, the verb is used, like ἀπαγγεῖλαι and προσαγορεύειν, as a technical term of greeting. In fact, two editors suggest that the verb always has this meaning in letters, when used in reference to family/friends. Thus, even when the imperative form of the verb is used, as above, the correct translation is *greet*, not *look after*.³² Though I agree with these editors' interpretation of the indicative use of the verb, the imperative form appears to perform a

separate function. The context of the above example, which employs the imperative form, admits this interpretation. Before stating this phrase, the writer of the above letter advises his father and mother, along with dependents, to take care of themselves until the present conflict settles down. Then, the writer adds the phrase, which refers to the writer's sisters and to certain other people. The unsettled state of affairs, at the time of writing (the conflict between Euergetes II and his sister Cleopatra) encourages the reading, *look after*, as a means of extending the writer's concern about his family's welfare.

On the other hand, the indicative use of the verb, ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι, as noted above, is one of the means whereby the writer extends greetings to family/friends in the letter-closing. The vast majority of such closing greetings employ the verb ἀσπάζεσθαι, however, and it begins to be widely used in the reign of Augustus and continues in use through the iii A.D.³³ These closing greetings may appear in tandem with the prayer(wish) for health, though, too, they may stand alone in the closing. They are very frequent in familiar letters. The briefest form consists of the verb and the name of the person greeted. But the writer may commission the addressee to convey greetings to a third party (parties). Thus, it is not unusual to find an accumulation of greetings, with the following forms of the verb: ἀσπάζου, ἀσπασαί, ἀσπάζομαι. Or, the writer may transmit greetings from a third party: ἀσπάζεται (ἀσπάζονται). A variety of phrase may accompany the greeting, as represented in the following forms:

ἀσπάζου...	καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας (τοὺς παρ' ἐσού πάντας, τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας)
" " ...	καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου (τὰ παιδία)
" " "	καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντάς ἡμᾶς (ὁμάς) σε πάντας.

And, these forms may have, in turn, the additions, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν and κατὰ ὄνομα, e.g., ἀσπάζου Ἐπαγαθὸν καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντές ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. (*Greet Epagathus and those who love us truly.* P.Fay.119, c.100 A.D., ll.25-27).

The ἀσπάζεσθαι greeting begins to be transposed to the beginning of the letter in the i A.D., but the formula is infrequent in this position.³⁴ Here too, however, the form is flexible, the greetings combining with the health wish and the obeisance phrase and admitting various minor changes.

FORMULAS IN THE LETTER-BODY

The writer may refer to an anticipated benefit that the recipient will bestow upon him, we noted above, in connection with various forms of the final wish for health. This *favor* more often refers to the recipient's willingness to perform another type of request, previously asked in the letter, than to the addressee's concern with health. And, though the phrase is usually near the end of the letter, when the *favor* concerns some other kind of request, it is more appropriate to consider it a formula of the body than of the closing. The original--or an important--use of the formula, perhaps, was in letters of recommendation. Therefore, we

may examine it in connection with the stock phrases employed in the body of letters of introduction. First, let us outline the major lineaments of this letter type. Directly following the sentiments of the letter-opening, the writer introduces / recommends the letter carrier to the addressee, stating the carrier's relation to the writer and/or his credentials. Then, the writer requests the recipient to assist the recommended person, e.g., aiding him to procure work. Thereupon, the writer expresses appreciation to the recipient, by stating that he will be favored by the assistance and/or by offering to repay the favor, should the addressee write for something he wants. The following two examples illustrate, sequentially, common means of expressing each of these aspects:

letter carrier/credentials

1. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ κομίζων σοι [τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔστιν μου φίλος καὶ] ἀναγκαιός. *Ptolemaios, who is bringing (this letter) to you (is a friend and) intimate.* (P.Col.Zen.I 7, 257 B.C., 2f.)
2. Οὐκ οἶμαι μὲν σε ἀγνοεῖν περὶ Αἰσχύλου ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀλλότριος, ἀναπέπλευκεν δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα συσταθῇ Κλεονίκῳ. *I think you are aware about Aischylos, that he is far from indifferent to us. He has now sailed up the river to your party in order to be introduced to Kleonikos.* (P.Mich.I 6, 257 B.C., 1f.)

request

1. καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποῆσαις συν[....]αμ. [*Please-----.*]
2. καλῶς ἂν οὐ[ν] ποιήσαις φιλοτιμηθεὶς ὅπως ἂν συστηθῇς αὐτὸν Κλεονίκῳ. ἐάν δ' ἀρὰ μὴ καταλάβῃ ἐκεῖνον παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐπιστολάς παρὰ τῶν φίλων λάβε πρὸς αὐτόν. *Please therefore make an endeavor to introduce him to Kleonikos; and if he does not find the latter in your company, get letters of introduction to him from his friends.*

expression of appreciation

you favor me/write about what you want

1. τοῦτο δὲ [ποιήσας] εὐχαρίστησεις ἡμῖν· σπεύδω γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ. γράφε δὲ καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν τί ἂν σοι [ποιού]ν[τε]ς χαρί[ζο]μεθα. *By doing so you will much oblige us; for I am interested in him. And write to us yourself at any time to say what we could do to serve you.*
2. Τοῦτο δὲ ποῖων χάριζοι ἂν ἔμοι καὶ τῷ θεῳ [ι. γράψον δέ μοι ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχη] ὥς ἐσομένων σοι. *By doing this you would do a favor both to me and to the god. (Write to me if you have need of anything,) on the understanding that you will have it.*

Regarding letter of introduction formulas, the letter-carrier phrase (ὁ κομίζων σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ex.#1) occurs in the majority of cases. Alternate verbs for κομίζων are ἀποδίδους, ἀναδίδους, φέρων; τὸ ἐπιστόλιον and τὰ γράμματα may replace τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. Regarding the carrier's credentials, it is

common to state that he is a friend or that he has been recommended by friends. The designation in ex.# 2, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀλλότριος (he is far from indifferent to us, or, he is not a stranger) is not common and appears to be used only by educated Greeks.³⁵

The request itself is introduced by the phrase, καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσῃς ("Therefore, you would do me a favor, by...," or "Please..."), which is a stock means of politely making a request.

The statement of appreciation is indicated, initially, by recognition of benefit bestowed on the writer by the addressee, by means of the verb, χαρίζοιο (χαρίετ, εὐχαριστήσεις). Then, the writer expresses willingness to repay the favor, usually with, or something akin to, the phrase, καὶ σὺ δὲ γράφε πρὸς περὶ ὧν ἂν βούλη· ποιήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὸ σοι προθύμως, *And write to us on your part about anything that you want, for we will do it for you willingly.* (P.Cair.Zen.V 59804, 258 B.C., 1.12; cf. exx. above).³⁶

Though the expression of appreciation is especially characteristic of letters of recommendation, it is stated in a variety of situations in which the writer has asked the recipient for something. Correspondingly, the letter carrier is referred to in other contexts, though much the same language is used as in letters of introduction, and the writer regularly employs the phrase, καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσῃς, to introduce a request in familiar letters. This request phrase is one of the most common of all formulas, occurring hundreds of times

We may use these recommendation phrases as a basis for talking about the sequence of body formulas. For example, the letter-carrier phrase has no intrinsic location in the body, other than at the beginning in letters of recommendation. On the other hand, the expression of appreciation will gravitate toward the letter closing, regardless of the epistolary setting. Correspondingly, the frequent use of the conjunction, οὖν, in the request phrase indicates that the statement of request depends on a prior reason/explanation for the request, so that we can usually assume a *background* when the convention is employed.

When we turn to more official request settings, namely, petitions, complaints, applications and memoranda, we find that a background section customarily precedes the request and that a limited number of means tend to be employed to introduce this background section. In Petitions, the plaintiff recites the details which necessitated the request, often stating that he/she has been unjustly treated by someone (δίδυκοῦμαι ὑπὸ..., *I am being wronged by...*) or by referring to the time and day of the infraction (the letter body of *proangelmata*, i.e., reports of loss/theft, are also introduced by referring to the date of the event). The customary verbs of entreaty are δέχομαι, ἀξιῶ, ἱκετεύω and παρακάλω. The fullest form of the request, in petitions, consists of three parts; the statement of request proper, the specification of what must be done to receive redress and the petitioner's acknowledgment of benefit resulting from fulfillment

of the request.³⁷ The request proper is illustrated by the following petition to the king:

δέομαι οὖν [σου], Βασιλεῦ, [μ]ὴ πε[ρι]δεῖν με ὑ[πὸ] τῆς
θυγ[ατρὸς] ἀδικοῦ[μ]ενον... *I beg you, therefore, O king,*
not to suffer me to be wronged by my daughter and...
(P. Enteux. 26, 220 B.C., 10f.).

Unlike letters of recommendation and other requests in familiar letters, petitions and complaints never have the opening-closing sentiments, such as the wish for health, greetings, etc. Too, petitions regularly write the addresser's name prior to the writer's in the initial address and have εὐτύχει as the farewell.

A second primary function of epistolary formulas in the body is to give/seek information. Not surprisingly, therefore, a spate of *disclosure* phrases may be employed by the writer. These are often expressed with a verb meaning *to know*, both in the imperative and the indicative form. The following gravitate toward the close of the body or, if the letter lacks closing greetings, immediately before the farewell.

disclosing information

1. γέγραφα οὖν σοι ὅπως εἰδῆς.
Therefore I wrote to you in order that you may know.

requesting information

2. γράψον (ἐπιστείλον) ἡμῖν (μοι) ἵνα (ὅπως) εἰδῶμεν.
Write in order that we may know.
3. διασάφησον μοι (ἡμῖν) περὶ...
Inform me (make quite clear, show plainly) about...
4. δήλωσόν μοι περὶ...
Inform me (make evident, known, etc.) about... 38

The first example above is the only formula, with modifications and abbreviations, which discloses information that concludes the body. It spans the period examined, being subject to shortening, either in the form, γέγραφα οὖν σοι, or ἵνα εἰδῆς. Of the formulas used to request information, #2 seems to span the period of our corpus and it, too, is subject to abbreviation; either in the form, γράψον οὖν περὶ, or ὅπως (ἵνα) εἰδῶμεν. On the other hand, #3 is common only in the Greek period, #4 in the Roman period.

These disclosure formulas near the closing function in one of two ways; either to finalize (emphasize) the reason for writing, by stating why one has written, or to request information, thereby necessitating further correspondence.

The two following disclosure formulas tend to introduce the body of the letter, though they may be used elsewhere, with minor modification.

γίνωσκε (ἴσθι, μάθε) ὅτι (ὥς) ..

γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι...

The first of these two forms, employing the imperative of the verb, often introduces business information throughout the

Graeco-Roman period, both in letters between friends/family members and others. The more polite form of disclosure does not make its appearance until the late Greek/early Roman period and it serves the same purpose as the imperative form, though it is more common in familiar letters than in any other type.³⁹ When the imperative form of the convention introduces a second topic, or when it develops a prior subject, it has the form, γίνωσκε οὖν ὅτι (*Know, therefore, that*) or γίνωσκε δὲ καί... (*Know also that...*). There is a great deal of latitude in the use to which this formula is put. For example, the polite form of disclosure may be used to inform the addressee of the writer's safe arrival or to introduce an explanation for failure to write; two subject which belong, strictly speaking, to the opening conventions, i.e., they assure the recipient of the writer's welfare. Consequently, our analysis should not be construed too woodenly; recognizing that we are treating tendencies, not necessities.

Another common epistolary subject, as we should expect, is the reference to one or another aspect of the writing/receiving of letters. Many of these references, though similar in intent, do not submit to formal analysis. But a number of recognizable patterns do emerge, as the following forms show.

1. ἐκομισάμην (ἐλάβομεν) τὸ παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον (τὴν ἐπιστολήν), ἐν ᾧ (ἐν ᾗ) γράφεις... *I received your letter in which you write that...*
 2. ὥς ἂν (ἄμα, etc.) τάχιστα λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολήν (τὰ γράμματα), λαβέ (ἀνάπεμψον, ἀπόστειλον, παραγίνεσθε, δός) ... *As soon as you get my letter, take (send, etc.)...*
 3. ὑπογράφαί σοι τῆς (τά) παρὰ (someone, identified by name) ἐλθούσης μοι ἐπιστολῆς (γράμματα) τὸ ἀντίγραφον.
- or: τῆς παρὰ (πρός) someone ἐπιστολῆς ὑπόκειται σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον. *I have written below (enclosed) a copy of the letter from _____.*
- 4 (a) ἔμοῦ σοι γεγραφότος πλέονας ἐπιστολὰς καὶ οὐδέμ μοι παρὰ σοῦ τί μοι προσπεφώνηται, ... *When I wrote you many letters and no sound was uttered to me from you, ... (P.Yale 42, 229 B.C., 5-7).*
 - (b) θαυμάζω πῶς ἀναπλεύσας οὐκ ἀντέγραψάς μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, ἀλλά... *I marvel that after you sailed upcountry you did not write to me about your well-being, but...*
 - (c) ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πρότερόν σοι ἐγγράφειν περὶ τούτων. *And indeed I had written to you about this before.*
5. καθάπερ (καθότι, ὥς) ἡμῖν (μοι) ἔγραψας...

The act of letter writing is usually stated in a simple manner, e.g., "You wrote to me about something" (or, "...to give something to someone..." or, "...to send someone or something," etc.), "I (we) wrote to you about something," "Someone wrote to us about..." These simple references to the act of writing expand upon a variety of subjects. But the references to writing/receiving a letter, illustrated above, are

listed either because of their stereotyped language or because they evidence a *specific* nuance. For example, #1 may introduce a variety of subjects, but the language is relatively stable, as a convention, for centuries. Most often, the phrase introduces the body and the occasion for writing; by expressing the writer's acknowledgment of a message from the addressee. The comments which follow reveal the writer's response. For example, the writer may express joy at receipt of a letter, because it provided news of the addressee's welfare. In this case, then, the receipt of letter formula introduces a letter-opening sentiment, akin to the health wish. Similar in function to this specific use of the receipt of letter formula is #s 4a and 4b, both of which convey the writer's complaint about the addressee's failure to write; by referring to the number of unanswered letters or to expressing aggravation/incredulity at the failure to reply, respectively. These two formulas may be employed in contexts other than the family setting, in which the maintenance of contact is all important, but these examples are less. All three entries under #4 concern some negligence of the addressee; either failure to write (4a & 4b) or some other irresponsibility (4b and 4c); 4a and 4b usually appear in family letters, 4c (sometimes 4b) expresses aggravation over negligence in business.

The fifth category above, when it has the form καθάπερ μοι ἔγραψας (Just as you wrote to me...), expresses the opposite sentiment of #4, i.e., it conveys the writer's willingness to comply with the recipient's instructions. On the other hand, if the writer says, just as I wrote, we may anticipate a situation like that under #4, in which something is still expected of the recipient.

Form #2 is relatively common throughout the period examined, and it expresses the necessity of the recipient to respond quickly to what the writer considers an urgent matter. Form #3 is the standard convention for referring to an enclosed letter.

The sending/receiving of messengers and parcel post (food, clothing, etc.) is also a common epistolary topic. A number of stock words occur in this kind of situation, as we might expect, ἀπέσταλκα (I sent), ἐκοιμίσουν and κόμισαι (I received, Receive...), etc., but we can rarely speak of formulas. One type of situation is worth noting, however, the situation in which the letter is only an inventory of goods that have been sent to the recipient. This *packing list* type of letter attests to what must have been a recurrent problem in Egypt, the unreliability of the postal service. Though something of an organized post served government business, and though the wealthy used employees as letter carriers, the average letter writer was dependent on traveling business men (camel caravans, etc.) and on others who happen to be traveling in the direction of the letter. Hence, it was only common sense to send a letter along with parcel post, to better insure the arrival of all items. The practical needs served by such a shipping list are intimated by a certain Applanus: When one dispatches even the smallest load, he ought to send it with a letter stating what has been sent and by what

carrier. And the goods which you dispatched were not so many as to require a man and a donkey to leave their work, only four baskets of rotten figs. (P.Flor.II 176,256 B.C.,2ff.). The unreliability of many letter-carriers is well attested. For example, in one instance, the addressee had evidently complained of not having received any letters, to which the writer replies: *I have written to you often, and the negligence of those who carry the letters has slandered us as negligent.* (P.Mich.VIII 499,ii A.D.,12-14). Fear of negligence is intimated by the following examples: *I sent you the bread-basket by Taurinus the camel man; please send me an answer that you have received it.* (P.Oxy.II 300,late i A.D.,3ff.); *Receive a basket from the man who delivers the letter to you, and write back to me what you find in it.* (P.Mich.VIII 481, ear.ii A.D.,5ff.); *I sent you a jar of wine by one Patas, a sailor. Let me know whether you received it; for if it was not brought to you, go to the fuller's ship at Heraclaeum(?) and find out whether it was delivered to them.* (P.Oxy.XII 1488,ii A.D.,3ff.). The following statement by a soldier illustrates the practical correlation of letter-writing and availability of a messenger: *From Cyrene, where I found a man who was journeying to you, I deemed it necessary to write to you about my welfare.*" (P.Mich.VIII 490, ii A.D.,5ff.).

Summons to responsible action is a common epistolary motif. The following are representative phrases:

- 1 (a) ἐπιμελές σοι ἔστω(γενέσθω)...
- (b) ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ποιῆσαι ὅπως..Make(something)a matter of concern that...
- (c) ἐπιμελοῦ...Take care...
- 2 (a) φρόντισον οὖν(ἵνα,ὅπως,ὥς,περί)
- (b) σπούδασον οὖν..
3. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης.. Therefore, do not neglect..
4. μὴ ὀκνήσης.. Do not hesitate..
5. μελησάτω σοι ὅπως ἀγορασθῇ..Make it a concern to buy(etc.)

Generally speaking, these phrases depend on a subject previously stated in the letter. Thus, they gravitate to the middle or end of the letter. The first of these formulas, listed above, has three variations of the same root meaning. It is found, in one or another of its forms, already in the iii B.C. Form lc is the variant, noted previously, to convey the closing wish for health. Formula #4, introduced by the words, *μὴ ὀκνήσης*, is most often used, like form lc, in the closing; either as a means of advising the addressee to send news about health(*And do not hesitate to send news about your health*) or to advise the addressee not to hesitate in asking for favors. Formula 2a(and often 2b)is most often used to cause the recipient to attend to business matters, not to matters of personal welfare(as #s 1 and 4). Forms 3 and 5 employ the same verb, and probably with a similar nuance, but in a different form; #3 is regularly in the subjunctive and in the privative form with *μὴ*, whereas #5 has the jussive

form (*Let it be a concern to you to...*), followed by a clause introduced with ὅπως (ἵνα). The former of these continues through the period of study, the latter is not regularly found before the ii A.D. The phrase, μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης..., is most common near the close of the letter.⁴¹

A category of phrases similar to the preceding is that in which the recipient is urged, even more strongly, and is sometimes threatened. These phrases usually refer to business matters, are very often stated in the closing, and they are expressed with the phrase, μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης, and its modifications. Or, the same effect is achieved through the use of conditional sentences. The conditional phrases are too varied to illustrate, but two very common forms of the ἄλλως ποιήσης phrase follow.

μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης (καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης)

εἰ δ' ἄλλως ποιήσης (ἔσται...) ⁴²

This formula, and its modifications, often closes the message of the letter, following the recitation of some matter requiring the recipient's attention. Very often, it conveys a sense of threat; *If you do otherwise* or *Do not act otherwise*. The privative form of the verb in the preceding category may convey the same nuance, in the form ἐν ἀμελήσης.. (*If you should neglect...*). R. C. Horn's analysis of the subjunctive and the optative in the non-literary papyri shows that conditional clauses often convey a threatening tone in letters,⁴³ as a means of coercing the addressee to comply with the letter's directives. The optative, followed with the present or future indicative in the main clause (to express a contingency), is common in the Byzantine and late Roman period and it may be used with stock phrases to state a threat. The following use of εἰ βουληθείης is illustrative.

προγίνωσκε δὲ ὡς εἰ βουληθείης κακοῦργία τινὲ χρῆσασθαι οὐκ ἀνέξομαι σου. *But take notice that should you intend to indulge in any malpractices I shall not allow you to do so.* (P.Ryl.IV 607, late iii A.D., 10-12. Cf. also P.Lond. II 234 (p.286), c.346 A.D., 16-19. See Horn, p.161).

In a few cases, after stating the necessity of doing something, the writer alleges confidence in the recipient's willingness/responsibility in attending to the matter. This confidence is stated, in my examples, with a form of the disclosure verb.

ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖν, οἶδα δὲ ὅτι πάντα καλῶς ποιήσεις. οὐ θέλω γὰρ ἀμφισβήτησιν πρὸς σὲ ἔχειν φίλον μου ὅ[ν]τα. *I ask you therefore not to do otherwise; but I know that you will do everything well. I do not want to have any dispute with you, as you are my friend.* (P.Oxy.IV 745, c.1 A.D., 7-9. Cf. P.Warr.14, ii A.D., 5-13; Sel.Pap.I 146, iii A.D., 15ff.).

This construction, though infrequent in the papyri letters, is identical in function to a convention which the apostle Paul regularly employs near the close of his letters, e.g., Philm.21; Gal.5:20; Rom.15:14f. Paul employs the perfect form of the verb πείθω to express confidence.⁴⁴

The prospect of a visit is a common subject of communication in the letter. The writer may express his hope/desire/intention to make a visit to the addressee or he may entreat the recipient, or someone with the recipient, to pay a visit. The following two forms illustrate the writer's desire/intention to visit.

κἀγὼ γὰρ ἐλπίζω (σὺν θεῷ) ταχέως (τάχιον) πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀνέλθειν (ἀναπλεύσειν)... *For I hope (god willing) to come up (sail up) to you soon...*

ἐμελλον κἀγὼ ἀναπλοῦσαι (ἀνέλθειν).. *For I was intending to sail up..* 45

The importance of the correspondents presence to each other is indicated by joy occasioned at receipt of a letter. One correspondent says, *Do not hesitate to write letters, since I rejoiced exceedingly, as if you had come.* (P.Mich.VIII 482, 133 A.D., 22ff.). The sentiment is expressed more elegantly by the writer who says, *I was as much delighted at receiving a letter from you as if I had indeed been in my native place; for apart from that we have nothing.* (P.Mert.I 12,58 A.D., 3ff.). On the other hand, when this writer says, *for apart from that we have nothing, namely, There's no place like home*, he indicates that the letter is, after all, only a substitute for the actual presence. Nonetheless, the actual presence and the epistolary presence are integrally related and an extension of each other. For example, a certain Dionysios informs Ptolemaios, a ii B.C. recluse of the Memphis Serapeum, that the recipient's younger brother had failed to keep an appointment. The writer, frustrated by the lad's strange behavior, seeks an answer from Ptolemaios. And, he states that, if the engagement was broken without reason, he will not stay with Ptolemaios when he visits the Serapeum: *But if he is keeping out of my sight for some other reason, understand clearly that if I come up to worship, I will not enter your door, but will lodge with Protarchos.* (Sel.Pap.I 98, c.160 B.C., 33ff.). Another example of the interdependence of face-to-face and epistolary presence is the following reference to an addressee's arrears of payment: *Be sure, therefore, to give this sum at once to the bearer of the letter, that you may save me too from trouble. Mind that you do not fail (ὄρα σὺν μὴ ἄλλως πράξης) and thereby cause me to come to you and dispute with you about it; for indeed I found you at Paomis the other day and wanted to welcome you; but you would not stay, being oppressed by an evil conscience.* (P.Oxy.III 532, ii A.D., 10ff.).

We may conclude this section of the paper by referring to various transitional indicators, as well as to a few other stock phrases. The following are common.

1. δὲ καί...
2. ὁμοίως δὲ καί (or ὁμοίως καί, ὡσαύτως δὲ καί)
3. περὶ δέ with the genitive case
4. εἰ σὺν (δέ) καὶ νῦν

5. ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ (ἡμῶν)

6. ἔχω παρ' σου (ὕμῶν) or ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ

The first two constructions are conventional means of turning to a new subject in the letter, whereas *παρὶ δέ* (#3) signals response to a subject of previous correspondence or, occasionally, a previous subject in the present letter. *Ἐτι οὖν καὶ νῦν*, though not so common as the first and third convention above, is also frequent. It is translated with various equivalents--*even now, before it is too late, still, now at length, etc.*--which indicate the need of prompt action; often of action too long delayed by the addressee. The fifth construction, which may use every case but the vocative, is a standard means of referring to someone's agent, e.g., *our man (the one from us)*. The sixth phrase, *I have (something) from you*, is a technical term used in letters of receipt, serving as a record of payment. A comparable construction is the use of *δός* in orders upon a bank, namely, *Give someone _____ amount of money*. Other similar formulas within legal texts could be cited but these will be relatively easy for the reader to identify and, hence, they will not be illustrated here.

OUTSIDE ADDRESS FORMULAS

Given our own cultural setting, we can well imagine the necessity of envelope information in sending letters. In the case of the papyri, the back side of the surface upon which the letter was written served as the envelope; the letter being rolled or folded, analogous to some forms of airmail envelopes. The sheet of papyrus has two layers; the *inside* surface, called the *recto*, on which the fibers usually run horizontally and the *outside* surface, called the *verso*, at right angles to the inside surface, with the fibers usually running vertically. Very often the *verso* information (=the envelope) contains no more than the addressee's name, e.g., *deliver to _____*. On the other hand, the writer may state the recipient's address and an abstract of the letter's contents. And, though even less common, the recipient may docket the letter's receipt, by recording the date of receipt, the letter-writer's name, an abstract of the letter's message (e.g., *Jason about the pigs*.) and, if the recipient happened to be on an itinerating assignment, the place at which the letter was received. Only a small percentage of the letters within this corpus, other than administrative correspondence, have any docket of receipt. The iii B.C. administrative correspondence seems to be docketed by the recipient on the outside, with the address, whereas ii B.C. correspondence seems to docket the same information on the inside, immediately above the beginning of the letter. I have not worked out the pattern(s) of docketed information in subsequent centuries. P.Mich.I 24, 257 B.C. serves to illustrate the address and docket of receipt in the iii B.C.

Docket of Receipt

Ἀπολλωνίδης ἀν(τι)γραφεύς)
ἀπὶ ὧν σ. I κθ, Πανήμου,

Address

Ἀπολλωνίῳ
διοικητῇ

ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῇ Δίῳνος.

Apollonides controller of accounts
about 200 pear trees. Year 29,
Panemos, in Arsinoë of Dion

To Apollonios,
the dioiketes

This letter is from the well known Zenon Archive and it is docketed by Zenon, executive secretary of Apollonios, the financial minister of Ptolemy Philadelphos. The functional character of Zenon's docket is indicated elsewhere, by the manner in which he alters the sequence of docketed items during the different stages of his career, apparently for ease of retrieval.⁴⁶

A late ii B.C. example of docketed information is provided by the manner in which correspondence was recorded in the office of Menches, a minor government official.

Ὀννιφρίδης (ἀρουραι) κδ, / κδ. (ἔτους) β Τῦ (βι) κθ. ἐλ (ἀβομεν)
(ἔτους) β Τῦβι κθ.

Onniphris (i.e. the letter writer), 24 arouras, total 24 (=subject of letter). The 2nd year, Tubi 29 (=date letter was written). Received in the 2nd year, Tubi 29.

We can tell by the extensive abbreviation in Menches' docket that administrative record-keeping encouraged its own kind of short-hand. --An interesting aside is occasioned by the subject of envelope information. None of the New Testament letters have preserved, in any ms traditions with which I am familiar, envelope information. Should we assume that this information was deemed unnecessary and, consequently, it was omitted when the letters were copied? Or, should we assume that these letters never contained any envelope information originally, because, as in the case with Paul, hand-picked messengers insured delivery of the correspondence?

EPISTOLARY CLICHÉS AND FORMULAS

Henry A. Steen's long article, "Les Clichés épistolaires dans les Lettres sur Papyrus Grecques" (*Classica et Mediaevalia*, I no.2(1938), 119-176) is the major work on epistolary clichés. After noting that the work of Ziemann and Exler treat primarily the initial and final formulas of the letter, he himself calls attention to another vast body of conventions, those expressions which either soften or intensify epistolary imperatives. All the clichés he analyzes, consequently, are understood as being a modification of the request aspect of letter writing and, by implication, phrase primarily associated with the letter-body. His study covers a wealth of diverse conventions, but it is probably one-sided, nonetheless, in ignoring epistolary aspects other than the request, e.g., phrases expressing disclosure of news.

Why does Steen refer to the numerous phrases that he examines as clichés, rather than formulas? His word choice is deliberate and it is broader than that in popular usage, namely, a fixed/stereotyped expression which has lost its significance through repetition. His explanations indicate that by cliché he means those softening or intensifying

words/phrases which elaborate or modify a basic function. That is to say, clichés are ornamental expressions or trappings which, strictly speaking, are not necessary to the expression of an epistolary function but which give nuance to that function. Steen was clearly working toward a helpful definition of cliché in connection with conventional phrases in Greek papyrus letters and I am in general agreement with his approach to the subject. It is his manner of applying the definition which is unsatisfactory. Consequently, a brief analysis of his study is in order.

Steen indicates, as noted, that his study treats those qualifying expressions which accompany, or substitute for, the imperative. A number of letters state the command quite baldly, often brusquely and rudely. Steen notes that Attic orators had already learned that they must use periphrastic constructions, rather than simple commands, in persuading their audiences to take a certain course of action. Otherwise, they would offend the audience and forfeit the possibility of implementing the desired action. This technique of the orators, along with the practical need in everyday Egyptian affairs to intensify or reinforce the imperative, are two principal features of Greek papyrus letters. Steen suggests that expressions of the former type--those expressions that soften the imperative--fall into two broad subtypes, (a) qualifying/modifying expressions and (b) expressions of urbanity. These two classes may be sub-divided further, so that the qualifying expressions may: (i) use the ethical dative with the formula of salutation in the closing, e.g., ἐρωσὶ σοῦ, ἀδελφέ and ἐπιμέλου σεαυτῆς ἕνα μου ὑγιαίνης; (ii) use conditional phrases to soften the imperative, e.g., *if it seems good to (=pleases) you* (εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ, εἰν φαίνεται), *if it is possible* (εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, εἰν δύνη), *if you have the leisure* (εἰν εὐκαιρῆς), etc.; and (iii) use verbs meaning to tell(inform), to order, to write, in connection with a polite phrase of qualification, using such words as ἡδέως, προθύμως, φιλικῶς, ἀνόκνως and these are employed to encourage the addressee to freely express needs/desires to the obliging writer. The other class of softening expressions, expressions of urbanity, include such phrases as those employed to make requests in letters of petition, e.g., phrases introduced with the verbs, δέομαι, ἱκετεύω, ἀξιῶ, παρακάλω. Or, the phrase, καλῶς ἂν ποιήσας (=please), and its variants serves the same basic purpose in familiar letters.⁴⁷

The second class of stereotyped expressions which Steen illustrates from the papyrus letters is that body of stock phrases which intensify the imperative. The necessity of the writer, or his superiority, may lead him to harden the request/command. On the other hand, the intensification may serve a positive and friendly purpose. The strengthening is handled in one of two ways, by means of adverbial expressions of intensity or through intensifying the verb. For example, πρὸ μὲν πάντων is an adverbial modifier, which is often used to strengthen the opening and closing wish for health and related sentiments. A number of adverbial expressions are spawned from the root παντ- (e.g., ποιήσον οὖν ἡμῖν πάντως).

The expressions πάν ποιήσων and μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης are representative of the manner in which the verb may be intensified.⁴⁸

Now, regarding the questionable aspect of Steen's study, the difference between *formula* and *cliché* is probably a matter of degree, at best. And, some of the expressions which he calls clichés are, in my opinion, more like formulas in function. For example, the statement of request is an essential function in the drafting of a petition and this request also employs one of the standard verbs of petition (δοῦμαι, ἄξιω, etc.). It seems quite unwarranted to assume that a request is a derivative function of the imperative. Consequently, expressions which make use of verbs of petition should be designated formulas. On the other hand, when the petitioner qualifies the request--as he often does--with a deferential phrase, such as ἐάν σοι δόξη (*if it seems good to you*), we are, then, talking about an ornamentation, or nuance, more closely akin to Steen's definition of cliché. The polite circumlocution, καλῶς ἂν ποιήσης, as well as the use of petitionary phrases in familiar letters, on the other hand, are border-line cases that are more difficult to sort out. In fact, I am not presently prepared to provide a detailed list of clichés, or even to justify the designation *formula* in connection with the conventions previously identified in the preceding sections of this paper. Nonetheless, it does seem important to differentiate formulas and clichés, so far as possible--if only hypothetically--in a preliminary manner. Consequently, a few more examples of what I consider clichés are listed below.

1. expressions with the general meaning, *god willing*
 - a. σὺν τοῖς(τῷ) θεοῖς(θεῷ)
 - b. θεῶν θέλοντων (ἐάν ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ, ὡς θέλει ὁ θεός)
 - c. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς (=by the gods)⁴⁹
2. the addition to the health wish (in the Roman period), in which a wish is made regarding the *evil eye*, e.g., ἀσπάζονται σε πολλὰ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ σου καὶ τὰ ἀδελφάντα παιδιά θεωνίδος καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες κατ' ὄνομα
(Many salutations from your sisters and the children of Theonis, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and from all our friends by name. P.Oxy.Vi 930,ii/iii A.D.,22ff.).⁵⁰

The paucity of these categories has no necessary relation to the number and variety of epistolary clichés. It only reflects the preliminary state of the author's study of this particular aspect of letter-writing. Indeed, there are probably a number of expressions that could be classified as clichés, including some of the expressions I called formulas. There are a few other expressions, however, which could be added at this point. They are certainly cliché-like in expression, though they may constitute a special class. I am referring to the use of an oath in the letter for affect or nuance, not for legal purpose, and to various other statements which reflect superstitious practices.

1. oath: δυνύομεν (δυνύω) τοὺς θεοὺς (τὸν Σάραπιν)
2. phrases expressing superstitious practices
 - a. *As the gods have not spared me, so I will not spare the gods.* (P.Oxy.VII 1065,iii A.D.,6ff.)
 - b. *I have neither bathed nor worshipped the gods.* (Sel.Pap.I 114,ii A.D.,11f.).
 - c. *If you refuse, I won't write you a letter, or speak to you, or wish you health. ...If you do not send, I won't eat, won't drink.* (P.Oxy.I 119,ii/iii A.D.,4-6,14f.)⁵¹

CONCLUSION

In summary, we believe this study shows both the formulaic nature of Greek papyrus letters and the plasticity with which stereotyped phrases could be employed in these letters. Finally, it is worth stating--though it may be obvious--that work remains to be done; both in connection with further analysis of Greek papyrus letters and in better understanding what light these letters cast on Jewish and Christian letter-writing.

NOTES

¹These three purposes are suggested, for example, by N.A.Dahl, "Letter," *IDB Supplementary Volume*, p.539.

²For example, square brackets [] indicates a lacuna, double square brackets [[]] an erasure in the text, angular brackets < > an omission in the original, braces { } superfluous letters, round brackets () the resolution of a sign or abbreviation in the original. Dots within square brackets suggest the number of letters lost; dots under letters draw the reader's attention to the existence of some problem in the reading of the letters.

³He explains *familiar letters* as correspondence between relatives and friends, but includes letters which, in their expressions, betray a degree of familiarity; *business letters* are all those documents that concern commercial/legal affairs, drawn up in epistolary form, including contracts, receipts, leases and acknowledgments of indebtedness; *petitions and applications* are those letters requesting redress, addressed to officials, as well as other texts couched in similar language; *official letters* are texts written or received by official people, i.e., administrative correspondence.

⁴P.Hib.I 63, c.265 B.C.,1f.

⁵P.Teb.III,pt.I 754, 1f.

⁶Exx. of ἀδελφῶν, ἀδελφῆ, πατρὶ, μητρὶ, υἱῶν, θυγατρὶ in the address: PSI IV 331, 257/6 B.C.; P.Petr.II 42,250 B.C.; III 42,250 B.C.; P.Lille 17,245 B.C.; P.Eleph.13,223 B.C.; UPZ I 70,152 B.C.; P.Teb.I 18,114 B.C.; II 284,i B.C.; P.Oxy. VIII 1153,i A.D.; 1154,i A.D.; II 297,54 A.D.; III 531,iii A.D. Exx. of φιλάτῳ, ἡμετέρῳ, τιμιωτάτῳ, ἰδίῳ, ἀγαπητῷ,

κυρίῳ, κυρίῳ in the address: P.Ryl.II 229,38 A.D.; BGU IV 1079,41 A.D.; I 37,50 A.D.; III 596,84 A.D.; P.Oxy.I 113,ii A.D.; Sel.Pap.I 121,ii A.D.; P.Grenf.II 73,late iii A.D. (Christian letter). Exx. of γλυκυτάτῳ and ἀξιολογωτάτῳ: P.Warr.14,ii A.D.; P.Oxy.VI 935,iii A.D.; XIV 1676,iii A.D. Exx. of the qualification of the salutation, with πολλά, πᾶσαι, πλεῖστα: P.Lond.I 33b(p.20f.),161 B.C.; P.Teb.I 12, 118 B.C.,14f.; P.Grenf.II 38,81 B.C.; C.P.Jud.I 141,first half of i B.C.; P.Oxy.VII 1061,22 B.C.; IV 744,1 B.C.; P.Teb.II 408, 3 A.D.; BGU I 37, 50 A.D.; P.Oxy.VIII 1155, 104 A.D.; III 528,ii A.D.; 533,ii/iii A.D.

⁷ These additions to the address are well illustrated in the texts of sections IX-XII of Sel.Pap.II (nominations and applications, contracts and tenders, receipts and orders for payment), 332-509.

⁸ P.Teb.II 409,5 A.D.,1-3. Other exx. of official titles in the address: P.Pay.14,124 B.C.; P.Teb.I 13; 14; 26; all 114 B.C.; III,pt.I 709,159 B.C.; I 38, 113 B.C.

⁹ C.P.Jud.I 5,257 B.C,9.

¹⁰ E.G., in P.Col.Zen.I 51,251/50 B.C., an Egyptian agent of Zenon writes through a scribe to Zenon, reporting on recent purchasing activities. Since the letter closes with the familiar-letter type of farewell (ἔρρωσο), we can conclude the form of the opening (*To B- χαίρειν A-*) was colored by the employer/employee relation. A similar situation is reflected when Pais, a boat captain of the aforementioned Zenon, reports on certain activities and then requests certain things regarding the boat and salary increase, in P.Mich. I 60, 248/7 B.C. Here, too, the writer closes the letter with the ἔρρωσο formula, but employs the petitionary type opening. The reverse state of affairs is reflected in three letters addressed to the same Zenon in 257 B.C., a year in which he was executive secretary of the king's financial minister, Apollonios. These letters request Zenon to intercede on their behalf with Apollonios concerning various matters. Consequently, the letters use petitionary phrases. Nonetheless, because they are all written by Greeks of the same social strata as Zenon, they use the address/salutation of familiar letters, not that of petitions. The petitionary intent of the correspondence is indicated, nonetheless, by the use of εὐρύχει, rather than ἔρρωσο, in the closing. These letters are: P.Col.Zen.I 6(a worried mother, regarding a son employed by Apollonios); I 9(a soldier requests Zenon to intercede with Apollonios, regarding back pay still due); I 11(three men from Zenon's native land request his intervention, regarding an audience with Apollonios).

¹¹ Collomp, *Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, 18. Cf. Bickermann, *Archiv*, viii, 218, ix, 164; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encycl.* xiii, 53-56; Guéraud, *ENTEYSEIE*, xxii ff. By contrast, M. Rostovtzeff stated, in his introductory comments to P.Teb.III,pt.I 703,iii B.C., 66ff., that ὁδύμνημα has other meanings as a letter type, notably, it may be a memorandum from a superior official to his subordinates (e.g., P.Teb. 703). There is warrant to his suggestion, since ptolemaic offices in Alexandria included

the office of ὑπομνηματογράφος (*memorandum-writer*) and, in P.Teb.I 58,111 B.C., l.33, a local official occupies the same office, at the local level, in the late ii B.C. [ὑπομνηματογράφος (δῶν)]. We may assume that people occupying this office wrote memorandums for superiors, as well as recording documents with this designation from subordinate officials. But, one must puzzle over the paucity of texts from superior officials which are designated *memorandum*. The vast majority of texts with this heading use the petitionary type formula of address. Consequently, the documentary evidence favors Collomp's interpretation of these texts more than Rostovtzeff's, namely, most are requests addressed to superiors. Moreover, this interpretation is supported by the fact that in subsequent centuries, letters with the *To B-from A-* type opening (i.e., petitionary opening) often refer to the text, internally, as a *memorandum*, e.g., P.Teb.I 30, 115 B.C., 10; I 31, 112 B.C., l.10; I 41, c.119 B.C., 19; P.Oxy. II 252, 19-20, 11f.

¹²Cf. Berneker, *Zur Geschichte der Prozesseinleitung im ptolemäischen Recht*, 36ff.; Semeka, *Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht I*, 277. Exx.: P.Mich.I 34, 254 B.C.; 52, 250 B.C.; P.Col.Zen.I 53, 250 B.C.; II 92, 240-39 B.C.; P.Hib.I 144, 230-29 B.C.; I 36, 229 B.C.; I 37, 235 B.C.; PSI IV 396, mid iii B.C.; P.Lille I 6, iii B.C.; P.Petr.II p.33 (=III, p.x; iii B.C.).

¹³PSI IV 326, 261/60 B.C.

¹⁴*De Epistularum Graecarum Formulis Sollemnibus Quaestiones Selectae*, in *Diss.Phil.Hal.* 18 (1911), 296f.

¹⁵P.Oxy.III 526, ii A.D. See also P.Flor.II 140; PSI III 206; III 208; P.Oxy.XII 1492; XIV 1664; XV 1677.

¹⁶*Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I* 2, p.252, n.217.

¹⁷Abstracts of legal contracts, called ἐλόμνεα (=lists of abstracts of documents) and ἀναγραφαί (=lists of documents entered by title), were recorded at area offices in Egypt, e.g., P.Teb.III, pt.I 815, 228-221 B.C.; BGU VI 1258; P.Mich.II, #s121-128, 42-49 A.D. Regarding the abstracts/titles, cf. Segre, *Aegyptos*, vi, 91-107; Boak, introd. to P.Mich.II, pt.I and *JEA* ix, 164-167. There is also evidence that certain kinds of letters, especially petitions and administrative communications, could be recorded in these same offices and they, too, were apparently subject to abbreviation (cf. the editor's comments on P.Petr.III 46, p.137). P.Ryl.IV 603, 7 B.C. is identified as forming part of an ἐλόμνεον; to either side are fragments of other letters (parts of 13 ll. remain on the right side). In this instance, however, the letter appears not to be abbreviated in any respect. P.Ryl.IV 578, c.58 B.C., is another example of an extract from a register, a register of numbered petitions. But, once again, this text seems not to be abbreviated.

¹⁸Exx. of chain letters: P.Lond.I 23, 158/7 B.C. (cf. ll. 13 and 57, for abbreviated closing); P.Teb.I 30, 115 B.C. (8 and 14: farewell omitted; 22: abbreviated address); I 31, 112 B.C.; I 38, 113 B.C. (10: *From A-* as the address); I 239. Exx. of

enclosed/appended letters not strictly connected to bureaucratic channels: PSI V 502,257 B.C. (8: A- and 11: To B-); P.Teb.III,pt.I 746,243 B.C.,13 (To B-).

19 E.G., P.Teb.I 40,117 B.C.,23(To B-); I 43,118 B.C.,43 (To B-). Petitioners would sometimes entreat the official to make such a subscription (ὀπογραφήν), e.g., P.Teb.I 46,113 B.C.,22ff. Analogously, government secretaries might abbreviate their address in relaying information, which they appended to the bottom of letters, e.g., P.Teb.I 30,22 (From the secretaries).

20 Exx. of health wish in the letter opening: iii B.C.: P.Col.Zen.I,7; 9,10; II 64; 74; 112; P.Mich.I 10; 13; 23; 51; 55; 58; P.Cair.Zen.I 59060; II 59251; V 59818; P.Yale 42; P.Grenf.II 14c. ii B.C.: P.Teb.III,pt.I 755; P.Lond.I 42; UPZ I 60; 61; 64; 66; 68-71; 74 and 75; P.Cair.Goods.4; P.Amh.II 29. i B.C.: P.Teb.I 59; P.Grenf.II 36; P.Princ.III 160; BGU IV 1203-1209. i A.D.: P.Osl.II 47; P.Teb.II 409; P.Mert.II 62; P.Oxy.II 293-294; VIII 1154; XII 1480; P.Mich.III 201; VIII 464; BGU II 530. ii A.D.: P.Mich.VIII 465-466; 473-477; 479-481; 490-91; P.Amh.II 133; BGU II 423; 601; 632; P.Oxy.I 115; III 528-29; 533; XII 1481; P.Warr.14. iii A.D.: Sel.Pap.I 134-138; 150; P.Oxy.VIII 1158; 1160; XIV 1680; P.Mich.III 214; 218-219; 221.

21 Exx. of obeisance formula: P.Mich.VIII 465; 473; 476-477; 480; 490-492; 495; Sel.Pap.I 120; 125; 134; 137; BGU II 601; P.Princ.III 167.

22 Sel.Pap.I 89(=PSI IV 333),256 B.C.,1ff. Other expressions of concern(anxiety/sorrow): P.Teb.III,pt.I 760,215/214 B.C.,20f.; BGU IV 1079,41 A.D.,6ff.; P.Mich.VIII 497,iii A.D.,15; P.Oxy.XIV 1676,late iii A.D.,10.

23 P.Col.Zen.I 10,257 B.C.

24 Exx. of λίαν(μεγάλην) ἔχαρον: P.Yale 42,229 B.C.,11; P.Amh.II 39,late ii B.C.,8; P.Mert.I 12,58 A.D.,4; P.Mich.VIII 473,ear.ii A.D.,4 and 26; 474,ii A.D.,2f.; 482,33 A.D.,22-26; BGU II 632,ii A.D.,10. Reassurance expression exx.: P.Yale 42,229 B.C.,22f.; P.Grenf.II 36,95 B.C.,9ff.; P.Oxy.VIII 1154,late i A.D.,6f.; P.Mich.VIII 464,99 A.D.,8f.

25 Exx. of θαυμάζω πῶς(ὅτι), not all of which express aggravation over failure to receive letters: P.Cair.Zen.I 59060,257 B.C.,10; P.Ryl.IV 574, 231 B.C.,7; P.Mich.VIII 479,ear.ii A.D.,4f.; 500,ii A.D.,3ff.; P.Mert.II 80,ii A.D.,3ff.; P.Oxy. I 113,ii A.D.,20f.; P.Corn.52,late iii A.D.,5ff. A related expression, perhaps, is μένφομαι σαι μεγάλως(πολλά); exx.: P.Fay.111,95/6 A.D.,3ff.; 112,99 A.D.,14; P.Amh.II 133, ear.ii A.D.; P.Mich.III 201,99 A.D.

26 "Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter," JBL 90(1971),91ff.

27 Galatians: Epistolary Genre, Content, and Structure (paper for the Paul Seminar, of which he was chairman, at the 1973 annual meeting of SBL), p.78.

28 Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen

Briefes bis 400 n. Chr. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae (*Sarja-Ser.B Nide-Tom.*, 102, 2), Helsinki, 1956, 104-114.

²⁹ Cf. J.G. Winter's analysis of six letters from soldiers in *Classical Philology* XXII, no. 3 (1927) and the introductory notes on P. Mich. VIII 490, ii A.D.

³⁰ Cf. Paul Schubert's analysis, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings* (Berlin, 1939). Exx. of #s 2 and 3, expressing thanks to the gods and to humans, all ii A.D.: P. Mich. VIII 465, 13ff.; BGU II 423, 4-6; P. Mich. VIII 492, 6; 498, 4f.; 499, 7-10; P. Giss. 17, 6f. Exx. of #1 (*oblige, do a favor*), in the iii B.C.: P. Cair. Zen. V 59804, 10ff.; 59805, 3ff.; 59823, 8f.; P. Col. Zen. I 7, 4f.; 9-11; 16; P. Mich. I 6, 4-6; 10, 10ff.; 23, 6ff.; 33, 11-13; 42, 5f.; P. Hib. I 66, 4f. Exx. of ii B.C.: UPZ I 71, 21f.; P. Teb. I 12, 25f.; 55, 6-10; 56, 9f. and 15-17. Exx. in i B.C. and i A.D.: P. Oxy. IV 743, 38-40; II 292, 9f.; P. Herm. 1, 7f.; BGU II 596, 11-13. ii A.D.: P. Oxy. XII 1481, 9f.

³¹ Exx. of health wish in the closing, in iii B.C.: P. Col. Zen. II 66, 22-24; Sel. Pap. I 93, 3f.; P. Ryl. IV 565, 5f.; P. Yale 40, 25; 42, 37-39; P. Teb. III, pt. I 760, 2026; 763, 11ff. Exx. in ii B.C.: C. P. Jud. I 132, 18f.; P. Lond. I 42, 31f.; UPZ I 60, 22f.; 61, 29-32; 62, 34f.; 64, 13f.; 69, 6f.; 71, 21f.; P. Teb. I 12, 12f.; 55, 6-10. i B.C.: P. Grenf. II 36, 19-21; C. P. Jud. I 141, 9f.; P. Teb. II 284, 15; Sel. Pap. I 104, 11f.; BGU IV 1203-1209. i A.D.: P. Oxy. IV 746, 9f.; II 292; 295; XVII 2148, 7-12, 18; P. Ryl. II 230-231; BGU II 530, 32ff. ii A.D.: P. Mich. VIII 465-466; 473-477; 490-499; P. Amh. II 133, 17f.; 135, 21-25. iii A.D.: BGU II 380, 19-25; 362, col. 5, 1, 12; Sel. Pap. I 133, 20-26; P. Oxy. I 119, 16; VI 935; X 1296; XIV 1580; P. Fay. 133, 16.

³² The editors of P. Osl. III 153, ear. iii A.D. and of P. Mert. II 63, 57 A.D. Other exx. of the phrase, with the meaning *look after*: P. Teb. I 58, 111 B.C., 62f.; P. Oxy. IV 743, 2 B.C., 43; II 294, 22 A.D., 31f.; II 293, 27 A.D., 16f.

³³ See the exx. in Exler, along with his comments, 111f. He suggests that this salutation occurs in the closing as early as the i B.C. There are a few exx. of the verb in the ii B.C. in my corpus, though without the specific nuance found in the i B.C. and following. See, for example, UPZ I 61, 161 B.C., 29-32 and P. Teb. III pt. I 768, 116 B.C., 23-28.

³⁴ Cf. P. Mich. III 201, 99 A.D.; VIII 496, ii A.D.; P. Amh. II 133, ear. ii A.D.

³⁵ Cf. P. Col. Zen. I 6, 257 B.C., 14f.; P. Mich. I 10, 257 B.C., 10ff.; P. Ryl. II 230, 40 A.D., 9-11.

³⁶ Cf. C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction," *American Journal of Philology* 56 (1935), 28-44 and Chan-Hie Kim, *Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation*, SBL Dissertation Series, no. 4 (Missoula, Mt., 1972), for a fuller explanation of the formulas in letters of introduction and for other exx.

³⁷ Regarding the characteristic formulas of the petition, along with numerous letters of petition/complaint, cf.

O., Guéraud, ENTEYEESE: *Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au III^e Siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo, 1931) and J.L. White, *Form and Structure of the Official Petition*, SBL Dissertations, no. 5 (Missoula, Mt., 1972).

38 Exx. of disclosure formulas concluding the letter-body in the iii B.C.: C.P.Jud.I 4,4f.; 5,5-7; 6,8; P.Mich.I 10, 14; 18,4; 39,6; 42,7f.; 51; 58,29f.; 60,11; P.Ryl.IV 257,5f.; P.Cair.Zen.V 59812,3; 59822,5; P.Col.Zen.I 51,22; II 88,6; P.Teb.III,pt.I 747,16-18; P.Yale 38,8f.; 40,23. ii B.C.: C.P.Jud.I 135,9; UPZ I 66; 68,6f.; P.Teb.I 15,16f.; 16,21; 26,21-23; 27,83; 34,13f.; 58,50f. i A.D.: P.Oxy.II 294,28-30; 299,5. ii A.D.: P.Oxy.III 528,24f.; 531,28; P.Mich.VIII 497; P.Warr.15,16-18. iii A.D.: P.Oxy.VI 935,16-18; VIII 1157,22-27; 1158,22-24; XIV,1666,19-22; P.Flor.III 338,15f.; P.Mich.III 218,15-17; 221,15-17.

39 Exx. of disclosure formula introducing the letter-body in the iii B.C.: P.Ryl.IV 555,4f.; P.Mich.I 10,2f.; 32,2f.; 58,4f.; 80,1; X 601,2; P.Cair.Zen.V 59811,2; 59812,1f.; P.Col.Zen.II 70,2; 103,2. ii B.C.: P.Teb.I 12,2; 56,5. i B.C.: P.Teb.I 37,2; P.Oxy.IV 744,3. i A.D.: P.Oxy.II 295,2; P.Mich.VIII 464,3f. ii A.D.: P.Oxy.VIII 1155,2f.; P.Giss.11,4; P.Mert.II 66,4; P.Mich.VIII 476,5. iii A.D.: Sel.Pap.I 134,3; P.Mich.III 219,4; 220,4f.

40 Exx. of form #1, above, in iii B.C.: C.P.Jud.I 6,1f.; PSI IV 502,11f.; P.Mich.I 12,2ff.; 28,1ff.; P.Cair.Zen.V 59815,1ff. ii B.C.: P.Teb.I 12,15f.; 19,2ff. i B.C.: P.Oxy.XII 1479,2f.; BGU IV 1141, 1; 1205,4ff.; 1206,3f. i A.D.: P.Oxy.VIII 1153,3f. ii A.D.: P.Mich.VIII 477,6f.; BGU II 632,7ff.

Exx. of #2, in iii B.C.: C.P.Jud.I 9,1f.; P.Mich.I 43, 6f.; P.Hib.I 57,1f.; 59,2ff.; 61,2ff.; 62,10ff.; P.Teb.III, pt.I 748, 8ff.; 749,1ff. ii B.C.: P.Teb.I 12,9f.; 26,5f.; 34,3f.; III,pt.I 713,4; P.Col.Zen.II 121,4f.; 122,2f. i B.C.: BGU IV 1209,3. i A.D.: P.Fay.114,3f. ii A.D.: P.Teb.II 411,3ff. iii A.D.: P.Teb.II 421,1ff.; P.Oxy.VIII 1065,2ff.

Exx. of #3, in iii B.C.: P.Mich.I 10,2f.; P.Ryl.IV 566, 1f.; P.Hib.I 51,1f.; P.Teb.III,pt.I 705,1ff.; 746,1ff.,4ff.; P.Yale 36,1f. ii B.C.: C.P.Jud.I 132,8f.; P.Teb.I 30,2-4, 6-8; 27,3-5,11f.,18f.,85f.,91f.,94f.; 31,2-4,6f.; 32,1-3, 5-7; 33,1f.; P.Grenf.II 23,1-3,7. i B.C.: BGU IV 1204,3f.

Exx. of 4a, in ii A.D.: P.Mich.VIII 499,12ff.; 496,6ff. iii A.D.: Sel.Pap.I 133, 6f.; P.Mich.III 216,6f.; 217,8f.; 221,3ff.

Exx. of 4b in iii B.C.: P.Ryl.IV 573,7; PSI IV 502,12; P.Cair.Zen.I 59060,10. ii A.D.: P.Mich.VIII 479,4ff.; 500, 3ff.; P.Oxy.I 113,20. Cf. n.25 for other exx.

Exx. of 4c in iii B.C.: P.Mich.I 16,2f.; 55,11f.; 56,2ff.; P.Yale 33,1f. i B.C.: P.Oxy.CIII 1061,2ff. i A.D.: P.Oxy. II 291,7f.; 293,3ff.; P.Princ.III 161,2ff.; BGU II 530,8ff. iii A.D.: P.Oxy.XII 1408,2ff.; P.Corn.2,5f.

Exx. of #5 in iii B.C.: PSI IV 333,12; P.Cair.Zen.V 59822, 1; 59823,5; P.Mich.I 43,4; 54,1; P.Col.Zen.II 109,3;

Sel.Pap.I 91,3; P.Teb.III,pt.I 746,31f. ii B.C.: P.Teb.I 27,9,23,89f.; 32,12. i B.C.: P.Ryl.IV 593,2f. ii A.D.: P.Warr.14,5ff.; P.Amh.II 133,12-14; P.Oxy.III 527,2.

⁴¹ See exx. of these responsibility phrases in J.L.White, *The Body of the Greek Letter* (Missoula, MT, 1972), 709. The other side to this expression is the writer's expression of reassurance that certain matters (personal welfare, business, etc.) are receiving the necessary attention. Exx. of these phrases are found in White, *The Body*, 5-7.

⁴² Exx. of these two forms of the ἄλλως ποιήσας convention in the iii B.C.: P.Cair.Zen.V 59824,3f.; P.Col.Zen.II 103,12; P.Mert.I 4,8f.; P.Hib.I 58,11f.; 60,8f.; 62,16; 69,8f. ii B.C.: P.Col.Zen.II 122,5f.; P.Teb.II,pt.I 767,11ff. i B.C.: P.Teb.II 459; P.Oxy.XLI 2979,11f. i A.D.: P.Teb.II 408,14f.; 411,10f.; P.Oxy.II 294,14; P.Ryl.II 230,9; P.Pay.109,13.

⁴³ *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in the Non-Literary Papyri* (Philadelphia, 1926). Regarding the use of conditional clauses, with exx., see White, *The Body*, 13-15 (exx. 3-8 on p.14 express threat). Horn suggests that the most frequent usage is ἐάν with the subjunctive and the future protasis (p.38).

⁴⁴ Cf. White, *The Body of the Letter*, 64-68 and 89-91, regarding the form of this convention.

⁴⁵ Reference to a visit in the iii B.C.: Sel.Pap.I 91,5f.; 92,9f.; 93,3ff.; P.Col.Zen.II 66,22-24; P.Mich.I 55,27-30; 56,27-30; P.Ryl.IV 565,4; P.Teb.III,pt.I 759,9. ii B.C.: P.Teb.I 17,1ff.; 18,1ff.; 20,7-10; 22,10f.; III,pt.I 712,9ff.; 765,10ff.; UPZ I 69,5; 71,17f. i B.C.: P.Teb.I 37,23-25; II 284,2ff.; P.Oxy.XLI 2979,7f.; IV 734,40-43. i A.D.: P.Princ.III 161,4ff.; P.Oxy.II 291; P.Mich.VIII 464,21f.; II 201,13-15. ii A.D.: P.Mich.VIII 477,35-37.; 481,14f.; 492,18f.; 494, 3-5; 496,18-23; P.Oxy.III 531,7-9; 532,15-24. iii A.D.: Sel.Pap.I 133, 18-20; P.Mich.X 602,9-16; P.Oxy.XIV 1666,15-17; 1676,29-31; 1681,20-24.

⁴⁶ See the author's article, "A Note on Zenon's Letter Filing," *BASP* XIII, no.3(1976),129-131.

⁴⁷ The petitionary verbs are illustrated on pp.131-138 of Steen, the various forms of the καλῶς ἀνποιήσας on 138-152.

⁴⁸ Adverbial intensifiers are listed on 153-158 of Steen, exx. of the intensification of verbs on 158-168.

⁴⁹ These and similar expressions in the iii B.C. are: P.Cair.Zen.I 59060,4,7; P.Yale 42,31f.; P.Teb.III,pt.I 762, 4f. ii B.C.: UPZ I 62,30f.; P.Teb.I 58,35,58. i B.C.: BGU IV 1209,10; P.Teb.II 284,5-7. i A.D.: P.Oxy.XVIII 2190,36; P.Mich.VIII 464,21. ii A.D.: P.Amh.II 131,5; P.Mich.VIII 473,22; 493,14f.; BGU II 423,14; P.Oxy.III 531,7; 533,10; P.Princ.III 166,6. iii A.D.: P.Oxy.VI 935,3f.; IX 1220,24; XIV 1666,15; P.Grenf.II 73,16; P.Mich.III 218,12; 219,4f.

⁵⁰ Cf. also P.Oxy.II 292,c.25 A.D.,11ff.; XIV 1666,iii A.D., 23ff.; Sel.Pap.I 133,ear.iii A.D.

⁵¹Exx. of the oath formula: Sel.Pap.I 100,c.152 B.C.,2f; P.Teb.III,pt.I 765,153 B.C.,10; I 12,112 B.C.,13; BGU II 543, 2f.

Other exx. of the superstitious practice phrases: P.Mich.VIII 465,107 A.D.,9f.; P.Oxy.III 528,6-9; P.Giss.I 19,4ff. Such expressions as *at home and abroad* (e.g., P.Mich.III 219,296 A.D.,12f.) and *from now on* (e.g., P.Grenf. II 68,247 A.D.,74) should also be included in the category of cliché. These last two exx., as well as such phrases as *on land and on sea*, are sometimes found in legal documents, serving to emphasize the binding nature of the contract, etc.

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In his recent monograph The Cult of Sol Invictus (part of the series on Oriental Religions in the Roman Empire edited by M. J. Vermaseren),¹ Gaston H. Halsberghe presents persuasive texts and arguments indicating that the Sun cult in the ancient Rome experienced two phases. Until toward the end of the first century A.D., the Romans "worshipped and prayed to Sol as one of their Di indigites [i.e. native or autochthonous gods]."² Beginning from the second century the Eastern cult of "Sol Invictus--Invincible Sun" penetrated in Rome in two different fashions: privately, through the cult of Sol Invictus Mithra and publicly through that of Sol Invictus Elagabal.³ As a result of the diffusion of these diversified forms of Sun cults, according to Halsberghe, "from the early part of the second century A.D. the cult of Sol Invictus was dominant in Rome and in other parts of the Empire."⁴

The predominance of Sun cults in ancient Rome (undoubtedly known and practiced by some of the pagan converts to Christianity⁵) raises the question of their possible influence on the development of Christian liturgical practices. This study will first make a preliminary reference to certain apparent influences of the Sun cults on Christian liturgy (such as the date of December 25, the motif of Christ-the-Sun and the eastward orientation for prayer) and then will investigate more directly the possible causal relationship between the prevailing veneration of the day of the Sun and the Christian adoption of that very day for the weekly worship. Since the Fathers for understandable reasons do not explicitly acknowledge a Christian borrowing from the symbology and/or ideology of the Sun cults, our conclusions will rest more on implicit inferences than on explicit statements found in the sources.

Were the Christians immune from the popular veneration of the Sun? Generally the Fathers either deny or condemn any Christian association with the worship of the Sun-god.⁶ Tertullian (ca. A.D. 160-225), for instance, resents and strongly refutes the charge of some well-meaning pagans who "suppose that the sun is the god of the Christians, because it is a well-known fact that we pray toward the east or because we make Sunday a day of festivity."⁷ Tertullian's resentment is legitimate because obviously informed Christians on the day of the Sun, or when praying eastward, did not worship the Sun-god but Christ, the Sun of Righteousness. But, is it possible that Christians did in fact borrow from the prevailing Sun cults the eastward orientation for prayer and the day of the Sun for their weekly worship after re-interpreting their meaning in the light of the Christian message?

Several indirect and direct indications point to the possibility. That Christians were not immune to popular pagan festivals and customs, is clearly attested by Tertullian himself. In his treatise On Idolatry he chides Christians for celebrating pagan festivals in their communities: "How wicked to celebrate them [i.e. pagan feasts] among the brethren!"⁸

A specific example of the Sun cult's influence on Christian liturgy is provided by the adoption of the 25th of December for the celebration of Christmas. On this date was held the pagan celebration of the birth of the Sun-god--dies Natalis Solis Invicti--, which was accompanied by a profusion of light and torches and the decoration of branches and small trees.⁹ Obviously contemporary Christian sources do not admit the borrowing of the date of such a festivity.¹⁰ To have done so would have been tantamount to an open betrayal of the faith. Some Fathers explain the Christian adoption of the 25th of December on the basis of astronomical-allegorical considerations. They argue that the conception of Christ (as well as His passion and the creation of the world) occurred at the time of the vernal equinox on the 25th of March. Reckoning from that date the nine months of Mary's pregnancy, the date of Christ's birth was computed to be the 25th day of

December.¹¹ These computations, however, could hardly have initiated the Christmas celebration. In our opinion they must be regarded as an posterioni rationale advanced to justify an already existing date and practice. To the majority of scholars, as stated by J. A. Jungmann, "it has become progressively clear that the real reason for the choice of the 25th of December was the pagan feast of the dies Natalis Solis Invicti which was celebrated in those days with great splendor."¹²

An additional indication of the influence of Sun cults on Christian thought and practice can be seen in the early association of Christ in iconography and literature with Sol Invictus. Numerous pictorial representations have come down to us where Sol or Mithra is portrayed as a man with a disk and rays at the back of his head, and in some instances ascending to heaven on a quadriga chariot.¹³ It is noteworthy that in the earliest known Christian mosaic (dated ca. 200-240) found in the recent excavations at the Vatican necropolis below the altar of St. Peter (in the small mausoleum Iulii), Christ is represented as the very Sol Invictus ascending to the heavens on a quadriga chariot and with a radiant nimbus behind His head from which irradiate seven rays.¹⁴

The solar imago clipeata, or to use Tertullian's words "Sol in suo clipeo,"¹⁵ where the radiant head of Helios is placed in the center of a disk, representing the sun in the middle of the heavens, is employed by both pagan Romans and Christians. The Romans placed the imago of the emperor in the clipeus to portray him as the Sun-emperor, the imperial cosmocrator. Christians have for centuries drawn the sun-disk or the clipeus, first around the head of Christ and later of important persons as well, apparently to express their elevation to heaven.¹⁶ The rich Sun-symbolism was also re-interpreted effectively in Christian literature. The Fathers frequently describe Christ to the pagan masses as "the True Sun and Light,"¹⁷ "the Sun of Justice,"¹⁸ "the True Light and Sun of Justice,"¹⁹ and "the Sun of the East."²⁰

The Christian adoption of the East in place of Jerusalem as the new orientation for prayer provides another significant indication of the influence of Sun cults. That Christians initially continued to adhere to the Jewish practice of praying toward Jerusalem, is indicated by the Judeo-Christian sect of the Ebionites who, according to Irenaeus, "prayed toward Jerusalem as if it were the house of God."²¹ Why then did the majority of Christians soon adopt the East in place of Jerusalem as the new orientation for prayer? Apparently two factors contributed to the change. The abandonment of Jerusalem as the orientation for prayer was seemingly motivated, as noted by Erik Peterson, "by the felt necessity to differentiate from the Jewish external forms of worship."²² The choice of the East as the new direction for prayer could well have been suggested by the Sun cults. It is a known fact that Sun-worshippers prayed toward sunrise. We noticed this earlier in the charge of some pagans who, according to Tertullian, accused Christians to be Sun-worshippers because of their praying toward the East. Tacitus reports that the Roman soldiers at the battle of Bedriacum in A.D. 60 "saluted with shouts the rising sun--orientem solem--according to the Syrian custom."²³ Apparently even Sun-altars were oriented toward sunrise. A certain C. Julius Aelurio, for instance, the leader of a Roman garrison, erected an altar "to the Sun-god eastward oriented--Deo Soli ortum constitutum."²⁴

The Fathers advance several reasons to justify the adoption of the eastward position for prayer. Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 150-215) explains that "prayers are offered while looking toward sunrise in the East" because the Orient represents the birth of light that "dispels the darkness of the night." He then adds: "It was for this that the ancient temples looked toward the west so that worshippers might turn to the east when facing the images."²⁵ Others urge Christians to pray looking toward the East to remind themselves of God's paradise, of Christ's coming,²⁶ and of the source of

light."²⁷ The references to the East as the birth and source of light betray a Christian dependency on the Sun-symbolism.

Could the daily praying toward the sun have encouraged Christians to worship also weekly on the day of the Sun? Cultured pagans, according to Tertullian, presented both customs as one basic evidence of Christians' Sun-worship. Tertullian denied the charge, attributing to the pagans the very same customs.²⁸ It is noteworthy that both the accusers and the refuter interrelate the two customs, presenting them as one basic indication of Sun-worship. The close nexus between the two customs suggests the possibility that Christians could well have adopted them contemporaneously because of similar factors.²⁹

In our recently-published dissertation we have shown, hopefully persuasively, that the introduction of Sunday worship in place of the Sabbath occurred not in the church of Jerusalem, renowned for her loyalty to Jewish religious traditions, but in the church of Rome early in the second century.³⁰ External pressures and internal needs encouraged Christians to develop a new identity by forcing a break with Judaism. In this process characteristic Jewish observances such as Passover and the Sabbath were substituted by Easter-Sunday and weekly Sunday.

But why was Sunday chosen rather than another day (such as Friday, memorial of Christ's passion), to evidence a new Christian identity? A plausible explanation is suggested by the "most venerable" position which the day of the Sun came to occupy as a result of the prevailing Sun cults. Initially the day of the Sun was the second day of the planetary week, following the day of Saturn. This is clearly shown in several stone calendars (so-called indices nundinarii) and in mural inscriptions found in Herculaneum and Pompeii where the days of the week are given horizontally or vertically starting with Saturni [of Saturn] and followed by Solis [of the Sun], Lunae [of the Moon], etc.³¹ In time, however, the day of the Sun supplanted the primacy of the day of Saturn, becoming the first and most venerable day.

When was the day of the Sun advanced to the position of first day of the week? The genesis of this development cannot be precisely dated. Constantine in his two constitutions of March 3 and July 3 A.D. 321, by describing the day of the Sun as "venerable--venerabilis" and as "famous for its veneration--vereratione sui celebrem," shows that the day had already enjoyed for some time a preeminent position.³² Tertullian suggests that this was the case already in his own time. Replying to the taunt that Christians were Sun-worshippers, he writes:

It is you, at all events, who have admitted the sun into the calendar of the week; and you have selected its day [Sunday] in preference to the preceding day [Saturday] as the most suitable in the week for either entire abstinence from bath, or for its postponement until the evening or for taking rest and for banqueting.³³

In several Mithraea of the second century (Sette Porte, Sette Sfere, Bononia relief as well as the Mithraic ladder of the seven gates described by Celsus, notwithstanding inversions or adaptations, the Sun occupies the dominant place in the sequence of the planetary gods.³⁴ That the day of the Sun enjoyed preeminence already by the middle of the second century, is attested by the famous astrologer Vettius Valens. In his Anthology composed between A.D. 154 and 174,³⁵ in explaining how to find the day of the week of any given birth date, he explicitly states: "And this is the sequence of the planetary stars in relation to the days of the week: Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn."³⁶ The contemporary threefold reference to the day of the Sun found in Justin Martyr's brief exposition of the Christian worship to the Emperor (I Apology 67) also implies that the day was venerated at that time by the Romans.

If the day of the Sun, enhanced by the prevailing Sun cult, supplanted in the early part of the second century the day of Saturn, thus becoming the first and venerable day of the week, is it not possible that this development influenced Christians to adopt and adapt the same day for their weekly worship? Did not Christians later adopt and adapt the dies natalis Solis Invicti for their Christmas celebration? In their search for a day of worship distinct from that of the Jews, could not Christians have viewed the day of the Sun as a providential substitution, especially since its symbology could effectively represent both the first creation of light and the resurrection of the Sun of Justice?

The Fathers provide no explicit acknowledgment of a Christian appropriation of the date and symbology of the day of the Sun. Their reluctance to do so can be understood in the light of the existing necessity to safeguard a recently-introduced institution. Most Christians today, for instance, do not fear to admit that their Christmas celebration derives from the Natalis Solis Invicti. Why? Because such an admission would hardly tempt anyone to relapse into pagan practices. For early Christian converts from paganism, however, any explicit acknowledgment of adoption of pagan dates or symbols could readily have encouraged some to relapse into their recently abandoned pagan practices. This may explain why the texts where the meaning of and motivation for Sunday observance are explicitly inter-related to the symbology of the day of the Sun, come to us from a later period (fourth and fifth century) when Sunday was already a well-established institution. Is it not possible, however, as remarked by F. H. Colson, that "what the Christians of a later epoch wrote may well have been said and thought by them of the earlier, even if it was not written"?³⁷ Let us consider some texts before drawing further conclusions.

Eusebius (ca. A.D. 260-340) refers several times to the motifs of the light, of the sun and of the day of the Sun to explain the adoption of Sunday observance in place of the Sabbath. In his Life of Constantine, he boldly states: "the Savior's day derives its name from light and from the sun."³⁸ In his Commentary on Psalm 91, Eusebius explains the reasons for Sunday observance:

The Logos has transferred by the New Alliance the celebration of the Sabbath to the rising of the light. . . . In this day of light, first day and true day of the Sun, when we gather after the interval of six days, we celebrate the holy and spiritual Sabbaths. . . . In fact, it is on this day of the creation of the world that God said: "Let there be light and there was light." It is also on this day that the Sun of Justice has risen for our souls.³⁹

The two motivations of the creation of light and of the resurrection of the Sun of Justice, are reiterated almost verbatim by Jerome (ca. A.D. 342-420): "If it is called day of the Sun by the pagans, we most willingly acknowledge it as such, since it is on this day that the light of the world has appeared and on this day the Sun of Justice has risen."⁴⁰ In a sermon attributed to Maximus of Turin (d. ca. A.D. 400-423), the very designation "day of the Sun" is viewed as a proleptic announcement of the resurrection of Christ:

We hold the day of the Lord to be venerable and solemn, because on it the Savior, like the rising sun, conquered the darkness of the underworld and gleamed in the glory of the resurrection. This is why the same day was called day of the Sun by the pagans, because the Sun of Justice once risen would have illuminated it.⁴¹

These and similar texts that could be cited⁴² clearly develop a theology of Sunday based on the symbology of the day of the Sun. The existence in Judaism and primitive Christianity of a rich tradition which associated the Deity with Light and the Sun, could have favorably predisposed Christians toward the day of the Sun, since its symbology adequately expressed Christian

truths.⁴³ The resurrection of Christ, in fact, was early associated with the rising Sun. Ignatius (ca. A.D. 100), for example, describes the resurrection of Christ by means of the verb ἀνατέλλω which regularly applies to the rising of heavenly bodies, rather than by the verb ἀνίστημι which is commonly used of the resurrection of the dead.⁴⁴ Melito of Sardis (d. ca. A.D. 190) in unmistakable terms uses the symbology of the sun to describe both the baptism and resurrection of Christ:

If the sun washes itself with the stars and the moon in the ocean, why should not Christ have washed himself in the Jordan? He, the king of the heavens and the chief of creation, the Sun of the Orient, who appeared both to the dead in Hades and to the mortals in the world! He, the only Sun who rose from heaven.⁴⁵

The possibility of associating the resurrection of Christ as well as the first day creation of light with the day of the Sun, must have been noticed early by Christians. Justin Martyr, almost two centuries before Eusebius, placed in juxtaposition the creation of light and the resurrection of Christ with the day of the Sun: "Sunday, indeed, is the day on which we hold our common assembly because it is the first day on which God, transforming the darkness and prime matter, created the world; and our Savior Jesus Christ arose from the dead on the same day."⁴⁶

It must be admitted that Justin Martyr's usage of the symbology of the day of Sun to justify Sunday observance is not as explicit as that of later Fathers such as Eusebius, Jerome, Maximus of Turin and others. But, as we said above, the earlier reluctance to correlate the two theologically may well reflect the existing concern to safeguard a recently-established institution. In other words, the danger of "paganizing" a recently "Christianized" pagan festivity may well have prompted the Fathers, as a precautionary measure, to avoid, initially at least, establishing an explicit interdependence between Christian Sunday and the pagan day of the Sun.

In the light of our study it would then appear that all the necessary ingredients for the day of the Sun to influence the origin of Sunday observance were present when the latter made its appearance. Various Sun cults were predominant in ancient Rome by the second century. That Christian converts from paganism were attracted to these, we found evidenced by the development in art and literature of the theme of Christ-the-Sun, and by the adoption of the eastward orientation for prayer and of the date of the 25th of December. The existence of a biblical tradition which associated the Deity with the Sun and Light could have facilitated an amalgamation of ideas. The enhancement and advancement of the day of the Sun over that of Saturn possibly oriented Christians (who desired to differentiate themselves from Sabbath of the Jews) toward such a day. It must be clearly stated, however, that the choice of the day of the Sun was motivated not by the desire to venerate the Sun-god on his day, but rather by the fact that its symbology could fittingly commemorate and explain to the pagan world two important events of the history of salvation--creation and resurrection: "It is on this day that the Light of the World has appeared and on this day that the Sun of Justice has risen."⁴⁷

¹Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1972. The work will be hereafter referred to as Halsberghe.

²Some significant evidences submitted by Halsberghe that attest the existence of Sun-worship in Rome already prior to A.D. 100 are: A calendar of the time of Augustus (the Fasti of Philocalus dated before 27 B.C.) where besides the date of August 9th it reads: "Soli indigiti in colle Quirinali--to the native Sun on Quirinal hill" (CIL I, 2, 324); two obelisks sent to Rome by Augustus after the conquest of Egypt (31 B.C.) which were "dedicated to the Sun--Soli donum dedit" in the Circus Maximus and in Mars Field to thank the Sun-god for the victory (CIL VI, 701; cf. Tertallian's report of the "huge Obelisk" which in his time was still in the circus "set up in public to the Sun. . .and consacrated chiefly to the Sun" -- De spectaculis 8); several altars of the first century A.D. that have been found dedicated to "the Sun and the Moon--Solis et Lunae" (CIL I, 327; XIV, 4089; V, 3917; VI 3919); the famous "Colossis Neronis" erected by Nero at the highest point of the Velia, representing the Sun with his own features and with seven long rays around his head. For further examples and discussion, see Halsberghe, pp. 26-37.

³Halsberghe's distinction between Mithraism and Sol Invictus Elagabal is valid since the former was primarily a private (though it numbered among its adherents magistrates and emperors), while the latter was a popular cult with grandiose temples. Though it was during the reign of the young Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222) that the Sun cult became the official cult of the whole empire, significant indications attest its existence already in the second century. Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), for example, according to Elius Spartianus (ca. A.D. 300) "dedicated to the Sun" the Colossus Neronis after removing the features of Nero (Hadrianus 19). On the imperial coins of the time, the Sun-god is frequently shown in a chariot drawn by four horses (cf. H. Cohen, Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain, 1843, II, p. 189, m. 1003-1006 and p. 205, n. 1180). Several epigraphic texts of the second century A.D. which contain dedications to Soli Invicto corroborate the existence of this cult (cf. CIL III, 7483; VI, 740; III, 1111, 1118, 7662; II, 807; for a discussion of the texts, see Halsberghe, pp. 46-55).

⁴Halsberghe, p. 44.

⁵See footnote below.

⁶Jack Lindsay, in Origin of Astrology, provides a concise survey of the influence of astrological beliefs on early Christianity (cf. pp. 373-400). Philaster, Bishop of Brescia (d. ca. A.D. 397) condemns as heresy the prevailing belief that "the name of the days of the Sun, of the Moon . . . had been established by God at the creation of the world. . . . The pagans, that is, the Greeks have set up such names and with the names also the notion that mankind depends from the seven stars" (Liber de haeresibus 113, PL 12, 1257). In a document attributed to Priscillian (ca. A.D. 340-385) anathema is pronounced against those Christians who "in their sacred ceremonies, venerate and acknowledge as gods the Sun, Moon. . . which are detestable idols worthy of the Gehenna" (Tractatus undecim CSEL 18, p. 14). Eusebius of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 500) writes: "I know many who worship and pray to the Sun. For at the time the sun is rising, they pray and say, 'Have mercy upon us,' and not only Sun-worshippers and heretics do this, but also Christians, departing from the faith, mingle with heretics" (Sermones 22, PG 86, 453). Pope Leo the Great (d. A.D. 461) strongly attacks those Christians who venerated the Sun (Sermon 27, In Nativitate Domini PL 54, 218). For an extensive documentation and discussion, see F. J. Dölger, Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang in christlichen Altertum.

Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie, 1925, especially chapters 20 and 21.

⁷Tertullian, Ad Nationes 1, 13, ANF III, p. 123; cf. also his Apology 16, 1.

⁸Tertullian, On Idolatry 14, ANF III, p. 70. Martin of Braga strongly rebukes in a sermon old pagan beliefs still surviving among the Christians of Portugal: "What madness it is therefore, that one who has been baptized in the faith of Christ should not worship on the Lord's day, the day on which Christ rose from the dead, but says rather that he worships the day of Jupiter and Mercury. . . . These have no day but were adulterers and magicians . . . and died in evil" (De correctione rusticorum, ed. C. W. Barlow, 1950, p. 189).

⁹For an informative account of the pagan celebration of this festival, see Julian the Apostate, The Orations of Julian, Hymn to King Helios 155, Loeb Classical Library, p. 429. In the Philocalian calendar (A.D. 354) the 25th of December is designated as "N[atalis] Invicti--The birthday of the invincible one" (CIL I, 236).

¹⁰An exception is the comment of an unknown Syrian writer who wrote in the margin of the Expositio in Evangelia of Bar-salibaeus (d. A.D. 1171) that "When the Fathers observed that Christians were inclined to this custom [i.e. pagan celebration of December 25], they contrived a council and established on this day the festival of the true Rising" (J.S. Assemanus, Bibliotheca orientalis 2, 164).

¹¹See, for instance, Augustine, De trinitate 4, 5; cf. Hippolytus, In Danielem commentarius 4, 23.

¹²Joseph A. Jungmann, The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great, 1962, p. 147. The same view is defended by L. Ruchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, 1919, pp. 260 ff.; O. Cullmann, The Early Church, 1956, pp. 29-35; Franz Cumont, Astrology and Religion Among Greeks and Romans, 1960, p. 89; Halsberghe, p. 174; B. Botte, Les Origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie, 1932, p. 14.

¹³A number of examples can be seen in Franz Cumont, Textes et monuments, 1896, II, p. 202, no. 29; p. 210, no. 38; p. 241, no. 73; p. 290, no. 145; p. 311, no. 169; p. 350, no. 248; p. 434, no. 379. Leroy A. Campbell, Mithraic Iconography and Ideology, 1968, provides a table listing all the tauroctones showing the Sun driving a chariot drawn by horses (pp. 139-140). A table is also provided listing all the tauroctones reliefs having a solar disk or nimbus (p. 135). See also the monument showing Sol Invictus standing in a chariot drawn by four horses in CIL VI, 3721; and representations of Sol Invictus with a nimbus, in CIL V, 807; III, 1953.

¹⁴See E. Kirschbaum, The Tomb of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1959, p. 35; P. Testini, Archeologia Cristiana, 1958, p. 167.

¹⁵Apology 16.

¹⁶An informative documentation and discussion on the pagan and Christian usage of the solar clipeus, is provided by H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, 1953, pp. 90-113.

¹⁷Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus 11, 114, 7, GCS 1, 80, 16; Stromateis 7, 3, 21, 6, GCS 3, 15, 28; Paedagogus 3, 8, 44, 1, GCS 1, 262, 7.

¹⁸Origen writes: "Christ is the Sun of Justice; if the moon is united, which is the Church, it will be filled by His light" (In Numeros homilia

23, 5, GCS 7, 217, 24; cf. In Leviticum homilia 9, GCS 6, 438, 19).

¹⁹Ambrose to counteract the widespread Sun-cult, contrasts Christ "lumen verum et Sol iustitiae--True Light and Sun of Justice," with the "Sol iniquitatis--Sun of iniquity" (In Psalmos 118, sermo 19, 6 CSEL 62, 425, 4f.).

²⁰Melito, Bishop of Sardis, establishes a striking parallelism between the sun and Christ whom he calls "Sun of the East" (see below n. 45).

²¹Irenaeus, Adversus haereses 1, 26. On the Jewish custom to pray toward Jerusalem, see Dan. 6:11, 2 Chron. 6:34; Jewish Encyclopedia, 1907, s.v. "Prayer." The Essenes, however, seem to have prayed toward sunrise. Josephus reports that "before sunrise they...put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising" (Wars of the Jews 2, 8, 5, trans. William Whiston).

²²Erik Peterson, "La Croce e la preghiera verso Oriente," Ephemerides Liturgicae 59 (1945): 66 and 63.

²³Tacitus, Historiae III, 24. See also the Epigram of Q. Lutatius Catulus that mentions the Sun "being greeted loudly" each morning in Rome while "facing the East--ad orientem" (in Cicero, De Natura deorum, I, 28, 79).

²⁴CIL VIII, 2494; for other texts and discussion see E. Albertini, "La garnison d'El Kantara," Bulletin archéologique (1931): 399-401.

²⁵Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis 7, 7, 43, GCS 3, 32.

²⁶In the Apostolic Constitutions believers are urged to "pray to God eastward, who ascended to the heaven of heavens to the east; remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east" (2, 57, 2 and 15, ANF VII, p. 42); cf. Cyril, Catechesibus 1, 9; Didascalie d'Addai 2,1; Basil, De Spiritu Sancto 27, 64, PG 32, 189; Augustine, De sermone Domini in morte 2, 5, 18, PL 34, 1277.

²⁷For Origen the East symbolizes the soul that looks to the source of light (De oratione 32, GCS 2, 400, 23).

²⁸See above n. 7.

²⁹F. A. Regan acknowledges the close nexus between the two customs, saying: "In the transition from the observance of the Sabbath to the celebration of the Lord's day, the primitive Christians not only substituted the first day of the week for the seventh, but they went even further and changed the traditional Jewish practice of facing toward Jerusalem during their daily period of prayer" ("Dies Dominica and Dies Solis. The Beginning of the Lord's Day in Christian Antiquity," unpublished dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1961, p. 196).

³⁰From Sabbath to Sunday. A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity (Rome: The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1977). The book is distributed in the USA by the author, 230 Lisa Lane, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103.

³¹See, for instance, A. Degraffi, Inscriptiones Italiae, 1963, XIII, ns. 49, 52, 53, 55, 56; cf. CIL I, 218, 342; IV, 5202, 6779, 8863, 4182.

³²Codex Justinianus III, 12, 3; Codex Theodosianus II, 8, 1.

³³Tertullian, Ad Nationes, 1, 13, ANF III, p. 123.

³⁴In the Mithraeum of the Seven Doors the Sun's "door" is the tallest and widest. Its position in the center possibly suggests, as expressed by

Cicero, that "the Sun occupies approximately the middle of the heavens" (De republica 6, 17; cf. Lucan, De bello civili 1, 45). In the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres, the Sun's sphere is presumably the last. On the Bononia relief the planetary gods follow each other in the following order, starting from the left: Sol, Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Luna (see L.A. Campbell, Mithraic Iconography and Ideology, 1968, p. 342, fig. 693). Celsus describes the famous Mithraic ladder of the seven gates to be ascended by regenerated souls in a reverse order (Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Moon, Sol) enabling the Sun to occupy a dominant position (Contra Celsum 6, 21-22).

³⁵The date is established by Otto Neugebauer and Henry B. Van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes, 1959, p. 177.

³⁶Vettius Valens, Anthologiarum 5, 10, ed. G. Kroll, p. 26.

³⁷F. H. Colson, The Week, 1926, p. 94.

³⁸Eusebius, Life of Constantine 4, 18, NPNF 2nd, I, p. 544.

³⁹Eusebius, Commentaria in Psalmos 91, PG 23, 1169-1172.

⁴⁰Jerome, In die dominica Paschae homilia CCL 78, 550, 1, 52; the same in Augustine, Sermo 226, PL 38, 1099.

⁴¹Maximus of Turin, Homilia 61, PL 57, 371.

⁴²See, for instance, Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia, Sermo 9, De evangelica lectione 2, PL 20, 916 and De Exodo sermo 1, PL 20, 845; Hilary of Poitiers, Tractatus in Psalmos 67, 6, CSEL 27, 280; Athanasius, Expositio in Psalmos 67, 34, PG 27, 303.

⁴³Malachi, for example, predicted that "the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings" (4:2). Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, announced the coming of Christ, saying "the sunrising--ἀνατολή--from on high has visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness" (Luke 1:78-79); see also the many references to Christ as "light" in John (1:4-5; 1:9; 5:35; 8:12; 9:4-5; 12:34) and as "sun" in Revelation (7:16; 22:4).

⁴⁴Ignatius, Epistle to the Magnesians 9, 7.

⁴⁵Melito of Sardis, Fragment VIIIb, 4, SC 123, p. 233.

⁴⁶Justin Martyr, I Apology 67, trans. by T. B. Fall, Writings of Justin Martyr, 1948, p. 107.

⁴⁷See above n. 40.

IN THE CORINTHIAN CONGREGATION

Richard and Catherine Kroeger

Paul the rabbi is often castigated for his chauvinistic attitudes but Paul the Apostle to the Gentiles is seldom studied in the light of his teachings on women. Romans 1:26, although somewhat obscure, at least implies that in his estimation, pagan Gentile religion posed a special set of problems for women, somewhat different from those of men, and equally unacceptable to the Judaeo-Christian community. There was indeed often a marked dissimilarity between worship patterns of men and women in the Greco-Roman world. Aeschylus' Eteocles in the Seven Against Thebes declares to the female chorus that sacrifice and consultation of oracles are male prerogatives while the women should remain indoors.¹ Women do not appear to have been especially welcome in some of the state-oriented cults; there were sometimes different festivals, different temples, and different modes of worship for men and women. This is not to assert that women were disbarred from all forms of male worship but rather to point out that women tended to gravitate toward certain expressions of religion which were far less attractive to men. Certain of the salvation-oriented mystery cults such as those of Dionysus, Isis and the Great Mother, were enormously popular with women -- a circumstance which drew a certain amount of masculine ire and derision. An examination of the First Epistle to the Corinthians yields a number of suggestions that a significant group of the new converts had not totally relinquished those forms of religion which fostered madness, especially in women.

The Apostle specifically complains that the congregation gives the impression of ritual madness (14:23), a highly desirable phenomenon in the ecstatic cults. It is in this same context that he issues his famous prohibition against women speaking at divine services, so that it is worth inquiring into a possible connection between women and madness in the Corinthian church. While the gods might bestow the divine frenzy upon either persons of either sex, women were the recipients par excellence and thereby earned the title "mad women" or maenads. For the purposes of this discussion, maenadism is defined as ecstatic behavior on the part of women under the influence of an orgiastic deity, notably that of Dionysus and, to a lesser extent, of the Great Mother or even of a Corybantic "daimon." If the maenads were in fact legendary female followers of Dionysus, at least the qualities which they exhibited have been observed often enough in actual women in group experiences of religious hysteria. The maenadic tradition is a strong one, both in the literary evidence and in the hundreds of vase paintings which the mad ladies adorn in various attitudes. Over the centuries, certain elements appear to have remained quite constant, and Diodorus tells us that women gathered together to imitate the

ancient maenads in their adoration of Dionysus.² That women, secluded, degraded, both socially and sexually deprived, should have found release in ecstatic frenzy is hardly surprising. I M. Lewis points out that ecstatic religion appeals most to the socially oppressed, and that women tend to be the oppressed of the oppressed. Ross Kraemer finds in Dionysus a women's god of rebellion, a god of the anti-establishment.

The city of Corinth was a major center of Dionysiac cult, and Pausanias tells of two statues of the god which stood in the market place, one called the Lysian Dionysus and the other Dionysus the Reveller. These images were supposed to have been carved from the tree whence the maddened women dragged Pentheus (disguised as a woman) and dismembered him.³ It was at Corinth that the legendary Medea, said to be filled with fury similar to that of a maenad, killed her two children in order to spite her husband.⁴ Enraged Corinthian ladies were fabled to have torn apart Melissa, a priestess of Demeter because she refused to reveal the secret rites of the goddess.⁵ There were then present at Corinth exceptionally strong cultic and mythological associations between women and excesses of religious violence, often involving sex hostility. Although the myth of Orpheus' dismemberment at the hands of Dionysiac women has no specifically Corinthian tie, still it strengthened the concept of violence as did also the tradition of women tearing apart young animals (sparmagos) and eating the still quivering flesh (omphagia), thereby receiving within them the life of the god. Pagans very early confused this rite with the Christian formula, "Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you." Nor would it be surprising if recent converts were struck with the similarity. It is significant that Paul's passage on female propriety precedes his instructions for the Eucharist in the eleventh chapter.

Even a cursory reading of the First Corinthian Epistle reveals the affinity of the new converts for their former pagan modes. They are asked to regard the feelings of those uncomfortable with meat which has been offered to idols and to refrain from attending pagan feasts -- a notable feature of Dionysiac cult during the Roman period. Formerly they served dumb idols, wrote Paul and were "carried away" (ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι) apparently a reference to ecstatic mystery religion. Significantly, there was drunkenness (another Dionysiac attribute) at the Lord's Supper. Rather than bemoaning the presence of fornication in their midst, the Corinthians were complacent and indeed "puffed up." It is hard to understand their satisfaction apart from a cultic background which represented certain extramarital sex acts as sacramental in nature.

There seems to have been a concern both on the part of the congregation and of St. Paul because some of the women were participating in the worship service with uncovered heads. Dishevelled hair and head thrown back were almost trademarks of the maenads in Greek vase painting and in literary sources. The wildly tossing head was also a distinctive of Cybele worshippers, and often the locks which had been so frantically whipped about were shorn off as a sacrifice to the goddess. Female devotees shaved their heads

in the cult of Isis, another major ecstatic religion in Corinth. Vergil's Amata called upon the other women to doff their hair fillets in mad Bacchic resistance to the decree of the king, her husband.⁷ Bacchus-Dionysus, the Liberator, gave women both a rallying point for protest and an occasion for sexual freedom, and they worshipped bareheaded. Yet in both Greek and Hebrew tradition, a woman's veil was a symbol of chastity, and Stobaeus preserves a warning to husbands that the best way to preserve their wives' chastity was to keep them away from the worship of Dionysus and the Great Mother.⁸ Furthermore, unbound and uncovered hair was necessary for a woman to produce an effective magical incantation -- surely an anathema in the nascent Church!

But if the passage deals with the propriety of covered head and long hair for women, it also treats of the impropriety of the same attributes in men. The thrust must be directed at gentiles since Jewish priests were required to cover their heads,⁹ and there is some evidence that the prayer shawl was already in use by Jewish men at worship. Although Samson, Absalom, the Nazarites and the Achaeans who fought at Troy, were famed for their long hair, this was not the usual practice among Greek and Roman men except in certain cults. During Dionysiac festivals, however, there was considerable clothing exchange and a strutting about as a person of the opposite sex.¹⁰ Pentheus, Cadmus and Tiresias all donned women's garb, and Demetrius of Pholeros incurred royal displeasure by refusing to assume female apparel in honor of Dionysus.¹¹ Apollonius of Tyana denounced the Athenians roundly for their Bacchic effeminacy.¹² Some twenty vase paintings depict the antics of these masqueraders, although it is sometimes unclear whether women have put on false beards or bearded men have attired themselves in women's robes. Dionysus himself, sometimes veiled, was portrayed as increasingly effeminate and gained the titles "sham-man," "male-female" and "double-natured."¹³ In Cybele worship the sex reversal became far more grisly, for men, at the height of their frenzy, castrated themselves and served thereafter as "she-priests." A frieze in the Capitoline Museum depicts the arch-Gallos with effeminate features, veiled head, earrings and necklace. Although these practices may have been designed to vest the individual with the powers of both sexes, Paul rejects such sex reversal. He affirms the integrity of both male and female patterns and asserts "neither is the man independent of the woman nor the woman of the man ... and all is of God." (11:11-12) The anthropologist Edward Norbeck has discovered rites of reversal in societies throughout the world; rites involving not only clothing exchange but also intoxication or other altered states of consciousness, license for violence, obscenity and promiscuity, disruption of normal speech patterns and a general "upside-downing" of the social order.¹⁴ Surely Dionysus was a god of "upside downing" (*ἀναστασίς*), the Liberator of women whom he had "driven from the shuttle and the loom."¹⁵

But women transported by this type of ecstasy appear to have caused special problems in the tumultuous Corinthian congregation. The charismatic activities of the entire group had reached such a

pitch that an outsider would believe the Christians to be mad, i.e., possessed of a religious frenzy in the manner of the Dionysiac and Cybele cults. Paul's description of their worship includes elements which were known to occur in the pagan orgiastic religions: these manifestations included speaking in tongues, prophecy and interpretation.¹⁶ It is also evident that there was a multiplicity of sound which in its meaningless din left the individual confused and at a loss to grasp any significance. One is reminded of the deliberate bombardment of racket which encircled an initiate (περιβομβούμενος) in order to put him into a state of Corybantic madness.¹⁷ But while clamor was of undisputed value in the orgiastic cults, St. Paul called for decency and order. While the pagan deity might seize upon the subject with irresistible force, the Apostle insisted upon the Christian's ability to control his or her ecstatic activities. No more than one person might speak at a time, and speech with meaning was preferred. A glossalalist must refrain from public utterance unless there was an interpreter available, and prophets must yield the floor to another upon demand. The Christian order of worship demanded no speech unless meaning might be assigned to it and no audible expression while someone else was speaking. Furthermore, the language of love is superior to sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, the instruments of Dionysus and Cybele. Salpinx and kitharos (also Dionysiac) are deplored if their sounds are unstructured and incoherent. The Christian God is one of peace rather than of confusion.

It is against the back-drop of this tumultuous din that Paul issues his famous and controversial prohibition against the utterances of women in the congregation. This is especially perplexing because he has already given them permission to pray and prophesy in 11:5, and he states explicitly that all may take turns in prophesying (14:31). 14:39 contains a warning not to prohibit speaking in tongues. The problem is a difficult one unless one takes into consideration the ritual cries and other ecstatic sounds which were so much a part of women's worship in the orgiastic cults. The more staid forms of religion also expected women to participate with ceremonial shouts, however. Menander tells of the men who offered the sacrifices while seven women beat cymbals, and the other women raised the ritual cry.¹⁸ The aforementioned Eteocles instructed the women to ululate "according to the Greek custom" and to chant the paeon after he had made vows to the gods.¹⁹ Apparently he considered this not inconsistent with the "silence" which he had earlier enjoined upon them. Clytemnestra speaks of the joy-cry "in the manner of Greek women"²⁰ but far wilder and more piercingly strident were the expressions of women in the worship of "him of the orgiastic cry, exciter of women, Dionysus, glorified with mad honors."²¹ Mad yelling, especially on the part of women, was a distinctive of Cybele worship, and one reads of curdling shrieks and of a devotee μάκρ' ὀλουζόμενος.²² In particular one reads of the ὀλουγή, the ὀλουγμός, and the ὀλόλυγμα as being associated with Dionysus and Rhea-Cybele, the gods of madness.²³ Apelian speaks of "mad ululation"²⁴ and Plutarch of

"βρόμους καὶ ὀλολυγμούς" καὶ κροτοδορύβους καὶ σεβάσεις²⁵
 Maenads on vases throw their heads back, their necks bulge with
 the shouts and their mouths open wide.

During the 1964-65 season, four plaques were excavated in the
 theatral area of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth.²⁶
 They bore the inscription, all in the genitive: Διονύσου,
 Παιάνος, Ὀλολυγγῶν, Ἀλφιαίας Dionysus appears to have been
 worshipped at the site as well as the Eleusinian goddesses, and
 Ἀλφιαία seems to have a connection with the grain-mother. The
 paeon represented ritual shouts of joy and triumph, while the
 ὀλολυγμός, like the ὀλολυγία, was distinctively a cry of women.²⁷
 All of the plaques appear to pertain to sacred utterances, although
 it cannot be ascertained whether the Παιάν and the ὀλολυγῶ
 denote a personification of the ritual cries, as is the case
 with the Alala,²⁸ or whether the personage who led the cry was
 indicated as at Pergamon.²⁹ The sanctuary was in use during
 Roman times as well as in the Hellenistic era and was heavily
 patronized by women. Although neither the exact use nor the
 dating of these plaques can be determined with accuracy, it does
 give an indication of the importance of sacred utterances in
 Corinthian worship, especially in regard to women.

Now it must be noted that the specific activity prohibited the
 Christian women was lalein, a word which emphasizes the sound
 rather than the sense of what is spoken. During the classical
 age, it often applied to the making of noise which had no signi-
 ficant meaning.³⁰ Indeed, it is essentially an onomapoetic word
 embodying "la-la," often a ritual cry of the clamor. The Bacchic
 "Eleleu" also involved the reduplicated "l" sound, a phenomenon
 still employed by ululating women of Turkey, Iran, Sephardic
 Jewry, Tanzania and the American charismatic movement. Maenads
 also shouted "Bacchos" and "Evoe," whence they derived their
 name "Eviades." Lalein is used repeatedly in the fourteenth
 chapter of I Corinthians to denote utterance which does not convey
 meaning. One must also bear in mind that women's cries were both
 disruptive and capable of drowning out intelligent communication.
 Aristophanes satirizes the difficulty of a husband in making a
 speech while the wife mourns the death of Adonis at the top of
 her lungs.³¹ The lalein of v. 34 might be interpreted as lalazein,
 to make an outcry, and the lalein of v. 35 as lalagein, to buzz,
 prattle or whisper in the fashion of the unlearned who desire
 instruction at an inappropriate time.

But to grasp the significance of a Pauline command which involved
 both a prohibition against certain types of utterance and a
 positive command to silence, one must consider the place of
 silence in the cultic expression of female ecstatic worshippers.
 Nearly a half-dozen literary references refer to the stillness
 of Bacchantes and to their silence.³² "The Bacchae are silent"³³
 a phrase which Rohde interprets as an absence of song.³⁴ His
 point is perhaps well taken, for Plato too uses silence as a
 contrast to song. He likens women involved in Bacchic ministry
 to mothers who lull their children with song instead of silence
 (σιγήν) and motion instead of stillness (ἡσυχίαν).³⁵ The activity
 produces calm tranquillity (γαλήνην ἡσυχίαν) in the Bacchant

rather than madness. Lillian Lawler found that the quiet or composed maenads appeared on vases where the presence of Dionysus was represented either by the god himself or by his statue. The tympanum was never employed in these scenes.³⁶ The Bacchic Inscription of the Metropolitan Museum lists twenty-three names as Seigetai. Cumont suggests that these were novices who were required to observe a period of silence as did those admitted to the Pythagorean community.³⁷ Plutarch, however, averred that those who began the initiation with tumult and shouting were in the revelation of the mystery, possessed by fear and silence.³⁸ In fact he holds such silence to be a requisite in giving heed to the god,³⁹ the artistic representations show the silent or sleeping maenad as in a state of receptivity to the divine promptings. Eteocles apparently considered silence to entail audible prayer but without "wild shouts and panting."⁴⁰ A gentle and quiet phase of worship was surely far more in accord with Christian koinonia than frenzy, and it would allow everyone to participate in a meaningful way. Therefore women were asked to subdue themselves in compliance with the law. (14: 35)

Although no such legislation can be found in Jewish tradition, there were a number of Greek and Roman laws which sought to control the ecstatic excesses of women, especially as they related to nocturnal rites.⁴¹ From the time of Solon onward, the measures, though stringent, proved less than totally effective. Nevertheless it was a matter of great importance to the Christian community that the activities of the female adherents would not be misunderstood nor construed as illegal. Let a visitor to the congregation see that its women displayed self-control and calm.

To integrate women into the Christian community was by no means an easy task. At all levels, the Corinthian church seems to have been more characterized by fragmentation than integration, and there seem to have been differences even in concepts of the after-life. Ecstatics, with their emphasis on "out-of-the-body" experience took a dim view of bodily resurrection. If the flesh was regarded as a prison in which the soul was punished for its wrongdoing, women can hardly have looked forward to reunion with a body whose differentiation had caused them to be so cruelly discriminated against by society. The Bacchic woman anticipated life as the "bride of Dionysus," and she is frequently so depicted on sarcophagi and funereal jars of the Roman era. She is often shown with a symbol of Dionysiac immortality, the mirror, in which one sees the image but not the bodily reality. Paul, however, uses the dark, unreal image for this present life and promises a hereafter "face to face." He offered the female convert quietness instead of clamor, peace instead of madness, self-control instead of abandon, and life triumphant as her own person, above and beyond any distinctions of human sexuality.

Footnotes

1. 11. 230-232.
2. IV, 3.
3. II, ii.
4. Seneca, Medea, 383, 806, 849.
5. Serv. Verg. Aen. I, 430.
6. Anth. Pal. VI, 217-220.
7. Aen. VII, 384 ff.
8. IV, 23, 40.
9. Exodus 39:28.
10. Aristides Rhet. 41:9 (Keil).
Philostratos Imagines (1,2).
11. Lucian, Calumny, 16.
12. Phil. Vit. Apol., IV, xxi.
13. Farnell, Cults of the Greek City States, V, 275-280.
14. "Rites of Reversal in Cross-Cultural Perspective,"
unpublished paper.
15. Eur. Bacchae, 116-119.
16. Aris. Frogs, 357.
Iamblichus, De Myst. III, 5.
Ovid, Fasti 4, 363, 367.
Serv. Aen. 10:220.
17. Plato, Euthydemus 277 DE.
Dio Chrysostom, Or. xii, 387 R.
Origen, Contra Celsum. 3.
Lucian, Lexiphanes. 16.
18. Fr. 326.
19. Aesch. Seven, 266-270.
20. Aesch. Ag., 594-595.
21. Plut. Mor., 671, LCL.

22. Nicander, Alex. 217-220.
Anth. Pal. 234. While a male participant is indicated here, Iamblichus notes that most metrizantes are female.
op. cit., IV, 9.
23. L. Deubner, "Ololyge und Verwandtes," Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1941, no. 1, pp. 23-26.
24. Punic Wars, XI, 77.
25. Mor. 1117 A.
26. Stroud, Ronald, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth," Hesperia 37, 1968, pp. 299-317.
27. Xen. Ana. IV, 3, 18.
28. Pindar, Fr. 208 (78) Plut. 2.3496.
29. 'Ολοθύκτρια Ditt. Syll. III, 982, l. 25, n. 19.
30. Debrunner, TDNT, "laleo, lalia" in situ.
Thayer, Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament, "laleo."
31. Lys. 1291. See also Anth. Pal. 6, 173, 3 and Orph. Hy. 14.6.
32. Nonnus, Dionysiaca XXXIII, 225-232.
Horace Odes, III, xxv.
Catullus 64.60.
Suidas Βάκχης τρόπον· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀεὶ στυγνῶν καὶ σιωπηλῶν,
παρόσον αἱ βάκχαι σιωπῶσιν.
33. Diogen. Prov. III, 43.
34. Rohde, Psyche, p. 257. By contrast, note singing Bacchantes in Diodorus IV, 3 and Eur. Bacc. 71.
35. Laws VII, 790 D - 791 B.
36. "The Maenads' Dance" Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome, V, 1927, pp. 70 ff.
37. "La Grande Inscription Bacnique du Metropolitan Museum," AJA, 37, 1933.
38. Mor. 81, E.
39. ibid., 502 F, 504 A,B 51, E.
40. Eur. Seven, 281.
41. Plut. Solon, xii.
Cicero, Laws, II, xv.
Livy, XXXIX, xv.
Stobaeus, IV, 23, 61.

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In *Phaidros* 265b Plato names four types of mania, or divine madness, each associated with a god: *mantikē mania* associated with Apollo, *telestikē mania* associated with Dionysos, *poiētikē mania* associated with the Muses, and *erōtikē mania* associated with Aphrodite and Eros. Plato had described the first three types of mania in 244-245a and the fourth in 249d-e. These are the four kinds of divine mania, and according to Socrates at the beginning of his second speech, they are the source of the greatest blessings. The purpose of Socrates' whole second speech is to show the benefits of *erōtikē mania* and to demonstrate the role it plays in leading the soul to the Forms. The first three kinds of mania are presumably traditional forms of divine inspiration against which *Phaidros* is expected to understand the new kind of divine mania introduced by Socrates in his second speech. There is no difficulty in understanding Socrates' descriptions of the first and third types of mania as given in 244-245a. *Mantikē mania* is the mania which inspires the prophetesses at Dodona and at Delphi. *Poiētikē mania*, associated with the Muses, is the mania which seizes the soul of the poet and excites him to poetic composition. Socrates' description of *telestikē mania*, while it may have been familiar to *Phaidros*, has not been clear to modern readers and has provoked a variety of interpretations. The description consists of a single sentence:

ἀλλὰ μὲν νόσων γε καὶ πόνων τῶν μεγίστων, ἃ δὲ πα-
λαιῶν ἐκ μνησμάτων ποθέν ἐν τισι τῶν γενῶν, ἡ
μανία ἐγγενομένη καὶ προφητεύσασα οὐκ ἔδει, ἀπαλλαγὴν
εὔρετο, καταφυγούσα πρὸς θεῶν εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας.
ὅθεν δὲ καθαρμῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν τυχοῦσα ἐξάντη
ἐποίησε τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν παρόντα καὶ
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, λύσειν τῷ ὁρώῳ μανέντι τε καὶ
κατασχομένῳ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν εὐρουμένη (*Phaidros*,
244d-e).¹

The textual problems are minor, but the meaning of the passage is a matter of some dispute. One possible translation:

But, to go on, there is a mania which procured release from the greatest afflictions especially and from pains, the sorts of things which have existed in some of the families on account of ancient sources of wrath somewhere, (and this mania) having appeared and acted as prophet to those to whom it was necessary, (procured release) by recourse to prayers and service to the gods; whence indeed by finding purifications and religious ceremonies, the mania made healthy the one having it with respect to the present time and the time thereafter, discovering release from the present evils for the one who rages rightly and is rightly possessed.²

Commentators on this passage have tried to identify the families or the myth to which the passage refers rather than describe the process which Plato relates. *Hermeias*, the scholiast who commented on the *Phaidros* in the fifth century A.D. said that

Orpheus exhibited the telestikē mania described here.³ Because one of Plato's phrases appears in Euripides, most commentators have tried to find a mythological parallel to this passage, but these attempts have generally been fruitless.⁴ Ast, in his edition of the Phaidros of 1810, thought that the families referred to were like that of the Eumolpidae, families who controlled important hereditary priesthoods.⁵ Lobeck suggested that these were families disturbed by the power of hereditary crime, such as the Labdakidae.⁶ Rohde associated the mania described here with the mania produced by Dionysos and suggested that the families referred to were like those of Proitos whose daughters were punished by Dionysos. The katharmoi and teletai he says are equivalent to the purifications and ceremonies used by Melampus to restore the daughters of Proitos to sanity.⁷ Boyancé follows the suggestion of Rohde,⁸ but neither seems to notice that in Plato's passage it is not a human intermediary which relieves the suffering, but the mania itself. Linforth, in a very helpful article on precisely this passage, associates telestic madness with foreign cults such as those of the Korybantes or Sabazios, but believes that Socrates deliberately leaves vague the cult with which this passage is to be associated.⁹ Hackforth, with no mention of Linforth's article, simply explains telestikē mania as a "particular form of divination... specially associated with Orphism."¹⁰ Following Lobeck, he says that this mania cures the problems arising from hereditary curses. He perpetuates the old attempt to find a source for this idea in some myth or story unknown to us, suggesting that it occurred in some version of the story of Orestes.

As the preceding survey indicates, there is little agreement and much confusion about this passage. Speculating about the mythological paradigm which Plato may have had in mind has not been fruitful. It would therefore, perhaps, be more productive to investigate the nature of the religious ritual which serves as a source for this description. The passage itself deserves close scrutiny. First of all, the original state of the sufferer is one of sickness and distress, brought about by some ancient source of divine wrath. Second, it is the mania which provides release.¹¹ The mania is not itself an evil from which the participant must be released. Third, the process has two stages: prophecy and ritual. Fourth, the ritual consists of purifications and teletai. Fifth, the final stage is health. Sixth, health is guaranteed for the present and for the future.¹² One question which immediately suggests itself is this: can this process be associated with a specific cult? Thompson suggests a parallel from the Kratylos for the katharmoi mentioned here. In that dialogue Plato describes the purification (κάθαρσις), purifications (καθαρμοί), fumigations (περιθεύσεις), baths (λουτρά), and lustral sprinklings (περιρρύνσεις) used by physicians and diviners (405a-b).¹³ Plato may well have had such processes in mind when composing the passage in the Phaidros, but his interest here is not in the health of the body, but in the health of the soul. The process which Plato describes should be just as familiar to his audience as his descriptions of mantikē and poetikē mania, but it is not clear whether the purificatory rites mentioned here are confined to a specific cult or whether they occur in several cults. The experience of the mania itself is later identified with Dionysos (265b), but the process described in 244d-e finds no direct parallel in his cult. Dionysos is the source of the mania, but the ritual itself must be intended to represent ritual from some other cult or cults. Does Plato have in mind here only foreign cults like those of the Korybantes or of Sabazios, or can the

process by applied to a known Greek cult?¹⁴ Just as prophetikē mania appears in cults associated with various divinities (Socrates for instance associates it with both Delphi and Dodona), so too must telestikē mania be a general phenomenon which appears in many cults and which is associated with various divinities. Linforth has argued that in 244d-e Plato is interested in giving an aetiology for a kind or curative mania and that his vagueness about its specific history and specific application is intentional. We are to understand telestikē mania, then, as a beneficial force which acts on the worshipper and restores the worshipper to health.

One problem with the description of the telestikē mania is Plato's attitude toward the phenomenon itself. If it is to be associated with Orphic or Korybantic cults, it is curious that he would have elevated it to a position where it is considered on a par with the inspiration of Apollo, the inspiration of the Muses, and the inspiration of Eros. One can argue that Plato generally ranks poetic inspiration rather poorly, and that later in the Phaidros itself (249d-e), the three types of life associated with the three types of mania in 244b-e, mantikos, telestikos, and poiētikos, are ranked far below the life of the philosopher or the erōtikos bios. Further, in the Republic, Plato disparages a kind of teletē which can expiate and cure any misdeed of a man or his ancestors (364b-c), and teletai which offer release and purifications for deeds of injustice. Adeimantos offers these examples because he questions the benefits of justice if a person can be purified from the effects of injustice, and he calls the priests who offer such rites vagabonds and diviners.¹⁵ In the Phaidros, however, telestikē mania is one of the four types of divine mania, each of which is identified with a god, and divine mania itself is said to be the source of the greatest of blessings (244a). How is this to be made consistent with the passage from the Republic? Has Plato changed his mind or is he referring to something else in his description of the way in which telestikē mania manifests itself? In the Phaidros Socrates takes telestikē mania seriously, and although his description of its effects may not be entirely clear to us, it must have been just as familiar to his audience as his descriptions of prophetic and poetic mania.

One of the reasons that the description of telestikē mania has caused so much trouble is that commentators have considered it in isolation without relating it to the rest of Socrates' second speech and without relating it to the rest of the dialogue. To take the first issue first, the analysis of divine mania at the beginning of Socrates' second speech provides a definition of traditional forms of mania against which Socrates' description of erōtikē mania later in the speech is to be understood. After describing the first three kinds of mania, Socrates immediately begins his description of the nature of the soul, the myth of the charioteer, the journey of the soul in the company of the gods to the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος, the return to earth, and the ensuing attempt of the soul to regain the vision of true Being. Only the soul of the philosopher can achieve this goal. The terms used to describe the philosopher's vision of the forms indicate that this vision is comparable to the vision experienced in an initiation ceremony. Socrates says that if a person uses rightly the memories of his former journey and "if he brings himself to perfection by becoming initiated into those ever perfect mystery ceremonies, he alone becomes truly perfect" (τελέους ἀεὶ τελετὰς τελοῦμενος, τέλεος ὄντως μόνος γύγνεται

249c). As will be clear from Socrates' next paragraph (250), the ever perfect mystery ceremony is the vision of true Being, the soul's vision of the Forms. The philosopher who has this vision is described as ἐνθουσιάζων, possessed by a god (249d). In the next sentence Socrates says that the whole speech up to this point has been about the fourth mania, that this mania is the best of all divine frenzies, and that the one who participates in it is called a lover. This, then, is the force which will be called *erōtikē mania* in 265b. Socrates expects Phaidros to understand how *erōtikē mania* works because he has prefaced his description of this form of madness by descriptions of three other forms of divine madness with which he assumes Phaidros to be familiar.

In 249c Socrates uses the experience of an initiation ceremony as a metaphor for the experience of the soul's contemplation of the Forms. In 250b-c he explains why this vision is so difficult to recover. Of all the Forms, only Beauty has a recognizable counterpart on earth. Recalling the soul's original journey to the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος in the company of the gods, Socrates describes the original vision of true Beauty. Beauty was bright (λαμπρόν), the followers of Zeus were fortunate (εὐδαίμων), the sight was blessed (μακαρία), the rites are called τελεταί and are described as most blessed (ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν ἢν θέμις λέγειν μακαριωτάτην), and the experience of the ceremony made the participants complete (ὁλόκληροι). Socrates describes the participants as νοούμενοι and ἐκπτεῦντες, implying that the experience was like μῆσις and ἐκπτεῖα, and he says that the vision was beheld in a pure light (ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ), and that those who experienced it were thereby made pure (καθαροί). Some of these terms are used by writers who describe the mysteries and ἐκπτεῦντες refers specifically to the mysteries of Eleusis.¹⁶ Only those who have a clear memory of their former vision can repeat the experience. Beauty provides the means and *erōtikē mania* provides the impetus. Only those who have been recently initiated (ὁ δὲ ἀρτυτελής, 251a) will easily regain this vision. The person who is not a new initiate (μὴ νεοτελής 250e) will have a difficult time. Finally, in 253c, when the beloved responds with love equal to that of the lover, the final experience is called a mystery rite (τελετή) which is beautiful (καλή) and blessed (εὐδαίμωνική).

Socrates does not explicitly state that *telestikē mania* was operative in the mysteries, but verbal connections between the description of the vision of the mysteries and the description of *telestikē mania* indicate that this was so. For instance, in 250c the light which shines during the vision is called pure (καθαρόν) and the viewers are called καθαροί. In the description of *telestikē mania* in 244 it is by καθαριῶν and τελετῶν that the afflicted one is restored to health. The mania of 244 provides protection for the future and in 249c it is said that only the one who has been truly initiated, the soul of the philosopher, will be able to recapture the experience in the future. The vision itself provides protection for those evils which wait in the future; those who have had the vision are ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ὑπέμενεν (250c). In 244 it is the one who rages rightly (τῷ ὀρθῶς μανέντι) for whom *mania* finds release, and in 249c it is the one who uses rightly (ὀρθῶς χρῶμενος) the recollection of his participation in the train of the gods who will alone be able to recapture the experience of the perfect mysteries. In 244 the experience of *mania* is described in terms of divine possession (κατασχομένῳ, 244e), and in 249d, the person

who recalls the memory of his journey with the gods is described as ἐνθουσιάζων.

It is no news that Plato uses here terminology from the mysteries to describe the vision of the Forms. In fact this passage has been used often by those attempting to reconstruct the Eleusinian epopteia.¹⁷ Plato uses similar terminology in other dialogues, most especially in the *Symposium*, where, as in the *Phaidros*, the approach to the Forms is described in terms of the vision of the mysteries.¹⁸ In the *Phaidros* however, the mystery terminology is used more extensively than anywhere else, and the analogy between the vision of the Forms and the vision of the mysteries is drawn in greater detail. One new feature of the description of the vision of the Forms is the role played by *mania*. Discussions of Plato's references to the mysteries in the *Phaidros* have generally disregarded the relation of the *mania* of ἔρως to the other three types of *mania* described at the very outset of Socrates' second speech.¹⁹ By his descriptions of these three types of *mania* in 244a-e, and in particular, by his description of *telestikē mania*, Socrates has prepared *Phaidros* for the new *erōtikē mania*. Moreover, by his description of a special kind of religious experience brought on by *telestikē mania*, Socrates has introduced the terminology in 244d-e which he will elaborate and develop in 249c-253b. In his discussion of the ecstatic vision in 249-250 Plato repeatedly uses terms related to τελετή. The use of the phrases τελέους δὲ τελετᾶς τελοῦμενος and τέλεος ὄντως μόνος γίγνεται in 249d-e, of ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν in 250b, of μὴ νεοτελής in 250d, and of ἀριτελής in 251a is consistent with the term τελεστική which Socrates will use in 265b to name the second kind of *mania* originally described in 244d-e. In his second speech Socrates says that *erōtikē mania* draws the soul to the Forms and his use of terminology from the mysteries implies that the vision of the Forms is like the vision of the Eleusinian epopteia. What are we to conclude from this? If we were to complete the analogy, *erōtikē mania* would be to Plato's new mystery of the Forms as *telestikē mania* is to the Eleusinian mysteries. There seems to be, therefore, an implied analogy between *erōtikē mania* which draws the soul to the vision of the Forms and *telestikē mania* which draws the initiate to the vision of the mysteries.

The second part of my argument is that the rest of the dialogue provides a number of vital clues as to the nature of *telestikē mania*, clues which heretofore have been overlooked. It has often been noticed that the third kind of *mania*, the *mania* of the poet who is inspired by the Muses, plays a part in the dialogue. Socrates several times calls attention to the fact that the place where he and *Phaidros* are sitting is inhabited by divinities, and several times, as he delivers his speeches, he acknowledges that he himself is divinely inspired. Hackforth, in his commentary, marks carefully those places where Socrates indicates that he is under the influence of *poētikē mania*.²⁰ There are indications, however, that Socrates acknowledges the effects of *telestikē mania* as well. After delivering his first speech, where he argued that there are dangers in yielding to a lover, Socrates refuses to follow *Phaidros*' suggestion to praise the non-lover, and he decides to leave. He returns almost immediately and says to *Phaidros* that just when he was about to cross the river, his δαίμονιον appeared to him and he seemed to hear a voice which forbade him to leave the place until he had made expiation. Realizing that he has offended a god, Socrates says that he must make an expiatory offering (ἀποσιώσασθαι, 242c).

The god he has wronged is Eros, and the offense was committed in the first two speeches of the dialogue where both Phaidros and Socrates disparaged the lover. Socrates says that it is necessary for him to be purified (*καθάρσασθαι ἀνάγκη* 243a), and for those who have made such a mistake there exists an ancient purification (*καθαρμοὺς ἀρχαίους*) known to Steisichoros. It is in this paragraph that Socrates declares his intention of offering a speech in recantation, and he says in 243d that he wishes to purge away the bitter things he has heard with a fresh speech (*ἐπιθυμῶ ποτιμῆ λόγῳ οὗτον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι*). His language is metaphorical here. The word *ἀποκλύσασθαι* is used in the sense of "wash off," "purify by washing off," and the word *πότιμος*, formerly applied by other writers only to water, is here used for the first time in a metaphorical sense.²¹ Socrates then thinks of his second speech as a ritual act of purification by which he will make atonement for an act which he feels might be a source of anger for the god of love.

Because his error was made in the form of a speech, his atonement will be made in the form of a speech. When Socrates began his first speech, he had covered up his head and said that he did so for shame (237a). Now that he has announced his intention to deliver an expiatory speech, he uncovers his head (243b). The act of uncovering his head is a way of showing that, like Steisichoros who regained his sight when he composed a poem which told the truth, Socrates himself, now no longer blinded to the true nature of Eros will deliver a speech whose statements are true. This is, I believe, the conventional interpretation for this act. There is, I suggest, a further interpretation. Robin has pointed out that the place which Socrates accords to his daimonion at this point in the dialogue indicates that he recognizes a more important source of inspiration than the poetic inspiration which he has recognized up to this point.²² The place is sacred, as Socrates said earlier in 238d, but it is not merely the Nymphs of the area which inspire Socrates now. Having acknowledged the effects of *poētikē mania*, Socrates begins to acknowledge the affects of *telestikē mania*. The words which he has used to describe his offense against Eros are similar to the terms which he will use in 244d-e to describe *telestikē mania* itself. The offense against Eros can be seen as a cause of wrath (*μῆνεια*), and Socrates' second speech will be a form of purification (*καθαρμοὺς*), given by Socrates while under the influence of a higher form of inspiration - *telestikē mania*. When Socrates takes his cloak away from his eyes he acknowledges this fact. From representations of the preliminaries of initiation ceremonies, it is known that people about to be initiated had their heads covered with a cloth or veil during the preliminary ceremonies.²³ When Socrates uncovers his head before delivering his palinode, he indicates to those who know that his speech of purification has special meaning, that it is in fact to be compared with an initiation ceremony. When in his speech Socrates describes the journey of the soul to the Forms, he participates in the vision of the mysteries which he describes to Phaidros. When Socrates describes the vision of the Forms in terms of the vision of the mysteries, he shows that the greatest vision possible for the philosopher is to be compared to the greatest vision available to the worshippers of the gods, that is, the Eleusinian *epopteia*.

In order to understand the significance of Socrates' act of uncovering his head, we should perhaps recall the location of that famous plane tree under which Socrates and Phaidros relaxed

that day in the hot sun of the noon. Socrates meets Phaidros by chance somewhere near the temple of Olympian Zeus. Phaidros says that he is about to take a walk outside the city wall and invites Socrates to accompany him (227a-b). After a page and a half of dialogue Socrates suggests that the two turn away from the path and go down to the Ilissos, and Phaidros comments that it is lucky that both are barefoot, implying that they will cross to the other side.²⁴ After pointing out a suitable shady spot and inviting Socrates to sit down, Phaidros asks if this is the spot where Boreas ravished Oreithyia. Socrates replies that the incident happened downstream, about two or three stadia where the crossing to Agrai is located.²⁵ From this remark it is clear that the plane tree must be located 400-600 meters upstream from Agrai. Arguing that none of the references to local divinities are without point, Wycherley has suggested that the tree was located near a shrine to Pan, Acheloos, and the Nymphs, all of whom are mentioned in the dialogue and all of whom are pictured on a fourth century relief found on the left bank of the river, near the stadium.²⁶ Socrates and Phaidros probably did not pass through Agrai itself before they crossed the river, but they are within a few hundred meters of the site. Agrai is the place where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated,²⁷ and participation in the Lesser Mysteries was a requirement for those expecting to be initiated at Eleusis. A scholiast says, for instance, that the Lesser Mysteries constituted a prior purification (προκαθαρσις) in anticipation of the Greater Mysteries.²⁸ Theon Smyrnaeus says that the katharmos is the first step for those seeking initiation in the mysteries,²⁹ and Polyainos says that the Ilissos is the place where the purification ceremony for the Lesser Mysteries was celebrated.³⁰ From these sources it is believed that one of the activities associated with the Lesser Mysteries was purification by wading in the waters of the Ilissos.³¹ For his readers who would have been familiar with the mysteries at Agrai and Eleusis, Plato's topographical remarks may well have had a special significance. Phaidros calls the water of the Ilissos καθαρὰ (229b), and Socrates refers to his second speech as a katharmos (243a). At the close of his first speech, Socrates acknowledges that the place is divine (238d), and later, at the end of the dialogue he prays to Pan and to "all the other gods in this place" (279b). We should notice that many of the gods mentioned in the dialogue are worshipped in the immediate area.³² Although their temple at Agrai has not been indisputably identified, Demeter and Persephone, as gods of the mysteries, are also local divinities. They are, in fact, found on the relief mentioned above, pictured together with Pan, Acheloos, and the Nymphs. The route which Socrates and Phaidros take and the location of their conversation, then, is suggestive of the mysteries and can be seen as a preparation for the introduction of metaphors from the mysteries which follows.

Plato's definition of *telestikē mania* should be considered in the context of his other references to religious experience. The discussion of *telestikē mania* can also be seen as a preparation for the analogy with the mysteries in the account of the ascent of the soul to the Forms. Socrates refers to the influence of *telestikē mania* when he teases Phaidros about his own love of discourse, suggesting that a cure can be found by engaging in a Korybantic frenzy of discourse together (228b). He picks up the idea of the effects of *telestikē mania* after Phaidros' speech by describing his reaction of the speech as one of Bacchic frenzy (234c). After describing the original ascent of the soul to the Forms, Socrates again returns to the idea of the mania of Bacchic frenzy, saying that the lover, attracted to Beauty's representa-

tion on earth, the beloved, is divinely possessed, just as a worshipper of Dionysos (253a). The experience of recapturing the experience of Beauty on earth is compared to an initiation ceremony of Dionysos (253c), but as noted above, the original experience of Beauty, as described in 250b-c, is compared to the greatest initiation ceremony the Athenians knew, the Eleusinian *epopteia*.

FOOTNOTES

¹I have followed the punctuation of Léon Robin's text, *Platon, oeuvres complètes* 4.3: *Phèdre* (Paris, 1933), 32. For an account of the attempts to emend, see I. Linforth, *UCPCP* 13(1946), 164-72.

²Following Linforth, 164, I take the ms. *ἐν* instead of Robin's *ἐν* (line 2) and I take *ἐαυτῆς* as a partitive genitive.

³in *Platonis Phaedrum*, ed. Couvreur (Paris, 1901), 88.

⁴*Phoenissai* 934. ⁵*Platonis Phaedrus* (Leipzig, 1810), 280.

⁶*Aglaophamus* (Königsberg, 1829), vol. I, 636-37.

⁷*Psyche* (New York, 1925), 309 citing Apollodoros 2.2.2. Rohde is followed by Pfister, *Cimbria* (Dortmund, 1926), 55-62 and by Croissant, *Aristotle et les Mystères* (Paris, 1932), 16-18.

⁸*Le culte des Muses* (Paris, 1937), 64-65. ⁹Linforth, 171-72.

¹⁰Plato's *Phaedrus* (Cambridge, 1952), 59-60. ¹¹Linforth, 170.

¹²Disagreeing with Linforth, 166.

¹³The *Phaedrus* of Plato (London, 1868), 42.

¹⁴G.J. de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus of Plato* (Amsterdam, 1969), 244d-e, citing Linforth, *UCPCP* 13(1946), 121-162, suggests that it is the rites of the Korybantes which are the source for this passage.

¹⁵See Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses*, 11-19, 73-75 and I. Linforth *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley, 1941), 75-97.

¹⁶Bright light: Hippolytos, *Ref. Haer.* 5.8.39, Dio Chrysostom 12.33, Plutarch, *Themistokles* 15.1, and *De Prog. in virt.* 10.81. Cf. HH Demeter 188-90 and 275-80. *Μάκας* and *εὐδαίμων* are used to describe the state of those who have been initiated: Euripides, *Bacchai* 72 and Aristides, *Eleusin.* (Dindorf, I, 415). *Ὀλόκληρος* (250c) is used by Dio Chrysostom, 12.34, to describe the initiation ceremony. The terms *epopteia* and *epoptēs* are confined almost exclusively to evidence from Eleusis.

¹⁷Lenormant, *Mémoires de l'Académie d'inscriptions* 34.1, 373.

¹⁸W. Kranz, "Diotima von Mantinea," *Hermes* (1926).

¹⁹Thompson, 59-61 and Hackforth, 95. For Plato's use of terminology from the mysteries in other dialogues, see E. des Places, *Ann. Fac. Lettres D'Aix* 38(1964), 9-23; A. Adkins, *Antichthon* 4 (1970), 13-24; G.J. de Vries, *Mnemosyne* 26 (1973), 1-8.

²⁰Hackforth, 227b, 234d, 235c, 237a, 238d, 241e, 259b-e, 262d.

²¹de Vries, *A Commentary on the Phaedrus*, note on 243d.

²²Robin, xxxiv, with Hackforth, 54, in disagreement.

²³Veiled initiates at the Kabeirion at Thebes: P. Wolters and G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (Berlin, 1940), M2 and M4. Herakles veiled during preliminary ceremony: G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961), figs. 81 and 85.

²⁴242a: Socrates and Phaidros have crossed the river.

²⁵229c: Thompson mistakenly emends *δισβαλόμεν* to *διδέσθαι*.

²⁶R.W. Wycherley, *Phoenix* 17(1963), 89-98, successfully argues against Robin, xi, and G. Rodenwaldt, *AM* 37(1912), 145. Relief: J. Travlos, *Pict. Dict. Athens* (New York, 1971), No. 382.

²⁷Jacoby, *FGH* Hist 323 F1 for difficulties with place name.

²⁸Scholion to Aristophanes, *Ploutos* 846.

²⁹*Expositio rerum mathematicarum*, 15 (Hiller) or 20 (Dupuis).

³⁰*Stratagemata* 5.17. Cf. Himerios, *Orat.* 3.3 and *Eclog.* 10.16, where the banks of the Ilissos are "mystikai".

³¹The fact that Socrates and Phaidros are barefoot may be significant. Cf. Sokolowski, *LSCG*, no. 65, lines 15-16.

³²Travlos, 291, fig. 379, nos. 154, 191, 195, 196.

1
The first of the series of papers
which I have been able to obtain
is a list of the names of the
persons who were present at the
meeting of the committee on
the 1st of January 1880.

The second of the series of papers
is a list of the names of the
persons who were present at the
meeting of the committee on
the 1st of February 1880.

The third of the series of papers
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the 1st of September 1880.

The tenth of the series of papers
is a list of the names of the
persons who were present at the
meeting of the committee on
the 1st of October 1880.

